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THE OCCULT IN
RABELAIS
THREE SUPPLEMENTARY ASPECTS OF THE
RABELAISIAN ALLEGORY

A thesis
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UNIVERSITY OF WAIKATOTHESIS SUBMITTED BY MR J.B. HORGAN FOR D.PHIL. DEGREE"THE OCCULT IN RABELAIS"ADDENDUM

The examiners present at the oral examination, Professor F.W. Marshall, Dr G.M. Cropp and Dr D.L. Drysdall, recommended that the following statement be attached to this thesis

The candidate relies primarily for the authenticity of the last 14 chapters of the Fifth Book on a body of scholarly opinion which he finds to be reinforced by the completion in these chapters of certain patterns, notably the alchemical symbolism and the itinerarium, established in earlier parts of the work. The candidate, while recognizing that the symbolic meaning of particular alchemical motifs might be challenged, justified his application of a coherent alchemical symbolism to parts of the work by Rabelais' consistent identification of himself as 'abstracteur (de quintessence)' and by the parallels between the alchemical process and the steps of the itinerarium. The irregularity of the appearance of alchemical symbolism was explained, it was suggested by the fact that it is not the primary allegorical frame. The parallels drawn between alchemical, mystical and other traditions and Rabelais' text do not always specify the means by which these traditions may have been known to Rabelais.

Abstract

The Occult in Rabelais concerns itself with all references, explicit or implied, to the systems of contemporary occultism in Rabelais's work. Although a division may be made between those allusions which seem merely to reflect humanist preoccupation with the occult and those which are functional in terms of the proposed allegory, it is argued that all occult references, by supposing the existence of a cosmic dualism (Above and Below), and by supposing the possibility of mutual interaction, support the theme of human perfectibility called the Itinerarium Mentis in Deum. Early references to the occult may therefore be of importance in Pantagruel and Gargantua, not only those from Le Tiers Livre onward, where the theme of perfectibility of will (treated by Rabelais, it is proposed, under the guise of the marriage question) has had time to evolve in the imagination of the author.

The thesis covers all occultism which exists in Rabelais under the broad headings:

- 1 Alchemy, Tarot and the Mysteries
- 2 Divination
- 3 Numerology

Renaissance and classical sources are listed, the nature and limitations (if any) of the occult systems are treated, examples of their use by Rabelais are noted, and their allegorical implications are discussed.

The study suggests the following major conclusions:

- 1 Alchemy, other similar traditions, divination and numerology may be considered as supplementary aspects of Rabelaisian allegory.
- 2 An important allegory of the T.L., Q.L. and C.L. involves the Itinerarium mentis in Deum,

of which Panurge is the central character.

3 Spiritual alchemy, tarot and the Mysteries provide an occult background to the idea of Itinerarium since they are concerned with human perfectibility.

4 Chapters 33 - 47 of Le Cinquiesme Livre, while full of occult allusions, are thematically necessary to the completion of Rabelais's work in terms of the allegory proposed.

Other conclusions are reached:

1 The weight and role of each occult tradition may change from one book to another.

2 The stages of alchemy called separatio, generatio and coniunctio relate to the principles of death, rebirth and marriage respectively, and these principles of the Itinerarium may be found in Rabelais's work.

3 The progress of Panurge may be related to the progress towards fulfilment of the materia prima of alchemy.

4 Pantagruel and Gargantua come to represent the Salt of alchemy.

5 The stock figures of the tarot coincided with the characters and actions of Rabelais's work.

6 There are strong links between the Temple of Rabelais and the classical temples of Apollo, and between Rabelaisian and Apolline ritual and mysticism.

7 Divination in Rabelais supports the Itinerarium in that it similarly supposes recourse to a final truth existing in immutability. Panurge may reject contrary divinatory projections, as divination has never had power over the will.

This does not mean Panurge is right to do so.

8 The double nature of number (mathematical and ideal) points upward from the material to the divine, and therefore supports the Itinerarium.

9 The true efficacy of the Dive Bouteille as oracle rests in the fact that it is also a Christian mystery.

10 The Temple represents an ideal human body, of which the main temple is the trunk and the circular chapel the head. Panurge is born again (like Pantagruel, from the ear). Panurge can only enter this body by passing via Lanternois.

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List of Abbreviations

All references to Rabelais are to Pierre Jourda's edition, Rabelais Oeuvres Complètes, (Paris : Garnier, 1962), 2 vols; unless otherwise stated.

<u>P.</u>	<u>Pantagruel</u>
<u>G.</u>	<u>Gargantua</u>
<u>T.L.</u>	<u>Le Tiers Livre</u>
<u>Q.L.</u>	<u>Le Quart Livre</u>
<u>C.L.</u>	<u>Le Cinquiesme Livre</u>
<u>B.D.</u>	<u>Briefve Declaration</u>
<u>Prol.</u>	Prologue
<u>RER</u>	<u>Revue des Études rabelaisiennes</u> (Genève, Droz)
<u>MLQ</u>	<u>Modern Language and Literature Quarterly</u>
<u>P.L.</u>	Migne, J.P., ed., <u>Patrologiae cursus completus ... series latina prima</u> . Tomes 221. Paris, 1844-64.

Chapter 1 Introduction

- 1 Objects of the thesis.
- 2 Necessary limitations:
 - (a) Definitions.
 - (b) Changing emphasis of the books and its effect on the thesis.
- 3 Method.
- 4 The Prologues.
- 5 Psalm 114 as an indication of the allegorical nature of the journey.
- 6 The allegories of Marriage, Rebirth and Separation.
- 7 Increasing allegorisation matched by the growth of occult symbolism.
- 8 The advantages and disadvantages of pursuing a line of allegory culminating in Le Cinquiesme Livre:
 - a) Authenticity of C.L.
 - b) Necessity of C.L.

1 Objects of the thesis.

This thesis, The Occult in Rabelais, has two main objects which are closely related. Firstly it will represent an investigation of the occult references to be found throughout Rabelais's work. Secondly, it will attempt to relate each aspect of the occult tradition to a proposed allegory of spiritual pilgrimage.

2 Necessary Limitations: (a) Definitions.

The term 'occult' needs definition. For Rabelais, the natural and supernatural worlds were not dichotomous; no sharp division was believed to exist between the rationally knowable (objects and processes of the sensible world) and the irrationally known (metaphysical truths). The processional hierarchy of being as understood by neoplatonists precluded any such division. Each object contained within it a signature of the unknowable, nothing belonging wholly to the world below. Occultism at this time merged with science in a continuum. The 'occult' in Rabelais is essentially the mysterious. It may be partially known through contemplation of objects comprehended by the senses, and partly by grace-aided ratiocination. Final understanding of the mysterious requires that leaving behind of the body called ecstasis. The mind of man, being spirit in matter, is capable of comprehending aspects of the world above and of the world below. In ecstasy, the Ideas and Forms of the prototypical world are displayed to man.

A study of the occult in Rabelais therefore is a study of mysterious symbols and of their value in

leading to an understanding of higher truths. The major traditions of occult symbolism in the Renaissance were Alchemy, the Tarot, Divination and Numerology. These are the aspects of the occult, with their offshoots, which will be treated, and their relationship to the proposed allegory elucidated and defended.

- (b) Changing emphasis of the books and its effect on the thesis.

Since this thesis has a double object, that is, to investigate occult symbolism and to relate such symbolism where possible to given allegories, it is necessary at this stage to take account of the shift in emphasis visible between the first two and the last three books within the literal narrative. Gargantua and Pantagruel may be seen to be concerned with the new learning and with the construction of an ideal society by the rectification of abuses. The first books are characterised by the Giants, who stand as superhuman ideals. From Le Tiers Livre on, the focus shifts to man, small, weak and imperfect, and to the processes of his fulfilment. In the last three books, Panurge takes the centre-stage as exemplum of human frailty. While occult symbolism is evident in all books to a varying extent, only that of the T.L. onward need be, or can be, linked with sureness to the allegory of fulfilment.

3 Method.

At first there seems little order in Rabelais. This is due to several causes, chiefly: the discursive style of the author, the fact that his works were

produced over a long period (during which he arguably changed his standpoint on several issues), heavy borrowing from other authors, the comic/serious nature of the work, the necessity for circumspection arising from the dangerous atmosphere of the time¹ (for with brief interludes of tolerance sixteenth century writers on religious themes might well be celebrated one day and burned the next), and the exigencies of syncretism. A major task of this thesis is the attempt to impose order on the purposeful Rabelaisian chaos. This is made possible by the belief that on at least one level an orderly progress may be made out. This progress, echoing the Itinerarium mentis in Deum of Bonaventure, provides a key to the understanding of Le Tiers Livre, Le Quart Livre and Le Cinquiesme Livre. The idea of the movement of the soul to God is a commonplace of mysticism, and as such might possibly be found in seed-form in Pantagruel and Gargantua. It was the bones about which the flesh of pilgrimage could be hung (and the journey of Panurge will be shown to have the features of a pilgrimage). It became more likely to be developed as the final nature of the work became evident to its author.

Each of the major traditions of occult symbolism concerns the attempt of the earthly to reconcile itself with the Divine, to know the divine will. By symbol and image, the truth inherent in all things could be ascertained. Rosemond Tuve in her work on Renaissance imagery² has shown that the training of all students in the Renaissance led them to investigate the nature of objects and processes by the use of ten Aristotelian 'predicaments' or categories (substance, quality, quantity, relations, manner of doing, manner of

suffering, when, where, situs and habitus). That Rabelais was a neoplatonist does not detract from the probability that an early training in Aristotelian method had left an indelible imprint. If the nature of an object or process could be ascertained by the consideration of these predicaments, then affinities between the predicaments of two subjects would suggest symbolism which might not otherwise be apparent. If gold is rare and expensive, and saffron is as well, then the one may symbolise the other. Neoplatonic thought sanctioned the belief in the existence of hierarchies which related actions and objects of the geocosm and microcosm to their forms in the world of Intelligences. This system also promoted imagery and reinforced the 'pictorial' traditions of the occult, such as the Tarot, by attributing divine possibilities to earthly things. Rabelais's Fountain (C.L.) will be seen to be charged with talismanic virtue. In the neoplatonic system, symbols were not merely like their references, but were considered essentially the same. This idea was strongly supported by Christian mystical beliefs such as transubstantiation. Just as the bread and wine contain the body and blood of Christ, so too the precious stones of the Fountain contain the powers of the spheres which they both represent and are. Both aristotelianism and neoplatonism point to imagery and symbolism as methods to conceive and explain "all things that be in the world".³ One difference is that while Aristotle sought to understand the things of the world by reference to their predicaments, neoplatonism sought to understand the higher realities by reference to these lower things.

Each tradition of symbolism will be given a brief background study for the Renaissance. Its branches will be noted, (for example, for Alchemy, spiritual and physical alchemy; for Divination, the many methods, also judicial and non-judicial divination; for Numerology, classical and non-classical number values, inter alia). The processes and scope of each symbolic scheme will be studied. Appearances of the symbols in Rabelais's work will be categorised. If there are few direct references, it may still be possible to trace the influence of a tradition of symbolism (such as alchemy) at the level of theme, character or allegory. The growth or decline of symbols will be noted. The orthodoxy or otherwise of Rabelais's use of the scheme will be investigated, and more general conclusions made.

4 The Prologues

No theory which does not receive support from Rabelais's Prologues will stand. Given the proviso above that Rabelais's intention to adopt a specific and coherent allegorical system was a developing one, it may be asserted that the Prologue of Le Tiers Livre, the two Prologues to Le Quart Livre and the Prologue to Le Cinquesme Livre should contain indications of an allegorical meaning. The aims of G. and P. are dissimilar to the later books. Indications of allegory in the early two books may be haphazard references to occult systems (such as alchemy) which were very much in the air. Such references do not necessarily point to an allegorical intention, overriding others.

The Prologues to T.L. and C.L., should be seen to invite an allegorical interpretation of these

books, if they are indeed allegorical. It will be shown that Dante, in his letter to Can Grande, expressed the belief that prologues were required to allegorical works, to point the way. (See below.) But the occult will be shown to be the stuff of allegory, giving form to the irrational. It will be sufficient for the Prologues of Rabelais to state intentions which are compatible with, not identical with, the interpretations offered by this thesis. The intentions of Rabelais appear to be to state his view of the human situation, human problems and the correct means to their solutions. The notion of human perfectibility is cogently expressed in G. from the point of view of an ideal (Gargantua). We are invited in G. Prol. to use this ideal as an exemplum, as a species of lesser Christ. From T.L. onward, the focus shifts from the ideal to the reality, defines the nature of the difference more closely and spells out the processes by which the imperfect becomes perfect. Both G. and the later books can be said to have the same theme - human perfectibility, and the Prologues will point to this.

The Prologue to Gargantua both playfully and seriously treats hidden values with the discussion of the Silenes and of the os medulare,⁴ suggesting the existence of symbolism and allegory only to deny them. Rabelais balances "Lors connoistrez que la drogue dedans contenue est bien d'autre valeur que ne promettoit la boite, c'est-à-dire que les matieres icy traictées ne sont tant folastres comme le titre au-dessus pretendoit"⁵ with "Croiez vous en vostre foy qu'oncques Homere, escrivant l'Iliade et Odyssée, pensast es allegories lesquelles de luy ont calfreté Plutarque, Heraclides Ponticq, Eustatie, Phornute, et ce que d'iceulx Politian a desrobé?"

The earlier Prologue to Pantagruel suggests that the Chronique Gargantuine⁶ had certain "propriétés occultes"⁷ and that Pantagruel is "un aultre livre de mesme billon". This may indicate that allegory was already before Rabelais's mind, and with it, the occult, for the occult systems of Alchemy, Tarot, the Mysteries, Divination and Numerology are the instruments of allegory.

The Prologue to Le Tiers Livre is unambiguously concerned with occult symbolism and with allegory, with less playfulness and more seriousness. The predicaments of Aristotle are suggested by one who writes "C'est belle chose veoir la clairté du (vin et escuz) Soleil."⁸ To understand the nature of the Sun, Rabelais's trained mind concentrates an imagery of brightness (vin et escuz). But light symbolises Christ (I am the light of the world), thus wine and gold, not to mention the sun (Phoebus/Apollo) say something symbolically not only of the nature of light, but of the nature of Christ. Like wine and sunlight, the nature of Christ shows itself in the work and is a source of comfort to man. For Rabelais, the image contains the essence of the object; wine is lightness, brightness and warmth to man, gold is light and preciousness, light is the sun, and the sun, Christ. But the truth which lies in wine is the great resort of man in times of trouble. Of the Bottle and its contents Rabelais may say "c'est mon vray et seul Helicon, c'est ma fontaine caballine, c'est mon unique enthousiasme".⁹ Wine and spiritualised water share the same symbolism in Rabelais, just as in the Mass, water and wine are mixed freely. Christ crucified bled both blood and water. No classical reference detracts from Rabelais's fundamentally Christian allegory, but rather

reinforces it. It is the wine of Cana, fused with the wine of Bacchus, the water of the "fontaine caballine" which is offered. Again, in the T.L. Prologue, Rabelais recalls the story of Diogenes, whose wisdom led him not to take sides in the conflict between Macedon and Corinth, but rather to point a moral lesson by the expenditure of useless energy rolling his tub up and down the hill called Cranium. We are advised that Rabelais intends to roll his own Diogenic tub rather than enrol himself under any flag in the disorders (religious) of his time. That is, we should look for the lesson - an injunction made previously (See G. Prol.)

Rabelais then introduces the story of the fate of Ptolemy's gifts to the Egyptians. These were "un chameau Batrian tout noir et un esclave biguarré, tellement que de son corps l'une part estoit noire, l'autre blanche". Ptolemy sought to arouse the love of the people by these novelties. On the contrary, they were scornful and disgusted. Rabelais says: "Cestuy exemple me faict entre espoir et craincte varier". He fears that he might, like Euclio's rooster, discover a treasure and have his throat cut for his trouble. "Autresfoys est il advenu: advenir encores pourroit." But he puts his faith in his select audience, "Je recongnois en eulx tous une forme specificque et proprieté individuelle, laquelle nos majeurs nommoient Pantagruelisme, moienant laquelle jamais en mauvaïse partie ne prendront choses quelconques ilz congnoistront sourdre de bon, franc et loyal couraige". His treasure is reconciliation, which may not be popular with the extremists of either party in the religious troubles of his time. Like Erasmus, his message of peace may be scorned, and he

may be attacked by Protestants for his orthodoxy and by the Church for heresy. His solution, it is proposed, lies in the restriction of his audience. He achieves this, by the use of allegory and symbol. The times were patently unsafe for metaphysical speculation; only under the cloak of disorder and symbol could Rabelais offer his general spiritual antidote to the vicissitudes of earthly fortune. Rabelais charges his cask with the truth which lies hidden in wine but which is more than wine: "Autant que vous en tireray par la dille, autant en entonneray par le bondon. Ainsi demeurera le tonneau inexpuisable. Il a source vive et vene perpetuelle." He no longer dissuades his hearers from seeking hidden truth, for he has perfected a system whereby any may read into his work whatever is wished. There is a basic tale for those who can encompass nothing more, and an allegory for those who are capable of discerning it. To the hypocritical, and to those who would seek to trap him in his words, Rabelais repeats that the images of sun and wine, the truth he offers, are not for them: "Arriere, mastins! Hors de la quariere, hors de mon soleil, cahuaillie au Diable! Venez vous icy culletans articuler mon vin et compisser mon tonneau?"

Briefly, Rabelais in the T.L. Prologue predicts a conflict in which he refuses to take sides, like a second Diogenes, but in trepidation he offers his solution to those who are capable of understanding. This solution (the wisdom of Wine and the Itinerarium) is best expressed in allegory. The Prologue gives significance in a literal way to what follows in an allegorical way (Marriage, Pantagrue and the Voyage of the last two books).

In both Prologues to Le Quart Livre as in T.L. Rabelais continues to seem preoccupied with contemporary events. The same solution or cure may be applied to the illness of the state as to the disease of man, both physical and spiritual. In Q.L. Prol. the wine image is sustained; in wine the truth may be found. His perceptive audience is instructed in the last paragraph¹⁰ to find solace in wine: "beuvez en trois". (One may compare this to the Christian wine symbolism of T.L. Prol.) Rabelais continues to address himself to a select audience, seriously now, (the "Gens de bien").¹¹ As so often, what has begun lightheartedly "très illustres et très chevaleureux champions, gentilz hommes et aultres..." (P. Prol.) has become serious and heavy with meaning. "Plus dictes que le vin du Tiers livre ha esté à vostre goust, et qu'il est bon. Vray est qu'il en avoit peu et ne vous plaist ce que l'on dit communement: "Un peu et du bon".¹² The imagery of light is extended to include spectacles (a scholar's aid to seeing clearly): "O gens de bien, je ne peulx vous voir!"¹³ "Gens de bien, Dieu vous saulve et guard! Où estes vous? Je ne vous peuz voire. Attendez que je chausse mes lunettes".¹⁴ Moreover, in both Prologues to Le Quart Livre, the theme of lost health is treated. This ill-health is represented by the inadequacy of Couillatris, and is to be cured by mediocrité and faith, in Couillatris, the type of erring humanity. Those who do not follow his example impeccably will lose their heads. It is proposed that the role of Couillatris in the Prologue is the role of Panurge in the book. The process of salvation (health) is much more closely analysed for Panurge than for Couillatris.

Rabelais proposes the cure for thirst as the remedy of all ills: "Vous avez eu bonne vinée ... Vous avez remede trouvé infinable contre toutes alterations".¹⁵ Is "alterations" a pun (thirst, corruption, alteration) since the problem of this world is its mutability? But Rabelais preaches moderation of desires in the quest for fulfilment in the temporal world. 'Mediocrité' is the 'vinée' that has been achieved and this harvest of reason, the wine of good sense, is the cure for man's ills.

While the Prologue to Le Cinquiesme Livre reaffirms the primacy of the wine-symbol, it introduces the "febve,"¹⁶ which, as a symbol of the interlocked natures of life and death may be allied to the earlier "cornemuse" of Le Tiers Livre, and perhaps to the "os medulare". (See below Section 6 Intro.) It again maintains the existence of a symbolic level, but in a weak manner which may not be Rabelais's. The good and gouty drinkers are urged to ponder "les haulx misteres" which are contained in the "bonne et belle pannerée" (de febves) which the author offers them.¹⁷

5 Psalm 114 as an indication of the allegorical nature of the journey.

"Après l'oraison feut melodieusement chanté le psaulme du saint Roy David, lequel commence: Quand Israel hors d'Aegypte sortit".¹⁸ Attention has been drawn to the use of this psalm at the outset of Panurge's journey by Abel Lefranc, who saw it as a manifestation of evangelism, since it was usual for sailors to hear mass and then sing the Veni Creator.¹⁹ Moreover, Marot had just

translated the Psalm 114 and it had taken a subversive significance. Rabelais may be using this psalm also to carry a non-evangelical message. Charles S. Singleton in his Dante Studies²⁰ indicates the meaning given this psalm by another allegorical writer. Dante uses it to show that the literal subject, so defined, will point beyond itself everywhere. Rabelais may similarly be using this psalm to stress that we must look below the narrative level. Singleton cites Dante's letter to Can Grande:²¹ "for it is one sense which we get through the letter, and another which we get through the thing which the letter signifies, and the first is called literal, but the second either allegorical or moral or anagogical. And this mode, for its better manifestation, may be considered in these verses: 'When Israel came out of Egypt, and the house of Jacob from a people of strange speech, Judaea became his sanctification, Israel his power.' Now, if we attend to the letter alone, the departure of the children of Israel from Egypt in the time of Moses is presented to us; if the allegory, our redemption wrought by Christ; if the moral sense, the conversion of the soul from the grief and misery of sin to the state of grace; if the anagogical, the departure of the holy soul from the slavery of this corruption to the liberty of eternal glory. And although these mystic senses have each their special denominations, they may all in general be called allegorical, since they differ from the literal and the historical."²²

Just as God's word in the Bible often has levels beyond the literal (or was believed to have), so too the poet may express his thought in this higher way of reflection. However, Dante was conscious that the reader who comes to the word of the Bible is already

attuned to a message concerning salvation, but the ordinary writer could not assume this attitude on the part of the reader. Still less could a writer of comic ribaldry. Both *Dante* and *Rabelais* were constrained to hint, to point the way, by the use of the Prologue. Singleton expresses this well: "A poet will lay provision as God's word need not do. This the poet will do by so arranging his poem that the reader comes to the literal sense by first passing through the sense which is to be the second or reflected sense; so that our journey here may then be reflected and recalled along the lines of a journey there. The poet will provide in a special way, with a Prologue, putting the journey to be reflected where, within his poem and organically he can control this reflection."²³

Dante repeats the song of exodus in *Purgatorio*²⁴ by having the Blessed singing "In exitu Israel de Aegypto" in their boat. Saint Augustine in his commentary on this psalm, *Ennarratio in Psalmum CXIII* (Vulgate)²⁵, says: "Aegyptus autem, quoniam interpretatur afflictio, vel affligens, vel comprimens, saepe imagine ponitur hujus saeculi." Panurge and the others are symbolically in purgatory while on their journey. They are pilgrims, and the world through which they pass is a book of chapters recalled, reflections of the good and evil of the world; witness Hugh of Saint Victor, *Eruditionis Didascalicae Liber Septimus*²⁶ "For this whole visible world is as a book written by the finger of God, that is, created by divine power, and individual creatures are as figures therein, not devised by human will but instituted by divine authority to show forth the wisdom of the invisible things of God. But just as some illiterate man who sees an open book looks at the figures but does not recognise the letters, just so the foolish natural man who does not

perceive the things of God sees outwardly in these visible creatures the appearances, but does not inwardly understand the reason. But he who is spiritual and can judge all things, while he considers outwardly the beauty of the work, inwardly conceives how marvellous is the work of the Creator." God is everywhere present 'in speculo et in vestigio', as Bonaventure declared in his Breviloquium, 11, 2.²⁷

Panurge and the rest must continually move toward their goal, despite how appealing any place or thing may be. As ^{Saint} Augustine pointed out (De Doctrina Christiana I.4.), the things of the world are to be used, not rested in. Contemplation of earthly things in themselves, for themselves, is wrong. No object in the pilgrim's vision has terminal value in itself. Thus Cato calls the pilgrim Dante away from the entrancing song of Casella.²⁸ Pantagruel has the ships pass by the island of the Muses, but salutes them with a cannonade.²⁹ Enjoying things is not using them in ^{Saint} Augustine's definition;³⁰ "For to enjoy a thing is to rest with satisfaction in it for its own sake. To use, on the other hand, is to employ whatever means are at one's disposal to obtain what one desires; if it is a proper object of desire, for an unlawful use ought rather to be called an abuse. Suppose then that we were wanderers in a strange land, and could not live happily away from our fatherland, and that we felt wretched in our wanderings and wishing to put an end to our misery, determined to return home. We find however that we must make use of some conveyance, either by land or by water, in order to reach that fatherland where our enjoyment is to recommence. But the beauty of the country through which we pass, and the very pleasure of the motion, charm our hearts, and, turning those things we ought to use into objects of enjoyment, we become

unwilling to hasten the end of our journey, and, becoming engrossed in a factitious delight, our thoughts become diverted from that home whose delights would make us truly happy. Such is a picture of our condition in this life of mortality. We have wandered far from God, and if we wish to return to our Father's home, this world must be used, not enjoyed, so that the invisible things of God may be clearly seen, being understood by the things which are made (Romans: I,20), that is, that by means of what is material and temporary we may lay hold upon that which is spiritual and eternal".

In order to reach the Dive Bouteille, Rabelais's party must run the gauntlet of sense, the myriad variety of created things, but must 'rest' in none of them. Their goal is further on. That is not to say that things are entirely evil, for all things in some way reflect their creator. A true understanding of the nature of things is essential to an understanding of God's will. Panurge undoes his heritage of original sin by travelling from island to island, towards death, rebirth and Eden, just as Dante returns to the state of man before the Fall, in his Eden atop the mountain of Purgatory. At the Dive Bouteille Panurge is entirely different from the natural man of the early Tiers Livre. By guided experience he has been shriven, washed and purified.

6 The Allegories of Marriage, Rebirth and Separation.

The whole work from T.L. to C.L. is centred on Panurge's marriage. The topic is represented at two different levels - the perfect marriage -

Pantagruel's - which is unquestionably right, and the imperfect marriage - Panurge's - about which a number of problems are raised. In the person of Friar John celibacy is considered. The topic of marriage is rich in symbolic equivalences, for it is the image of all reconciliation. The personal chaos of man (the elements of his nature struggling to regain their pre-Adamic harmony) and his instability are reflected in the world he inhabits and in the universe in which it finds a place. Man's spiritual illness, of which the cure is reconciliation, is characterised by philautia. Rabelais's suggestions in the Prologues to Le Tiers Livre and Le Quart Livre have a value which reaches beyond contemporary events (which merely reflect the basic inharmony of all things). They contain the cure of the basic taint which bedevils the universe from the lowliest objects to the highest members of the heavenly hierarchy. They will lead to a reconstitution of the universe before the Fall, and beyond, since the reconstruction will have been achieved freely by man and by Christ his Saviour. This new order may be symbolised by union in marriage.

Not for nothing, then, are Marriage and the symbolism of marriage important in most of the occult systems which will be treated. Alchemy has the mysterium coniunctis, Tarot has the sixth Trump, the Lover, to express the same mystery. Numerology has 5 and 6 which stand for spiritual and carnal union respectively. Divination is used by Rabelais in an attempt to answer the marriage question - should Panurge marry, or not? At the Oracle of the Dive Bouteille, a solution to this question is at last found.

The distress of Couillatris (Q.L. Prol.) at losing the 'coingnée' from his 'coingnoir' replicates the distress shown by Panurge once he is of a mind to marry. Like mediocrité, marriage restores wholeness and harmony. Panurge is armed with proverbs, such as "veh soli"³¹ and "Le saige dict: là où n'est femme, j'entends mere families, et en mariage legitime, le malade est en grand estrif"³² As Couillatris is in dire straits without the "coingnée ", so Panurge without a wife (unreconciled in soul and spirit, body and mind) can have no peace.

At the highest level of symbolism the marriage of Panurge to his proper wife is replicated in the restoration of a world free from all corruption to God by His Son, and the Hieros Gamos or union of God and his Shekinah.³³

It may be claimed that the marriage of Panurge is not an end in itself, nor does it merely symbolise the contemporary national uncertainty. There is a hierarchy of reconciliation within which the disorder of Panurge and of sixteenth century Europe may find a position. In a connected universe, there is no action which is not replicated at all levels in the hierarchical chain. This is the basis of all sympathetic magic. By sprinkling water on the ground a Shaman hopes to bring rain. In the same way, the lowliest attempt to establish harmony on this earth will please the Creator, for it is replicated in the cosmic ideal of the union of God and His Shekinah, as it is in every state between the extremes. "Whatsoever ye shall bind on earth, shall be bound in heaven", Matt. xviii, 18. The hierarchy of reconciliation in Rabelais moves from

top to bottom, as follows:

HARMONY

<u>Divine Level</u>	God	Shekinah
(The return of the world to His Father by Christ, P. Ch.8, p.257)		
<u>Daemonic Level</u>	The World	The Firmament
(The Fountain, C.L. Ch.42).		
<u>Superhuman Level</u>	Pantagruel	Pantagruel's Wife
(T.L. Ch. 48, p.601)		
<u>Human Level</u>	Panurge	Panurge's Wife
("C'est moy le bon mary" C.L. Ch.45, p.455)		
<u>Lowest Human Level</u>	Couillatris	Couillatris's Livelihood
(Q.L. Prologue)		
<u>Material Level</u>	Coingnouoir	Coingnée
(Q.L. Prologue)		

Second of the major allegories with which this thesis will concern itself is that of rebirth, with its essential preliminary of death. The natural cycle is as follows:

birth in Adam	marriage	death = annihilation
but it may be:		
death	rebirth	true marriage = eternal life

Only after death and rebirth will Panurge be prepared for marriage. To reach the Dive Bouteille, one must pass through Lanternois (Lanterne = vulgarly, female generative organs). "Unless a man be born again, of water and the Holy Ghost, he will not see God." John, iii, 5.

The alchemists understood this principle clearly, as will be shown. For them the imperfect matter is subjected to disintegrating forces, then recombined in purity to form the Stone, or the Elixir of Life. It is proposed that Panurge, once

his desire to marry is known (T.L.) is similarly subjected to the strains of refinement (Q.L., early C.L.) and is reborn in harmony (C.L.) a fit object for matrimony. The idea of being unmade in the earth and being prepared for marriage there is a medieval one, although the marriage was of a spiritual kind:

"Now to seke dethe I must begyn,
for to passe that strayte passage;
For body and soule that shall than twynne,
and make a partynge of that maryage"³⁴

Until the elements of his nature are in harmony, Panurge is incapable of harmonious union with another. Philautia³⁵ must be removed, as the impurity which is an impediment to true union. Alchemically, philautia is represented by an admixture of base matter to be refined away.

The allegory of rebirth necessarily becomes dominant at a late stage in Rabelais's work, after the processes of refinement have been passed. This raises a methodological problem, since Le Cinquiesme Livre is probably not all the work of Rabelais.

(See below, p. 29ff Authenticity of C.L.). However, it is proposed that the key chapters of the last book in this regard (the descent to the Temple of the Dive Bouteille and concluding chapters) are indeed Rabelaisian; and the fulfilment of this allegory lends support to that belief. The last chapters are thematically necessary. Either they are the work of Rabelais or of someone who intimately understood the esoteric symbolic pattern of his work.

Once it is accepted that Panurge is to be reborn in the ' final chapters of Le Cinquiesme Livre, certain patterns of symbolism fall easily into place. It is proposed that in descending into the earth, Panurge is at one and the same time experiencing death and marriage, together with rebirth. In those circumcentral regions, time is telescoped, birth and death almost simultaneous. On exiting, Panurge is dead (for he enters the earthly paradise), reborn (for he has passed through Lanternois and left the skull-like Temple via the ear, see below) and married ("C'est moy le bon mary"). The linking of the ideas of procreation and entering the grave is not new to poetry, nor is the linking of Woman with the Earth in theology.

It is suggested that Panurge, contemporaneously with his entrance to the underground way, enters the image of the World, or Woman (see illustrations). She is upside down as a reflection of the Macrocosm, like the Virgin, "Une femme ayant la Lune sous ses pieds".³⁶ The stages of the interior journey are as follows: Panurge and his company pass through a vineyard to an arch, "Un Arceau incrusté de plâtre".³⁷ Perhaps 'la cave'³⁸ is like the Sibylle's cavern of Le Tiers Livre, a euphemism for the vagina. Then they proceed through "ceste cave des troglodites".³⁹ Panurge imagines that he hears the barking of Cerberus, after passing down the dark, twisting staircase. Hippocrates and Galen had described the womb as a voracious animal, and considered it had a life of its own, but here the noise may represent the stomach. One recalls the mention of stomach and Cerberus together by Panurge in his first meeting with Pantagruel.⁴⁰ I cite the translation given by P. Jourda of Rabelais's Danish : "Ayez pitié de moi et faites-moi donner de quoi calmer mon estomac aboyant, comme on place

une soupe devant Cerbere." This compares well with "me semble que j'oy Cerberus abbayant".⁴¹ When they enter the region of the Fountain, the Lanterne advises them to be in good heart ("nous commanda estre en cerveau").⁴² They are shown "une lampe admirable",⁴³ for the heart was considered the seat of Reason; and a "fontaine fantastique"⁴⁴ emptied by spiralling tubes. The water is emptied in beats, pulses: "Le coulement et laps de la fontaine estoit par trois tubules et canals... Bacbuc nous commanda entendre à l'exciture de l'eau; lors entendismes un son à merveille harmonieux, obtus toutesfois et rompu, comme de loin venant et soubterrain..."⁴⁵ Bacbuc compares the emptying channels to the heart: "Par la seule figure limaciale que voyez bipartiente, ensemble une quintuple infoliation mobile à chascune rencontre interieure (telle qu'est la vene cave au lieu qu'elle entre le dextre ventricule du coeur), est ceste sacrée fontaine excolée, et par icelle une armonie telle que elle monte jusques à la mer de vostre monde."⁴⁶ Also the water is so cool in the heart of summer: "tant clair et tant froid en coeur d'esté".⁴⁷ (The function of the heart in medieval medicine was considered partly as a pump to maintain the coolness of the blood by passing it through the bellows of the lungs.)

The party then moves on through a golden door into a chapel outside the main temple "et mena à main dextre par une porte d'or, hors le temple, en une chapelle ronde."⁴⁸ It is lit by rays subtly entering from the main temple.⁴⁹ One recalls the medieval medical idea of the rising of the animal spirits via the 'retz merveilleux', so well set out by Panurge in Le Tiers Livre.⁵⁰ Seemingly the Chapel has the

proportions of the human skull: "l'ouvrage d'icelle chapelle rond estoit en telle symmetrie compassé que le diamètre du project estoit la hauteur de la voute."⁵¹ Inside the chapel is "une fontaine de fin alabastre ... pleine d'eau... dedans laquelle estoit à demy posée la sacrée Bouteille."⁵² Panurge hears the word and Bacbuc says: "Amy, rendez graces es cieux, la raison vous y oblige."⁵³ They then return to the main temple, to the 'vivificque fontaine'; "Et veu qu'il est de cerveau phanatique"⁵⁴ says Pantagruel, of Panurge. Bacbuc refers to "Ceste sphere intellectuelle ... que nous appellons Dieu",⁵⁵ for the head of man the microcosm corresponds to the God who is the head of the macrocosm. The Manuscript ends: "elle nous... feist yssir par une porte adjacente à la chappele diaphane... ",⁵⁶ that is, a hole adjacent to the skull, the ear. Gargantua also was born via the ear.⁵⁷ Panurge tasted the water, and was born again as Jesus specified to Nicodemus: "Nicodemus saith unto him, How can a man be born when he is old? Can he enter a second time into his mother's womb, and be born? Jesus answered, Verily, verily, I say unto thee, Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the Kingdom of God."⁵⁸ Panurge is brought to the same point that Dante reaches in the last stanza of Purgatory:

"I came back from the most holy waters
born again, like young plants
renewed by their new foliage,
pure and prepared to mount to the stars."⁵⁹

Separation

True marriage is the goal of Panurge. A prerequisite of spiritual marriage or reconciliation

is rebirth. But rebirth itself must be preceded by symbolic death. This comprises the third great allegory of Rabelais, that of Separation. That which is lost, is found, as Christ explains in the parables of the Prodigal Son, the Piece of Silver, and the Lost Sheep.⁶⁰ Moreover, what has been lost returns in glory. Bread cast upon the waters will return a hundred-fold. Couillatris loses an axe-head of iron, but is rewarded with axe-heads of gold and silver. Panurge undergoes symbolic death by entering the earth and by having flour thrown in his face,⁶¹ only to be reborn into a world filled with the harmony it previously lacked.⁶²

There is no generation without corruption. Rebirth requires death, which is a separation of Forma from Materia, or soul from body. Alchemy and neoplatonism are of one accord in the matter. The Tabula Smaragdina (see below, Alchemy) states:

"Thou shalt separate the Earth from the Fire, the subtle from the gross, softly, with great ingenuity. It rises from the Earth to the Sky and again descends into the Earth, and receives the force of things superior and inferior. Thou shalt have by this means the glory of all the world. And therefore all obscurity shall flee from thee."⁶³

Rabelais's symbolism of Forma within Materia is widespread. A list will be given below of many suggested symbols. Chief among them is Pantagruelion, and it is considered profitable to deal with this symbol at some length. Pantagruelion is also a device to suggest the slanting of the work towards practicality (away from the idealism which characterises Thélème.) However, it is the symbolism of separation of the subtle from the gross which is here concerned, or spirit from

matter. Certain of the alchemists, especially Paracelsus and other homeopaths, purported to see human features in some plants. The use of mandragora in sympathetic medicine is well-known. Paracelsus developed the idea in the tract entitled Concerning the Generation of the Elements.⁶⁴ Every plant is like a man: "It has its skin, which is the bark. It has its head and hair, which are the root. It has its figure, its signs, its mind, its sense in the stalk, the lesion whereof is followed by death. Its leaves and flowers and fruit are for ornament, as in man hearing, vision and the power of speech. Gums are its excrement, and the parasite is its disease." Unlike a man, it has its head down in the earth, and bears its seed in its upper reaches. In A Book about Minerals,⁶⁵ Paracelsus says: "Just as man is a two-fold body, a dense body which is worthless, and within this another body which is good, so it is with all growths," He then adds: "That which lies hid within has to be extracted from the bark."

We may see Pantagruelion as an exemplum of a universal pattern. It has its head in the earth, as a reflection of the Macrocosm. It is not suggested that Rabelais necessarily saw it as a symbol of man, though it has several human attributes.⁶⁶ (It has a height of 5 to 6 feet, a roundish root, the head, and has male and female varieties.) It is, on the other hand, most clearly a type of the forma/materia dichotomy which is at the basis of all nature. This dichotomy is also at the basis of the most pronounced and repeated symbolism in Rabelais, as will be shown below.

Pantagruelion has little use as it stands. It requires preparation, that is, the Separation of the Subtle from the Gross. This separation of the

useful pith from the useless stalk: "separer les fibres (es quelles, comme avons dict, consiste tout son pris et valeur) de la partie ligneuse, laquelle est inutile, fors qu'à faire flambe lumineuse, allumer le feu et, pour l'esbat des petitz enfans, enfler les vessies de porc",⁶⁷ replicates both the first action of the alchemists and the philosophical task of the pilgrim attempting the Itinerarium. Fire will not harm some species of Pantagruelion,⁶⁸ nor will it harm the soul, (which is the pith within the useless matter of man), nor will it harm the perfected matter of alchemy. (In fact the perfect matter is renewed and made more visible by fire, as Paracelsus says.)⁶⁹ But only certain types of Pantagruelion are purified by the flames. So too, not all the souls of men will survive the flames. Rabelais has the authority of Pliny in believing asbestos to be a form of linen,⁷⁰ or hemp.

Rabelais is not satisfied with a single example of the forma/materia dichotomy which is the basis of all earthly constraint and which points the need for the universal reconciliation brought about by separation and refinement. The following symbols all share this possible connection. They are based on a theory of the universe where there are few patterns but many examples.

Subtle Secrets in a Gross Work	All books, especially <u>T.L.</u> , <u>Q.L.</u> , <u>C.L.</u>
Wine in the Bottle	<u>G.</u> Prol.
Marrow in the Bone	<u>G.</u> Prol.
Drugs in the Box	<u>G.</u> Prol.
Pantagrue in the Cradle	<u>P.</u> (a possible early symbol)
Wine in the Barrel	<u>T.L.</u> Prol.

Diogenes in the Tub	<u>T.L.</u> Prol.
Breath in the Pan-pipes	<u>T.L.</u> Prol.
Scarlet in the Oak-gall	<u>T.L.</u>
Pantagruelion (the Pith in the Stalk)	<u>T.L.</u>
Breath in the Bagpipes	<u>T.L.</u>
Wine in the Straw (drinking)	<u>T.L.</u>
Gold in the Purse	<u>T.L.</u>
Oil in the Physter	<u>Q.L.</u>
Oysters in the Shell	<u>Q.L.</u> (also <u>T.L.</u>)
Pilgrims in the Ship	<u>Q.L.</u>
Beans in the Shell	<u>C.L.</u> Prol.
Secrets in the Earth	<u>C.L.</u>
Word in the Dive Bouteille	<u>C.L.</u>
Wind in the Leather Flask	<u>C.L.</u>
Spirit from the Abyss	<u>C.L.</u>

In all of the above images there is something alive, spiritual or of value within a confining dead material.

- 7 Increasing allegory is matched by a growth of occult symbolism.

Rabelais's use of symbolism naturally increases as the final meaning of his work becomes clear to him, and as the need for secrecy increases with external danger. Pantagrue and Gargantua contain, as has been stated, many symbols; but they are as yet related to the very different themes of the first two books, which have not at their centre the same problems as the last three. They exist because they are a part of the Renaissance imagination which was conditioned to find the meaning of things by intuitively gathering images and symbols. It is not strange that Rabelais could enlarge upon many of these proto-

symbols in his later work, given the all-embracing nature of his theme. All symbols relate to the ideas and forms of things which exist in the realm of Intellect, and it was the realm of Intellect and beyond to which Rabelais increasingly turned for a solution to the problems of the world below, and of the little world, which is man.

The beginning of Le Tiers Livre, as has been stated, marks the turning point. Panurge states his problem; he wishes to marry but fears the possible outcome. From being a happy-go-lucky adventurer he becomes the type of all mankind after the Fall. His problem may be universalised, Man is given freewill, but subjected to great dangers in the exercise of that will, up to and including eternal punishment. What is to be his guide to action? How can he be sure that his guide to action is infallible, since so much depends on it?

Rabelais has Panurge first seek an easy way out of his perplexity. By finding out the future in advance (Divination) he would be spared the uncertainty which is the bane of all decision-making. Le Tiers Livre is the record of that hopeful but doomed enquiry. This short-cut is not open to Panurge, since nothing may gainsay the power of the will. The question he puts is a moral one, beyond the scope of divination; nevertheless, divination and its ambiguity are the threads which hold Le Tiers Livre together.

Le Quart Livre and Le Cinquiesme Livre represent a journey which is itself a symbol. Panurge believes he is travelling towards the solution of his difficulty, to be supplied from outside, but in a real sense he is preparing himself to answer the question, within himself. Without the hardships and experiences of the journey he would be unprepared for the answer when it comes. These are the alchemical books, in which

the subject is broken down, refined and re-integrated in preparation for projection.

As Panurge leaves the human world and progresses through the worlds of Types there is much more use of number symbolism, for these are the realms of abstractions, (Q.L., C.L.). The further he moves from the human world the less are symbols mingled with non-symbols, both in objects and numbers. At the Fountain, and Dive Bouteille, everything is symbolic.

8 The advantages and disadvantages of pursuing a line of allegory culminating in Le Cinqüesme Livre:

(a) Authenticity of C.L.

This thesis does not depend for its justification on a supposition of authenticity of Le Cinqüesme Livre. The theme of pilgrimage and the allegory of union may be adequately followed in Le Tiers Livre and Le Quart Livre.

Moreover, whether or not Le Cinqüesme Livre in its entirety is by Rabelais will not affect one of the principal aims of the thesis, which is to note and catalogue all references and allusions to the occult. To fail to note such allusions in the last book might also be a failure to grasp a hidden unifying factor should the choice of occult symbols and their use be similar to that of P., G., T.L. and Q.L. To ignore C.L. would also be to ignore the book which contains more occult references in proportion to its length than any of the others, as will be shown.

It is the opinion of the writer that the Prologue and many of the earlier chapters of the last book are spurious, and that several of the others were compiled from notes and first drafts of Rabelais which were not finally intended for publication. This opinion has been reached on the grounds that:

- a) Certain symbolic values are subjected to decadence in the last book, (for example, the Unicorn, certain numbers)
- b) There is overmuch repetition of ideas previously exploited, (see for example the Prologue to C.L., with its many references to the Prologue of the T.L.)
- c) There is a general heavy-handedness evident in some chapters which suggests they are not the work of the mature Rabelais
- d) Some of the chapters do not flow on freely from one to another. This last point suggests the work of a compiler, not a plagiarist or fraud. The latter would conceivably have produced a better job.

Nevertheless, there are certain chapters, specifically towards the end of the work, which are, despite heavy borrowing from other authors, coherent in terms of theme and distinctly Rabelaisian in scholarship. It is proposed that the last chapters (Ch 31 - 47) are by Rabelais, but that they were written much earlier than would at first appear. Petrossian's word frequency study supports this view (see below).

Critical opinion remains varied. Authenticity of parts is doubted by most, and of all by a few, on the good grounds that nothing has been proved in the matter. It seems that real proof may always remain impossible.

However, it is also true that no-one has proved that Le Cinguiesme Livre is wholly a spurious concoction. There is a deep feeling of unease about authorship, for want of evidence. The field is left to critics who base their interpretation on grounds of belief or incredulity, on observations of comparative style, vocabulary and preferential eclecticism.

Rabelais could have written a rough draft at any time. The months between Feb. 1552 and April 1553 are not otherwise accounted for. There are three sources for what is now considered the definitive C.L. (Jourda ed.): L'Isle Sonante, 1562; the author is named as Rabelais, there is no Prologue, no 'bal de la Quinte', no 'Soupper des Dames Lanternes'; Le Cinguiesme et Dernier Livre des faicts et dicts heroiques du bon Pantagruel consisting of L'Isle Sonante with variants, Prologue and thirty-two chapters, no 'Apedefstes', dated 1564; and finally, the Manuscript (Bib.Nat. MS fr.2156, 145ff). This bears neither Rabelais's signature nor his name, is undated, but apparently copied at the end of the sixteenth century. This is the only known version to include the 'Soupper des Lanternes'.

Jean Plattard, (La Vie et l'Oeuvre de Rabelais (Paris: Boivin, 1939), p.66), doubts the total authenticity of the work. At the least, the author/editor chose those passages from Rabelais's notes which were indicative of support for Protestantism. Plattard concluded that authenticity was still to be proved or disproved. Louis Thuasne, in Études sur Rabelais (Paris: Champion, 1969), investigates the C.L. thoroughly for borrowings from other sources, sometimes finding whole chapters lifted bodily from Colonna, Hypnerotomachia Poliphili, especially but not only in the C.L., but he does not question the authorship of Rabelais, and discerns a link between Rabelais's

sojourns in Italy and the strong Italian influence evident in the last book. L. Sainéan in La Langue de Rabelais (Paris: Boccard, 1923), makes a close study of vocabulary, use of proverbs, patois and so on, and concludes that the book is probably all authentically Rabelaisian. G.M. Masters (Rabelaisian Dialectic and the Platonic-Hermetic Tradition)- (see note 33) - in an appendix, 'The Authenticity of the Cinquiesme Livre and the Thematic Unity of Rabelais's Five Books in terms of the Platonic-Hermetic Tradition', supposes a thematic unity of all five books. The C.L. serves as a necessary conclusion to the other four. Masters sums up the arguments against authenticity (p.100). There were a few early doubts of authenticity at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Antoine du Verdier, Prosopographia (Lyon: Frelon, 1604, First Edition 1573), attributes the Isle Sonante to 'un Escholier de Valence'. Louis Guyon, Diverses Leçons (Lyon: Morillon, 1604), livre 2, Ch.30, denies Rabelais's authorship on grounds of anti-catholic sentiments expressed. Guyon claims to have known the author, 'qui n'estoit médecin'.

Most scholars accepted Le Cinquiesme Livre as authentic until the nineteenth century discovery of the Manuscript. Marty-Laveaux, 'Commentaire' in Rabelais: Oeuvres IV 309-314, considered stylistic objections and concluded that fragments were genuine. Rough drafts of Rabelais's work had been compiled by an imitator. Arthur Tilley, at the end of the nineteenth century, reviewed the objections of du Verdier and of Guyon and accepted without reservation the last sixteen chapters of the C.L. These are the episodes of Lanternois and of the Dive Bouteille, of primary interest to the thesis. With less certainty, Tilley accepted Ch.4, in 'The Authenticity of the Fifth Book of Rabelais' MOLL, I (1898-9), 113-6. Since that time

critical analyses have generally accepted the authenticity of the entire book with minor exceptions. M.A. Screech has expressed a lack of confidence in the genuineness of the last book.* R.C. Cholakian, "Narrative Structure in Rabelais and the Question of Authenticity of the Cinquiesme Livre" in French Studies, XXXIII p.1 - 13, says that the author of the last book ceases to be a teller of tales, and that therefore authenticity is in question.

Stylistic analysis is the only tool available to those who seek to prove or disprove authenticity. In 1905 Lefranc and Boulenger compared the 1562 Isle Sonante with the 1564 completed text and with the manuscript to conclude that editors used a plan, notes and a rough draft to publish the work. G.M. Masters cites Carpenter, Rabelais and Music (p.18-29, 97-119) who compares musical terminology throughout the books and concludes that the last book is authentic. George A. Petrossian (RER XIII, 1976, p.1-64) in 'The Problem of the Authenticity of the Cinquiesme Livre de Pantagruel', a quantitative study, using stylo-statistics and quantitative analysis (key word counts compared with contemporary authors) concludes: (p.42)

1. By considering the use of adjectives ending in -ique and all adverbs, authenticity cannot be doubted.
2. The C.L. is a heterogeneous work; the Isle Sonante differs in style from the last thirty-two chapters.
3. The Prologue to the C.L. and the Tournoi de la Quinte appear to be authentic. 'Apedefes' (Ch 17) doubtful.
4. There is a marked change between the first two and second two books in word use and frequency.

* Personal communication. January 17, 1978.

5. Probably the Isle Sonante was written after or during the composition of the Le Quart Livre. The last thirty-two chapters of C.L. appear to have been written between the compositions of the T.L. and the Q.L.

Much of the newest work therefore suggests that it is unwise to discount totally the possibility of authenticity, and that in all probability the last half of Le Cinquiesme Livre is by Rabelais. That it may have been written between the writing of the T.L. and Q.L. makes no difference to the thesis. If it is true, it aids the suggestion that Rabelais had in mind, during the T.L. and after, to convey his theme through several books to fulfilment in the last, a fifth book since 5 is a number of union in numerology. He may have intended six books, another number of union, but time was too short. (We are asked in the title of T.L. to restrain our laughter until the 'soixante et dixhuytiesme Livre,' where 78 reduces to the marriage number 6 ; see Numerology). The fulfilment of the last book may have been planned as early as the completion of Le Tiers Livre, left in draft form and compiled after Rabelais's death.

The Thematic Necessity of Parts of the Last Book.

Certain narrative themes which have their roots in Le Tiers Livre find their completion in Le Cinquiesme Livre, and suggest the authenticity of parts of it. The last book properly sets out termini for the theme of voyage and the quest for an answer to Panurge's question, 'Should I marry?' It will be part of the work of this thesis to find whether it does so for the allegories proposed, and whether the occult

traditions evidently used in T.L. and Q.L. are sustained.

Conclusions will be sought on the following questions:

- a) Allegory: Has Panurge at the end of Le Cinguiesme Livre undergone the processes of death, rebirth and reconciliation?
- b) Alchemy: Has the impure been purified, and has Projection been achieved?
- c) Divination: Has the future become visible to Panurge, and, by the observation of eternal truth, has he found a guide to action which is infallible?
- d) Numerology: Has the world of chaos been left behind, and the realm of pure symbol reached?

Briefly the thesis will attempt to show that the last chapters of the last book, by fulfilling thematic requirements at both the narrative and hidden levels, provide evidence for their authenticity.

Notes

- 1 See Marcel de Grève, 'L'Interpretation de Rabelais au XVI^e siècle' RER III, 1961. Rabelais's first three books were condemned by the Sorbonne, and immediately on the partial publication of Le Quart Livre, he was attacked by Gabriel de Puy-Herbault and accused of heresy. (ibid. p.13)
- 2 Rosemond Tuve, Elizabethan and Metaphysical Imagery (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1947), p.285
- 3 ibid.
- 4 G. Prol. p.7
- 5 ibid.
- 6 An anonymous tale concerning Gargantua.
- 7 P. Prol. p.218
- 8 T.L. Prol. p.393
- 9 T.L. Prol. p.398
- 10 Q.L. Prol. p.11
- 11 Q.L. Prol. p.29
- 12 Ancien Prol. p.573
- 13 Ancien Prol. p.570
- 14 Q.L. Prol. p.11
- 15 Q.L. Prol. ibid.
- 16 C.L. Prol. p.279
- 17 C.L. Prol. p.284
- 18 Q.L. Ch 1 p.34
- 19 See Joinville, La Vie de Saint Louis, Ch.3
Also, Abel Lefranc, Les Navigations de Pantagruel (Genève: Slatkine, 1967), p.47
- 20 Charles S. Singleton, Dante Studies I, II
(Cambridge : Harvard University Press, 1957).
- 21 ibid. p.14
- 22 For the original of this letter, see Opere di Dante (Florence : Societa Dantesca, 1921), p.445 f.
- 23 Singleton, p.16
- 24 Purgatorio, Canto 2 46 - 48
- 25 P.L.vol. 37, col 1477

- 26 P.L. Vol. 176 col 814
- 27 Bonaventure, Breviloquium II,2, in Opera Omnia (Quarrachi, 1882 - 1904).
- 28 Purgatoria, II,119 - 125.
- 29 Q.L. Ch 66 p.241
- 30 Augustine, De Doctrina Christiana 1, 4
- 31 T.L. Ch 9 p.438
- 32 T.L. Ch 9 p.439
- 33 George Mallary Masters, Rabelaisian Dialectic and the Platonic-Hermetic Tradition (Albany: State University of New York, 1969), passim.
- 34 Mundus et Infans, II.47, II.36-39 (early 16th century). See Specimens of Pre-Shakespearian Drama by John Matthews Manly, vol. 1, (1900) cited by Philipa Tristram, Figures of Life and Death in Medieval English Literature (London: Paul Elek, 1976), p.181
- 35 T.L. Ch. 29 p.526, Pantagruel speaks: "philautie et amour de soi vous deçoit"
- 36 C.L. Ch 33 p.420
- 37 C.L. Ch 34 p.420
- 38 C.L. Ch 35 p.422
- 39 C.L. Ch 35 p.423
- 40 P. Ch 9 p.267
- 41 C.L. Ch 35 p.425
- 42 C.L. Ch 36 p.426
- 43 C.L. Ch 40 p.437
- 44 C.L. Ch 41 p.439
- 45 C.L. Ch 42 p.445-6
- 46 C.L. Ch 42 p.446
- 47 C.L. Ch 42 p.446
- 48 C.L. Ch 43 p.449
- 49 C.L. Ch 43 p.450
- 50 T.L. Ch 4 p.423
- 51 C.L. Ch 43 p.450
- 52 C.L. Ch 43 p.450

- 53 C.L. Ch 44 p.452
- 54 C.L. Ch 46 p.456
- 55 C.L. Ch 47 p.460
- 56 C.L. Ch 47 p.463
- 57 G. Ch 6 p.32
- 58 John iii, 4 - 5
- 59 Dante, Purgatorio, ~~xxxiii~~, 142 - 145, (H.R. Huse trans.) (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1963), p.326.
- 60 For these parables, see Luke, XV, 4 - 32
- 61 C.L. Ch 43 p.449
- 62 C.L. Ch 47 p.463
- 63 Tabula Smaragdina, II. 7 - 13
- 64 Paracelsus, Concerning the Generation of the Elements in Hermetic and Alchemical Writings of Paracelsus, (A.E. Waite trans.) (London: Elliott, 1894), vol. 1 p.229
- 65 Paracelsus, A Book about Minerals Vol. 1 p.242
- 66 T.L. Ch 50 - Ch 52
- 67 T.L. Ch 50 p.605
- 68 T.L. Ch 52 p.616
- 69 Paracelsus, Coelum Philosophorium Vol. 1 p.4
- 70 See M.A. Screech, Le Tiers Livre (Genève : Droz, 1964), p.350 n.

Chapter 2 Alchemy, Tarot and the Mysteries.

A. Alchemy

- 1 Direct references in Rabelais's Work.
- 2 A note on the availability of texts, 1500 - 1550
- 3 Physical and Spiritual Alchemy and the Itinerarium.
- 4 Panurge as the materia prima of Alchemy.
- 5 Gargantua and Pantagruel as representatives of alchemical Salt, Gold and other motives.
- 6 Is Frere Jan an alchemical symbol?
- 7 Rabelais and alchemical poetry.
- 8 Fluid Symbolism: Water, Mercury, Blood, Sweat and Tears.
- 9 Medicinal mercury in Rabelais and the Mercury of the alchemists.
- 10 How alchemy reinforces the allegories of Separation, Rebirth and Marriage.
- 11 Summary of the importance of Alchemy in Rabelais.
- 12 Illustrations.

Alchemy 1

Direct References to Alchemy in Rabelais's Work.

- G. Title - M. Alcofribas, Abstracteur de Quinte Essence.
 P.98 Ch.24 - Les Alchymistes
 P.32 Ch.34 - Car c'est aurum potabile
- P. Title - feu M. Alcofribas, Abstracteur de Quinte Essence.
 P.254 Ch.7-Le Boutavent des Alchymistes.
 P.282 Ch.12-Les alchimistes - calciner les pantoufles
 P.307 Ch.17-Car j'ay une pierre philosophale
 P.324 Ch.20-des problemes insolubles, tant de magie, alchymie,
 P.385 Ch.34-Comment Pantagruel trouva la pierre philosophale
 P.387 Conclusion Ch.34 - Feu M. Alcofribas abstracteur de quinte essence.
- T.L. P.422 - 3 Ch. 4 - Plus grande n'est la joye des Alchymistes, quand apres longs travaulx, grand soing et despense, ilz voyent les metaulx transmuez dedans leurs fourneaulx.
- Q.L. P.53 Ch. 7 - les Quintessentiaux.
 P.102 Ch.20 - Monsieur l'abstracteur, mon amy.
 P.139 Ch.34 - ne vous ay je assez exposé la transmutation des elemens et le facile symbole qui est entre roust et bouilly, entre bouilly et rousty?
 P.197 Ch.53 - Ceste auriflue energie
- C.L. P.336 Ch.16 - l'or potable vous voulez dire portable
 P.344 Ch.17 - nostre unique Elixo
 - De la Quinte, en Touraine,
 Alchimie jusques au cul -
 Alchimistes -

- de la Quinte
- P.346 Ch.17 - en la cuisine de Geber
- P.346 Ch.18 - La Quinte Essence (passim)
- P.348 Ch.19 - " " " (passim)
- P.350 Ch.19 - Abstracteurs, Spodizateurs,
- P.353 Ch.20 - Abstracteurs, etc. "
- P.357 Ch.21 - Spodizateur etc.
- P.358 Ch.21 - Autres faisoient alchimie
avec les dens
- P.359 Ch.21 - Aristophanes le Quintessential
- Abstracteurs
- P.360 Ch.21 - Par Geber, mon premier Tabachin
- P.360 Ch.22 - Spodizateurs etc.
- P.373 Ch.24 - les michelots de Geber
- P.377 Ch.26 - La Quinte
- P.379 Ch.26 - en eau mercuriale
- P.462 Ch.47 - la rarefaction de nostre eau.

2 A note on the Availability of Texts, 1500 - 1550.¹

In the first half of the sixteenth century, the circulation of alchemical texts was mostly in the form of manuscripts, of which there was a great number.² However, Hieronymous Brunschwig had produced and printed a book on distillation, of which many more editions were to appear throughout the first half of the century. A first edition of the four alchemical treatises of Arnaud de Villanova was published at Lyon on an early date in 1504. This is not the Villanovanus of whom Rabelais speaks, adding 'François'³ to distinguish him from that Arnaud well-known among the humanists, we are assured in the editions. A general textbook with a favourable attitude to alchemy, entitled Margarita Philosophica appeared in 1503.⁴ Picatrix, whom Rabelais mentions,⁵ is cited by Ludovigus Lazarellus (1450 - 1500) in his alchemical manuscript as being the author of Clavis Sapientiae, generally believed to have been work of Albertus Magnus. In this same manuscript is mentioned a treatise by Ramon Lull on investigation of the Stone.⁶ However, the Lullian Art⁷ which Rabelais abjures, is not closely connected to alchemy, and involves imagined correspondences between letters and numbers with a given structure of symbolic correlatives.⁸ A life of Lull was printed at Paris in 1514.⁹ The Chrysopeia of Johannes Aurelius Angurellus, an alchemical poem published at Venice in 1515, was of considerable interest to the reigning pope, Leo X. A second poem was dedicated to that pontiff, in 1518. However John XXII (pope 1316 - 1334) had promulgated the Bull Extravagans, Spondent Quas non Exhibent Divitias Pauperes Alchimiste against the alchemists. The

alchemical work of the Lullian corpus began to be printed in 1514, when, "together with medical works of Giamatteo Ferrari da Grado, Maimonides and Arnaud de Villanova, was printed the De Secretis Naturae or work on the Fifth Essence, of the 'Sacred Doctor' Ramon Lull." It consisted of disputations with a monk.¹⁰ An alchemical work of Albertus Magnus which was published in 1518, and four times previously in the fifteenth century, was concluded with an exhortation against alchemy by a certain Vergilius of Salzburg.¹¹ The basic alchemical treatises of Geber whom Rabelais mentions three times in C.L.¹² served as a textbook for the alchemists and philosophers of the period. Ascribed to Geber are Summa Perfectionis Magisterii, Liber Trium Verborum, and Investigatio Magisterii, then in 1473, was published Flos Naturarum. At Rome in 1525, Marcellus Silber added the Testament of Geber to his edition of the other three works. There was a Strasburg edition of Geber in 1529 and 1531, and a Venice printing in 1542. In Nuremberg in 1541 was produced by J. Petreius an edition of the Geberian alchemical treatises in combination with Speculum Alchemiae, believed to have been written by Roger Bacon, Correctorium (see Rabelais, Corracteurs C.L. Ch 16, p.338) ascribed to Richard of England, and Rosarius Minor, a commentary by Hortulanus on the Emerald Table of Hermes. In 1545 Geber reappeared in an edition at Berne.¹³

Symphorien Champier (1471 - 1537) produced a letter against alchemy,¹⁴ and the inconsistent attitude of Corneille Agrippa towards alchemy is noted.¹⁵ Champier is well treated by Thorndyke p.111 - 126, who has a poor opinion of his scholarship. Adept at finding the errors in the diverse theories of his time, he seems to have been particularly lax

at detecting his own. A printed letter against alchemy appeared in 1533.¹⁶ Agrippa appears also to have been unworthy of the name of scholar, (a sentiment with which Rabelais agrees, if Her Trippa is indeed Agrippa. His De Incertitudine et De Vanitate Scientiarum was printed in 1530 and widely read, as was De Occulta Philosophia published at Antwerp and Paris in the next year, containing the very views (owing to an accident of printer's timing) specifically recanted in the previous work.¹⁷

Coelum Philosophorum, by Philip Ulstad, was first printed at Fribourg in Switzerland in 1525, and at Strasburg in 1526. It concerns the extraction of the Quintessence, and was taken from the work of Lull, Villanova and Albertus Magnus. Potable gold¹⁸ also receives attention.¹⁹ A Paris edition in French appeared in 1546 and 1550. A work by Rupescissa on the Quintessence was printed at Lyon in 1549. A lullified edition, under the name of Lull, had appeared as early as 1514. Johannes Petrus Arlunus in a volume of medical works of 1532 makes favourable mention of potable gold and the quintessence as remedies, betraying the influence of the Coelum Philosophorum.²⁰

It is perhaps more difficult to ascertain which classical alchemical manuscripts were available to the student of the early sixteenth century. Marcellin Berthelot²¹ explains how the traditions and names of Greek alchemy were not to be found in the Latin alchemists of the Middle Ages, who received their alchemical knowledge from the Arabs. By the fifteenth century, however, manuscripts in the original Greek began to circulate in Western Europe on this as on so many other subjects. In Rabelais's time therefore it may be deduced that many more names could be connected with alchemy than those few known to the Middle Ages,²² which included:

"Hermes, Cléopâtre reine d'Égypte, Anaxagore, Zamolxis, Michel Psellus, Marie l'Hébreuse, Démocrite le Grec, Pythagore, Platon, Hercule (c'est-à-dire Héraclius) roi sage et philosophe, Stephanus le philosophe chimique, Albert le Grand, une multitude d'Arabes etc." Certainly, by 1561, a work on the truth and antiquity of the chemical art,²³ Robertus Vallensis De Veritate et Antiquitate Artis Chemicæ et Pulveris sive Medicinæ Philosophorum sive Auri Potabilis Materia et Compositione (first edition Paris, F. Morel, 1561), is nearer to Rabelais's time and provides the following extensive list, illustrating the enormous growth of knowledge in this field, as in so many others: (firstly, the Latin writers,) "Ioannitius, Rosinus, Ephistus, Florus, Almazatus, ad/archiep. Saragotiae, Bernadus Comes Trevirus qui Turbam Philosophorum a se collectam et aliam ab illa quae passim circumfertur et quam saepe citat scripsit, Ray Lulli, Ioan: a Rupescissa, Pontius, Hortulanus, Clemens de secretis natural, Gilbertus cardinalis, B. Aegidius eremita cui adscribitur canticum regium carmine Gallice scriptum in honorem conceptionis beatae Mariae, Magister Hospitalis, Andoicus Episcopus, Petrus et Durandus monachi, Valerandus de Bosco, Theodorus, Petrus a Villa Nova, frater Arnaldi, Summa Textualis de Sacro Bosco, B. Thomas de Essentiis Essentiarum et eiusdem breviloquium, Stephanus cuius est liber De Magna et Sacra Scientia, IO. Dastinus Anglus, Holcot, Scotus, G. Parisiensis, Bernardus de Gravia, Dumbeleius, Aloisius Marlianus, Regor, Richardus Anglicus peri chemeias cui titulum fecit Correctorium, et Ianus Lacinius a nonnullis visi ... sunt et alii quamplurimi libri auctoribus incertis. Multi etiam gallice adfabrescripti ... "

Of the Arabs, Valles¹⁰ notes:

"Arabice enim scripserunt Geber ille Abenhaen vel Ebenhaen, Habebacar, Markos, Ydrid, Yesid Constantinopolitanus, Albumazar, Avicenna vel Abuhali id est pater Hali, Rhazes, Hali, Morienus, Alphidius, Maria, Calid Babylonius de secretis secretorum, Adros, Chora, Carab, Seneca ad Adros regem Arabiae et Sedacerius."

The list of Greek alchemists which follows contains several obviously apocryphal names: "Grece vero desiderantur Olympiodorus Alexandrinus, Osthane, Pelaguis Aphricanus, Zozimus, Isaac monachus, Blemidas, Theophilus, Synesius, Ptolymaeus, Euclides, Apuleius, Heliodorus ad Theodosium, Dardanus, Demetrius, Democritus, Arist. de mineralibus libr.3, Theophrastus, Albugazel praeceptor Platonis in hac arte, Plato iunior in cuius Aphorismos seu scholia commentarium scripsit Hameth sive Hamech, et Seneca."

These lists are not exhaustive, and Rabelais could also have been influenced by word of mouth, or by manuscripts in other languages than those listed.

3 Physical and Spiritual Alchemy and the Itinerarium

The references to alchemy from the earliest book show that Rabelais was, from the first, aware of the art. While all possible symbols relating to alchemy throughout all five books will be noted, it is not claimed that alchemy was a developed theme in the earliest two. However, it does exist, and account must be taken of it.

Most of the figures and processes of physical alchemy are discernible in Rabelais's work, as will be shown. However, Rabelais was not interested in making gold, as may be deduced from his contemptuous early references to alchemy of this type, (see listed mentions in G. and P.). But the processes of physical alchemy have an obvious allegorical interpretation, especially for Christians. Like the Tarot, alchemy is very much on two levels; the first vulgar and the second mystical. The materia prima is said to have an imperfect body, a constant soul and a penetrating tincture. It bears within itself the potential to become Gold, though outwardly it is common and leaden. Post-Adamic man is similarly placed, being by nature imperfect, but possessed not only of a soul (a receptacle for sanctifying grace) but also of infinite possibilities of perfection. It is within man's power, with God's help, to make himself perfect in nature; that is, to become Gold.

If Rabelais has Panurge undergo the same treatment as the 'souffleur' (physical alchemist) subjects his base matter to, then it is because Panurge is to be seen, (as man-after-the-Fall), as a fit subject for transmutation. Panurge is to be separated and recombined in proper proportions; that is, his imperfect Will is to be 'justified' or to achieve its rightful harmony. Hostile elements of his psyche, such as philautia, must be refined out.

The physical process is as follows. As a preliminary to the work, the subject must be 'tormented' (purified,) by fire, and by violence. It must then be treated with an unnamed Salt, and afterwards irrigated heavily, (drowned). The

resulting material is now ready to be enclosed in the vessel, and sealed hermetically. Various heatings and coolings follow, causing evaporation of the moist from the dry, and then violent (and dangerous) recombination. This treatment causes the two parts of the materia prima to reunite, after what is depicted as a great and bloody battle, to form something at once purer and more noble. They in fact 'kill' each other, and there is a vile stink of putrefaction. (No generation without corruption). A long process of decay follows, called Nigredo or the Raven. This is signalled by a great blackness, which shows the alchemist he is on the right path. This stage ends with the production of an airy spirit, (volatile mercury) and a proliferation of colours called 'the Peacock's Tail.' The mercury then settles back upon the dead earth within the vessel, and a second stage concludes with an appearance of whiteness, Albedo, or Rosa Alba.

From this whiteness there appears the so-called Red King, (the Sulphur of the Wise). The third and last work involves the reunion (called the Marriage) of this Sulphur with True Mercury. From their marriage is born the Philosopher's Stone.

In theological terms, the moment of projection is analogous to the moment of mystical ecstasis, or the simultaneous emptying of the human spirit and inflow of the Divine. The leaden, imperfect soul has been cleansed of its impurities (sin) by separation and recombination. Theologically, this may be achieved by meditation on experience and by contemplation. Baptism signifies the inundation and rebirth which must occur before the moment of ecstasis. Projection signifies the recombination of all contraries, moist and dry, hot and cold.

It is therefore likened to marriage, to the proper reconciliation of man to his soul, and of his soul to God.

4 Panurge as the Materia Prima of Alchemy

Since the aim of alchemy at the spiritual level was always identical to the aim of the Itinerarium, the alchemical importance of the characters and their actions may be related to their rank in the pursuit of the mysterium coniunctis. From before the third century, the dialectic of extremes and the reconciliation of opposites were seen as the Work of alchemy. One may cite Zosime to show that the perfection of man is the focus of spiritual alchemy. Man is the arcane substance par excellence. The echoes of Rabelais are not fortuitous. "Après avoir eu cette apparition, je m'éveillai de nouveau. Je lui dis : Quelle est la cause de cette vision? N'est-ce donc pas là l'eau blanche et jaune bouillonnante, l'eau divine? Et j'ai trouvé que j'avais bien compris. Je dis qu'il est beau de parler, et beau d'écouter, beau de donner et beau de recevoir, beau d'être pauvre et beau d'être riche. Or, comment la nature apprend-elle à donner et à recevoir? L'homme de cuivre donne et la pierre liquéfiée reçoit; le minéral donne et la plante reçoit; les astres donnent et les fleurs reçoivent, le ciel donne et la terre reçoit; les coups de foudre donnent le feu qui s'élance. Dans l'autel en forme de coupe toutes choses s'entrelacent, et toutes se dissocient, toutes choses s'unissent; toutes se combinent; toutes choses se mêlent, et toutes se séparent; toutes choses sont mouillées, et toutes sont asséchées; toutes choses fleurissent et toutes se déflorent. En effet, pour chacune c'est par la méthode, par la mesure, par la pesée

exacte des quatre elements que se fait l'entrelacement et la dissociation de toutes choses; aucune liaison ne se produit sans méthode. Il y a une méthode naturelle, pour souffler et pour aspirer, pour conserver les classes stationnaires, pour les augmenter et pour les diminuer. Lorsque toutes choses, en un mot, concordent par la division et par l'union, sans que la méthode soit négligée en rien, la nature est transformée, car la nature, étant retournée sur elle-même, se transforme: il s'agit de la nature et du lien de la vertu dans l'univers entier."²⁴

It is proposed that Panurge is the imperfect nature who must learn to give and to receive, and to resolve all the other contraries of existence. His transformation is also to come about in the presence of 'eau divine,' in C.L. after long preparation. Theologically, the liquid Philosophers' Stone (pierre liquéfiée) which he ingests is synonymous with the redemptive blood of Christ. But human perfection is not apotheosis, it is the reconciliation of the twin aspects of human nature, spirit and soul, male and female. At the Dive Bouteille Panurge changes only in terms of a re-ordering of his formerly confused elements. He does not change in species, but remains Panurge. He is reborn, not newly created.

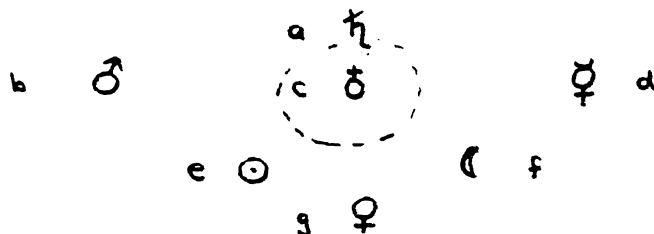
To approximate the materia prima Panurge must be shown to pass through as many of the alchemical stages²⁵ as possible.

A journey using the compass is required. One may compare Rabelais's "le pilot principal, nommé Jamet Brayer, avoit designé la route et dressé la calamite de toutes les boussoles"²⁶ and "ains suyvre au plus près la parallele de ladicte Indie, et gyrrer autour d'icelluy pole par Occident, de

manière que, tournoyans soubs Septentrion, l'eussent en pareille elevation comme il est au port de Olone, sans plus en approcher, de paour d'entrer et estre retenuz en la mer Glaciale " (ibid) with the route of the alchemist Johann Valentin Andreae:²⁷

"By us doth the Bridegroom offer thee a choice between four ways, all of which if thou dost not sink down in the way, can bring thee to his royal court. The first is short but dangerous, and one which will lead thee into rocky places, through which it will be scarcely possible to pass. The second is longer, and takes thee circuitously; it is plain and easy, if, by the help of the Magnet, thou turnest neither to left nor right." Ways three and four are the Royal Way, and the consuming Way, for Kings and Incorruptible Bodies. Panurge must take the circuitous route using the magnet, after the first route, via the answers of those consulted in Le Tiers Livre, has proven too rocky. Andreae says "Now although many apparent byways shewed themselves, yet I still proceeded with my compass, and would not budge one step from the Meridian Line; howbeit the way was oftentimes so rugged and impassable, that I was in no little doubt of it."²⁸ It is interesting at this point to note that Pantagruel's twelve ships²⁹ with the Thalamege "ayant en poupe pour enseigne une grande et ample bouteille"³⁰ and the order they assume for battle with the Physeter³¹ "A cestuy son, toutes les naufz, guallions, ramberges, liburnicques, (scelon qu'estoit leur discipline navale) se mirent en ordre et figure telle qu'est le Y gregeois, letre de Pythagoras; telle que voyez observée par les grues en leur vol; telle qu'est en un angle acut; on cone et base de laquelle estoit ladicte thalamege en equippage de vertueusement combattre," are also reflected in Chymical Wedding:³² "Our ships

had each of them a peculiar device. Five of them indeed had the five regular bodies, each a several one, but mine in which the Virgin too sate, carried a globe. Thus we sailed on in a singular order," (Given: the philosopher sits in c)



Pantagrue's fleet is drawn up into a symbolic formation to meet the phsyeter, again with the philosopher in the central position.



Although Rabelais's timing is confused (he leaves port in June³³ for a four month journey to the oracle), to be alchemically correct he must fulfil the alchemical level before Easter, under the sign of Aries. Four months from June would of course take Panurge only to October, hardly Easter. But the alchemists are adamant. The Chymical Wedding begins "On an evening before Easter-day."³⁴ At least one may be sure that the episode of the Fountain³⁵ takes place around Easter. Rabelais knew his breviary; "matiere de breviaire." One may accept that he also knew his missal. The benedictio fontis, performed on Easter Eve,³⁶ of which the Praefatio states: "May the power of the Holy Ghost descend into this brimming font, and may it make the whole substance of the water fruitful in regenerative power"³⁷ recalls the Fountain. Aries may also be supplied earlier by the ram-dealer,³⁸ Dindenault. (But see Astrology, below.)

The materia prima is mostly dross. It must give evidence both of imperfection and of perfectibility. The elements of the materia are confused and in need of refinement. Where the searcher is himself the subject of the work, he is portrayed as middle-aged, grey-haired. Panurge is thirty-five³⁹ when introduced, as is Dante at the beginning of his Itinerarium ("Midway through this mortal life / I found me in a gloomy mood, astray,"⁴⁰), and he is 'fin a dorer comme une dague de plomb'.⁴¹ His dress is grey (at the beginning of the quest), the colour of lead, "print quatre aulnes de bureau"⁴² and "Près de Panurge vestu de sa toge bure, le poil luy devenoit gris "⁴³ (the Tarand changes colour to suit his background). Frere Jean points out his beard is greying.⁴⁴ It is immediately apparent to Pantagruel that although Panurge is in a poor condition he has a potential for better things. The elements of the materia are confused. All metals can become gold, just as all men can become Adam-before-the-Fall. Panurge is described as "un homme beau de stature et elegant en tous lineamens du corps mais pitoyablement navré en divers lieux, et tant mal en ordre qu'il sembloit estre eschappé es chiens," etc.⁴⁵ Pantagruel says: "Voyez vous cest homme, qui vient par le chemin du pont Charenton? Par ma foy, il n'est pauvre que par fortune, car je vous asseure que, a sa physionomie, Nature l'a produit de riche et noble lignée, mais les adventures des gens curieulx le ont reduict en telle penurie et indigence."⁴⁶ Not only is Panurge confused in body, but in will, as he soon shows. His desires are carnal, immature. He misuses reason, in his praise of debtors, to cover his own shortcomings,⁴⁷ He is uncertain of

his will. Should he marry or not?

Panurge undergoes torment. He is a Marsyas, tortured by the Turk.⁴⁹ Like the materia prima he is subjected to fire and to physical force, as a preliminary stage of the work. Panurge realises that roasting has set him aside from others (see the last book⁵⁰ where, speaking to Frere Jean, Panurge says: "Quand tu auras autant rosty comme j'ay^{et esté comme j'ay} esté, rosty, tu parleras autrement latin.") Panurge has his bacon removed by a beggar and a spit removed from his body.⁵¹ The Sibyl's prophesies flaying for Panurge⁵² "T'escorchera, / mais non tout," which he interprets comically. But flaying expresses a serious aspect of alchemy and of mythology.⁵³ In Ovid, Metamorphoses,⁵⁴ the flaying of Marsyas makes him cry out to Apollo, his torturer: "Quid me mihi detrahis?" The cruelty inflicted on Marsyas the satyr by Apollo the victor in the singing contest expresses the extreme disproportion by which the god attacks the human frame which is agonised as it submits to divine frenzy. At this stage, Panurge's presumption is too great. In Symposium Socrates himself was called a Marsyas (in a drunken speech by Alcibiades) and this dubious appellation followed quickly on the description of him as a Silenus figure. Silenus and Marsyas are otherwise linked, see Erasmus, Adages s.v. Sileni Alcibiades "Haec nimirum est natura rerum vere honestarum: quod habent contemplissimum, id prima specie prae se gerunt, ac thesaurum ceu vili cortice dissimulant, nec prophanis ostendunt oculis." Erasmus infers that not only Socrates, Diogenes and

Epictetus, but also Christ and the Apostles, the Holy Scripture and the Sacraments reveal a Silenus nature. Like Silenus, Marsyas (mentioned C.L.⁵⁵ in a direct borrowing from Le Songe de Poliphile) was a follower of Bacchus. His flute aroused the dark passions, in conflict with the purity of Apollo's lyre;⁵⁶ Marsyas, like Panurge at this early stage (P.) reflects the conflict of Dionysian darkness with Apollonian clarity. This contest ends with the flaying of Marsyas. Flaying was a Dionysian rite - an ordeal of purification by which the ugliness of outward man (also Silenus) was thrown off, and the inward self was revealed. That Socrates, who was a disciple of Apollo and who had adopted from an inscription on Apollo's temple at Delphi his own maxim (Know Thyself), should be figuratively described as a Silenus and a Marsyas meant his ruthless pursuit of bewildering questions was but the disguise of an inward clarity. The two-fold nature of man was therefore illustrated. Terrestrial Marsyas had to be mutilated to free heavenly Apollo, just as the materia prima must be torn apart to release the pure element. The flaying of Marsyas was a rebirth into fulfilment. Dante said⁵⁷ in a prayer to Apollo:

"Entra nel petto mio, e spira tue
Si come quando Marsia Traesti
Della vagina delle membra sue."

(Enter my breast, and so infuse me with your spirit
As you did Marsyas, when you tore him
From the cover of his limbs.) (own translation).

To obtain the laurel of Apollo, the poet must pass through the agony of Marsyas. To be purified of its attle, the materia must be dissociated into its parts. Panurge must be subjected to brute force.⁵⁸ Jung discusses flaying as a transformation symbol (a parallel of the flayed and hanged Marsyas in the dying and resurgent Attis) in Transformation Symbolism in the Mass (q.v.)

Panurge is mainly however subjected to the power of fire⁵⁹ just as is the materia prima. He is slowly cooked, but without perishing. At this stage the heat must be forceful, but must be applied gently.

The materia prima is subjected to the action of an unnamed Salt. This salt is Pantagruel, whose nature is salt. The salt is seen as a companion or catalyst. (See below, the alchemical aspect of Pantagruel and Gargantua.) This saltiness of Pantagruel has an immediate effect on Panurge;⁶⁰ "Ce vin est fort bon et bien deliceux, mais plus j'en boy, plus j'ai de soif. Je croy que l'ombre de Monseigneur Pantagruel engendre les alterez, comme la lune faict les catharres." His thirst becomes unquenchable. Seen alchemically, the salt prepares the materia prima (a dry compound after the treatment by fire) for its union with the philosophical mercury (moist).

Inundation occurs at an early stage, and also much later when the dry red sulphur is subjected to the action of moist Quicksilver in the recombination. (see Panurge's washing by Bacbuc.⁶¹). Panurge is drenched from head to foot in the storm episode:⁶² "je naye, je naye, mon amy, je naye." "L'eau est entrée en mes souliers par le collet."

This inundation of Panurge is of interest, both theologically and alchemically. "Hast thou entered into the springs of the sea? Or hast thou walked in the search of the depth? Have the gates of death been opened unto thee? Or hast thou seen the doors of the shadow of death?" (Job 38 16 - 17); this text was taken literally by alchemists. It was considered necessary to drown the materia prima as a preliminary to the discovery of the Stone. (See below, Fluid Symbolism : Water).

The Materia Prima must be sealed in a vessel, which is often depicted as swimming in water (for even, slow heating, perhaps). Panurge, it is suggested, prefigures the Dive Bouteille immersed in fluid⁶³ in "une fontaine ... pleine d'eau tant clere que pourroit estre un element en sa simplicité, dedans laquelle estoit à demy posée la sacrée Bouteille, ... " by taking passage aboard ship, the truest possible 'vessel'. The Thalamege⁶⁴ being flagship "la grande et maistresse nauf de Pantagruel" is a 'gallion', the largest of the ships mentioned; (triremes, ramberges, gallions et Liburnicques). These ships were famous as vessels of the Spanish gold-fleet. The alchemical nature of the ship and the voyage is hinted at by its device, "ayant en poupe pour enseigne une grande et ample bouteille, à moytié d'argent bien liz et polly, l'autre moytié estoit d'or esmaillé de couleur incarnat. En quoy facile estoit juger que blanc et claiet estoient les couleurs des nobles voyageurs," Red and white are the colours of wine. But deep-red and silvery-white are the colours of alchemy, the Red Sulphur and Mercury of the Chemical Wedding. That the

... is half one and half the other again symbolises the union of these two opposites, the red and white, the dry and moist.

There must take place a bloody battle within the vessel. This is the first interaction of the two principles within the materia prima. The solar, hot, male sulphur struggles with the lunar, cold mercury. This is seen as a battle between king and queen, lion and serpent, dog and bitch. Stanislas Klossowski de Rola⁶⁵ cites Nicholas Flamel (1330 - 1418)⁶⁶ "These two then, (which Avicen calleth the Corascene bitch and the Armenian dogge) being put together in the vessel of the sepulchre, doe bite one another cruelly, and by their great poison, and furious rage, they never leave one another, from the moment that they have seized on one another, (if the cold hinder them not) till both of them by their slavering venom and mortal hurts, be all of gourebloud, over all the parts of their bodies." This first fusing of the opposites in painful, incomplete union is seen variously as a deathly combat of king and queen, as a king being eaten alive by a wolf, or by the struggle of a winged dragon (the volatile) with a wingless one (the fixed.) This stage of mortification (differing from the stage of torment by fire and flaying, because it is now a question of union, even if incomplete, and not separation) ends in symbolic death of all parties, and the stench of putrefaction. The closest Panurge comes to this great battle may be the comic episode⁶⁷ with the 'grand chat Rodilardus'. The defeat of the Physeter by Pantagruel is alchemically important in a different way. The physeter embodies earthly

evil, gross and dangerous. As such it is an impurity to be destroyed and belongs to the period of torment and purification. The fierce battle of recombination however does not have a villain. The two polarities to be combined should achieve harmony, after the battle, when correct order is established.

"Que voulez vous faire de ce chat?

- De ce chat? respondit Panurge; je me donne au Diable si je ne pensoys que feust un Diableteau à poil follet, lequel nagueres j'avois cappiettement happé en tapinois, à belles mouffles d'un bas de chausses, dedans la grande husche d'Enfer. Au Diable soyt le Diable! Il m'a icy deschicqueté la peau en barbe d'escrivisse." The cat is not really to be feared, but the battle has left Panurge both scarred and shitten. Rodilardus is an aspect of Panurge's nature to which he must be reconciled.

Putrefaction and a foul stench arises from the materia prima after the stage of preliminary recombination, the battle. "Frere Jan estouppant son nez avecques la main guauche, avecques le doigt indice de la dextre monstroist à Pantagruel la chemise de Panurge." "Frere Jan à l'approcher sentoit je ne scay quel odeur aultre que de la pouldre à canon."⁶⁹ But Panurge has other ideas⁷⁰ "Appelez vous cecy foyre, bren, crottes, merde, fiant, dejection, matiere fecale, excrement, repaire, laisse, esmeut, fumée, estron, scybale ou spyrathe? C'est, croy je, sapphran d'Hibernie, Ho, ho, hie! C'est sapphran d'Hibernie. Sela! Beuvons." He is courageous 'par la vertus Dieu'. La Vertu

is alchemically synonymous with the transforming power of the pierre philosophale.⁷¹ Saffron, as symbol of Gold, (and therefore Apollo and Christ) is mentioned by Panurge not only because Rabelais was conscious of the harmony of extremes (tension of opposites), but because the appearance of putrefaction shows Panurge he is on the right path at the alchemical level. Putrefaction and stinking indicate that he is nearer to philosophical gold. (Sapphran d'Ibernie?)

The materia prima now passes through a great darkness, called 'blacker than black' - the Nigredo. This stage coincides with putrefaction. This darkness is dissipated by the power of a miraculous washing.⁷² "The divine water possessed the power of transformation... it transformed the nigredo into the albedo." Between darkness and whiteness occurs the so-called 'Peacock's Tail' of many colours.⁷³ Panurge descends the tetradic steps⁷⁴ into pitch blackness, with only the Lanterne to guide him.

"Car en ceste descente ne nous apparoissoit autre lumiere non plus que si nous fussions au trou de saint Patrice en Hybernie, ou en la fosse de Trophonius en Boëtie." (The 'fosse de Trophonius' was the seat of an oracle.) This darkness is infernal and terrifying. Panurge signals many of the alchemical stages by giving way to his fear, as here in the darkness, during the storm at sea, and in the battle with the ship's cat.

At the base of the steps, and through the Temple doors, a burst of colour meets the eye from the mosaics.⁷⁵ "Car il estoit à ouvrage tesseracté, en forme de petits carreaux, tous de pierres fines et

polies, chascune en sa couleur naturelle: l'une de jaspe rouge, ... de jaspe verde, avec certaines veines rouges et jaunes ... " The Peacock's Tail is not mentioned by all alchemists, and is therefore not crucial. Albedo on the other hand, is most important, signalling as it does the purification of the materia prima in preparation for 'projection'. Bacbuc 'whitens' Panurge with a handful of flour and a white nun's hood.

"Puis le vestit d'une galleverdine, l'encapitonna d'un beau et blanc beguin, enfin luy jetta au visage une poignée de farine, ... " ⁷⁶

This is clearly a purification ceremony. Panurge is muffled in a wine-strainer (for removing impurities) and is washed three times in the fountain.

The Union of the materia prima with Divine Water then occurs. This and the consequent projection are the aims of the alchemical work. 'Sulphur' unites with 'Mercury' to form the Stone. Just as in Baptism is found spiritual rebirth, so too the alchemical materia prima is finally slaked, after purification, with its own purified, distilled volatile spirit. To the red and dry is again added the white and moist; (the union of red and white roses). The stage of albedo signals the approaching end of the work. But the materia prima in albedo is white only on the surface. It is red underneath. The true white is that of mercurial water, and this is penetrating, the so-called agua permanens. Flour thrown onto the face very well suggests albedo being skin-deep. The true mingling of the contraries, white and red, luna and sol, awaits the ingestion of the one by the other. Panurge must drink the mercurial water.

Just as Mercury was considered the cure for syphilis (an 'imperfection') so will Mercury cure the imperfect philosophical sulphur; make it whole, turn it to Gold. The process which began with a leaden, gross substance, by careful separation and re-combination of its parts, finally achieves gold. Panurge, the grey-coloured and confused man, reaches his fulfilment by the same path as the materia prima. (see below, The Fountain, and the Bottle.)

5 Gargantua and Pantagruel as Representatives of Alchemical Motives

Does Pantagruel have the characteristics of

- A) A Philosopher (alchemist), and
- B) A Catalyst (Salt)?

Does Gargantua share this symbolism?

It is proposed that although Rabelais did not intend to use an alchemical level as parallel to the Itinerarium from the beginning the giants are easily fitted to the alchemical theme by their nature from Pantagruel onwards. This is not merely in their Salt capacity, but in myriad small ways. Kingship is an important alchemical motive, and so is the Father/Son pair. Most importantly, the two giants serve a catalytic purpose. Without Salt the earth (materia prima) loses its value. They are the 'salt of the earth', standing for the principles of fixity and completion. Panurge without Pantagruel is the primal material without a Philosopher to take it through the stages to perfection. Pantagruel in particular is the alter ego of Panurge, as well as the companion; he is all that Panurge is not. The philosopher of The Chymical Wedding⁷⁷ is pointed out among many: "That is He". So is Pantagruel, after confounding the lawyers and

theologians, distinguished in this way;⁷⁸ "Dont tout le monde commença à bruyre et parler de son sçavoir si merueilleux, jusques es bonnes femmes, lavandières, courratières, roustissières, ganyvetières et aultres, lesquelles, quand il passoit par les rues, disoient "C'est luy!" The likeness to Christ's confounding of the elders at the Temple of Jerusalem is not lost by this interpretation. Christ is also the philosopher, the perpetual companion who is necessary for transformation of the sinner.

From the very beginning Rabelais indicates that Gargantua and Pantagruel have an alchemical value. The Ludus Puerorum⁷⁹ motive is a principal hermetic emblem. To the wise, the great work was conceived of as 'child's play.' The chevaux factices of Gargantua⁸⁰ contain the germ of much more than the mere joke played on the visitors to his father's house. They are a potent clue to Gargantua's alchemical value. The hobby-horse is a common representation of the Ludus Puerorum motive.⁸¹ The Lallemont Mansion at Bourges contains on the chapel ceiling many figures understood by alchemists, among them a chubby infant riding a hobby-horse; (see also p.⁸² "comme sont les petitz enfans sur les chevaulx de boys"). Another Ludus Puerorum motive is the urinating boy, sometimes adding the alchemical sabot by having the infant urinate into a shoe,⁸³ which Rabelais mentions also in an inventory of Gargantua's infantile horrors. "Il pissoit sus ses souliers"⁸⁴. The "jeux de Gargantua"⁸⁵ receive an inflated amount of attention from Rabelais, even as part of Gargantua's education. Also at Bourges is the house of master alchemist and goldsmith, Jacques Coeur.⁸⁶ Jacques Coeur's fame

had certainly reached Rabelais, (see the letter to d'Estissac⁸⁷ : "Sy j'avoys autant d'escuz... je seroys plus riche que Jacques Coeur ne feut onques," and also in G. "Ainsi se feist Jacques Coeur riche."⁸⁸

Pantagruel also betrays a larding of alchemical symbols early in childhood in his turn. For an explanation of the episode in which he bears his cradle to the banquet and smashes it to splinters⁸⁹ it is important to recall the alchemical significance of the cradle. It resembles the philosophical egg, in which lies the perfected Gold. It is connected with the substantifique mouelle. It is the vessel of the gold to the souffleur, and to the initiated philosopher it is forma within materia, the Soul within Body. By splintering his cradle, Pantagruel achieves in infancy the goal of Panurge in middle-life; that is, emancipation from the dross of nature, and thereby the freedom of the spirit. So a cradle was worn over the head of the initiate at the Eleusinian Mysteries.⁹⁰ Pantagruel's action prefigures typologically the destruction of the physeter, which again is a symbol of the impure primordial matter. It is interesting that Rabelais chooses to describe the cradle on Pantagruel's back as "une grande carracque"⁹¹ since the dead physeter, that other symbol of gross matter, is described in its ruin as 'un guallion.' But the Thalamege,⁹² bearing the materia prima is also, a guallion. Pantagruel is also likened to "une tortue qui monte contre une muraille"⁹³ which is reminiscent of the tortoise-shell purse which Panurge offers Triboulet,⁹⁴ "une petite gibbessiere faicte

d'une coque de tortue." This dead tortoise-shell has once contained life. It may be important that it is given to Tribouillet empty of gold. A purse made of tortoise-shell is the kind of double symbol of the kind of which Rabelais was very fond. The Christian symbolism of the bearing of a great wooden structure on the back (Christ's cross) is not lost, for, as always, Rabelais's alchemical thought moves within the context of a completely Christian allegory. The defeat of the evil physeter by Pantagruel and the defeat of the power of the world by Christ at the Crucifixion are one and the same action on different levels. Pantagruel as alchemist is a species of lesser Redeemer, as will be evident in his forgiveness of Panurge's debts.⁹⁵

As the father and King of alchemy, (since the imagery of physical alchemy may be used to express philosophical truth) Gargantua devours the pilgrims.⁹⁶ So too are the pilgrims swallowed in a great body in C.L. This common emblem of the alchemists⁹⁷ expresses the power of Gold which can consume the lesser metals, as the Stone transforms base metals into Gold.⁹⁸ The giants give gold freely. As Salt, they represent everything fixed and dry, but as Kings they represent the goal of the work, which is philosophical Gold.

When Pantagruel falls asleep⁹⁹ "tenent un Heliodore Grec en main"¹⁰⁰ he recalls the alchemists' emblem of the Sleeping Philosopher, of which there

are many illustrations.¹⁰¹ That Pantagruel is musing on the ideas of alchemy is suggested by his choice of author, that Heliodorus of whom Marcellin Berthelot says¹⁰² "Le plus ancien poète alchimiste grec paraît être Héliodore," mentioning his alchemical poems. Pantagruel is to be questioned on awakening by his fellows. An illustration of the sleeping King about to be wakened and to be challenged with insolubilia is contained in Bessy, Magic and the Supernatural.¹⁰³ Paris is seen, being watched over by Hermes and the Graces who will on his awakening reveal his true personality to him. He must choose from among them; an impossible choice. Pantagruel is also subjected to questions he cannot answer.¹⁰⁴ Afterwards, Pantagruel orders a shot fired in honour of the Muses.¹⁰⁵

The translation of Gargantua to Utopia by Morgan,¹⁰⁶ and his subsequent re-appearance with a dog, wryly named Kyne¹⁰⁷ echoes the alchemical death of the Father, who also returns to life (after being licked by a wolf or dog which symbolises primordial matter; see also Tarot trump XVIII Luna where wolf and dog share this symbolism). Gargantua has not truly suffered death, and he is accompanied by a dog. Bessy¹⁰⁸ illuminates the proceedings: "In the Christian tradition, the son submits humbly to the father, (and to the mother, symbolised by the cross), but during the initiation rites of the alchemists the father or king must be put to death. The wolf (primordial matter) licks the dead king, who will then come to life again." Rabelais, at all times subordinating alchemical imagery to Christian truth, amalgamates the two. Gargantua

dies, but only in a figurative way; he is translated to fairyland. His rebirth is a release from enchantment, not death. Moreover, Gargantua's disappearance is not of Pantagruel's choosing, and in true Christian fashion he submits to his father's will as to whom he shall marry, as Christ submitted to His Father and to the Cross.¹⁰⁹ Apart then from their twin natures of Gold and Salt, Pantagruel may be seen as the type of the Philosopher and Gargantua as the Father of alchemy.

The Saltiness of Gargantua and Pantagruel may be alchemically interpreted. Salt is of course the arcane substance par excellence. The giants are salty by nature, but they seem benevolent. The saltiness of the sea is bitter and corrupt. In Isis and Osiris¹¹⁰ Plutarch says that the Egyptians regarded the sea as impure and untrustworthy. The sea was the domain of Typhon, its salt the spume of Typhon. Augustine agreed in his Expositions of the Book of Psalms¹¹¹ "Mare saeculum est." The sea is the corrupt matrix from which life sprang, the domain of devils. Hence the need for the purification process of Baptism. Rabelais recounts the classical doubts about the sea¹¹² expressed by Portius Cato. But the pure salt of Gargantua and Pantagruel is altogether different, for "Sal terrae est anima" states the alchemical Gloria Mundi. Salt is both the transformer of nature and the transformed; it is itself, and it is philosophical gold. In alchemical jargon, it is 'the Nature which conquers Nature.' So Christ is transformer and transformed, so Bridoye is both judge and judged, so Panurge swallows and is engulfed, seeks and is sought. ("Ye are the salt of the earth" Matthew 5, 13;) that is, the divine element.

Jung calls it "sal sapientiae"¹¹⁴ "Not without good cause salt has been adorned by the wise with the name of wisdom."

Salt is connected with the number 78. Jung further reports "The 'computatio' of the Hebrew word for salt (melach) gives the number 78. This number could be divided by any divisor and still give a word which referred to the Divine Name. Therefore salt was used for the service of God in all offerings and sacrifices"¹¹⁶ (but, see Numerology, below). The Tarot cards number 78. In Rabelais this salt number, 78, is most often connected with gift offerings, divine localities and saltiness, and occurs most in Q.L.

Q.L. Prologue p.19; 78 barrels of nectar drunk in Heaven.

Q.L. Ch 2 p.37; 78 tapestries as gift to Gargantua from Pantagruel.

Q.L. Ch 7 p.53; 78 illnesses miraculously cured.

Q.L. Ch18 p.93; 78 dozen hams gifted to monks.

Q.L. Ch 26 p.117; 78,000 parasangs area of Isle of Heroes and Daemons.

Q.L. Ch 36 p.146; 78 ensigns of Andouilles.

Q.L. Ch 64 p.235; 78,000 coins in alms.

C.L. Ch 35 p.423; 78 steps down to the Temple.

F. Sherwood Taylor¹¹⁷ describes salt as "the dry saline body preserving mixtures from putrefaction, having wonderful powers of dissolving, coagulating, cleansing, evacuating, conferring solidity, consistency, taste and the like. It resembled earth, not as being cold and dry, but as being firm and fixed." Pantagruel and Gargantua are possessed of this nature carried over into its metaphorical sense. As purified human nature, they are characterised by their saltiness. Burckhardt

says¹¹⁸ "Salt is not merely the body in its outward form, its visible form; it is its psychic form. Purified bodily consciousness plays the role of a fixative, or support, for a higher state of the spirit ... that the body, freed of the fevers of passion, can serve as a support for such a contemplative state rests on its relatively static character, which stands out like a solid pillar in the constantly flowing current of psychic appearances, ." This is the very essence of Pantagruelism. Also,¹¹⁹ "In a sense, the body is the most clearly circumscribed, outward and simple of all reflections of the cosmos. The lowest corresponds to the highest, says the law enunciated in the Emerald Table" (q.v.) As above, so below. The giants' salty nature reflects the divine in the lower world. The interior journey of the pilgrims inside Gargantua, and the episode where the author enters the mouth of Pantagruel, not to mention the men he (Pantagruel) swallows as pills to cure his discomfort¹²⁰ are voyages within Body. These journeys prefigure the last great descent into Body which is enacted in C.L. The Temple, like the Temples of Apollo, is a giant body, reflecting the divine in the lower world in the best way possible.

Some further alchemical symbolism pertaining to Gargantua and Pantagruel includes the Androgyne, the Seal of Solomon and the Tau sign. Gargantua's emblem, the humorous pseudo-Androgyne,¹²¹ has, as G.M. Masters¹²² has pointed out, a serious meaning, for it symbolises the completeness of man, the harmonious re-integration of opposites, and can be traced as a theme throughout the works of Rabelais. The alchemical androgyne, representing

the physical union of philosophical Sulphur and Quicksilver,¹²³ is a clearer symbol of total fusion and immersion in the opposite than the cabalistic concept of man and the Shekhina. As a giant, Gargantua is privileged to wear as his emblem the form which symbolises the penultimate goal of lesser man, Panurge. The spiritual alchemists do not go as far as the Cabalists who impute a male and female aspect to the Godhead itself.¹²⁴ In a sense, the alchemical formula is superior. There are no male or female aspects to God, who is the infinite point of resolution of all opposites and categories. Spiritual progress, then, will depend on the integration of the opposites in the individual man, chief among which will be the opposition spirit/soul, where spirit is the dynamic male, animus, and soul the receptive female, anima. The outward alchemical marriage as stated is between Sulphur and Mercury, represented by Sun and Moon respectively. If one sees Matrimony as a sacrament, then the catalyst, salt, is the equivalent of sanctifying grace. True union of soul and spirit can take place only at the point where the Divine ray (salt, or grace,) bisects the continuum between the opposites, (see below, the discussion of Tau). Between them, Sulphur and Quicksilver share the four Aristotelian properties, heat, cold, humidity and dryness. They express the sulphuric, fiery and active essence of the spirit and the receptive, mercurial aspect of the soul.¹²⁵ Sulphur was considered always as hot and dry, mercury as cold and damp. Their conjunction produces an equilibrium of forces and properties which is expressed primarily by that most stable

element, Gold. Union and harmony are too important to be related only to the symbols of gold and of the androgyne; Rabelais specifically makes use of further symbols in connection with Pantagruel. These are the Seal of Solomon and the Tau. The Seal of Solomon  contains the secret of the synthesis of the elements within it. The alchemical symbol for water, , and that of fire,  combine to form it. The symbols for earth  and air  merge effortlessly into it.¹²⁶ Nor are the six points of the seal unconnected with Salt (78, the number of salt, reduces to 6 (7 + 8 = 15, 1 + 5 = 6)) or with union and harmony, for 6 shares with 5 the dignity of being a 'marriage' number in numerology (q.v.). It figures extensively throughout the books, sometimes in the guise of larger numbers (78, 78,000, 1311, see section on numerology.) We are asked to reserve our laughter until the 78th book, on the Title page to Le Tiers Livre.

Pantagruel is most connected to the Seal of Solomon. This symbol of reconciliation and the power of matter brought to perfection (Pantagruel) has an important bearing on the action of the physeter episode.¹²⁷ Pantagruel's darts are hurled into the head of the monster (which on one level represents the dross of matter in alchemy) in a definite pattern. The darts describe an equilateral triangle. Apart from its Platonic value, the equilateral triangle is also the alchemical symbol of fire  and water , to emphasise the power of this reconciliation of which Rabelais has the creature turn over in death, superimposing

 on  to achieve  . The passions and untamed forces of the world, and of man, are conquered by the power of perfected matter, the Stone. (Pantagruel). In order to stress that the triangles described are up and down pointing symbols of fire and water, Rabelais has the dying monster tilt its head forward.¹²⁸ By submitting primordial force, the uncontrolled passions, to the alchemical proving agents of Fire and Water (Calcification and Solution) Pantagruel purifies, harmonises and promotes the resolution of tensions.

The defensive Y formed by the fleet when attacked by the physeter (see also Chymical Wedding fleet formation, above,) is also a mine of alchemical symbolism (see illustration of alchemical Y with Nature at the centre) recalling that both Gargantua and Pantagruel's names contain Nature,

Pantagruel - La nature (P + G remain)

Gargantua - Natura (G, A, G remain)

The captain calls the ships into a Y pattern,¹²⁹
 "A cestuy son, toutes les naufz, guallions, ramberges, liburniques (scelon qu'estoit leur discipline navale) se mirent en ordre et figure telle qu'est le Y gregeois, letre de Pythagoras; telle que voyez observée par les grues en leur vol; telle qu'est en un angle acut; on cone et base de laquelle estoit ladicte thalamege en equippage de vertueusement combatre." Pantagruel as philosopher represents spiritualised nature, with the power to defeat the forces of death and chaos. The Y may be connected to the funnel symbolism of the alchemists, (and Rabelais; as Panurge calls himself¹³⁰ "vostre humble et petit entonneur" when addressed by Bacbuc, not to mention 'Frere Jan des Entommeurs').

One may refer to the six virgins of Andreae's Chymical Wedding¹³¹ who syphon down life into their alchemical work by holding trumpets up to the sky: "I saw the hole at top open, and a bright stream of fire shooting down the tube, and passing into the body, whereupon the hole was then covered and the trumpet removed." Spiritual life enters the body as wine enters a barrel, by way of a funnel, and there is no possibility of a shortage of sanctifying grace occurring.¹³² "Et paour ne ayez que le vin faille, comme feist es nopces de Cana en Galilée. Autant que vous en tireray par la dille, autant en entonneray par le bondon. Ainsi demeurera le tonneau inexpuisible. Il a source vive et vene perpetuelle." Allied to the funnel symbol may be the symbol of horns (cuckoldry and Aries ♀) and possibly the image of Panurge with his behind dropped between two stools;¹³³ "Le cul à terre"  forms a funnel, and is also the alchemical symbol for the Spirits of Wine.

Pantagruel as Salt is involved in the symbolism of Tau, best seen diagrammatically. Two main tensions are evident throughout Rabelais's work. The first is the attraction between Panurge and his putative wife, representing on one level the movement towards reconciliation of the polarities of the soul. This may be shown as a horizontal movement, in that the union to be achieved is between approximate equals, though differing as the left from the right hand. The second movement is the spiritual journey of Panurge towards fulfilment, the substance of an Itinerarium mentis in Deum. The progress in this case is hierarchical since Panurge and God have certain irremediable differences. The germ of

spirit which Panurge has does not render him God's equal. This movement may be represented as a vertical one, as he is allowed to move upwards towards God. The conjunction of these two movements at right angles produces a T or Tau.¹³⁴ The crossbar represents male and female at the extreme points.¹³⁵ Alchemically it represents the marriage of sulphur and Mercury, Sun and Moon, gold and silver. The trunk of the cross represents the upward movement to God. The point where trunk and arm converge, the position of the hanging Christ, is the point of synthesis of spirit with soul, of soul with body. Pantagruel, as Christ-figure and Salt, is the catalyst at the centre.

Tau represented the Cross from very early times;¹³⁶ Jung says the Cross is 'fourfold physis, symbol of the sublunary world.'¹³⁷ The centre unites the four into one' (p.13 idem). One may refer to Ephesians 2 13ff 'But now in Christ Jesus you who were once far off have been brought near in the blood of Christ. For He is our peace, who has made both one, and has broken down the dividing wall of hostility, by abolishing in His flesh the law of commandments and ordinances, that He might create in Himself one new man instead of two, so making peace, and might reconcile both to God in one body, through the cross, thereby bringing the hostility to an end.'

Paul Naudon's contention that the letter Tau shares with Gamma and Gimmel the distinction of signifying the alchemists' salt¹³⁸ appears to be correct, but he does not notice that salt is only an aspect of Tau. Nor does he explain the significance of salt in the alchemical process. It

would seem that Panurge's Tau¹³⁹ (" et en baislant faisoit hors la bouche avecques le poulce de la main dextre la figure de la lettre grecque dicte Tau, par frequentes réiterations.") signifies union not only in the cruder sense but also in the spiritual or mystical sense. As a Christian symbol, Tau suggests the crucifixion, and the figure of Christ must be superimposed at the union of the spars. This has the value of bringing the Redeemer, the human/divine Christ to the forefront of Rabelaisian syncretism. In the name Thaumaste,¹⁴⁰ the Tau may or may not have Naudon's meaning of Grand Initiate, (Maître Tau) but the argument by signs definitely has several alchemical echoes. More importantly, in Q.L.¹⁴¹ the Tau verdict of the Athenian Judges (see Ezek. 9 5 - 6) represents absolution and pardon, a strange prefiguring of the Christian mystery of the Passion. Pantagruel in the storm episode, most importantly of all, clutches the mast;¹⁴² "Pantagruel prealablement avoir imploré l'ayde du grand Dieu servateur et faicte oraison publicque en fervente devotion, par l'advis du pilot tenoit l'arbre fort et ferme." (the Cross was often referred to as a Tree). The Mast and Pantagruel are mutually supportive. The salvation of the crew and of Pantagruel depends on the mast.

Gargantua's colours, white and blue¹⁴³ — "Luy estant en ceste eage, son pere ordonna qu'on luy feist habillemens à sa livrée laquelle estoit blanc et bleu"—connect Pantagruel's family to the Tau symbolism. The most obvious attribution of the colours white and blue, one which would immediately have suggested itself to a sixteenth century Catholic,

but which Rabelais pointedly leaves unstated or merely brushed upon in his long digression on the subject,¹⁴⁴ is to the Virgin. In alchemy the Mother of God corresponds to the World in its inviolate and pure aspect. Like Pantagruel, Mary represents Ether or the Quintessence.¹⁴⁵ The colours white and blue are also the colours of the Quintessence.¹⁴⁶ As Quintessence, the Virgin embodies all that is good in the being at basis of the elements. She has the moon under her feet, (see below) as Pantagruel has the physeter at his mercy. The Virgin, like Pantagruel, is the bodily reflection of her spiritual Son. This opposition is well illustrated by the alchemical cross of Heinrich Von Wartenburg¹⁴⁷ (circa 1200 — see illustration). Gargantua's and Grandgousier's colours suggest once more the alignment of the giants with the forces of reconciliation, fixation, stability amid chaos, and harmony, as does the emblem of the androgyne, and their salt nature.

6 Is Frere Jan an Alchemical Symbol?

While it is probable that Friar John is not an alchemical figure, but rather represents the intersection of the alchemical plane by another ideological system, that of the Church, Panurge sees him in an alchemical way. Panurge does not understand John.

While Pantagruel progresses from being a fairy tale giant of marvellous strength to the role of companion, philosopher and teacher, and Panurge moves from outspoken cocksureness to humility (albeit with signal lapses) the character of Friar John does not appear to change overmuch. He is

very much at a stage in between the two main characters of the later work. The temptation is to assign him at once, as does Panurge, with whom he is semi-permanently at loggerheads, to the alchemical category of the irredeemable dross of matter, the substance left behind in the alchemical flask when the spirit has departed, (volatilisation). But there is good in Friar John which the impulsive Panurge cannot always see. John is certainly a practical man of works, but is not so worldly as he appears, nor so sterile. Despite his frock, which is his source of invulnerability¹⁴⁸ ("...Tyravant, lequel coucha sa lance en l'arrest et en ferut à toute oultrance le moyne au milieu de la poictrine; mais recontrant le froc horrifique, rebouscha par le fer, comme si vous frappiez d'une petite bougie contre une enclume.") and his weapon, "son baston de croix" (ibid), the monk is capable of lust. But this lust is most powerful with a religious aim; that is, towards the Clerices of Papimanie.¹⁴⁹ But the fecundating power of Abbey steeples is also symbolic, it is within the Church that new ideas may be brought to fruition. Although Panurge considers Friar John alchemically, his true main function is as an epitome of monkish virtue in its highest state, freed from the restraints of the cloister. Friar John has accepted the will of the Church in place of his own. Without a will of his own, he is nevertheless not inferior to Panurge, but removed to a different category. He is not in danger of drowning, as Panurge is, because of his grape-juice antidote,¹⁵⁰ "Ha! Ha! (dist le moyne) serois je en dangier de noyer, veu que suis en l'eau jusques au nez? Non, non.

Quare? Quia elle en sort bien, mais point n'y entre, car il est bien antidoté de pampre.")

It may be recalled that the farmer of Papefiguière is counselled by his priest to hide in the holy water font from the devils.¹⁵¹ "et par le conseil du curé s'estoit au plonge caché dedans le benoistier." This man is also up to his nose in water.¹⁵² "En la chapelle entrez et prenens de l'eau beniste, apperceusmes dedans le benoistier un home vestu d'estolles et tout dedans caché comme un canard au plonge, excepté un peu du nez pour respirer" This water is also 'antidoté'; water for blessing is mixed with a little salt.

Panurge is not convinced. He considers Friar John always as an ordinary companion, and cannot see the difference between them which the monk's ordination entails. In one of their many arguments, Panurge declares¹⁵³ "Quant tu auras autant rosty comme j'ay, et esté, comme j'ay esté, rosty, tu parleras autrement latin." But, in his capacity of religious, Friar John is never a candidate for the processes of alchemy. At the Fountain in C.L.¹⁵⁴, Friar John alone stands aside from telestic furor. His fury is directed at and stimulated by Panurge, whose behavior incites him to insult. Friar John is orthodox and will have none of these unusual proceedings. Pantagruel, however, rebukes him.¹⁵⁵ "Pantagruel reprent frere Jean, et luy dit:

"Croyez que c'est la fureur poétique

Du bon Bacchus....

Ce me seroit acte de trop piqueur

Penser moquer un si noble trinqueur."

Friar John replies, more truly than he knows,

"Par la vertu¹⁵⁶ de Dieu, nous sommes tous poivrez".
 He then rejects outright Panurge's invitation to him
 to also marry. He is already married to the Church.
 Panurge then returns to the alchemical imagery of
 roasting, placing Friar John with the foul residue
 of matter and himself with the volatile spirit
 which must return to it, (the distilled dew of
 the alchemists)¹⁵⁷:

"Aussi seras tu, beste immonde,
 Damné comme une male serpe (The gross residue)
 Et je seray comme une herpe (The Volatile Spirit)
 Sauvé en paradis gaillard:
 Lors bien sus toy, pauvre paillard,
 Pisseray-je, je t'en asseure." (Cohobation, or the
 return of the
 distillate.)

The image of the removal of the volatile from
 the gross had already involved Friar John, when as
 horseman he was spitted through the visor by a
 branch and left hanging in the air.¹⁵⁸ "Par ce
 moyen demoura le moyne pendent au noyer". He
 returns to his horse after removal from the tree.
 Fulcanelli, in his discussion of the alchemical
 medallions on the north portal of Notre Dame (Le
 Mystère des Cathédrales) has this to say: "The
 first motive shows an unhorsed knight clinging to
 the mane of a spirited horse. This allegory
 concerns the extraction of the fixed, central and
 pure parts by the volatile or etheric ones, in the
 philosophical dissolution. More exactly, it is
 the rectification of the spirit obtained and the
 action of the spirit on the heavy matter. The
 charger, the symbol of speed and lightness, rep-
 resents the spiritual substance; its rider shows
 the weightiness of the gross, metallic body."

Friar John can be seen, therefore, as an expression of the heavy, the gross. Also in connection with this theme of the gross nature of monks, the tale of the monk and his rider¹⁵⁹ is of interest. The friar drops his client in mid-stream, because monks may never carry anything of value, such as money. Unlike St Christopher, the monk may not carry a precious burden. He is the gross from which the subtle has been removed.

It may be that this ambivalent meaning of Friar John, as grossly material and yet under special divine protection, was conditioned by Rabelais's personal experience. As an orthodox Catholic and ex-inmate of various monasteries, he was still at liberty to criticise monkish ways. There is a long literary tradition of such criticism. However, Rabelais was unwilling to disregard the special nature conferred on men by ordination. If John is weak in human ways, such as lust and appetite, he is doctrinally correct. He has that mixture of faith and works (with the balance tipped slightly towards works) which would have warmed the heart of any pope struggling against the heresy of justification by faith alone. Theleme is the exemplum of this idea.

Unlike Pantagruel, Gargantua and Panurge, the evidence is too mixed to properly assign an alchemical role to Friar John. This may be because the key roles were already taken, by Panurge, the wife he sought, and the Philosophical giants. Any alchemical role for Friar John would be purely secondary to that value he has as an opportunity for contemporary social and ecclesiastical

comment by Rabelais, and his position of intermediary between Pantagruel and Panurge; he is fundamentally a more life-size and life-like character than the giants, and has considerable importance at the level of pure narrative. He is a companion to the search, being neither Salt (Pantagruel) nor Materia prima (Panurge.)

7 Rabelais and Alchemical Poetry

The enigma proposed by Grippeminault is probably alchemical¹⁶⁰. It seems to depict the alchemical processes of Albedo, Nigredo and Volatilisation.

"Une bien jeune et toute blondelette
 Conceut un fils Egyptien, sans pere
 Puis l'enfanta sans douleur la doulcette,
 Quoy que sortist comme fait la vipere
 L'ayant rongé, en mult grant vitupere,
 Tout l'un des flancs, par son impatience
 Depuis, passa monts et vaulx sans fiance,
 Par l'air volant, en terre cheminant:
 Tant qu'estonna l'amy de Sapience,
 Qui l'estima estre humain animant"

G.M. Masters, (Rabelaisian Dialectic)¹⁶¹ shows convincingly that Rabelais has had the Chatz Fourrez reverse the usual alchemical process. To physis, they are Antiphysis. In true alchemy, the black Materia prima contains the white offspring, and not vice-versa. Witness the following passage from a late Greek alchemical poem, cited by Eric Holmyard,¹⁶²

"A dragon springs therefrom which, when exposed
 In horse's excrement for twenty days
 Devours his tail till nought thereof remains.
 This dragon, whom they Ouroboros (tail-biter) call
 Is white in looks and spotted in his skin,
 And has a form and shape most strange to see.

When he was born he sprang from out the warm
And humid substance of united things
The close embrace of male and female kind
A union which occurred within the sea
Brought forth this dragon, as already said
A monster scorching all the world with fire
With all his might and panoply displayed
He swims and comes unto a place within
The currents of the Nile; his gleaming skin
And all the bands which girdle him around
Are bright as gold and shine with points of light
This dragon seize and slay with skilful art
Within the Sea and wield with speed thy knife
With double edges hot and moist, and then
His carcass having cleft in twain, lift out
The gall and bear away its blackened form
All heavy with the weight of earthly bile
Great clouds of steaming mist ascend therefrom
And these become on rising dense enough
To bear away the dragon from the Sea
And lift him upward to a station warm
The moisture of the air his lightened shape
And form sustaining; be most careful then
All burning of his substance to avoid
And change its nature to a stream divine
With quenching draughts; then pour the mercury
Into a gaping urn, and when its stream
Of sacred fluid stops to flow, then wash
Away with care the blackened dross of earth
Thus having brightened what the darkness hid
Within the dragon's entrails, thou wilt bring
A mystery to light ... "

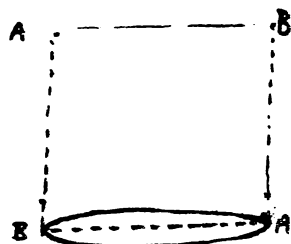
8 Fluid Symbolism: Water, Mercury, Blood, Sweat and Tears.

By their nature, fluid symbols are restricted mainly to C.L. though both flask and special water occur occasionally elsewhere. It is within a bottle that the union of opposites is achieved,¹⁶³ with the mingling of Sulphur, Mercury and Salt to achieve the miracle of the Stone. The glass vessel is contained within the athanor (Arabic at-tannur, or oven)¹⁶⁴ This is pictured in many manuscripts as a kind of incinerator surmounted by a dome. "The spring of quicksilver rushes forth from the earth of prima materia ... the water of life flows everywhere, yet no-one finds it but the sage, who weighs it."¹⁶⁵ This compares well with

Rabelais's "eau de fontaine, limpide et argentine"¹⁶⁶ "Une fontaine. ... pleine d'eau tant clere que pourroit estre un element en sa simplicité"¹⁶⁷ and "eau mercuriale"¹⁶⁸. Philosophical water is a kind of nourishing blood, in which "sun and moon, spirit and soul, may bathe, be dissolved, and then, united in it, having lost their old form, emerge from it rejuvenated"¹⁶⁹ This Christian sentiment brings to mind Rabelais's quotation from Paul, Philipp. 1 in the Almanach de 1535¹⁷⁰ "Cupio dissolvi et esse cum Christo" for, says Rabelais "que vos ames soient hors mises ceste chartre tenebreuse du corps terrien, et jointes à Jesus le Christ. Lors cesseront toutes passions, affections et imperfections humaines: car en jouyssance de luy aurons plenitude de tout bien, tout sçavoir et perfection, comme chantoit jadis le roy David, Psal. 16: Tunc satiabor, cum apparient gloria tua." Thus the aim of

neoplatonism, Christianity and spiritual alchemy is one and the same.

The round chapel is also reminiscent of an alchemical workshop, with its athanor enclosing a bottle.¹⁷¹ In the chapel architecture, Rabelais hints at alchemy by squaring the circle (an alchemical image,¹⁷² "et n'est à passer en silence que l'ouvrage d'icelle chapelle ronde estoit en telle symmetrie compassé que le diametre du project estoit la hauteur de la voute."¹⁷³



This is a curious method of squaring the circle. Rabelais distinguishes the Fountain¹⁷⁴ in the same way "la longueur d'icelles, depuis les bases jusques aux architraves, estoient de sept palmes, peu moins, à juste et exquise dimention d'un diametre passant par le centre de la circonference et rotondité interieure." "au milieu d'icelle estoit une fontaine de fin alabastre,"¹⁷⁵ again points to the fact that the round chapel is not only an alchemical workshop but a skull, for alabaster is called by the alchemists 'the brain stone.'¹⁷⁶ (For an elucidation of the alchemical understanding of Head, Brain and Bottle, see Jung.¹⁷⁷). The Fountain is "en figure heptagonne, à ouvrage et infoliation singulière, pleine d'eau tant clere que pourroit estre un element en sa simplicité, dedans laquelle estoit a demy posée la sacrée Bouteille, tout revestue de pur cristalin, en forme ovale, excepte que le limbe estoit quelque peu patent plus qu'icelle forme ne porteroit."

The Bottle of the alchemists contains the truth of the union of opposites,¹⁷⁸ symbolised by the nature of wine (fluid fire) and prefigured in the spirit of reconciliation and harmony evinced by Pantagruel's defeat of the physeter under the Seal of Solomon.¹⁷⁹ The "Sacrée Bouteille" speaks: "Trinch!" "Elle est, s'escria Panurge, par la vertu Dieu, rompue ou fesiée, que je ne mente: ainsi parlent les bouteilles crystalines de nos pays, quant elles près du feu esclattent."¹⁸⁰ (Refer Note 132 for Vertu) The force of emanation from God is overwhelming, as in the Shevirah, or Cracking of the Vessels, in the Cabala. Bessy¹⁸¹ says: "There is always fire below the hermetically sealed vase," (in the sense of bain-marie, with fluid interposing). The sound interpreted by Panurge as similar to cracking glass refers to the alchemical image of Projection (Ceratio), given as a cracked glass vessel. (See illustration.)

The ambivalence which Rabelais lends to saltwater and its denizens (for it can either preserve or utterly confound) reflects the double understanding of the sea in the Patristic writings; for while Gregory saw the sea as the depths of eternal death "aeternae mortis profunda",¹⁸² Saint Augustine says "The Red Sea signifies Baptism."¹⁸³ Honorius¹⁸⁴ of Autun says "The Red Sea is the Baptism reddened by the blood of Christ in which our enemies, namely our sins, are drowned," for this sea drowned the Egyptians but saved the Israelites and is therefore ambivalent. It can be a transcendant, baptismal water. Panurge crosses the sea of corruption unscathed but soaked. The Great Sea is a symbol of the Mother (Stella Maris) and of the World, the

fecundation of which was the first action of God "and the spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters" Genesis 1, 2. However the sea contains the taint of all things after the Fall, and best exemplifies that taint. Though it is a mixture of pure and spiritually symbolic substances, living water and salt, it also contains impurities and harbours a chaos which renders it useless, save for inundation of the evil. It separates the good from the bad.

In alchemical terms, Jung explains the paradox of Sea-water.¹⁸⁵ "It may also be one of the alchemical paradoxes that the Red Sea or Erythrean Sea, in contrast to the significance transforming baptismal water, is thus an equivalent of the alchemical agua pontica." Also,¹⁸⁶ "Unconscious people who attempt to cross the sea without being purified and without the guidance of enlightenment are drowned. They get stuck in the unconscious and suffer a spiritual death in so far as they cannot get beyond their onesidedness." Thus Dindenault is drowned.¹⁸⁷

Not only does the sea produce storms and terrible whales which requires superhuman aid to suppress and survive but it has an ablution function in Rabelais once again reminiscent of alchemy. "The agua pontica or agua permanens behaves very much like the baptismal water of the church. Its chief function is ablution, the cleansing of the sinner."¹⁸⁸ Thus in alchemy the Lato or imperfect materia is purified. Dindenault does not show that he is aware of his imperfection, and he therefore has a fate quite different to Panurge, who at least realises he lacks something.

Of the four elements, earth, air, fire and water, the latter two are most important insofar as they contain within themselves the aspects of all four elements. Fire is hot, dry and masculine; water is cold, moist and feminine. As an elemental category, water means far more than a refreshing drink to Rabelais, as has been shown. Within the philosophical concept water, then, are included the following potent symbols:

The ambivalent sea

Blood

Wine (without prejudice to its other symbolisms)

Mercury (as Agua permanens)

Sweat, tears and weeping

Dew

Thirst

The sacrament of Baptism

Holy Water

Fountain (living) water

Urine

and the connected ideas of hydrophobia and dissolving power. In the quest for the ideal female, water, as female counterpart to male fire, has a certain importance. In extremis, the elements refine themselves to water and fire, as Panurge would have it:¹⁹⁰ "Je ne voy ne ciel ne terre. Zalas, Zalas! De quatre elemens ne nous reste icy que feu et eau." Moreover, as the Bible says, the Judgement to come will be of Fire, not Water.

The clear water of life, unlike brine, sweat, the moisture of sexual union, mercury and others, is not in the slightest ambivalent. Living water, as it is called, is entirely good. It may be defined as water which is clear, fresh and flowing. It may be contained in a river, a fountain or even

a conduit; but it must be clear and sparkling.

To distinguish it from foul brine, Rabelais qualifies this water as: "D'eaue douce"¹⁹¹ "eau mercuriale"¹⁹² "eau (de) ... fontaine"¹⁹³ "bonne et fresche eau de fontaine, limpide et argentine"¹⁹⁴ "liqueur deifigue"¹⁹⁵ "eau tant clere que pourroit estre un element en sa simplicité"¹⁹⁶ "la vivifique fontaine"¹⁹⁷ "L'eau phantastique"¹⁹⁸ and "nostre eau".¹⁹⁹

Rabelais found the symbols of the fountain and of living water ready-made. The Jews were careful to use clear, fresh water in their ritual purification ceremonies.²⁰⁰ John baptised in the flow of the river Jordan.²⁰¹ God declares Himself as a spring or well at many points of Scripture: "They have forsaken me, the fountain of living water" Jeremias 2.13. The Song of Songs²⁰² speaks of the "well of living waters," Zacharias²⁰³ has: "Living waters shall go out from Jerusalem." St. John says:²⁰⁴ "If any man thirst, let him come to me and drink, he that believeth in me. As the scripture saith, out of his belly shall flow rivers of living water." In the Odes of Solomon we read:²⁰⁵ "Speaking waters touched my lips from the fountain of the Lord plenteously, and I drank and was inebriated with the living water that doth not die." One may refer to Panurge at the Fountain to witness a second inebriation. Ignatius of Antioch said:²⁰⁶ "There is aliving water within me which whispers: 'Come to the Father.'" Solomon's Odes also provide:²⁰⁷ (calling upon the baptised) "Fill ye waters for yourselves from the living fountain of the Lord, and come all ye thirsty and take the draught and rest by the fountain of the Lord." Isaias²⁰⁸ has:

"All ye who thirst, come to the waters," and, in Apocalypse:²⁰⁹ "To him that thirsteth, I will give of the fountain of the water of life, freely."

Many of these statements are reminiscent of the last chapters of LeCinquiesme Livre. It is especially interesting that the water can be inside the body of the Lord, and that it was in the Temple that Jesus referred to Himself as the fount of living water. As for the spiral conduits of Rabelais's Fountain, Theo. Klauser²¹⁰ has shown that this spiritualised water may include water carried through pipes to a basin or pool. Daniélou, of course, gives much information on the ritual of water.²¹¹ (And refer to the Vision of Gertrude, Note 132.)

It may be significant that the same Panurge who refuses to drink water in Pantagruel²¹² "Car ilz ne me bailloient que de l'eaue à boyre, à leur mode" is only too willing to drink it at the Fountain of Le Cinquiesme Livre. Something fundamental has changed in him. He interprets the fountain water as wine, "Par Dieu, c'est ici vin de Beaune, meilleur qu'onques jamais je beus ..."²¹³ Panurge's near drowning in the storm episode of Le Quart Livre may perhaps be understood as a symbolic baptism. Brine is ambivalent: at the one time dangerous and a preserving agent, that is, necessary for salvation.

Rabelais appears to follow the judgement of Cusanus who defined three fountains:²¹⁴

The Sensible Fountain: (the bladder, urine,
foul brine)

The Rational Fountain: (the heart, blood,
understanding)

The Fountain of Wisdom: (the Brain, Holy Ghost,
(Dive Bouteille?))

It is Henri Cotiral who suffers and accepts the later brine attack of the whales (C.L.). Panurge, by Le Cinquiesme Livre has long passed and rejected brine (during the storm of Le Quart Livre) and is about to drink from the rational fountain and witness the activity of the divine fountain of Wisdom. He is not permitted to drink from that, but may take away a spirit or air resulting from its rarefaction.²¹⁵ Living water is pure and never ambivalent, but the image of the fountain encompassing as it does jets from spouters and the fountain of Wisdom, certainly is. The Fountain and mystical drinking are also a part of alchemy. Berthelot²¹⁶ quotes Ostanes,²¹⁷ when producing the Stone: "The vessel with the ingredients should be immersed in water." So Panurge is immersed, purified by immersion. In Speculativa Philosophia²¹⁸ Dorn says: "Learn therefore, O mind, to practise sympathetic love in regard to thine own body, by restraining its vain appetites that it may be apt with thee in all things. To this end I shall labour, that it may drink with thee from the fountain of strength. The strength of men is true faith (est hominum virtus fides vera). When the two are made one, may ye find peace in their union. Draw nigh, O body, to this fountain, that with thy mind thou mayest drink to satiety and hereafter thirst no more after vanities. O wondrous efficacy of this fount, which maketh one of two, and peace between enemies. The fount of love can make mind out of spirit and soul, but this maketh one man of mind and body." This last line clearly draws the distinction between the jurisdictions of alchemy and Christianity. For Rabelais, it is

proposed that union of both levels (mind and body, spirit and soul) was important, and neither was neglected.

Blood, Sweat and Tears.

A. Blood.

Each of these fluid bodily products bears a symbolism similar to that of water. In fact, blood and sweat are transubstantial with water, as water is with wine, and wine with blood, (see the propos des bien yvres²¹⁹). Christ at Cana transformed the water into wine. The blood which flowed from Christ's wounds split into two streams of blood and water, (John 19,34 'and forthwith came there out blood and water.') In the Passion, the sweat of Christ's brow mingled with the blood drawn by the crown of thorns, and the "sweat was as it were great drops of blood falling to the ground." So, for Rabelais, the blood of the "retz merveilleux"²²⁰ and elsewhere is the vehicle of the spirit, of life itself, and of the thoughts which rise from it as a vapour, (as does the wind from the motions of the sea in the final chapter of Le Cinquiesme Livre).²²¹

Bread and wine produce blood: "La matiere et metal convenable pour estre en sang transmué, est baillée par nature: pain et vin ... (the liver) ... il la transmue derechef, et en faict sang.. . Lors quelle joye pensez vous estre entre ces officiers, quand ilz ont veu ce ruisseau d'or, qui est leur seul restaurant? Plus grande n'est la joye des Alchymistes, quand après longs travaux, grand soing et despense, ilz voyent les metaulx transmuez dedans leurs fourneaulx."²²² "..... après en sont faictz les espritz animaulx, moyennans les quelz elle imagine, discourt, juge, resoust,

delibere, ratiocine et rememore."²²³

Water and wine are consubstantial in the Eucharist. Jung says:²²⁴ "Blood is one of the best known synonyms for the aqua permanens, and its use in alchemy is often based on the blood symbolism and allegories of the Church." Rabelais, even in Le Tiers Livre, is conscious of the alchemical significance of blood and its general symbolism. There is a curious myth concerning the Pelican which may or may not be relevant. Rabelais mentions pelicans three times. In the prologue to Pantagruel²²⁵ he jests with the words onocrotale (pelican) and crotenotaire²²⁶ after a reference to 309 pelicans (a number reducing to the Divine 3). However, the most important reference occurs in Le Tiers Livre²²⁷ "Quand on vouldra par justice executer quelque malfaiteur, un jour ou deux davant on le fasse brisgoutter en onocrotale, si bien que en tous ses vases spermactiques ne reste de quoy protraire un Y gregois." But Y is, like Tau, a symbol of Christ and of male potency; (witness the formation of Pantagruel's ships to meet the Phsyseter in Le Quart Livre). The poking of a pelican was not at all of a sexual nature. The pelican was considered a symbol of Christ in as much as it was believed to have the power to bring its dead young back to life by feeding them with its blood, extracted by pecking at its own chest. The allegory was expounded by Honorius of Autun.²²⁸ Just as the pelican was believed to give new life from its own flesh, so Mercurius was conceived of as 'spiritual blood.'

The miracle of Christ's blood lent this fluid a special significance. As a symbol of union (and true union, it is suggested, is the theme which develops more than any other as the work progresses), blood has a prime importance in Rabelais's ideas. Schematically, blood may be shown as central to a fluid symbolism of union:

<u>1. Symposium</u>	<u>2. Medecine</u>	<u>3. Theology</u>
Wine,	Blood,	Christ's Blood,
Red and White,	Red and white,	Red and White
Union of heat and	(lymph)	streams at
moist; Symposiac	Union of bread	Crucifixion,
union of man and	and wine, Body	Union of
man, (necessary	and Spirit.	Eucharist Bread
to salvation; "deux	Blood unites	and wine,
choses necessaires,	body with mind,	Androgyne Christ,
guyde de Dieu et	action with	Perfect man,
compagnie d'homme") ²²⁹	idea; "Sang est ²³⁰	Perfect God,
	le siege de l'ame"	Christ and His
		Church united.

As has been stated, blood can easily be found among alchemical and astrological symbols. For the Greek alchemists, gold was the 'red blood' of silver.²³¹ Philo says of it²³² "But blood is the essence of the sensible and vital spirit; for he says in another place (Leviticus 17 14) 'The spirit of all flesh is its blood.'" Jung quotes similarly²³³ from the Turba Philosophorum:²³⁴ "The agua permanens, whose power is the spiritual blood, that is, the Tincture; for the body incorporates the spirit through the tincture of the blood, for all that in spirit, has also blood."²³⁵ One may then extend the scheme of fluid union symbolism:

4. Alchemy

Mercurius
facilitates
Alchemical union
of body and spirit. (The Dew kills the
Mercurius is
ambivalent.
The stone as union
of all opposites:
Sulphur, Mercury,
Salt.

5. Astrology

The Dew facilitates
Union of Sun and
Moon on Earth.
Sun to precede
rebirth²³⁶ "The Dew
comes from the Moon,
he who is wounded
is the Sun." The
World killed Christ.
Dew is dangerous to
health (traditional
French belief - see
Montaigne, Essais)

6. Animal

Moisture of
Coition facilitates
Union of Man and
Wife;
Ambivalent, may
contain syphilis
(see 'les murailles
de Paris',²³⁷)

B. Sweat

(Sweating and the Moisture of Coition in Rabelais.)

It is suggested that to understand the alchemical doctrine of the Lapis, or sweating stone, is to understand why Rabelais chooses to rebuild the walls of Paris with such unlikely materials.²³⁸ The Lapis may also provide an interpretation of the "diamant Indique, de la grosseur d'une febre Egyptiatique, enchassé en or ... à deux pointes, en figure exagone ... "²³⁸ which is suspended above the entry to the Temple, and which is another hint that the pilgrims are entering not a temple, but an enormous figure of the human body, possibly androgynous. The sweat of labour, of thought, the moisture of coition with its attendant contemporary danger of syphilis, the moisture of alchemy (Mercurius) and the Dew which is a product of the moon are inextricably combined as symbols in Rabelais, it is proposed, as they are in the mystical literature of his time and in the

patristic and alchemical writings which preceded and followed it.

The femalesexual organ has often in literature been referred to as a precious stone, whose worth is in its liquefying properties. So, in the Harley Lyrics:²⁴⁰

"þe bocle is al of whalles bon
 þer wiþ inæstont a ston
 þat warneþ men from wo;
 þe water þat hit wetes yn
 Ywis hit worþeþ al to wyn;
 þat segen, seyden so."

Panurge, in a chapter which seems to draw heavily on alchemical symbolism,²⁴¹ proposes to build the walls of Paris from the interlocked sexual parts of the Ladies, in diamond formations. If the culverins approached them, they would distil moisture: ...

"incontinent distiller de ce benoist fruict de grosse verolle, menu comme pluye, sec au nom des diables".²⁴²

Foxtails and ass pissles would keep the flies away. Perhaps Rabelais was aware that Francis of Assissi had characterised monks who do no work as flies, since they live off the sweat of others: "Go thy way, brother fly, for thou wouldst eat of the sweat of thy brethren and be lazy in God's work. Thou art like brother drone who, though he does not undergo the toil of the bees, is the first to eat of the honey."²⁴³ Rabelais also kept in mind the rumoured sexual antics of the cowled community, as well as their laziness, dirtiness and eating capacity. (The stinging creatures which make the death of Raminagrobis miserable²⁴⁴ are also religious. Like flies, they cluster around sickness and imminent corruption.) It may be seen, then, that a relationship exists symbolically between the stone of the alchemists, swimming in fluid, the 'stones' proposed as building materials, and female sexuality.

Moisture is an ambivalent symbol. However, the union which it catalyses is indestructible, as the new walls of Paris are to be indestructible.²⁴⁵ The union of male and female corresponds to union at all other levels. Man's poor animal act yet has the dignity of uniting God and His Shekhina. The union of man and woman reflects the marriage of mind and body, with its exemplum in Jesus Christ, and spirit and soul. But a danger exists in the improper use of the ambivalent catalyst; one must be healthy before attempting physical union, just as one must be spiritually pure before seeking spiritual union. Philautia, like syphilis, is a prime impediment which must be overcome. Sweat is a moist mediator of union which might contain a danger to be overcome.

Moisture is also important to the union which is the goal of alchemy. The alchemists use the moist to facilitate the union of the dry, using moist mercury to dissolve the dry sulphur and salt, to produce Gold, or philosophical mercury. In symbols, the moon introduces dew in its 'slaying' of the sun, prior to the rebirth of the sun. Again, the moon, patronness of lovers, may cause madness. Woman provides moisture (= danger) which makes union with her possible. God provides freewill (= danger) which makes union with Him possible. It may be recalled that according to medical opinion in Rabelais's time, the female moisture contained a species of seed in itself, and only the mingling of male and female seed was fruitful. As the moisture of the female catalyses and is symbolic of union,

moisture

male -

- female

danger

so does Mercurius catalyse the alchemical wedding;

mercurius

sol - - luna

danger

(or, sulphur - mercury - salt.)

So also the addition of mercury may be disastrous if the ingredients are not brought to a ripe stage.

Mercury is the ambivalent god, par excellence, and he is as likely to cut off the heads of those who seek gold as he is to reward them with riches (if they are as children, that is, or spiritually prepared). See the Couillatris episode of the Prologue to Le Quart Livre. Syphilis may be avoided by conjoining only perfect man with unblemished woman, when

male + moisture + female = Balsumum Vitae

or: Natural Heat + Moist + Natural Coldness = Perfection

This need to avoid imperfection in woman may explain Panurge's preoccupation with his putative wife's possible flaws, in T.L. As in alchemy, we must split the imperfectly combined polarities which are the product of the world's chaotic influence, (for the world, since the Fall, produces only the imperfect), and recombine them harmoniously as pure forms to produce the philosophical gold of true union. So we must split body from mind, (the conquest of philautia), and recombine, as it were, without the interference of syphilis, or original sin, which amounts to the same thing; a natural taint. The new man may recombine (where Christ's blood is the catalyst)

Soul - (Christ) - Spirit

= perfect wholeness

Body - (Christ) - Soul

As Panurge drinks in Christ at the Dive Bouteille, it is proposed, he replaces the old, imperfect catalyst of this reaction, (imperfect Nature) with the new (Christ). In a sense he becomes one with Christ, as the imperfect ingredients of alchemy combine to become the Stone, Lapis, or King Gold.

Sulphur - (Mercury) - Salt = The Lapis (and Christ too was the Lapis or stone, rejected by the builders).

Spirit - (Soul) - Body = Christ

But Panurge at the Fountain of Le Cinguesme Livre is a humbler, less certain figure than the Panurge of Le Tiers Livre. The ingredients of the reaction are of necessity purified.

The moisture of coition is distinct from the sweat of toil and of sickness; the distinction made in alchemy between the moisture of catalytic mercury and the moisture produced by cooking the prima materia is also made by Rabelais. This sweat is unconnected with the deeper, Christian symbolism. It is a more lowly product, brackish, connected to the extensive brine-symbolism. The sweat of the syphilitic and the sweat of the brow, like the sweat which broke from the earth on the birth of Pantaruel, are all a product of baseness, it is suggested. Rabelais linked sweat, salt water with pox-sweat comically but seriously: When he mentioned the erring course of Phaeton: "adonc la terre fut tant eschaufée que il luy vint une sueur enorme, dont elle sua toute la mer, qui par ce est salée, car toute sueur est salée; ce que vous direz estre vray si vous voulez taster de la vostre propre, ou bien de celles des verollez quand on les faict suer; ce me est tout un."²⁴⁶ The people in their thirst confuse this sweat with pure water to their detriment, for it is saltier than seawater. As often happens, Rabelais appears to have borrowed the idea from

the Fathers. Augustine relates a conversation with the pro-consul Flaccianus who produced a prophecy of the Erythrean Sibyl about Christ and His coming:

"Iudicii signum tellus sudore madescet,
E coelo Rex adveniet per saecula futurus."²⁴⁷

In sign of the judgement the earth shall sweat, and this sweat is impure, brackish; "The bitter salt comes from the impure sea. . . ." ²⁴⁸ but Augustine has said: "Mare Saeculum est," ²⁴⁹ the sea is the world, the domain of devils. Jung records ²⁵⁰ that Philaletha, in Musaeum Hermeticum says: ²⁵¹

"Tu si aridam hanc terram aqua sui generis rigare
sciveris, poros terrae laxabis; habebisque in
posse Comitatus a Trevis fontinam, cujus aquae
sunt proprie Dianae Virgini dicatae. Purgabitur
aqua per additamentum sulphuris veri a sorde
leprosa et ab humore hydropico superfluo...."

The alchemist warming his model of Earth first produces moisture; base, but a herald of the great things to come. So then, too, does the earth sweat at the coming of Pantagruel.

C. Tears.

"Jesus wept" (John 2 35) was considered an important verse, signalled by its being the shortest verse in the Bible. Like Pantagruel, Jesus wept for a deceased friend. That Rabelais may have had in mind a reference to the weeping of Christ for Lazarus when he had Pantagruel weep for Pan might be deduced from his use of the ostrich-egg symbol: ²⁵² "Pantagruel, ce propous finy, resta en silence et profonde contemplation. Peu de temps après, nous veismes les larmes decouller de ses oeilz grosses comme oeufz de austruche. Je me donne à Dieu, si j'en mens d'un seul mot." (The Ostrich, by returning to its lost eggs, was believed

to be able to quicken them with a look, even when they were cold. At the return of Christ, dead men would quicken. So, ostrich eggs were often to be found hanging as symbols in medieval churches.) Rabelais stresses the belief that intellectual souls are not subject to death. There may be a parallel between his friend, G. du Bellay, and Christ's friend. For both of them apparent death is a mere semblance, and both may return to the firmament.²⁵³ The tears of Pantagruel are a species of living water, not ambivalent, but entirely good. Rabelais associates tears with the spiritualised water of the fountain. In a description of the canopy of the fountain²⁵⁴ we find not only tear-shaped pearls but also a second reference to the symbolic ostrich-egg: "Sus le sommet de la crope susdite, correspondant au centre de la fontaine, estoient trois unions eleichies, uniformes, de figure turbinée en totale perfection lachrimale, toutes ensemble coherentes en forme de fleur de lis tant grandes que la fleur excedoit une palme. Du calice d'icelles sortoit un carboucle gros comme un oeuf d'autruche ... " Tears are elsewhere associated by Rabelais with Christ and with wine.

The weeping of Pantagruel for Pan/Christ in his account of the pitiable death of heroes, recalls the Babylonian cultic weeping for the dead god, Tammuz, and the ritual weeping for the dead vegetation god, Adonis, (also significantly revived after three days). The weeping for Tammuz is classed by Ezekiel²⁵⁶ as an abomination: "Then he brought me to the door of the gate of the Lord's house, and behold, there sat women weeping for Tammuz." But that was the weeping of despair, in the belief that the Lord has forsaken the earth. Christian weeping is for pity and in hope.²⁵⁷

The rebirth of God brings fertility to the wasted land bereft of Him. So Pantagruel and his company, having assisted at the communion which is the rebirth of Christ in man, sail home not through the tortured land and violent seascape of the outward journey, but through an earthly paradise, restored to perfect fertility.²⁵⁸

"Par ung pais plain de toutes delices, plaisant, temperé plus que Tempé en Thessalye..." In the Grail Mystery cycle, fertility returns to the land on the achievement of the Grail as goal of the search.²⁵⁹ Alchemy produces a parallel image; at the moment of projection, when the Stone is at last produced (being primordial perfection as it were returned to life), the rebirth is exemplified visually in many examples as a return to perfection of the countryside, a scene depicted within the vessel of projection. The utopian natural conditions described in the final chapter of Le Cinquiesme Livre are the last reminder of the success of Panurge's spiritual journey.

9 Medicinal Mercury in Rabelais and the Mercury of the Alchemists

Mercury is important in Rabelais not only medicinally (see below, Mercury and Syphilis) but also as a character,²⁶⁰ and as the fluid contents of the Fountain.²⁶¹ These 3 Mercuries are one and the same in symbolic value. It is proposed that an identification may be made between pox and sin, where mercury (Christ) is the cure; hence the poor precious pox-victims to whom the first two books are addressed. In G. the pilgrim (sinner) is cured by Gargantua. Panurge becomes the pilgrim, and in the Debtor's episode a transfer of image is made from pox to debt. From this point on the term 'Verole' is abusive and rare.

Jung provides the most exhaustive analysis of the alchemical Mercurius. Many of the aspects of this Mercurius bring to mind the Mercure of Q.L. prol. Mercurius is morally neutral; good to the good, but returning evil to the evil.²⁶²

He is, however, sometimes because of this called the god of thieves and cheats²⁶³ just as Jesus was accused of consorting with publicans and prostitutes, and crucified between thieves. The action of Mercure in killing those who seek riches dishonestly in the Couillatris episode is consistent. Mercurius is the spirit which rules nature, the uniting force of soul and spirit.²⁶⁴ He is "the glue holding the world together, and standing in the middle between body and spirit."²⁶⁵ Mercurius is the anima media naturae. Jung quotes Avicenna:²⁶⁶ "He is the spirit of the Lord which fills the whole world and in the beginning swam upon the waters. They call him also the Spirit of Truth, which is hidden from the world." The mercurial fire, fluid fire, is found in the centre of the earth, or dragon's belly. Benedictus Figulus writes: "Visit the centre of the earth; there you will find the global fire"²⁶⁷ But the earth is man, and the mid-part is the heart, (see Pico, Heptaplus²⁶⁸) "Therefore let us consider the three parts of man: the highest is the head; then that which stretches from the neck to the navel; thirdly, that which extends from the navel to the feet. These parts of the human figure are divided and separated by a certain diversity. But it is wonderful how beautifully and how perfectly, in the most precise manner, they correspond respectively to the three parts of the world.

In the head is the brain, the fountain of knowledge. In the breast is the heart, the fountain of motion, life and heat. In the lowest part are the genitals, the principle of generation ... you see how aptly all these parts of the world and of

man correspond... Moses designated the first by its proper name, the head. The second, however, he called fire."

In Mercurius is the coincidence of opposites, as in Christ. Mercurius is the fire in which God himself is consumed in divine love, "ignis in quo Deus ipse ardet amore divino."²⁶⁹ But he is also snow, or manna, "solid white snow, the spirit of the macrocosmic and microcosmic world, upon whom, after the anima rationalis, the motion and fluidity of human nature itself depends."²⁷⁰ Matter and spirit are identical in Mercurius. The "parolles gelées"²⁷¹ in some ways suggest Mercurius, they are infinitely variable, acting as mediators between the worlds of above and below but belonging to neither. They disintegrate on contact with the deck. Pantagruel says they are always present; there is no need to collect them.

In Aurora Consurgens (fourteenth or fifteenth century), a document on the problem of opposites in alchemy attributed to Thomas Aquinas, Jung has found much of his material for the classification and elucidation of the Mercurius symbol. "Ego sum mediatrix elementorum, concordans unum alteri. Ego totum opus et tota scientia in me occultatur. Ego occidam et vivere faciam."²⁷² Mercure of Q.L. Prologue also slays and promotes life. "This water makes the dead to rise and slays the living. It lightens the darkness and darkens the light."²⁷³

Like the Mercure of the Couillatris tale, Mercurius watches the separation of Soul from Spirit, (axe-head from helve), but brings it back with a new richness of fulfilled potential. But as has been stated, the axe-head of Couillatris, the feminine

hatchet as distinct from the masculine helve, is the anima or soul, as distinct from the animus or spirit. As Aurora Consurgens has it:²⁷⁴ "Aufer ei animam et redde ei animam, quia corruptio unius est generatio alterius: priva ipsum humore et augmenta humore connaturali, per quod erit ipsius perfectio et vita."

The alchemist Zosimos²⁷⁵ recommends the adept to build a temple from one stone, of Prokonnessos marble, without beginning or end, and in it shall be a fount of purest water, and a sunlight ray shall rush out: "In the fount is the treasure you seek, the metal priest" (Mercurius.) The likeness to Rabelais's fountain²⁷⁶ is not gratuitous. Mercurius says,²⁷⁷ in imitation of Christ "I bring light to substances because I am the living water, the fons animalium, and whoever drinks of me will never die." (see "T.L. Prologue, "Fontaine Caballine" and "la fontaine vivifique" C.L.)

As a doctor of medicine, Rabelais would not have failed to notice the curative aspect of mercury in the treatment of sexual diseases; nor, as a sixteenth century thinker would he have neglected to link the healing power of medicinal mercury with the power of Mercurius to promote the perfection of the base, diseased metals. The best study of mercury (metal) in Rabelais is contained in Jean Motttron's Rabelais et Les Verollez Très-Précieux.²⁷⁸ Motttron is chiefly concerned with syphilis, and his conception of the meaning of the cure for syphilis does not include any significance or symbolism. But for Rabelais, syphilis may exemplify the natural taint; symbolising the Fall as an impediment to union, (man to woman, the soul to God.)

As we are all the children of Adam, none of us is free from the taint of original sin. (Panurge is clearly so marked.) On meeting him Pantagruel exclaims that he has been brought to this pitiful state by the "adventures des gens curieulx"²⁷⁹ that may be, by the curiosity of Eve and of Adam. We are all in this sense diseased; all lepers, all syphilitic. By Baptism and by the Wine of the Eucharist we may regain that purity which is rightfully ours. It is clear that Rabelais saw this symbolic syphilis as common, at least among the ordinary men and women of the world. The view of syphilis being treated with mercury must have been a usual one. In P.²⁸⁰ the evil aspect of ambivalent salt is linked to the cure of mercury (see above, p. 67). When Epistemon returns from Paradise²⁸¹ it is with a report that syphilis abounds even there: "Le pape Sixte, gresseur de verolle. ---Comment! dist Pantagruel, y a il des verollez de par dela? Certes, dist Epistemon, je n'en veiz oncques tant; il y en a plus de cent millions. Car croyez que ceulx qui n'ont eu la verolle en ce monde cy l'ont en l'aulture."

It is important to recall that the contemporary cure for leprosy and venereal disease was the application of mercury in a paste. The victim was incarcerated in a tub (see illustration) after anointing with mercury. The tub was then placed, like the alchemical flask, over a slow fire, to induce sweating. Mercury was given orally. This treatment was prolonged until the combination of mercuric poisoning and heat caused an agonising intoxication, sweating of mercury through the pores, foaming at the mouth, some brain damage, and, they believed a cure. When the symptoms disappeared in the secondary stage of remission this was accepted as a cure,

even though they would reappear in a more virulent form after the passage of years. This would be treated as another disease. A reference to syphilis, or to the curing of it may be understood to represent this curative aspect of mercury. Rabelais explicitly refers to the treatment in the Prologue of Pantagruel "O Quante foys nous les avons veu à l'heure que ils estoient bien oingt et engressez à point, et le visaige leur reluysoit comme la claveure d'un charnier, et les dents leur tressailloyent comment font les marchettes d'un clavier d'orgues ou d'espinette quand on joue dessus, et que le gosier leur escumoit comme à un verrat que les vaultres ont aculé entre les toilles!"

Mottron²⁸² says that some have seen the grilling of Panurge before his meeting with Pantagruel as a cure for syphilis: "Desmanyard et Johanneau comme tant d'autres, n'hésitent pas à lui attribuer la syphilis: 'L'histoire de la mise en broche et de la grillade de Panurge, disent-ils, présente d'abord une énigme aussi folle qu'inexplicable. Elle s'explique pourtant tout naturellement, si on la regarde comme une allusion à la cure douloureuse du mal vénérien, par laquelle a pu très probablement passer l'auteur.'" "Il est permis de donner des soins à des syphilitiques sans avoir syphilis, nous fait remarquer Felix Brémond, Rabelais Médecin (Paris:1879)." Mottron comes to no conclusion as to why Rabelais chooses to fill his work with verolez, (Gargantua and Pantagruel.) But what is clear, he says,²⁸³ "D'un bout à l'autre de l'oeuvre, au contraire Rabelais s'est adressé aux vérolés comme leur protecteur, comme un véritable spécialiste qu'il a vraisemblablement été."

Rabelais's attitude changes in the course of his work. There are many references in G. and P. with few allusions in T.L., very few in Q.L. (which contains no insults to sufferers) and only very scattered allusions in C.L. This is to be expected. While the theme of

imperfection (disease) binds G. and P. (seventeen references) it is the theme of quest which binds T.L., Q.L. and C.L. The first two books are dedicated on one level to a select audience. Rabelais's new intention, from T.L. onward, is to address an audience of initiates he knows exists. It cannot be denied that there is a manifest change in the content, tone and spirit of the text which may not wholly be attributed to the advancing age of the author. In the list of references to disease noted below it should be realised that leprosy and venereal disease were confused in Rabelais's time and suffered the same treatment, 'le graissage' or anointing with mercury, was followed by 'le suplice de la casserole' (cooking). Mottron cites Theodoric²⁸⁴ "Je crois que cette maladie est une espèce de lèpre" and²⁸⁵ "La lèpre, confondue avec la vérole, a bénéficiée du même traitement mercuriel."

The following catalogue shows the wide incidence of allusions to these diseases throughout Rabelais's work: (first identified by Mottron.)

- G. Prol. p.5 "Beuveurs tres illustres, et vous, Verolez tres precieux"
- G. Ch 14 p.61 "Et fut l'an mil quatre cens
vingt de la vérole qui luy vint"
- G. Ch 38 p.144 "Une bosse chancreuse" etc.
- G. Ch 45 p.169 "La vérole"
- G. Ch 54 p.196 "Ci n'entrez, vérolés"
- P. Prologue p.216 "Véroles et Goutteux"
- P. Ch 1 p.225 "Étion, qui premier eut la vérole"
- P. Ch 1 p.230 "sueur des vérolés"
- P. Ch 7 p.254 "Almanach perpetuel pour les goutteux
et vérolés"
- P. Ch 11 p.277 "La vérole"
- P. Ch12 p.281 "Rogner les testons"
- P. Ch 15 p.296 "grosse vérole, menu comme pluie"
- P. Ch 16 p.302 "27 en eurent la vérole"
- P. Ch 17 p.307 "la vérole en vostre nécessité"
- P. Ch 29 p.360 "Ceulx qui ont eu la vérole"
- P. Ch 30 p.370 "le pape Sixte, graisseur de vérole"
- P. Ch 32 p.378 "Bardane" (The author shelters beneath
a bardane leaf. Mottron says p.65
"Je signale encore quelques allusions
à la bardane, dont l'eau des racines
était employé comme auxiliaire du
traitement au vif-argent." See also
Q.L., in praise of decretals.)
- P. Ch 33 p.382 "Une pisse-chaude" Pantagruel suffers;
(not true syphilis).
- T.L. Prol. p.403 "Caphars tous vérolés"
- T.L. Ch 9 p.438 "dangier de la vérole"
- T.L. Ch 32 p.542 "Squine" (cure for syphilis, see
Mottron p.62 "Thérapeutique anti -
syphilitique."
- T.L. Ch 48 p.599 "Tout chancreux"
- T.L. Ch 50 p.608 " Smilax" (Mottron p.63, salsepareille.)
Smilax Medica was a cure for syphilis.

- Q.L. Ch 30 p.126 "Pissechaulde"
 Q.L. Ch 52 p.195 "Bardane" "la vérole" "rougeole"
 C.L. Ch 9 p.312 "Vous, vérolés" (Ferremens)
 C.L. Ch 18 p.349 "Les vérolés étaient au premier rang"
 C.L. Ch 19 p.350 "les lèpreux"
 C.L. Ch 19 p.350 "le sommier de gaiac" also Rhubarb.
 (Rhubarb pills were given to Francois I
 by Barberossa to cure his syphilis.)
 C.L. Ch 20 p.354 "guarir les vérolés" also
 "espèce de vérole, nommée la Pellade."
 C.L. Ch 29 p.394 "Chancre, vérole, chaudepisse"

Both Pantagruel and Panurge seem to have suffered variations of venereal disease, but on closer examination the pisse-chaulde of Pantagruel is only a semblance of the real disease, being brought on by innocent causes, perhaps diet. But the larding and spitting of Panurge left little doubt in Mottron's mind. No-one is completely immune, from Panurge to prince to pope; the important thing is to undergo the cure, one which echoes in many ways the processes of alchemy. The symbolism of Mercurius in alchemy and the use of mercury in medicine was linked to Christian symbolism. As the sufferer of syphilis seeks a cure in mercury, so must the sinner seek to remove the taint of sin by immersion in Christ, the theological analogue of alchemical mercury.

10 How Alchemy Reinforces the Allegories of Separation, Rebirth and Marriage.

Alchemy represents an attempt to make physical and visible the spiritual path of perfectibility.

Even the lowest art of the 'souffleurs' still depended for its efficacy on the harmony of its intentions with those of the Itinerarium, reduced to a material level. Spiritual alchemy was rediscovered in physical alchemy (or the attempt to make gold), yet physical alchemy itself was based on its paradigm of the way of perfectability of the soul.

Separation, Rebirth and Marriage correspond to the alchemical stages of Separatio, Generatio and Coniunctis, followed by Projectio, or achievement of the Stone. To recapitulate, the three stages of the work preceding Projection relate squarely to the preparation of Panurge (the Materia Prima) for the mysterium coniunctis; and Projection (Salvation)

<u>Separatio</u>	-	The torture of uncertainty and physical dangers
<u>Generatio</u>	-	The renewed Panurge is reborn from the Earth
<u>Coniunctio</u>	-	Panurge is reconciled with the Divine Will at the <u>Dive Bouteille</u>

Relating the progress of Panurge to the progress of the materia prima has effectively supported the supposition of an allegory of the Itinerarium in Rabelais's work.

11 Summary of the importance of alchemy in Rabelais

Allusions to alchemy exist in all books, and direct references are present from first to last, beginning with the title-page of P. - feu M. Alcofribas, Abstracteur de Quinte Essence - through the title of G. - M. Alcofribas, Abstracteur de Quinte Essence - to the "Abstracteurs" of C.L.Ch 21 p.359. However, there is a notable scarcity of references (although not of

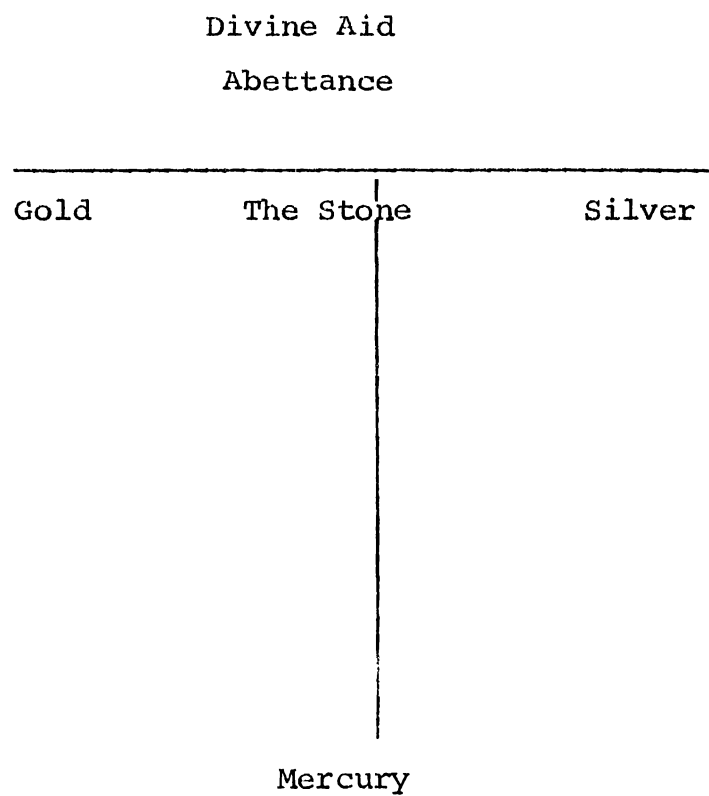
possible allusions) in T.L. An exception is T.L. Ch 3, p.422-3, when Rabelais refers in a comparison to the joys of the alchemists. Since it has been proposed that the last three books form a group with a common purpose (the quest) it remains to be explained why alchemical references appear to fall away at this point (T.L.)

The T.L., while being in a real sense the beginning of Rabelais's second great work, which will conclude with the response of the Dive Bouteille, is also in a way disconnected from the last two books. While the voyage (peregrinatio) is decided upon in T.L., it does not commence there - T.L. is a book of questions, not of working out the solutions. The will to undertake the Itinerarium comes about only at the end of T.L. Of all occult methods, T.L. will be seen to be most plainly concerned with Divination, and Alchemy must wait to come into its own in Q.L. and C.L.

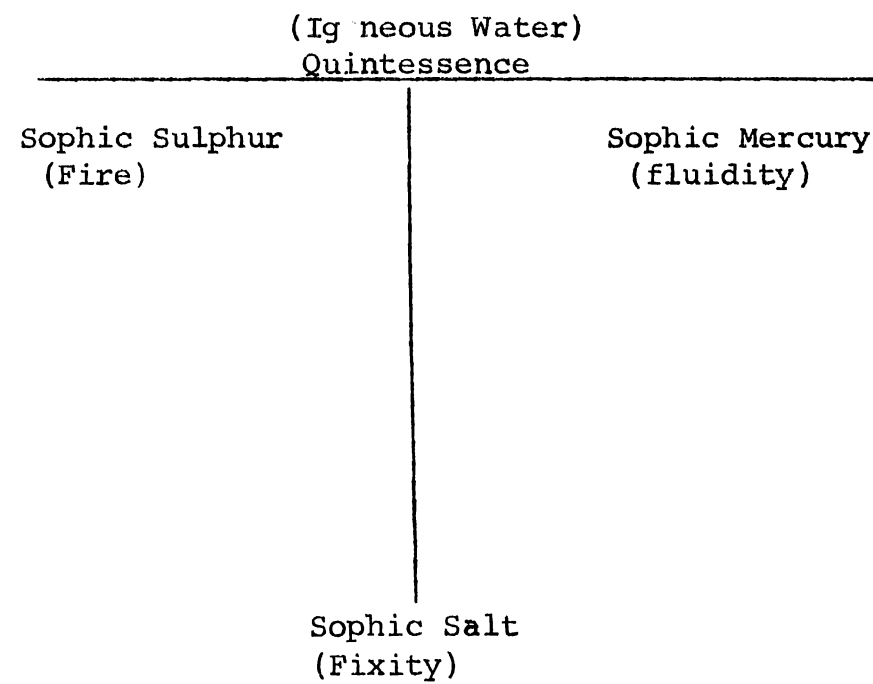
In P. and G. the Giants are given an alchemical character. Panurge is then introduced as the materia fit for transmutation, and the T.L. continues to show his imperfections. Nevertheless, Panurge has a quality of nobility which endears him to Pantagruel, despite his faults. Because of this spark of soul a process of refinement will lead to the final triumph and salvation of the miserable specimen Panurge represents in P. and T.L. Logically, alchemy becomes more important as the process of refinement (the voyage) becomes central to the narrative. (Q.L., C.L.)

A.) Alchemy

Primitive Alchemy



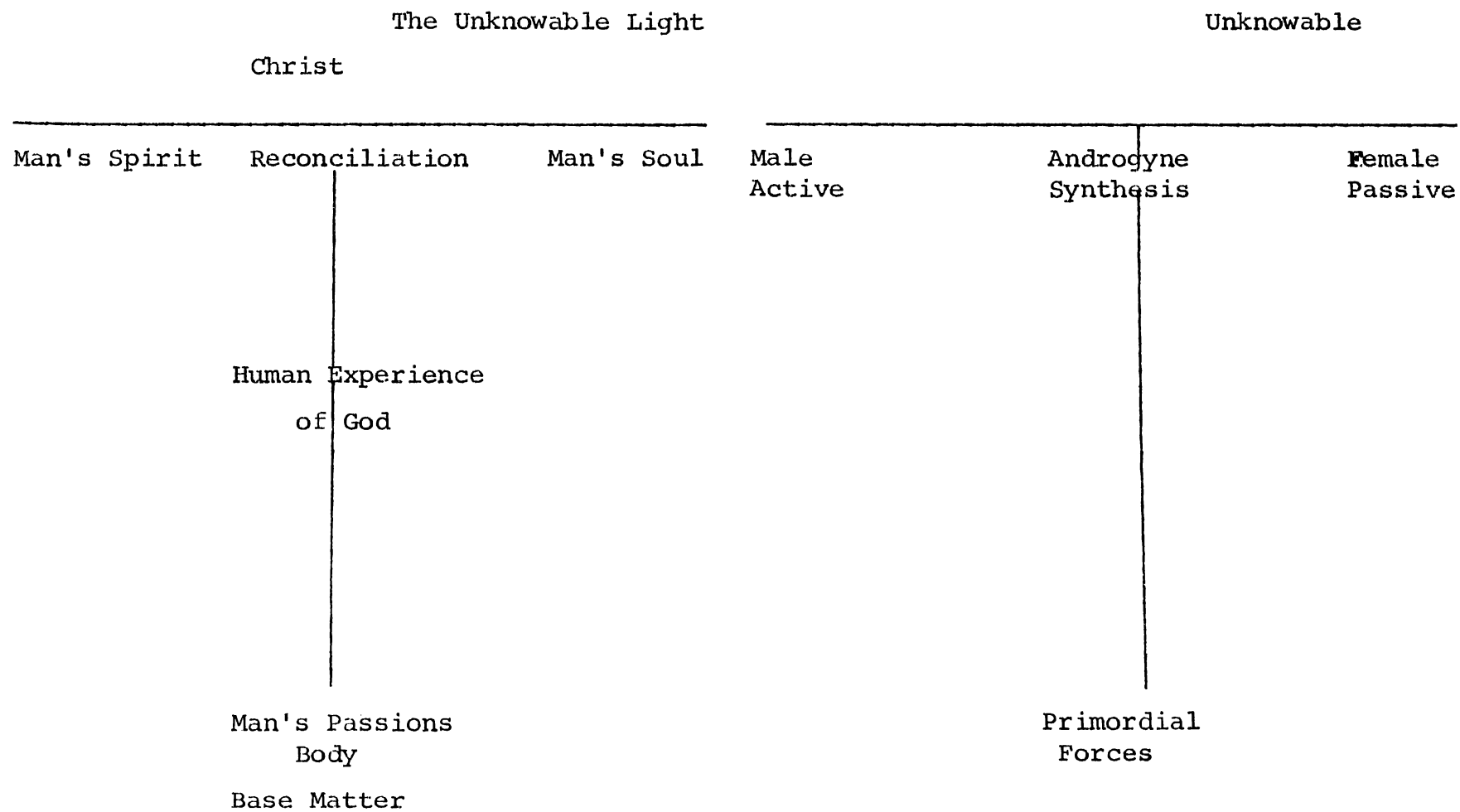
Developed Physical Alchemy



B.) Philosophy and Theology

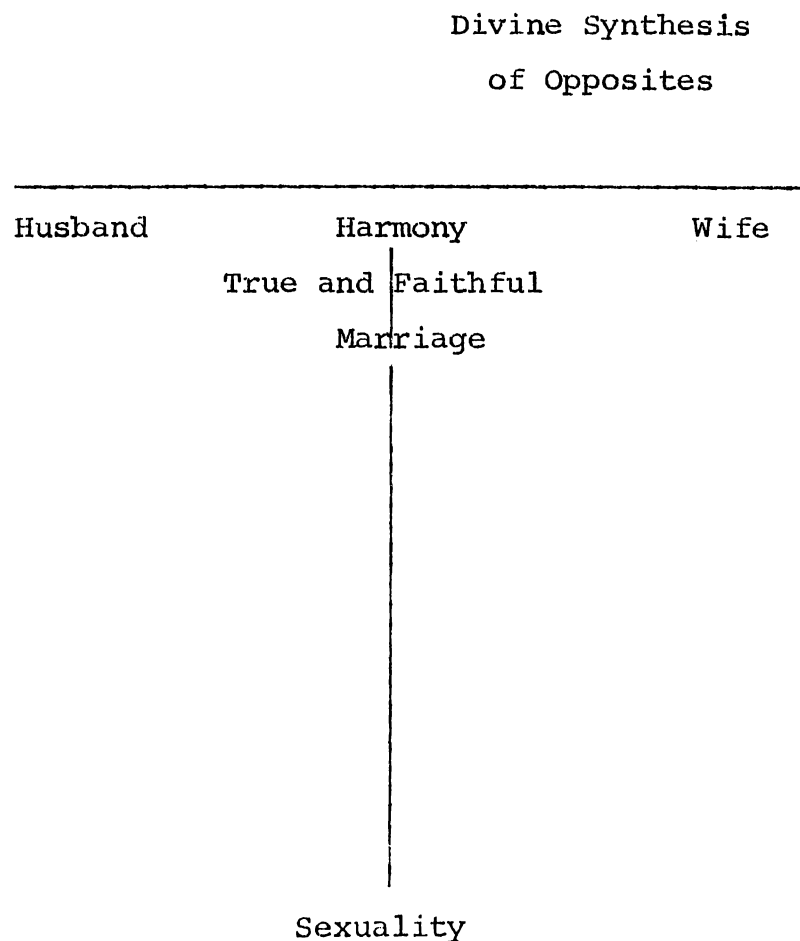
Theology

Philosophy

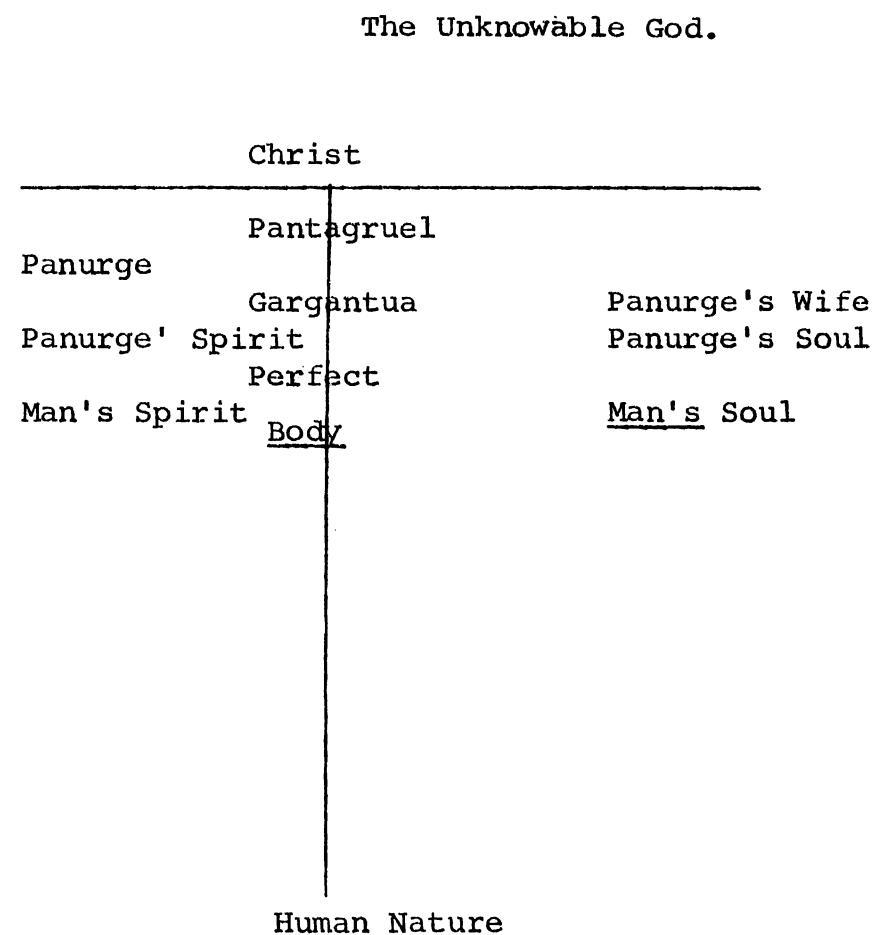


C.) Tau Symbolism Applied to Rabelaisian Character and Action.

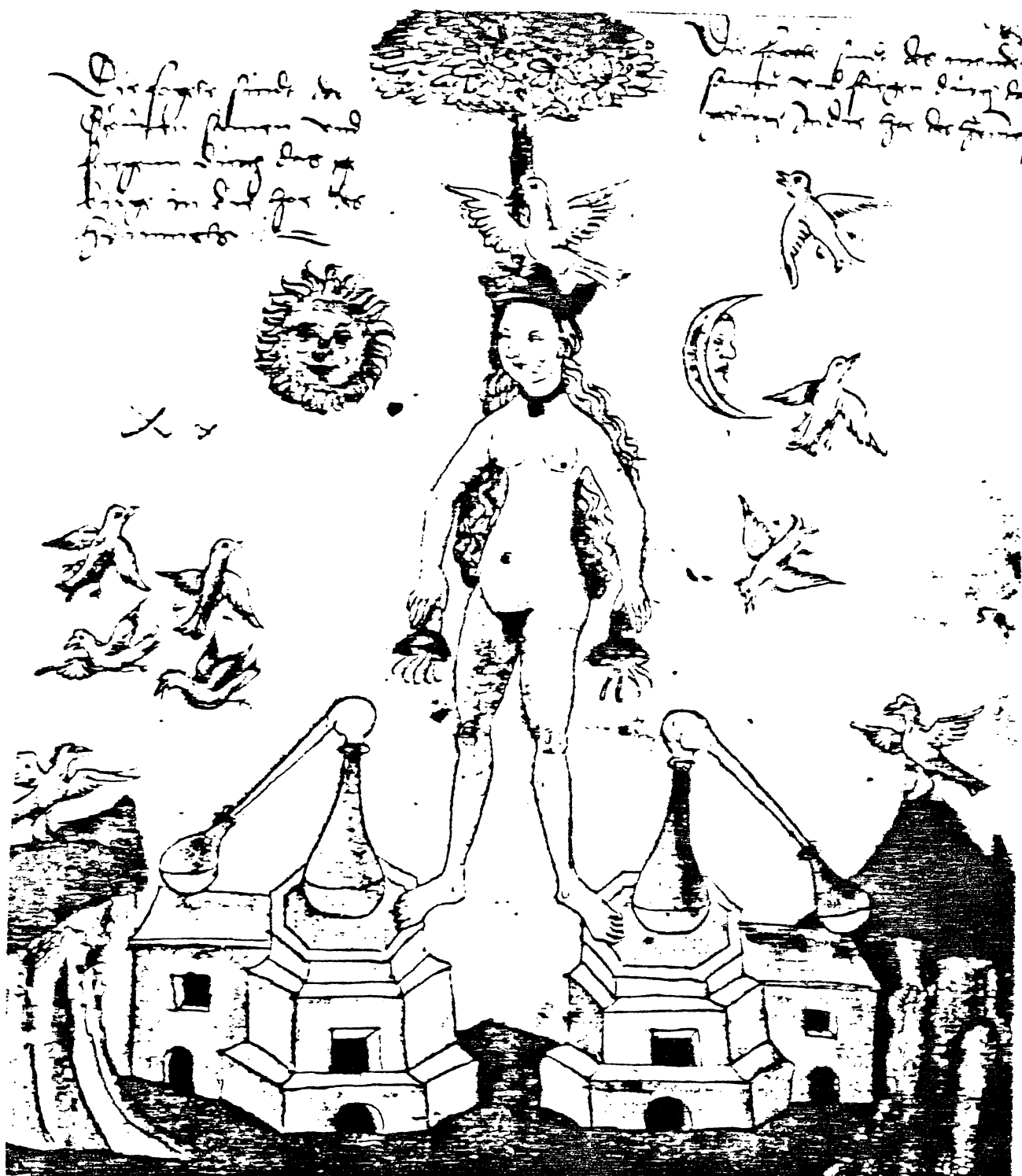
First Level of Allegory



The Second Level



The point at which Pantagruel meets Christ does not express union with God; by attaining union within himself, man reflects the unapproachable unity of God.

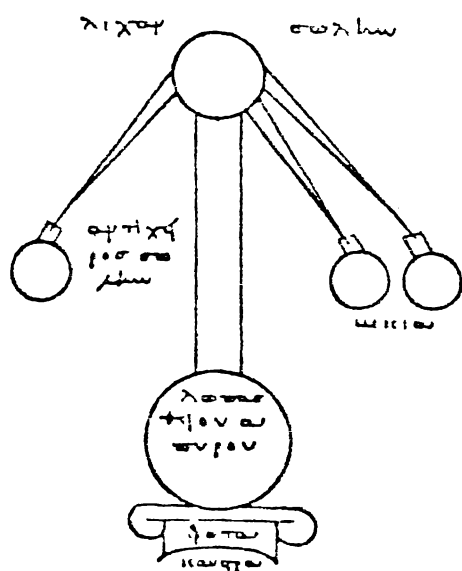


I The union of Moist and Dry; De Alchimia (Sixteenth Century)
 Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, Leiden, Cod. Voss. chem.
 fol.29



2 Death and Rebirth. The materia prima is sealed within the coffin (flask), in preparation for rebirth.

Anon. (Fifteenth Century), Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cod. Pal. lat. 1066 f.218v.



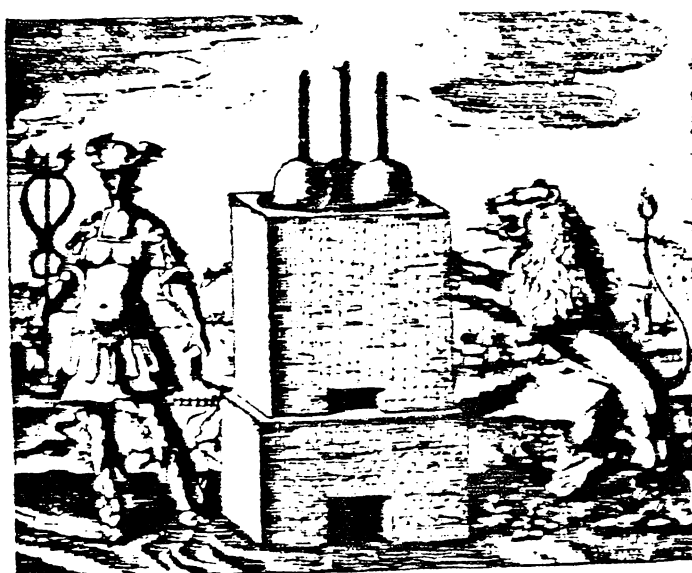
Alambic à trois recipients (tribicos).
Reduction size x/1.

- 3 The Tribicos or three-bowled alambic, (Tribouillet?)
M.P.E. Berthelot, Collection des Anciens Alchimistes Grecs.

- 4 The alchemical flask was heated in water (bain-Marie).
Anon. (Fifteenth Century)
British Museum, Harley 2407
f.106 v.



- 5 Mercury is the catalyst of the alchemical operation.
J.D. Mylius, Philosophia Reformata (1622) 1033 1.7





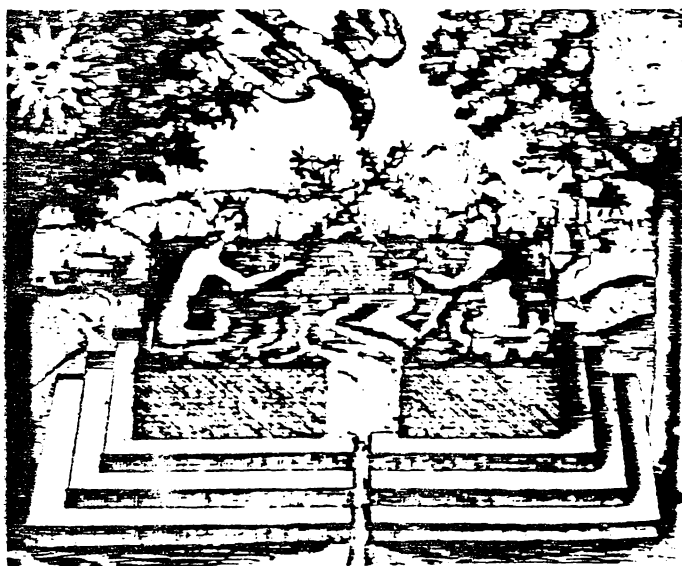
6 The alchemist ponders
the peregrinatio;
ibid. Philosophia Reformata

7 The struggle of the
ingredients; Philosophia
Reformata



8 Another illustration of
the struggle of the
elements; Philosophia
Reformata

9 The Marriage (Coniunctio)
Philosophia Reformata

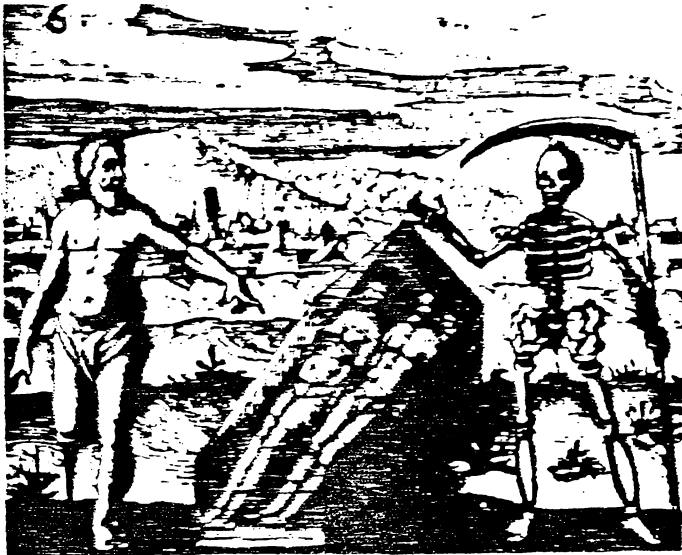


10 Coniunctio
 ibid.

11 Coniunctio
 ibid.



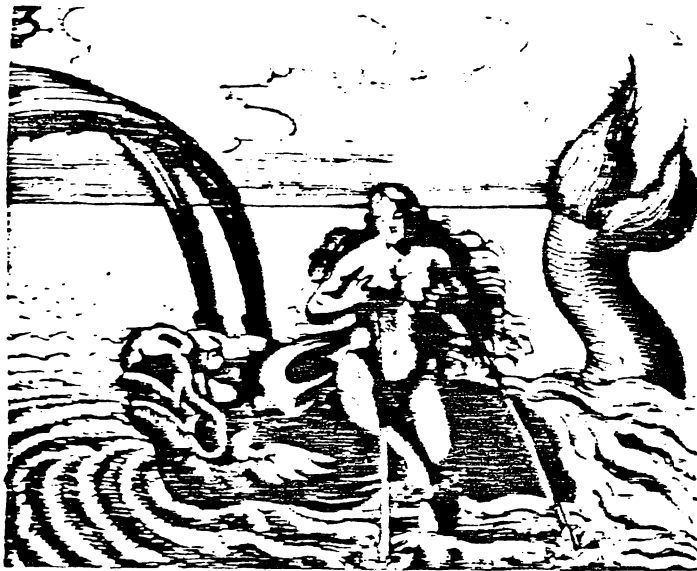
12 Coniunctio
ibid.



13 Separatio or Death;
Philosophia Reformata

14 Rebirth in Perfection;
Philosophia Reformata





- 15 This is the Nature which conquers Nature
Philosophia Reformata



- 16 The moment of Projectio, Union and Regeneration.
Philosophia Reformata *ibid.*

PVTREFACTIO



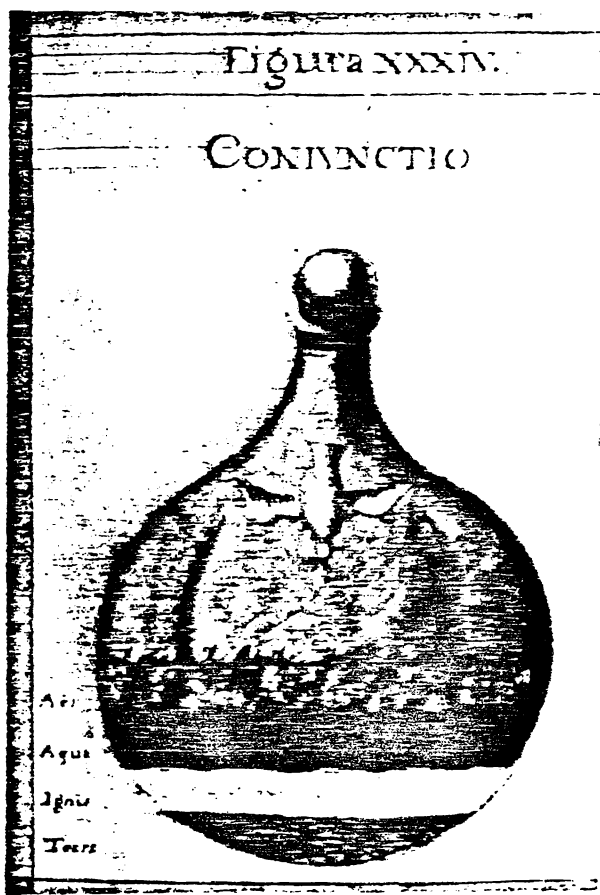
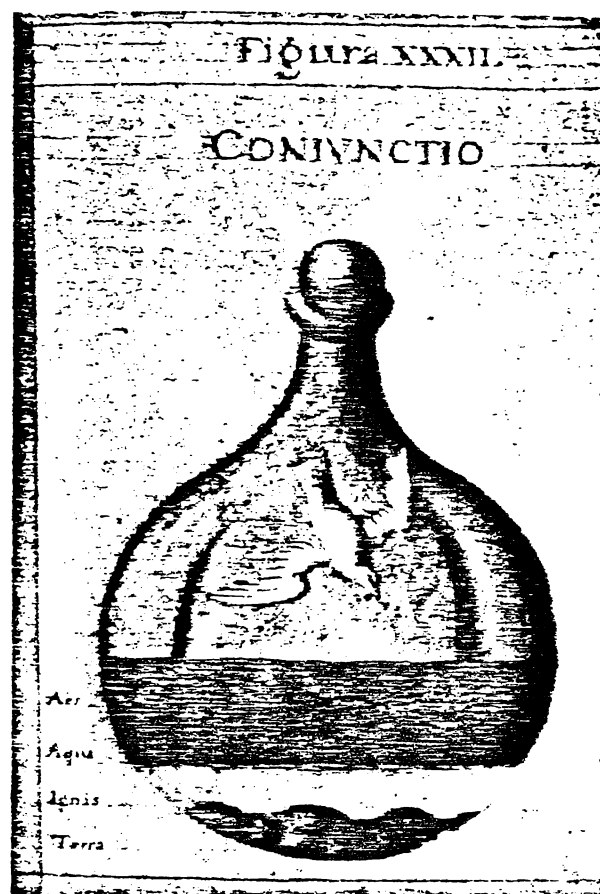
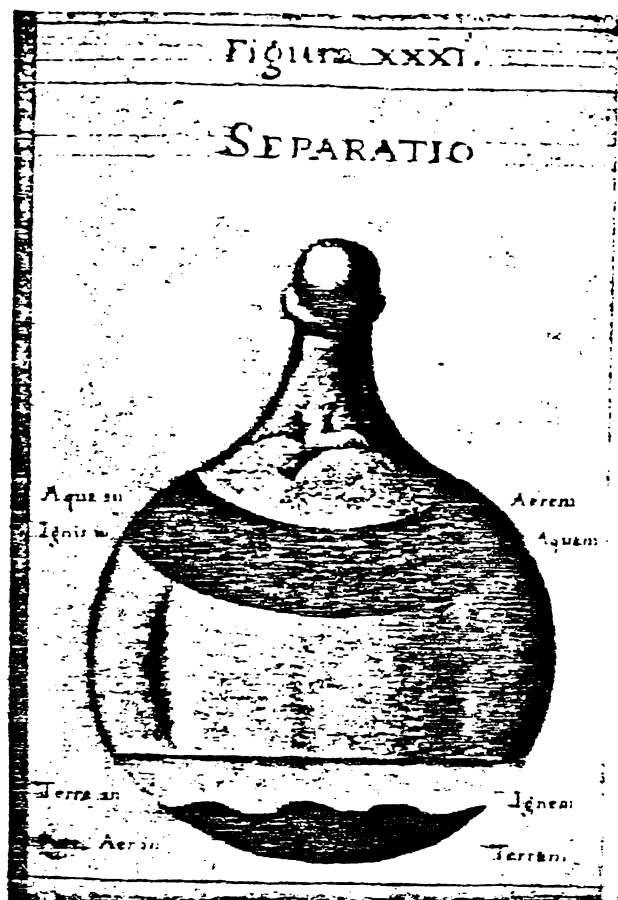
17 No Generation without Corruption

Georgius Anrach, Pretiosissimum Donum Dei (Seventeenth Century)

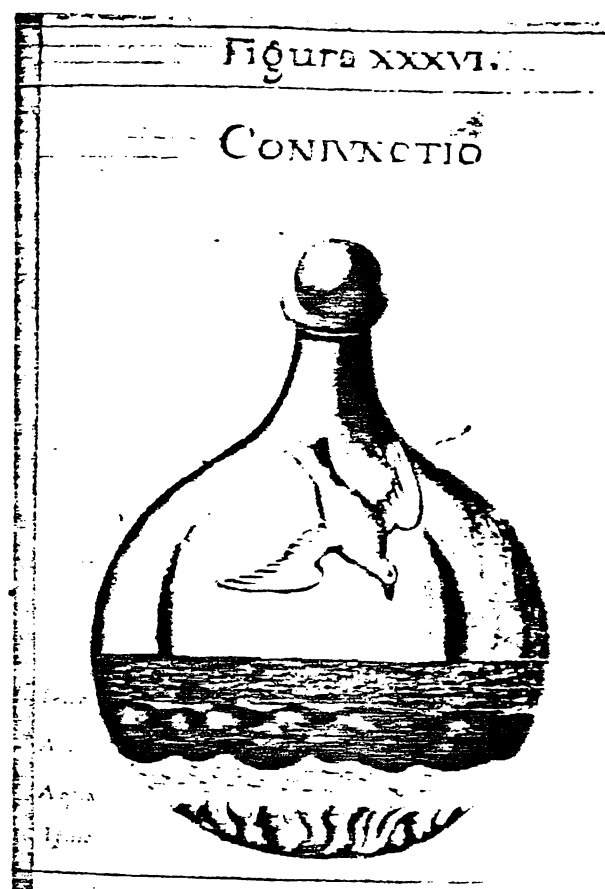
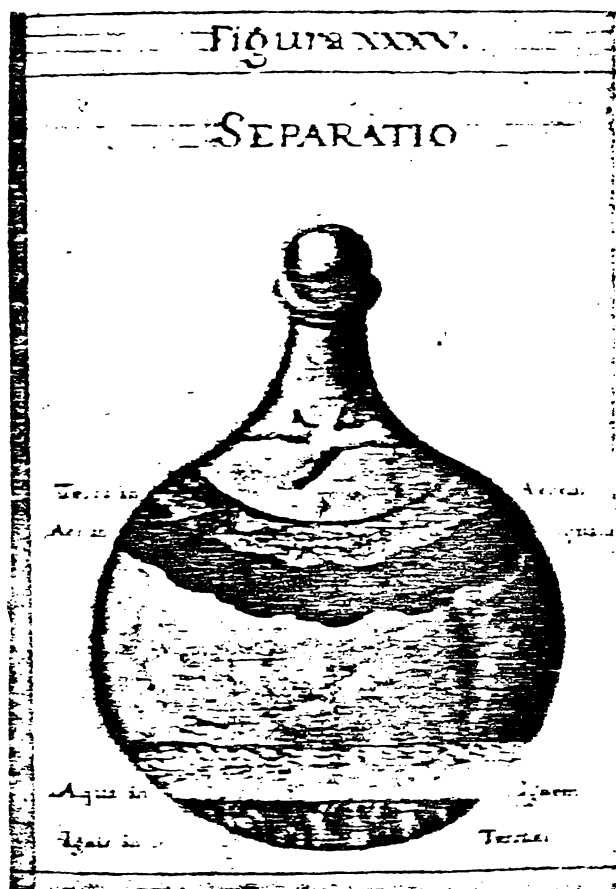
Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Paris, Ms. 974

SOLVTIO PERFECTA





19 The sequence of alchemical operations; Sapientia veterum philosophorum (Eighteenth Century), Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Paris, Ms. 974



34



21 The true marriage of Sun and Moon, opposites. Rosarium Philosophorum (Sixteenth Century); Stadbibliothek Vadiana, St. Gallen, Ms. 394a, f.34

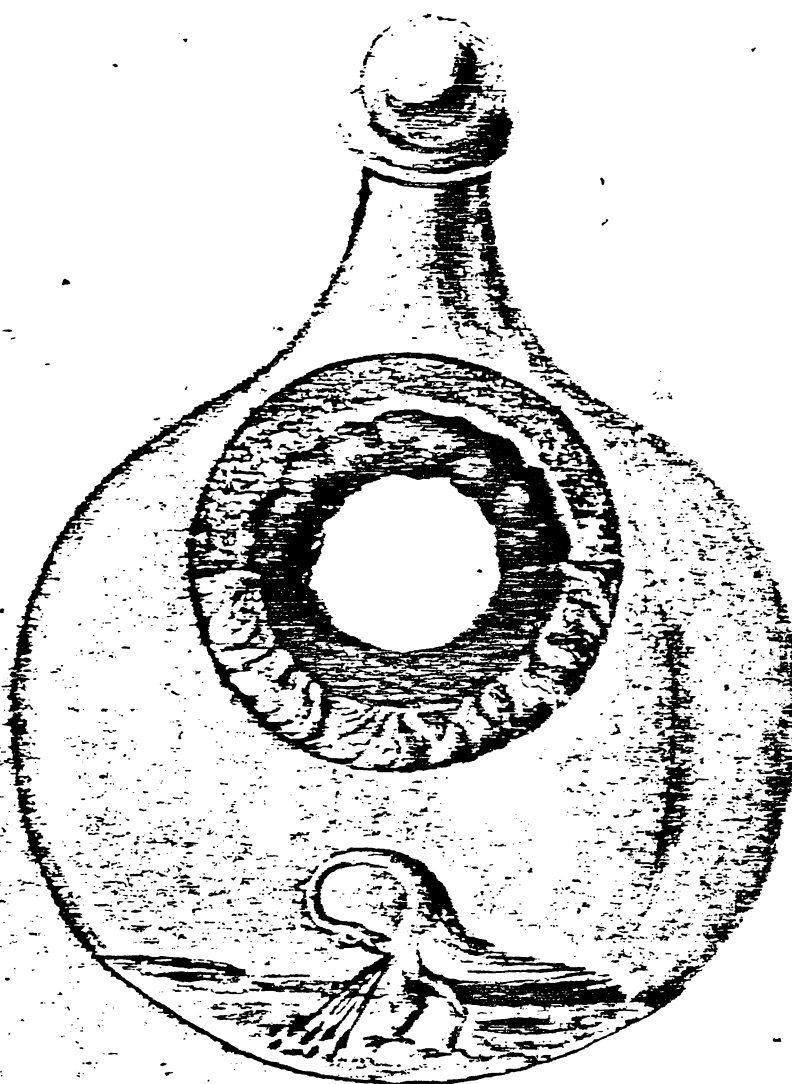


22 The perfect matter yields up the metals he has swallowed.
De Alchimia (Sixteenth Century) Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit
 Leiden, Cod. Voss. Chem. f.29



23 The Awakening of the Philosopher (The Judgement of Paris)
 See the awakening of Pantagruel, near Chaneph (Le Quart Livre)

EXALTATIO V. ESSENTIÆ



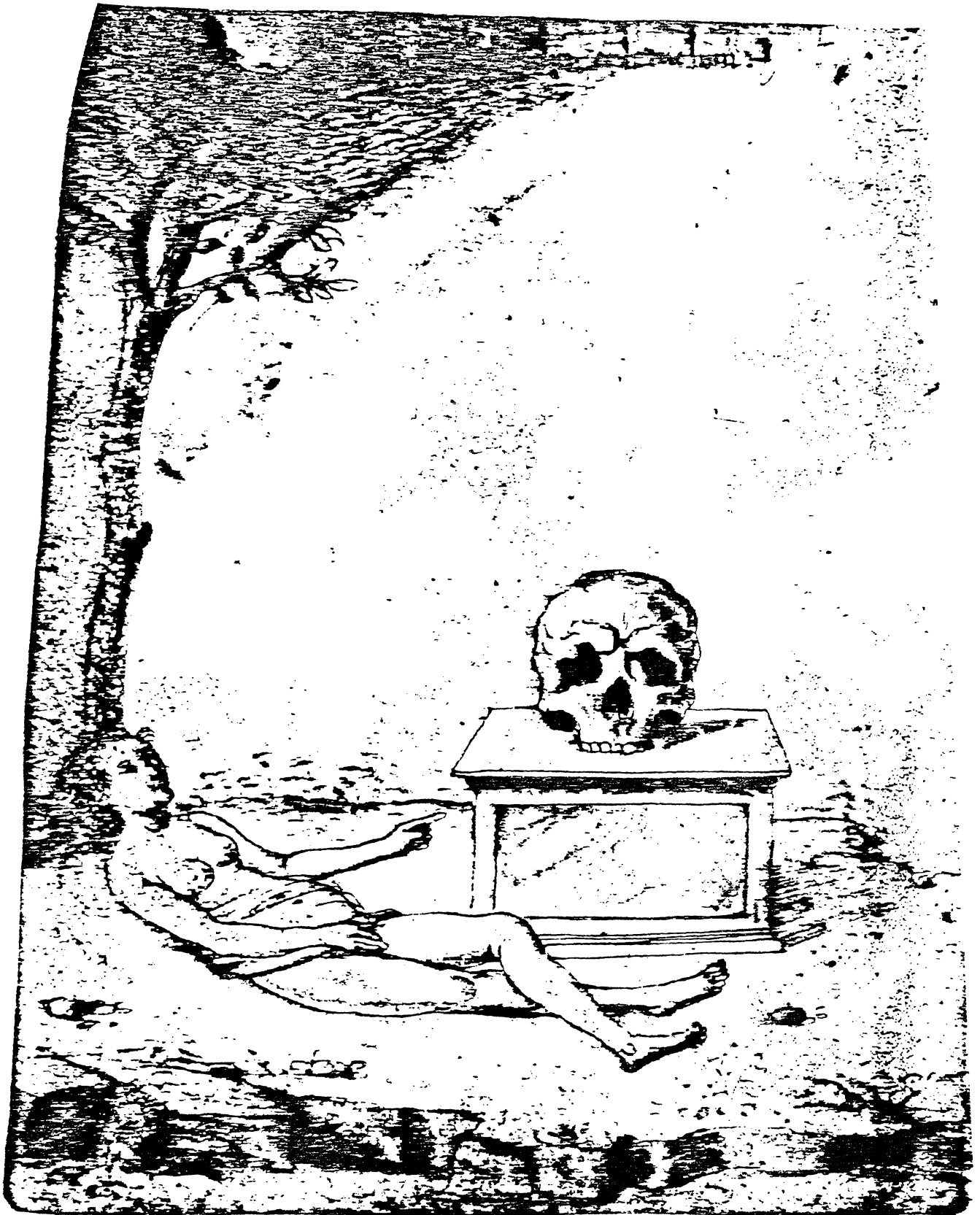
- 24 The Pelican (Christ) brings new life by shedding its own blood. In Alchemy, the Pelican symbolises the Quintessence. Sapientia veterum philosophorum (Eighteenth Century), Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Paris, Ms. 974 fig.xxxvii



- 25 Pan(urge) is the son of Mercury. Anon. (Fourteenth Century) Bibliotheca Mediceo-Laurenziana, Florence, Ms. Ashburn 1166, f.16 17v. Pan's horn-pipe is reminiscent of the alchemical vessel and of Tribouillet's oracular utterance. Pan is horned, but is not cuckolded. These may be the horns Panurge is promised.

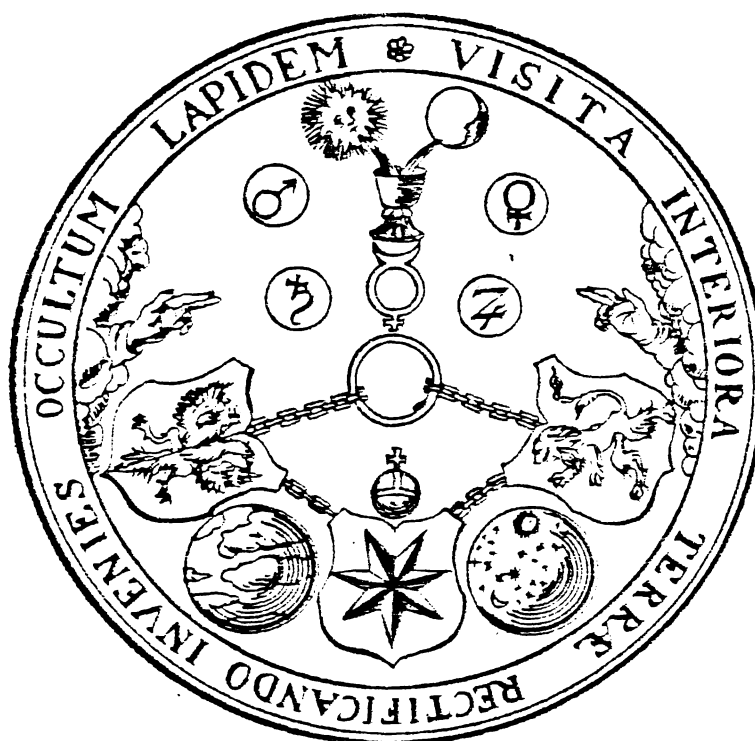


26 No Generation without Corruption. Anon. (Fifteenth Century)
ibid. Ashburn Ms. 1166, f.16



27 No Generation without Corruption, *ibid.* f.17v.

TABULA SMARAGDINA HERMETIS.



VERBA SECRETORUM HERMETIS.

It is true, certain, and without falsehood, that whatever is below is like that which is above, and that which is above is like that which is below, to accomplish the one wonderful work. As all things are derived from the One Only Thing, by the will, and by the word of the One Only One who created it in His Mind, so all things owe their existence to this Unity by the order of Nature, and can be improved by Adaptation to that Mind.

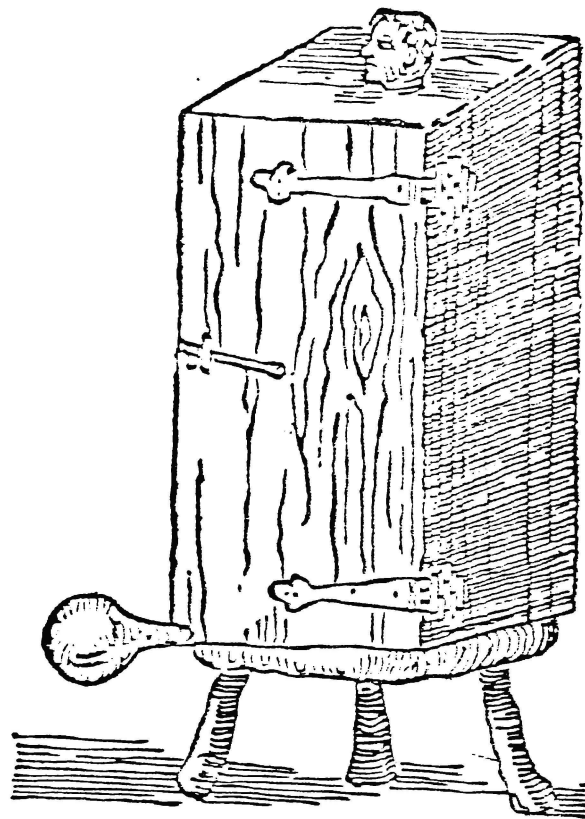
Its Father is the Sun; its Mother is the Moon; the Wind carries it in its womb, and its nurse is the Earth. This Thing is the Father of all perfect things in the world. Its power is most perfect when it has again been changed into Earth. Separate the Earth from the Fire, the subtle from the gross, but carefully and with great judgment and skill!

It ascends from earth to heaven, and descends again, new born, to the earth, taking with itself thereby the power of the Above and the Below. Thus the splendor of the whole world will be thine, and all darkness shall flee from thee.

This is the strongest of all powers, the Force of all forces, for it overcometh all subtle things, and can penetrate all that is solid. For thus was the world created, and rare combinations, and wonders of many kinds are wrought.

Hence I am called HERMES TRISMEGISTUS, having mastered the three parts of the wisdom of the whole world. What I have to say about the masterpiece of the alchemical art, the Solar Work, is now ended.

- 28 VITRIOL of Basil Valentinus; the Lapis is to be found inside the earth. Also, the text of the Emerald Table of Hermes Trismegistus.
- 29 (overleaf) The Cave of the Philosophers is to be found within the Monte delle Ebrei. Nicola d'Antonio degli Agli, (1480), Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cod. Urb. lat.899 f.106 v.



17th
century

30 This sweatbox resembles sixteenth century equipment for the treatment of syphilis.

—, A 17th Century Sweat Box for Treatment of Syphilis. (From G. Bugger [ed.], *Das Buch der grossen Chemiker*, Vol. I. Berlin: Verlag Chemie. 1929-30.)



31 The Dross of Nature is a spouting whale endangering these pilgrims. Anon. (Sixteenth Century) Woodcut.

The Hermetic Philosophy.

I attract all those seeking God and the truth; those alone will find the art. I am the Magnet-Stone of divine love; attracting the iron-hard man on the road to the truth.

PRIMA MATERIA.

I am the moisture which preserves everything in nature and makes it live. I pass from the upper to the lower planes. I am the heavenly dew and the fat of the land. I am the fiery water and the watery fire; nothing may live without me in time. I am close to all things; yes, in and through all things, nevertheless unknown. Nevertheless I only am in the grasp of the Philosophers. I unfold and fold up again. Bringing contentment to the artists. Without me thou canst do nothing. Furthering any of your affairs. Therefore fear God, pray and work in patience. If you find me your want would cease, and you have a merciful God who befriendeth thee and giveth thee whatever thy heart may desire.

This moisture must be caught, lest it should change into vapor or fume.

The two vapors or fumes are the roots of the art.

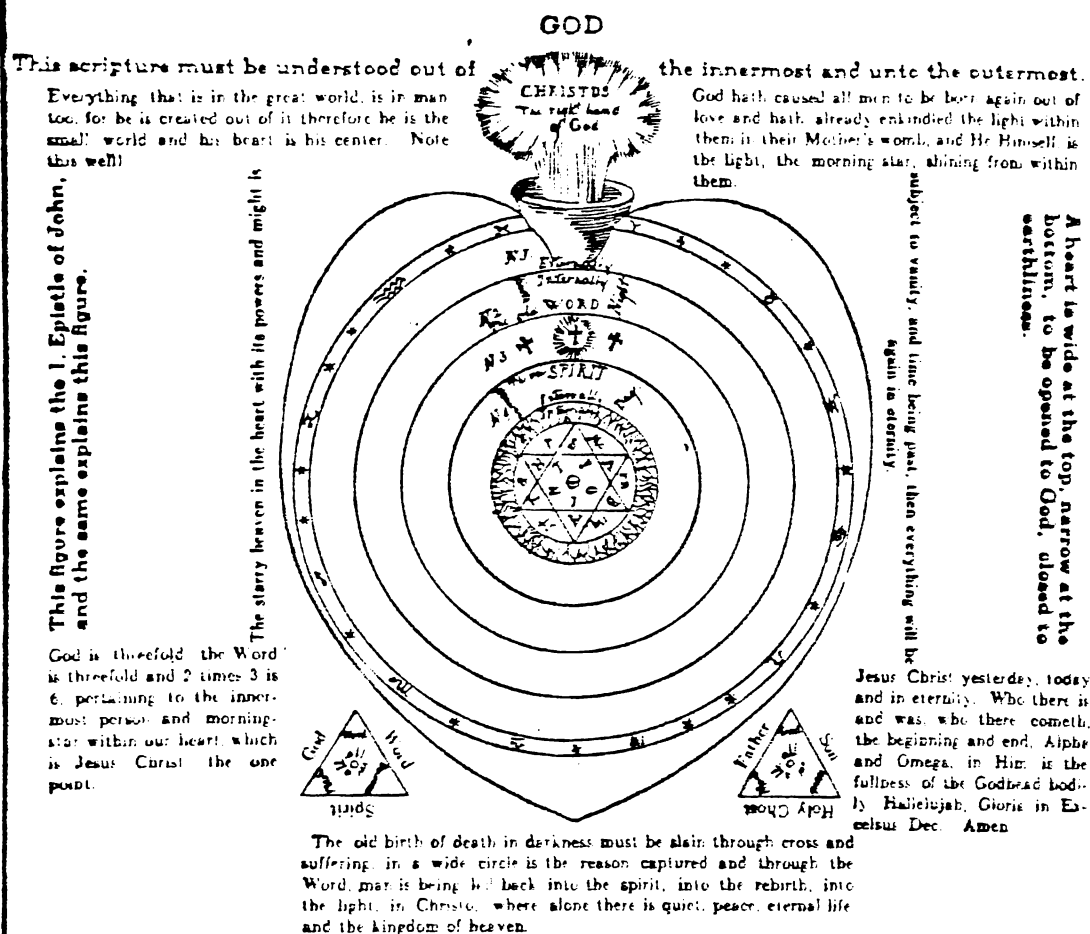
The Prima Materia derives its existence from the Fiat, the Word of creation. And this Word comes from the Father, who is the creator of all things, and the Spirit radiates from both. This is God's life giving air. Then, too, air brings to life everything within the elements. The fire warms all things, the water refreshes, delights and saturates all things. And the nitrous earth, Mother-like, nourishes and sustains all things, the air was born out of fire, and in turn makes the fire burn, that it may live, but air in the form of water is food for the fire, and the fire burns into this element. Water and dew of the ground, the greasy fat dew of the ground, the earth as keeper of nitrous salt nourishes it. For the womb of the earth is the sulphuric nitrous-salt of nature, the one good thing God has created in this visible world.

The same Salt-Mother of the elements is the nitrous, aluminous and spirital gumous water, earth or crystal, which has Nature in its womb, a Son of the Sun, and a Daughter of the Moon. It is a Hermaphrodite, born out of the wind, a phoenix living in fire, a pelican, reviving his dead young ones with its blood, the young leopards drowned in the water, whose nurse is the earth, whose Mother is the wind, whose Father is the fire, the water her caretaker and drink, one moist and so stone, one water and so water, nevertheless a stone of living power and a water of living might; a sulphur, a mercury, a salt, hidden deep in nature, and which no fool has ever known nor seen.

Deus vendit sua dona pro labore.

- 32 The Rosicrucians retain many of the hermetic symbols. Here the magnet (see C.L. Ch 36 p.426 'Un diamant Indique') attracts the seeker towards the truth.

Picture of the Human Heart in the Old and the New Creature.



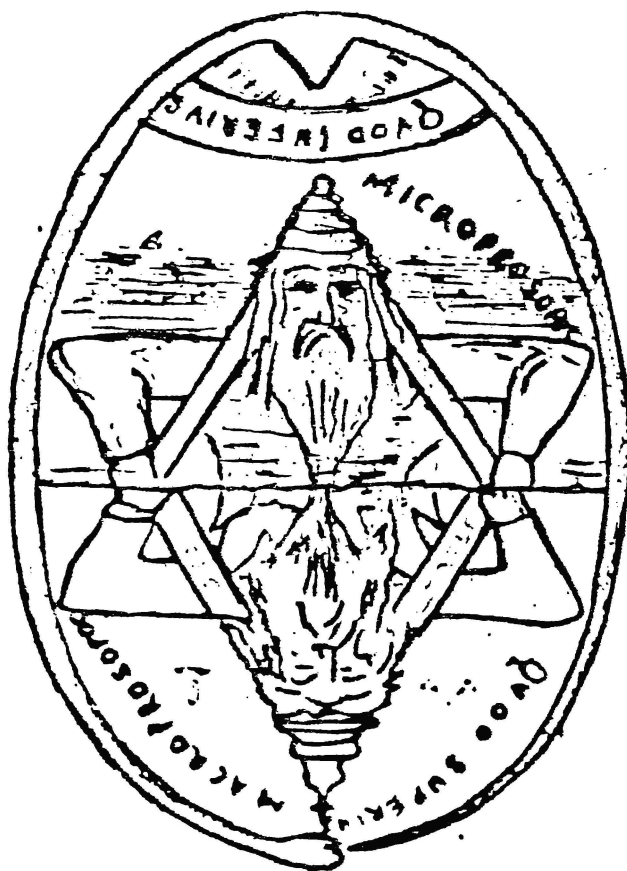
- No. 1 Here is Christ born a man according to the flesh of Maria, about this He said in John 6. The flesh profiteth nothing. Here is the human birth from Adam, the old Creature, sinful, mortal, does not come into the heavenly kingdom; man liveth in darkness, blindness, night and death, in his reason from the power of the stars and the 4 Elements, out of which come sickness, out of which are invented the handling of the arts, higher schools, ecclesiastical and secular offices and position, so far they are in the heart. Over which rules the authority which God ordered. All this is in vain and mortal, into this darkness shineth the light and the darkness comprehendeth it not. Herin belong Christians, Jews, Turks and heathens; they are altogether sinners and lack the glory they ought to have before God; they are all resolved in God's wrath.
- No. 2 Here Christ is grieved in his soul and tempted by the devil, the innermost conscience out of the stars is being tempted by lust of the eyes, deed of the flesh and of vanity, with assurance and despair. Here the Holy Scriptures become dead letters, bringing forth sects, superstitious and fleshly priests, fearing God's word might be taken away from them, meaning the deed letter. The authorities want to fight with the sword for religion, killing the believers. Christ and His apostles, thinking to serve God, divine things are just so much foolishness to them; they can understand Christ only in the flesh and according to the tribe of David, they make divisions, cliques and sects.
- No. 3 Here is the separation of light from darkness, the dawn comes up, all temporalities will be forsaken, through many sorrows we have to enter into the kingdom of God, man is a fool to the world, Christ is being crucified in him and he in Christ, therefore he is a cross to the world and the world a cross to him; here stands calmness, whoever turneth toward the light lives in Christ and Christ in him in time and eternity.
- No. 4 The old hath to go entirely; for behold, I make all things new. Here is the rebirth by water and spirit, from on high through the word of truth, a new creature born of God. Christ hath become flesh, resurrected in the human being, awakening him from the dead, nourishing him with his real flesh and blood unto life. Christ is the word of the father, the book of life, the Gospel, the power of God He causeth belief, and He blesseth. He is king, ruling with the sword of the spirit, man becometh divine nature, hath his life in heaven with Christ.
- No. 5 The Holy Ghost is the ointment, teacheth men innermost. Divine things, man hath become a temple of God, indwelt by the Holy Trinity. Christ in man, God and man, cringing about love. Christ is all in all, the sole One.

O LORD, merciful GOD, open the human heart, to understand Thy secrets through the Holy Ghost.

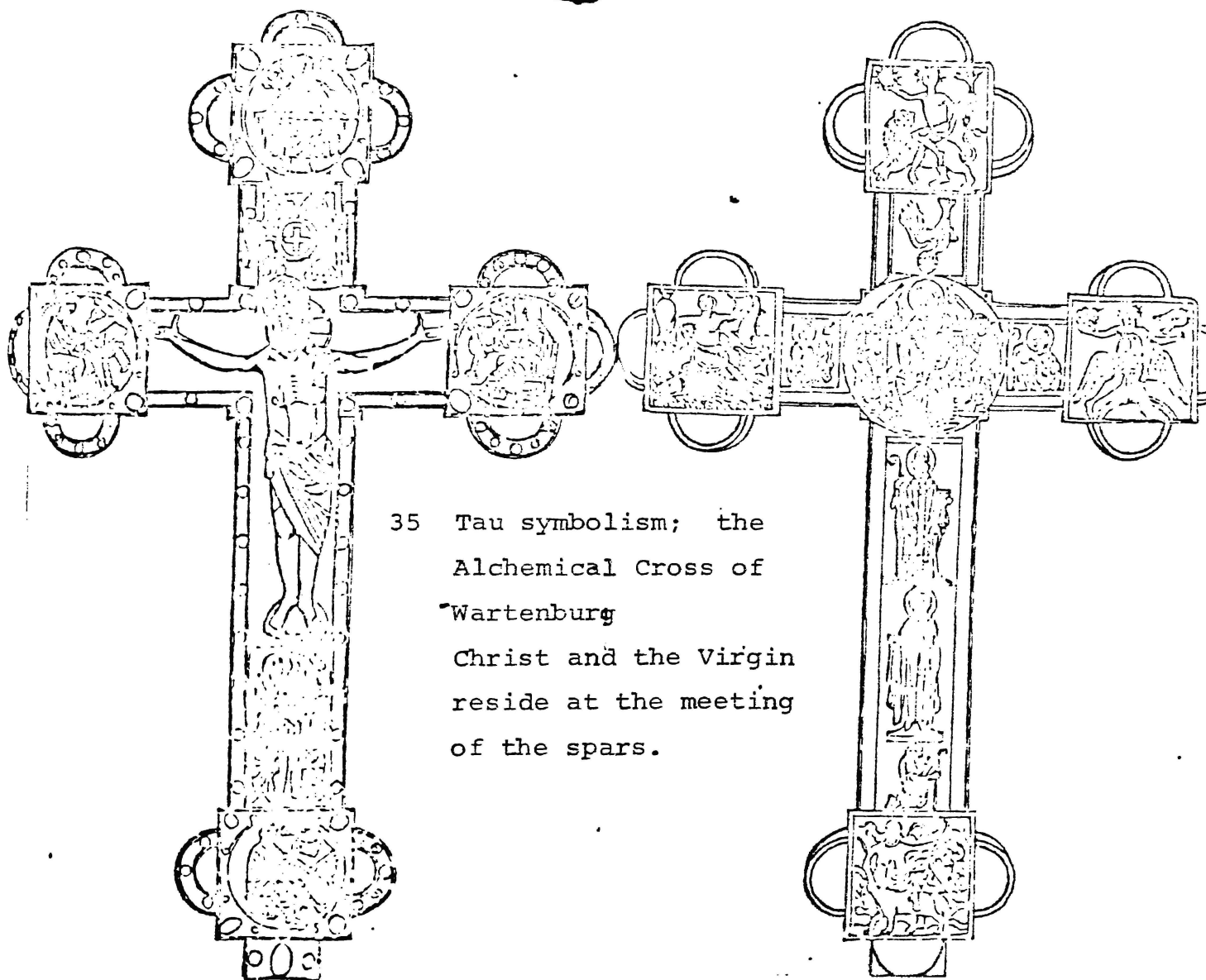
Who hath well understood the figure,
Hath understanding, also, of the scriptures.
Three worlds hath God created,
In heaven love, on earth mercy,

Wrath in hell and darkness;
This certainly is a picture of man.
On this earth he only hath to choose
Which way to go, the end is to his will.

33 Rosicrucians see a five-fold division of the life of the philosopher: Ignorance-----Conflict-----The Fool turns from the world-----Rebirth-----Bliss.

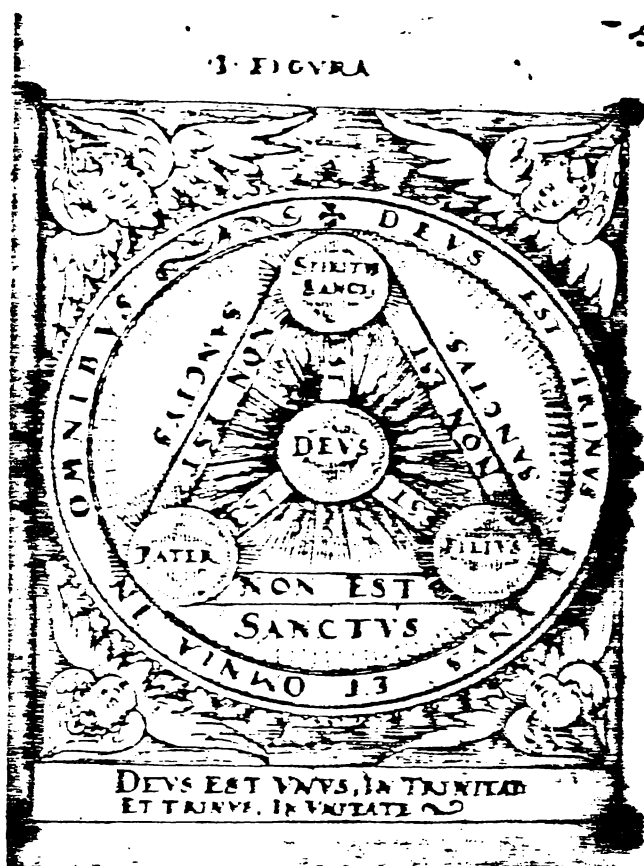
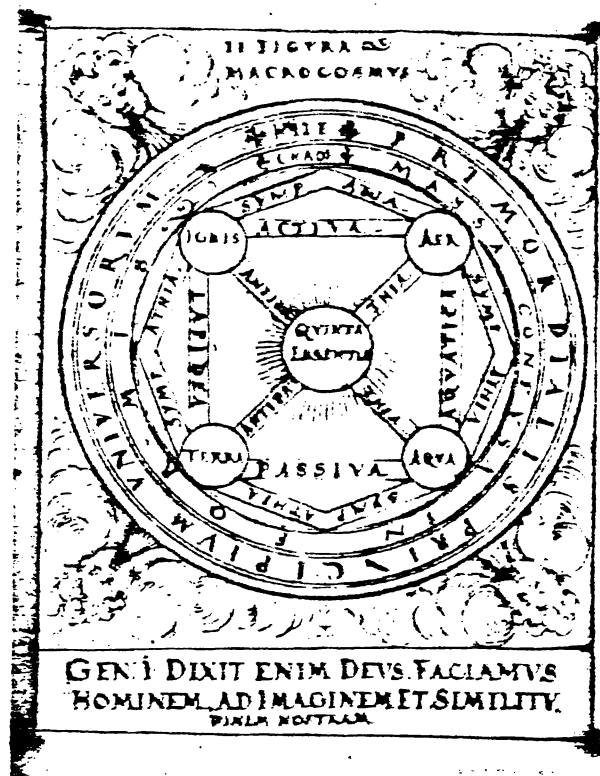


34 The Seal of
Solomon; As
Above, So Below.

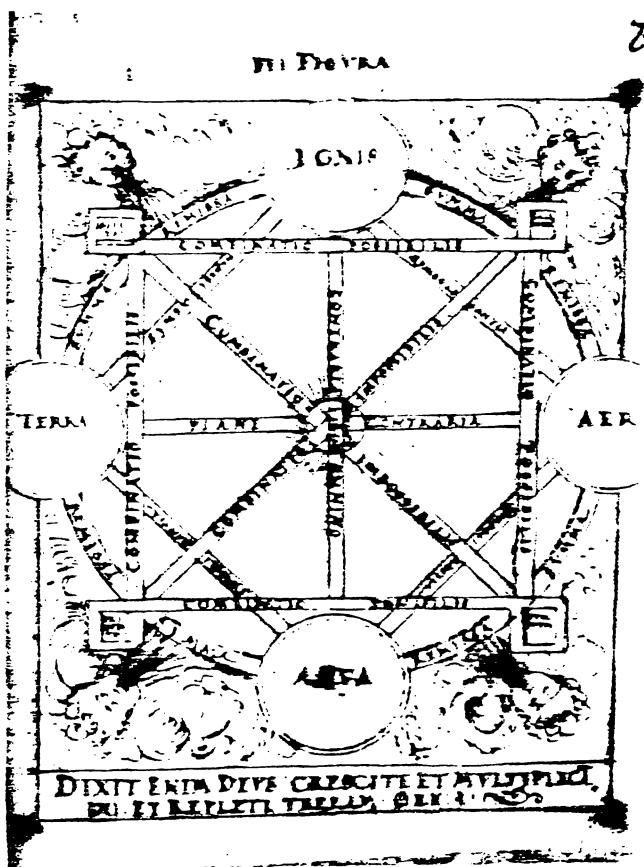


35 Tau symbolism; the
Alchemical Cross of
Wartenburg
Christ and the Virgin
reside at the meeting
of the spars.

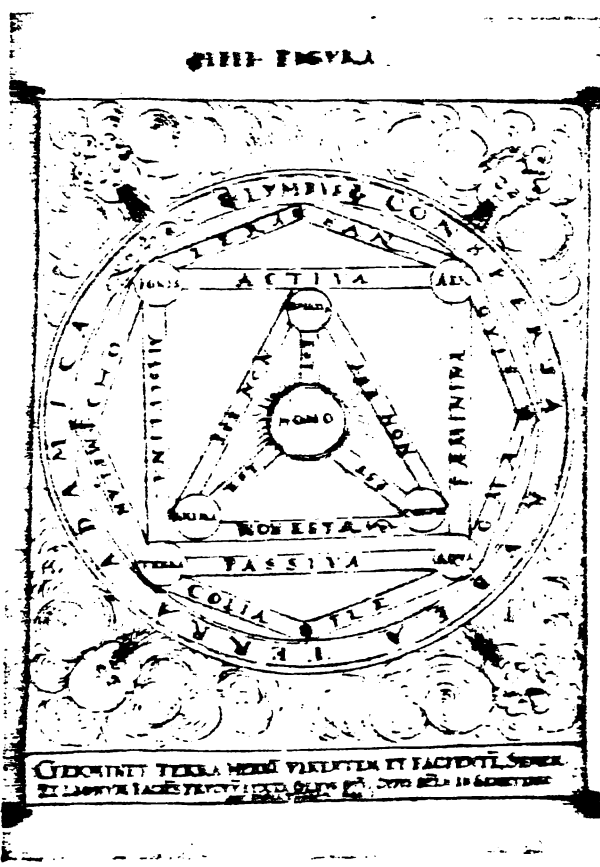
I FIGURA

II FIGURA DE
MACROCOSMVS

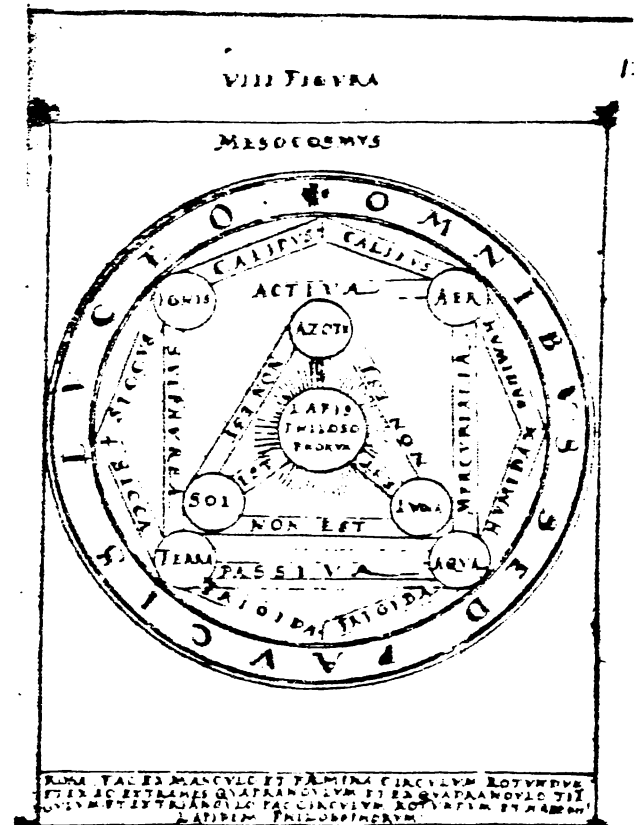
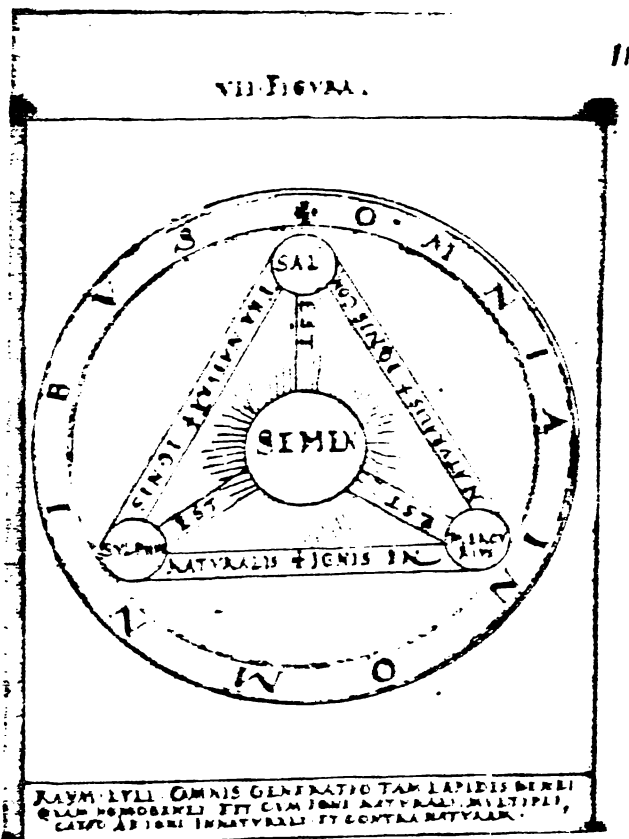
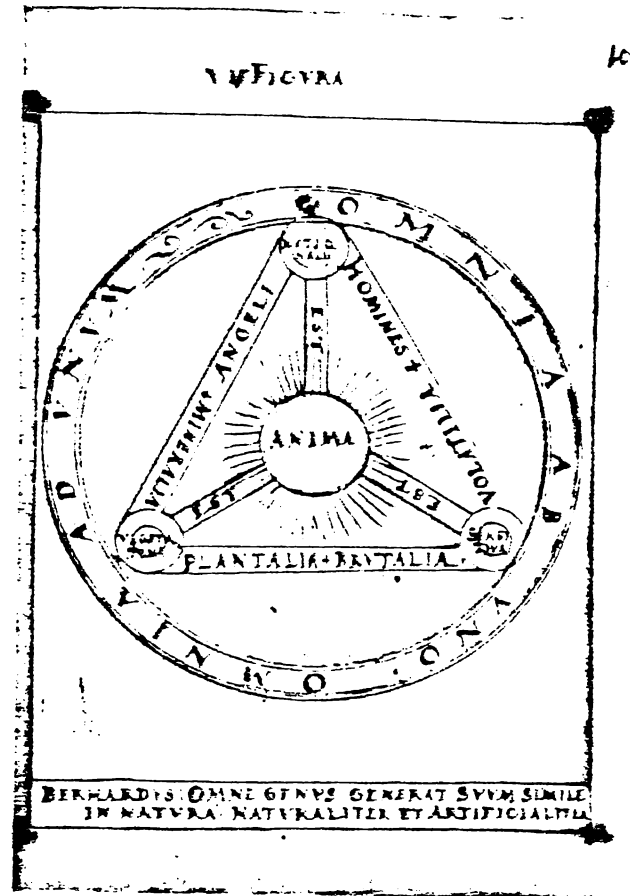
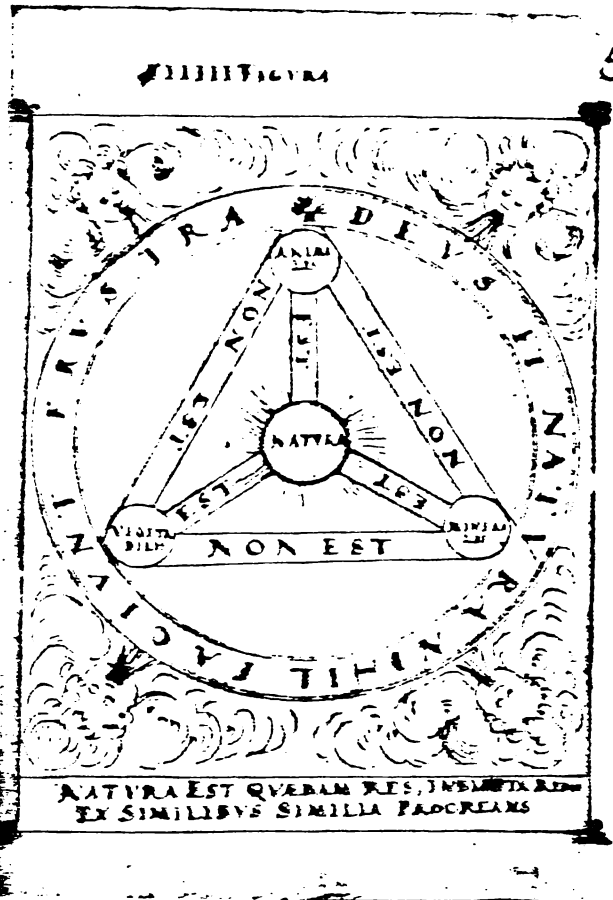
III FIGURA



IV FIGURA



36, 37 (overleaf) Y and Δ with Deus, Quintessentia, Homo, Natura, Anima, Semen and Lapis in the centre. Cornelius Petraeus, *Sylva Philosophorum* (Seventeenth Century), Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, Leiden, Cod. Voss. chem. q.61, fl 4 - 12



38 Some alchemical
shorthand, *ibid.*
Cod. Voss. chem.
q.51, f.2v - 3

die die welt, nicht mit andern unimeng
gan in einem kleinen Stübchen
nicht sehr, aber in einem großen
nicht, sondern in jedem kleinem
L. die Welt, nicht mit andern unimeng
nicht, sondern in jedem kleinem
nicht, sondern in jedem kleinem
nicht, sondern in jedem kleinem

Die sieben Charaktere der Welt.
natural vnter allen species vnter
metallen die 7. Metall den 7. Pla.
neben vnter allen als Gold Sol
Silber Luna Kupfer Venus
Quecksilber Mercurio, Zinn
Jupiter, Saturno, Eisen
Mars.

Mercurio Sol. O. S.
Jupiter, Saturno, Eisen
Venus, Luna, Kupfer, Silber
Quecksilber, Mercurio, Zinn
Jupiter, Saturno, Eisen

Mercurium sublimati ♀. ♀. ♀. ♀.
Mercurium rubificati ♀.
Calcinati R. ♀.
Amalgama ♀.
Mercur. v. ♀.
Element. o. E.
R. ♀. ♀. ♀.
R. R. o. ♀.
R. ♀. ♀. ♀.
R. ♀. ♀. ♀.
R. ♀. ♀. ♀.
R. ♀. ♀. ♀.

Stratum superstratum ♀. ♀. ♀.
Distillation 2. ♀. ♀.
Sublimation ♀. ♀.
Solution ♀.
R. ♀. ♀. ♀.
R. ♀. ♀. ♀.

NOTES

- 1 See especially Lynn Thorndyke, A History of Magic and Experimental Science (New York : Columbia University Press, 1929 - 41), 6 vols., in particular Vol. 5 p.532-549 (Alchemy to 1550). Also, Marcellin Berthelot, Collection des Anciens Alchimistes Grecs (London : Holland Press, 1963) 3 vols. Wayne Shumaker, The Occult Sciences in the Renaissance (Berkeley, California : University of California Press, 1972).
- 2 Thorndyke, vol. 5 p.532 note 2
- 3 T.L. Ch 13 p.454
- 4 Thorndyke vol. 5 p.533
- 5 T.L. Ch 23 p.499 - 500
- 6 Thorndyke, vol. 5 p.534
- 7 P. Ch 8 p.260; also Julian Franklyn, A Survey of The Occult (London : Baker, 1935), p.12
- 8 See Frances A. Yates, ' The Art of Ramon Lull' in Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes No.17 (1954), 115-173
- 9 Thorndyke, vol. 5 p.535
- 10 ibid. p.536
- 11 Other alchemical authors, or philosophers noted for their alchemical knowledge mentioned by Rabelais are as follows: T.L. Ch 2 Thomas Aquinas, a pupil of Albertus Magnus, who initiated him into alchemy. Albertus is himself mentioned C.L. Ch 30. Aquinas had also attended Montpellier University, as had the noted alchemists Albertus Magnus, Ramon Lull, Arnaud de Villanova, Roger Bacon; (see Jacques Sadoul, Alchemists and Gold (London : Spearman, 1972), p.59 also Thorndyke, vol. 5 p.541, p.563.

T.L. Ch 23 Picatrix, (see Eric Holmyard, Alchemy (Penguin Books, 1957) p.101. "Rabelais mentions Picatrix (Al Majriti) in Pantagruel" Picatrix was an early tenth century alchemist and magician, author of The Aim of the Wise.

T.L. Ch 25 Corneille Agrippa, but see J.G. Perkins in Revue d'Hist Litt. No.4 (juillet - août 1970) 557 - 597.

Q.L. Ch 63 also C.L. Ch 31 Heliodorus see Marcellin Berthelot, Les Origines de L'Alchimie (Paris : Steinheil, 1885), p.122; mentions Heliodorus and alchemical poetry p.176; "le plus ancien poète alchimique paraît être Héliodore." See below in discussion of alchemical figure of the Sleeper. Q.L. Ch 13 also Q.L. Ch 67, François Villon. For Villon as alchemist see Fulcanelli, Le Mystère des Cathédrales, (London : Spearman, 1971) p.42. C.L. Ch 30, Theophrastus, not Paracelsus, but his namesake, known as 'un faiseur d'or', see Berthelot, Collection des Anciens Alchimistes Grecs, p.26. C.L. Ch 30 Albertus Magnus, the arch-alchemist.

- 12 C.L. Ch 17 p.346
also Ch 21 p.360
Ch 24 p.373

- 13 Thorndyke, p.537 *ibid*; also The Works of Geber (London: Dent, 1928), esp. p. 4 - 5 'Of the Investigation or search for Perfection.' The works of Geber contain the essential Sulphur/Mercury/Salt theory which will become apparent as fundamental to an understanding of Rabelais's alchemical thought. Geber also partook of the neoplatonic transformation of physical into

- speculative, spiritual alchemy, see Intro XI
 ibid. and p.5 "The thing which perfects in
 minerals is the substance of argent-vive and
 sulphur, proportionably commixt by long and
 temperate decoction in the bowels of clean,
 inspissate and fixed Earth ... and brought
 to a solid, fusible substance with due ignition,
 and rendered malleable." See also p.7 "Things
 helping the preparation are these, viz. all
 kinds of salt, ... " Geber employs arsenic
 usually instead. Basil and Paracelsus really
 institute the role of Salt in the Tria Prima.
- 14 Symphorien Champier has a title in the Library
 of Saint Victor's; Campi Clysteriorum (P.
 Ch 7 p.255)
- 15 T.L. Ch 25 p. 505 - 512. See also J.G. Perkins,
 'Her Trippa est-il Cornelius Agrippa?' Revue
d'Hist. Litt. No 4 (juillet - août 1970) 577-597,
 also Abel Lefranc, Études sur Gargantua, Pantagruel,
Le Tiers Livre (Paris : Albin Michel, 1953),
 p.323-330.
- 16 Thorndyke, p.125 ibid. (Vol. 5)
- 17 ibid. p.129
- 18 G. Ch 34 p.132
- 19 Thorndyke, p.542
- 20 ibid.
- 21 Alchimistes Grecs
- 22 Most of these 'alchemists' were of course nothing
 of the kind.
- 23 Also known as Vallée
- 24 Zosime, Sur La Vertu in M.P.E. Berthelot,
Collection des Anciens Alchimistes Grecs
 (London : Holland Press, 1963), p.119 - 120

- 25 For the alchemical stages, see S. Klossowski de Rola, Alchemy (London : Thames and Hudson, 1973), p. 10 - 12
- 26 Q.L. Ch 1 p.34 - 35
- 27 Johann Valentin Andreae, The Chymical Wedding of Christian Rosenkreutz Anno 1459 (trans Foxcroft 1690 (Orson: Gloucestershire, 1975), p.7
- 28 Chymical Wedding, p.7
- 29 Q.L. Ch 1 p. 32 - 33
- 30 Q.L. Ch 1 p.32
- 31 Q.L. Ch 33 p.137 - 138
- 32 Chymical Wedding, p. 37
- 33 Q.L. Ch 1 p.31
- 34 Refer S. Klossowski de Rola, Alchemy, p.10
- 35 C.L. Ch 44 p.452
- 36 For discussion see C.G. Jung, Works Vol.13 p.78
- 37 Missal p.431
- 38 Q.L. Ch 6 - Ch 8
- 39 P. Ch 16 p.300
- 40 *Own translation; but see Inferno, Canto 1, ll. 1-3, in Dante Alighieri, La Divina Commedia, (ed. Grandgent) (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1972), p.11.*
- 41 P. Ch 16 p.300
- 42 T.L. Ch 7 p.430
- 43 Q.L. Ch 2 p.39
- 44 T.L. Ch 27 p.519 - 520
- 45 P. Ch 9 p.263
- 46 Could "les adventures des gens curieulx" refer to the sampling of the apple by Adam and Eve, which brought about the Fall, from the effects of which Panurge suffers?
- 47 T.L. Ch 3, Ch 4
- 48 T.L. Ch 9 ff
- 49 P. Ch 14

- 50 C.L. Ch 15 p.330
- 51 P. Ch 14
- 52 T.L. Ch 17 p.474
- 53 See Edgar Wind, Pagan Mysteries in the Renaissance (London: Faber, 1958), p.371
- 54 Metamorphoses VI 385
- 55 C.L. Ch 24 p.371
- 56 See Republic 399 D - E, also Plutarch, De EI apud Delphi 21 (Moralia 394 B - C) also Quaestiones Conviviales VII VIII 4 (Moralia 713 D)
- 57 Paradiso I 19 - 21 [La Divina Commedia, (Grandgent ed.) (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1972), p. 632.]
- 58 For flaying, or separation, in alchemy, see C.G. Jung Alchemical Studies (Collected Works, vol. 13 p.70 - 71); also refer to the vision of the flayed victims in Zosimos Sur la Vertu in Berthelot, op. cit. p.118
- "Quelqu'un est venu au matin précipitamment, et il m'a violenté, me pourfendant avec un glaive, et me démembrant, suivant les règles de la combinaison. Il a enlevé toute la peau de ma tête avec l'épée qu'il tenait en main; il a mêlé les os avec la chair et il les a fait brûler avec le feu de traitement. C'est ainsi que j'ai appris, par la transformation du corps, à devenir esprit."
- Like Panurge, Ion does not die in this rough treatment. He is rather renewed.
- The slaying of the Physeter by Pantagruel acts out the principle of subjugation of the lower to the higher. The Physeter too is flayed and dismembered (C.L. Ch 35 p.142-3)
- "Les hespailliers de la nauf Lanternière amenèrent le physeter lié en terre de l'isle

prochaine, dicte Farouche, pour en faire
anatomie et recueillir la gresse des roignons,
laquelle disoient estre fort utile et necessaire
à la guerison de certaine maladie qu'ilz
nommoient Faulte d'argent."

- 59 P. Ch 14
- 60 P. Ch 14 p.289
- 61 C.L. Ch 43 p.449
- 62 Q.L. Ch 19 p.96 ff
- 63 C.L. Ch 43 p.450
- 64 Q.L. Ch 1 p.32
- 65 Alchemy (op. cit.) p.11
- 66 Not a true alchemist, see Lynn Thorndyke, History of Magic and Experimental Science vol 5 p.637
- 67 Q.L. Ch 67
- 68 Q.L. Ch 67 p.247
- 69 Q.L. Ch 67 p.245
- 70 Q.L. Ch 67 p.248
- 71 See Zosime, Sur La Vertu in Berthelot, op. cit.
- 72 C.G. Jung, Alchemical Studies p.68
- 73 S. Klossowski de Rola Alchemy op. cit. p.11
- 74 C.L. Ch 35 p.422 - 3
- 75 C.L. Ch 37 p.429
- 76 C.L. Ch 43 p.449
- 77 Chymical Wedding op. cit. p.16
- 78 P. Ch 10 p.271 - 272
- 79 John Read, The Alchemist In Life, Literature and Art (London : Nelson, 1947). p.60, p.78
- 80 G. Ch 12 p.50 - 54 See also C.L. Ch 40 p.438
"petis enfans nuds, montez sus des petis
chevaux de bois"
- 81 Fulcanelli, Le Mystère des Cathédrales
(London: Spearman) plate 45 p.160
- 82 P. Ch 1 p.227

- 83 Also, urinating in sabot, Fulcanelli, p.157
- 84 "Il pissoit sus ses souliers" G. Ch 11 p.48
- 85 G. Ch 22 p.83 - 86
- 86 M. Bessy, Magic and the Supernatural (London: Spring Books 1967 p.103, also Fulcanelli p.140f
- 87 Jourda, Rabelais vol.2. p.554
- 88 G. Ch 5 p.25
- 89 P. Ch 4 p.237
- 90 See J.E. Harrison, Epilegomena to the Study of Greek Religion (Cambridge: University Press, 1921) p.4
- 91 P. Ch 4 p.238
- 92 Q.L. Ch 1
- 93 P. Ch 4 p.238
- 94 T.L. Ch 45 p.588
- 95 G. Ch 38 p.143-6
- 96 G. Ch 38 p.143-6
- 97 Bessy, Magic and the Supernatural p.109 pl.349
- 98 Also p.155 Eric Holmyard, Alchemy
- 99 Again, relating Pantagruel to Christ
- 100 Q.L. Ch 63 p.231
- 101 Shumaker, The Occult Sciences in the Renaissance (Los Angeles: Univ. of California Press, 1972), p.186; Paracelsus, Selected Writings (New York: Pantheon), p.134
- 102 Berthelot, Collection des Anciens Alchimistes Grecs (London: Holland House) also see Rudolphe Bernoulli, 'Spiritual Developments in Alchemy' p.308 in Spiritual Disciplines (Papers from the Eranos Yearbooks,) vol. 4, 1961
- 103 Magic and the Supernatural pl.367 p.113
- 104 See also insolubilia posed to the philosopher of The Chymical Wedding p.23
- 105 Q.L. Ch 66 p.241

- 106 P. Ch 23
- 107 T.L. Ch 35
- 108 Magic and the Supernatural see also pl.369
- 109 T.L. Ch 48 p.596-7
- 110 Moralia 32
- 111 Psalm 92 7.4.
- 112 Q.L. Ch 24 p.112
- 113 Jung, Vol.14 p.240
- 114 Vol.14 p.246
- 115 *ibid.*
- 116 Viginerius De Igne et Sale (Theatr. Chem. 6 p.129ff)
- 117 F. Sherwood Taylor, The Alchemists p.198-199
- 118 T. Burckhardt, Alchemy p.147
- 119 *ibid.* p.148
- 120 P. Ch 33
- 121 G. Ch 8 p.38, also Plato Symposium 189 e, (for Platonic Androgyne.)
- 122 M. Masters, Rabelaisian Dialectic p.19 - 23
- 123 John Read, The Alchemist p.17
- 124 See Studies in Biblical and Semitic Symbolism (New York : Ktav, 1970), *passim*
- 125 M.P.E. Berthelot, Collection des Anciens Alchimistes Grecs p.258
- 126 T. Burckhardt Alchemy (Baltimore : Penguin, 1972) p.68
- 127 But see Henri Dontenville, La Mythologie Française (Paris : Payot, 1948), p.140-141 "La victoire sur le monstre." And, M. Berthelot, Les Origines de l'Alchimie (Paris : Steinheil, 1885), p.60 "Le dragon est le gardien du temple. Sacrifie-le, écorche-le, sépare la chair des os, et tu trouveras ce que tu cherches"

For L'Aqla and the Seal of Solomon, see
Paul Naudon, Rabelais Franc-Maçon (Paris :
La Balance, 1954), p.146-7

Speaking of an esoteric society, of those in
the printing and publishing world.

"Une autre grande société de pensée de la
Renaissance que Rabelais n'a pu ignorer,
l'Aqla"

"C'est ainsi que l'hexagramme, ou Sceau
de Salomon, le monogramme de Marie, désignent
une association s'occupant d'alchimie et
d'hermétisme, alors que le coeur désigne un
autre rameau dans lequel est plus particulièrement
étudié la Cabale. C'est à ce dernier groupe
qu'appartint François Ier."



is the key to Physeter episode



Jacques Coeur, also, Fountain
emptied by conduits

128 Q.L. Ch 34 p.141-2 "et feut veu le physetere,
en grand jubilation de tous, porter ces troys
cornes au front, quelque peu penchantes devant,
en figure triangulaire aequilaterale ... ",
"adoncques mourant, le physetere se renversa
ventre sus dours comme font tous les poissons
mors; et ainsi renversé, les poultries contre
bas en mer, ressembloit au scolopendre, serpent
ayant cent pieds comme le descript le saige
ancien Nicander."

129 Q.L. Ch 34 p.137-8

130 C.L. Ch 43 p.448

131 op. cit. p.47

132 T.L. Prologue p.402

(See also overleaf)

The writings of the 13th century mystic Gertrude may provide clues to the understanding of Rabelaisian figures as diverse as the funnel, the hollow pantagrue lion stalk (See T.L. Ch 50; but it is only gluttons who drink from the bung), the inexhaustible barrel of good things (T.L. Prol.) the fountain, and bottle breviary of C.L. the suspended Lamp of C.L. Ch 40, and the marriage of Panurge.

The quotation below is taken from Gertrude d'Helfta, Oeuvres Spirituelles III, Le Héraut Livre III, Introduction, Texte Critique, Traduction et Notes par Pierre Doyère, (Paris : Les Éditions du Cerf, 1968), p.123, 125, 127

"Tandis qu'elle s'y attardait dans l'ombre et l'oubli, le Seigneur qui, bien qu'il demeure au plus haut des cieux, se plaît cependant dans sa largesse à impartir sa grâce aux humbles, se montra comme abaissant une sorte de chalumneau d'or de son Coeur qui apparaissait suspendu, à la manière d'une lampe, au-dessus de l'âme ainsi prostrée dans l'abaissement de l'humilité. Par ce chalumneau s'écoulait en elle d'une manière admirable le flot des biens désirables: ainsi, dès qu'au souvenir de ses misères elle s'humiliait, le Seigneur la prenant aussitôt en pitié, lui versait, de son Coeur sacré, la fraîcheur épanouie de ses divines vertus, qui, faisant disparaître toutes ses misères, n'en laissait aucune visibles aux regards de la divine miséricorde. Pareillement, s'il lui arrivait de désirer quelque faveur ou ces dons capables de retenir l'attention du coeur humain par leur attrait et leur agrément, aussitôt ils se répandaient en elle sans réserve, très suavement et très joyeusement, par ledit chalumneau.

Ayant ainsi pendant un certain temps joui doucement de telles délices et se trouvant, par l'action de la grâce divine, convenablement parée et souverainement comblée de toutes les vertus, non siennes d'ailleurs, mais de son Seigneur, elle entendit, de l'oreille du coeur, une voix infiniment douce, comme celle d'un joueur de luth faisant

entendre sur son luth une séduisante et légère mélodie, lui dire: "Tu es mienne, viens à moi; tu es mon bien, entre en moi; tu es mon être, demeure avec moi." Le sens de ce chant lui fut donné à comprendre par le Seigneur plein de douceur: "Mienne, viens à moi, parce que je t'aime et désire que, comme l'épouse souverainement préférée, tu sois sans cesse à mes côtés; c'est pourquoi je t'appelle. De même, parce que je mets en toi mes délices, je désire que tu viennes en moi, comme le jeune homme désire qu'il ne manque rien à l'intime joie de son coeur. Enfin, puisque, moi, Dieu d'amour, je t'ai choisie, je désire que tu demeures avec moi dans une indissoluble union: l'homme peut-il vivre, ne fût-ce qu'une heure, si son souffle lui est arraché?" Pendant les douceurs infiniment délectables de cet entretien, elle sentit que d'une manière absolument merveilleuse elle pénétrait sans cesse par ledit chalumeau jusqu'au Coeur du Seigneur et s'établissait aussi avec joie dans l'être intime de son Époux et Seigneur. Là, ce qu'elle a pu sentir, ce qu'elle a pu voir, ce qu'elle a entendu, ce qu'elle a pu goûter, ce qu'elle a pu toucher, elle seule le sait et Celui qui a daigné l'admettre à une union d'une si haute et parfaite sublimité, Jésus, Époux de l'âme aimante, Dieu saint au-dessus de toutes choses au long des siècles."

This union of the soul with Christ, it is proposed, is the goal of Panurge.

- 133 C.L. Ch 44 p.450
- 134 T.L. Ch 20 p.483
- 135 T. Burckhardt, Alchemy p.149f
- 136 See Sermon XVI 'On the Sign of the Cross' by
Fr. J. Humberstone, p.82 in A Select Collection
of Catholick Sermons preached before Their
Majesties King James II, Mary Queen Consort etc.
vol.2 (London : 1745) 'Why this sign should
have the name of Tau (speaking of the sign
of God, mentioned Ezek. 9 5 - 6) a letter
which at that time the prophet writ did represent
the Cross, as our Capital T does at present'
- 137 Jung, Works voll4 p.3
- 138 Paul Naudon, Rabelais Franc-Maçon p.100
Salt is shown to stand in a material sense for
uninflammability, and for the body of man; see
J. Read, The Alchemist in Life, Literature and
Art (London : Nelson, 1947) p.7
- 139 T.L. Ch 20
- 140 P. Ch 19 - 20 p.319
- 141 Q.L. Ch 27
- 142 Q.L. Ch 19 p.96
- 143 G. Ch 8 p.35
- 144 G. Ch 10
- 145 T. Burckhardt, Alchemy p.109, p.112, p.140
- 146 C.L. Ch 21
- 147 Burckhardt, p.108
- 148 See G. Ch 43 p.161
- 149 Q.L. Ch 48 - Ch 54 esp. Ch 54 p.201
- 150 G. Ch 40 p.153
- 151 Q.L. Ch 47 p.177
- 152 Q.L. Ch 45 p.172
- 153 C.L. Ch 15 p.330
- 154 C.L. Ch 45
- 155 C.L. Ch 46 p.456

- 156 For La Vertu as the Stone, see Zosime, Sur la Vertu in Berthelot, Alchimistes Grecs op.cit.
- 157 C.L. Ch 46 p.458-9
- 158 G. Ch 42 p.158
- 159 T.L. Ch 23 p.497
- 160 C.L. Ch 12 p.321
- 161 G.M. Masters, op. cit. p.77-78
- 162 Holmyard, Alchemy p.159-160
- 163 See Jung, op. cit. vol.13 p.197-198
- 164 Burckhardt, Alchemy p.161
- 165 *ibid.* p.174
- 166 C.L. Ch 42 p.446
- 167 C.L. Ch 43 p.450
- 168 C.L. Ch 26 p.379
- 169 Burckhardt, p.176
- 170 Jourda Rabelais vol. 2 p.522
- 171 See Burckhardt op. cit. p.164, also Bessy op. cit. plates 306, 322 and Holmyard, op. cit. pl. 20
- 172 See Jung vol. 14 p.316
- 173 C.L. Ch 43 p.450
- 174 C.L. Ch 42 p.440
- 175 C.L. Ch 43, Ch 44, esp. p.450
- 176 See Berthelot, III 29 4, and C.L. Ch 42 p.439, p.440, Ch 43, p.450
- 177 Jung, vol.14 p.434ff
- 178 Burckhardt p.144 plate 7 p.165
- 179 Bessy, plate 366
- 180 C.L. Ch 44 p.452
- 181 Bessy op. cit. p.113
- 182 Gregory Homiliae in Evangelia 2, 4 (see Migne, P.L. Paris(1884 - 94))
- 183 Augustine, Tractates on the Gospel of St. John 25, 9

- 184 Honorius of Autun, Speculum de Mysteriis Ecclesiae (see Migne P.L. vol. 172 col.921)
- 185 Jung, Works vol.14 p.212
- 186 ibid. p.200
- 187 Q.L. Ch 8 p.57
- 188 Jung, Works vol. 14 p.235
- 189 Berthelot, Alchimistes Grecs 4 2, 2
- 190 Q.L. Ch 20 p.100-101
- 191 C.L. Ch 17 p.345
- 192 C.L. Ch 25 p.379
- 193 C.L. Ch 29 p.394
- 194 C.L. Ch 42 p.446
- 195 C.L. Ch 42 p.447
- 196 C.L. Ch 43 p.450
- 197 C.L. Ch 45 p.453
- 198 C.L. Ch 47 p.460
- 199 C.L. Ch 47 p.462
- 200 See Leviticus 14 . 5
- 201 Matthew 3 . 11
- 202 Song of Songs 4 . 15
- 203 Zacharias 14 . 8
- 204 John 7. 38/39
- 205 Odes of Solomon 11 . 6
- 206 Ignatius Romans 7. 2
- 207 The Odes of Solomon 30 1/2
- 208 Isaias 55 . 1
- 209 Apocalypse 21 . 6
- 210 See Theo. Klauser, Taufet in Lebendigen Wasser In Pisciculi, (Munster, 1939), p.157-160
- 211 J. Daniélou, Primitive Christian Symbols (London : Burns and Oates, 1964),
- 212 P. Ch 14 p.292
- 213 C.L. Ch 42 p.447
- 214 See Cusani Opera (Heidelberg 1936-7) cited Florence M. Weinberg, The Wine and The Will

- (Wayne State University Press; Detroit, 1972),
p.84
- 215 C.L. Ch 47 p.462
- 216 Berthelot, Alchimistes Grecs (op. cit.)
4 2/2
- 217 Ostanes, The Treatise of Ostanes
- 218 Dorn, Speculativa Philosophia (See: Theatr.
Chem. 1 p.299)
- 219 G. Ch 5
- 220 T.L. Ch 4 p.423
- 221 C.L. Ch 47
- 222 T.L. Ch 4 p.422-3
223 ibid.
- 224 C.G. Jung, Works Vol.14 p.293
- 225 P. Prologue p.218
- 226 C.L. Ch 29 p.395
- 227 T.L. Ch 26 p.516
- 228 See C.G. Jung, vol. 14 p.13
- 229 C.L. Ch 47 p.462
- 230 T.L. Ch 4 p.422
- 231 Berthelot, op. cit. 2 . 4 . 38 and 44
- 232 Philo Judaeus, Quaestiones in Genesim 2 . 59
- 233 C.G. Jung op. cit. vol.14 p.14-15
- 234 Turba Philosophorum (Berlin : Ruska ed. 1931),
p.129
- 235 This extract from Mylius, Philosophia Reformata
Francfort, 1622), p.42f
- 236 Jung, op.cit. vol.14 p.30
- 237 P. Ch 15 p.294
- 238 See P. Ch 15 p.294ff
- 239 C.L. Ch 36 p.426
- 240 Harley Lyrics Ms 2253 (Manchester University
Press, 1964), p.38 (The Fair Maid of Ribblesdale, 1.66-72)
- 241 For the alchemical fox soul and lion spirit
see C. Jung Works vol.14, (especially Lambs-
princk's illustration.)

- 242 P. Ch 15 p.296
- 243 2 Cel.75; also Spec. Perf. 24; Leg. Ant. 62
Cited Edward A. Armstrong, Saint Francis, Nature Mystic (The Derivation and Significance of the Nature stories in the Franciscan Legend) (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973), p.151
- 244 T.L. Ch 21 p.491
- 245 P. Ch 15 p.296
- 246 P. Ch 2 p.230
- 247 City of God 2 p.196
- 248 Gloria Mundi (Mus. Herm. p.216)
- 249 Augustine, Expositions on the Book of Psalms ps. 92, 7 . 4 p.340
- 250 C.G. Jung, Works vol.14 p.160 (op. cit.)
- 251 Philaletha, Mus. Herm. p.657 cited Jung, (see note 235 above)
- 252 Q.L. Ch 28 p.125
- 253 See also the dizaine to "l'esprit de la royne de Navarre" (Prol. T.L.) Marguerite's soul could rise and descend at will
- 254 C.L. Ch 42 p.444
- 255 See G. Ch 5 p.23 " ... du claret, verre pleurant" and G. Ch 5 p.28 "O Lacryma Christi", in the propos des bien yvres
- 256 Ezekiel 8 14
- 257 See Flemming Friis Hvidberg, Weeping and Laughter in the Old Testament (Leiden : Brill, 1962), p.100-137
- 258 C.L. Ch 47 p.463
- 259 See Fisher, L.A. The Mystic Vision in the Grail Legend (New York : A.M.S. Press, 1966), p.66
- 260 Q.L. Prologue
- 261 C.L. Ch 42 p.446

- 262 C.G. Jung, Alchemical Studies Collected Works,
(London : Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1967),
vol.13 p.228
- 263 Jung, vol.13 p.233
- 264 *ibid.* p.212
- 265 *ibid.* p.214
- 266 Avicenna, Aquarium Sapientiae (Mus. Herm. p.85)
cited Jung, vol.13 p.214
- 267 Jung *ibid.* p.210
- 268 See Pico, Heptaplus 'In The Beginning' (Trans.
Carmichael: Bobbs-Merrill N.Y. 1965), p.171-174
- 269 Gloria Mundi p.246 (cited Jung vol.13 p.210)
- 270 Aurora Consurgens (Aquinas attrib.) (London:
Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1966), ed. M-L von
Franz.
- 271 Q.L. Ch 55 - 56
- 272 Aurora Consurgens p.142-3
- 273 *ibid.*
- 274 *ibid.* p.71
- 275 *ibid.*
- 276 C.L. Ch 43 p.450
- 277 *ibid.* p.343
- 278 Jean Mottron Rabelais et Les Vérollez Très-
Précieux (Tours : Arrault et cie. 1947)
- 279 P. Ch 9 p.263
- 280 P. Ch 2 p.230
- 281 P. Ch 30 p.370
- 282 Jean Mottron, *op. cit.* p.14
- 283 *ibid.* p.100
- 284 *ibid.* p.67
- 285 *ibid.* p.52

B. The Tarot

- 1 Direct References in Rabelais's Work.
- 2 The Origins and Nature of the Tarot - a pictorial version of the Itinerarium.
- 3 Possible references and allusions to Tarot in Rabelais.
- 4 The Meaning of the Tarot Trumps.
- 5 Rabelais and the Tarot Itinerarium.
- 6 Summary of the importance of the Tarot in Rabelais.
- 7 Illustrations.

1 Direct References in Rabelais's Work

G. Ch 22 p.83 "à la triumphe"
"au tarau"

C.L. Ch 22 p.362 "dez, cartes, tarots"

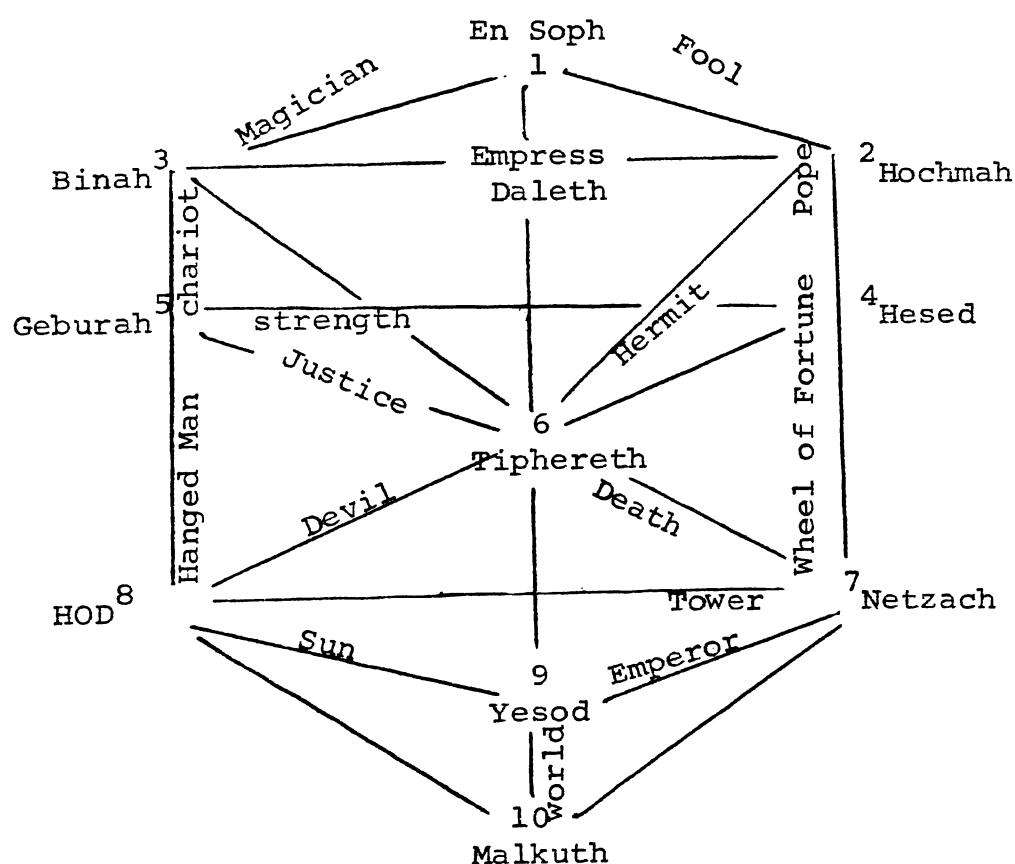
2 The Origins and Nature of the Tarot - a pictorial version of the Itinerarium

In the foregoing chapter the occult tradition of alchemy has been related to the Itinerarium. But, as has been noted, Rabelais refers in the text to another tradition, this time pictorial, which has long been understood by occultists to portray in its allegorical figures the same spiritual progression. It will also be suggested that the figures of the Tarot trump cards (or Triomphi) have analogues not only in the characters of Rabelais's work but in the action, insofar as this reflects the idea of Itinerarium.

The oldest cards which survive were painted for the Visconti-Sforza families in the mid-fifteenth century. These were 78 cards in this pack.¹ (the extant Trumps have been reproduced below.) It is believed that this type of pack was produced to incorporate an occult philosophical doctrine. There is evidence to suppose that the Trumps as we know them were designed no earlier than the fourteenth century.² This is suggested by the design of the characters' clothes, headgear and armour.

While Alchemy could be both physical and spiritual, the Tarot benefits from a triple nature. It has always been possible to play it as a simple game. Marcolino's Le Sorti (1540) shows that Tarot was used for divination. Lastly, the trumps depict a spiritual progression and may have served as a memory device. The standard trumps first appear in literature in a sermon against gambling in the late fifteenth century.³ Rabelais also appears to make a distinction between the game of Tarot and the

game of Trumps, (see the *Jeux de Gargantua*)⁴ as does the priestly author of the *Sermones De Luco Cumalis*. The so-called Major Arcana, incorporating twenty-two allegorical figures, were considered separately from the fifty-six cards of the Minor Arcana. Both minor and major arcana cards are divided into four suits, Wands, Cups, Swords and Pentacles, assigned by occultists to the four worlds of the cabalists and to the four alchemical elements. But the two sets of cards were probably developed separately, the lesser arcana first. A link has been suggested between the Hebrew *Torah* and the Tarot, on dubious grounds. More realistically, the 22 major cards have been related to the 22 letters of the Hebrew alphabet. *Aleph* generally denotes *Le Mat*, (the Fool), and so on. In this way, the Tarot trumps may also be related to the 22 paths of the cabalistic tree of Sephiroth, the 'Tree of Life.'



3 Possible References and Allusions to Tarot in Rabelais

Pantagruel's purchases at Medamothi⁵ include not only three unicorns (symbolic of Christ and the Trinity) and a Tarand, but also 78 pieces of tapestry, in the proportion of playing cards, (4 x 3) if not the magnitude. They are, of course, for Giant use. The Medamothi tapestries depict the birth, life, death and resurrection of Achilles; that is, one version of the gnostic journey which leads to spiritual life:

"Pantagruel par Gymnaste feist achapter la vie et gestes de Achilles, en soixante et dixhuict pieces de tapisseries à haultes lisses, longues de quatre, large de trois toises, toutes de saye Phrygienne, requamée d'or et d'argent. Et commençoit la tapisserie aux nopces de Peleus et Thetis; continuant la nativité d'Achilles, sa jeunesse descrite par Stace Papinie, ses gestes et faicts d'armes celebres par Homere, sa mort et exeques descriptz par Ovide et Quinte Calabrois, finissant en l'apparition de son ombre, et sacrifice de Polyxene, descript par Euripides."

Douglas records⁶ "The twenty-two major trumps of the Tarot were used in Renaissance Italy for playing a game called Triumphs." The Trionfi of Italy were elaborate tableaux, processions or pageants given to mark religious festivals or to honour distinguished guests, and were frequently directed by famous artists such as Leonardo and Brunelleschi. It is very possible that the originator of the game of Triumphs thought the tarot trumps were designed to depict a triumphal

procession. Rabelais certainly lends a special significance to the pageant, whether religious or not. The triumphant procession of Bacchus in C.L. need not be another mere borrowing, nor a complete invention of Rabelais's imagination. The Rome of those times still echoed to the sound of processions, sometimes changed with the years into hermetic fairs. Nor was France exempt from such tumult; in the Feast of Fools each year an obscene carnival took place, led by Bacchus in a chariot, which would converge on a cathedral to hear Mass. (The atmosphere is well evoked in Hugo's Notre Dame de Paris, when Quasimodo is dressed as pope and taken in procession.) Fulcanelli mentions⁷ such a Mass, composed by the initiate Pierre de Corbeil (archbishop of Sens.) It was modelled on a pagan rite, and included the response from the congregation of the bacchanal cry, Evohé, Evohé. (Refer to Rabelais, C.L. Ch 38 p.433 "Le signe commun à tous estoit ce mot : Evohé," also p.434 *ibid.* "tout le monde en figure cryoit Evohé.") Throughout Ch 39, Rabelais gives the impression that he is describing the consecutive tableaux of a pageant or procession. It may well be that the fantastic Silenus on his ass was a particularly effective processional effigy re-collected from a stay in Rome. The Sciomachie indicates to what extent Rabelais was moved by such processions and displays.

The meaning of the Triumph to Rabelais must be clear, coming symbolically near the end of the journey as it does. Instead of having the procession move past them, the travellers move past the procession frame by frame. Theirs is a

process of recollection; this classical procession is an image of the allegorical journey which they have undertaken and fulfilled. Behind Bacchus and behind Pantagruel and Panurge lies the irresistible force of the truth in Wine, and their final conquest is inevitable.

Like the tarot trump cards, the murals and ceiling "mosaïques" may be seen as having a place within the wider theme of memory. Their strength lies in an ability to stimulate the beholder to recollection of the world as a series of stages towards a gnostic goal. The paintings are also part of the theme of time and eternity. Like Scripture, they are the past, present and future frozen together.

4 The Meaning of the Tarot Trumps

The esoteric values of the tarot trumps would not have been lost on one who sought to depict in his own way that very system of attainment shared by the Greek Mysteries, Tarot, Alchemy, Cabalism, Neoplatonism and Augustinian Christianity. While it is possible to trace in the major arcana of the tarot trumps a complete Itinerarium Mentis in Deum it was only one symbolic system among many. It was also the least documented and most obscure of all, even including alchemy. However, most of the Tarot images are common to, or interchangeable with, those of other systems. Occultists⁸ have suggested that the tarot is a form of memory device, as it can be shown to illustrate the correspondences and the whole of the hierarchical ascent. Whether Rabelais chose to incorporate specifically tarot

figures will therefore be difficult to deduce with any real certainty, for they are stock figures of the wider Renaissance esoteric wisdom. Nor would the order of the cards, if echoed in the progression of Rabelais's work, necessarily prove a direct influence; the same order of ascent to union with the spirit can be plotted without the use of the cards. The sequence of the trumps is as follows:

- 0 Le Mat
- 1 Le Bateleur
- 2 La Papesse
- 3 L'Impératrice
- 4 L'Empereur
- 5 Le Pape
- 6 L'Amoureux
- 7 Le Chariot
- 8 La Justice
- 9 L'Ermite
- 10 Roue de Fortune
- 11 La Force
- 12 Le Pendu
- 13 La Mort
- 14 Temperance
- 15 Le Diable
- 16 La Maison de Dieu
- 17 L'Étoile
- 18 La Lune
- 19 Le Soleil
- 20 Le Jugement
- 21 Le Monde

Douglas⁹ establishes the gnostic significance of the trumps; their meanings follow closely the way of spiritual alchemy and the Itinerarium.

<u>Le Mat</u>	"Man's body imprisons a divine spirit which is therefore ignorant of its divinity (the Fool).
<u>Le Bateleur</u>	A messenger from higher spheres demonstrates his mastery of the material world and therefore proves the existence of something deeper than surface reality. In some accounts he becomes a teacher and companion to the Fool. (The Magician.)
<u>La Papesse</u>	Before liberation can be aspired to
<u>L'Impératrice</u>	the ruling powers of the world
<u>L'Empereur</u>	(represented by Papess, Empress,
<u>Le Pape</u>	Emperor and Pope) must be withstood,
<u>L'Amoureux</u>	and the challenges of everyday life
<u>Le Chariot</u>	met and surmounted (the Lovers and
<u>La Justice</u>	the Chariot). Only when he has
<u>L'Ermite</u>	attained a degree of maturity (Justice) can the seeker (the Hermit) commence the journey, which will lead him back to his spiritual home.
<u>Roue de Fortune</u>	His deliberate introversion (the
<u>La Force</u>	Wheel of Fortune) demands the over-
<u>Le Pendu</u>	coming of physical urges (Force) and the reversal of everyday values in a deliberate sacrifice of the tower to the higher, (the Hanged Man.)
<u>La Mort</u>	The sublimation of the lower self
<u>Temperance</u>	(Death) leads to an influx of
<u>Le Diable</u>	spiritual energy (Temperance) which enables him to defeat the Demiurge (the Devil.)

<u>La Maison de Dieu</u>	This leads to the shattering of
	the earthly prison (the Tower) and
<u>L'Étoile</u>	allows the passage of his spirit
<u>La Lune</u>	through the heavenly spheres. (The
<u>Le Soleil</u>	Star, Sun and Moon,) until he can
<u>Le Jugement</u>	experience the mystical rebirth
<u>Le Monde</u>	(Judgement) and finally merge with
	the <u>Anima Mundi</u> , the supra-personal
	spirit of the World. (The World.)

5 Rabelais and the Tarot Itinerarium

The parallels between the foregoing system and the system of esoteric alchemy are plain. The subject of the alchemical peregrinatio should therefore also clearly follow the gnostic path of the tarot. If Panurge is placed in the position of 1 Le bateleur, the trickster (for 0, The Fool, is really an unnumbered card which used to follow the 21 others. It represents innocence and folly at once, but inspired folly. It best depicts Panurge in C.L., brought back to innocence,) his progress through the books should adhere to the tarot plan, if Rabelais's work is to be seen to be following closely the customary plan of the esoteric ascent. Since Panurge is the central figure of the Itinerarium at the alchemical level, then it should be interesting to see if he, as an unenlightened man coming to an understanding of his purpose, fits the tarot role of central figure as well. There follows a possible tarot-type interpretation of Rabelais's work with Panurge as central figure.

- 1 Le Bateleur. This card is interpreted in two ways. The cunning juggler with his tricks fits Panurge very well. (See P. Ch 16) as also Thaumaste. More nobly Le Bateleur is seen as

a Magus, or a Teacher. In this case, the position may be taken by Pantagruel who takes the role from his first meeting with Panurge.

(P. Ch 9). But Panurge himself, as stated, has these qualities.

2 - 5 Papess, Empress, Emperor and Pope;

Examples of all are to be found on the allegorical journey, though not in this order. Panurge must pass through their realms. Bacbuc (C.L.) qualifies as High Priestess, if not Papess. La Quinte (C.L.) also has this significance. Both La Quinte and Niphleseth (Q.L. Ch 42) are queens, and Anarche (P. Ch 31) and Quaresmeprenant (Q.L. Ch 29 ff) are kings. Popes are present in Homenaz's papal Archetype (Q.L. Ch 50) and in le Papegault of C.L. (Ch 3)

6 The Lover. Panurge chooses between philautia and Wisdom. Like the youth of the tarot card, Panurge is rescued by Eros, or destiny. The choice between conservative dependance (immature self-love) and proceeding to the end of the spiritual quest, or between Mother and Lover, is made for Panurge by Eros, (T.L. Ch 7 p.431) "J'ay (respondit Panurge) la pousse en l'aureille. Je me veulx marier." To emphasise that the desire is spiritual and not merely carnal, Panurge desists immediately from the wearing of his great braquette.

7 The Chariot. Panurge conquers his lower self. Panurge's victory over his lower self is shown by his abandonment of the braquette. (T.L. Ch 7) The Chariot is symbolic of victory (see the second of Bacchus's two chariots (C.L. Ch 39 p.435) "Le char triomphant" may be derived from the tarot chariot. Rabelais has elephants

drawing his chariot: "Et estoit le char tyré par elephans joints ensemble." Petrarch's fourteenth century poem Trionfi has Fame, the 4th of 6 triumphant figures, drawn in a chariot by elephants. 4 is the number of the Giants. (see Numerology). The horses or griffins which lead the tarot chariot are twins.

- 8 Justice. Though it is tempting to see reference to Bridoye here, or perhaps to Pantagruel's verdict in Baisecul v Humevesne (P. Ch 11 p.276), Panurge is again the central figure of this symbolism. Cupidity is the contrary of this justice. First Leah (Justice) and then Rachel (Contemplation.) Justice in this case is the perfection of the active life. It is righteousness, the state of being 'just before God'. The path of Justice is the path of Wisdom; it is equilibrium, and therefore may be related to mediocritas. At the end of T.L. Panurge has exhausted the potential of the world. From this point on the quest ceases to be philosophical only, and becomes hermetic and mystical (Q.L., C.L.)
- 9 The Hermit. The tarot hermit is depicted in full light, yet carrying a lantern. The mystical pilgrimage is to within the self, one's own soul. The symbol of the lantern from Q.L. on is ubiquitous, from the ornate lanterns of the ships in their alchemical colours (Q.L. Ch 1) to the preoccupation with lanterns and Lanternes in the Lanterneland of C.L. and the "Lampe admirable" of C.L. Ch 40, p.436-8. (But see note 132, Alchemy)
- 10 The Wheel. On the wheel of Fortune, everything is disordered, turned upside down. This occurs because of the chaotic nature of the world. Significantly, Panurge gives evidence of this while still seeking an answer to his perplexity in T.L.

He dresses unnaturally (T.L. Ch 7 p.420)

after completely inverting the world-scheme in his projected universe of debtors ("La louange des presteurs at debteurs" (T.L. Ch 4 - 5)).

- 11 Force. The material world, symbolised by the terrible physeter, is encountered and conquered for Panurge by Pantagruel. One of the necessities in the search for truth, says Bacbuc, apart from the "guyde de Dieu" is the company of men. (C.L. Ch 47 p.462). There is no shame for Panurge in relying on the help of Pantagruel and Friar John.
- 12 The Hanged Man. Panurge is referred to by Friar John as "pendu" during the storm, (Q.L. Ch 19 p.97) "Vien, pendu au Diable, dist frere Jan, icy nous aider." Everything is again upside down, as on the wheel of fortune: "A ceste heure foys bien à poinct l'arbre forchu, les pieds à mont, la teste en bas" (p.97). Frere Jan elsewhere assures Panurge that he will never perish by water, but rather by hanging or burning. "Tu seras hault en l'air certainement pendu, ou bruslé guaillard comme un Pere" (Q.L. Ch 24 p.112). The abandonment of the braquette once again symbolises the sacrifice of the lower to the higher which this trump represents.
- 13 Death. Panurge has flour thrown in his face to symbolise his death to the world: "enfin luy jetta au visage une poignée de farine" (C.L. Ch 43 p.449) Panurge asks that one submit an unwilling Friar John to the same, "Jetez luy un peu de farine" (C.L. Ch 46 p.458). The Temple, moreover, like the grave, is beneath the earth. (See the myth of the death of Adam, who fell headlong into a chasm at the centre of

the world (Golgotha) which then closed around him. The crucifixion took place above this spot.) The sacramental action of Bacbuc (C.L. Ch 43 - 47) reflects the death symbolism of the Orphic and Apollonian Mysteries (see below, The Mysteries).

- 14 Temperance. This card depicts the influx of spiritual energy, shown as flowing water. Panurge receives his divine influx from the waters of the Fountain of Life (C.L. Ch 45 p.453) "elle fist tout avaller à Panurge". (For the symbolism of water, see above.)
- 15 The Devil. The defeat of the devil, "L'Esprit Maling" which is figured in the defeat of the devils by the Papefigue farmer (Q.L. Ch 46 - 7) occurs finally at the Dive Bouteille (C.L. Ch 46). Many of the themes of the last book are pre-figured in the earlier ones, just as it was believed that the Old Testament contained the story of the New in allegory and image. Rabelais's work to this extent imitates the Bible, in which major themes have a preliminary shadow treatment and are later clarified for those who have ears to hear.
- 16 The Tower. The shattering of the Tower by cosmic force shown as lightning, is paralleled by the cosmic force which appears to crack the Dive Bouteille. "Elle est, s'escria Panurge, par la vertu Dieu, rompue, ou feslée, que je ne mente". This force has been channeled through the talismanic images of the Fountain surround. No material can withstand the influx of such power. Panurge, like the vessel, seems slightly cracked by the flood of grace, overwhelmed.

In the cabalistic doctrine of Shevirah, or shattering of vessels, the emanation from the Divine Being has just this result.

17 - 19 Star, Sun, Moon. This group of three cards must be freely interpreted. It is quite impossible to say that they mean anything, apart from the physical gradations of the universe. They do provide an insight into the metaphysical journey, of which Panurge is subject. The Star represents the coming end of the search, (This may be the Lanterne of C.L. Ch 33) as did the star to the Magi. The maiden on this trump pours water in equal quantities onto the earth and into a pool, showing that conflict is resolved. Panurge and his friends leave La Royne des Lanternes and exit in the light of the moon, (C.L. Ch 32 p.417 "ja luysant la claire Diane") in the next chapter, before descending the tetradic steps. Night is a rare occurrence in Rabelais's work, and its appearance here does not seem to be coincidental. (Also, for a comparison with alchemy, see Chymical Wedding (op. cit.) where the Philosopher Rosenkreutz is taken at night to behold the sleeping Venus (p.35). The night is lightened by servants called 'Tapers.')

20 Judgement. This is the card of Resurrection. With the world of philautia left behind, and a symbolic death undergone, Panurge is ready for resurrection. He is reborn by exiting from the temple by a side door adjacent to the circular chapel, (the skull) in imitation of the birth of Gargantua, by the left ear. (G. Ch 6).

- 21 The World. This last numbered trump shows a mandala,¹¹ in which the seeker of truth is finally merged in the anima mundi. Panurge, on leaving the Temple, moves in a perfected, whole landscape. (As below, so above.) Panurge's reconciliation of his chaotic opposites is reflected in a new world order. Bacbuc says she has prepared everything while they were within the Temple. "Cependant que icy avez sejourné, je y ay faict ordre tresbon donner." What follows (C.L. Ch 47 p.463) is a perfect picture of a world returned to harmony. "Par ung pais plain de toutes delices, plaisant, temperé plus que Tempé en Thessalye, salubre plus que celle partie d'Egipte, laquelle a son aspect vers Libie, irrigu et verdoyant plus que Thermischrie, fertile plus que celle partie du mont Thaure, laquelle a son aspect vers Aquilon, plus que l'isle Hiperborrée en la mer Judaïque, plus que Caliges on mont Caspit, flairant, serain et gratieulx aultant qu'est le pais de Touraine, enfin trouvasmes noz navires au port".

The Fool. This properly unnumbered card may reflect Panurge in his infantile folly (P.) or in his final ritual, poetic madness. (C.L.) (See C.L. Ch 46 "Es tu, dist frere Jean, fol devenu ou enchanté?", and, (Ch 46 p.459) "Va, vieil fol, dist frere Jean, au diable!" Panurge is also called a fool by the fool, Triboullet (T.L. Ch 45).

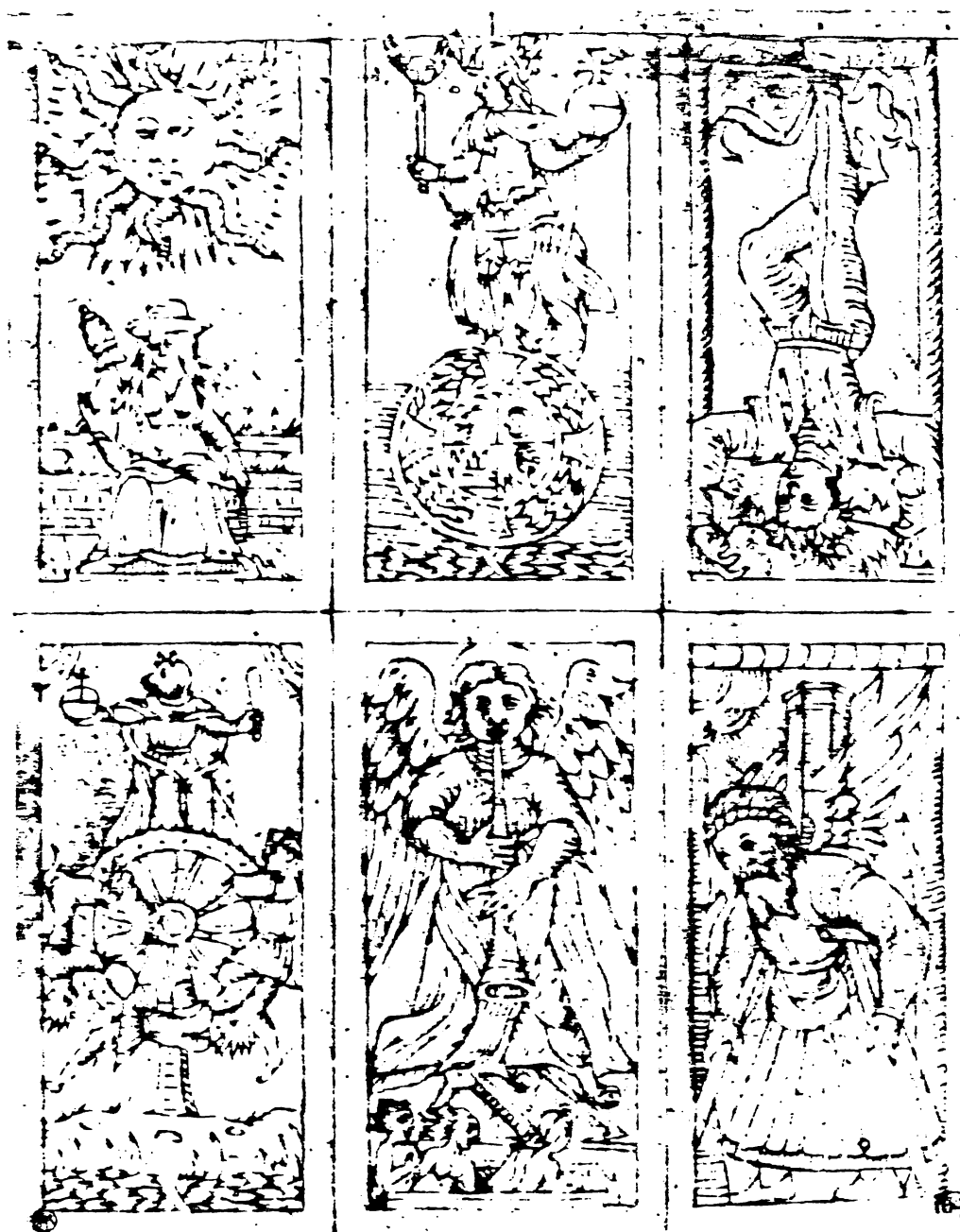
6 Summary of the importance of the Tarot in Rabelais

The few direct references to Tarot in Rabelais constitute the largest stumbling-block to a Tarot interpretation of the work. Nevertheless, it is clear that Rabelais knew of the cards (his references to them are among the earliest in literature), and the 78 tapestries of Medamothi by depicting the life of the hero Achilles give some cause to believe that Rabelais saw the cards in the light of their gnostic significance (that is, that they could pertain to the Itinerarium). Alchemy was a more developed and more widely understood allied system of belief however, and in a sense Tarot, being more minor, is superfluous. Yet a case can be made in which many of the figures Panurge encounters have a significance only in terms of Tarot symbolism, especially in T.L., Q.L. and C.L.

7 Illustrations



39 - 40 (overleaf) Tarot Trumps, (late Fifteenth Century) coll.
Bibliothèque de l'École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux
Arts, Paris.



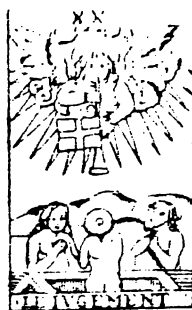
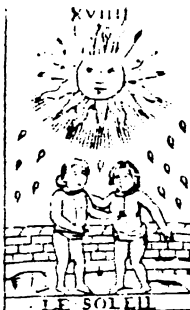
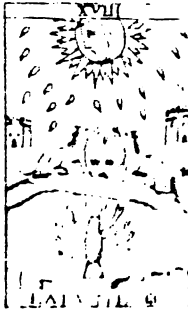


41 - 41 (overleaf) Early Sixteenth Century Tarot cards,
Louvre, Rothschild coll.





43 - 44 (overleaf) A modern set of Tarot trumps, faithful to original inspirations. Numbered 1 - 21 plus Le Mat.



7 Notes

- 1 Stuart Kaplan, Encyclopedia of Tarot (New York: U.S. Games Inc. 1978), p.35
- 2 ibid. p.21
- 3 Sermones De Luco Cumalis (See illustration)
- 4 G. Ch 22 p.83
- 5 Q.L. Ch 2 p.38
- 6 ibid. p.34
- 7 Fulcanelli, Le Mystère des Cathédrales (London : Spearman, 1971)
- 8 ibid. p. 32-3
- 9 See Alfred Douglas, The Tarot (London : Gollancz, 1973), p.34
- 10 Johann Valentin Andreae, The Chymical Wedding of Christian Rosenkreutz Anno 1459 (Trans. Foxcroft, 1690) Ruardean, Gloucester: Orson).
- 11 For interpretation of Il Mondo. Le Monde, or the Mandala see Richard Cavendish, The Tarot (London : Michael Joseph, 1975), p.142

C. Oracles and The Mysteries

- 1 Direct references in Rabelais.
- 2 The journey to the Oracle mirrors the Itinerarium.
- 3 The temple of Rabelais and the Temples of Apollo.
- 4 A fundamental dissimilarity between Panurge and pagan initiates.
- 5 How the allegories of separation, rebirth and marriage are reinforced by Rabelaisian allusions to the Oracles and Mysteries.
- 6 Summary of the importance of the Oracles and Mysteries in Rabelais.
- 7 Illustrations.

1 Direct references in Rabelais

G.Ch 2 p.15 "du trou de saint Patrice"

T.L.Ch 24 p.503-4 (Epistemon lists ancient oracles)

" ...les oracles de Juppiter en Amon, de Apollo
en Lebadie, Delphes, Delos, Cyrrhe, Patare, Tegyres,
Preneste, Lycie, Colophon, en la fontaine Castallie,
près Antioche en Syrie, entre les Branchides, de
Bacchus en Dodone, de Mercure en Phares, près Patras,
de Apis en Ægypte, de Serapis en Canobe, de Faunus
en Moelanie et en Albunée près Tivoli, de Tyresias
en Orchomene, de Mopsus en Cilicie, de Orpheus en
Lesbos, de Trophonios en Leucadie "

"l'oracle de Apollo Clarius"

Q.L. Ch 59 "Dithyrambes, Craepalocomes, Epaenons"

(see Briefve Declaration, p.259)

C.L. Ch 35 p.423

"au trou de saint Patrice en Hybernien ou en la fosse
de Trophonius en Boëtie"

C.L.Ch 46

"Onq' de Pythias le treteau

Ne rendit, par son chapiteau,

Response plus seure et plus certaine,"

"Delphes"

T.L. Q.L. C.L. passim "l'oracle de la Bouteille"

(first mention T.L. Ch 47 p.594)

2 The journey to the oracle mirrors the Itinerarium

The search for the resolution of Panurge's perplexity does not, after all, meet a blank wall in Le Tiers Livre. Panurge interprets Triboulet's action in handing him a bottle ("Il m'a rendu en main la bouteille"¹) as a reference to the Dive Bouteille : "Je vous jure l'espine de saint Fiacre en Brye, que nostre morosophe, l'unicque non lunaticque Triboulet, me remet à la bouteille, et je refraischis de nouveau mon veu premier, et jure Styx et Acheron, en vostre praesence, lunettes au bonnet porter, ne porter braguette à mes chausses, que sus mon entreprinse je n'aye eu le mot de la Dive Bouteille."² Xenomanes will show them the way: "Je sçay homme prudent et amy mien, qui sçait le lieu, le pays et la contrée en laquelle est son temple et oracle; il nous y conduira sceurement"³ He pleads with Pantagruel to accompany them: "Je vous seray un Achates, un Damis et compagnon en tout le voyage"⁴ (but, as Bacbuc says,⁵ "tous Philosophes et sages antiques, à bien seurement et plaisamment parfaire le chemin de la congnoissance divine et chasse de sapience, ont estimé deux choses necessaires, guyde de Dieu et compagnie d'homme". Panurge seeks companions then in the search for wisdom, not just the solution to a difficulty. He wishes above all for the companionship of the philosopher/chemist figure, Pantagruel; "Je vous ay de long temps congneu amateur de peregrinité"⁶ (the alchemical work is also called a peregrinatio.)

It is not merely a question of attending an oracle and learning the truth, for as Panurge has already

shown in his responses to divination, either he is quite unprepared to accept the truth, or he wishes to hear another truth. The latter wish requires that he be another man. To become this he must have lost philautie (l'amour de soy', Briefve Declaration), and this involves a long and difficult preparation. Pantagruel is well aware of the dangers involved: " - Voluntiers (respondit Pantagruel). Mais, avant nous mestre en ceste longue peregrination, plene de azard, plene de dangiers evidens ... " ⁷ Panurge at this stage is not aware of such dangers.

What is called for, in effect, is a long preparation, very much akin to that of an initiate of the mysteries of Bacchus and Apollo, and neatly parallel to the process of movement towards self-knowledge called the Itinerarium mentis in Deum.

3 The Temple of Rabelais and the Temples of Apollo

Robert Flacelière ⁸ has pointed out that access to some oracles was forbidden to the uninitiated. He describes the recent (1953) excavations of the temple of Apollo, at Chlaros ⁹ by M. Louis Robert: "From several texts we know that the type of divination practised at Chlaros was by water, and that the priest could only prophesy when he had drunk the water from a mysterious spring, for which he had to 'descend into a grotto.' We know also that there were 'caverns' and an 'underground chamber' ". It was necessary to descend a stairway in darkness to this oracle, as it is to the Dive Bouteille: "In the course of some thirty yards this passage, which is scarcely ~~more~~ more than five feet six inches high by two feet two inches wide,

changes direction seven times at right angles."¹⁰

There was an outer room and an inner one: "From here a tunnel, some three yards in length, where one could walk by stooping, led to the second room, also vaulted and much narrower." In this smaller room stood the sacred well. The layout of the precincts at Delphi (another Apolline oracle) were substantially the same, though smaller.¹¹

(See illustrations to compare the layout of the Apolline Temples with that of the Dive Bouteille).

The temple of Apollo at Chlaros excavated by Robert Flacelière is mentioned by Rabelais.¹²

Panurge also descended to the oracle by an abruptly-turning staircase:¹³ "Depuis descendismes un degré marbrin sous terre; là estoit un repos, tournans à gauche en descendismes deux autres, là estoit un pareil repos; puis trois à destour, et repos pareil, et quatre autres de mesme." When descending the underground steps, Panurge says it is as dark as the "trou de saint Patrice en Hybernies, ou en la fosse de Trophonius en Boëtie". The oracle of Trophonius was also Apollonian. (It was mentioned by Rabelais previously.¹⁴)

Darkness was an important part of the ritual at the Greek oracles, and during initiation to the Mysteries. The marvellous Lamp¹⁵ would also have been needed in the Adyton (antechamber) at Chlaros or Delphi. The main Temple of Rabelais has many similarities to the Adyton. It is basically an antechamber to a more sacred sanctuary. (See diagram). Panurge is dressed and purified in this room before he may enter the "chapelle ronde".¹⁶ At this point Rabelais leaves the ritual of oracles and uses the

purification symbols of the Mysteries. The ritual cleansing which Panurge undergoes:¹⁷ (Bacbuc) "le baigna la face trois fois dedans la fontaine susdite" is paralleled in the ablutions of Eleusis, the mystery of Subuzius, the cult of Isis and the mystery of Dionysus and Mithra,¹⁸ as well as in Christian baptism and alchemical inundation. Panurge's floury visage also simulates death, the central symbol of the mysteries. There is no generation without corruption. J.E. Harrison, in Epilegomena to the Study of Greek Religion¹⁹ says: "In initiation ceremonies the death of the novice is almost always simulated ... this death is followed by resurrection." Just as the initiates of Eleusis were led from the darkness once more to the world and shown the sun shining over the fields, so Panurge exits through the side door of the round chapel into the perfected landscape of a new, ordered world.

4 A fundamental dissimilarity between Panurge and pagan initiates

The Apolline oracles were not interrogated by those who sought answers, but by priests on their behalf. No pagan initiate ever entered the last, sacred enclosure. Even the majority of the temple priests were constrained to wait outside the holy of holies, in the Adyton. At the oracle of Delphi, the priestess alone shook with the divine power. At Chlaros, only the prophet could pass into the last chamber, through a curtain at the end of the three yard tunnel.²⁰ The oracle of the Branchidae²¹ also forebade petitioners to drink from the well. They were retained in another room.

Panurge is however exposed to the operations of the Dive Bouteille. He drinks the divine water, and is moved to frenzy. Just as he is in alchemy the materia prima, his soul the subject of a search for reconciliation, so he is, despite Bacbuc, his own priest. He is a full initiate, in personal contact with his God. There is no intermediary in the pagan sense. In the Christian mystery of the Eucharist, the ordinary man, free of his sins, may be filled with God. God is no longer the property of priests alone. Bacbuc ministers to the Oracle, but it is Panurge whom Bacbuc the priestess serves at the High Mass where Panurge beholds God. She is "près de luy agenouillée" (C.L. Ch 44 p.452) She helps Panurge to rise, as a principal celebrant of High Mass is aided by lesser priests. But Bacbuc herself is more than a minister to others. She too has tasted the miraculous water: "icy, nous realement incorporons nos preceptions par la bouche" (C.L. Ch 45 p.453).

The Itinerarium, the Mysteries and the idea of the Oracle are inextricably mixed in Rabelais. This is because for the wise man, the priest of the mysteries and the Pythia of Apollo the aim was the same : invasion by the spirit of the god. Although the pagan oracles have ceased, become in Epistemon's words²² "plus mutz que poissons", the Dive Bouteille, as a fully Christian oracle, retains all power, and speaks personally. Divination and oracles without Christ/Wine will never have the certainty allowed the Dive Bouteille. Bacbuc says: "Notez, amis, que de vin divin on devient, et n'y a argument tant seur, ny art de divination moins fallace" (C.L. Ch 45 p.454). This opinion plainly links Le Cinquiesme Livre with Le Tiers Livre, where 'argument' and 'divination' have been inadequate to give Panurge sureness. Nevertheless, as Pantagruel points out, the truth

has been laid before Panurge from the start of his questioning: " - Possible n'est, dist Pantagruel, mieux dire que fait ceste venerable pontife. Autant vous en di - je, lors que premierement m'en parlastes." (ibid.) Panurge, in his bacchic song, agrees that this oracle is the most efficacious: "Ça, ça, frere Jean, ne te fais/Serment vray et intelligible, / Que cest oracle est infaillible / Il est seur, il est fatidique." (ibid.)

- 5 How the allegories of separation, rebirth and marriage are reinforced by Rabelaisian allusions to the Oracles and Mysteries

The allegory of separation, or death, is well represented at the level of the pursuit of oracles and mysteries. Firstly, death is simulated by the departure from former life and the undertaking of the peregrinatio. There ceases to be real contact with the world of reality. Pantagruel receives letters from his father, but they are brought by a heavenly messenger (Malicorne - the unicorn or licorne was a Christ symbol) and he must send his gifts back the same way. He uses another heavenly messenger, the dove or gozal, to immediately inform his father of his safety. But their ports of call are fundamentally different from the towns of France they have left behind despite superficial similarities. The islands of Le Quart Livre and Le Cinquiesme Livre are prototypical, not realistic. The ships the company have embarked in are not only symbols of great marriage-chambers (Thalamege) but also, debatably, coffins.

Secondly, death is simulated by the descent into the earth and darkness which takes place late in Le Cinquiesme Livre, still in quest of the Dive Bouteille. Lastly, as has been stated, Panurge is whitened by flour in the purification ceremony, to give him the appearance of a corpse. At this stage he is fully separated from his past life and dissolved into elements. Chaos is refined out and he is ready for rebirth, in perfect harmony of body and soul.

Regeneration is contemporaneous with marriage for Panurge. The rebirth he experiences on ingesting the water of the fountain²³ is made more concrete by his exit from the chapel, a new man, and by the renewed and harmonious world which is then presented to his eyes.

The marriage of Panurge is, in the highest sense, the reconstitution of his body, mind and will which immediately follows his ingestion, in the proper spirit of humility, of the water of the fountain. This is properly a new blood (for the blood was considered to be the seat of the soul : "La vie consiste en sang. Sang est le siege de l'ame"²⁴) to replace Panurge's own. But this new blood has theological significance. The oracles and mysteries of the pagans have led Panurge to the sublime Christian mystery of the Eucharist. Just as the prophets of the Apolline oracles drank water from a holy spring and became imbued with the spirit of Apollo, so Panurge has become imbued with the spirit of Christ, (spiritus vivicans). Panurge is 'married' before he leaves the precincts of the temple, and says so:²⁵ "C'est moy le bon mary". He has married the twin aspects of his hitherto disharmonious psyche, spirit and soul, and his body to pure spirit symbolised by the water of the Fountain which he drinks. Although his earthly marriage is yet to occur, it surely will. "C'est moy le bon mary."²⁶

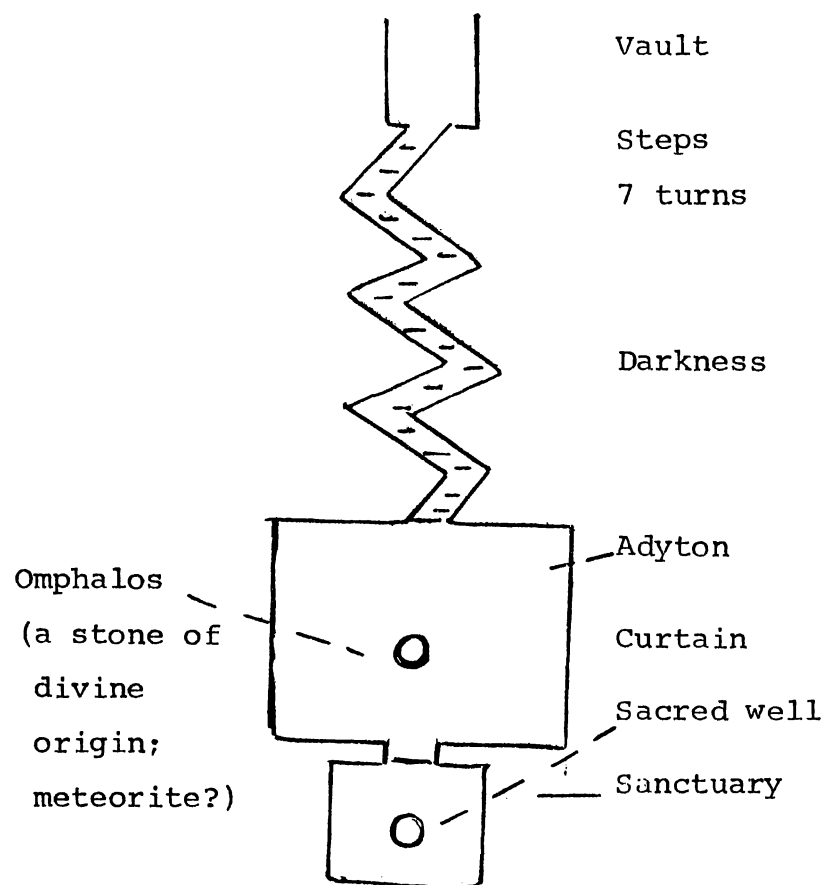
6 Summary of the importance of the Oracles
 and Mysteries in Rabelais

The Oracle of the Dive Bouteille is the goal to which Panurge and company move after the decision of late T.L.²⁷, and it is in C.L. that Oracles and the Mysteries become of predominant importance. Rabelais amalgamates the purification rites of the Apolline oracles with those of the Mithraic and other Mysteries, and with Christian ritual and symbolism. It is this Christian admixture which gives the Dive Bouteille force as an oracle, when all others have become useless.

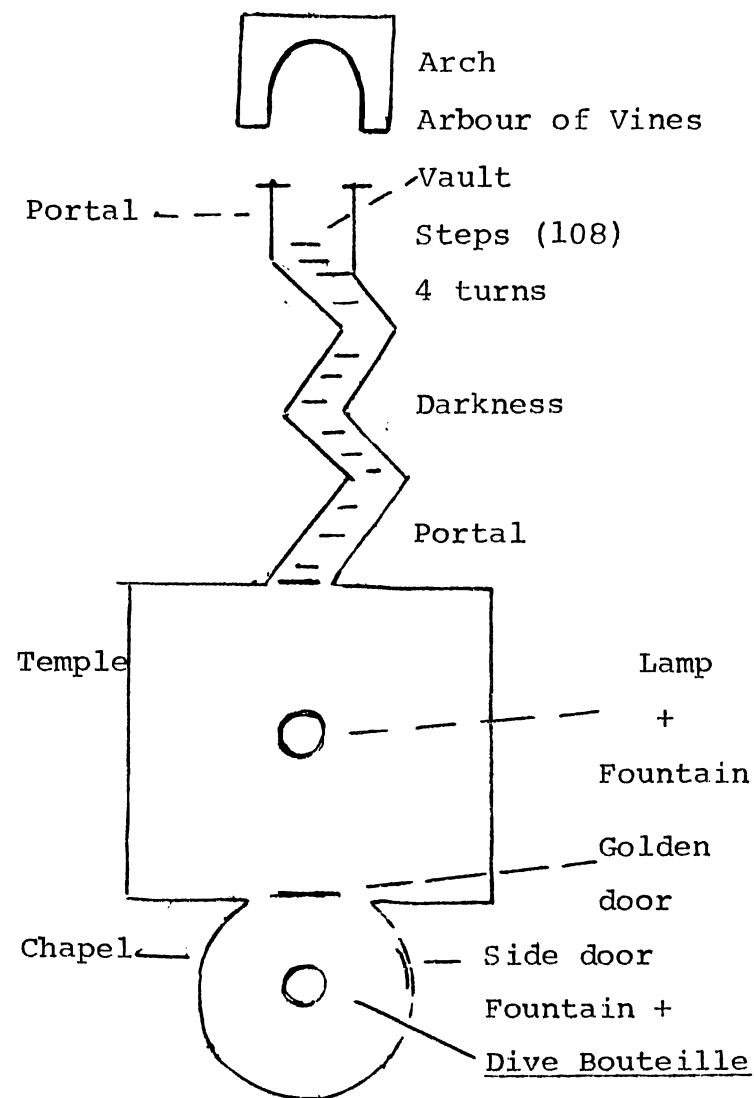
Beneath the Temple of Apollo

at Chlaros

(Description given by R. Flaceliere,
Greek Oracles (London : Unwin, 1965).)



The Temple of Le Cinquiesme Livre



Notes

- 1 T.L. Ch 47 p.593
- 2 T.L. Ch 47 p.594
- 3 ibid.
- 4 ibid.
- 5 C.L. Ch 47 p.461-462
- 6 T.L. Ch 47 p.594
- 7 ibid.
- 8 Robert Flacelière, Greek Oracles (London : Unwin, 1965), p.29
- 9 ibid.p.29ff
- 10 ibid.
- 11 ibid.p.42
- 12 T.L. Ch 24 p.504
- 13 C.L. Ch 35 p.422
- 14 T.L. Ch 24 p.504
- 15 C.L. Ch 40
- 16 C.L. Ch 43 p.449
- 17 C.L. Ch 43 p.449
- 18 See H. Rahner, "The Christian Mystery and the Pagan Mysteries" in The Mysteries (Eranos Yearbook, vol. 2, 1955, p.337-401).
- 19 J.E. Harrison, Epilegomena to the Study of Greek Religion (Ann Arbor, Michigan : University Microfilms,) p.15
- 20 See Flacelière, op, cit. p.29-30
- 21 ibid.p.30
- 22 T.L. Ch 24 p.504
- 23 C.L. Ch 45 p.453
- 24 T.L. Ch 24 p.422
- 25 C.L. Ch 46 p.455

- 26 C.L. Ch 45 p.455
- 27 T.L. Ch 47 p.594

Chapter 3 Divination

- 1 Definition.
- 2 Renaissance sources.
- 3 Principles limiting the jurisdiction of divination.
- 4 The Branches of divination.
- 5 The special status of Le Tiers Livre with regard to divination, and its link with the Dive Bouteille episode of Le Cinquiesme Livre.
- 6 Divination and the marriage question, (details).
- 7 Further Rabelaisian references to divination
 - a) Examples listed
 - b) Astrology and Physiognomy in detail.
- 8 Several pertinent aspects:
 - a) The problem of will and its parallels
 - b) "Coqu, batu et desrobbé"
 - c) The morosophe .
- 9 Summary of the importance of Divination in Rabelais.

1 Definition

Divination is essentially a pagan method of ascertaining the Divine Will, by consultation of the Intellectual Principle, and thereby obtaining a guide to action. It is a turning to thelema rather than voluntas, to scientia rather than scientia. For Christians, the truth might otherwise be sought by recourse to dogma, or to revelation, (either biblical or by direct mystical experience). Sixteenth century syncretists were free to investigate all these paths, since Humanism respected pagan methods which seemed to accord with Christian belief. Nevertheless, Humanists appear to have accepted the superiority of the Christian methods of seeking out the will of God (including direct apprehension, in the medieval tradition of mysticism) over the necessarily ambiguous unveilings of the unknown under the patronage of Apollo **ΛΟΞΙΑΣ**. All oracles and prophecies had become silent after the coming of Christ, as Epistemon says:¹ "Mais vous sçavez que tous sont devenuz plus mutz que poissons depuy la venue de celluy Roy servateur on quel ont prins fin tous oracles et toutes propheties, comme, advenente la lumiere du clair soleil, disparent tous lutins, lamies, lemures, guaroux, farfadetz et tenebrions".

Is this opinion of Epistemon the last word on divination according to Rabelais's contemporaries? Evidently it does not stop Panurge from continuing to seek to know his fate by the interrogation of astrologer, madman or oracle. Likewise, sixteenth century thinkers appear to have paradoxically believed and disbelieved in pagan methods of divination. The parallels with Christian mysticism were too strong to ignore, and encouraged an interest in, and mild acceptance of,

pagan divinatory methods which were not too foreign in nature. The examination of entrails, a typical classical divinatory act, would not be acceptable to sixteenth century neoplatonists. However, the interrogation of madmen and dying men, whose souls might be believed to already be visiting the higher spheres, was viewed indulgently. Neoplatonic attitudes to divination along with many other ideas were firmly linked to the dichotomy of Above and Below, of Macrocosm and Microcosm. Pantagruel advises Panurge: "ainsi faut il, pour davant icelles (les Intelligences coelestes) saige estre, je dis sage et praesage par aspiration divine et apte à recevoir benefice de divination, se oublier soymesmes, issir hors de soymesmes, vuider ses sens de toute terrienne affection, purger son esprit de toute humaine sollicitude et mettre tout en non chaloir."²

In brief, this system allowed one to refer to the higher spheres, to the timeless, for a counterpart to the perplexities of the temporal. The worlds succeeded each other in vastness and in scope, but were linked hierarchically. The universe appeared as man writ large. In a similar way, the Christian cabalists saw God in His turn shadowing forth the universe in the cabalistic tree of emanation known as Adam Kadmon. It was believed that if the soul could purify itself (rectify its will to that of the Creator) to the point where it could mount through the spheres to the timeless, it might behold all things in their platonic forms; that is, removed from change, or time. It only remains to grasp this knowledge of things past, present and to come, to retain it, and to report it if necessary. Obviously these are enormous stumbling-blocks. To grasp the spiritual requires perfection

of will, for as Aquinas has said, the viewer needs a medium which is something like the substance seen. That is, he requires to be pure spirit. Secondly, to retain the vision seems impossible, given the fleeting nature of ecstasis, and lastly, to report it to another satisfactorily seems implausible given the first two provisions.

No matter what method is used, divination in some way entails a reference to the worlds above. Rabelais explains the principle by which the soul may predict the future, giving many authorities, in Pantagruel's discussion about oneiromancy; in so doing he outlines contemporary belief in a way which touches many other branches of divination. He also explains the inherent weakness of such predictions: "En ceste façon nostre ame, lors que le corps dort et que la concoction est de tous endroictz parachevée, rien plus n'y estant nécessaire jusques au reveil, s'esbat et reveoit sa patrie, qui est le ciel. De là receoit participation insigne de sa prime et divine origine, et en contemplation de ceste infinie et intellectuelle sphaere, le centre de laquelle est en chascun lieu de l'univers, la circonference pointc (c'est Dieu selon la doctrine de Hermes Trismegistus) à laquelle rien ne advient, rien ne passe, rien ne dechet, tous temps sont praesens, note non seulement les choses passées en mouvemens inferieurs, mais aussi les futures, et, les raportant à son corps et par les sens et organes d'icelluy les exposant aux amis, est dicte vaticinatrice et prophete. Vray est qu'elle ne les raporte en telle syncerité comme les avoit veues, obstant l'imperfection et fragilité des sens corporelz: comme la Lune recevant du Soleil sa lumiere, ne nous la communicque telle, tant lucide, tant pure, tant vive

et ardente comme l'avoit receue."³

In the divine realm, "tous temps sont praesens". But there is a problem which arises here, preventing sure prophecy. Although the Truth is there to see, in the kingdom where all Time is present, 'car par temps ont esté et par temps seront toutes choses latentes inventées;"⁴ there can be no certainty that it will be comprehended, retained or reported; "obstant l'imperfection et fragilité des sens corporelz". It is proposed that this is the great deficiency of all prophecy by agent, a failure which leads to the solution of a personal, internalised, oracle.

2 Renaissance Sources

Lynn Thorndyke⁵ notes that astrology was the predominant means of divination to receive attention in the early sixteenth century, followed by chiromancy. The former is of great interest to the student of Rabelais, given Rabelais's production of almanachs and the many echoes of astrology in his work.⁶ Chiromancy, however, is all but absent.⁷ Thorndyke establishes one fact very clearly: interest in divination was aroused by classical scholarship and no longer only by the practical demands of superstition. To highlight the general interest there was also some opposition to divination, beginning early with Giov. Francesco Pico della Mirandola, De Rerum Praenotione (Strasburg, 1507). This should not however be considered a sign of nascent rationalism. Such works were often extremely credulous in their own way. This Pico, for example, believed in the occult virtue of inferior things such as the magnet (a belief seemingly shared by the author of Le Cinquiesme Livre,

see Ch 36 'un diamant Indique',) and of flowers as well as miracles. He did not oppose divination broadly from any want of credulousness, but on religious grounds, as the work of demons.⁸

Among the more popular types of divination were Geomancy and Oneiromancy. Geomancy, a method used by Her Trippa,⁹ was of interest to Corneille Agrippa, but sprang from a medieval rather than a classical background. Lorenzo Spirito had published in Italian in 1485, and in French in 1495, a popular work on geomancy.

In 1518 the Greek text of Artemidorus Daldianus, Oneirocritica, mentioned twice by Rabelais, (once when Pantagruel studies it,)¹⁰ was published in Venice. A Latin translation of Artemidorus by Janus Cornarius was published at Basle in 1539. Rabelais was aware of Hippocrates De Insomniis by the time of writing Le Tiers Livre, but probably through Scaliger's 1539 commentary, not the more rare Andrea Brenta Latin translation of the previous century. Jean Thibault, (perhaps the Tibault of Rabelais's poem in Le Quart Livre, beginning "Grand Tibault ...")¹¹ is thought by Thorndyke to have produced a book entitled La Phisionomie des Songes. Rabelais also alludes to augury, having Panurge sneeze violently and turn to the left (sinister) in Le Tiers Livre.¹² A work on Augury by Agostino Nifo was printed at Bologna (1531) and Basle (1534). The publication of these works serves to show the popularity of divination in Rabelais's time, though of course as a minimum, he need only have been aware of Cicero De Divinatione and Aristotle De Somno et Vigilia, both of which are mentioned in the text.¹³

Rabelais shows a knowledge of the science of portents and prodigies in the major digression on the death of the Seigneur de Langey,¹⁴ and there are Renaissance precedents for his interest. Jacob Mennel in 1503 dedicated a treatise on portents to the Emperor Maximilien, and in 1508 the Latin text of Julius Obsequens was published.¹⁵ Many textbooks of physiognomy were available to Rabelais, as this study was enjoying a new popularity. Perhaps some of his ideas were gleaned from Bartolemeo Cocale, Physiognomae et Chiromantiae Compendium (Strasbourg, 1531), or Michel Lescot, Physionomie (Paris, 1540), or Paracelsus' many references. However it is more than likely that Rabelais gathered his accurate though narrow knowledge of physiognomy from a general text; perhaps Johannes d'Indagine, De Arte Divinationis (Strasbourg, 1531), with its concise, illustrated section on physiognomy. This art was a standard part of medical training, moreover, and would have occupied Rabelais at Montpellier.

3 The jurisdiction of divination

It remains then to extract from the authors with whom Rabelais may have been acquainted a common verdict on the scope of divination in the sixteenth century, with particular reference to astrology, which was, as Thorndyke points out, the most popular of divinatory methods in that century. It seems clear that in order to comply with renaissance ideas the powers of divinatory methods were in most cases circumscribed, specifically by the Christian interpretation of the primacy of the individual will. In

this circumscription the humanists were supported by the classical world, of which the doctrine of abominari omen¹⁷ also stressed the human ability to modify apparent fate. The word apparent must be noted; the true destiny of man revealed in the world of Forms may not be modified. Here was the crux of the problem of classical divination: a man's destiny could not be changed, but neither could it be known with certainty. The means of sure knowledge were not available, ambiguity prevailing. For the Renaissance, the problem was more complex. The notion of freewill forestalled attempts to define the 'essence' of a man. This did not mean that the essential did not exist, but it did make the realisation of a man's spiritual future a matter between him and God, allowing for no intermediaries. This effectively put a limit to the jurisdiction of divination. Pronouncements could only be made about matters where the will was not in question. The neoplatonic synthesis provided a solution to the limiting factors on the jurisdiction of Divination. A guide to action could be sought in ecstasis or a personal revelation.

Nevertheless, Panurge is subjected in Le Tiers Livre to a gamut of classical divinatory methods; but he does not attain the certainty he craves, and rigorously denies the future reportedly plotted for him, substituting his own.¹⁸ The Classical and Biblical traditions had it that the acceptance of a divinatory utterance was the ratification of it, while a proper denial robbed it of all power. Acceptance magically charged the words uttered, or the ominous event, with effect. Christ accepted Pilate's "Art thou the Christ, the Anointed?" with "Thou has said it", magically realising the statement in fact.¹⁹ Halliday says of Lots,²⁰ "The

act of acceptance makes them irrevocable, and that is the sense which best accords with the interests of the person who accepts them." The tradition of abominari omen is common to both Greek and Latin cultures. Herodotus, in his Histories²¹ mentions Pisistratus in this connection, also numerous other cases. Rabelais recalls from Cicero, De Divinatione the story of L. Paulus who interpreted the death of Persa, his daughter's puppy, favorably, as meaning the defeat of his enemies, the Persians.²² An important factor in the refutation of disadvantageous omens was the spontaneity of the reformed interpretation, which constituted a superior omen.²³ Albertus Magnus, in Mineralium²⁴ explains in terms of astrology the division between nature and the will which permits the refutation of omens touching on the will: "There is in man a double spring of action, namely, nature and the will; and nature, for its part, is ruled by the stars, while the will is free, but unless it resists it is swept along by nature and becomes mechanical."

Further to the matter of astrology, John Gerson (1350 - 1420) mentions²⁵ twelve points restraining astrological judgements, including divine freedom of action, omnipotence and human liberty, which, conjoined with necessary causes, gives rise to contingent effects. Even Pierre d'Ailly, though an avid defender of astrology, was still prepared to accept Gerson's point of view, provided the interpretation of it was sufficiently loose.²⁶ Defences of astrology were published at Nurnberg (1502)(Jakob Schonheintz) and in Milan, (1507), yet Cornelius Agrippa could say in 1537 that no-one had adequately answered the common objections to astrology²⁷ codified by Pico in his Disputationes Adversus Astrologiam Divinatricem of 1495.²⁸ Marsilio Ficino, for his part, agreed with astrology which did not presume to deny freewill and

providence.²⁹ His acceptance of astrology was clearly limited, both in his formal treatise and in his letters.³⁰ It is known that Ficino's primary knowledge of astrology, like Rabelais's, was gained during his medical training, as the doctrine of elections, or finding moments propitious for operations, was a recognised part of medical training in the sixteenth century. In the third part of De Vita Coelitus Ficino expressly states that the stellar rays can not affect the animus. "Through Providence the body is above fate, but through nature the body is subordinate to fate. The rational soul is superior to its universe."³¹ As for Agrippa, it may be said that his vacillation and uncertainty typify the general understanding of astrology and the powers of divination in general in the sixteenth century... In De Incertitudine Scientiarum et Artium (1530) he recanted all his previous views, expressed in De Occulta Philosophia which was not to be published until 1531, (Paris and Antwerp). On the 18th April, 1526, Agrippa had sent from Lyon to a friend at Chambéry an astrological chart, inviting him to comment on his skill in the art.³² Yet by November of the same year, he was able to say that he benefited shamelessly from those who came to him stupidly demanding to be told the future: "je suis aussi prophète, et je sais profiter de leur sottise."³³

In brief, the attitude of the sixteenth century toward divination appears to have varied between partial acceptance and almost total acceptance, always excepting jurisdiction over the will and divine Providence. For the most part, distinctions drawn between the true and the false are pre-rational and based on pre-conceived theological tenets. There is a distinction to be made between those methods of divination which consisted in a reading of signs in the physical world,

interpreting them in terms of their forms in the worlds above, or as signatures of higher truths, and the ecstatic method, favoured by the neoplatonists, which required the soul of the observer to mount through the spheres to the immutable. The latter method was viewed more indulgently, having as it did the support of mysticism and the full weight of the neoplatonic hierarchical conception of the universe. However, to be effective, the flight of the soul needed to be personal. The existence of an intermediary cancelled the certainty otherwise possible.

4 The Branches of Divination

(Divinatory Methods popular in the sixteenth century.)

List A; Methods used in Rabelais to further the narrative:

Genethlialogy

Physiognomy

Virgilian or Homeric Lots

Oneiromancy

Cleromancy

Astrology

Prophetic Types (Sibyl, Dying-man, Fool)

Oracles

Geomancy

Metoposcopy

Pyromancy

Aeromancy

Cyromancy

Sycomancy (by scattering leaves)

Alectryomancy (bird pecking grain from a lettered board)

Augury

Portents and Prodigies

Rhapsodomancy

List B; Methods mentioned by Rabelais in passing but unimportant to the furtherance of the narrative:

Tarot (perhaps important symbolically, but not textually)
 Chiromancy
 Hydromancy
 Lecanomancy (by a basin of water)
 Catoptromancy (by mirrors)
 Coscinomancy (by sieve and shears)
 Alphetomancy (by barley-meal)
 Aleuromancy (by mixing wheat with flour)
 Astragalomancy (by huckle-bones)
 Tyromancy (by observing a cheese)
 Sternomancy (by sounding the chest)
 Libanomancy (by smoke)
 Castromancy (by wind in the stomach)
 Cephalomancy (by the condition of the cranium and brain)
 Ceromancy (by wax in water)
 Capnomancy (by smoke and hot coals)
 Axinomancy (by an axehead)
 Onymancy (by oil and wax)
 Tephramancy (by ashes exposed to air)
 Botanomancy
 Ichthyomancy
 Choeromancy (by marks on a bladder)
 Anthropomancy (by human dissection)
 Stichomancy (by metrical length of line)
 Onomatomancy (by names)
 Necromancy
 Sciomancy (similar to necromancy, by the shades of the dead).

These lists, compiled from those methods of divination mentioned by Rabelais, appear to contain the great majority known to the sixteenth century.

- 5 The Special Status of Le Tiers Livre, and its link with the Dive Bouteille Episode.

Divination in all its forms may be found in Le Tiers Livre as has been stated. Sometimes Panurge will actively use a means to discover the truth eternally present in the world of Forms, and sometimes lists of possible means will be suggested to him (as by Her Trippa,³⁴). At this stage, Panurge is aimless. He craves advice, and is sure of nothing. While he appears to desire marriage, his motives and true will are not apparent. He first professes his desire after a discussion with Pantagruel concerning the exemption of the newly-married from the requirement to bear arms,³⁵ giving his wish a possible basis in cowardice. Pantagruel congratulates him:³⁶

"En bonne heure soit, dist Pantagruel, vous m'en avez bien resjouy." Panurge does however at this stage make a firm resolution. He abandons the past, symbolised by his spectacular cod-piece, "sa belle et magnifique braguette, en laquelle il souloit comme en l'ancre sacré constituer son dernier refuge contre tous naufragees d'adversité." Panurge is adrift. It is important to note that at this stage he has made a break with all that has gone before. Intuitively, or with doubtful motives, he has abandoned all that the cod-piece stands for. But a principal signification of the cod-piece is war:³⁷ "la braguette est piece premiere de harnois militaire". Panurge moves towards peace, or reconciliation, at this point, but only on the surface. Within himself, he is still at war. It is the internal conflict which militates against the fulfilment of his expressed desire. This inability to harmonise the elements of his psyche will be

reflected in the contrary and ambiguous responses of the means of divination to his interrogation. Divination does not lie. In effect it will present him with the true possible outcomes of any marriage he should attempt while he is in his present chaotic state. He may be cuckolded, and he may not. He will have no assurance in the matter until he has stilled the violent passions of a disordered spirit. The abandonment of the braguette is almost an empty gesture, unless it is accompanied by an internal resolution and reconciliation. Pantagruel shows Panurge the superficiality of a mere change of dress, and points him towards the more difficult re-adjustment of the heart and mind which must take place:³⁸

"Chascun abonde en son sens, mesmement en choses foraines, externes et indifferentes, lesquelles de soy ne sont bonnes ne mauvaïses, pource qu'elles ne sortent de nos coeurs et pensées, qui est l'officine de tout bien et tout mal: bien, si bonne est, et par le esprit munde reiglée l'affection; mal, si hors aequité par l'esprit maling est l'affection depravée."

However, Panurge remains pre-occupied with externals. The message of Le Tiers Livre needs to be repeated almost endlessly. It is a book consecrated to his failure to comprehend; no real progress towards reconciliation (marriage), will occur until the decision to put to sea. This decision³⁹ constitutes the second turning towards God, (the first being the physical abandonment of the braguette.)

Between these two major turning points, nearly all the known means of divination and all sources of advice are to be tried, when any one would suffice. In this sense, the entire Tiers Livre may be seen as a typical Rabelaisian kyrielle, wastefully but effectively piling up one method on another, to have all rejected. All, that is, except one. The last means

of divination, that suggested by Xenomanes and, Panurge believes, by Tribouillet, requires an enormous effort on Panurge's part. To reach the Dive Bouteille, the oracle of the bottle which will allay his fears, Panurge must reform his will. The journey and its experiences are as important as the goal, which is strongly linked to all the other means of divination of Le Tiers Livre. The end of Le Cinquiesme Livre, as divination, relates more squarely to the middle chapters of Le Tiers Livre than to any intervening. The following represents an attempt to isolate those references to divination which particularly appertain to the quest for a solution to Panurge's difficulty:

Physiognomy T.L. Ch 25 p.506 "Tu as la metoposcopia et physionomie d'un coqu"

Virgilian Lots T.L. Ch10 - 12 p.441 - 2 and p.446 - 452, especially: "Apportez moy les oeuvres de Virgile, et par troys foys avecques l'ongle les ouvrans, explorerons, par les vers du nombre entre nous convenu, le sort futur de vostre mariage." * Car, comme par sors Homericques souvent on a rencontré sa destinée"
T.L. Ch 12 p.447 "Adoncques ouvrant Panurge le livre, rencontra on ranc sezieme ce vers..."

Oneiromancy T.L. Ch 13 p.452f "Car en songeant... l'ame souvent prevoit les choses futures."

T.L. Ch 14 p.460 "et voyez vos songes conformes es sors Virgilianes: vous serez coqu"

Cleromancy T.L. Ch 11 p.445 "Non (respondit Pantagruel) Ce sort est abusif, illicite et grandement scandaleux."

Metoposcopy T.L. Ch 25 p.505-6 "metopomantie", "metoposcopia"

Geomancy T.L. Ch 25 p.505 "geomantie"

Oracles T.L. Ch 24 p.503-4 "Si encores regnoient les oracles de Juppiter en Amon..."

C.L. Ch 46 p.457 "de Pythias le treteau" together with frequent references to the oracle of the Dive Bouteille (Q.L., C.L.) .

Astrology T.L. Ch 25 p.506 "Cela faict demanda à Panurge l'horoscope de sa nativité ...sa maison du ciel"
 Augury T.L. Ch 25 p.510 "par augure prins du vol des oiseaulx, du chant des oscines, du bal solistime des canes?"

Sibyl T.L. Ch 16 p.467 "Une Sibylle de Panzoust"

T.L. Ch16 p.468 "Une unzieme sibylle, une seconde Cassandre?"

Dying man T.L. Ch 21 p.488 "Tout homme vieulx, decrepit et près de sa fin, facilement divine des cas advenir"

Deafmute T.L. Ch19 p.479 "conseil prenez de quelque mut"

Astrologer-Magician T.L. Ch 25 p.505ff "Her Trippa"

Fool T.L. Ch25 p.589 "Triboullet" "... les Turcs reverent tels folz comme musaphiz et prophetes".

6 Divination and the Marriage Question (details).

Oneiromancy

Rabelais appears well-versed in the art of dream-interpretation. Several references to Artemidorus Daldianus Peri Onirocriticon may be found,⁴⁰ once in a list of such authors⁴¹ "Car en songeant avecques conditions les quelles descrivent Hippocrates, lib. περί ὀνείρων, Platon, Plotin, Jamblicque, Synesius, Aristoteles, Xenophon, Galen, Plutarque, Artemidorus Daldianus, Herophilus, Q, Calaber, Theocrite, Pline, Athenaeus, et aultres, l'ame souvent prevoit les choses futures." Rabelais would also have been familiar with Virgil's Aeneid⁴² and Lucian's Vera Historia.⁴³

Pantagruel refers to Artemidorus (T.L. Ch14)

in his interpretation of Panurge's dream. It would appear useful to attempt to trace as many of the points of the dream in this author as possible. Panurge's wife (in his dream) is pretty and graceful, an auspicious thing for the dreamer (Peri Onirocriticon 1.78). But, as Artemidorus says (2.65) "Marriage is also similar to death. If a sick man dreams that he is marrying a maiden, it portends his death, for the same things that happen to a bridegroom happen to a dead man. But this dream is auspicious for a man who wishes to try his luck in a new business venture, for it signifies that he will attain his goal". Panurge dreams that she pushes horns into his forehead; this is another symbol of death to Artemidorus (1.39) "To have the horns of an ox or any other violent animal growing from one's head indicates violent death... for this is also the fate of horned animals." Yet Panurge states that he feels no pain. The death foreseen may be spiritual death, prior to rebirth, as at the Fountain. Panurge then dreams that he is turned into a "tabourin". This is inauspicious in that it may signify a beating. Panurge's wife turns into an owl. Of owls, Artemidorus says (3.65) "In regard to fears, they signify deliverance, since night-birds do not hunt (in the day-time) and they do not eat flesh..... if a person who is travelling by sea or land sees any of these birds, it means he will encounter a great storm, or robbers." Most important of all Artemidorus' statements for the purpose of Panurge's dream is (1.6) "But one must understand that the things that are manifested to people who are anxiously concerned about something and who have asked the gods for a dream do not correspond to the objects of their concern

(signifying something about the present), since those dreams that are similar to the dreamer's thoughts are non-significative and in the enhypnion class, as the earlier section has shown. These are called anxiety dreams and petitionary dreams by some men." Macrobius,⁴⁴ however, gives a category of significant dream into which Panurge's dream may fall. This is the 'enigmatic' type.

The dreamer, according to Rabelais and the neoplatonists, has a characteristic in common with the madman, with the dying man and with the sibyl. In sleep, the soul is free to wander in the higher spheres. There it may learn future things, if it is not hampered by anxiety, by contemplation of their ideal forms. Panurge, as dreamer, could become his own medium. It is unfortunate that at this stage he has neither the knowledge nor the will to achieve certainty from such contact with Divine Intellect.

Rabelais could draw on the Bible for support in the matter of dreams and dreamers. Gen. 37.5 has Joseph "dream a dream", I Kings 3.5 has Solomon receiving apparitions in a dream. Matt. 27.19 'I have suffered many things in a dream' recalls the dream of Panurge. Nebuchadnezzar dreams dreams, Dan. 2.1 and Rabelais quotes Gen. 37.19 'This dreamer cometh' at the awakening of Panurge.

First of the divinatory methods proposed by Pantagruel is the casting of Lots, in this case, Homeric Lots.⁴⁵ Cicero dismisses this branch of divination out of hand - "Quibus in rebus temeritas et casus, non ratio nec consilium valet."⁴⁶ But in the New and Old Testaments, Lots are an accepted method of divination (Jonah 1.7 Acts 1.26 Numbers 26.55) or of division of spoils (the garments of Christ) (Matt. 27.35 Mk. 13.24 Lk. 23.34).

On classical precedent however, culled by Pantagruel from Plato, Crito,⁴⁷ Plutarch, Brutus⁴⁸

and others, Panurge is to delve three times into the work of Virgil.⁴⁹ It will be recalled that Virgil is considered a prophet by virtue of the 'messianic' fourth Eclogue. By means of the lots, Pantagruel suggests, Panurge will ascertain the verdict of the higher spheres, "les fatales dispositions du ciel", since his own will is unsure. Pantagruel does not pretend for a moment that a verdict of fate will override Panurge's freewill, but stresses the opposite.⁵⁰ Fate has no jurisdiction over the will: "N'estez vous asceuré de vostre vouloir? Le point principal y gist: tout le reste est fortuit, et dependent des fatales dispositions du ciel." Predictably, Panurge chooses passages which can be construed to predict cuckoldry. He immediately abominates this suggestion.⁵¹ Only one of the examples which Pantagruel has given of the success of Virgilian lots is taken from outside classical times, for, like the oracles, the Tenite goddesses⁵² who preside over the chamber of lots have become for the most part dumb since the coming of Christ. The single exception is that of Rabelais's friend. Pierre Amy, who, disquietened by the unpopularity of his study of Greek, consulted the lots, which suggested he flee the monastery of Fontenay-le-Comte. Cleromantic divination has many divisions, since many objects can be used for this purpose. Rabelais confines himself mainly to poetic lots and to divination by dice. All cleromantic methods, in Bouché-Leclercq's definition⁵³ "cherchent à laisser à la Providence, entrevue sous la forme indéfinie du hasard, un libre jeu et une carrière ouverte dans l'imprévu." Both the Delphic and Athenian Oracles incorporated cleromantic preliminary petitions, as did the oracle of Dodona.⁵⁴ These lots were ascertained by astragali or huckle-bones, taken from the ankles of beasts. The Virgilian Lots, which Rabelais favours⁵⁶ are dignified

by the general title of rhapsodomancy, "ou divination par phrases détachées, rencontrées au hazard dans des livres inspirés, comme les poésies d'Homère et d'Hésiode."⁵⁷ Bouché-Leclercq also notes that Christians have used the Bible for this purpose.⁵⁸ It may be significant that Rabelais does not do so, perhaps because he is unwilling to include Holy Writ in this procedure which he declares through Pantagruel to be not in all cases infallible.⁵⁹ The Bible is perhaps reserved for a more important moment of the story. The book to which Bacbuc refers may be the Bible. This is in the realm of Truth.

Rabelais is characteristically ambivalent concerning divination by dice. It is, Pantagruel opines, both unlawful and deceitful: "Ce sort est abusif, illicite et grandement scandaleux."⁶⁰ Yet this same Pantagruel has said, so little a time before: "Puis ... qu'une fois en avez jecté le dez ... reste seulement la mettre à l'exécution."⁶¹ Though this last statement is a mere form of words, it is interesting coming from Pantagruel. Rabelais likes compromise - he allows the line number of Virgil to be determined by dice. (T.L. Ch 11, p.445). He may have seen the Libro delle Sorti of Lorenzo Spirito (Bologna, 1476) (translated into French, 1528). This book was wellknown, under the title Passe-temps de la Fortune des Dez (Paris : 1534).⁶² Rabelais refers to "le maudict livre du Passetemps des Dez, inventé par le calumniateur ennemy en Achaie près Boure."⁶³ Boure was the location of an oracle of Hercules, consulted by the casting of dice.⁶⁴

The episode of Bridoye occupies considerable space in Le Tiers Livre.⁶⁵ It is accepted that Bridoye has committed a fault in consulting dice for his judgements, yet he has done so because he was aware of the weakness of unaided human judgement. Pantagruel pleads in his favour, advancing the excuse of age for his error. Moreover, Bridoye uses dice in faith, and successfully. He fails not because the dice mislead but because he is old and misreads them.

The use of dice, although illicit, is redeemed by faith. He excuses Bridoye, moreover, because he is simple, and because the hand of God is evident in his many previous successes.⁶⁶ Bridoye temporises; then, having awaited the turning of events (for all truth lies in time, see C.L. Ch 47) he uses the dice for a sign. Panurge does not interrogate Bridoye.

While Pantagruel pleads the case, Panurge and the rest wait outside the court.⁶⁷ Bridoye uses dice not to predict, but to determine truth. Unfortunately, he is off-limits as a source of information to Panurge, since he has been married, but no longer is. He is not competent to give advice.

Panurge, as has been seen, interrogates various prophetic types on the question of his marriage and possible cuckoldry, on the advice of Pantagruel. Of those who predict the future by occult means, two groups can be made. Firstly there are those whose knowledge of the future is based on their ability to perceive the timeless realities of the world of Ideas and Forms. They include Raminagrobis⁶⁸ and Triboullet.⁶⁹ The souls of both, because of their condition (of approaching death and of folly respectively) are free to wander the spheres, to return to their home in the firmament. There they may observe the Forms, and report on the future they have witnessed in the only way possible: i.e. ambiguously. Secondly, there are those possessed by Apollo, who may thus utter prophecy in the style of the ancient oracles. They include the Sibyl⁷⁰ and Nazdecabre.⁷¹ (Raminagrobis belongs also to this group by right of being a dying poet). Her Trippa belongs to neither group. His power is that of magic, and he is served as magician by the demons of the lower

world. As astrologer, he is capable of reading the future, with reservations. He is more linked to the group of advisers, including Hippothadée, Trouillogan, Pantagruel, Frere Jan, Epistemon, Rondibilis and the missing Bridoye.

Panurge rejects outright the pronouncements of the Sibyl, Nazdecabre and Triboullet, as interpreted by Pantagruel, substituting his own interpretation. He vilifies the judgement of Her Trippa and Raminagrobis on the assumption peculiar to himself that Raminagrobis is a heretic and Her Trippa a charlatan, both to be scorned. They remain correct in their judgements, given the Panurge that they have before them.

Rabelais appears to have shared the classical belief that there were ten sibyls. Pantagruel says: "Que sçavons nous si c'est une unzieme sibylle, une seconde Cassandre?"⁷² Shortly before, Rabelais had answered the biblical strictures against the employment of sibyls by having Pantagruel say blandly "Nous ne sommes mie Juifs",⁷³ suggesting that it is possible to learn from anything which is not strictly anti-Christian. Much later, Pantagruel proposes that his party consult a sibyl, to act as "guyde et truchement" on the journey to the Dive Bouteille.⁷⁴ Panurge replies that Xenomanes will serve as guide, and some Lanterne will act for them as the sibyl acted for Aeneas on his journey to the Elysian Fields.⁷⁵ This sibyl, alias the Sibyl of Cumae, is the one whom Rabelais apparently had in mind as a model for the Sibylle de Panzoust. The links are as follows: Epistemon says⁷⁶ "Nous ne aurons d'elle responce aulcune, car nous n'avons le rameau d'or", which recalls the golden bough demanded of Aeneas by the sibyl prior to his entering the underworld.⁷⁷ Panurge is terrified by the growth of the Sibyl of Panzoust, as Apollo, the god of furor and prophecy, possesses her,⁷⁸ (reflecting the same incident in Aeneid.⁷⁹) Aeneas says, also,⁸⁰ "Only, pray, do not commit your prophecy to leaves, for they might fly in disorder as playthings for the grasping winds. I beg of you to chant in words of your own." Panurge neglects to make this

request - his answer is thrown to the winds on sycamore leaves,⁸¹ the scattering emphasising the hopeless ambiguity of the method. Lastly, Epistemon ~~Hermy joke~~ on the subject of the sibyl's cavern⁸² in echo of a passage in Aeneid.

Also, Rabelais's Sibylle has some of the characteristics of the sibyl Cassandra, mentioned in the text.⁸³ Primarily, she too, "une seconde Cassandre" has no ability to persuade her hearers (the punishment inflicted on Cassandra by Apollo, for refusing his advances).

Rabelais has less classical precedent for the employment of Nazdecabre, the deaf-mute, as diviner. The Bible, however, provides Isaiah 42 19 "Who is deaf ... as my messenger I sent?" Nazdecabre's main function is as vehicle for non-articulated prophecy, signs and number symbolism easily rendered on the fingers or by gesture. Plato had declared the articulated word to be ambivalent, sometimes deceptive (false rhetoric).⁸⁴ There is nothing ambivalent about Nazdecabre's gestures - Panurge will be cuckolded, beaten and robbed, although he immediately denies it.⁸⁵

Raminagrobis, as has been stated, may prophecy on two counts. He is a dying poet, and therefore under the protection of Apollo. Moreover, as a dying man he shares the right of all near their death to divine future events. His prophecy is double-barrelled, since he is both possessed by Apollo and capable of observing the World of Forms.⁸⁶ Though Panurge is to vilify him as a heretic,⁸⁷ Rabelais calls him "le bon vieillard"⁸⁸ Raminagrobis' reply to Panurge's question is remarkably mild, though completely paradoxical as advice. It is in the style of the prudent prognosticator, as Epistemon says:⁸⁹ - "Ainsi (respondit Epistemon) protesto it

Tiresias, le grand vaticinateur, au commencement de toutes ses divinations, disant apertement à ceulx qui de luy prenoient advis: Ce que je diray adviendra ou ne adviendra poinct. Et est le style des prudens prognostiqueurs". Raminagrobis' advice is clear despite the alternatives: 'Do what you will.' As such, it approaches the simplicity of Pantagruel's own advice.⁹⁰

Her Trippa is one of the prophetic types who appears not to fit any group; he stands for the individual magus whose power resides in knowledge of the occult world and in his ability to harness the demons which inhabit the lower world, through magic, to do his will. It is uncertain whether Lefranc was correct in seeing Her Trippa as a depiction of Cornelius Agrippa.⁹¹ Saulnier suggests that he is not.⁹² J.G. Perkins⁹³ weighs both arguments, tending more to accept Saulnier's reservations on the matter of identity. Yet, had Cornelius Agrippa been approached by such a one as Panurge, bearing gifts,⁹⁴ "une robe de peau de loup, une grande espée bastarde bien dorée à fourreau de velours et cinquante beaulx angelotz," he would certainly have fulfilled his petitioner's expectations.⁹⁵ Her Trippa, in contrast to the others, delivers a straight and unambiguous prediction reached by inductive process. He reads the signs of the natural world and neither is possessed by Apollo nor gifted with peculiar intuition.

Triboullet, the Fool, has many points of significance. He may represent Le Mat, (Il Matto), of the divinatory Tarot. He is the vehicle for a proposed extensive alchemical symbolism, especially of the oak-gall, marrow-in-the-bone variety. (See Intro. p.26). He is wise in his folly.⁹⁶ In a more narrow sense, he typifies the platonic frenzy,

oracular ecstasis, which Panurge will undergo at the Dive Bouteille, but, being finally mad, his observance of the Forms is neither of use to himself nor can he report it coherently. Rabelais clearly defines Triboullet's astrological character;⁹⁷ he is Jovial, Mercurial, Lunatic. G.M. Masters stresses the parallels between Triboullet, the mad fool, and Bridoye, the learned fool.⁹⁸ Both illustrate aspects of folly, capable of aiding in the search for truth. (see below, p234, the Renaissance theme of the Morosophe). Triboullet's spirit, like Raminagrobis', being not closely restrained, is free to return to the sphere of Intelligences. Unlike Raminagrobis, he cannot form a meaningful judgement from this experience but he does pass on reflections of it. He it is who refers Panurge to the Dive Bouteille.

The last prophetic type, divorced chronologically from the rest, is Bacbuc. It is tempting to see the priestess as a type of Pythia, but this is incorrect. Unlike the Pythian oracle, she does not utter an inspired judgement; she merely interprets the word, "Trinch" of the Dive Bouteille. Interpretation of the oracular utterance of Delphi was the work of a school of priests who transcribed the utterance received from the Pythia. They did not enter the sacred room of the oracle. In Rabelais' narrative, the character most closely related to the Pythia of Delphi is Panurge, who is possessed by the wine and achieves ecstasis, "eslevé par enthousiasme bacchique"⁹⁹ But finally it is the Dive Bouteille itself which is the oracle. With the aid of a copious draught from "le livre d'argent", a bottle of fine wine "en forme de breviaire" Panurge is made to make his own interpretation of the word: "La Dive Bouteille vous y envoie, soyez vous memes interpretes de vostre entreprinse."¹⁰⁰ Panurge foresees

himself happily married, but noticeably makes no reference to cuckoldry. An understanding of the divine will, it is proposed, has entirely removed this fear. His task then is to conform to the will of the Dive Bouteille. While the Dive Bouteille is the oracle in that it utters "Trinch" Bacbuc is more a guardian than an interpreter. Panurge is his own priest, without mediation.

7 (a) Further references to Divination

The following references to divination are not at first sight directly related to the marriage question.

1. Genethliology:

P. Ch 2 p.231 "Et parce que en ce propre jour nasquit Pantagrue, son pere luy imposa tel nom: car panta en grec, vault autant à dire comme tout, et gruel en langue Hagarene, vault autant comme alteré, veulent inferer que à l'heure de sa nativité, le monde estoit tout alteré et voyant, en esperit de prophetie, qu'il seroit quelque jour dominateur des alterez, ce que luy fut monstré à celle heure mesmes par aultre signe plus evident ... " (ibid) "Et, comme elles caquetoient de ces menus propos entre elles, voicy sortir Pantagrue, tout velu comme un ours, dont dist une d'elles en esperit prophetique: "Il est né à tout le poil, il fera choses merveilles; et, s'il vit, il aura de l'eage"

G. Ch 7 p.33 "Le bon homme Grandgousier, beuvant et se rigolant avecques les aultres, entendit le cry horrible que son filz avoit faict entrant en lumiere de ce monde, quand il brasmoit, demandant "A boyre! à boyre! " Dont il dist "Que grand tu as!" (supple le gousier). Ce que ouyans, les assistans dirent

que vraiment il debvoit avoir par ce le nom, Gargantua
 puisque telle avoit esté la premiere parolle de son
 père à sa naissance, à l'imitation et exemple des
 anciens Hebreux."

2. Physiognomy:

G. Prol. p.5 "Socrates ... le nez pointu"

G. Ch27 p.107 "Frere Jean - bien advantaigé en nez"

G. Ch 40 p.153 "Pourquoy (dist Gargantua) est ce que
 Frere Jean a si beau nez?"

P. Ch 9 p.263 (Panurge) "à sa physionomie, Nature l'a
 produit de riche et noble lignée"

P. Ch 16 p.300 "Panurge ... avoit le nez un peu
 aquilin"

P. Ch 21 p.327 "Ho, (dist-il) vous n'estez tant male
 que vous dictez, non, ou je suis bien trompé à vostre
 physionomie" (la grande dame de Paris)

C.L. Ch 11 p.318 (Chatz Fourrez) "Advisez, beuveurs,
 s'ils ne doivent bien estre camus! "

3. Tarot:

G. Ch 22 p.83 (les jeux de Gargantua) "à la Triumphe
 au tarau"

C.L. Ch 22 p.362 (à la Quinte) "j'apperceu forces dez,
 cartes, tarots"

4. Oneiromancy:

P. Ch18 p.316 "les livres de Artemidore Peri Onirocriticon."

5. Cleromancy:

T.L. Ch 9 p.437 "Puis (respondit Pantagruel) qu'une
 foy en avez jecté le dez ... " (figurative use)

T.L. Ch 39 - 43 p.565-583 "Bridoye ... a confessé
 juger on sort des dez"

6. Portents and Prodigies

Q.L. Ch 27 p.119-122, esp. p.120 "par telz cometes et
 apparitions metéores, les quelles veulent les cieulx
 estre aux humaines pour prognostic certain et veridicque

prediction."

7. Revelation:

C.L. Ch 24 p.420 "mais je treuve dedans mon breviaire
que en la Revelation ... "

8. Chiromancy:

T.L. Ch 25 p.505 "Chiromantie"

9. Geomancy:

P. Ch 18 p.314 "Geomantie"

P. Ch 22 p.332 "les geomantiens Gregoys"

10. Astrology:

G. Ch 23 p.89 "Eulx retornans, consideroient l'estat
du ciel: si tel estoit comme l'avoient noté au soir
precedent, et quelz signes entroit le soleil, aussi la
lune, pour icelle journée."

G. Ch 23 p.91 "astronomie ... pratiquoient les
canons astronomicques"

G. Ch 23 p.96 "En pleine nuict, davant que soy
retirer, alloient au lieu de leur logis le plus
descouvert veoir la face du ciel, et la notoient
les cometes, sy aulcunes estoient, les figures,
situations, aspectz, oppositions et conjonctions des
astres."

P. Prol. p.218 "Je ne suis nay en telle planette"

P. Ch 1 p.222 "matieres tant dures et difficiles
que les Astrologues ne y peuvent mordre"

P. Ch 7 p.254 "Almanach perpetuel"

P. Ch 7 p.255 "Le Rammoneur d'Astrologie"

P. Ch 8 p.260 "laisse moy l'astrologie divinatrice...
comme abuz et vanitez"

P. Ch 20 p.324 "des problemes insolubles ... de
astrologie"

T.L. Ch 3 p.418 "Les astres ne y feront influence
bonne"

T.L. Ch 4 p.420 "O quelle harmonie sera parmy les

reguliers mouvemens des cieulz!"

T.L. Ch 15 p.467 "Ceulx qui des cieulx ont le benevole aspect"

T.L. Ch 28 p.523 "Voudroys tu faire retrograder les planetes?"

T.L. Ch 30 p.532 "Voyez comment la lune ne prent lumiere ne de Mercure, ne de Juppiter, ne de Mars, ne d'autre planette ou estoile qui soyt en ciel"

T.L. Ch 32 p.539 "Comme la Lune, en conjonction du soleil n'apparoist ... mais en son opposition ... reluist ... et apparroist."

T.L. Ch 33 p.543 "le soleil passe soubs le signe de Taurus"

T.L. Ch 38 p.561 "Fol jovial, Mercurial, Lunaticque, erraticque, eccœntricque"

T.L. Ch 44 p.586 "l'aspect benevole des cieulx"

Q.L. Prol. p.26 "Et doncques, telle est on temps present la revolution des Cieulx, la constellation des Astres et aspect des Planettes"

Q.L. Ch 5 p.48ff Dindenault - a clear subject of the Ram - goat-like, quick-tempered, a commercial type.

Q.L. Ch 26 p.117 "le comete"

Q.L. Ch 33 p.138 "vostre destinée fatale"

Q.L. Ch 43 p.165 "par l'estoile Poussiniere"

Q.L. Ch 63 p.231 "l'ascendant des broches et horoscope des fricassées"

Q.L. Ch 65 p.240 "debatu entre les folz astrologues"

C.L. Ch 3 p.291 "fatale destinée des Astres"

C.L. Ch 11 p.317 "ne les referez aux conjonctions des planettes malefiques"

C.L. Ch 17 p.344 "Astrologues"

C.L. Ch 25 p.373 "à la semblance des planetes"

C.L. Ch 32 p.417 "le larcin de Mars et de Venus"

C.L. Ch 42 p. 442 "Pierres... attribuées aux sept planettes"

C.L. Ch 42 p.444 "les douze signes du zodiaque"
 also (passim) Pantag. Prognos. p. 501-518 vol. 2
 Alm. de 1533 p. 519-520 vol. 2
 Alm. de 1535 p. 521-524 vol. 2
 Letter of Dec. 30 1535, p.541 vol. 2

11. Augury:

P. Ch 30 p.366 "Ha! Mon amy, l'auspice de vos deux verres et du fust de javeline estoit bien par trop fallace! "

12. Minor divinatory methods (Mentioned in Her Trippa's list T.L. Ch 25 p.505 - 512, and elsewhere if noted.)

Pyromancy T.L. Ch 17 p.472 "Le consydera brusler en silence"

T.L. Ch 25 p.508 "par pyromantie"

Aeromancy "aëromantie"

Hydromancy "Hydromantie"

Lecanomancy "lecanomantie"

Captptomancy "captptomantie"

Rhapsodomancy T.L. Ch 17 p.474 "trouverent ceste sentence en metres : T'esgoussera ... "

"rhapsodomantie" T.L. Ch 25

Coscinomancy "coscinomantie"

Alphitomancy "alphitomantie"

Aleuromancy "aleuromantie"

Astragalomancy "astragalomantie"

Tyromancy "tyromantie"

Gyromancy "gyromantie" T.L. Ch 17 p.472 : "les tourna et vira entre ses doigtz ... Après, print ses devidoueres, et par neuf foys les tourna, au neufvieme tour consydera sans plus toucher ... "

Sternomancy "sternomantie"

Libanomancy "libanomantie" T.L. Ch 17 p.472

"jecta on feu demy fagot de bruiere et un rameau de

laurier sec. Le consydera brusler en silence"

(see pyromancy, above).

Gastromancy "gastromantie"

Cephalonomancy "cephaleonomantie"

Ceromancy "ceromantie"

Capnomancy "capnomantie"

Axinomancy "axinomantie"

Onymancy "onymantie"

Tephramancy "tephramantie"

Botanomancy "botanomantie" T.L. Ch 17 p.472

"un sycomore antique"

Sycomantie "sycomantie"

Ichthyomancy "ichthyomantie"

Choeromancy "choeromantie"

Anthropomancy "anthropomantie"

Stichomancy "stichomantie"

Onomantomancy "onomatomantie" Q.L. Ch 37 p.148-9

"Vous le prenez bien, dist Pantagrue, et me plaist que par les noms de nos coronetz vous praevoiez et prognosticquez la nostre victoire" (Also, the names of Gargantua and Pantagrue, see above, Genethliology)

Alectryomancy "alectryomantie"

Haruspicy "l'art de aruspicine"

Extispicy "par extispicine"

Necromancy "necromantie"

Sciomancy "sciomantie"

7 (b) Divination visible elsewhere in Rabelais's work: Physiognomy and Astrology

Of all the methods of divination, Physiognomy and Astrology stand out as being more than mere techniques to be tested. They are part of the work, as they were part of life for renaissance man. In their pure forms,

both physiognomy and astrology were articles of faith, accepted elements in the renaissance world picture. Physiognomical studies were an important part of medical training. Astrological tenets were considered self-evident. Though queries were raised even during this time and indeed well before it as to the jurisdiction of the seemingly self-evident truths visible in the motions of the heavenly bodies, it was not disputed that the heavens were indeed the realm of God, and of truth.

These aspects of divination are by no means limited to Le Tiers Livre and the marriage question. Physiognomical details are often given to further delineate character, and often have importance therefore for the allegories in which characters have their parts. In the Prologue to Gargantua,¹⁰¹ Socrates is given a physiognomical portrait. It is not unimportant that he is blessed with "le nez pointu", symbolic of intellectual power and potency. Similarly, Frere Jean des Entommeures is¹⁰² "bien advantaigé en nez". Gargantua afterwards asks:¹⁰³ "Pourquoy ... est ce que Frere Jean a si beau nez?" Panurge betrays his worth by his physiognomy.¹⁰⁴ "il n'est pauvre que par fortune, car je vous asseure que, à sa physionomie, Nature l'a produict de riche et noble lignée". Afterwards, he is more fully described in this physiognomical fashion.¹⁰⁵ "Panurge estoit de stature moyenne, ny trop grand, ny trop petit, et avait le nez un peu aquilin, faict à manche de rasouer."

Her Trippa¹⁰⁶ pretends to see the cuckold in Panurge's features, "Tu as la metoposcopie et physionomie d'un coqu, je dis coqu scandalé et diffamé," in

Le Tiers Livre, but other aspects of Panurge have already shown his potential for wisdom. Pantagruel has noted them. The Chatz fourrez of Le Cinquiesme Livre are not blessed with long noses. On the contrary, theirs are snubbed.¹⁰⁷ "Advisez, beuveurs, s'ils ne doivent bien estre camus". This signifies that they are vain liars.¹⁰⁸

Astrology was of course a pet subject of Rabelais, and it is not surprising that references to this art are the most ubiquitous of all in his work. These references are often delivered as mere asides, to the most obvious of all representations of the World of Forms, the Heavens. The stars are a part of the education of Gargantua.¹⁰⁹ "Eulx retornans, consideroient l'estat du ciel : si tel estoit comme l'avoient noté au soir precedent, et quelz signes entroit le soleil, aussi la lune, pour icelle journée." "(ils) pratiquoient les canons astronomicques", "En pleine nuict, davant que soy retirer, alloient au lieu de leur logis le plus descouvert veoir la face du ciel, et la notoient les cometes, sy aulcunes estoient, les figures, situations, aspectz, oppositions et conjunctions des astres." Rabelais peppers his speech as author with allusions to astrology, as¹¹⁰ "Je ne suis nay en telle planette". The condition of the heavens at the nativity of Pantagruel is noted:¹¹¹ "le soleil bruncha quelque peu, comme debitoribus, à gauche, et la lune varia de son cours plus de cinq toyzes, et feut manifestement veu le mouvement de trepidation on firmament dict aplane, tellement que la Pleiade moyene laissant ses compaignons, declina vers l'Equinoctial, et l'estoille nomme l'Espy laissa la Vierge, se retirant vers la Balance, qui sont cas bien espoventables et matieres tant dures et difficiles que les Astrologues

ne y peuvent mordre." There are two references in the catalogue of the library of Saint Victor.¹¹²

"Almanach perpetuel pour les Gouteux et Verollez" and "Le Rammoneur d'astrologie". However, Gargantua advises his son, in his famous educational letter:¹¹³

"et de astronomie saiche en tous les canons, laisse moy l'astrologie divinatrice, et l'art de Lullius, comme abuz et vanitez". The astrology condemned is that which purports to control the fate of free men (viz. that of Her Trippa.) Thaumaste¹¹⁴ wishes to discuss the tenets of astrology with Pantagruel, among other occult theories.

Le Tiers Livre has several references to astrology which are superficially unconnected with the Marriage Question. In a world free of debtors,¹¹⁵

"Les astres ne y feront influence bonne", while in the opposite,¹¹⁶ "O quelle harmonie sera parmy les réguliers mouvemens des cieulx", says Panurge.

Afterwards, in Le Quart Livre and Le Cinquiesme Livre it becomes even more difficult to disentangle references which have a bearing on the proposed marriage from those which are merely part of the atmosphere. In the

discussion of the value of moderation¹¹⁷ Rabelais has the fools who seek easy wealth (wisdom) expect it as their right because of the favourable set-up of the skies: "Et doncques telle est on temps present la revolution des Cieulx, la constellation des Astres et aspect des Planettes que quiconques coingnée perdera soubdain deviendra ainsi riche?" Dindenault

moreover is a clear subject of Aries ('patron' of merchants and the greedy)¹¹⁸. The comets presage the death of Heroes¹¹⁹ showing the links existing between Above and Below. Rabelais's authorial persona swears¹²⁰

"par l'estoile Poussiniere" that the manner of life on the Isle de Ruach is strange beyond belief. This

constellation was considered to be the root of stormy weather. Frere Jean has his character delineated in the comical "ascendent des broches et horoscope des fricassées" proposed near Chaneph¹²¹. Pantagruel again mentions "les folz astrologues"¹²² and their foolish debates, while chatting with his companions.

Le Cinquiesme Livre continues the most frequent references. Editus blames the singularity of the Papegault on the "fatale destinée des astres."¹²³ The evil of the world may not be attributed to the "conjonctions des planettes malefiques,"¹²⁴ but rather to the "chatz fourrez." The boat-load of alchemists and other cheated seekers of the goal of wisdom includes "Astrologues",¹²⁵ while the roads of the Isle des Odes¹²⁶ wander at will, "à la semblance des planetes ". Final and most magnificent of all astrological references occurs at the Temple of the Dive Bouteille,¹²⁷ in the description of the planetary fountain, depicting the true harmony of the celestial world in microform. Once again, astrology is used to show the links of the worlds of above and below.

8 Several pertinent aspects:

a) The problem of will and its parallels.

While Rabelais in orthodox terms rejects that divination which purposes to limit human freewill, the progress of Le Tiers Livre and the following books depends on a continuing search to find an answer to the marriage question. That answer is given truly, but ambiguously, by every method of divination except that of Her Trippa. If Panurge knew the will of God, and thereby his own will, any method of divination would assure him of a proper guide to action. As it is, blinded by self-love, he must await Providence in the

form of divine grace which will open his eyes to his own nature. To achieve this, he moves through the world of experience, learning from the imperfect what is the nature of perfection. Finally, humiliated and without the sureness which characterised him in Le Tiers Livre, he is brought to oblivion by the wine of the Fountain, and reborn, in new certainty, in contemplation of the verdict of the Dive Bouteille, seen in the light of a personal revelation. But it is a certainty only of the ambivalence of all earthly things.

The limiting factor to divinatory method, more than any other, appears to be imperfection of will. Because of the inherited weakness of Panurge, original sin, the gift of Adam and Eve apparent from the first meeting with Pantagruel ("les aventures des gens curieulx le ont reduict en telle penurie et indigence"¹²⁸) he is incapable of forming a sound judgement until absolution has been sought and a new Panurge reconstituted by experience. As in alchemy, dissolution and reconstruction must precede the achievement of philosophical gold. Le Tiers Livre and following books are the record not only of a concern with finding a true guide to action, but also the chronicle of that same action. Bluntly put, the search is the goal.

The problem of the last three books has resolved itself into one of voluntas (a right will ascertained by faith and by work), for the human will can not rightly comprehend itself unless in the mirror of its macrocosmic counterpart, NOUS. Pantagruel has already provided the model, in the storm episode of Le Quart Livre. Frere Jan does not save the ship by labour, which is work without faith. At a certain point, human effort, although until that point absolutely necessary, becomes ineffective and superfluous. As

Pantagruel shows, it is at this point that divine aid must be sought. The arduous journey and the interrogation of the wise has provided for Panurge that knowledge of the world and its occult aspects which is to the neoplatonists the essential preliminary to the illuminating flood of Christian truth. This truth, in Rabelais, is the property of the oracle of the Dive Bouteille. Cosmic power, channelled to Panurge via "nostre eau" and the talismanic statuary of the fountain, fulfils the ultimate and greatest of human needs, union and reconciliation. Panurge becomes reconciled both within himself and to the limitations imposed upon him by existence in an imperfect world. He learns moderation in wishes, and accepts the possibility of betrayal, while in this world in the knowledge that no such betrayal will occur to the devout man in the next.

b) "Coqu, batu et desrobbé"

Certain parallels to the problem of the Will exist. The conflict of voluntas (Panurge present) and thelema (Panurge yet to be) is not fully resolved by any divinatory method presented in Le Tiers Livre, but only by the Christianised oracle of the Dive Bouteille. A fundamental shift of focus is required of Panurge before he is capable of interpreting for himself his own enterprise. This movement involves a change of heart (resulting from guided experience and Divine Grace) at the following levels:

From voluntas to thelema (personal to divine will)

From ratio to intelligentia (human to divine understanding)

From belief in Fate to belief in Providence

From opinio to sapientia (opinion to wisdom)

From philautia to love of God

The shift of all these points is upward, that is, towards a metaphysical goal. This does not mean

however that Panurge's goal is only spiritual. Rather, it suggests the only sure method of ascertaining the truth is by reference to the undistorted World, but that this truth, once grasped, will be sure, and thereafter, the knowledge gained may be applied to the solution of difficulty at any point in the hierarchy which stretches from the En Soph, or unknowable God, to the lowest ranks of physical being. A resolution of Panurge's doubts about marriage, properly achieved (that is, by reference to God) will apply to every level of union and reconciliation which exists. Standing as he does for everyman, Panurge by his aided efforts will find answers to all the problems of man and his universe. Rabelais refines all problems to one; the Fall. The Fall has brought corruption and impurity to destroy the health of the Golden Age. However, by looking beyond the chaos to the harmony of God, and by ordering our lives in His likeness by abandoning self in all its forms (voluntas, ratio, opinio, philautia etc.), we might again recapture Eden. Because of an extended symbolism, the common edict of divination, "Vous serez coqu, vous serez batu, vous serez desrobbé",¹²⁹ becomes irrelevant.

Pantagruel first interprets the Virgilian Lots to indicate the fate reserved for Panurge should he marry. This fate is predicted by all methods of divination, and is the considered verdict of all from whom Panurge seeks advice. Even though he achieves confidence at the Dive Bouteille, Panurge will never receive a contrary opinion. Yet, at the Dive Bouteille, he is clearly satisfied with what remains a probable outcome of marriage. The paradox of this acceptance may be resolved by a consideration of the actual result of Panurge's quest. By the end of

Le Cinguiésime Livre Panurge has learned to harmonise his wishes with the divine, embodied in the person of Christ.

c) The Morosophe

Folly shares the ambivalence which characterises all earthly things. The morosophe figure is central to Le Tiers Livre. Panurge apes Erasmus' Folly¹³⁰ (whose cardinal sin is also self-love) and her mock encomium in the Praise of Debtors episode. Moreover, it is Tribouillet, the Fool, who finally points the way towards the Dive Bouteille. But Folly (like the Mercurius figure of alchemy) is neither entirely good nor entirely bad. Her followers include self-love and pleasure, but also sound sleep, happiness and the generation of life. Even Jupiter stoops to folly when he wishes to beget life. Fear is an enemy of Folly, but so is forethought.

The two motifs of folly and cuckoldry emphasise the ambivalence proper to the things of the world. Nothing is unsullied here below, and evil must always be accepted with the good. However, by fixing his eye on the eternal, man may rise above chaos, perfecting his soul which alone in his nature is perfectable. By so doing, he may achieve a contempt for the vicissitudes of fortune and a contentment arising from faith and a knowledge of the Forms, wherein perfection does reside.

9 A summary of the importance of Divination in Rabelais

Divination is the occult category most clearly treated by Rabelais. While it may be debated whether the author is consciously incorporating alchemy, or tarot, his use of divinatory methods is overt. Divination has a different function in the work. It is in many

cases integrally associated with the theme of Itinerarium (generally through attempts to find a solution to the marriage question), but only in a loose way can it be described as itself a reflection of the journey to fulfilment. In this way it draws closer to numerology and away from alchemy or tarot.

Divination in Rabelais may be divided into two types. Le Tiers Livre contains, with the final chapters of Le Cinquiesme Livre, nearly all the examples of the first type - divination to solve Panurge's perplexity over whether he should marry or not. The second type has equal incidence in all books, and reveals a general pre-occupation of Rabelais - divination seems a part of life. Characters on introduction may be given a physiognomical portrait, or reference to the state of the heavens may be made, displaying Rabelais's astrological knowledge.

In spite of these many detached references to divination, it is the broadside of methods brought to bear on the question of marriage in T.L. which must dominate any discussion of divination in Rabelais. While these methods fail at that time to satisfy Panurge by providing a guide to action he can accept, the last of them suggested, the Dive Bouteille, a Christianised oracle with strong links to the Mysteries, fulfils all his needs at the end of C.L. The last three books therefore may be said to have a circular progression, beginning and ending with divination. The only real change that takes place is within the will to believe of Panurge.

Divination, Notes

- 1 T.L. Ch 24 p.504
- 2 T.L. Ch 37 p.558
- 3 T.L. Ch 13 p.453
- 4 C.L. Ch 47 p.462
- 5 Lynn Thorndyke, History of Magic and Experimental Science (N.Y. Columbia University Press, 1941)
vol VI p.466
- 6 In particular the Dindenault episode (Q.L. Ch 5 - 8)
the meeting with Her Trippa (T.L. Ch 25) and the
astrological Fountain (C.L. Ch 42)
- 7 But see T.L. Ch 25 p.505 "par art de astrologie,
geomantie, chiromantie, metopomantie, et aultres
de pareille farine,".
- 8 Thorndyke, vol VI p.469
- 9 T.L. Ch 25 p.506 "Puys avecques un style,
feist hastivement certain nombre de pointz
divers, les accoubla par geomantie ... "
- 10 T.L. Ch 13 p.452. Pantagruel studies it P. Ch 18
p.316
- 11 Q.L. Prol. p.22
- 12 T.L. Ch 20 p.485
- 13 T.L. Ch 20 p.485 and T.L. Ch 13 p.452
- 14 Q.L. Ch 27 p.119
- 15 Julius Obsequens, De Prodigiiis (Venice: Aldine,
1508).
- 16 T.L. Ch 5 p.426
- 17 See W.R. Halliday, Greek Divination (Chicago:
Argonaut, 1967), p.45 - 53.
- 18 T.L. p.451 Panurge abominates Virgilian Lots

p.460-4	"	"	Dream interpretation
p.475	"	"	Sibyl's prophecy
p.478	"	"	" "
p.485-7	"	"	Nazdecabre's prophecy
p.493	"	"	Raminagrobis' prophecy

- p.511 Panurge abominates Her Trippa's
prophecy
- p.592 " " Triboullet's
prophecy
- 19 See Eithne Wilkins, The Rose-Garden Game (London :
1969), p.80
- 20 W.R. Halliday p.47
- 21 Herodotus, The Histories 1.63, 8.115, 137
- 22 Q.L. Ch 37 p.152
- 23 See A. Bouché-Leclercq, Histoire de la Divination
dans L'Antiquité op. cit. vol.4 p.144
- 24 Albertus Magnus, Mineralium 2.3, 3
- 25 John Gerson, Triceloquium Astrologie Theologisate
- 26 See Pierre d'Ailly, Apologetic Defense of Astrology
(1419)
- 27 Corneille Agrippa, De Incertitudine Scientiarum
et Artium caput XXXI
- 28 Pico della Mirandola, Disputationes Adversus
Astrologiam Divinatricem (1495-6) caput II - IV
"Quomodo rerum fortuitarum causa sit Deus,
quomodo angeli" et cetera
- 29 Marsilio Ficino, Epistolae, see Thorndyke, vol.4
p.572
- 30 See Don Cameron Allen, The Star-crossed Renaissance
(Durham, North Carolina : Duke University Press,
1941), p.5
- 31 Allen, p.12ff
- 32 A. Prost, Corneille Agrippa Ep. IV 4 p.111 vol. 2
- 33 A. Prost, Ep. IV 8 p.143-4 vol. 2
- 34 T.L. Ch 25 p.508
- 35 T.L. Ch 6 p.427
- 36 T.L. Ch 7 p.431
- 37 T.L. Ch 8 p.433
- 38 T.L. Ch 7 p.431
- 39 T.L. Ch 47 p.594

- 40 Artemidorus Daldianus, see The Oneirocriticon of Artemidorus (trans. R. White) (New Jersey : Noyes, 1975).
- 41 T.L. Ch 13 p.452
T.L. Ch 14 p.460
(P. Ch 18 p.316)
- 42 Aeneid 7.85
- 43 Lucian, Vera Historia B 33. 129
- 44 Macrobius Commentarii in Somnium Scipionis l. 3 10-11
"Somnium proprie vocatur quod tegit figuris et velat ambagibus non nisi interpretatione intellegendam significationem rei quae demonstratur, quod quale sit non a nobis exponendum est, cum hoc unus quisque ex usu quid sit agnoscat." There are five varieties of this 'enigmatic' dream, which may be trustworthy if properly interpreted. The varieties are: personal, alien, social, public and universal. Macrobius is of the opinion that the dream of Scipio is all these. The dream of Panurge seems at first sight to be only personal. The events concern the dreamer, and his wife.
- 45 T.L. Ch 10-12 p. 441-2 p. 446-52
- 46 Cicero, De Divinatione 2.84 (Loeb ed. p.467)
- 47 Crito 44B
- 48 Plutarch, Brutus 24
- 49 T.L. Ch 10 p.441
- 50 T.L. Ch 10 p.441
- 51 T.L. Ch 12 p.449-51
- 52 T.L. Ch 12 p.447
- 53 A. Bouché-Leclercq, Histoire de la Divination dans l'Antiquité vol. 1 p.189
- 54 ibid. p.194
- 55 Halliday, p.207
- 56 T.L. Ch 10 p.441
- 57 Bouché-Leclercq, vol. 1 p.195
- 58 ibid. p.196
- 59 T.L. Ch 10 p.444
- 60 T.L. Ch 11 p.445

- 61 T.L. Ch 9 p.437
- 62 M. Bessy, Magic and The Supernatural, p.52
- 63 T.L. Ch 11 p.445
- 64 See A. Bouché-Leclercq, Vol. 1 p.195
- 65 T.L. Ch 39 - 43 p.565-583
- 66 T.L. Ch 43 p.583
- 67 T.L. Ch 43 p.584
- 68 F.L. Ch 21 p.488
- 69 T.L. Ch 45 p.590
- 70 T.L. Ch 16 p.467
- 71 T.L. Ch 20 p.483
- 72 T.L. Ch 16 p.468
- 73 T.L. Ch 16 p.468
- 74 T.L. Ch 47 p.595
- 75 Virgil, Aeneid VI 36f [W.F.J. Knight trans. (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1956), p.148]
- 76 T.L. Ch 17 p.473
- 77 Aeneid VI 36
- 78 T.L. Ch 17 p.473
- 79 Aeneid VI 50
- 80 Aeneid VI 77-81
- 81 T.L. Ch 17 p.473
- 82 Aeneid VI 11
- 83 T.L. Ch 16 p.468
- 84 Plato, Theaetetus 168
- 85 T.L. Ch 20 p.487
- 86 T.L. Ch 21 - Ch 23
- 87 T.L. Ch 22 p.492
- 88 T.L. Ch 21 p.490
- 89 T.L. Ch 22 p.493
- 90 See T.L. Ch 9 p.437f
- 91 Abel Lefranc, Études sur Gargantua, Pantagruel, Le Tiers Livre (Paris : Albin Michel, 1953), p. 323-330
- 92 V.L. Saulnier, Le Dessin de Rabelais (Paris : Société d'Édition d'Enseignement Supérieur, 1957), p.188
- 93 J.G. Perkins, 'Her Trippa est-il Corneille Agrippa?' in R.H.L. (juillet - août, 1970), p.577-597
- 94 T.L. Ch 25 p.506
- 95 Agrippa gave such clients what they wanted "pour ne pas tromper leur attente", (Agrippa, Ep. 4.8, in Prost,

Corneille Agrippa (Nieuwkoop: deGraaf, 1965) p.143-4

- 96 See Erasmus, Moriae Encomium
- 97 T.L. Ch 38 p.561
- 98 G.M. Masters, Rabelaisian Dialectic and The Platonic - Hermetic Tradition p.52-3 (see conclusion of this section for a discussion of the Morosophe)
- 99 C.L. Ch 45 p.454
- 100 ibid.
- 101 G. Prologue p.5
- 102 G. Ch 27 p.107
- 1-3 G. Ch 40 p.153
- 104 P. Ch 9 p.263
- 105 P. Ch 16 p.300
- 106 T.L. Ch 25 p.506
- 107 C.L. Ch 11 p.316
- 108 See Kurt Seligmann, Magic, Supernaturalism and Religion (London : Pantheon, 1948), p.265
Rabelais may have noticed this idea in Bartolemeo Cocle, Compendium of Physiognomy (Strassburg, 1533)
- 109 G. Ch 23 p.89 - 91 also G. Ch 23 p.96
- 110 P. Prol. p.218
- 111 P. Ch 1 p.222
- 112 P. Ch 7 p.254 - 5
- 113 P. Ch 8 p.260
- 114 P. Ch 20 p.324
- 115 T.L. Ch 4 p.418
- 116 T.L. Ch 4 p.420
- 117 Q.L. Prol. p.26
- 118 Q.L. Ch 5 p.48ff
- 119 Q.L. Ch 26 p.117
- 120 Q.L. Ch 43 p.165
- 121 Q.L. Ch 63 p.231
- 122 Q.L. Ch 65 p.240
- 123 C.L. Ch 3 p.291
- 124 C.L. Ch 11 p.317

- 125 C.L. Ch 17 p.344
- 126 C.L. Ch 25 p.373
- 127 C.L. Ch 42 p.442ff

128 P. Ch 9 p.263

129 T.L. Ch 12 p.451

130 Erasmus, Moriae Encomium

Moreover, it is clear that Panurge wishes to remain
a follower of Folly: see T.L. Ch 46 p.592

Chapter 4 Numerology

- 1 The Numerology of the Renaissance and of Rabelais;
Correspondences and Categories.
- 2 The Numbers 1 - 10. in Rabelais, and their
various accepted values elsewhere.
- 3 The Numbers of Rabelais listed, with reference
clues.
- 4 The Popularity of Individual Numbers in Rabelais.
- 5 Some Suggested Categories for Rabelaisian
Numbers.
- 6 Summary of the importance of Numerology in
Rabelais.

1 The Numerology of the Renaissance and of
 Rabelais; Correspondences and Categories

Number theory from the earliest times was seen to be connected with the so-called mathematical arts; "des aultres sciences mathematicques, comme geometrie, astronomie et musicque".¹ The link was particularly strong with astrology, which was scarcely differentiated from mathematics ('astrologia vel mathesis'). Bouché-Leclercq notes² "les astrologues ont porté longtemps le nom de mathématiciens", and one may cite the title of the contemporary textbook of astrology, with which Rabelais as a former medical student was no doubt familiar, the Mathesis of Firmicus Maternus. Like the stars, numbers might have a value incidental to the Itinerarium mentis in Deum.

As symbols of harmony or disorder, male and female, and having manifold traditional meanings (being connected to the many systems of correspondences) numbers were too important to be ignored by any allegorist. This is not to claim that Rabelais always took number as seriously in this regard as did such a one as Dante,³ in the heyday of numerological certainty. Indeed, the weight allowed number symbolism varies from extreme to extreme as Rabelais's work progresses, and its meaning becomes more clear. Nevertheless, as a practising astrologer and trained physician Rabelais would have been fully aware of the occult value of numbers, though not perhaps required by the nature of his work to use them always in an overtly occult way.

Like the symbols of alchemy, numbers may be either spiritual or concrete, divine or mundane, as are the neoplatonic hierarchies which ennoble their progression. Numbers also share with language an intermediate function, belonging completely neither

to the celestial nor the inferior worlds, but in some way to both.

This study has as a main objective an attempt to classify Rabelaisian numbers, showing which may be taken at face value, or are comic, and which have a traditional symbolic meaning to be analysed. The difficulties inherent in such a plan are of course enormous, and many numbers will of necessity be placed in lists of probable and possible symbolism when their true values may be clearly discerned by the learned reader. The pure orderliness of Dante's number symbolism can not be sought in the sublime disorder of Rabelais. Renaissance number symbolism included medieval symbolism, it was not bounded by it. Typically, it was syncretic; its only novelty was in its synthesis of all respected former systems.

A proportion of the numbers in Rabelais, then, have numerological significance. These may be distinguished from the rest by a number of processes. Users of symbolic numbers generally provide clues to their use, including reiteration of a given number in a given situation. (Thus, repetition of the key magic numbers, 3, 9, and 7, in episodes involving magic, probably indicates symbolism.) Secondly, it was an accepted part of the Renaissance wisdom that the number values of the Pythagoreans and Neoplatonists (and others) retained some force. In particular, the numbers 1 - 10 are always worth investigating for symbolism. The pre-Enlightenment thinker could use number as freely in a symbolic way as in a concrete way, and could switch without effort from one use to another. The situation in which a number occurs may determine whether its value is symbolic or concrete. If the Pythagorean marriage

numbers 5 and 6 occur in a marriage-centred episode, this may very well point to their being symbolic. Reference to the appended tables of the various number theories which make up Renaissance number symbolism will define the symbolic correlatives of any individual number. Lastly, an author may (and Rabelais frequently does) clearly state the symbolism of a number, giving his reasons for saying so and the relevant authorities. (See list of Traditional Number Symbols.)

The principle of reduction needs explanation. A number's value to the Pythagoreans could be arrived at by an investigation of its factors. 9 multiplied the divine nature of 3; 5 and 6 combined the male and female numbers 2 and 3 (by multiplication or addition) to produce marriage numbers. A development of this line-way in the interpretation of larger numbers was the reduction by addition of the parts to the smallest possible whole number. This was believed to contain the germ or basic truth of the larger number. 78,000 and 1,311 thereby reduce to 6, which can easily be attributed a symbolic significance.⁴ In this way, all numbers could be seen to adhere to the basic significance of the first nine, powerful symbols.

The typographical differences of the books of Rabelais affect any study of number. Michel Butor notes:⁵ "les éditions originales du Pantagruel et du Gargantua sont en caractères gothiques, utilisés à l'époque pour les livres populaires, et tous les nombres, lorsqu'ils ne sont pas détaillés en toutes lettres, sont notés en chiffres romains. Par contre, les éditions originales du Tiers Livre et des suivants sont en caractères italiens réservés encore aux livres

savants, et les nombres, sauf lorsqu'il s'agit de références, sont notés en chiffres arabes. L'apparition de ces nouveaux poinçons permet à l'auteur de nouvelles fantaisies." Such numbers have not only an auditive but a visual comic property; as "1234554321 seraphz."⁶ Many of the numbers of Rabelais are used for their incongruity or comic magnitude,⁷ (in keeping with the enormity of the Giants), and must be separated out from the symbolic or possibly symbolic.

The general synthesis of all number systems attempted by the Renaissance Humanists placed all on a par. Platonist theory, as shown in the Timaeus, was believed to reflect both the Pythagorean and Hebraic systems,⁸ and was not Plato himself a "Moyses atticisans"?⁹ The general materials with which the Humanist worked in this regard include the Chaldean, Orphic and Egyptian wisdom believed to be the pattern of Pythagorean philosophy, the Hebrew tradition supported by Pythagorean and Platonist beliefs, the Cabala, Hermetica, the ideas of the Church Fathers, of the Gnostics and Neoplatonists, in particular Dionysius Areopagitus, Plotinus and Proclus who interpreted the Timaeus.¹⁰ It is understandable that the Renaissance union of these very diverse systems should be over-sophisticated and contradictory. There were few numbers on the significance of which all systems could agree.

In Rabelais's time it appears to have been still universally believed that the created world was numerically ordered. On this all systems did agree, "nam mundus uterque Numeris est dispositus"¹¹ Number was the pattern around which all things were formed, as the first chapter of Genesis suggested to Pico. But long before, Dionysius Areopagitus had

expounded on the numerically ordered path to God. In a hierarchically ordered structure reminiscent of the cabalistic tree of the sephiroph, Dionysius set out a scheme of triple triads, with mediation possible between the celestial and ecclesiastical worlds.¹² If, as it has been proposed, Panurge is the subject of an Itinerarium, he must adhere to the path set down by Dionysius Areopagitus in La Hiérarchie Ecclésiastique¹³:

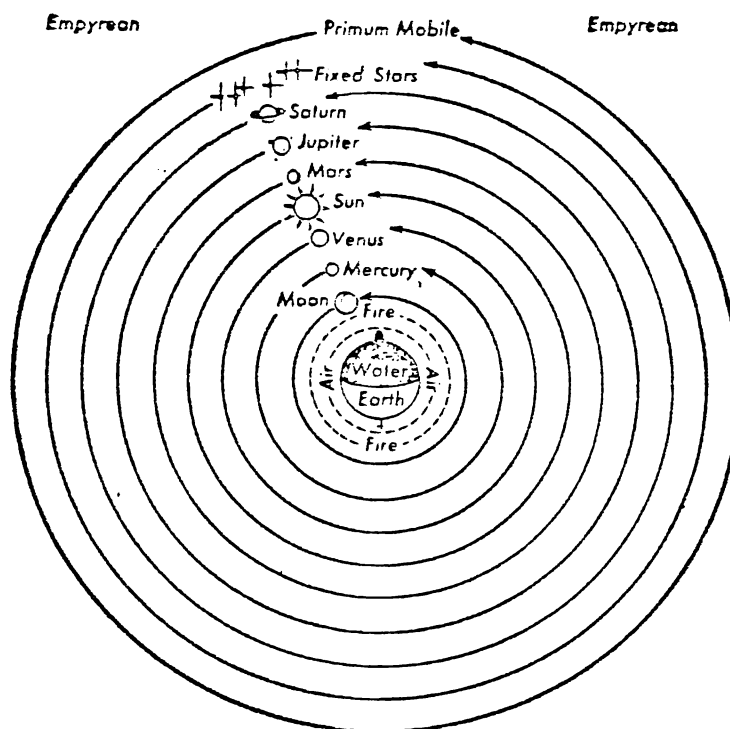
"Car ils ne peuvent pas se rassembler en l'Un, ni participer à la pacifique union de l'Un, ceux qui sont divisés d'avec eux-mêmes. Si, en effet, illuminés par la contemplation et par la connaissance de l'Un, nous nous unifions, dans une concentration divine, à l'image de l'Un nous ne souffririons plus de tomber dans la division des convoitises qui engendrent entre semblables des haines qui (nous ravalent au plan de) la matérialité et des passions".¹⁴ Dionysius did not however elaborate a theory of Man as the microcosm. His three worlds were the Celestial, the Ecclesiastical and the Legal (that is, the Old Testament world which prefigured the later Ecclesiastical one). The linking of the proportions of the Celestial world to those of Man, the microcosm, is a later cabalistic development revived by Pico della Mirandola, in Heptaplus¹⁵ and elsewhere. While Cornelius Agrippa in the second book of De Occulta Philosophia gives highly contradictory information about numerology, he does give at the same time a clear picture of the great breadth of the Renaissance knowledge of the different systems. In 1525, Francesco Giorgio in his Harmonia Mundi had approached number from the standpoint of order, Cornelius Agrippa approached it generally in terms of magic. Rabelais, it will be shown, mingles the two.

In the sixth book of Heptaplus (Proem)¹⁶ Pico reiterates the principle of Correspondences stated earlier, in the preface to his second book:¹⁷ "Bound by the chains of concord, all these worlds exchange natures as well as names with mutual liberality. From this principle, (in case anyone has not yet understood it,) flows the science of all allegorical interpretation. The early Fathers could not properly represent some things by the images of others unless trained, as I have said, in the hidden alliances and affinities of all nature." Direct links can be established between the numerical ordering of the Worlds in Dionysius Areopagitus, in Dante and in Rabelais, and the Pythagorean idea of the inclusive nature of 10. Dante's system of correspondences (see p.250) presupposes a universe divisible into 10, very much akin to the Dionysian Triple Triads of the Celestial World, crowned by the 10th figure, which is the ineffable. (See p.260) The planetary fountain of Le Cinquiesme Livre repeats this 10-fold division.¹⁸ It is proposed that this Fountain depicts the harmony of the universe, partly residing in its perfect numerical proportions. From this harmony, by talismanic action, energy (grace) may descend to the lower worlds, allowing the possibility of ascent. The passage is largely borrowed from Colonna, (Hypnerotomachia Poliphili,) with certain changes being made by Rabelais. The seven planets of Dante (Moon, Mercury, Venus, Sun, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn) have definite parallels in the 7 planetary columns of the Fountain. Their order is inverted, as befits a reflection. Mars and Phoebus have changed places, (see Astrology in Divination section). The capitals and architraves are of gold,¹⁹ and the arches between and crowning the pillars are

various in colour, as is the light of the fixed stars along the 'golden ladder' of Dante (see Table). Above these areas, which parallel the sphere of the fixed stars, (8) there is a dome of diaphanous crystal to signify the Primum Mobile or ninth sphere. The final stage, beyond the spheres, is the tenth, or Empyrean. This realm is separated from the rest, and is figured by Rabelais as a triple pearl from which a heptagonal jewel ~~protrudes~~ protrudes. The symbolism is clear. (For a discussion, see Astrology, in Divination section)

The number ten therefore is inclusive of all nature. For this reason the following study concentrates most fully on the numbers one to ten in Rabelais, and the reduction of larger numbers.

The Ten-fold Universe - neoplatonic correspondences of Dante, from The Divine Comedy (trans. H.R. Huse,) (New York : Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1954), p.328-329.



OUTLINE OF PARADISE

Planets, Heavens	Light	Position	Physical Character- istics	Weakness or Strength
1. Moon	Pearly	)	Changing phases,	Weakness in Faith
		)	spots	
2. Mercury	Veiled, eclipsed by sun	) Within shadow of earth	Smallness	Weakness in Hope
		)		
3. Venus	Color of flame	)	Double center of motion	Weakness in Love
		)		
4. Sun	White	) Beyond Shadow	Brightness	Strength in Prudence
		)		
5. Mars	Red	) of earth	Redness	Strength in Fortitude
		)		
6. Jupiter	Silvery	)	Temperate quality	Strength in Justice
		)		
7. Saturn	Crystal (cold)	)	Cold, ascetic	Strength in Temperance
		) Along		
8. Fixed Stars	Various	) Golden Ladder	Variable	
		)		
9. Primum Mobile	Diaphanous	)	Diaphanous	
		)		
10. Empyrean		)		

- 2 The Numbers 1 - 10 in Rabelais, and their
various accepted values elsewhere

The accepted meanings of numbers as symbols are extremely varied. The following works have been used in an attempt to list the most important of these meanings of the first ten numbers.

Maurice H. Farbridge, Studies in Biblical and Semitic Symbolism (New York : Ktav, 1970).

V.F. Hopper, Medieval Number Symbolism (New York : Columbia University Press, 1938).

H.F. Dunbar, Symbolism in Medieval Thought (New York : Russell and Russell, 1961).

Christopher Butler, Number Symbolism (London : Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1970).

Richard Cavendish, The Black Arts (London : Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1967).

Alfred Douglas, The Tarot (London : Gollancz, 1973)

René Roques, L'Univers Dionysien (Aubier : Éditions Mont Aigne, 1954).

C.E. Rolt : Dionysius the Areopagite on the Divine Names and Mystical Theology (London : Macmillan, 1940).

The Ideas of Plato's Ideal World, though infinite, could be subsumed under the first ten, or ideal, numbers.¹⁹ For Plato, these numbers were not mere mathematical figures. Aristotle, however, chose to recognise only one kind of number, (the mathematical), and maintained that what might be an Ideal number could not be understood.²⁰ The later Pythagoreans similarly did not distinguish between mathematical and ideal numbers. However, they did agree with Plato in that they imagined mathematical numbers to be automatically also the causes of being and the essence of objects. Later

Pythagorean doctrine became expressed in Platonic terminology.

Both Pythagoreanism and Platonism rest on an understanding of One as the Monad, or fundamental creative principle, and Two as the Dyad, or indefinite, representing Evil and the plurality of matter. From this arises the notion of odd numbers being fundamentally good, even numbers fundamentally evil.²¹ Generally speaking, the values of the numbers 1 and 10 in the key numerological systems were as follows:

- a) Pythagorean values.
 - 1 The Father of number, not itself considered a number.
 - 10 Completeness. In 10, multiplicity returns to unity.
- b) Astrological value.
 - 10 Decans (stars ruling the months)
- c) Semitic number theory.
 - 10 The standard whole number. 10 commandments.
- d) Medieval numerology.
 - 1 The Prime Mover, First cause (Unity v. Diversity)
 - 10 Most perfect number.
 - 100 amplitude, return to unity.
 - 1000 amplitude, return to unity.
- e) Neoplatonic symbolism
 - 10 is the final position in the triple triads of the celestial hierarchy, standing for the ineffable God.

It may be seen that the number 1 is scarcely a number at all in Pythagorean theory.²³ Perfect unity is ten in Rabelais. In the instances where it occurs alone and not as part of an uncertain or compounding number (as "dix ou douze",²⁴ (chevaux), "six...dix...seize")²⁵ the number 10 appears to be used

as a symbol. In both "dix coups de verses"²⁶ and "ilz sont dix contre un",²⁷ the context is allegorical. Rabelais also gives the 10 of the Tetractys of the Decad,²⁸ the Pythagorean One.

"En tout un an tu ne chie dix crottes",²⁹ a quote from Catullus, may not be merely scatological, for 'as above, so below', the tension of extremes and infinite correspondences link in circular fashion the greatness of God and the lowest ordure of His creation. So, in alchemy, urine and excrement were believed by many to be the prima materia. The author asks Henri Cotiral³⁰ and his shipload of misled physical alchemists "avez senty la marine?" (an alchemical secret) and their reply comes, "jusques au cul". They are mistaken, but they have a doctrinal reason for their error. (La marine or Mare Nostrum to the alchemical initiates, was the human bladder, in which was to be found the sea of the microcosm, which is Man.³¹) Panurge is not only jesting when he terms his excrement "sapphran d'Hibernie"³² Rabelais being quite aware of the alchemical importance of 'sapphran' as image of philosophical gold. "Dix crottes" is not incongruous where the number ten is considered symbolically as gold or God. Epistemon is cured of his beheading by the application of a little dung-powder, "pouldre de diamerdis",³³ which is the same as the "poudre d'oribus" of the Prologue to Pantagruel.³⁴ The names are interesting diamerdis being reminiscent of diamonds (symbolic of Christ), and d'oribus tolerably reminiscent of d'or, in other words sharing the Gold/ Christ/ Sapphran/ Dung symbolism. It is clear that the symbols of Christ which abound are not all of the same value.

The island of the Macreons is divided into "troys portz et dix paroeces".³⁵ Since the number 3 is also divine, it is likely to be linked with the number 10. But together 10 and 3 produce the transgressional number 13 (the unlucky number of those present at the Last Supper). The Macreons' island is a repository of ancient inscriptions, "les uns en lettres Hieroglyphicques, les aultres en language Ionicque, les aultres en langue Arabicque, Agarene, Sclavonicque et aultres"³⁶ but is become almost ruinous.

10 is the number of God, "the most perfect possible" of Pythagoras.³⁷ Since the "Word was made Flesh and dwelt amongst us" the number 10 may be related to God as the Word, or the messenger. The allegory of the word from a great distance is connected with 10. Pantagruel receives word from his father³⁸ signalled by 10 volleys from the assembled ships. There are links between the baptism of Christ as He began His ministry, with the Holy Ghost descending in the form of a dove,³⁹ and the message brought by Malicorne on his vessel, ~~which, swallow-like, heralds regeneration~~. The name of the messenger, Malicorne, may be seen as symbolic of the Christian aspect, since the Unicorne (ma licorne) was a common symbol of Christ. The "gozal" (a hebrew word)⁴⁰ or pigeon, as a messenger, ("celeste messaigier") is an image of the Holy Ghost.

10 provides a clue to the understanding of the Parolles Gelées episode in which it appears.⁴¹ Panurge, on hearing the uproar, says "Fuyons, nous ne somme pas pour eulx. Ils sont dix contre un, je vous en asceure." Pantagruel adds that he can see no-one, "Et si voy cent mille à l'entour". This

100,000 also reduces to 10. Pantagruel suggests that the words are a distillation from the world of Intellect: "Mais entendons. J'ay leu qu'un Philosophe, nommé Petron, estoit en ceste opinion que feussent plusieurs mondes soy touchans les uns les aultres en figure triangulaire aequilaterale, en la pate et centre desquelz disoit estre le manoir de Verité, et la habiter les Parolles, les Idées, les exemplaires et protraictz de toutes choses passées et futures: autour d'icelles estre le Siecle."⁴² Ten against one signifies impossible odds, as 10 is inclusive of all other numbers. Panurge speaks of the greatest wave in the storm as being the tenth; "Vray est que ceste vague d'écumane, laquelle donna de prore en poupe, m'a un peu l'artere alteré."⁴³ The Briefve Declaration⁴⁴ declares decumane to have the meaning of 'the greatest' "car la dixiesme vague est ordinairement plus grande en la mer Oceane que les aultres."

It may be concluded that the number 10 in Rabelais may signify the Divine and Intellect, as it did for the Pythagoreans and Neoplatonists. For Dionysius Areopagitus and for Plotinus the number 10 had stood for the unknowable God. Even where 10 appears to be taken lightly there may be hidden seriousness. 10 may be related to messages from the Father and from the Realm of Intellect, and thus further defines the roles of Gargantua and of Pantagruel in Le Quart Livre. It is also connected with the sacred, inspired ancient knowledge in the island of the Macreons, whose transgression may be that they have remained in the arid country of former wisdom, superseded by the Incarnation; that is, they have remained faithful to the Legal Hierarchy, which existed only to prefigure the post-Christian Incarnation Ecclesiastical Hierarchy.

The number 10 occurs only 15 times in the five books of Rabelais, but is reinforced by over 50 multiples by 10's, 100's, 1000's and so on.

2 & 8

- a) Pythagorean values (even numbers generally evil)
 - 2 Manifold, material, mother.
 - 8 The perfect first cube, closely connected to 2.
- b) Astrological values
 - 8 The eighth day signified eternal bliss and redemption
- c) Semitic number theory
 - 2 and 8 are generally unimportant.
- d) Medieval numerology.
 - 2 corruptible, transitory, evil, material.
 - 8 a deficient number, but baptismal fonts are octagonal as symbols of salvation.
- e) Neoplatonic symbolism
 - 2 the number of Moses, the Initiator, in the Legal, or Old Testament, Hierarchy.
 - 8 the number of Dominations, Virtues and Powers, in the Celestial Hierarchy.

2

"Evil is therefore a falling away from good or Unity, and may be symbolised as diversity, or the Duad"⁴⁵

"Of the principles Pythagoras on the one hand called the Monad God, and the Good - viz. the nature of the One and the NOUS itself - whereas on the other hand he called the indefinite Dyad Daimon and Evil, and it is with this that the plurality of matter is linked."⁴⁶

"Dyas, qui est nombre premier par"⁴⁷ (Nazdecabre's sign language).

The number 2 finds its 'completion' in 8. 2 is the number of the female, of the base and materialist. These meanings appear to have been connected in the medieval imagination, and were retained by the Renaissance. To the Pythagorean philosophers, 2 was the mother of number, yet also represented the cosmic dualism which was at the root of the world's evil. For Rabelais, the 2 appears predominantly to exhibit the materialist aspect of its nature. Most examples of 2 are to be found in Le Cinquiesme Livre, and therefore any symbolism they may betray might not be Rabelais's. The number 2 occurs frequently on the Isle des Apedeftes⁴⁸ and the following adventures with the alchemists and others returning by ship from the Quintessence.⁴⁹ The 'Apedeftes'⁵⁰ are seemingly corrupt materialists, and the number 2 describes their monsters: "Duple" "Quadruple" (2×2) "Quatre testes, deux masles et deux femelles". "Frere Jehan, qui avoit tousjours vingt aulnes de boyaulx vuydes pour avaller une saugrenée d'avocats" (20 by reduction 2), also relates 2 to these lawyers and cheats.

The travellers returning from La Quinte⁵¹ merit their thick larding of 2's, and its use in their regard is interesting. Since 2 is the number of materialism, Cotirai's version of alchemy will prove to be inverted, materialist. When asked what his ship is carrying home from the Quintessence, Cotirai replies "Alchimie", yet he is apparently only in possession of empty drums. 2 physeteres (the ultimate symbols of materialism) swamp his barrels with brine as Pantagruel leaves his ship behind. Panurge shows that he has taken their measure.⁵² (see p. 90) The mistaken alchemist is the purest expression of materialism; he does not look further than his own nose. Henri Cotirai is the comic figure of the

misled alchemist with his "viet-d'aze", "vieux et sale bonnet" and "gros trou de chou". He believes he holds "le vray Algamana" "Nostre unique Elixo", "Lunaria Major", yet he has travelled to the Quintessence and no further. He has seen the material, apparent goal of alchemy as the final goal, having misinterpreted the nature of the search. Panurge, Pantagruel and the rest must travel far beyond the Quintessence to achieve the true object of the search. Cotiral and his companions remain in the realm of 2. Both 7.532.810 and 62 reduce to 8, or $2 \times 2 \times 2$. (The hermetic romance of the Chymical Wedding⁵³ has the same juxtaposition of serious seekers and those satisfied with the material goal, the 'rascally lapidem spitalanficum'.) Concerning the number 8 the physetere is killed by Pantagruel who hurls 107 javelins into its body.⁵⁴ 107 reduces to 8. It is hard to determine whether this 8 reflects the evil of the monster ($2 \times 2 \times 2$) or the power of salvation inherent in Pantagruel as Christ-figure. Elsewhere the number 8 in its basic form is extremely rare, occurring only seven times throughout the work. The first occurrence of 8 standing alone is in Le Tiers Livre.⁵⁵ The Sibylle writes on eight leaves the eight-lined poem which contains her answer to Panurge. The Macreons send out boats to the distressed fleet after the storm, and among them are "huict volentaires".⁵⁶ This may not be important as 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 are also used. Editus claims that the Isle Sonante has such stores that famine could be withstood "sept, voire par huict ans".⁵⁷ Four references occur in the Chess Tourney (owing to the number of pawns).⁵⁸ In each case tenuous support could be gained from the context to support the traditional symbolism of 8, that is, the number of salvation; (except for the Chess Tourney, which is imitated from Colonna, Hypnerotomachia Poliphili). The Sibylle's words contain

the secret of Panurge's marriage, symbolic of his salvation. The Macreons' fleet comes out to rescue the distressed Pantagrueline ships, and at least witness their salvation. But eight is only the number of "volontaires" and there are six types of ship, numbering 28 in all. (28 is important, as it reduces to 10). The stores of Editus and their followers will safeguard them against famine. There is no mention of the 8 of salvation in the last chapters of Le Cinquiesme Livre where it might be expected, and its absence there may be an indication that Rabelais did not adhere to the symbolism of salvation allowed 8. The divine 3 adequately fills this role in the last book, as elsewhere, as does the number 10.

3 & 9

a) Pythagorean values

- 3 Perfect unity, the first solid body, the arch-masculine number.
- 9 The first masculine square, the perfect form of 3.
- 27 (3 x 9) (3 x 3 x 3) The first masculine cube.

b) Astrological values.

- 3 The number of the Babylonian Triads

c) Semitic number theory

- 3 Infinity (beginning, middle, end). The cabalistic sephiroth are arranged in descending triads. A threefold repetition constituted a superlative, (as, Holy, Holy, Holy.)

d) Medieval numerology

- 3 The incorruptible, Trinity, perfection, hierarchical triads

- 9 Defect before perfection; nine orders of angels, nine spheres.
- 30 The number of salvation. The Parable of the sower has many examples.
- 300 Tau, symbol of the cross.
- e) Neoplatonic symbolism
 - 3 The triple triads of the hierarchies of Dionysius Areopagitus. (Celestial, Ecclesiastical and Legal or Old Testament Hierarchies.)

The Celestial Hierarchy

1	Seraphins	2	Cherubins	3	Thrones
1	Dominations	2	Virtues	3	Powers
1	Principalities	2	Archangels	3	Angels

The Ecclesiastical Hierarchies

- 1 Bishops
- 2 Priests (use sacraments, especially Eucharist, to facilitate union with God)
- 3 Faithful, Acolytes

The Legal, or Old Testament Hierarchy

- 1 The Law (A sacrament)
- 2 Moses (Initiator)
- 3 The Jews (The initiated)

3

"In the Pythagorean triad may be found the logic of the Christian Trinity. For although God is essentially One, yet 'every divine order has an internal unity of 3-fold origin, from its highest, its mean, and its last term'

Perhaps the best definition of the Triad is perfect unity as it is comprehensible to human experience by virtue of 'form'. For this reason it is referred by Plotinus and Diogenes Laertius to the soul."⁵⁹

The number 3 is a number of divinity, being both masculine and holy. The Divine Being and all elements of the divine plan may be developed in triads. The cabalistic sephiroth are arranged in threes. The Christian God is portrayed as a Trinity. The Hierarchies of neoplatonism were arranged in threes. Three is the number of superlatives, and therefore of ritual magic. A spell repeated three times was thought to have the same power as one repeated indefinitely.⁶⁰ 3 is the number of witchcraft. Pantagruel hints at the nature of 3 in the microcosm:⁶¹ "Voicy quoy: tout ce que sommes et qu'avons consiste en trois choses, en l'ame, on corps, es biens. A la conservation de chascun des trois respectivement sont aujourd'huy destinées trois manieres de gens: les théologiens à l'ame, les medecins au corps, les jurisconsultes aux biens."

The number 3 finds its fulfilment in 9, another magic figure.⁶² "The number 9, composed only of the all-powerful 3, carries with it a host of attributes. Its antiquity goes back to the great Egyptian Ennead. It recalls, from the Pythagorean viewpoint, the Enneads of Plotinus. It invokes the favour of the triple triads of the angels and at the same time enlists the aid of the devil, who was thought to be represented in the Old Testament by King Og, who was 9 cubits high."

Rabelais uses the power of 3 many times in curses and incantations. It is used magically by the Sibylle, Nazdecabre and Raminagrobis. It expresses complete certainty, as in Panurge's statements to the others about Raminagrobis:⁶³ "Il s'en va, par Dieu, Damné comme

une serpe à trente mille hottées de diables",
 "Son ame s'en va à trente mille panerées de diables",
 "Son ame s'en va à trente mille charretées de
 diables". 30000 reduces to 3, and emphasises 3.
 In poor Panurge's eyes, Raminagrobis is infinitely
 damned.

One may also see in Rabelais the 9 of magical
 incantation.⁶⁴ "se donna à tous les diables... par
 neuf fois." The 3 occurs again, in Le Cinquiesme
Livre, at Panurge's ecstasis: "Io Pean trois fois".
 The Tau cross, of which the numerical equivalent is
 300, is also magical in Rabelais. Panurge advises
 Frere Jan:⁶⁵ "Frere Jan, veulx tu que, presentement
 trente mille charretées de diables t'emportent? Fays
 trois choses: baille moy ta bourse. Car la croix
 est contraire au charme ... " Also, to ward off evil,⁶⁶
 "mais je fis le signe de la croix". The same episode
 has the Turk cursing his ill-fortune in the fire "par
 neuf foyes".

Nazdecabre exploits the magical value of Tau
 in his meeting with Panurge.⁶⁷ Though Rabelais does
 not mention the numerical equivalent of Tau, (300,
 reducing to 3) it is explicit in the text. In effect,
 the conversation between Panurge and the dumb man is to
 a large extent an exchange of symbolic numbers, in which
 both 3 and 9 have a part. Panurge gives Nazdecabre 30
 francs, among other gifts. The actual figure of a
 money gift may be important, as in the case of
 Pantagruel's gift of funds for the eventual marriage
 of the clerices.⁶⁹

One of the gestures of Nazdecabre suggests marriage
 to Pantagruel:⁷⁰ "Il denote mariage, et d'abondant le
 nombre trentenaire, selon la profession des Pythagoriens"

Panurge's consultation of the Sibyl⁷¹ is a perfect tissue of 3's, as might be expected. The symbols of magic are everywhere: "Leur chemin feut de troys journées. La troizieme, à la croppe de une montaigne...". The Sibyl's hovel is found in the shade of a nut-tree "un grand et ample chastaignier"⁷² (the nut-tree is an emblem of witchcraft). As a gift, Panurge offers her, as the first of five gifts "6 langues de beuf fumées" as his question concerns sex and marriage. 5 is a spiritual number of marriage (see p.268) whereas 6 is a carnal number. 3's continue to appear; "la vieille...print en ses mains troys vieulx fuseaulx, " and the magical 9 (3 x 3) appears⁷³ : "Après, print ses devidoueres, et par neuf foyes les tourna; au neufvieme tour consydera sans plus toucher le mouvement des devidoueres et attendit leur repous perfaict." Also, ("elle) print de la couille beliniers trois carolus, les mist en trois coques de noix, et les posa sus le cul d'un pot à plume, feist trois tours de balay par la cheminée" and, when they leave the hovel, "la estoit un sycomore antique; elle l'escrous-la par trois foyes."⁷⁴

Pantagrue gives Homenaz "neuf pieces de drap d'or frizé sus frize,"⁷⁵ to place before the barred windows behind which the papal archetype is represented. This gift is in keeping with a generally sympathetic attitude to the papimane spirit, which seems more superstitious than truly religious; but the number of cloths reflects the nature of their worship.

La Quinte, despite her name, rules a kingdom of 3's and 9's. She is at least 1800 years old⁷⁶ (a number reducing to 9). The magicians in her service are free in their use of 3 and 9, by virtue of which powerful numbers they cure all manner of ailments. That they act by incantation (channelling

power, in this case by the mediation of numbers which are links between above and below) indicates that they themselves are not the final source. However, they claim only to cure the curable, leaving others to the queen herself.⁷⁷

3 as a potent male number does not appear as such, but rather in geometric forms (such as the defensive Y of Pantagruel's ships and the 'Y gregois' of the condemned.⁷⁸) and in the combinations of the marriage numbers, 5 ($3 + 2$) and 6 (3×2), also perhaps in Tau, (which may include the mast of the Thalamege).⁷⁹ The triangular island of Ennasin presents problems of interpretation, but the episode is full of threes. Perhaps they suggest the fundamental potency of the inhabitants. The perfection of 3 is shown in Pantagruel's recollection of the worlds of Petron⁸¹ "plusieurs mondes soy touchans les uns les aultres en figure triangulaire aequilaterale", and in the description of the Fountain in Le Cinquiesme Livre,⁸² "haulteur ayant de trois palmes, peu plus".

4

a) Pythagorean values

4 The number of the Divine Tetractys ($1 + 2 + 3 + 4 = 10$), also the number of Earth, and of Justice.

40 a glorified tetractys of the decad.

b) Astrological values

4 phases of the moon, the earth number, cardinal points.

40 the number of trials and privations.

- c) Semitic number theory.
 - 4 The number of Earth and of Elements
 - 40 A number of privation, occurring most in Judges.
- d) Medieval numerology
 - 4 Earth, Seasons, Virtues.
- e) Neoplatonic symbolism
 - 4 The number of the Faithful and of Acolytes in the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy.

The Number 4

4 is the number of Body, of Man and of the mundane sphere.⁸³ The Pythagoreans saw 4, the first number of body with depth, as the basic number of the cosmos.⁸⁴ It is the sacred number of the Tetractys. It is also the number assigned to Justice in its spiritual temporal forms. Christopher Butler says:⁸⁵ "For the Pythagoreans, Justice was the number 4 on the ground that Justice essentially involved a reciprocal relationship between persons, and that reciprocity was embodied in a square number (because they assumed, as a defining property of justice requital or equality, and found this to exist in numbers, therefore they said that Justice was the first square number, for in every kind the first instance of things having the same formula had in their opinion the best right to the name. This number some said was four, being the first square, divisible into equal parts and in every way equal, for it is twice two ...)" The 4 of Justice is also treated by other authors.⁸⁶

For Rabelais, it has been proposed, (see Alchemy),

Gargantua and Pantagruel are the alchemical symbols of body, for the nature of salt, like the nature of earth, (body) is firm and fixed, cold and dry. Rabelais traces the genealogy of Pantagruel back "plus de quarante quarantaines de nuyctz, pour nombrer à la mode des antiques Druides,"⁸⁷ Gargantua engenders Pantagruel "en son eage de quatre cens quatre vingtz quarante et quatre ans."⁸⁸ Pantagruel has a definite numerological link with the earthly, the solid. But the earthly contains a spark of the divine within it, unless it be dross.

The 4 of Justice is even more pervasive. This 4 can be found in the treatment of Bridoye, of the Chiquanous and the Chatz Fourrez. Bridoye is the most outstanding example.⁸⁹ "Le Timée de Platon, au commencement de l'assemblée, compte les invitez; nous, au rebours, les compterons en la fin. Un, deux, trois, Où est le quart? N'estoit-ce nostre amy Bridoye?" "Je veulx (dist Pantagruel) entendre que c'est. Plus de quarante ans y a qu'il est juge de Fonsbeton; icelluy temps pendent a donné plus de quatre mille sentences definitives ... "

The Chatz Fourrez wear "de bonnets à quatre goutieres"⁹⁰ recalling the four-cornered hat of Homenaz;⁹¹ but in their case the four corners do not suggest catholicity, the four corners of the earth or the cruciform,⁹² but rather, an aspect of Justice. So too the Chiquanous, for if a gentleman be cited by one, and respond with a blow, "voyla Chiquanous riche pour quatre moys."⁹³ The Chiquanous follow each other at intervals of 4 days "Quatre jours après, un aultre jeune, hault et maigre Chiquanous alla citer Basché à la requête du gras Prieur" Basché presents his guests with a symbolic number of crowns: "A Chiquanous et ses records feurent quatre escuz Soleil donnez".⁹⁵

The use of 4 in the context of the Isle Sonante⁹⁶ where the travellers alternate four days feast with four days fast, does not follow a recognisable 4 symbolism. Together the two fours equal 8, the number of salvation, but also a transgressional number, being beyond the divine 7. The number 4 has in the same way an element of transgression despite the Tetractys, since it is one more than trinity. This sense of 4 as transgressional is hinted at by Frere Jan,⁹⁷ "En mon Donet (a grammar text) dist Frere Jehan, je ne trouve que trois temps; le present, preterit et futur: icy doit le quatriesme estre pour le vin du vallet?" But Rabelais plainly mentions the Tetractys:⁹⁸ "Encores suys je d'advis que nous entrons en la tetrade Pythagoricque et pour soubrequart ayons nostre feal le philosophe Trouillogan, attendu mesmement que le philosophe perfaict, et tel qu'est Trouillogan ... " The 4 of Pythagoras is likewise incorporated in the design of the temple steps, the "degrez tetradiques".⁹⁹ The sacred 4 of Pythagoras may also be used in Pantagruel's estimation of the life-spans of the lesser demons, computed by having "unité passante en quadrinité, et la quadrinité entiere quatre foyes en soy doublée."¹⁰⁰

5 & 6

1) 5

a) Pythagorean number symbolism

5 The Quintessence, the masculine (dynamic) marriage number (2 + 3), the number of Nature.

b) Astrological values

5 zones of the Earth

c) Semitic number theory .

5 no special significance.

- d) Medieval numerology
 - 5 circular, senses, corruptibility
 - 50 a Jubilee number
- e) Neoplatonic symbolism
 - 5 the number of Priests, in the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy.

2) 6

- a) Pythagorean values
 - 6 a perfect number, the female marriage number (carnal) (2 x 3).
 - 36 (6 x 6) the number of agreement.
- b) Astrological values
 - 6 ages of the earth's duration
- c) Semitic number theory
 - 666 A gematric riddle, the number of the Great Beast, primordial chaos.
- d) Medieval numerology
 - 6 perfect, also circular
 - 6000 The duration of an age, in years.
- e) Neoplatonic symbolism
 - 6 the number of Bishops in the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy.

5

"Antiquity named this the Conjugall or wedding number, and made it the Embleme of the most remarkable conjunction ... (This may) afford no improbable reason why Plato admitted his nuptial guests by fives, in the kindred of the married couple"¹⁰¹

6

"Six is the female marriage number. Its imperfection as female is overlooked in view of the fact that it is the only perfect number within the decad and partakes of the basic numbers 1, 2 and 3. It is called Venus by Capella." ¹⁰²

The number 5 is unequivocally a marriage number in Rabelais, as the addition of the basic male and female numbers (3 and 2 respectively). Pantagruel states it plainly: "Icy (dist Pantagruel) plus amplement nous insinue, par signification du nombre quinaire, que serez marié. Et non seulement effiancé, espousé et marié, mais en oultre que habiterez et serez bien avant de feste. Car Pythagoras appelloit le nombre quinaire nombre nuptial, nopces et mariage consommé, pour ceste raison qu'il est composé de Trias qui est nombre premier impar et superflu, et de Dyas, qui est nombre premier par; comme de masle et de femelle couplez ensemblement." ¹⁰³

Panurge's throw of the dice produces 5, 6, 5. ¹⁰⁴ He adds them to produce 16, and "le nombre me plaist." ¹⁰⁵ (perhaps because 16 is the Tetrad multiplied by itself, or because 16 reduces to the divine 7, or both). Marriage is definitely in the air. Rabelais mentions the divinity of both 5 and 7 in the description of the herb Pantagruelion "Tant l'a chérie Nature qu'elle l'a douée en ses feuilles de ces deux nombres impars, tant divins et mystérieux." ¹⁰⁶ The leaves sprout forth at equal distances in groups of 5 and 7. Pantagruel's gift of a dowry to each of the Clerices ¹⁰⁷ "neuf cent quatorze salutz d'or" reduces to the marriage number 5, "pour les marier en temps oportun." Instead of the alchemical

"écus au sabot", the girls receive golden coins depicting the Visitation. This may emphasise the purity of their projected unions.

The number 6 is more difficult to elucidate. It is very commonly found in its variant forms, (78, 78000, 1311)¹⁰⁸ "Plus de six, voire plus de treze cens et unze chiens". Like 5, 6 is a marriage number. Butler reports¹⁰⁹ that Giorgio's Harmonia Mundi gives 6 as the marriage number, called "Gamon, ou le nociers, d'autant que ses parties mises à coté de luy l'engendrent ... le six premier nombre parfait convient à Dieu le souverain Ouvrier, ou à sa fabrique, à laquelle rien ne deffaut; toutes choses sortent de Dieu par le nombre six."¹¹⁰ But 6 is the feminine number of marriage (being even) as 5 is the dynamic and masculine.¹¹¹ Perhaps coincidentally, Basché is in the act of playing at 303 (reducing to 6) with his wife when the Chiquanous arrive: "Le seigneur Basche jouoit aux troys cens troys avecques sa femme. Les damoiselles jouoient aux pingres ... "¹¹² Six is the number of the Tarot card The Lover. The carnal interpretation of Basché's game is reinforced by the activities of the others, most of which can be seen as comic; as Loyre, who "poitrissoit sa paste." One recalls the tricks of Gargantua's nurses.¹¹³

The common meaning of 6 in most symbolic systems is that of completion, perfection and fulfilment. Yet for Rabelais, the number appears ambivalent. Like marriage itself, the number 6 can signify the bliss of fulfilment or the abyss of its very opposite. Michel Butor provides a clue in his discussion of 6 as "7 inachevé"¹¹⁴ and it is tempting to fall in with the suggestion that the 6's which abound at Theleme have in common with the superfluous 6's of the Sexte Essence¹¹⁵ and the recurring 6's of the Andouilles

episode (Q.L.) a dice symbolism, as well as being in each case an unachieved or failed 7. It is more tempting to see the Abbey of Thélème as an example of perfection than as analogous to the throw of dice; with all its "Figure hexagone, 6 tours de 60 pas de diamètre, 6 étages, 6 bibliothèques pour 6 langues, l'entrée de la vis a 6 toises et 6 hommes peuvent y monter de front..."¹¹⁶ though in the ambiguous nature of the throw of the dice, or in marriage, can be traced the diverse significance Rabelais allows the 6. While the dice of the Isle de Cassade¹¹⁷ signify the abode of the "vingt diables de hazard", perhaps M. Butor takes too harsh a view of Thélème: "Dans l'hexagone de Thélème tous les démons du cube peuvent se réhabiliter."¹¹⁸ The 6's of Thélème may not be a warning, but a promise of that completion which is symbolised by 6, alongside the dangerous element. This latter aspect of the symbolic nature of 6 is expressed elsewhere, notably in the episode of the Andouilles:¹¹⁹ "soixante et dixhuict mille Andouilles royales pour à l'entrée de table le servir six moys l'an," followed by "Et envoya au lendemain dedans six grands brigantins le nombre susdict d'Andouilles royales au bon Gargantua."

The Isle Sonante is replete with these 6's which "attendent un achèvement"¹²⁰ Two papegaults (the two popes of Avignon?) were produced at one time, about "deux mil sept cens soixante lunes"¹²¹ ago. 2760 reduces to 6. On the following page a bell sounds "six coups seulement". Pantagruel is advised that a sixth species, the Caputragaulx, will soon fly in.¹²² There is a possibility that the 6's of the Andouilles mentioned above share with those of the Papegaults a symbolism which is directly the reverse of the 6's of Thélème. This double meaning is inherent in the nature

of 6, for though it is the first perfect number, the union of 2 and 3 in marriage, it is also short of the divine 7 and transgresses the dynamic marriage number 5. The equilibrium of 6 is a tightrope, and like the joys of marriage, may multiply its blessings indefinitely or prove to be a dissolving chimera.

7

a) Pythagorean values

7 The sacred Heptad, a virgin, isolated number.

28 The sum of the first seven numbers, a perfect number.

b) Astrological values

7 days of the week, number of spheres, planets.
14 and 21 Evil days.

c) Semitic number theory

7 the number of God's covenant 7 x 7 a Jubilee number.

d) Medieval numerology

7 sacred, rest after toil, stages of repentance and ascent, stages of contemplation.

7 deadly sins.

e) Neoplatonic symbolism

7 The number of Principalities in the Celestial Hierarchy.

7

"The number seaven, therefore, because it consists of three and four, joyns the soul to the body, and the vertue of this number relates to the generation of men... for when the genitalle seed is received in the womb of the woman, if it remains there seaven hours after the

effusion of it, it is certain that it will abide there for good... and the new-born child "after seaven dayes casts off the Reliques of the Navell."¹²³

Of all the Rabelaisian numbers, 7 is the most ambivalent. Yet this ambivalence is logical, since 7 is the number of Creation as opposed to the Creator. It is the archnumber of theoretical dualism. The world is a playground of both good and evil,¹²⁴ (there are 7 vices and 7 virtues). The seven planets are seven steps from the celestial to the mundane; therefore the 7 may represent the hierarchical descent or ascent.¹²⁵ It is the number of glory; the seventh day found Dante in the earthly paradise,¹²⁶ yet the final glory is beyond 7. In astrology, 7 is the number of the generation of the planets, the mystic hebdomad. In Rabelais's cosmic and talismanic fountain,¹²⁷ 7 is the number of the sphere of the moon, with its correspondences of Selenite, Blanc, Argent, Levrier. The seventh Tarot trump, Chariot, depicts the end of the stage where there is conflict within the self. It represents the overcoming of the physical, lower self. There are seven sacraments to aid this process, and seven gifts of grace.

Rabelais, it is proposed, uses 7 in most of these senses, for they are essentially all one. If we return to Gargantua, the Picrocholine war may be seen as an assault of the worldly against the serenity of the contemplative. Gargantua's mare¹²⁸ meets physical force with urine (the symbol of the world, or prima materia opposed to Wine, or spiritual Truth) "en telle abondance qu'elle en feist sept lieues de deluge."¹²⁹ The transgressors fire "neuf mille vingt et cinq coups de faulconneaux et arquebouzes", a number which reduces

to 7. These shots tumble from the hair of Gargantua in clusters of more than 7's. "Gargantua ... faisait tomber à chascun coup (de pigne) plus de sept balles de bouletz qui luy estoient demourez entre ses cheveulx ... "¹³⁰

It may be important that Gargantua's comb, made of elephant tusks, is "cent cannes" in length, for this number, reducing to the divine 10, betrays the giant's source of strength in dealing with the forces of the material world of which he himself is part.

The monk indicates the best way to send Gargantua to sleep would be the recitation of the 7 penitential psalms, (Psalms 6, 32, 37, 51, 101, 129, 142): "Je vous supplie, commençons, vous et moy, les sept pseaulmes pour veoir si tantost ne serez endormy"¹³¹

There are also the seven steps of contemplation.

The mysterious aspects of 7 are hinted at in the description of the leaf configuration of Pantagrueion,¹³²

(p.269). This is not the only time 7 is associated with the Rabelaisian Nature.¹³³ It appears that Rabelais's conception of Nature accords generally with that of Creation, or the world as distinct from its maker.

It may be possible to deduce from Rabelais's bitter description of Quaresmeprenant that he saw the institution of Lent as being of earthly rather than divine origin. Quaresmeprenant has been allotted 7 ribs more than the ordinary man, but the rib is the foundation of the earthly Eve by whom evil first entered the world. These kyrielles in their entirety seem to stress the earthy, unspiritual nature of Lent.

The clearest picture of the value Rabelais may have attributed to 7 is enclosed in his description of the talismanic fountain, mentioned above, (p.104).

It is cabalistic, but at the same time strangely orthodox. The three of the triple pearl suspended above the canopy joins with the seven of the heptagonal jewel to produce the 10 of Pythagoras. The seven sided carbuncle is extruded from the Trinity, as the created world emanated from its Creator, producing the 10 of the cabalistic Sephiroth. But the carbuncle is also the stone of Christ. It was believed to possess a light of its own, and to shine in pitch darkness, (see the Transfiguration). Christ and Nature, it has been proposed, are represented in Rabelais's work by the Giants; it may not be coincidental that Gargantua has "Au doigt indice de sa main gauche, une escarboucle grosse comme un oeuf d'austruche,"¹³⁴ an unexpected parallel to this "carbuncle, gros comme un oeuf d'austruche"¹³⁵ which appears to be a symbol of Nature, or spiritualised nature. (The ostrich-egg is a symbol of Christ, often hung in medieval churches. Pantagruel weeps tears "grosses comme oeufz de austruche"¹³⁶ after his discourse on the death of Pan, i.e. Christ .)

3 The Numbers of Rabelais listed, with reference clues

(This list provides all the numbers of Rabelais. For those that are missing through error, I ask the indulgence of the reader. Clues are given to aid the precise situating of each number in the text.)

Gargantua

LXIII Abstracteur de Quinte Essence

- 15 mille aultres trous (Fanfreluches antidotées)
- 16 deux oeufz sept moys vingt et deux (" ")
- 17 V. fuseaulx troys culz (" ")
- 18 unze moys (Gargantua porté au ventre)

- 19 eux deux, la beste à deux dos unzieme moys
douziesme moys (naissance de Gargantua)
XLVIIj heures (writers attesting legitimacy of
11 month pregnancies)
- 20 mille aultres folz deux moys troisesme moys
21 iij jour deux fois troys cens soixante-sept
mille et quatorze (the feast preceding Gargantua's
birth)
- 22 seize muiz deux bussars 267,014 six tupins
(appetite of Gargamelle)
- 31 soixante ans se part en deux (birth of Gargantua)
32 le septième (book of Pliny)
- 33 la première dix et sept mille neuf cens-treze
vaches (milk for Gargantua)
- 34 dix et huyt mentons (description of Gargantua)
- 35 neuf cens autres deux cens huyt cens treize aulnes
quinze cens neuf peaulx et demye (clothing of
Gargantua)
- 36 unze cens cinq aulnes et ung tiers seize aulnes
un quartier (" ")
- 37 quatre cens six aulnes dix et huyt cens trois
cens aulnes et demye (" ")
neuf mille six cens aulnes moins deux tiers
- 38 troys cens deux aulnes ung quart
vingt et cinq mille soixante et troys marcs d'or
(cost of above)
- G. 39 seize, troys, quatre metaulx (Adorning of G.)
soixante-neuf millions huyt cens
nonante et quatre mille dix et huyt moutons (coins)
- 51 dix ou douze sept (chevaux factices)
- 53 sens davant et sens derrière (pun)
- 60 cinq ans et troys mois treze ans six moys et deux
semaines (prolonged study of G.)
- 61 sept mille quintaulx seize ans et deux moys l'an
mil quatre cens et vingt (studies of G.)

- 65 six oriflans (l'énorme jument de G.)
- 66 trente et cinq lieues dix et sept ou environ
(a forest)
- 68 deux cens soixante mille quatre cens dix et huyt,
(drowned by G.)
- 85 kyrielle 217 members
- 86 neuf roys (served by "une vieille mulle")
- 87 un deux troys (education of G.)
- 104 seize mille quatorze trente cinq mille et unze
neuf cens quatorze doublés (Picrochole's forces)
- 105 troys cens (" ") cinq douzaines
- 123 sept cens mille et troys philippes (gift of
Grandgousier)
- 128 neuf mille quatorze vingt et deux cens mille
seize cens (forces of Picrochole)
- 131 quatre cens cinquante mille (" ")
- 132 soixante et quatorze muys trois boisseaux (food
for G.'s mare)
- 135 cent tours (Gymnaste's feats)
- 137 sept lieues (flood of urine. G.'s mare)
- 138 neuf mille vingt et cinq coups (fired at G.)
- 140 cent cannes sept balles (G. combs out the cannon shot)
- 142 seze beufz troys genisses trente et deux veaux
soixante et troys chevraux quatre vingt quinze
moutons troys cens unze vingt sept cens quatre
cens six mille six cens quatorze cens troys
cens et troys mille sept cens unze dix et huict
sept vingt quelques douzaines (Feast of Grandgousier
and Gargantua)
- 143 six pelerins cinq (the salad)
- 155 cent diables (the monk swears)
- 160 seize cents (forces of Picrochole)
- 164 seconde et tierce (anatomical detail)
- 170-1 lib V, (of Plato. Republic)

- 172 soixante et deux mille saluz (gift of Grandgousier)
- 173 sept cens deux mille soixante et deux mille
trente hommes d'armes (" ") vingt archiers.
- 174 six vingt quatorze millions deux escuz et demy
d'or quinze mille trente et deux mille
quatre vingtz neuf mille cent quarante mille
unze mille deux cens quarante sept mille
(confederates of Grandgousier)
- 175 six moys et quatre jours deux mille cinq cens
soixante et six mille deux cens vingt et deux
- mille six mille (" ")
- 183 neuf mille trente et huyt (" ")
- 184 vingt foys cent mille escutz (la contion que feist
G. es vaincus)
- 187 dis huyt cent mille quatorze douze cens mille
(" ")
- 189 deux lieues (Thélème)
- 190 dix - quinze (Thélème)
douze - dix et huict (" ")
- 191 vingt et sept cent mille huyt cent trente et un
seze cent soixante et neuf mille
vingt troys cent soixante neuf mille cinq
cens quatorze exagone soixante
- 192 troys cent douze six estages (" ")
un le second neuf mille troys cens trente et
deux
- 193 XXij troys doigtz douze deux six toises
six hommes (" ")
- 195 mille marcs (Thélème endowment)
- 204 cinq et six (languages of Thélèmities)
- 205 le premier (jour de leurs nopces)

Pantagruel

- 219 cent mille (panerées de beaux diables)
- 221 quarante quarantaines (de nuyctz since the world
began)

- 222 sepmaine de troys jeudis cinq toizes (oddities
at the birth of P.)
- 223 troys, cinq ou six (sexual member)
- 228 quatre cens quatre vingtz quarante et quatre
XXXVI moys troys sepmaines quatre jours treze
heures et quelque peu davantage (birth of P.)
- 231 soixante et huyt neuf sept XXV (birth of P.)
- 233 troys arpens et deux sexterées (description of
Badebec)
- 235 VII livre de Pline deux serpens quatre mille
six cens (food of P.)
- 239 douze toises quatre, quatorze, (great rock)
- 241 deux troys troys (fast journey of P.)
- 242 troys et un (" ")
- 243 un une une (poem (blason))
- 248 deux cens quatorze ans (Saint Victor)
- 250f Kyrielle 139 books in Saint Victor Library
- 256 double douze (capacity of P's memory)
- 260 cinq à six (Letter of G.)
- 262 dix septiesme mars (" ")
- 270 troys pas et un sault (Panurge from bed to table)
- 271 neuf mille sept cens soixante et quatre six
sepmaines quatre à six deux (Pantagruel's
theses)
- 281 trente et six douze (Humevesne v. Baisecul)
- 283 six arpens troys bottes deux troys (" ")
- 287 treze, deux (" ")
- 292 six cens deux sept ans (escape of Panurge from
the Turks)
- 293 plus de six treze cens et unze (" ")
- 297 troys cinq empan et demy (Panurge's tale)
- 298 cent diables dix et huyt seize et demye (" ")
- 299 cinq cens diables quatre cens dix et sept neuf
deux ou troys deux (Panurge's tale of the Lion)

- 300 troys cent soixante mille et neuf (" ")
- 301 soixante et troys deux (description of Panurge)
- 302 vingt et six (pockets of Panurge)
- 307 une (pierre philosophale)
- 308 dix ou douze troys quatre (la vie et les
meurs de Panurge)
- 309 centuplum quinze six mille fleurins trois
mille cent six vingts troys cens (" ")
- 312 soixante et troys deux cens quatorze (" ")
- 317 vingt et cinq ou trente (drinking)
- 323 seize foyz deux bras cinq fois cinquiesme
(argument with Thaumaste)
- 330 vingt et huyt (la grande dame de Paris, diamonds)
- 331 cinq mille cinquante mille (" ")
- 334 six cens mille et quatorze (dogs)
- 342 six cens soixante six cens soixante (knights)
- 344 deux, quarante et quatre (knights)
- 345 quatre sept vingt et six trente et deux
seize neuf (Fresh game for the banquet)
- 346 dix et neuf trente et deux dix ou douze
dix-huyt quinze deux troys (" ")
- 347 troys cens cent soixante et troys mille unze
mille quatre cens troys mille six cens quatre
vingtz quatorze mille cent cinquante mille
(l'armée d'Anarche)
- 348 dix ou unze cent diables
- 349 trente cens mille (combattants)
- 350 six cens soixante (morpions)
- 352 neuf lieues cinquante et troys mille (P. engenders
subjects with a fart)
cinq cinq et demy
- 354 dix huyt cens mille sept mille (P. versus
Dipsodes)
- 355 six cens cinquante et neuf (chevaliers)
- 356 deux cens trente et sept (poinsons de vin)

- 359 troys cens (geans)
 360 neuf mille sept cens quintaulx deux quarts
 361 mille milliers de centaines de millions de
 legions (d'anges)
 362 quatre mille octante et six troys ou quatre
 (poinsons)
 363 soixante et treze neuf mille six (flight of P.
 and Loup Garou)
 366 deux (verres - the magic of Panurge, augury)
 375 deux, dixhuyct cens cinquante et six mille et
 unze, (colony in Dipsodia)
 380 sept et demy, vingt et deux cens soixante mille
 et seize, huict (inhabitants of P.) cinq et six (sols)
 383 quatre six vingt et dix huyt
 unze mille neuf cens, sept, (Cure for P's colic)
 cinq, troys.
 385 cinq (Chambers d'enfer)
 387 quinte essence (M. Alcofribas, abstracteur)

Tiers Livre

- Title page. Soixante et dixhuytiesme
 394 mille (one philosopher in a thousand)
 405 9876543210 (colony to Dipsodie)
 410 6789106789 2345678 - 2435769 (coins)
 123455 4321 ("
 414 mille (aventaiges)
 417 trentiesme soixante et dixhuyctiesme (monde de
 Metrodorus)
 430 600000 (income) quatre (aulnes de bureau)
 441 troys foys tiers jour tiers jour (Virgilian lots)
 444 mille (autres exemples)
 446 cinq six cinq (use of dice)
 449 cent et cent (foys)
 451 tiers troys (sors)

- 455 troys (jours de jeusne)
 458 deux (portes de songe)
 460 deux (motz de praedication)
 462 mille (aultres songes)
 468 mille et mille foys (Alexandre repentit)
 470 troys (jours à voir la sibylle)
 471 six (langues de boeuf - cadeau pour la sibylle)
 472 neuf neufvième trois trois trois (Sibylle's magic)
 473 trois huyct (Sibylle's magic)
 478 six mille (ans depuis la création)
 484 trentenaire cinq quinaire tryas dias
 cinq cinq (Nazdecabre - marriage numbers)
 485 neuf neufviesme (magic - gestures)
 489 secondes (nopces) (Raminagrobis)
 492 trente mille ("hotées de diables" - Panurge swears)
 494 trente mille (panerées " ")
 495 trente mille (charretées " ")
 497 trente mille (charretées " ")
 499 trente mille (batekées " ")
 500 dix mille (hommes) (the ability of spirits to
 suffer pain)
 506 cinquante (coins - gift to Her Trippa)
 507 deux (doigtz) (gesture of Her Trippa)
 508 deux (rustres - who will make Panurge a cuckold)
 511 trente (Panurge swears) cent nobles et quatorze
 roturiers (Panurge proposes fate for Her Trippa)
 514 kyrielle 166 members (Couillon) Panurge & F. Jan.
 515 deux et demie (the end of the world approaches)
 six (coins)
 518 soixante soixante et dix (times a day)
 520 quatre (lieues de Berne)
 523 kyrielle 171 members (Frere Jean to Panurge)
 526 trois trois troys (Pantagruel speaks on Man)
 527 tetrade Pythagoricque
 533 cinq (means of restraining lust)
 541 dix-huyct cens (since Aesop)

- 552 cinq cens (reasons not to marry) (Panurge & Trou.)
- 556 un deux trois quart (Bridoye)
- 557 quarante ans quatre mille (Bridoye)
deux mille trois cens et neuf sentences
- 561ff kyrielle 208 members (Blason of Triboullet
by Panurge and Pantagruel) Meeting with Triboullet)
- 588 sixieme jour dix mille francs
- 603 cinq à six pieds (Pantagruelion)
troys foys trois foys (Pantagruelion)
- 604 cinq ou sept deux nombres impars
- 605 cinq jours neuf douze (" ")
- 608 cinq, trois (feuilles)
- 615 mille (experiences)

Le Quart Livre

Vol. 2

- 19 soixante et dixhuict trois (Couillatris)
trigone trois pierres (pour faire un four)
- 23 trois ou quatre trois coingnées (Couillatris)
- 27 dix mille trous cent soixante et
dixhuict millions (greed of axe-losers)
- 28 soixante et dixhuict mille comme la
treizieme partie d'un demy Un million (greed)
- 31 le 9 juin (understood - "festes Vestales"
Br. Dec. says 7 juin)
- 33 douze navires 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11,
12, (of P.)
- 35 moins de quatre moys, troys ans, mille (voyage)
(" ") (fascherries)
- 36 cestuy jour et les deux subsequens quatrieme
(the voyage)
- 37 deux soixante et dixhuict (prix des tapisseries)
- 38 quatre trois trois un (size of above)
- 39 deux (couleurs des Tarandes)

- 40 dix (coups de verses)
- 43 trezieme de juin (date of Gargantua's letter)
- 45 trois (jeunes unicornes)
- 46 quinzieme de juin (date of letter from Pantagruel)
centuple huyct cens septenaires cinq cens
(gifts to Malicorne)
- 47 cinquieme (jour)
- 48 unze (poulsées de coural rouge)
- 53 soixante et dixhuict (especes de maladies,
Dinenault)
- 54 50,000 (escuz, won by Augustus at dice) (bones)
- 55 cinq six (moutons)
- 57 tiers jour (in a whale)
- 58 cinquante mille (du pasetemps)
- 59 tiers jour isle triangulaire trezieme
trois cens six cinq mille (Ennasin)
- 60 trois cens mille (inhabitants of one family)
trois on quatre (ans)
- 64 vingt et cinq ou trente (foys boire)
- 66 vingt (ans) (var. douze)
- 67 quatre (distance) troys quatorze (roustisseries)
- 70 quatre (Chicquanous)
- 77 trois moys, deux coupes
- 78 quatre jours (après) (Basché)
- 80 quatre escuz (gift to Chiquanous)
- 82 neuf (endroictz, head broken)
- 86 vingt, douze trente (coups) vingt huict et demy
(coups) une ou deux vingt (escuz) (Chicquanous)
- 92 neuf (orques chargées de moines)
- 93 soixante et dixhuict douzaines dizaines centaines
deux mille (gifts to monks)
- 97 trente (legions de diables) dix-huict cens mille
mille
- 98 millions (de diables) dix-huict ou deux (seaux
d'eau)
- 100 mille et millions et centaines de million -
millions (Frère Jean swears)

- 101 quatre (elemens)
- 102 millions millions (curses of Frere Jean)
- 104 cinq cens mille millions trente millions (" ")
- 107 deux trois cinq huict quatre six (boat loads
of Macreons)
- 108 troys et quatre (foys heureux)
- 109 vague decumane (a heavy wave)
- 111 deux deux neuf quatre (Panurge on death and
marriage)
- 115 troys, dix (division of Macreons' Island)
- 117 soixante et dix-huict mille (area of forest in
parasanges)
trois (jours du comete)
- 121 cinq six (jours de prodiges)
- 122 9.720 unité passant en quadrinité et la quadrinité
entière quatre foys en soy doublée, puis le tout
cinq fois multiplié par solides triangles (life
span of demons)
- 126 quarante; six (Quaresmeprenant)
- 130 sept (costes de Quaresmeprenant)
- 127ff kyrielle 142 members (" ")
- 133 kyrielle 36 members (" ")
- 141 cinq un un un (Physeter)
- 142 un troys troys cinquante cinquante (darts
of Pantagrue)
- 144 quatre (ans)
- 145 vingt et cinq ou trente (Andouilles)
- 146 soixante et dix-huict (enseignes des Andouilles)
- 147 vingt mille (Andouilles)
- 148 deux (coronelz des Andouilles)
- 156 deux cens (men inside the sow)
- 157 24 in Kyrielle, 13 in next (names of soldiers)
- 158 kyrielles 16, 30 members (" ")
- 160 kyrielle 32 members (" ")
deux, deux (cuts Andouilles in 2)

- 161 quatre (doigts de lard)
- 164 soixante et dixhuict six six (Niphleseph)
- 165 deux (jours après - à Ruach)
- 167 trois troys (Ruach)
- 172 trois (prebstres)
- 178 dixhuict mille (royaulx d'or - gift of Pantagruel
to Papefiguière)
- 179 quatre (personnes de Papimanie)
- 180 trois (papes)
- 184 trois (jours de jeusne)
- 186 trente et deux quatorze la tierce partie
(Papimanie) dix-huict quarantaines (Papimanie)
- 187 six deux sept un troys (" ")
- 188 troys (manilliers de l'ecclise)
- 189 deux un (chose admirable à Papimanie)
- 191 quatre, voyre cinq (days of Panurge's constipation)
- 197 cens mille (ducatz, drawn to Rome)
- 199 quatre (braguettes du bonnet)
- 201 deux ou trois deux)
202 triple neuf) (Clerices)
neuf cent quatorze)
- 204 dix contre un cent milles figure triangulaire
aequilaterale (Parolles degelées)
- 211 six cens (Gaster)
- 215 - 219 kyrielles 17 14 57 35 members (sacrificed
to Messer Gaster)
- 220 - 223 kyrielles 13 7 3 87 7 18 members
- 226 cent (coups de fouldre)
- 227 triscaciste (thrice-bad see p.259 B.Dec.)
- 231 un
- 232 quatre (arms of windmill made by Carpalim)
- 235 soixante et dixhuict mille decempedale (gift to
Chaneph by Pantagruel) (see p.260 B.Dec) neuf
neuf cinq cinq (canonical hours)

- 236ff kyrielle 98 members (Eusthenes' list)
 240 dix-huict cens (pippes de Vin)
 241 deux (crouppes d'un rochier)
 242 millions (de diables - Frère Jean curses)
 243 millions (" ")
 245 neuf quatorze (an obscure allusion)
 246 dix-huict (bonases, a comical simile)
 254 decumane (see Ch 23 of Q.L.) B.Dec.
 259 triscaciste (B.Dec.)

Le Cinquiesme Livre

- 278 trois ou cinq (foys - boire!) trente (date)
 (31 is meant)
 283 trois (crows) cent et cent (that is, many times
 worked over)
 285 quatrieme (jour) (L'Isle Sonante).
 286 Quatre temps quatre vents (le jeusne)
 288 quart (les jours du jeusne)
 289 neuf (magical use)
 290 trois cens, vingt et quatre (les oyseaulx de
 l'Isle Sonante)
 291 deux mil sept cens soixante (lunes) (ago)
 292 six sexte essence (espece) (Caputragaulx)
 294 neuf neuf sept (Editus speaks of the Clerizgaulx)
 296 vingt cinq ou trente (oyseaulx)
 298 quatre quatre (four days fast, four days feast)
 299 quadridien (fast) sept sept quatre (calm and
 storm)
 301 sept huict (Editus speaks of famine being unlikely)
 303 une deux trois neuf vingt et trois (heavy
 drinking)
 307 tiers (jour) mille deux (more feasting)
 308 deux six cent (religious types)

- 309 trois (religious)
 310 quatriesme (jour) (they leave the Isle Sonante)
 313 tiers (jour) (they arrive at Cassade.)
 314 huict-deux (rochers) six vingt sennes ambesars
 quines (dice) quadernes ternes double deux six
 et cinq six et quatre six et trois six et deux
 six et as cinq et quatre cinq et trois, sennes
 quatre et deux
 315 as deux sept trois (dice)
 316 quatre (corners on bonnets of Chatz Fourrez)
 317 sexte (essence)
 319 trois (têtes de Grippeminault)
 320 deux (gibbessieres)
 326 soixante et huict (ships laden with game for the
 Chats Fourrez)
 334 Cinquante (degrez - Isle des Apedeftes)
 335 vingt ou vingt-cinq (in the press) deux (nails
 2 feet long)
 336 mille (those awaiting the press)
 337 six (moys)
 338 mille (pressouers) quatre on cinq (ignorants)
 339 Dupple Quadruple, Vingt (aulnes de boyaulx
 vides) (Frere Jean) (extractors)
 340 trois (en trois mots)
 341 dix (ans) (Outre)
 342 deux la Quinte 222 (Travellers met returning)
 343 deux mile deux cens mille (escuz) un cent
 (sacrifice)
 344 La Quinte
 345 7.532.810 (barrels for rescue) soixante (gift of
 wind) deux (physeters) deux (heures)
 346 La Quinte troisieme (jour) (arrival at Quintessence)
 349 dixhuict cens (age) seconde (gallerie)
 352 dixhuict cent cent (food and drink)

- 354 trois neuf trois neuf dix mille (magic of
La Quinte)
- 355 trois trois
- 357 trois (couples) cinq (sols) (La Quinte's
servants do the impossible)
- 358 douze quatre (feasting)
- 359 deux quatre quatre trois (Giborins)
- 363 La Quinte trois trente deux (Chess Tourney)
seize huict deux deux seize quatriesme
deux deux huict deux
- 364 huict quatre huict (" ")
- 366 deux (chess)
- 368 mille (" ")
- 370 mille mille (chess)
- 373 deux trois (quartiers de lune)
- 375 cinq cens (transformations) (of roadways)
- 376 trois (robbers) tiers (King of the Isle des
Esclots)
- 377 La Quinte deux deux trois (Isle des Esclots)
- 379 deux (bannieres des Fredons)
- 381 sept (sortes de moustarde)
- 383 vingt cent (Monosyllabic replies)
- 387 six dix seize (" ")
- 388 une trois (" ")
- 390 trois (toises au dessous des grifes de Lucifer)
(monks)
- 392 deux, troisesme (jours) (arrival at the Pays
de Satin)
- 393 six six deux trois ou quatre (sights of Pays
de Satin)
- 394 trente deux (unicornes) six on sept. (cornes)
- 395 trois sept quatorze trois cens et neuf six
mille et seize (strange beasts)
- 396 deux (sortes de poisson)
- 397 onze trois (strange beasts)

- 399 cinq cens cinquante huit (the school of Ouy-dire)
 400 sept sept (tongues of Ouy-dire)
 402 trois quatriesme (days, approaching Lanternois)
 403 trois (lighthouses of Lanternois)
 404 deux trois miles (the palace of La Royne)
 407 six (oysons) (the feast of La Royne)
 412 sept (visaiges)
 417 deux (jours)
 418 trois (raisins) cent (formes de voerres)(ritual
 of Lanterne)
 419 cinq cens trois cinq cens (the tunnel down)
 421 deux ou trois (fois Chinon)
 422 un deux trois quatre = dix tetrade dix vingt
 trente quarante cent huit (the temple approach-
 steps)
 423 unité deux trois deux quadrangulaires deux
 cubiques septante et huit (temple steps)
 424 dix-huit quartaine, deux, (Frere Jean jests at
 Panurge)
 426 un une deux (the Temple doors)
 427 deux (" ")
 432 trois couples neuf mille deux cens vingt sept
 (Temple mosaic)
 433 cinq mille six vingts et treize soixante et
 dixhuit mille cens et quatorze (" ")
 435 dix sept quarante et deux douze (Temple mosaic)
 436 deux trois deux et demye quatre (Mosaic and Lamp)
 437 deux et demye trois une et demye (Lamp)
 438 quatres (the Lamp in the Temple)
 439 trois heptagonne triangle (The Fountain)
 440 sept sept sept deux deux (The Fountain)
 441 deux tierce sept sept sept un à sept (" ")
 442 sept un à sept (" ")
 444 heptagonne douze douze trois heptagonne (The
 Fountain)

- 445 deux trois (the Fountain)
446 quintuple (" ")
447 nonante et seize (Diabls) (Panurge swears by
the devils as to the quality of the wine)
448 une aureille (Ritual at the Dive Bouteille)
449 trois deux trois trois neuf trois trois
sept (ritual)
450 heptagonne trois deux (symmetry of the second
fount.)
451 une (aureille) (ritual)
455 trois (Panurge praises marriage)
457 un (aureille) (ritual)
460 trois (oires) (bottles of spiritus, air, gift
of Bacbus)
462 deux (choses necessaires) (for salvation)
463 trois, deux (the bottles of "air")

4 The Popularity of Individual Numbers in Rabelais

It has been proposed that one of the themes of Rabelais's work is that of the Coniunctio Oppositorum, or mystical union leading to that harmony in which is granted a vision of beatitude. This union is the goal of the Itinerarium. It was therefore thought significant to make a count of the incidence of each of the key symbolic numbers 2 to 10 and their analogues (e.g. 3 300 3000 and so on) in order to rank those numbers. The frequency of use of certain numbers may point to a loose but pervasive symbolic undertone, given the heavy marriage and sexual symbolism of some numbers.

The numbers counted are as follows: (- = non existing in Rabelais)

(1) 10 100 1000 10.000 100.000 1000.000

(1 is neglected because of ambivalence of 1 as number and the indefinite article in French)

2 20 200 2.000 20.000 200.000 2000.000

3 30 300 3.000 30.000 300.000 3000.000

4 40 400 - - - -

5 50 500 5.000 50.000 - -

500.000.000.000

6 60 600 6.000 - - -

7 70 700 7.000 - - -

8 - 800 - - - -

9 - 900 - - - -

Also: (16 - 1600 - - - -)
 (17 170 1700 - - - -)
 (18 - 1800 18.000 - 1800.000 -)
 (78 - - 78.000 - - -)
 (

The Numbers 2 - 10 in each book : (appearances)

	<u>G.</u>	<u>P.</u>	<u>T.L.</u>	<u>Q.L.</u>	<u>C.L.</u>	Approx. total
2	12	14	7	10	36	79
3	8	15	18	33	51	125
4	2	16	3	15	24	60
5	5	7	9	6	13	40
6	9	6	4	7	17	43
7	5	3	1	1	23	33
8	0	0	1	1	5	7
9	1	4	8	6	6	25
10	2	2	2	6	3	15
Total use of 2 - 10 in each book	44	67	53	85	178	

The number 3 occurs most often, a growing use.

The number 8 is almost absent, save in the chess tourney of C.L. and a very few scattered references. It exists however in composite numbers 18, 78 etc.

7 is used much more in C.L.

The numbers 2 - 10 ranked in order of choice by Rabelais are therefore as follows:

3, 2, 4, 6, 5, 7, 9, 10, 8

Since a number multiplied by 10's was thought to restate itself more strongly, (i.e. 3000 restates 3) and since Rabelais often uses certain numbers so multiplied (as 18, 1800, 18000, etc) it was thought useful to count all such numbers, and add this frequency to the frequency of occurrence of the base numbers 2 - 10 in order to discern any relative movement.

Number	Times Used	Multiples by 10's
100	(20)	multiples of 10 approx. 50
1000	(18)	
10000	(3)	
100000	(2)	
1000000	(7)	
20	(1)	multiples of 20 approx. 9
200	(3)	
2000	(2)	
20000	(1)	
200000	(1)	
2000000	(1)	
30	(6)	multiples of 3 approx. 19
300	(4)	
3000	(2)	
30000	(5)	
300000	(1)	
3000000	(1)	
40	(2)	multiples of 4 approx. 3
400	(1)	
50	(4)	multiples of 5 approx. 14
500	(6)	
5000	(1)	
50000	(2)	
5000000000000	(1)	
60	(3)	multiples of 6 approx. 8
600	(2)	
6000	(3)	

Number	Times Used	Multiples by 10's
70	(1)	multiples of 7 approx. 3
700	(1)	
7000	(1)	
800	(1)	multiples of 8 approx. 1
900	(1)	
		multiples of 9 approx. 1
<u>Also</u>		
18	(5)	multiples of 18 (itself occurring 5 times) approx. 5
1800	(2)	
18000	(1)	
1800000	(2)	
16	(4)	multiples of 16 (4 times) approx. 2
1600	(2)	
17	(3)	multiples of 17 (3 times) approx. 2
170	(1)	
78	(8)	multiples of 78 (8 times) approx.
78000	(3)	

3

The Use of Multiples by Tens.

The preceding table shows that Rabelais multiplied the following numbers by 10's in this order of preference:

10	(50)	compare with 2 - 10 preference	3 (125)
3	(19)		2 (79)
5	(14)		4 (60)
2	(9)		6 (43)
6	(8)		5 (40)
18	(5)		7 (33)
7)			
78)	(3)		9 (25)
4)			
16)	(2)		10 (15)
17)			
8)	(1)		8 (7)
9)			

From this it may be shown that Rabelais favours the number 10 in its multiples of 10. The numbers 8 and 9 are unpopular even in multiples. The numbers 3 and 2 retain their popularity. Total frequency of number and its multiples:

2	79 + 9	=	88
3	125 + 19	=	144
4	60 + 3	=	63
5	40 + 14	=	54
6	43 + 8	=	51
7	33 + 3	=	36
8	7 + 1	=	8
9	25 + 1	=	26
10	15 + 50	=	65

Rabelais therefore uses the first 10 numbers in the following preferential order: 3, 2, 10, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 8. The symbolisms of these numbers can be ascertained by reference to pages 243-275. As has been stated, reiteration of a given number often hints at a symbolic nature, so the most frequently used numbers in a work where number symbolism may be found probably bear the greatest weight of symbolism.

The number 3 and its multiples by 10 occur most regularly, (about 144 references, to be compared with only 88 references for 2, the next most popular.) The use of 3, grows steadily as the work becomes more consciously numerological. This might be expected, in that 3 is the number of both Man and God.

The numbers 4, 5 and 9 are used at a steady rate throughout the work, often with symbolic meaning.

The number 7, rarely used in the first four books, has a sudden upsurge of use in the C.L.

The number 8 is extremely rare at all points, occurring vigorously only in the (borrowed) chess tournament of C.L. This is difficult to understand, since 8 is a useful symbol of Salvation.

More surprising is the number 10, which, while itself rarely occurring, (15 references in all the books together), is used 50 times in multiples of itself. These multiples, (10,000; 100, etc) make it the third most popular number in Rabelais. No other number has anything like this number of multiples. As the sum of the Tetractys, 10 merits the importance it gains. Perhaps the most important and useful deduction to be made from this study of the frequency of numbers in Rabelais is that suggested by the disparity between the treatment of numbers in

the first four books and the last. Le Cinquiesme Livre is filled with symbolic numbers. Although shorter than all the other books except Pantagruel, the last book contains at least double and sometimes quadruple the references to 2 - 10 and their multiples by 10's of the others. The style of usage has also changed, becoming less esoteric. Some numbers (2, 4, 6) receive a new significance. Later, there occurs a return to characteristic use (3, 7). These changes in frequency and style may be accounted for in several ways.

(a) Heavy borrowings from numerologically-inspired works by other authors. (Thuasne has substantiated this assumption, showing many direct borrowings from Francesco Colonna, among others.)

(b) A growing knowledge of number symbolism by Rabelais (resulting perhaps from membership of a secret society such as Agla, (see Paul Naudon¹³⁷) (Unfortunately for this assumption, there seems to be some decadence in the numerology of the last book, with more superstitious use and less classically-based symbolism).

(c) Thematic necessity for more number symbolism. As Panurge and the others leave the outer world and enter the metaphysical kingdoms of the Quintessence and the Temple, the numbers of harmony become more obvious and prevalent.

(d) The major part of Le Cinquiesme Livre may not be the work of Rabelais, but of another, numerologically cruder, author. Differences of treatment of non-number symbols (such as the Unicorn, which from the Christ symbol of Q. L. becomes a mere fabulous beast in C.L.) prepare the reader for changed

numerological values. The fine touch of Rabelais is missing in many of the middle chapters, returning in the Realm of the Dive Bouteille.

The answer to the differences in frequency and style might very well be a mixture of (a) (c) and (d). The more frequent use does not necessarily indicate greater skill - in fact, clumsiness of treatment in many cases negates the possibility of (b). The lack of spirituality evident in the numerological symbolism of the Isle de Cassade and Pays de Satin may however be intended to emphasise deficiencies in the places concerned.

5 Some Suggested Categories for Rabelaisian Numbers

The following represents an attempt to place the numbers of Rabelais in some order for the purpose of comparative study. It is not proposed that Rabelais saw his use of number in such defined categories. In his study of number in the Middle Ages, V.F. Hopper¹³⁸ reduced the symbolism of the secular literature of the time to the main headings of atmospheric, traditional and superstitious use. These will not suffice for Rabelais, who is more devious, or at least, less consistent. Moreover, the superstitious use of numbers was, by renaissance syncretism, rendered as valid as more classically-inspired symbolism. (Superstitious use of numbers was directly relatable to traditional magic. The value of 3 and 13, of 7 and 9, could be based on folk-symbolism rather than the 'purer' neo-platonic or pythagorean systems).

Rabelais's numbers appear to fall into the following five categories:

- A. Overt Classical number symbols, clear Traditional use.

<u>Q.L.</u>	122	"9.720 unité passante en quadrinité et la quadrinité entière quatre foyes en soy doublée, puis le tout cinq fois multiplié par solides triangles"	Pyth. 9720 1,4,4,2,
<u>Q.L.</u>	204	"figure triangulaire aequilaterale"	Pyth. 3,5,3.
<u>Briefve Declaration</u>	254	"decumane"	Pyth. 10
	260	"decempedale"	Pyth. 10
<u>C.L.</u>	286	"Quatre temps" "quatre vents"	Med. 4, 4
	288	"quart"	Med. 4
<u>C.L.</u>	292	"six"	Pyth. 6
		"se x te espece"	Alch.Med. 6
<u>C.L.</u>	314	"sennes, ambesars, quines, Quadernes, Ternes, Double deux, six et cinq, six et quatre, six et trois, six et deux, six et az, cinq et quatre, cinq et trois, sennes, Ambesars"	D.H. 7, 2, 5, 4, 3, 2, 2, 6, 5, 6, 4, 6, 3, 6, 2, 6, 1, 5, 4, 5, 3,
<u>C.L.</u>	315	"as, deux, sept"	7, 1's
<u>C.L.</u>	377	"la Quinte" (et passim) Eg. Alch.	5
<u>C.L.</u>	422	"tetrade"	Pyth. 4
<u>C.L.</u>	423	"unite"	Pyth. 1
<u>C.L.</u>	439	"trois" "heptagonne"	Pyth. 3, 7.
<u>C.L.</u>	440	"triangle"	Astr. 3
<u>C.L.</u>	444	"heptagonne," "heptagonne"	Pyth. 7, 7, Astr.
<u>C.L.</u>	446	"quintuple"	Med. Pyth. 5
<u>C.L.</u>	450	"heptagonne"	Astr. 7

B. Probable Symbolism 1)

The Numbers of Superstition

<u>T.L.</u>	441	"par troys foys"	3
		"au tiers jour"	3
		"le tiers subsequent jour"	3
<u>T.L.</u>	451	"ces troys sors"	3
		"tiers" "troys sors"	3, 3,
<u>T.L.</u>	455	"troys jours davant"	3
<u>T.L.</u>	472	"neuf foys" "neufvieme"	9, 9th
		"trois" "trois" "trois"	3, 3, 3.
<u>T.L.</u>	473	"par trois fois"	3
<u>T.L.</u>	492	"trente mille" reduces to 3	
	494	"trente mille" " "	3
	495	"trente mille" " "	3
	497	"trente mille" " "	3
	499	"trente mille" " "	3
<u>Q.L.</u>	227	"triscaciste"	
		(thrice-bad, see <u>Briefve Declaration</u>	3
		p.259)	3
<u>C.L.</u>	354	"trois" "neuf" "trois"	3, 9, 3,
		"neuf"	9
<u>C.L.</u>	355	"trois" "trois"	3, 3
<u>C.L.</u>	357	"trois"	3
<u>C.L.</u>	440	"sept" "sept" "sept"	7, 7, 7
<u>C.L.</u>	441-2	"sept" "sept" "sept" "un a sept"	7, 7, 7, 7
<u>C.L.</u>	449	"trois"	3
		"trois"	3
		"trois"	3
		"neuf"	9

		"trois"	3
			7
<u>C.L.</u>	453	"trimegiste"	3
<u>C.L.</u>	455	"trois fois"	3
<u>C.L.</u>	458	"trimegiste"	3
<u>C.L.</u>	460	"trois oires"	3
<u>C.L.</u>	462	"Hermes Le Tresmegiste"	3
<u>C.L.</u>	463	"troys oires" "la tierce"	3, 3rd.

Probable Symbolism 2)

<u>G.</u>	191	"exagone" "soixante"	6 r. 6
		"trois cent douze" (l'abbaye des Thelemites)	r. 6
		"six estages"	6
<u>G.</u>	193	"six toises"	6
		"six hommes"	6
<u>P.</u>	221	"quarante quarantaines"	
		(Antiquité de Pantagruel)	r.4 r.4
<u>P.</u>	228	"quatre cens quatre vingtz quarante et quatre"	4,4, (20 r.4, 4
<u>P.</u>	293	"plus de six" "treze cens et unze" (Panurge et les Turcqs)	6, r.6
<u>P.</u>	323	"seize foyz"	r.7
		"deux bras"	2
		"cinq fois" "cinquiesme"	5 5
<u>P.</u>	330	"vingt et huyt"	r.10
<u>P.</u>	331	"cinq mille"	r.5
		"cinquante mille"	r.5
<u>P.</u>	342	"six cens soixante"	6, 6
		"six cens soixante"	6, 6
<u>P.</u>	344	"quarante et quatre"	4, 4

<u>P.</u>	345	"quatre"	
<u>P.</u>	350	"six cens soixante"	6, 6
<u>T.L.</u>	441	"troys foyes"	3
		"tiers jour" "tiers jour"	3, 3
<u>T.L.</u>	451	"tiers" "troys"	3, 3
<u>T.L.</u>	455	"troys"	3
<u>T.L.</u>	485	"neuf" "neufviesme"	9, 9th
<u>T.L.</u>	526	"trois" "trois" "troys"	3,3,3
<u>T.L.</u>	556	"Un, deux, trois" "Quart"(Bridoye)	1,2,3,4
<u>T.L.</u>	557	"quarante ans" "quatre mille"	r.4,r.4
<u>T.L.</u>	603	"cinq à six pieds"	5, 6
		"trois foyes"	3
<u>T.L.</u>	604	"cinq ou sept"	5, 7
		"deux nombres impars"	
<u>T.L.</u>	605	"cinq jours"	5
<u>T.L.</u>	608	"cinq"	5
<u>Q.L.</u>	19	"soixante et dixhuict" $1+2+3+4+5+6+7+8+9+10$ $+11+12 = 78$	
		"trigone" "trois pierres"	3, 3
<u>Q.L.</u>	23	"trois ou quatre" "trois coignées"	3, 4, 3
<u>Q.L.</u>	31	9 June "On moys de juin (3 x 3) au jour des festes Vestales"	9
<u>Q.L.</u>	33	"douze"	r.3
<u>Q.L.</u>	35	"moins de quatre moys"	3
		"trois ans"	3
<u>Q.L.</u>	36	"cestuy jour et les deux subsequens"	3
<u>Q.L.</u>	57	"tiers jour"	3
<u>Q.L.</u>	59	"isle triangulaire"	3
		"trezieme" $10 + 3$	13th?
		"trois cens six"	r. 9 3 x 3
<u>Q.L.</u>	60	"trois cens mille"	r.3
		"trois ou quatre"	3 or 4

<u>Q.L.</u>	64	"vingt et cinq ou trente"	r.7, r.3
<u>Q.L.</u>	67	"quatre" "troys"	4, 3
		"quatorze"	r.5
<u>Q.L.</u>	70	"quatre chiquanous"	4
<u>Q.L.</u>	77	"troys mois"	3
<u>Q.L.</u>	78	"quatre jours"	4
<u>Q.L.</u>	80	"quatre escuz" (gift to Chiquanous)	4
<u>Q.L.</u>	93	"soixante et dix-huict douzaines"	78 x 12
		1+2+3+4+5+6+7+8+9+10+11+12 x 12	
<u>Q.L.</u>	142	"un" "troys" "troys" "cinquante"	
		"cinquante" (Physeter)	1, 3, 3
			50, 50
<u>Q.L.</u>	164	"soixante et dixhuict," "six"	78, 6
		"six" (Niphleseph)	6
<u>Q.L.</u>	167	"trois" "troys" (Ruach)	3, 3
<u>Q.L.</u>	172	"trois" (prebstres)	3
<u>Q.L.</u>	178	"dixhuict mille"	r. 9 3 x 3
<u>Q.L.</u>	180	"trois" (popes)	3
<u>Q.L.</u>	184	"trois"	3
<u>Q.L.</u>	201	"deux ou trois"	2, 3
		"deux"	2
<u>Q.L.</u>	202	"triple" "neuf"	3, 3 x 3
		"neuf cent quatorze"	r.5
<u>Q.L.</u>	204	"dix contre un"	10, 1
		"cent milles"	r.10
<u>Q.L.</u>	235	"neuf" "neuf"	9, 9
		"cinq" "cinq"	5, 5
<u>C.L.</u>	278	"trois ou cinq" "trente"	3, 5, r.3
<u>C.L.</u>	283	"trois" "cent et cent"	3,4.10,r.10
<u>C.L.</u>	285	"quatrieme"	4
<u>C.L.</u>	286	"Quatre temps"	4
		"quatre vents"	4
<u>C.L.</u>	288	"quart"	4
<u>C.L.</u>	290	"trois" "vingt et quatre"	3, r.6

<u>C.L.</u>	292	"six"	6
		"quinte espece"	5
		"sexe espece"	6
<u>C.L.</u>	294	"neuf" "neuf" "sept"	9, 9, 7
<u>C.L.</u>	298	"quatre" "quatre"	4, 4
<u>C.L.</u>	299	"quadridien"	4
<u>C.L.</u>	299	"sept" "sept" "quatre"	7, 7, 4
<u>C.L.</u>	339	"Dupple" "Quadruple"	2, 4
<u>C.L.</u>	342	"deux" "la Quinte" "222"	2, 5, 2's
<u>C.L.</u>	343	"deux mile" "deux cens mille escuz"	2, r.2
<u>C.L.</u>	344	"La Quinte"	5
<u>C.L.</u>	345	" 7.532.810"	r.8
		"Soixante et deux"	r.8
<u>C.L.</u>	346	"La Quinte" "troisieme"	5, 3
<u>C.L.</u>	354	"trois" "neuf" "trois" "neuf"	3, 9, 3, 9
		"dix mille"	r.10
<u>C.L.</u>	355	"trois" "trois"	3, 3
<u>C.L.</u>	357	"trois" "cinq"	3, 5
<u>C.L.</u>	358	"douze" "quatre"	r.3, 4
<u>C.L.</u>	363	"La Quinte" "trente deux" "seize"	
		"huict" "deux" "deux" "seize"	
		"quatriesme" "deux" "deux" "quatriesme"	
		"deux"	
<u>C.L.</u>	364	"huict" "quatre" "huict"	8, 4, 8
<u>C.L.</u>	366	"deux"	2
<u>C.L.</u>	377	"La Quinte" "deux" "deux"	5,2,2,
		"trois"	3
<u>C.L.</u>	379	"deux"	2
<u>C.L.</u>	400	"sept" "sept"	7, 7
<u>C.L.</u>	423	"unité" "deux" "trois" "deux"	
		quadrangulaires" "deux cubiques"	1, 2, 3
<u>C.L.</u>	439	"trois" "heptagone" "triangle"	3, 7, 3
<u>C.L.</u>	440	"sept" "sept" "sept"	7, 7, 7
		"deux" "deux"	2, 2

<u>C.L.</u>	441	"deux" "tierce" "sept" "sept"	2,3,7,7
		"sept" "un a sept"	7, 1-7,
<u>C.L.</u>	442	"sept" "un a sept"	7, 1-7
<u>C.L.</u>	444	"heptagonne" "douze"	7, r.3
		"douze" "trois" "heptagonne"	r. 3,3,7
<u>C.L.</u>	445	"deux" "trois"	2, 3
<u>C.L.</u>	449	"trois" "deux" "trois"	3, 2, 3,
		"trois" "neuf" "trois"	3,9,3
		"trois" "sept"	3, 7,
<u>C.L.</u>	450	"heptagonne" "trois"	7, 3,
		"deux"	2
<u>C.L.</u>	455	"Io mariage trois fois"	3
<u>C.L.</u>	460	"trois oires"	3
<u>C.L.</u>	463	"troys oires"	3

C. Possible Symbolism

<u>G.</u>	18	"unze moys"	
<u>G.</u>	19	"eux deux" "la beste à deux dos"	
		"unzieme moys" "douziesme moys"	
		"Xlviiij heures"	
<u>G.</u>	31	"soixante ans"	
<u>G.</u>	32	"le septiesme"	
<u>G.</u>	39	"seize" "troys" "quatre metaulx"	
<u>G.</u>	65	"six oriflans"	
<u>G.</u>	86	"neuf roys"	
<u>G.</u>	87	"un, deux, troys"	
<u>G.</u>	105	"troys cens"	
<u>G.</u>	135	"cent tours"	
<u>G.</u>	137	"sept lieues"	
<u>G.</u>	140	"cent cannes" "sept balles"	
<u>G.</u>	153	"six pelerins" "cinq"	
<u>G.</u>	155	"cent diables"	
<u>G.</u>	160	"seize cents"	
<u>G.</u>	164	"seconde et teirce"	
<u>G.</u>	175	"six moys et quatre jours"	

<u>G.</u>	189	"deux lieues"
<u>G.</u>	190	"dix-quinze" (dames) "douze - dix et huict" (hommes)
<u>G.</u>	193	"xxij" "trois doigtz" "douze" "deux"
<u>G.</u>	195	"mille marcs"
<u>G.</u>	204	"cinq et six"
<u>G.</u>	219	"cent mille"
<u>P.</u>	222	"cinq toyzes"
<u>P.</u>	231	"soixante et huyt" "neuf" "sept" "XXU"
<u>P.</u>	235	"deux serpens"
<u>P.</u>	239	"douze toises" "quatre"
<u>P.</u>	241	"deux" "troys" "troys"
<u>P.</u>	242	"troys et un"
<u>P.</u>	256	"double" "douze"
<u>P.</u>	260	"cinq à six"
<u>P.</u>	270	"troys pas et un sault"
<u>P.</u>	271	"six sepmaines" "quatre à six" "deux"
<u>P.</u>	281	"trente et six"
<u>P.</u>	283	"six arpens" "troys bottes" "deux" "troys"
<u>P.</u>	287	"treze" "deux"
<u>P.</u>	292	"six cens" "deux" "sept ans"
<u>P.</u>	298	"cent diables" "dix et huyt"
<u>P.</u>	299	"neuf" "deux on troys" "deux"
<u>P.</u>	300	"troys"
<u>P.</u>	302	"vingt et six"
<u>P.</u>	308	"dix ou douze" "douze" "troys" "quatre"
<u>P.</u>	309	"centuplum" "quinze" "six mille fleurins" "trois mille" "cent" "six vingts" "troys cens"
<u>P.</u>	317	"vingt et cinq" "trente"
<u>P.</u>	345	"sept" "vingt et six" "trent et deux" "seize" "neuf"

<u>P.</u>	346	"dix et neuf" "trente et deux" "dix ou douze" "dix-huyt" "quinze" "deux" "troys"
<u>P.</u>	348	"dix ou unze"
<u>P.</u>	350	"six cens soixante"
<u>P.</u>	352	"neuf lieues" "cinq" "cinq et demy"
<u>P.</u>	362	"troys ou quatre"
<u>P.</u>	366	"deux"
<u>P.</u>	375	"deux"
<u>P.</u>	383	"quatre"
<u>P.</u>	385	"cinq"
<u>T.L.</u>	430	"quatre"
<u>T.L.</u>	446	"cinq" "six" "cinq"
<u>T.L.</u>	458	"deux"
<u>T.L.</u>	460	"deux"
<u>T.L.</u>	462	"mille"
<u>T.L.</u>	470	"troys"
<u>T.L.</u>	471	"six"
<u>T.L.</u>	485	"neuf" "neufviesme"
<u>T.L.</u>	489	"secondes"
<u>T.L.</u>	506	"cinquante"
<u>T.L.</u>	507	"deux"
<u>T.L.</u>	508	"deux"
<u>T.L.</u>	511	"trente" "cent nobles et quatorze roturiers"
<u>T.L.</u>	515	"six"
<u>T.L.</u>	518	"soixante" "soixante et dix"
<u>T.L.</u>	520	"quatre"
<u>T.L.</u>	588	"six ceme jour" "dix mille francs"
<u>T.L.</u>	604	"deux nombres impars"
<u>T.L.</u>	605	"cinq jours" "neuf" "douze"
<u>T.L.</u>	608	"cinq"

<u>T.L.</u>	615	"mille"
<u>Q.L.</u>	31	"9 juin"
<u>Q.L.</u>	33	"douze navires"
<u>Q.L.</u>	35	"moins de quatre moys" "troys ans" "mille"
<u>Q.L.</u>	36	"cestury jour et les deux subsequens" "quatriesme"
<u>Q.L.</u>	37	"deux"
<u>Q.L.</u>	38	"quatre" "trois" "trois" "un"
<u>Q.L.</u>	39	"deux"
<u>Q.L.</u>	40	"dix"
<u>Q.L.</u>	43	"trezieme de juin"
<u>Q.L.</u>	45	"trois"
<u>Q.L.</u>	46	"quinzieme de juin" "centuple" "huyct cens" "septenaires" "cinq cens"
<u>Q.L.</u>	47	"cinquieme"
<u>Q.L.</u>	48	"unze"
<u>Q.L.</u>	55	"cinq" "six"
<u>Q.L.</u>	57	"tiers jour"
<u>Q.L.</u>	66	"vingt"
<u>Q.L.</u>	82	"neuf"
<u>Q.L.</u>	86	"douze" "trente" "une ou deux"
<u>Q.L.</u>	92	"neuf"
<u>Q.L.</u>	97	"trente"
<u>Q.L.</u>	107	"deux" "trois" "cinq" "huict" "quatre" "six"
<u>Q.L.</u>	109	"deux cens"
<u>Q.L.</u>	111	"deux" "deux" "neuf" "quatre"
<u>Q.L.</u>	115	"troys et dix"
<u>Q.L.</u>	117	"trois"
<u>Q.L.</u>	121	"cinq et six"
<u>Q.L.</u>	126	"quarante" "six"
<u>Q.L.</u>	130	"sept"
<u>Q.L.</u>	141	"cinq, "un" "un" "un"

<u>Q.L.</u>	142	"un" "troys" "troys" "cinquante" "cinquante"
<u>Q.L.</u>	144	"quatre"
<u>Q.L.</u>	145	"vingt et cinq ou trente"
<u>Q.L.</u>	148	"deux"
<u>Q.L.</u>	156	"deux cens"
<u>Q.L.</u>	157	kyrielles of 24, 13 members
<u>Q.L.</u>	158	kyrielles of 16, 30 members
<u>Q.L.</u>	160	kyrielle of 32 members
<u>Q.L.</u>	161	" q uatre"
<u>Q.L.</u>	165	"deux"
<u>Q.L.</u>	179	quatre"
<u>Q.L.</u>	186	"trente et deux" "quatorze"
<u>Q.L.</u>	187	"six" "deux" "sept" "un" "troys"
<u>Q.L.</u>	188	"troys"
<u>Q.L.</u>	189	"deux" "un"
<u>Q.L.</u>	191	"quatre, voyre cinq"
<u>Q.L.</u>	199	"quatre"
<u>Q.L.</u>	226	"cent"
<u>Q.L.</u>	231	"un"
<u>Q.L.</u>	232	"quatre"
<u>Q.L.</u>	235	"neuf" "neuf" "cinq" "cinq"
<u>Q.L.</u>	240	"dix-huict cens"
<u>Q.L.</u>	241	"deux"
<u>Q.L.</u>	245	"neuf" "quatorze"
<u>Q.L.</u>	246	"dix-huict"
<u>C.L.</u>	283	"trois" "cent et cent"
<u>C.L.</u>	289	"neuf"
<u>C.L.</u>	296	"vingt cinq ou trente"
<u>C.L.</u>	298	"quatre" "quatre"
<u>C.L.</u>	299	"quadridien" "sept" "sept" "quatre"
<u>C.L.</u>	301	"sept" "huict"
<u>C.L.</u>	303	"une" "deux" "trois" "neuf" "vingt et trois"
<u>C.L.</u>	307	"tiers jour" "mille" "deux"

<u>C.L.</u>	308	"deux" "six" "cent"
<u>C.L.</u>	309	"trois"
<u>C.L.</u>	310	"quatriesme"
<u>C.L.</u>	313	"tiers jour"
<u>C.L.</u>	316	"quatre" "six" "deux"
<u>C.L.</u>	319	"trois"
<u>C.L.</u>	320	"deux"
<u>C.L.</u>	326	"soixante et huict"
<u>C.L.</u>	332	"mille"
<u>C.L.</u>	334	"cinquante"
<u>C.L.</u>	335	"vingt ou vingt cinq" "deux"
<u>C.L.</u>	336	"mille"
<u>C.L.</u>	337	"six moys"
<u>C.L.</u>	338	"mille" "quatre ou cinq"
<u>C.L.</u>	340	"trois"
<u>C.L.</u>	341	"dix"
<u>C.L.</u>	342	"deux"
<u>C.L.</u>	343	"un cent"
<u>C.L.</u>	345	"soixante et deux"
<u>C.L.</u>	349	"dix huict cens" "seconde"
<u>C.L.</u>	352	"dix huict" "cent" "cent"
<u>C.L.</u>	358	"douze" "quatre"
<u>C.L.</u>	359	"deux" "quatre" "quatre" "trois"
		"trente deux"
<u>C.L.</u>	363	"seize" "huict" "deux" "deux"
		"seize" "quatriesme" "deux" "deux"
		"quatriesme" "deux" "deux"
<u>C.L.</u>	364	"huict" "quatre" "huict"
<u>C.L.</u>	366	"deux"
<u>C.L.</u>	368	"mille"
<u>C.L.</u>	370	"mille" "mille"
<u>C.L.</u>	373	"trois"
<u>C.L.</u>	375	"cinq cens"
<u>C.L.</u>	376	"tiers"
<u>C.L.</u>	377	"deux" "deux" "trois"

<u>C.L.</u>	381	"sept"
<u>C.L.</u>	383	"vingt" "cent"
<u>C.L.</u>	387	"six" "dix" "seize"
<u>C.L.</u>	388	"une" "trois"
<u>C.L.</u>	390	"trois"
<u>C.L.</u>	392	"deux"
<u>C.L.</u>	393	"six" "six" "deux" "trois ou quatre"
<u>C.L.</u>	394	"trente deux"
<u>C.L.</u>	395	"trois" "sept" "quatorze"
<u>C.L.</u>	396	"deux"
<u>C.L.</u>	397	"onze" "trois"
<u>C.L.</u>	399	"cinq cens" "cinquante huit"
<u>C.L.</u>	400	"sept" "sept"
<u>C.L.</u>	402	"trois" "quatriesme"
<u>C.L.</u>	403	"trois"
<u>C.L.</u>	404	"deux" "trois miles"
<u>C.L.</u>	407	"six"
<u>C.L.</u>	412	"sept"
<u>C.L.</u>	417	"deux"
<u>C.L.</u>	418	"trois" "cent"
<u>C.L.</u>	419	"cinq cens" "trois" "cinq cens"
<u>C.L.</u>	421	"deux ou trois"
<u>C.L.</u>	422	"un" "deux" "trois" "quatre" "dix" "dix" "vingt" "trente" "quarante" "cent" "huit"
<u>C.L.</u>	423	"septante et huit"
<u>C.L.</u>	424	"dix-huit" "quartaine"
<u>C.L.</u>	426	"un" "une" "deux"
<u>C.L.</u>	427	"deux"
<u>C.L.</u>	435	"dix sept" "quarante et deux" "douze"
<u>C.L.</u>	436	"deux" "trois" "deux et demye" "quatre"
<u>C.L.</u>	437	"deux et demye" "trois" "une et demye"
<u>C.L.</u>	438	"quatres"
<u>C.L.</u>	440	"deux" "triangle" "deux"
<u>C.L.</u>	441	"deux" "tierce"
<u>C.L.</u>	444	"douze" "douze" "trois" "heptagonne"

- C.L. 447 "nonante et seize"
C.L. 448 "une aureille"
C.L. 450 "heptagonne" "trois" "deux"

D. Comic Use of Numbers. Occasional possible symbolism (Incongruous and massive numbers generally.)

- G. 21 "troys cens soixante-sept mille et quatorze"
G. 22 "seize muiz, deux bussars et six tupins"
G. 33 "dix et sept mille neuf cens treze vaches"
G. 34 "dix et huyt mentons"
G. 35 "huyt cens treize aulnes" "quinze cens"
 "neuf cens aulnes" "deux cens" "neuf peaulx et demye"
G. 36 "unze cens cinq aulnes et ung tiers"
 "seize aulnes un quartier"
G. 37 "trois cens aulnes et demye" "neuf mille six cens aulnes moins deux tiers"
 "quatre cens six aulnes" "dix et huytieme"
G. 38 "troys cens deux aulnes ung quart"
 "vingt et cinq mille soixante et troys marcs d'or"
G. 39 "soixante - neuf millions huyt cens nonante et quatre mille dix et huyt moutons"
G. 53 "sens davant et sens derriere"
G. 60 "treze ans six moys et deux sepmaines"
G. 61 "sept mille quintaulx"
G. 68 "deux cens soixante mille quatre cens dix et huyt, sans les femmes et petiz enfans"
G. 104 "seize mille quatorze" "trente-cinq mille et unze" "neuf cens quatorze", "doubles"

- G. 123 "sept cens mille et troys philippes"
- G. 128 "neuf mille quatorze"
"vingt et deux cens mille," "seize cens"
- G. 131 "quatre cens cinquante mille"
- G. 132 "soixante et quatorze muys troys boisseaux"
- G. 138 "neuf mille vingt et cinq loups"
- G. 142 "seize beufz, /troys genisses/ trente et
deux veaux/ soixante et troys chevreaux/
quatre vingt quinze moutons/troys cens/unze
vingt/ sept cens/ quatre cens/ six mille/
six cens/ quatorze cens/ troys cens et troys/
mille sept cens/ unze/ dix et huict/ sept
vingt/ quelques douzaines"
- G. 172 "soixante et deux mille saluz"
- G. 173 "sept cens deux mille marcz"
"soixante et deux mille saluz"
- G. 174 "six vingt quatorze millions deux escuz et
demy d'or" "quinze mille" "trente et
deux mille" "quatre vingtz neuf mille"
"cent quarante mille" "unze mille deux cens"
"quarante sept mille"
- G. 175 "deux mille cinq cens"
"soixante et six mille"
"vingt et six mille" "deux cens"
"vingt et deux mille" "six mille"
- G. 183 "neuf mille trente et huyt"
- G. 184 "vingt foyz cent mille escutz"
- G. 187 "dis huyt cent mille quatorze bezans d'or"
"douze cens mille escutz"
- G. 191 "vingt et sept cent mille huyt cent trente
et un"
"seze cent soixante et neuf mille"
"vingt troys cent soixante neuf mille cinq
cens quatorze"

- G. 192 "troys cent douze"
"neuf mille troys cens trente et deux"
- P. 221 "quarante quarantaines"
- P. 222 "sepmaine de troys jeudis"
- P. 228 "quatre cens quatre vingtz quarante et quatre"
"XXXVI moys, troys sepmaines, quatre jours
treze heures et quelque peu d'avantage"
- P. 235 "quatre mille six, cens"
- P. 248 "deux cens quatorze ans"
- P. 250ff kyrielle, 139 books in St. Victor Library.
- P. 271 "neuf mille sept cens soixante et quatre"
- P. 293 "plus de six," "treze cens et unze"
- P. 297 "cinq emfans et demy"
- P. 298 "seize et demye"
- P. 299 "cinq cens diables" "quatre cens dix et
sept"
- P. 300 "cent soixante mille et neuf"
- P. 312 "soixante et troys"
"deux cens quatorze"
- P. 317 "vingt et cinq ou trente"
- P. 331 "cinq mille" "cinquante mille"
- P. 334 "six cens mille et quatorze"
- P. 342 "six cens soixante"
"six cens soixante"
- P. 347 "troys cens"
"cent soixante et troys mille"
"unze mille quatre cens"
"troys mille six cens"
"quatre vingtz quatorze mille"
- P. 347 "cent cinquante mille"
- P. 348 "cent diables" "trente cens mille"
- P. 350 "six cens soixante"
- P. 352 "cinquante et troys mille"

<u>P.</u>	354	"dix huyt cens mille" "sept mille"
<u>P.</u>	355	"six cens cinquante et neuf"
<u>P.</u>	356	"deux cens trente et sept"
<u>P.</u>	359	"troys cens"
<u>P.</u>	360	"neuf mille sept cens quintaulx et deux quartes"
<u>P.</u>	361	"mille milliers de centaines de millions de legions"
<u>P.</u>	362	"quatre mille octante et six"
<u>P.</u>	363	"soixante et treze" "neuf mille six"
<u>P.</u>	380	"sept et demy"
<u>P.</u>	383	"six vingt et dix huyt" "unze mille neuf cens"

<u>T.L.</u>	Title Page	"Soixante et dixhuytiesme Livre"
<u>T.L.</u>	394	"mille"
<u>T.L.</u>	405	"9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0"
<u>T.L.</u>	410	"6 7 8 9 10 6 7 8 9" "2 4 3 5 7 6 8" "2 4 3 5 7 6 9" "1 2 3 4 5 5 4 3 2 1"
<u>T.L.</u>	414	"mille"
<u>T.L.</u>	417	"trentiesme" "soixante et dixhuyctiesme"
<u>T.L.</u>	430	"600000"
<u>T.L.</u>	444	"mille"
<u>T.L.</u>	449	"cent et cent"
<u>T.L.</u>	462	"mille"
<u>T.L.</u>	468	"mille et mille foyes"
<u>T.L.</u>	478	"six mille"
<u>T.L.</u>	492-499	"trente mille" (5 times)
<u>T.L.</u>	500	"dix mille"
<u>T.L.</u>	514ff	Kyrielle 166 members
<u>T.L.</u>	523ff	Kyrielle 170 members
<u>T.L.</u>	541	"dix-huyct cens"
<u>T.L.</u>	552	"cinq cens"

<u>T.L.</u>	557	"deux mille trois cens et neuf"
<u>T.L.</u>	561ff	Kyrielle 208 members
<u>Q.L.</u>	19	"soixante et dixhuict"
<u>Q.L.</u>	27	"dix mille trous" "cent soixante et dixhuict millions"
<u>Q.L.</u>	28	"soixante et dix-huict mille comme la treziesme partie d'un demy" "un million"
<u>Q.L.</u>	35	"mille"
<u>Q.L.</u>	37	"soixante et dixhuict"
<u>Q.L.</u>	46	"huyct cens" "cinq cens"
<u>Q.L.</u>	53	"soixante et dix huict"
<u>Q.L.</u>	54	"50.000"
<u>Q.L.</u>	58	"cinquante mille"
<u>Q.L.</u>	59	"cinq mille" "troys cens six"
<u>Q.L.</u>	60	"trois cens mille"
<u>Q.L.</u>	86	"vingt huict et demy"
<u>Q.L.</u>	93	"soixante et dix-huict douzaines" "dizaines" "centaines" "deux mille"
<u>Q.L.</u>	97	"dix-huict cens mills" "mille"
<u>Q.L.</u>	98	"millions" "dix-huict ou deux" "mille et millions et centaines de million millions"
<u>Q.L.</u>	102	"millions" "millions"
<u>Q.L.</u>	104	"cinq cens mille millions" "trente millions"
<u>Q.L.</u>	117	"soixante et dix-huict mille"
<u>Q.L.</u>	127ff	Kyrielle 142 members
<u>Q.L.</u>	133	Kyrielle 36 members
<u>Q.L.</u>	146	"soixante et dix-huict" "quarante et deux mille"
<u>Q.L.</u>	147	"vingt mille"
<u>Q.L.</u>	157	Kyrielles, 24 and 13 members
<u>Q.L.</u>	158	Kyrielles 16 and 30 members

<u>Q.L.</u>	160	Kyrielle 32 members
<u>Q.L.</u>	164	"soixante et dixhuict"
<u>Q.L.</u>	178	"dixhuict mille"
<u>Q.L.</u>	186	"la tierce partie avecques dixhuict quarantaines des pechez"
<u>Q.L.</u>	197	"cens mille"
<u>Q.L.</u>	204	"cent milles"
<u>Q.L.</u>	211	"six cens"
<u>Q.L.</u>	215-19	Kyrielles, 17, 14, 57, 35 members
	220-223	Kyrielles 13, 7, 3, 87, 7, 18 members = 258 (reduces to 6)
<u>Q.L.</u>	235	"soixante et dixhuict mille"
<u>Q.L.</u>	236ff	Kyrielle, 98 members
<u>Q.L.</u>	240	"dix-huict cens"
<u>Q.L.</u>	242	"millions"
<u>Q.L.</u>	243	"millions"
<u>C.L.</u>	291	"deux mil sept cens soixante"
<u>C.L.</u>	395	"six mille et seize" "trois cens et neuf"
<u>C.L.</u>	432	"neuf mille deux cens vingt-sept"
<u>C.L.</u>	433	"cinq mille six vingts et treize" "soixante et dixhuit mille cens et quatorze"
<u>C.L.</u>	447	"nonante et seize"

E

Plain Enumeration

<u>G.</u>	16	"deux oeufz" "sept moys" "vingt et deux"
<u>G.</u>	17	"v. fuseaulx" "troys culz"
<u>G.</u>	20	"deux moys" "troisiesme moys"
<u>G.</u>	21	"iiij e jour" "deux fois"
<u>G.</u>	32	"le septieme"
<u>G.</u>	33	"la première"
<u>G.</u>	51	"dix ou douze à relays" "sept"
<u>G.</u>	60	"cinq ans et troys moys"
<u>G.</u>	61	"seize ans et deux moys" "l'an mil quatre cens et vingt"
<u>G.</u>	66	"trente et cinq lieues" "dix et sept, ou environ"
<u>P.</u>	223	"troys"
<u>P.</u>	233	("troys arpens et deux sexterées") mildly comic?
<u>P.</u>	243	"un" "une" "une"
<u>P.</u>	262	"dix septiesme, mars"
<u>P.</u>	300	"troys"
<u>P.</u>	307	"une"
<u>P.</u>	345	"quatre" "sept" "vingt et six" "trente et deux" "seize" "neuf"
<u>T.L.</u>	515	"deux et demie"

6 Summary of the importance of Numerology in Rabelais

If only a proportion of the possible number symbols are so in fact, it may be stated that in combination with clearly defined symbols they are sufficient to give Rabelais's work a numerological flavour which evolves as the work progresses towards its goal of union. Rabelais's conception of the world is numerically ordered, as is that of his contemporaries. Number symbolism is never denied; indeed it is often patiently explained, giving authorities. Rabelais appears to have a good knowledge of the Pythagorean value of numbers.

Le Tiers Livre and Le Quart Livre are similar in numerological treatment, giving reasonably consistent values, and together they are similar to the last chapters of Le Cinquiesme Livre (especially La Quinte episode, and The Temple Ch 34 - 47). However, many of the early and middle chapters of the last book treat numerology in a bald, didactic way.

Gargantua has occasional but undeveloped numerology. The number 6 of Thélème appears prematurely to have sustained numerological significance. Pantagruel has few clear numerological statements, (perhaps the 4's of Pantagruel's birth.)

All numbers may be symbolic by the end of Le Cinquiesme Livre, but their symbolism may not be Rabelais's. Magical use expands and links with traditional use in true syncretism in the Temple and Dive Bouteille episodes. It is difficult to properly determine categories at all times, and becomes most difficult in Le Cinquiesme Livre. The Fountain of C.L. appears to link the principles of proportion underlying Pythagorean number theory and the neoplatonic hierarchies with the numbers 1 - 10.

Le Cinqüesme Livre uses most number symbolism of all the books, while Le Tiers Livre uses less than might be expected, perhaps because its emphasis is in other directions.

The paramount symbolisms of the numbers 1 - 10 where a number can be construed as numerologically significant because of its context or of a permanent theme, are among the following.

1 No special significance apart from the divine
10, its Pythagorean fulfilment

2 A materialist number, evil by default.

Material alchemists lack something compared to Spiritual alchemists. In the same way, the female is evil by default, lacking male potency.

Evil is the absence of good - Dante's Satan is a negative entity.

3 The male number, most important to Rabelais and to neoplatonism. It is both magical and divine (connected to Tau?). 30 is a marriage number (6×5) as well as reducing to the divine 3.

4 The number of Man, Worldliness, the Giants, Justice (both theological and temporal), the Tetractys, and, paradoxically, by virtue of being more than the divine 3, a transgressional number with potential for harm.

5 As the addition of 2 and 3, 5 is the first Marriage number, thereby attaining great importance in Rabelais's work. It is masculine, spiritual and mysterious.

6 The feminine marriage number (3×2) it is dangerously ambivalent. It is a number of earthly perfection, (Thélème) but also of chance (dice) and demons (Cassade.)

7 The number of Nature as distinct from the Creator.

Potentially either perfect or evil - like Mercurius, the spirit in Nature, either divine or a mere gremlin.

8 (2 x 2 x 2), 2 in its perfected form. A rare number in Rabelais, despite its symbolism of salvation. Important perhaps by its omission from several books.

9 3 in its perfected, square form, but falling short of 10. 9 is ambivalent, even potentially evil. It is a prime number of magic and incantation, (la Quinte and the Sibylle) but also of the neoplatonic hierarchical progression.

10 Rabelais uses this and its frequent self-multiples as an ultimate, inclusive number. It signifies the divine to which the soul is destined to move, being true unity in the Pythagorean sense, as summation of the Tetractys of the Decad. 10 is the number of Rabelais's Fountain, the depiction of harmony between the worlds of above and below revealed to Panurge.

The numbers 1 - 10 in their numerological senses provide a parallel to the created world and therefore to man, the microcosm. The journey of Panurge, who passes through Nature and its distortions to the harmony of the Temple, is the journey of 3 to the realm of 10. The created world is not only a numerically-ordered framework but a strictly hierarchical progression, as are the numbers themselves. Number provides a key to Rabelais. As with Dante,¹³⁹ for Rabelais all perfection rests upon the harmonious operation of matter and form; the numerically-ordered Fountain symbolises the union of Above and Below, and the true end of the quest.

Notes Numerology

1. G. Ch 23 p.91
- 2 A. Bouché-Leclercq, Histoire de la Divination dans L'Antiquité Tome 1, p.258
- 3 See 'The Beauty of Order; Dante ' in V.F. Hopper, Medieval Number Symbolism (New York : Columbia University Press, 1938), Ch 7 p.136-200
- 4 Hopper, p.82 "Strictly speaking, adding numbers sums up their significance into a single unit."
- 5 Michel Butor, Rabelais ou C'était pour Rire (Paris : Larousse, 1972), p.78
- 6 T.L. Ch 2 p.410
- 7 A device borrowed from the Grandes et inestimables cronicques du grant et énorme géant Gargantua (1532) (author unknown).?
- 8 See Christopher Butler, Number Symbolism (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1970), p.50-51
- 9 Butler, p.49
- 10 Proclus, Commentary on the Timaeus (London : Loeb,).
- 11 Pietro Bongo, Mysticae Numerorum Significationis Liber (Bergamo, 1585), p.2 (cited Butler p.53)
- 12 Migne, J.P. Patrologie Grecque T.III (Paris, 1857) for Dionysius Areopagitus, Hiérarchie Céleste col. 119-370, and Hiérarchie Ecclésiastique, col. 369 - 584, with Latin trans.
- 13 E.H. 437 A
- 14 Trans. René Roques, in L'Univers Dionysien, p.259 which see in Bibliographical notes.
- 15 Pico della Mirandola, Heptaplus Exposition, Ch 7 (trans. D. Carmichael) (New York : Bobbs Merrill, 1965), p.173

- 16 'Of the affinity of the worlds with each other
and with all things.'
- 17 Pico Heptaplus second Poem. p.78-79
- 18 C.L. Ch 42 p.439ff
- 19 C.J. de Vogel, Pythagoras and Early Pythagoreanism
(Assen : Van Gorcum, 1966), p.202
- 20 *ibid.* p.203
- 21 *ibid.* p.210
- 22 C.L. Ch 42 p.443
- 23 See Pythagorean Use of "unité" on the Temple Steps,
C.L. p.423
- 24 G. Ch 12 p.51
- 25 C.L. Ch 27 p.387
- 26 Q.L. Ch 3 p.40
- 27 Q.L. Ch 55 p.204
- 28 C.L. Ch 35 p.422
- 29 Q.L. Ch 52 p.191
- 30 C.L. Ch 17 p.344
- 31 See C.G. Jung, Opera vol. 13, p.92
- 32 Q.L. Ch 57 p.248
- 33 P. Ch 30 p.366
- 34 P. Prol. p.216
- 35 Q.L. Ch 25 p.115
- 36 *ibid.*
- 37 Hopper, *op. cit.* p.98
- 38 Q.L. Ch 3 p.40
- 39 Mark 1.10 (for Dove as Messenger)
- 40 Q.L. Ch 3 p.41
- 41 Q.L. Ch 55 p.204
- 42 Q.L. Ch 55 p.205
- 43 Q.L. Ch 23 p.109
- 44 Q.L. (Br. Dec) p.254
- 45 Hugh of Saint Victor, On the Divine Names 1 4
(See Migne P.L. Tom. 175-177
- 46 C.J. de Vogel *op. cit.* p.210

- 47 T.L. Ch 20 p.484
- 48 C.L. Ch 16 p.333
- 49 especially C.L. Ch 17 p.342-3
- 50 C.L. Ch 16
- 51 C.L. Ch 17
- 52 C.L. Ch 17 p.345
- 53 The Chymical Wedding of Christian Rosenkreutz Anno
1459 (Foxcroft trans.) p.15
- 54 Q.L. Ch 34 p.142
- 55 T.L. Ch 17 p.473
- 56 Q.L. Ch 22 p.107
- 57 C.L. Ch 6 p.301
- 58 C.L. Ch 23 p.363-4
- 59 Hopper, op. cit. p.44
- 60 Hopper, p.122
- 61 T.L. Ch 29 p.526
- 62 Hopper, op. cit. p.122
- 63 T.L. Ch 22 p.492, p.497
- 64 P. Ch 14 p.291
- 65 T.L. Ch 23 p.497
- 66 P. Ch 14 p.291
- 67 T.L. Ch 20 p.483-4
- 68 See Hopper, p.75-6
- 69 Q.L. Ch 54 p.202 (914 reduces to 5, a marriage
number)
- 70 T.L. Ch 20 p.484
- 71 T.L. Ch 17 p.470-473
- 72 T.L. Ch 17 p.470
- 73 T.L. Ch 17 p.472
- 74 T.L. Ch 17 p.473
- 75 Q.L. Ch 54 p.202
- 76 C.L. Ch 20 p.349
- 77 C.L. Ch 20 p.353
- 78 T.L. Ch 26 p.516

- 79 Q.L. Ch 22 p.107
- 80 Q.L. Ch 9 p.59
- 81 Q.L. Ch 55 p.204
- 82 (Fountain) C.L. Ch 42 p.439-440
- 83 Hopper, op. cit. p.84
- 84 ibid. p.46
- 85 Butler, Number Symbolism p.7
- 86 see E.T. Bell, The Magic of Numbers (New York : McGraw-Hill, 1946) p.156, p.163 and p.190
- 87 P. Ch 1 p.221
- 88 P. Ch 2 p.228
- 89 T.L. Ch 36 p.556-7
- 90 C.L. Ch 11 p.316
- 91 Q.L. Ch 53 p.199
- 92 See Hopper, p.8
- 93 Q.L. Ch 12 p.70
- 94 Q.L. Ch 14 p.78
- 95 Q.L. Ch 14 p.80
- 96 Especially C.L. Chs 5, 6 (p.286, p.298-9)
- 97 C.L. Ch 1 p.287
- 98 T.L. Ch 29 p.527
- 99 C.L. Ch 35 p.422
- 100 Q.L. Ch 27 p.527
- 101 Sir Thomas Browne, The Garden of Cyrus (1658) alluding to Plato, Laws 6
- 102 Hopper, op. cit. p.43 See also Plutarch, De E apud Delphos 8 and Capella, De Nuptiis 7
- 103 T.L. Ch 20 p.484
- 104 T.L. Ch 11 p.446
- 105 ibid.
- 106 T.L. Ch 49 p.604
- 107 Q.L. Ch 54 p.202
- 108 See P. Ch 14 p.293 (for 1311) and passim 78, 78,000 (78th Book etc. (Title T.L.))
- 109 Butler, Number Symbolism p.60 - 61
- 110 Francesco Giorgio, Harmonia Mundi Canto 1 Ton. 8 Ch 8

- 111 Hopper, p.43
- 112 Q.L. Ch 14 p.78
- 113 G. Ch 11 p.50
- 114 Michel Butor, Rabelais, ou C'était pour Rire,
p. 103
- 115 ibid. p.106
- 116 ibid. p. 102, see G. Ch 53 p.191ff
- 117 C.L. Ch 10 p.313
- 118 Michel Butor, p.108
- 119 Q.L. Ch 42 p.164
- 120 Michel Butor, p.103
- 121 C.L. Ch 3 p.291-2
- 122 C.L. Ch 3 p.292
- 123 Cornelius Agrippa, De Occulta Philosophia, libri tres (Antwerp and Paris, 1531) (English trans. London 1651) II 10, 193
- 124 See Hopper, Medieval Number Symbolism p.16, p.24
- 125 Hopper, p.71
- 126 Paradiso I 43-45
- 127 C.L. Ch 42
- 128 G. Ch 36 p.137
- 129 G. Ch 36 p.138
- 130 G. Ch 37 p.140
- 131 G. Ch 41 p.154
- 132 T.L. Ch 49 p.604
- 133 See C.L. Ch 42 p.444
- 134 G. Ch 8 p.39
- 135 C.L. Ch 42 p.444
- 136 Q.L. Ch 28 p.125
- 137 Paul Naudon, Rabelais Franc-Maçon (Paris : La Balance, 1954), p.146ff
- 138 V.F. Hopper, Medieval Number Symbolism (New York: Cooper Square Publishers, 1969), p.133
- 139 Hopper, ibid. p.166

Chapter 5 Conclusion

- 1 The changing weight and role of alchemy, tarot, the Mysteries, divination and numerology in each book.
- 2 The nature of alchemy, tarot and the Mysteries in Rabelais.
- 3 The use of divination by Rabelais.
- 4 Number symbolism in Rabelais.
- 5 The Itinerarium.
- 6 How a study of the occult in Rabelais supports a claim of authenticity of chapters 33 - 47 of Le Cinquiesme Livre.
- 7 The occult in Rabelais is not esoteric.

- 1 The Changing weight and role of alchemy, tarot,
the Mysteries, divination and numerology in each book

Rabelais is by no means consistent in his use of the occult systems. He moves from one system to another according to the needs of the narrative and allegory, sometimes neglecting or giving a dominant place to a tradition during an entire book. A chart may be drawn to show this changing weight: (incidence of references and allusions key X = some, XXXXX = very pronounced. For basis, see individual chapters)

	<u>P.</u>	<u>G.</u>	<u>T.L.</u>	<u>Q.L.</u>	<u>C.L.</u>
Alchemy	XX	X	X	XXX	XXXXX
Tarot	X?	X	X?	X?	XX?
Mysteries	-	X	X	X	XXXXX
Divination	X	X	XXXXX	X	XXX
Numerology	X	X	X	XX	XXXXX

By themselves, the numbers of references and allusions prove very little, except that Rabelais's interest and use of the occult was a growing one. However, even here, a distinction might be made between P., G. and the last three books, where usage is much more pronounced. Especially in C.L., occultism comes into its own.

This leads on to the second point - the roles of the various occult traditions in Rabelais. The Itinerarium, it has been proposed, begins in T.L., and the allegory of Itinerarium necessitates recourse to traditions of occultism which depict the same progress to fulfilment. The need to decide to undertake the spiritual journey also brings in divination. Many occult references in T.L., Q.L., and C.L. may be related to the Itinerarium, but need not be in every case. Alchemy may exist in P. and G., but this does not mean the Itinerarium started there; the symbols of alchemy exist separately from the process of refinement. Similarly, Rabelais has an interest in aspects of divination

and numerology unrelated to the marriage question, and references to both of these are often to be found as mere asides.

Nevertheless, once the question of Panurge has been put in T.L. there is a noticeable surge in definite and probable allusions to occult systems which have a bearing on the Itinerarium as the narrative requires them. Divination dominates T.L., alchemy the peregrinatio of Q.L. and all systems gain new importance in the context of C.L., the goal of the Itinerarium.

2 The nature of alchemy, tarot and the Mysteries in Rabelais

Alchemy pre-exists the Itinerarium in Rabelais in that the symbols of alchemy may be related to the key characters before any process of refinement is begun. There is every reason to suspect that Rabelais had no clear picture of how he would weave alchemy into the theme of his later work when he endowed Gargantua and Pantagruel with their saltiness, Panurge with his spark of nobility of nature. Because of this, perhaps there are difficulties in assigning alchemical roles in the later work. If Pantagruel and Gargantua are Salt, who is the alchemist who leads the materia prima to perfection? Perhaps Maître Alcofribas, the abstractor, who has quietly followed the progress of the company to their goal.

Panurge is at the one time the materia prima which must be purged of its dross to become the Philosopher's Stone, with power to transform all matter to perfection; the Fool of the tarot who moves to the perfection of the world (Mandala, or The World); and the initiate of the Mysteries who surpasses all classical initiates by becoming his own priest, in direct contact with his God.

3 The use of divination by Rabelais

Panurge pursues divinatory methods in order to know the truth of his nature (and thereby a proper guide to action in terms of that nature). While purely classical methods are inadequate to provide sureness, it is a Christianised oracle (the Dive Bouteille) which finally demonstrates the true nature of divination by revealing the true nature of the world and of himself to Panurge. A syncretism of the means to understanding, both Christian and pre-Christian, is necessary.

Just as the Old Testament is an aid in the exegesis of the New, so Panurge may use pagan wisdom in his search for truth. The greatest proportion of pagan occult references (excluding number symbols) are concerned with divination, of which Rabelais shows a wide knowledge. Astrological allusions are to be found everywhere in the work, and betray a lifetime's interest on the part of Rabelais. Similarly, very rarely is a major character introduced without a physiognomical portrait. Nearly every known method of divination is introduced somewhere in Le Tiers Livre.

The occult arts of divination focus attention on the metaphysical world where all truth is harboured, and so serve to forward the allegory. However they are inadequate to fully answer the question of Panurge ("s'il se doibt marier")¹ to his satisfaction. This may be taken to underline the moral nature of Panurge's perplexity, for divination has jurisdiction over the physical, but not the moral. For example, Astrology can not with sureness predict that a man will do evil. That is within the jurisdiction of free-will. Divination is an illicit short-cut in matters of the will, and Panurge's perplexity centres on his inability to discern a right guide to action. He is unsure of his will.

This missing ingredient in all divination, one which causes Panurge to reject all except the word of the Dive Bouteille, is made up by the water of the Fountain,² "Notez, amis, que de vin divin on devient,

et n'y a argument tant seur, ny art de divination moins fallace." "Car pouvoir il a d'emplir l'ame de toute verite, tout savoir et philosophie." In effect, the influx of the Divine replaces and displaces the chaotic will of Panurge. He ingests the Divine Will. At this point, with all its Christian significance, the problem of the will is dissolved. God's will and Panurge's will become the same.

4 Number symbolism in Rabelais

Rabelais's numbers may be either mathematical or ideal. Ideal numbers increase as the seemingly real world is left behind and the world of types is entered (Le Quart Livre, Le Cinquiesme Livre.) Rabelaisian numerology borrows from all known systems.

Rabelais's numbers have been categorised according to his probable intentions. Some are given for their comical incongruity and some are ordinary enumeration. Others however carry on important weight of symbolism which may be related in a functional way to the theme of Itinerarium. In its nature of pure symbolism, numerology maintains, especially during the last three books, the necessary atmosphere of free-flow between the worlds of Above and Below. As has been noted above, there is a surge in the frequency of the so-called divine numbers when the Temple precincts are reached, and indeed of numbers generally in Le Quart Livre and Le Cinquiesme Livre. The reason for this may be that these later books describe a world increasingly removed from reality.

The number systems agree to a large extent on the symbolism of certain numbers under 10. The legacy of Pythagoreanism and Platonism has branded the even numbers

as in some way inferior to the odd, but this is sometimes forgotten when considering the symbolic value of 10 or of the ambivalent 6. The numbers 3 and 10 are always considered to have something of the divine in them, and figure frequently in the later three books. 5 and 6 are generally considered marriage numbers, and Rabelais often uses them with this connotation in mind. The number 2 is conspicuous for its few references, as is 8. These are evil numbers, generally.

5 The Itinerarium

This thesis has sought to conduct an investigation of the occult in Rabelais under the three headings Alchemy, Divination and Numerology. To do so within a logical framework it has proposed a level of allegory existing in developed form in the last three books but with roots in Pantagruel and Gargantua, to which these aspects of the occult might adequately be related. This allegory concerns the perfectability of man, and it has been proposed that the theory may be extended to encompass universal perfectibility. Not only is man in a state of sad disorder, but all elements of the hierarchical procession share this disorder. For the health of man, the health of states and the reconciliation of the fallen world to its Creator there has been assigned a single remedy; the pursuit of wisdom. In his book Concerning the Nature of Things, Paracelsus shows both the possibilities of man and his dynamic role in the transformation of the universe:³

"Who then would bear so disgraceful a slavery and not extricate himself from so squalid a prison? For by bringing to bear his own wisdom, and with the help of his star, anyone can free himself." To this he adds:

"The Star of the Microcosm governs and subdues the celestial star." Man is potentially in control of his own destiny and that of the universe. God has appointed him His helpmate.

Given that the whole universe consists in replication of a limited number of Forms in various hierarchical orders, it may be stated that observation of personal shortcomings will be echoed in an awareness of the universal taint, for man is himself the true Quintessence, the nucleus and the place of the essences and properties of all things in the universal world. "He formed man according to His image."⁴ The understanding that the remedy to the cosmic disaster known as the Fall will be found in Time (when Jesus will render up to His Father a world free from all mutability) allows man an optimism which might not otherwise exist. Perfection is possible. It is to be attained by man in the only way possible to his nature, which is, by consideration of things, and, through them, their Creator.

6 How a study of the occult in Rabelais supports a claim for authenticity of chapters 33 - 47 of Le Cinquiesme Livre

The last chapters of Le Cinquiesme Livre have a thematic importance pointed by occult references which may render more valid the supposition of their authenticity. On the other hand, clumsy use of the occult in other chapters may indicate the reverse. There also remains the possibility that the pronounced nature of the number symbolism evident in the last fourteen chapters of the last book might be fortuitous, a result perhaps of heavy borrowing from Francesco Colonna by the compiler.

Colonna's interest in number symbolism is evident in his Hypnerotomachia Poliphili.

7 The occult in Rabelais is not esoteric

From an analysis of his occult references it seems there is nothing esoteric in the narrow sense in his work. The 'secrets' are not masonic. In fact they are not secrets at all, but supportive of a theme taken from the mainstream of medieval mysticism. It is not necessary to understand the meaning of the few really arcane symbols in the work, (such as Tau, Y, the Seal of Solomon) to grasp the symbolic meaning of the later work. Augustine and Aquinas would have understood Rabelais as clearly as might an alchemist. It was not necessary to be an adept to follow Rabelaisian thought, indeed a certain refining simplicity of mind was called for. He had taken something common to the most esoteric arts and the most usual religious mysticism, and used that as his theme. It was plain that man was in a state of disorder. The solution lay therefore in promoting order, and the best means of doing this was by promoting interaction between man and the World of Forms, where true order prevails. From the alchemical bone Rabelais extracted the marrow, which is the process of refinement. The occult arts of divination and numerology, pointing as they do always to the perfection of higher things, are useful in supporting a theme of perfectability.

By the time of the writing of Le Tiers Livre Rabelais appears to have discovered the safety inherent in ambiguity, just as the priests of Apollo had discovered it so long before. Ambiguously and in mock-seriousness Rabelais could make religious points without danger of offending either party in the great debate. His ideas are not hidden, merely mixed with so many contrary and extraneous ideas that only one who is tuned to a

metaphysical level will discern them amidst the mass.

Rabelais's later books are an image of the world. The seeming chaos contains elements of order. Just as Augustine's traveller is bidden to look beneath the appearances of things to find their true significance as products of the Creator (see p.15), so must the reader of Rabelais pick from disorder the pearls strewn everywhere.

Notes

- 1 T.L. Ch 9 title
- 2 C.L. Ch 45 p.453
- 3 Paracelsus, Hermetic and Alchemical Writings
(London : Elliott, 1894), A.E. Waite translation.
vol. 1 p.176 Concerning the Nature of Things
- 4 Paracelsus, *ibid*, The Aurora of the Philosophers
vol. 1 52 Ch 5, note.

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How Divination and Numerology work together to support Rabelais's meaning in the Sibyl Episode (T.L. Ch 16-18).

This exercise represents an attempt to demonstrate the way the different components of the occult work together in a given episode to give the Rabelaisian meaning. The Sibyl Episode of Le Tiers Livre has been chosen because it incorporates in a small area to a remarkable degree elements both of the occult and of allegory in a consultation which is central to the development of the Rabelaisian narrative as it evolves in the work. Despite appearances of a new start in Le Tiers Livre with the coming to light of the question of Panurge's marriage, it will be shown by reference to certain occult symbols that Rabelais is in effect supplying an aspect of continuity with the earlier books while at the same time using divination to point forward to his conclusion and the goal of Panurge. The exercise is limited in that while Rabelais's sibyl of the consultation episode is important to the extent that she represents with unusual clarity the significance of divination, she remains only one of a series of such consultants. Moreover, this exposition will not attempt to cover except in cursory fashion larger problems (such as Rabelais's allegorical intention) which have been treated in the thesis. The Sibylle de Panzoust with whom this article will largely deal (although she will be related to the other sibyl mentioned by Rabelais; see T.L. Ch 47) is not the first or only divinatory source to which Panurge is led, after taking counsel of Pantagruel (T.L. Ch 9) on the question of whether he should marry or not. They consider the Virgilian Lots (T.L. Ch 12), Oneiromancy (Ch 13), and only then progress to a consultation of the Sibylle de Panzoust after a discussion of the Caballe monastique (Ch 15). After the sibyl, Panurge is led to consult a dumb man, (Nazdecabre, Ch 20); an old poet, (Raminagrobis, Ch 21); Epistemon, (Ch 24); a magician, (Her Trippa, Ch 25) and Frere Jan (Ch 26). Afterwards, Pantagruel assembles together a theologian, a doctor and a philosopher to give advice on the matter.

The lawyer who is also expected (Bridoye) is otherwise engaged (Ch 36), so Panurge asks counsel of a fool, (Triboullet, Ch 45) after a long digression on the Bridoye affair, by Pantagruel. With hindsight, the meaning of these meetings becomes clear. As a director of action the human will (voluntas) needs reason; thelema does not. How will Panurge find the data on which his reason may work? The consultations are an attempt to do this which fails as all oracles fail because they need the interpretation of the reason.

The Sibylle de Panzoust embodies one of a series, then, of divinatory and other methods which Panurge utilises in his search for an answer to his problem - should he marry or not? This episode, however, stands out from the rest because of the boldness with which Rabelais uses his knowledge of numerology and its apparent value in supporting his meaning as well as providing an atmosphere, coupled with a sureness of hand in the treatment of the sibyl herself which makes her a pattern for other figures in the search for a resolution of Panurge's difficulty through divination. Her prediction, partly gained and supported by the use of ritual numbers and various occult symbols, does not convince Panurge so much as establish and concretise his doubts, thereby pointing the way towards conviction.

In the early part of Le Tiers Livre Panurge has sought advice from Pantagruel to know whether he should marry.¹ Pantagruel immediately distinguishes the problem as one of the will: "-Puis (respondit Pantagruel) qu'une foyz en avez jecté le dez, et ainsi l'avez decreté et prins en ferme deliberation, plus parler n'en fault, reste seulement la mettre à execution."² Of course, the will to marry is the one thing Panurge lacks. He has not by any means at this stage brought his earthly will (voluntas) to harmony with divine will (thelema). His answers to Pantagruel's wise advice are all preceded by expressions of his uncertainty: "Voyre mais..." "Mais..." "Voire mais..." "Mais si...,"³ a tissue of buts. On the basis of these doubts

Pantagruel can build nothing firm. He says:⁴ "-Aussi (respondit Pantagruel) en vos propositions tant y a de si et de mais, que je n'y sçaurois rien fonder ne rien resouldre. N'estez vous asceuré de vostre vouloir? Le point principal y gist: tout le reste est fortuit, et dependent des fatales dispositions du ciel." In this statement, Rabelais has Pantagruel neatly encapsulate the problem. In matters concerning the future, the answer may be found in two quarters: the will of man and the will of heaven (vouloir and ciel). In this important statement the boundaries between the action of the human will and Providence are defined. But the meaning of ciel is ambiguous. In traditional terms, the distinction has always been made between the jurisdiction of judicial astrology and the human will. In this sense, the will has always been considered paramount, or in the old phrase, 'the stars follow, they do not compel' (non cogunt). Only when the will is weak will the stars compel any action. For example, no man can read in the heavens that he will commit a murder, and then be unable to stop himself doing it. The vouloir must come first, and only le reste is left to chance, and depends on the fateful dispositions of the sky. However, secondly, ciel may be interpreted as Providence, and as such it may not be gainsaid. Man's duty is clearly to conform to the designs of providence, but it is also clear that man has no ability to discern such designs, since God does not disclose his plans for the individual except in as much as we are provided with an example of behaviour in His Son, as portrayed in the Bible, to which we should conform. Similarly, Panurge is provided with an example to which he may conform; that is, to Pantagruel, who accepts implicitly that he must follow his father's will in the matter of marriage. This pattern or exemplum is not offered to Panurge until the end of Le Tiers Livre (Ch 48), where it appears to offer a reinforcement to Panurge's nascent faith in a providential solution to his difficulty. There is a parallel here between the significance of Pantagruel and his actions to Panurge and the significance of alchemy to man. Just as Pantagruel offers to Panurge an example

of compliance with a will superior to his own, so too does alchemy offer to man a bridge or link with a reality which is perhaps beyond his reach. The problem of the will has arisen because Panurge lacks faith, and his lack of faith is a symptom of the distance between himself and his Creator. This lack may be made good, it is proposed, by Panurge's coming to an awareness of the hierarchy which stretches from bottom to top of creation, and which is interrelated. While he can not see the top of the chain, he can see the next step up from himself, and fashion himself accordingly.

Pantagruel, out of love for Panurge "L'amour que je vous porte inveteré par succession de longs temps me sollicite de penser à vostre bien et profict"⁴ advises him on several courses, the third of which is to visit "une Sibylle tresinsigne".⁵ This episode brings together several aspects of the occult, especially divination and numerology, to support the Rabelaisian meaning. There are few instances outside the last book where numerological values are so constant.

The sibyl reflects by her nature the ambiguity of the method. She is a pure example of the mingling of the extremes of Above and Below in one creature - an exaggerated archetype of man. In person the sibyl of Panzoust is dirty, slovenly and hideous, yet as sibyl she is the chosen vessel of Apollo. She is at once foulness and divine light. Before seeing her, Epistemon expresses doubt: "-C'est (dist Epistemon) par adventure une Canidie, une Sagane, une phitonesse et sorciere... Je n'iray pas volontiers. La chose est illicite et defendue en la loy de Moses."⁶ He fears she may be only a black magician. Pantagruel however soothes him on the basis of her reputation as a wise woman, and on the grounds that divine truth may be found anywhere - even, it is understood, in the lowest forms of creation. Epistemon capitulates to Pantagruel's and Panurge's arguments, with the expressed reservation that he will leave them and the sibyl if she appears to be inspired by the devilish rather than by the divine. He never does so, but rather affirms the justice of Panurge's praise: "Elle est (s'escriva Epistemon) vraye Sibylle",⁷ while Panurge is shocked by her

terrifying appearance. This illustrates the difference between Panurge and Epistemon. Panurge only sees the visible reality - in this ugliness - while Epistemon is aware of the sibyl's spiritual power. She is a true sibyl, similar to the sibyl of Aeneas mentioned by Panurge (T.L. Ch 47) in response to Pantagruel's decision that they find "quelque Sibylle pour guyde et truchement" (ibid.) in the classical manner to help them on their journey to their goal, for her scattered message is a guide when properly interpreted, and she stands as an intermediary between Panurge and truth. No second sibyl is needed, Panurge declares, in the next paragraph, since her role will be filled by his friend Xenomanes and by some "docte et utile Lanterne, laquelle leurs seroit pour ce voyage ce que feut la Sibylle à Aeneas, descendente es champs Elisiens".

Like all the divinatory episodes the meeting with the sibyl of Panzoust rests on a frame of ambiguity and ambivalence. The sibyl is repulsive to Panurge in his ignorant fear: "Par la vertus Dieu, je tremble; je croy que je suys charmé; elle ne parle point christian."⁸ But, as we have seen, she represents a divine seer to Epistemon. Her answer to Panurge's request for advice, arrived at by sundry divinatory methods, is not to be pinned down. While it may not be true that "Le contraire est veritable"⁹ it is at all events possible, given the possible recombinations of her verse answers, written on eight leaves and scattered before Panurge collects them (in his own order) and reads them. May not

"T'esgoussera
De renom.
Engroissera
De toy non.
Te sugsera
Le bon bout.
T'escorchera
Mais non tout."¹⁰

be recombined in other ways?

(Possibly: Le bon bout
 Te sugsera,
 T'escorchera
 De toy non.
 Engroissera
 De renom,
 T'esgoussera
 Mais non tout."

My translation: The good end (i.e. God)
 Will draw you up,
 It will flay you
 But not from yourself, (see the myth of Marsyas)
 It will become greater
 With fame,
 It will take you from yourself
 But not completely.)

Such a recombination as stated would fit well with the concept of Itinerarium mentis in Deum which it is proposed is basic to the Rabelaisian allegory. But the ambiguity of her message is part and parcel of the extremes of her being. Epistemon and Pantagruel choose to believe her as divine oracle. Panurge refuses to believe an ugly hag's nonsense, at least as it is interpreted for him. His own interpretation he allows.

The passage (T.L. Ch.17) is rich with symbols and possible symbols. There may be tree-symbolism with druidic as well as classical roots in the mention of "un grand et ample chastaignier" and "un sycomore antique", and other plant symbols may include "un potage de choux verds" (for the Romans considered cabbage to be magical and capable of curing any ill) "trois coques de noix" (for nuts and nut-trees are the emblems of witchcraft) as well as "de bruiere" and "un rameau de laurier sec. There may be significance in the various colours mentioned: "La vieille... faisoit un potaige de choux verds avecques une couane de lard jausne et un vieil savorados. "Verd et bleu!

(dist Epistemon) nous avons failly! Nous ne aurons d'elle responce aulcune, car nous n'avons le rameau d'or." Of these colours, gold is certainly important; as it is elsewhere equated with Christ. Others may be used to produce black-magical travesties of religious oaths, such as Verd et bleu for Mere de Dieu (see also, Ch 17, p.473 "Par la vertus Dieu"). Garbled oaths abound, and are sometimes difficult to interpret. One may cite Panurge's expression "Par le sambre guoy de bois" (sombre goy de bois?) which may mean "par le sang de Dieu". These may not be black magical as such inversions and garblings are common in Rabelais.

Numbers have a significance in Rabelais which may or may not be connected directly to the proposed allegory and to the marriage question. They may in fact be used to promote an atmosphere of occultism. This episode appears to have examples of both kinds of numbers. Of all numbers mentioned, the 3 stands out for frequency of use. In the text of chapter 17 (the actual visit to the sibyl) the numbers are as follows:

troys journées	Line I
la troizieme	I
six langues de beuf fumées (among 5 gifts)	31
troys vieulx fuseaulx	43
les deux aultres (of three)	46
par neuf foys	47
au neufvieme tour	48
trois carolus	57
trois coques de noix	58
trois tours de balay	59
par trois foys	84
huyct (feuilles)	84

The 3 which occurs so often is a divine, male and magical number, of which 9 is the perfected, squared form. However 9 is ambivalent and potentially evil. This is said to be because 9 falls short of the divine 10 which is true unity in the Pythagorean sense (see thesis p.322-3). The sibyl's actions involve 3 and 9

to show their magical nature, their religious significance, and also to show the danger inherent in such dabbling. 8 is the number of salvation and is extremely rare in Rabelais outside of certain combinations in which it occurs (78, 79.000). The sibyl writes her prophecy on 8 leaves, then scatters them to the winds: that is, to Providence. A parallel may be made here between Bridoye's use of dice and the sibyl's use of the winds. Scattering the leaves is a recourse to faith, and circumvents the problem and the exercise of the will.

Panurge gives 6 smoked tongues - at the visible, obvious level he is seeking to know whether his physical marriage will be a success. However it is to be noted that there are 5 different gifts. Perhaps on the second level a spiritual marriage is being contemplated, and 5 gifts subtly underlines this intention.

It would be pleasant to see immediate correspondences between Rabelais's overt use of number symbols here and in other parts of the work (the number 3 does occur very regularly in the episode of La Quinte in Le Cinquiesme Livre) however it must be admitted that such use is fitful. What remains clear is that Rabelais knew the occult values of certain numbers and on occasion used them freely both to provide an atmosphere of occultism and to support his allegorical intentions. In the context of Le Tiers Livre number symbolism adds to our understanding of the divine nature of the sibyl of Panzoust's inspiration, and of the possible dangers of divine possession. The sibyl herself, because of her nature (a combination of extremes, obscene hag and divine seer) emphasises the tension of opposites which is the human lot and suggests a possible resolution to Panurge's dilemma in divinely inspired furor, a pattern he will follow at the Dive Bouteille.¹¹ By her scattering of the leaves which contain her answer to the mercy of the winds, the sibyl points to providence as a solution to Panurge's perplexity and by this single action suggests the outcome of his journey.

Notes

- 1 T.L. Ch 9 p.437
- 2 ibid.
- 3 T.L. Ch 9 p.437-440
- 4 T.L. Ch 16 p.467
- 5 ibid.
- 6 ibid.
- 7 T.L. Ch 17 p.471
- 8 T.L. Ch 17 p.473
- 9 T.L. Ch 18 p.475
- 10 T.L. Ch 17 p.474
- 11 C.L. Ch 44

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