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THE LANGUAGE OF INTENSITY AND THE APPEAL TO THE VISUAL IMAGINATION  
IN AGRIPPA D'AUBIGNÉ'S LES TRAGIQUES

ABSTRACT

This thesis explores in some detail a number of d'Aubigné's stylistic procedures in the Tragiques, and shows how the diverse resources of the epithet, the degrees of comparison, intensive adverbs, strong negatives with other totalitarian words and expressions, the word-pair, enumeration, repetition, antithesis and the appeal to the visual imagination all contribute to the emotional impact of the work. The vital rôles played by sound, rhythm and prosody are examined, and, throughout, style is shown to echo sense. Since style also reflects the author's particular background, some attention is paid to the theological and Humanist influences which mould and shape d'Aubigné's thought and poetry.

THE LANGUAGE OF INTENSITY AND THE APPEAL TO THE VISUAL IMAGINATION

IN AGRIPPA D'AUBIGNÉ'S LES TRAGIQUES

A thesis  
presented to  
The University of St. Andrews  
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DECLARATION

I declare that this thesis has been composed by me and that the work of which it is a record has been my own. It has not been submitted for any other degree either in the University of St. Andrews or elsewhere.

### STATEMENT OF RESEARCH

My initial research was carried out in the University of St. Andrews between October 1970 and June 1971, and was followed by a second period of full-time work from January 1973 to March 1974, using the facilities of the Queen's University of Belfast. The thesis has been completed by part-time study in Belfast and St. Andrews.

SUPERVISOR'S STATEMENT

I certify that the candidate has fulfilled the conditions of the Resolution and Regulations relevant to the degree of Bachelor of Philosophy in Arts.

## INTRODUCTION

My aim in this study of the Tragiques is not the rehabilitation of an unknown work or the reinstatement of an obscure author. Since the nineteenth century d'Aubigné has been recognized as an important figure in the sixteenth-century literary landscape, whilst in the last few decades the Tragiques in particular have not wanted for champions.

This was not always the case. On its first publication in 1616 the poem was already out of tune with the times, a fact of which d'Aubigné was to some extent aware:-

Que voulez-vous que j'espere parmi ces coeurs abastardis,<sup>1</sup>  
sinon que de voir mon livre jetté aux ordures avec celui  
de l'Estat de l'Eglise, l'alethye, le Resveille-matin, la  
Legande Sainte Catherine, et autres de cette sorte? Je  
gagneray une place au roolle des fols et de plus le nom  
de turbulent, de republicain.

Seventeenth-century France, Catholic and monarchist, had indeed no place for such a work. It seems to have been cold-shouldered by its critics, amongst whom was d'Aubigné's militantly Catholic granddaughter Madame de Maintenon, and the period has been well named "le purgatoire des Tragiques".<sup>2</sup>

In the eighteenth century the poem fared little better. D'Aubigné, perhaps understandably, continued to be regarded by Catholics as an irreverent cynic, whilst for the "philosophes" he was a religious fanatic not worth serious consideration. The standard treatment tended to be a few lines of vague, colourless and not always accurate biography.<sup>3</sup>

Fresh impetus was given to sixteenth-century studies in general with the announcement in 1826 of the topic set by the Académie Française for their prix d'éloquence of the following year, a "discours sur la marche et le progrès de la littérature française depuis le commencement du seizième siècle jusqu'en 1610". The date is significant in d'Aubigné studies, since it was Sainte-Beuve's reading for this prize-competition that first brought to his attention the author of the Tragiques.<sup>4</sup> His research bore fruit not in an address to the Académie, but in the impressive Tableau historique et critique de la poésie française au seizième siècle, several pages of which were devoted to d'Aubigné's hitherto unacknowledged masterpiece.<sup>5</sup> It must have been with singular satisfaction that on 17 July 1854 he was able to introduce his weekly column in the Globe with the words, "Il y a depuis quelque temps comme un concours ouvert sur d'Aubigné".<sup>6</sup>

Sainte-Beuve's chief concern, as ever, lay with the man behind the work, and this seemed to provide the pattern for critics to come. Sainte-Beuve had predicted in 1854 that soon "on aura tout dit sur lui, et pour et contre, et alentour",<sup>7</sup> yet - doubtless because the life and work are so inextricably tied up - the growing corpus of d'Aubigné criticism continued for some time to be heavily biographical in emphasis. Feugère in his portrait<sup>8</sup> stressed d'Aubigné the hero, and, taking his cue from Sainte-Beuve,<sup>9</sup> the representative par excellence of his age. Réaume's more rounded biography<sup>10</sup> was an attempt to explain the silence of previous centuries and the approval of his own through an examination of d'Aubigné's character and career. The love affair with Diane Salviati claimed the

attention of Monod,<sup>11</sup> whilst Rocheblave<sup>12</sup> returned to d'Aubigné the hero and representative of his times, justifying his approach with the statement, "Si jamais biographie fut indispensable à connaître . . . c'est bien celle de l'auteur . . . des Tragiques."<sup>13</sup> The definitive work, Garnier's Agrippa d'Aubigné et le parti protestant (1928), did not pose as a literary study, but its findings (many of them incorporated in the 1932-33 edition of the Tragiques, which Garnier produced along with Plattard) were to prove invaluable to later critics.

The early seiziémistes did not totally ignore the poetry of the work, but even the most sympathetic were cautious in their praise. Feugère, for example, noted appreciatively d'Aubigné's use of personification, repetition, antithesis (including oxymoron) and paronomasia, but deplored the absence of élégance, grâce, mesure: Lenient too singled out his exploitation of antithesis as also of hyperbole, earthy language, and irony, but declared the Tragiques to be a work "inégal et incomplet",<sup>14</sup> "pas encore la statue, mais . . . la matière en fusion, que le génie de l'artiste doit faire couler dans le moule, façonner et polir, pour en tirer un chef-d'oeuvre".<sup>15</sup> Faguet on the other hand, violently out of sympathy with this "grand journaliste . . . en vers",<sup>16</sup> dismissed the work with its accumulative devices and ever-recurring allegories and personifications as nothing more than "le triomphe de la rhétorique".<sup>17</sup>

The first monograph devoted entirely to the poetry came in 1904 with Trénel's Elément biblique dans l'oeuvre poétique d'Agrippa d'Aubigné: the bulk of examples was drawn from the Tragiques. Five years later came Schwerd's Vergleich, Metapher und Allegorie

in den "Tragiques" des Agrippa d'Aubigné. These should have been valuable in that they isolated particular features and focused attention on the text of the Tragiques, yet after Schwerd there was a dearth of significant style-criticism for forty-odd years. Perhaps Trénel and Schwerd published at an unpropitious moment in history - literary research was greatly restricted by two world wars - but one suspects too that the inventory-type study which avoids interpretation or evaluation is basically a sterile and unproductive form.

Interest in the Tragiques was revived and stimulated in the 1950s by the appearance of two studies, both called Agrippa d'Aubigné's Les Tragiques. Buffum's work (1951), subtitled "A study of the baroque style in poetry", shared some of the assumptions of d'Aubigné's earlier critics, namely that d'Aubigné was the perfect representative of his age and that the Tragiques formed a parallel to the actions of his life, but its approach to stylistic matters, governed as it was by the presupposition that style and spirit were closely related, was something new. Whereas for a Feugère or a Faguet d'Aubigné's various poetic devices had been ornaments or excrescences, for Buffum they were "of fundamental importance for the understanding of this particular poet".<sup>18</sup> Indeed in his attempt to characterize the baroque style in literature through this analysis of the Tragiques, Buffum "isolated virtually all of what must be considered the most striking and the most characteristic elements of style"<sup>19</sup> - as Sauerwein, the author of the second key study, generously pointed out. Sauerwein, following Spitzer's method of close textual analysis, set himself to investigate the structure and cohesion of the Tragiques. He concluded that d'Aubigné was a conscious artist, particularly in his use of recurrent key-words with symbolic overtones, and demonstrated



the alignment of these different "clusters" to form the powerful emotional antithesis nature / desnature. D'Aubigné's style, Sauerwein claimed, owed much to the methodology of Calvinist exegesis.

A chapter devoted to the Tragiques in Weber's Création poétique<sup>20</sup> situated d'Aubigné's poem even more firmly in the Huguenot tradition. Weber saw the formal aspects of the Tragiques as being determined not so much by a baroque love of contrast as by the religious and political struggles of his day, and in a later article<sup>21</sup> he demonstrated by extensive quotation the close links that existed between the poetry of the Tragiques and the poetry of contemporary Protestant polemic.

I am most heavily indebted to these last three studies - and particularly to those of Buffum and Weber - for part of the substance of the following pages.<sup>22</sup> It was Buffum's attention to enumeration and repetition that convinced me of the value of examining specific devices in the Tragiques. The terms of reference of Buffum's work, however, led him at times to emphasize the presence in number of certain stylistic dominants rather than their specific function within the poem. Thus it is that many examples of enumeration, for example, which cry out for analysis, are listed with little or no comment as instances of a particular baroque indicator, sketchy remarks about "mere decoration" or "four insults (being) stronger than one"<sup>23</sup> giving the unfortunate, albeit momentary impression that Buffum underestimates d'Aubigné's artistry. Many valuable comments on formal matters are contributed by Weber, but these are scattered, often coming as tantalizing asides in the course of his primary

investigation into the respective rôles in the poem of tradition and creativity. My aim is to amplify the findings of these scholars in the fields of enumeration, repetition, antithesis and the appeal to the visual imagination, and, in what will perhaps constitute the most original part of my research, to develop and extend their stylistic investigations under the headings of the epithet, the degrees of comparison and other devices of intensity, and the word-pair.

## CHAPTER 1 - THE EPITHET

The reader coming fresh to the Tragiques soon notices the very high proportion of epithets used by d'Aubigné in relation to other parts of speech. In large tracts of the poem there is scarcely a noun without its epithet. Fontanier's definition suggests some of the functions we might expect that device to fulfil:-

L'épithète est un adjectif quelconque, ou simple, ou participe,<sup>1</sup> que l'on ajoute à un substantif, non pas précisément pour en déterminer ou en compléter l'idée principale, mais pour la caractériser plus particulièrement, et la rendre plus saillante, plus sensible ou plus énergique.

Often d'Aubigné's epithets seem to be highlighting his own peculiar viewpoint, adding depth and detail to existing concepts and subtly influencing the rhythmic structure.

It was, of course, no new thing for a poet to exploit 'l'inépuisable matériel des adjectifs'.<sup>2</sup> From Aristotle's Rhetoric<sup>3</sup> onwards, theoreticians of poetry and rhetoric had noted the human tendency to use epithets freely under the stress of emotion. This condensed form of expression, rich in descriptive force, was seen to enhance a style which otherwise would have appeared bare and inelegant. It was one of the devices through which (to quote the English Renaissance scholar and stylist Thomas Wilson):-

Elocution getteth words to set forth invention, and with such<sup>4</sup> beautie commendeth the matter that reason seemeth to be clad in Purple, walking afore both bare and naked.

Throughout the early years of the sixteenth century the Grands Rhétoriciens, in their unrelenting quest of formal perfection and their constant effort to enrich the French language, devoted

considerable attention to the uses of the epithet, exploiting it often to the point of abuse. Stylistic rhetoric too, a vital element in the Humanist curriculum,<sup>5</sup> encouraged a careful examination of literary artifices, especially those of the rediscovered masters of classical rhetoric and poetry. Manuals like Erasmus' De copia or the Latin grammar of Despauterius abounded, but other so-called 'treatises' were often no more than dictionaries of stylistic devices. Proof of an interest in the particular device we are considering is the existence of one such book of reference, a lexicon of epithets compiled by the French scholar Ravisius Textor in 1518, which went into numerous editions within a few years of publication.<sup>6</sup> In the generation preceding d'Aubigné the epithet was prominent in both the artistic and the critical writings of the Pléiade. Dismissing rather peremptorily his immediate predecessors, Du Bellay urged:-

Quand aux epithetes, qui sont en notz poetes francoys la<sup>7</sup>  
plus grand' part ou froids ou ocieux ou mal a propos, je  
veux que tu en uses de sorte que sans eux ce que tu diras  
seroit beaucoup moindre,

whilst Ronsard also thought it good to give specific advice on the epithet to the would-be practitioner of the poetic arts:-

Tes epithetes seront recherchez pour signifier, et non<sup>8</sup>  
pour remplir ton carme, ou pour estre oyseux en ton vers.

The epithet was thus never to be used for mere padding: rhythm was to remain sub-ordinate to meaning, and excessive repetition was prohibited.<sup>9</sup>

To mention the literary influences of the Rhétoriciens, of rhetorical training, or of the Pléiade poets without considering the possible effects on d'Aubigné of the religious atmosphere in

which he moved, would be to make a serious omission indeed. A brief look at some examples of both liturgical and non-liturgical Calvinist literature suggests that its impression was by no means negligible. The General Confession is loaded with emotive epithets. I quote the opening admissions only:-

Seigneur Dieu, père éternel et tout-puissant, nous confessons<sup>10</sup> sons feintise, devant ta Sainte Majesté, que nous sommes pauvres pécheurs, concus et nés en iniquité et corruption, enclins à mal faire, intuelles à tout bien, et que par notre vice nous transgressons sons fin, et sans cesse tes saints commandments. En quoi faisant, nous acquérons par ton juste jugement, ruine et perdition sur nous . . .

When we come to the widely-used psalm paraphrases of Marot<sup>11</sup> the epithet is again much in evidence. As Michel Jeanneret points out,<sup>12</sup> this may result from the purely technical exigencies of fitting a prose translation into a poetic mould. Certainly some padding is to be found, and on occasion it is the epithet which supplies it, filling out the line and giving, for example, la maison d'Aaron ancienne in Psalm 118:2 for la maison d'Aaron and le bras robuste for la dextre of verse 5. Yet the epithets are not always lacking in originality - Marot is too great a poet for this to be the case, even when scrupulous fidelity to his original is called for. He does not hesitate to amplify certain key concepts ad maiorem Dei gloriam, so that in the paraphrase it is common to find l'Eternel transformed into le Tout-puissant or le grand Dieu des merveilles (Psalm 118:6, 12), son saint nom into son nom tressaint et accompli (Psalm 103:1), or notre Dieu into notre Dieu tout parfait (Psalm 115:3). In Psalm 8 the poet's personal devotion is warmly expressed in a concentration of emotive epithets absent from the Hebrew text:-

O nostre Dieu et Seigneur amiable,  
Comme à bon droict est grand et admirable  
L'excellent bruit de ton Nom precieux,  
Par tout ce val terrestre spacieux!

In original Calvinist poetry, where there is obviously complete freedom of expression, we find that the noun/epithet group is likewise extremely common. We may illustrate this from the Chansonnier huguenot in the hortatory lines of the anonymous Chant de la guerre civile sur l'association et prise d'armes of 1562:-

Sus donc, hommes pleins de vaillance!  
Faisons une sainte alliance  
Obligeons nostre pure foy  
A deffendre de Dieu la loy.  
Nous ne joignons nos mains fideles  
Pour quelques legeres quereles  
Ny pour un tyrannique effort.  
Une cause plus juste & sainte  
Et une bien prudente crainte  
Nous font entrer en cest accord. 13

We may observe the same characteristic in the mocking introduction to the again anonymous Defence aux injures . . . published in 1564:-

Si jamais on ha veu d'une audace effrenée,<sup>14</sup>  
D'un coeur fier, vomissant une rage obstinée,  
Assaillir l'innocent, et d'un superbe vers,  
Contre luy se jeter à tors et à travers,  
Ores luy presentant une pointe asserée,  
Qu'on vienne voir Ronsard, ce grand guerrier vanteur,  
Cet Athlete poudreux, ce brave belliqueur.

The epithet is such a notable feature of the work of d'Aubigné's near contemporary Du Bartas, that a random quotation from the opening lines of his epic poem Judith (1574) will perhaps suffice to illustrate it:-

Je chante les vertus d'une vaillante vefve,<sup>15</sup>  
Qui pour sauver Jacob trempa le juste glaive  
Dans l'infidele sang du prince assirien  
Qui tenoit assiegé le mur betulien.

What use then does d'Aubigné make of this stylistic device? One of the most notable features of the Tragiques, a feature contributed chiefly by the epithets, is the dogmatism which runs through the work from beginning to end. D'Aubigné has no scruples about pronouncing judgment on people and events. He is uncompromising in his assessments, generous if praise seems merited, strident where his strictures are required. Everything is painted in black and white: for the most part we are not presented with any moral judgments to make or any concessions or compromises to approve. For we have here the language of propaganda, a language which is decisive, selective, tending towards simplicity in its insistence on central issues and its ruthless eradication of the peripheral. It cannot allow itself the luxury of fine distinctions. We are rarely called upon to penetrate the ramifications of contemporary political or theological controversy: the conflict is shown to be deeper than that. Instead d'Aubigné draws us right back to the fountainhead of all murder and violence:-

De Caïn fugitif et d'Abel je veux dire  
 Que le premier bourreau et le premier martyre  
 Le premier sang versé on peut voir en eux deux.<sup>16</sup>

These two men stand in the epic as types of all who are to follow. And the essential difference is succinctly stated:-

L'un fut au gré de Dieu, l'autre non agreable.<sup>17</sup>

The whole poem is developed in terms of this fundamental distinction. He who pleases God is by definition bon, brave, excellent, noble, sage. He who displeases Him cannot be other than coupable, felon, malin, mauvais, meschant, vicieux, vil, vilain, immonde, infame,



infect, inique, louche, ord and pervers. (The poet ensures that all our sympathies are correctly channelled.) Whilst any propaganda might use such epithets to inspire people's reactions, these value judgments are particularly appropriate here: they are, one might almost say, a sine qua non in a work which rests on the thesis that God sees and will finally judge the whole world. As it is:-

il juge dès ici  
Ses bien-aimez enfans, et ses haineux aussi!<sup>18</sup>

And so these epithets fulfil a dual purpose, at once conditioning the reader's moral responses and consistently underlining a key theme of the epic.

An extension of the basic opposition of evil and good can be seen in the contrast between vice and virtue, also largely expressed through appropriate epithets. Fully conscious that condemnation, no matter how vigorous, palls without concrete examples, d'Aubigné seeks to avoid any loss of dramatic impetus through mere repetition, and fills in the picture of vice in full colour. In his desire to convince us of the justice of his judgment, particularly with reference to the abandonnés,<sup>19</sup> this canaille adverse,<sup>20</sup> he appears aware of, and skilfully exploits, the power of the particular. In a world of moral anarchy, his fellow-countryman is desreiglé,<sup>21</sup> desbridé,<sup>22</sup> mutin,<sup>23</sup> and traistre.<sup>24</sup> His critical appraisal is substantiated as he proceeds to inventory each aspect of evil until it seems there is scarcely a crime in the calendar of which his countrymen are not guilty. The seven deadly sins are all present. Pride is not the least of these. Primarily d'Aubigné sees all evil as being enacted against God. This primal sin is a lack of submission



to Him by these insolents, enflez, orgueilleux, affronteurs, superbes, outrucidés, effrontés and vergoigneux. Covetousness and ambition make their appearance in the course of the work. Lust is rampant - especially in high circles, where there are Rois voluptueux,<sup>25</sup> a Pape incestueux<sup>26</sup> and an avocat desbauché.<sup>27</sup> All kinds of debauchery are to be found, from impurity and lack of decency to incest and bigamy. Anger has many manifestations, in the tyrannique poin<sup>28</sup> or in haine violente,<sup>29</sup> and is closely related to the cruelty shown by parricides bastards,<sup>30</sup> artisans cruels<sup>31</sup> and coeurs impiteux:<sup>32</sup> it is demonstrated in l'homicide cousteau,<sup>33</sup> brutal excès,<sup>34</sup> and griffes meurtrieres.<sup>35</sup> Gluttony is suggested in the somptueux apprest<sup>36</sup> for the royal marriages of Condé and Marie de Clèves, of Henri de Navarre and Marguerite de Valois, or again is seen in its liqueurs friandes<sup>37</sup> as a cover for even grosser sins. The young courtier comes up against ignorans envieux,<sup>38</sup> whilst the hard-working peasants suffer the ravages of the faineants ingrats<sup>39</sup> sunk deep in sommeil lethargic.<sup>40</sup>

But there is missing from this catalogue one sin, extra-canonical, yet in d'Aubigné's estimation the sin of sins - falsehood. The regularity with which the epithet faux recurs highlights the theme. Who are infected with falsehood? Kings,<sup>41</sup> prophets,<sup>42</sup> judges,<sup>43</sup> citizens<sup>44</sup> - men from every level of society in this siecle tortu<sup>45</sup> have fallen prey to

le monde et ses mensonges<sup>46</sup>  
Le vent, la vanité.

This burden is not d'Aubigné's alone, nor is it confined to Calvinist writers. Amongst those of the Reformed faith Henri II's repressive policies of the late '40s and the '50s<sup>47</sup> were bound to provoke

antagonism. The note of disenchantment in contemporary French literature however is universal.<sup>48</sup> Much of it may be explained by the financial instability that dogged the whole of the century.<sup>49</sup> Small wonder Frenchmen were filled with pessimism in an age heir to the economic disasters of the Italian wars, as they now witnessed the reckless extravagance of Catherine de Medici and the horror of a seemingly interminable Civil War. The harsh realities of recurrent sack and pillage, crippling taxes and general lawlessness contrasted cruelly with the luxury and fairy-tale brilliance of the Valois court. Even a Royalist like Ronsard must protest:-

L'exterieur domine en tout ce monde icy,<sup>50</sup>  
Et de l'interieur personne n'a soucy.

As the Tragiques demonstrate the court is a counterfeit world, built up around the illusion of words and the illusion of appearances. There chiens flatteurs<sup>51</sup> present le faux agreable<sup>52</sup> in subtiles voix<sup>53</sup> and vocables choisis.<sup>54</sup> They adulate the great with los emmiellé,<sup>55</sup> vergonneuse louange<sup>56</sup> and enorme flatterie.<sup>57</sup> They have learned not only how to enhance the paltry but also how to conceal the shameful, and thus can handle the fine instrument of euphemism with which by noms ingenieux<sup>58</sup> the most blatant immorality can be palliated.<sup>59</sup> As the Huguenots were accustomed to sing in Marot's psalm paraphrase:-

Certes chacun vanité; menteries  
A son prochain dit ordinairement,  
Aux livres n'a l'homme que flateries  
Et disant l'un, son coeur parle autrement.<sup>60</sup>

If words are important at the court, appearances are no less so. The significance attached to costume and cosmetics, for example,

well-authenticated in contemporary literature, makes altogether fitting the narrowing down in many poems of the commonplace 'The world's a stage' to the popular topos 'la cour est un theatre'.<sup>61</sup> The actors on d'Aubigné's stage include mignons parez,<sup>62</sup> une Roine masquee,<sup>63</sup> Ambition donning une perruque feinte,<sup>64</sup> rhymeurs hypocrites,<sup>65</sup> Desguisez,<sup>65</sup> princes fardez,<sup>66</sup> corbeaux enfarinez<sup>67</sup> and muguets parfumez.<sup>68</sup> His blanket condemnation is:-

Ce sont farces et jeux toutes leurs actions.<sup>69</sup>

In the nature of things there is not as much scope for the presentation of goodness as for that of evil. Yet though the list of virtues in the Tragiques is less comprehensive than the list of vices, it is still fairly extensive. In the Calvinist scale of values la rigoureuse verité<sup>70</sup> is pre-eminent, so much so that a present-day writer can speak of 'cette probité' . . . cette droiture . . . cette conscience, qui ont conduit à forger l'expression proverbiale: honnête come un huguenot!'<sup>71</sup> D'Aubigné has to lament the fact that in the present circumstances

Moins vaut l'utile vrai que le faux agreable.<sup>72</sup>

Indeed sham and counterfeit are so widespread that the epithet vrai has constantly to be used as a counterbalance - vrais François,<sup>73</sup> vrais Rois,<sup>74</sup> vrais prophetes,<sup>75</sup> vrais soldats,<sup>76</sup> vray juge,<sup>77</sup> vrais chrestiens,<sup>78</sup> le vrai honneur,<sup>79</sup> etc. The related epithet véritable reinforces the theme - veritables songes,<sup>80</sup> la veritable histoire,<sup>81</sup> le veritable Dieu,<sup>82</sup> la veritable voix,<sup>83</sup> veritables portraits.<sup>84</sup> The droites allees<sup>85</sup> of the peasants are symbolic of their integrity, as the droicturieres mains of the following line makes abundantly

clear. Uprightness is reflected too in le front du juge droit<sup>86</sup> or in Solomon's throsne droit-disant.<sup>87</sup> Truth and purity are often closely related. The Evangelical truth, la verité pure<sup>88</sup> (or les pures veritez<sup>89</sup>) is defended at great cost by the martyrs, in whom the masculine virtues of faithfulness and courage shine the more brightly in a period which saw an ever-growing number of conversions of convenience, the most notable and influential being that of Henry IV himself. Great store is set by the loyalty of fideles amis,<sup>90</sup> ames plus constantes,<sup>91</sup> patiens tesmoins<sup>92</sup> and serviteurs loyaux,<sup>93</sup> and by the bravery of le vaillant Gardiner,<sup>94</sup> le tres-vaillant Montbrun<sup>95</sup> and all valeureux chevaliers.<sup>96</sup> Finally, the concept of justice, as the proliferation of the epithet juste would suggest, is extremely strong. Many are the manifestations of juste colere,<sup>97</sup> justes desirs,<sup>98</sup> juste courroux,<sup>99</sup> juste despit<sup>100</sup> or juste fureur,<sup>101</sup> and whatever the extent of human injustice, goodness must ultimately and inevitably, we feel, be vindicated by a juste Dieu<sup>102</sup> and the juge droit.<sup>103</sup>

All these value judgments are heavily weighted emotionally, but to steer us farther in the right direction d'Aubigné has recourse to another type of epithet, through which he aims to elicit not only our moral but now more specifically our emotional responses. Thus, when we are to be moved to sympathy, we are told (though perhaps we believe we have ourselves decided the issue) that the people are pitoyable,<sup>104</sup> the state of affairs in France piteux,<sup>105</sup> the times lamentable,<sup>106</sup> the constancy of the martyrs admirable<sup>107</sup> and virtue desirable.<sup>108</sup> Similarly, when we are to be roused to indignation, vice is styled horrible,<sup>109</sup> the gibbets to which the martyrs are led execrables,<sup>110</sup> the present reign insupportable.<sup>111</sup>

Nothing, however, can stir us quite as much as the actual sight of another emotionally moved. It is to our shared human experience that d'Aubigné appeals in this further group of adjectives. Very potent allies in his bid to command our emotional responses are the mention of specific moods and dispositions (tranquillity,<sup>112</sup> gravity,<sup>113</sup> sullenness,<sup>114</sup> jealousy<sup>115</sup>) and the constant reference to particular emotional states. Depending on the focus of the poet's lens, anger and fear may evoke sympathetic or hostile reactions. Our wholehearted assent to the divine anger perceived in the threatening rumble of inanimate nature<sup>116</sup> or portrayed in her front ridé<sup>117</sup> may be seen as the obverse of our moral revulsion to man's anger, to the eschauffez,<sup>118</sup> irritez,<sup>119</sup> enragez<sup>120</sup> and furieux<sup>121</sup> of this world. The presentation of fear, an emotion which pervades the atmosphere in forms varying from mere timidity to the wild extremes of panic and despair, may be in the pathetic register, so that we are moved to compassion and pity by the pasles demoiselles<sup>122</sup> of Jane Gray and the frenzied agitation of Rome eschevelee,<sup>123</sup> by the dueil demesuree<sup>124</sup> of the vefve exploree<sup>125</sup> or the tears and groanings of the ames desolees.<sup>126</sup> When we see un Roy transi, effrayé du tonnerre,<sup>127</sup> however, or the vilain tout tremblant, craintif et refronché,<sup>128</sup> we realise that the same emotion can equally well be utilised to reinforce the very different sentiments of aversion and antagonism. Particular poignancy is given to the picture of suffering by the appearance of affection, for, in this world of stark contrasts, love does exist. It exists on a human level between mothers and their mignons enfans,<sup>129</sup> a wife and her bien aimé mari,<sup>130</sup> a father and his cher espoir;<sup>131</sup> on another level between God and His martyrs choisis,<sup>132</sup> His membres chers.<sup>133</sup>

As well as overt references to the emotions there are inherent in many of the epithets of the Tragiques perennially evocative themes. Space does not permit me to examine more than a few here. First I shall look at the area of religion and the bordering province of what, for want of a better word, we may term the parareligious: then I shall consider the closely related topoi of age and youth, weakness and strength.

It is natural that springing from d'Aubigné's Christian convictions there should be a great number of epithets with religious connotations. The sphere of Christian belief and action is the sphere in which the whole epic moves. Its world is a world of more than human dimensions, a monde sousceleste,<sup>134</sup> where all things are to be viewed sub specie aeternitatis. Though the coeurs chrestiens<sup>135</sup> may at present be oppressed by the abandonnés,<sup>136</sup> the legions damnees,<sup>137</sup> they are already surrounded by the troupe angelique,<sup>138</sup> ministered to by ailez messagers<sup>139</sup> and sustained by salutaire grace.<sup>140</sup> Our horizons stretch from infini tourment<sup>141</sup> and cruauté sans fin<sup>142</sup> to immortelle gloire<sup>143</sup> and splendeur eternelle,<sup>144</sup> from the grand puits infernal<sup>145</sup> to the celeste pourpris.<sup>146</sup> We plunge into the dark regions of noire science,<sup>147</sup> or pierce the secrets of les crimes plus obscurs,<sup>148</sup> re-emerging from this nightmare world into the brilliance of the palais flamboyant du haut ciel empyree,<sup>149</sup> and the firmament luisant.<sup>150</sup>

The poem is enriched by the use of religious epithets derived from proper nouns. The Philistin is the type of the bitterest enemy of God's covenant people, His heritage hebrieu,<sup>151</sup> so that the reprobate may suitably be designated la gent Philistine:<sup>152</sup> Hugo's

homme sombre is not the first literary use of Cain as the embodiment of the dread of the Almighty: une crainte caïne<sup>153</sup> is the ultimate in terror. Coming to more modern times, it is the craft and casuistry of the Jesuit that are stigmatized in the engeance Loyolite,<sup>154</sup> whilst the brand of the heretic is upon the bande musulmane.<sup>155</sup>

Perhaps the strongest words of condemnation in the epic are those designating sin in the realm of the sacred. Bigot<sup>156</sup> and partisan<sup>157</sup> have a particularly bad odour in the contemporary context of violence. The prestre apostat<sup>158</sup> is a scandal, the peuple prophane<sup>159</sup> an outrage, and the manifestations of blasphemy a tragedy of vast proportions.

There are other time-honoured sanctions trodden down. The fact that in the Christian revelation God is so often portrayed as Father or King has given an added dignity to the concepts of parent-hood and royalty. Maligned as Dieu, will He not then equally be denigrated as père and roy? And is it surprising if some of the closest of human relationships should subsequently become devalued in this monde à l'envers? Touching scenes of amour maternelle<sup>160</sup> are transformed into hideous pictures of bestiality and cannibalism. The human race becomes desnature,<sup>161</sup> allouvis,<sup>162</sup> sauvage,<sup>163</sup> and, his distinctive nature destroyed, civilized man returns to the wild. The parent/child relationship is seen in the process of disintegration, as the liens de la proximité<sup>164</sup> are snapped by meres non-meres,<sup>165</sup> parricides bastards<sup>166</sup> and degenerez enfans.<sup>167</sup> Eroded too are the links between king and subject, for if the latter is all too often traistre<sup>168</sup> and rebelle,<sup>169</sup> rarely can there be found an esprit



tout royal, comme royal le sang.<sup>170</sup> Life is ever held sacred, but the bodies of the elect being the very membres saints<sup>171</sup> of the Eternal, any destruction of that life by the bande meurtriere<sup>172</sup> must be double sacrilege.

Passing from religious and parareligious epithets, we come to the areas of age and youth, weakness and strength. From time immemorial the disaster of war has been more effectively portrayed through the spectacle of children and old folk who suffer than through the most appalling pictures of military casualties. Just as in the beginning Satan exploited le monde jeune et encor en enfance,<sup>173</sup> so now the enemies of God bend their energies against even the petits enfans.<sup>174</sup> They make capital, too, of the vulnerability of caducque vieillesse,<sup>175</sup> utterly ignoring the Biblical injunction enshrined in the Law of Moses:-

Tu te lèveras devant les cheveux blancs, et tu honoreras<sup>176</sup>  
la personne du vieillard.

In the Tragiques, while the teste chenuë<sup>177</sup> is outraged and vieillesse grise<sup>178</sup> tied to the stake, power falls into the hands of conseillers sans barbe<sup>179</sup> and fols et jeunes Rois.<sup>180</sup>

There are many manifestations of weakness and strength, some calling forth our sympathy, others arousing positive antipathy. Our natural compassion goes out to the deprived and the defenceless, to the foibles agneaux<sup>181</sup> or the orpheline vie:<sup>182</sup> it is drawn to the petits assemblés<sup>183</sup> or the simples paisans,<sup>184</sup> to the poor in spirit and the meek whom the the Beatitudes declare blessed. Physical weakness - mains et maigres et menues,<sup>185</sup> tendrette peau,<sup>186</sup> membres délicats<sup>187</sup> - often serves merely to throw into relief the moral



strength of many of the protagonists. This is in utter contrast to the seedy debility of the infirmes bigots<sup>188</sup> or the vermisséaux impuissans.<sup>189</sup> It is something other than the softness of the self-indulgent monstres effeminez,<sup>190</sup> held in thralldom by their vices and their fatuous pleasures. Amongst these abject spirits are to be found an esclave chef,<sup>191</sup> asservis mastins,<sup>192</sup> rebelles fuitifs<sup>193</sup> and serviles estats.<sup>194</sup> Their weakness is derisory: they are foibles Dieux de la terre.<sup>195</sup>

Yet for all this, the world of d'Aubigné can appear very frightening. Everywhere men are prepared to give battle, and many are the epithets that keep to the fore 'the perpetual struggle of Good and Evil.'<sup>196</sup> In France it seems to be the canaille adverse<sup>197</sup> who hold sway. On the fateful eve of St Bartholomew there are scadrons amassés;<sup>198</sup> there is a whole populace armée;<sup>199</sup> indeed it seems at times as though the whole earth is a terre ennemie.<sup>200</sup> Size is consistently underlined, whether it be in descriptions of the great blood-swollen rivers flowing upwards towards their source<sup>201</sup> or of the high tower of Nemesis,<sup>202</sup> or of the repulsive bulk of that vaste corps,<sup>203</sup> of that monstrueux geant,<sup>204</sup> tragic symbol of contemporary France: it is also seen in the brute force latent in Cruauté's bras gros<sup>205</sup> and the grosses dents<sup>206</sup> of the ames sans loy, perjures, desloyales.<sup>207</sup> We move amongst powerful enemies, princes puissans,<sup>208</sup> whose anger is tres-pesant,<sup>209</sup> in a world of hardened, ruthless men and women, who would seek to compel with roide nerf<sup>210</sup> and who go to their evil deeds with rigoureuses mains,<sup>211</sup> like the Pharaons ferrés<sup>212</sup> of old, impervious to the voice of God.

I have, however, mentioned above the moral fibre of the petits. There are epithets conveying the fortitude, tenacity and unwavering courage of the martyrs, the strength that is born of conflict, and manifests itself in coeurs indomptez,<sup>213</sup> invincible constance<sup>214</sup> or an esprit invaincu.<sup>215</sup> In the face of the ultimate in agony, this strength far outweighs the arrogant defiance of all those confirmed in evil-doing. D'Aubigné does not allow the might of mere man to have the final word. God is a puissant vengeur,<sup>216</sup> who can inflict on rebellious man une peine dure,<sup>217</sup> and before whose sein ferré<sup>218</sup> and voix rude et forte<sup>219</sup> even the mightiest must finally flee. This has been but a brief survey of some of the main types of epithet used in the Tragiques - epithets of judgment, epithets which dictate our emotional response, epithets which portray emotional states and treat emotive themes. It has revealed a great wealth of thematic material, but this by no means exhausts d'Aubigné's poetic stock-in-trade, and we must now turn our attention to some further stylistic considerations.

We notice, for example, how often d'Aubigné artfully reinforces thematic dominants by the utilisation of several forms of the same root word. Thus we find not only brave but also bravache and bravant, not blanc alone, but the closely related blanchi and blanchissant. I have chosen merely two examples; they are two out of a possible sixty to seventy epithets which have similar formal variants, the most common of these being the past and present participles. The use of the past participle epithet is extremely common in the Tragiques, the cumulative effect being to emphasize the passive aspect of the suffering of so many of the protagonists.

The sufferer is arraché, deschiré, enchainé, meurtri, tenaillé, consumé, rompu, empoisonné, abusé, effrayé, souillé, ruiné, abruti, espouvanté, diffamé . . . The list is endless. There is always a tendency for passages rich in epithets to become static, yet in d'Aubigné's work the pace drags only on rare occasions. One factor which contributes to this is the number of epithets which are present participles. These words, applied to a particular (often fleeting) moment in time, may not be permanently valid, but for that very reason they achieve greater specificity, whilst the strong verbal element evokes an intensified awareness of action and movement. There is a dreadful immediacy about the table fumante<sup>220</sup> of Thyestes: we are held in fascinated horror by the sight of the Hydra renaissant<sup>221</sup> or the ver resveillant:<sup>222</sup> we partake in the slow agony of the martyrs' geinnes deprizantes:<sup>223</sup> whilst the peasant's pantelante vie<sup>224</sup> appears as an agonizing succession of moments of painful effort and fear. Even epithets of colour share in this internal activity, as time and again d'Aubigné uses the present participle as an intensifier, so that the idea of dazzling whiteness can be conveyed in Satan's pennes blanchissantes,<sup>225</sup> or the impression of brilliant red in foudre rougissant.<sup>226</sup>

Another class of epithet with strong predicative value which features prominently in the Tragiques is the nomen agentis, which goes hand in hand with a tendency towards personification, giving colourful phrases such as villes nourricieres,<sup>227</sup> phrases flatresses,<sup>228</sup> chariot vainqueur,<sup>229</sup> onde meurtriere,<sup>230</sup> justicieres eaux,<sup>231</sup> cancer mangeur,<sup>232</sup> bande bouchere,<sup>233</sup> or, combining both present participle and nomen agentis, ver resveillant et piqueur.<sup>234</sup>

One further regularly-recurring type of qualifier is the adjectival phrase used as an epithet, a device which we may illustrate from these lines from Fers:-

il faut marcher de rang<sup>235</sup>  
Dedans le golfe rouge et dans la mer de sang  
Et puis à reins troussés passer, grimper habiles  
Les deserts sans humeur et les rocs difficiles.

Through a subtle manipulation of the terms in the second line of the passage, by which the Red Sea is not named as such, a suggestive parallel is created - expressive without being heavy-handed. At the same time the expression becomes much more concrete, as the symbolism inherent in the Biblical incident combines with that element of present reality, sang, a word already prominent by virtue of the assonance dedans and dans and by its strong final position. And we have similar phrases in abundance - bras de fer<sup>236</sup> (reminiscent of La Noue?), pieds de laine,<sup>237</sup> langues de feu.<sup>238</sup> Sans humeur, two lines further on, represents a form of expression very common in the Tragiques, where ideas and concepts are so often expressed in terms of their opposites. This negative presentation, where evil is shown as the absence of good, can have strong emotive value. Random examples include the rather similar soif sans liqueur,<sup>239</sup> or astorge, sans pitié,<sup>240</sup> and travail sans repos,<sup>241</sup> where the adjectival phrase merely echoes the idea contained in the preceding noun or epithet. There is frequently an element of paradox in this pattern of expression, sometimes Biblical in tone, sel sans saveur,<sup>242</sup> nuage sans liqueur,<sup>243</sup> at other times savouring more of word-play, but perhaps also reflecting the deep paradox at the heart of all Christian faith, soin sans soin,<sup>244</sup> arrest sans arrest,<sup>245</sup> prests sans apprets.<sup>246</sup> I shall return to this feature in a later chapter.

Up to this point we have considered the epithet in isolation, whether in fact it has appeared singly or in a group. Double- (indeed multiple-) adjective formation is no rare occurrence in the Tragiques. It is often through a succession of carefully-chosen epithets that d'Aubigné builds up for us a full picture of a character, of Rome, for example:-

tremblante, affreuze, eschevelee,<sup>247</sup>  
. . en pleurs, en sanglots, mi-morte, desolee,  
Tordant ses doigts,

or of:-

Nostre Sardanapale,<sup>248</sup>  
Ride, hideux, changeant,

of the

prestre apostat, prevoyant et rusé,<sup>249</sup>

or, in a portrait that is more nuancé, of Themis, who has

un triste et froid, mais non rude maintien.<sup>250</sup>

(This last example with its almost conversational quality brings to our attention the considerable variety in the pattern of epithet combinations, a matter we shall consider further when we turn to the word-pair and enumeration.) Often the description shows a tendency to progress from the general to the particular, resulting in phrases such as ton poulx foible, inegal,<sup>251</sup> sauvage et carnaciere beste,<sup>252</sup> ame basse et poltronne,<sup>253</sup> yeux durs de travers,<sup>254</sup> where light is thrown on the colourful, descriptive and concrete adjective. Sometimes too one can perceive a movement from the objective to the

subjective, as in:-

Ce feu lent et petit, d'indicible douleur,<sup>255</sup>

and it is the subjective note that makes the description really forceful. Indeed such a combination of epithets that describe and epithets that comment is quite frequent, pure description being hard to come by in the poetry of d'Aubigné. A descriptive adjective may thus have its significance deepened in retrospect, as in sa main blanche et pure,<sup>256</sup> where the colour symbolism is made explicit by the epithet of judgment, or in l'humain et foible espoir,<sup>257</sup> where we realise that the two epithets are intended to be practically equivalent. Groups of synonymous epithets reinforce by the sheer repetition of the basic idea in a different form - pasle et blesme,<sup>258</sup> indomptés et vainqueurs,<sup>259</sup> astorge, sans pitié,<sup>260</sup> jeune et encor en enfance.<sup>261</sup>

Rhythmically too this multiple adjective formation is significant. Since the epithet cannot exist in isolation, the noun/epithet units tend to function more like single words. Like long words, they already produce weighty, impressive cadences in the verse. The multiplication of epithets is one way in which this impression of might and majesty is enhanced. The grammatical and semantic links between epithet and epithet may on occasion be cemented together by alliteration to produce such ear-catching phrases as triste et tardif,<sup>262</sup> grosse et grave,<sup>263</sup> fausses et foles,<sup>264</sup> diligens et discrets<sup>265</sup> or, combining with the noun also, mains et maigres et menues.<sup>266</sup>

Alliteration between the noun and its epithet is without doubt a very much more common feature, and in d'Aubigné's work the phonetic equivalence may go far beyond the alliteration of initial consonants. A complex interaction of sounds marries noun to epithet in indissoluble union. The assonance in Rome tremblante<sup>267</sup> may be a more powerful unifying factor than the obvious alliteration in 'r'. Noun and epithet in grand geant<sup>268</sup> share not only an opening guttural, but also a similar nasal ending. Perfides parfaicts<sup>269</sup> reproduces the consonantal sequence p . . r . . f, and assonance combines with alliteration to create the ominous rhythm of fatale femme,<sup>270</sup> whilst in testes tondues<sup>271</sup> the reiterated 't' in close proximity to the voiced dental translates the poet's feelings of stuttering indignation.

One may perhaps at this point enquire whether there is any obvious significance in the word-order of the noun/epithet (or epithet/noun) grouping. In the ordering of epithets around their noun the French language even today offers the stylist considerable freedom of choice; and whilst grammarians have hesitated to attribute clearly definable effects to the position of the epithet in relation to its noun, yet there is a feeling that the 'souplesse du mécanisme'<sup>272</sup> is one of the great grammatical advantages of French. In d'Aubigné's day the situation seems to have been even more flexible, and his poetry demonstrates this flexibility to a high degree.

If we are to take one of the few tentative suggestions of the stylists, that 'un certain dynamisme est . . . associé à l'antéposition',<sup>273</sup> that the epithet in front of the noun tends to



'prendre une valeur émotive ou affective',<sup>274</sup> it may suggest another unobtrusive emotive technique of the Tragiques. About thirty per cent of the epithets are placed before the noun. Of these, a high proportion (often occurring in direct address) are evaluative epithets, commendatory at times, more frequently coming with condemnatory force - excellens esprits,<sup>275</sup> faux François,<sup>276</sup> infame trafic,<sup>277</sup> folle et vaine cervelle.<sup>278</sup> The initial position appears to have something to do with the special impact of the phrases, but since counter-examples can be produced to illustrate the same epithets in postposition - portraits excellens,<sup>279</sup> langues fausses et foles,<sup>280</sup> Sinon infame,<sup>281</sup> siecle vain<sup>282</sup> - and even when the same noun and epithet recur in combination it may well be in reverse order - folle mere<sup>283</sup> and mere fole,<sup>284</sup> mains impures<sup>285</sup> and impures mains<sup>286</sup> - it would be disingenuous of me to imply that the anteposing of the epithet of judgment was anything more than a detectable tendency.

We may, I believe, reach some firmer conclusions on this question of word-order if we move out beyond the noun/epithet group and consider it within the larger unit of the line or the couplet. The special emphasis given to the word at the caesura may, for example, have determined the departure from normal practice when d'Aubigné penned the phrase portraits excellens.<sup>287</sup> It is not unusual to find corresponding or contrasting epithets symmetrically disposed at the caesura and line end. In the following, complementary adjectives are thus placed in rhythmic relation one to the other:-

De vois sonore et douce et d'un ton féminin<sup>288</sup>

Ces guerriers hazardés dessus leurs mules braves<sup>289</sup>



Parmi les roolles saints, dont les noms glorieux<sup>290</sup>

Il eut un corps terrestre et un corps sensuel.<sup>291</sup>

On the other hand, this same rhythmic connection highlights the contrasts of the topsy-turvy world in:-

Ces vaisseaux venimeux de ces liqueurs si belles,<sup>292</sup>

or enhances, in yet another manner, in

L'un offroit un coeur doux, l'autre un coeur endurci<sup>293</sup>

that elemental antithesis between good and evil.

The vertical relationship between epithets at the line ends of rhyming couplets may similarly stress comparisons and contrasts - comparisons in:-

D'une feinte rigueur, d'un courroux simulé<sup>294</sup>  
Donnent pointe d'aigreur au los emmiellé,

where image mirrors idea, or in

les effects moins sanglants,  
Mais des coups bien plus lourds et bien plus violents,<sup>295</sup>

where the abstract epithet takes on some of the colouring of the concrete, even as that is being minimized - contrasts in the opposing pairs of:-

Les docteurs veulent plus que ces regles certaines,<sup>296</sup>  
Et veulent adjouster les doctrines humaines,

or of:-

puis que les oracles saints<sup>297</sup>  
Ne vous esmeuvent pas, aux philosophes vains  
Vous trouverez encor . . .

where the human is so clearly set against the divine.

Content, form and distribution - in my study of the epithet I have found each of these aspects in turn to be of significance. I have tried to illustrate the fine discrimination with which d'Aubigné uses his epithets, his sensitive handling of this basic device which provides in short compass such wealth of detail, and to demonstrate how these epithets reinforce key themes and preoccupations of the poet, as the author, using different resources to vary form, word-order, sound and rhythm appeals to the mind, the conscience, but above all the imagination of his future reader.

INTENSIFYING DEVICES

The use of the epithet is, as we have seen, by the very terms of the definition, a device of intensity. I have devoted considerable space to it, but its use is only one of a number of amplifying techniques, and to others of these we must now turn our attention.

By a kind of poetical surenchérissement, the poet's quest of the strongest possible means of expression commonly leads him to the reinforcement of the epithet itself by a superlative or a comparative. Examples abound of attributes enhanced by this simple grammatical expedient, an expedient which also serves to polarise even more the forces of good and evil. Thus in one place we read of nos plus saintes loix,<sup>1</sup> elsewhere of les choses plus impures;<sup>2</sup> in imagination we visit both la plus vile bouë<sup>3</sup> and the plus beaux cabinets du palais du grand Dieu.<sup>4</sup> A degree of comparison may attach itself to an existing noun/epithet cluster to expand it yet further, as in:-

Le plus infect du peuple diffamé,<sup>5</sup>

or integrate itself, with even more complexity, as in:-

. . . le plus des peines éternelles<sup>6</sup>  
Ennemi de la foy,

where a studied dislocation of syntax provides the maximum of intensity. Occasionally there is a combination of near-synonymous superlatives, such as we have in:-

la plus hardie ou plus haute sagesse,<sup>7</sup>

sometimes the linking of two superlatives by de in, for example:-

des plus eloquents les plus subtiles voix,<sup>8</sup>

and once even the coupling of these two devices to give:-

La plus vive chaleur du plus chaud et grand jour.<sup>9</sup>

Some may feel that this last example is affected by the law of diminishing returns, but it none the less illustrates the extent to which d'Aubigné, in building up an expression to its highest degree, is able to exploit the lexical and grammatical tools at his disposal.

Less strikingly prominent, less ostentatious than the superlative, the comparative epithet makes possibly an even greater contribution to the forcefulness of d'Aubigné's poetic language. The comparative form, expressing an intermediate degree, harmonises with and augments that impression of continuous motion so much a part of the atmosphere of the Tragiques. The author may choose to attach to it no other limiting factor than the reader's own imagination. It is the undeveloped comparative

Tu en a de plus prompts en ta fatale main<sup>10</sup>

that gives singular potency to the ominous address to Catherine de Medici, and becomes a springboard for further accusations and anathemas. It is the plain comparative too that conveys so powerfully that sense of onward movement in the poet's invitation:-

Entrons dans une piste et plus vive et plus fresche.<sup>11</sup>

The power of the simple comparative in:-

L'ame plaintive alloit en un plus heureux lieu<sup>12</sup>

comes perhaps from a different source. The apparent moderation of the expression which in fact savours strongly of understatement, acts in this case as an antidote to what could become, in the context, a surfeit of superlatives. Finally, once again skilfully by-passing the rather unwieldy comparative epithet with que, in a construction that demands of us a certain degree of mental agility, d'Aubigné asks for a swift transfer of thought from the physical to the figurative level:-

Il fut lié: mais plus geinné de conscience.<sup>13</sup>

As the foregoing paragraph will have suggested, the comparative epithet with que is but sparingly used. A greatly expanded epithet tends only to complicate the syntax and make for ponderousness, if not unintelligibility.<sup>14</sup> Any fresh element introduced for the purpose of comparison we find to be generally brief and limited in scope. It may compare person with person<sup>15</sup> or past with present.<sup>16</sup> Sometimes the comparison is contained with difficulty in one line, resulting in the elliptical:-

de pires douleurs que les femmes enceintes<sup>17</sup>

or

Nous donne un nom plus doux que de fils et de fille.<sup>18</sup>

Seldom does it spill into a second line as it does in:-

une autre saison pire  
Que la saison des feux n'avoit fait le martyre. 19

At first sight this appears a straightforward comparison of one period with another, "une autre saison pire que la saison des feux". Then the unexpected grammatical subordination of the second element in the comparison to the new concept contained in the highly emotive nominative pushes "la saison des feux" into the background and highlights the terrible word martyre. This, by its end position, is already aligned with the comparative, and the association strengthened by rhyme. Pire and martyre thus dominate the lines and, lurking unexpressed just beneath the surface, the sinister threat of something worse than martyrdom begins to take shape.

The comparative form is not, of course, exclusively reserved for the epithet. It occurs both with the predicative adjective and, very frequently, with the adverb or the adjective used adverbially. In this following instance it enables the poet to voice the preference of the elect for death rather than disloyalty:-

l'aise leur fut moins douce que la fournaise. 20

(We may note en passant d'Aubigné's characteristic use of metonymy and internal rhyme to heighten if possible the contrast.) A similar predilection on the part of the young courtier is also conveyed by means of the comparative, the contrast here being drawn out by the expressive periphrasis of the second line:-

Tu estimois la mort en liberté plus chere  
Que tirer, en servant, une haleine preciaire. 21

And again it is used with moving effect in the classic line:-

Une rose d'automne est plus qu'une autre exquise.<sup>22</sup>

As in the case of the comparative adjective, the comparative adverb without que often expresses the desire to press on, to push back the horizon more and more. It appears early on in the poem, affirming the undaunted confidence of the author, who claims:-

J'entreprends bien plus haut.<sup>23</sup>

A little later it occurs again, this time, because courage is required from the reader also, in tentative questioning form:-

Suivrons-nous plus avant?<sup>24</sup>

More colourful effects, however, are drawn from the exploitation of the comparative adverb with que. It allows a highly evocative comparison, when the point at issue is the superiority of the martyrs' ashes to:-

le puant monceau  
Des charognes des grands.<sup>25</sup>

It produces the pithy expression:-

Le meschant rit plus haut que le bon n'y souspire,<sup>26</sup>

which, in a single line, presents two contrasting vignettes, contrasting and yet inseparably linked in form as in conception. It results in the impressive:-

Blessent l'Agneau lié plus fort que la mort mesmes,<sup>27</sup>

as once more death is shown to be not the most intolerable fate. A

combination of features strengthens the comparative here, the internal rhyme fort/mort, the quietness of the first hemistich with its regular flowing rhythm, unstressed syllable and succession of liquid sounds, contrasting with the four weighty mono-syllables of the second, and the force of mesmes, a word much employed in the poem, from the beginning where we are warned:-

La mort jouë elle mesme en ce triste eschaffaut,<sup>28</sup>

and throughout it to the end of the Tragiques, in the course of which it repeatedly highlights so many extraordinary happenings.<sup>29</sup>

Mesme is only one of a great number of intensifying adverbs, however. A favourite intensifier is the ubiquitous si, which we find used in a variety of ways. It may refer to something already stated in the text. So the chaire si hautaine<sup>30</sup> is, as we already know, 'une cage /Suspendue au plus haut de la plus haute tour',<sup>31</sup> and the plumes si belles of 5.65 are the pennes blanchissantes of 5.46. Si may refer to something known outside the text, as is the case with the Biblical reference to Moses:-

Quand sa face parut si claire et si exquise,<sup>32</sup>

where d'Aubigné is simply drawing on the wealth of association immediately available to a contemporary audience familiar with the dramatic details of the descent from Mount Sinai. Most frequently of all, perhaps, it may occur in the form si que followed by a subordinate clause, which latter, by supplying an example or demonstration, gives the measure of the intensifier. Si furieux, for example, only attains its full import after the horrific result of the anger is unfolded:-



si furieux  
Que d'un gauche malheur ils se crevent les yeux.<sup>33</sup>

In this instance the climax is reached fairly swiftly, but in the following example the final impact is determined by the weight of two and a half lines of build-up:-

la chrestienne vertu<sup>34</sup>  
Par le doigt du grand Dieu a si bien combattu  
Que les meschans, troublés de leurs succès estranges,  
Penserent, esbahis, faire la guerre aux Anges.

Between si and the conclusion of the consecutive clause lies the ever-mounting anxiety carried by the three skilfully inserted epithets - troublés, estranges, esbahis. Four times the main flow of the sentence is interrupted, but a careful control of the structure, in which enjambement and internal rhyme ("Penserent . . . faire la guerre") skilfully situate and link the grammatically vital elements, allows suspense without obscurity. The full meaning is divulged only at the very end of the third line after the delay of the isolated epithet, that device so highly favoured by the poets of the Pléïade. Delaying techniques are also brought into play when Coligny is seen:-

Parmi si hauts plaisirs que, mesme en lieux si doux,<sup>35</sup>  
De tout ce qu'il voyoit il n'entroit en courroux.

Between si que announcing itself as an intensive and the emotive climax of the following line lies the concessive clause with mesme, and within it the open-ended use of si conveying an impression of unbounded admiration, then finally the expansive 'tout ce qu'il voyoit', returning us to a scene already outlined in colourful detail, before the main verb is reached and an outcome contrary to

all our expectations announced. We need to remember the wider context too when we look at our next example, for this incident comes as the culmination of much suffering and distress on the part of the Huguenot child under pressure to deny her faith.

We read:-

La vie, et non l'envie, ils presserent si fort  
Qu'elle donne en trois jours les signes de la mort.<sup>36</sup>

Here the time factor is significant. It is in the light of a superhuman display of endurance ('trente jours entiers'<sup>37</sup> beaten by heartless relatives, 'quelques mois'<sup>38</sup> racked by fever) that we can appreciate the devastating speed with which the new form of pressure produces not the signs of moral weakening but the physical transformation that announces death itself. (Once more of course the climax comes at the very end of the sentence. Though the word-play at the beginning has already created a tension between the physical which is vulnerable and the moral which seems beyond the reach of the persecutors, we cannot be certain until the final word what 'signs' the persuasion might not produce.) The whole drama is actualized by the change in tense from the past historic to the present, so that once again the poet seems to be present at the scene, standing by the deathbed of the child martyr.

Another frequently recurring intensifier, whose high incidence in the Tragiques surely contributes substantially to that sense of abundance and profusion so much part of the traditional epic and of the very essence of this one, is the adverbial expression tant de, which seems to do service for the weaker and more customary beaucoup de.<sup>39</sup> The world of the Tragiques is a veritable hotbed

of vice, the scene of tant de honte,<sup>40</sup> tant d'outrages,<sup>41</sup> tant de deshonneur,<sup>42</sup> tant de maladies,<sup>43</sup> tant de maux,<sup>44</sup> and tant de mal-heurs.<sup>45</sup> In it proliferate tant de fascheuses voix<sup>46</sup> and tant de sottés harangues.<sup>47</sup> But vice has its counter-balance in tant de martyrs,<sup>48</sup> tant de braves tesmoins,<sup>49</sup> tant de braves courages,<sup>50</sup> tant de braves coeurs,<sup>51</sup> tant d'esprits benins<sup>52</sup> and, at the end, in the victory of tant d'esprits ravis.<sup>53</sup> Very frequently (in approximately one third of the total number of occurrences of tant de with a noun) the expression reinforces what already is an emotively charged noun/epithet group. From time to time it occurs in sequences with accumulation contributing to the crescendo of such lines as:-

Tant d'ames, tant de corps que tu leur fais avoir,<sup>54</sup>  
Tant d'esprits abrutis

or, with even greater concentration:-

De là tant de combats, tant de faits, tant de gloire.<sup>55</sup>

Once even we find it repeated to give the special emphasis of 1.685, tant et tant de fois.

When tant occurs with a verb, the emphasis is on thoroughness, intensity, exhaustiveness. So we find the perverted zeal of the preacher who has

tant cherché fleurs et couleurs nouvelles,<sup>56</sup>

the diabolical urgency of Richard de Gastine's jailor who:-

le pressa tant  
Qu'il courut tout dispos vers la mort en sautant,<sup>57</sup>

or the misguided application of those ancient philosophers, who, on the subject of the resurrection, have tant écrit et si bien.<sup>58</sup> As we have seen already, d'Aubigné's devices of intensity rarely occur in isolation. These last two examples gain strength, in the one instance through the rhyme tant/sautant, in the other through the doubling of écrit's modifying adverb. The interaction may be seen more clearly in this slightly extended example:-

Mais en ce temps infect tant vaut la menterie,<sup>59</sup>  
 Et tant a pris de pied l'enorme flatterie,  
 Que le flatteur honteux, et qui flatte à demi,  
 Fait son Roy non demi, mais entier ennemi,

in which, using the basic formula tant que plus a consecutive clause, which then joins hands with word-play (temps/tant), emotive epithets (infect, enorme, honteux, demi/entier), repetition (tant, flatt-, demi), contrast (demi/ entier) and negation (non demi), d'Aubigné builds the sentence up to its decisive climax.

A personal note appears in the use of the strong intensive trop, which brings us once again into the area of value judgments. The tone is assertive, unquestionably authoritative, whether the poet condemns flattery, ce trop sot mestier,<sup>60</sup> dismisses pilgrimage, that labour trop ingrat,<sup>61</sup> or regretfully confirms the trop veritables hontes,<sup>62</sup> a reality he might desire to minimise but must perforce express.

This emphatic manner of speaking also owes much to the versatile intensive bien, used with many different shades of meaning. Frequently it does service for the less expressive très or beaucoup - de bien loin,<sup>63</sup> un lieu bien seur,<sup>64</sup> bien à propos,<sup>65</sup>

bien mieux,<sup>66</sup> bien plus,<sup>67</sup> etc. There is a strong tendency throughout for bien to be used with the comparative. (In bien plus the alliterative effect of the combination of labial plosives contributes something to the forcefulness of the expression.) We have already noted as an example of the comparative:-

J'entreprends bien plus haut.<sup>68</sup>

In the same vein we could equally well have chosen:-

Nous verrons ci-après les effets moins sanglants,  
Mais des coups bien plus lourds et bien plus violants.<sup>69</sup>

Bien is common with verbs which are already words of assurance, notably sçavoir and connoistre.<sup>70</sup> It can mean vraiment as in:-

Mon esprit estoit bein de ce siecle ennemi,<sup>71</sup>

tout à fait, as in bien cuitte,<sup>72</sup> or even au moins in bien quatre<sup>6</sup>  
cens testes,<sup>73</sup> but it is less cumbersome than any of these and gains in thrust and piquancy from its faintly colloquial flavour.

Combien is another word which stretches the imagination. It can convey the unspeakable corruption of tyrants as the poet makes his declaration of intent to:-

Monstrer combien impurs sont ceux-là . . .<sup>74</sup>

Where a great number of specific instances of kings or princes under the heel of the Jesuits might be suspect, or even somewhat difficult to find, the poet's vision, 'combien je voy lier de Princes et de Rois',<sup>75</sup> successfully hints, without danger of contradiction, at multitudes under the oppressor's sway. The word's

very lack of specificity is its chief asset. Again, in Domitian's experiment to find the full potential of his cruelty:-

Combien la cruauté peut contre Dieu pouvoir,<sup>76</sup>

we can sense just how well suited the adverb is in the context of infinite suffering by this internal capacity for endless expansion.

Slightly less numerous than these adverbs of degree and quality, but still a significant factor in the style of the Tragiques, are the temporal adverbs of frequency, speed and duration. Because adverbs of frequency can show the remarkable to be in fact representative of a pattern of incidence, they can increase our amazement or deepen our sense of shock. The manifestation of God's power through the mutely eloquent witness of His Spanish martyrs is in a sense not exceptional, for:-

Dieu à ses tesmoins a donné maintesfois<sup>77</sup>  
La langue estant coupeeune celeste voix,

nor is the corruption of speech in the court of the Valois an isolated phenomenon, for

Là souvent se profane une langue diserte.<sup>78</sup>

This is related to a feature we come across elsewhere, to that ever-present suggestion that out of vast resources only a very small part can be exploited, that the things that are written are presages,<sup>79</sup> boutons,<sup>80</sup> premisses,<sup>81</sup> a mere indice<sup>82</sup> of a greater work, miroirs,<sup>83</sup> ombres<sup>84</sup> or petits even debiles portraits.<sup>85</sup>

It is dramatic quality rather than one of depth or density that is contributed by the adverbs expressing speed and promptitude,

bien tost, combien tost and aussi tost. The threat of impending judgment is strong in:-

C'est la mutation qui se doit bien tost faire,<sup>86</sup>

as is the evocation of the shrivelling of the poet's false aspirations, which, like Jonah's gourd,

ont esté bien tost mortes et descubertes,<sup>87</sup>

and whilst the personification of vengeance through the zeugma of line 1350 undoubtedly contributes to the force of d'Aubigné's ejaculation:-

combien tost cette petite plaine  
Est de cinq mille morts et de vengeance plaine!<sup>88</sup>

it is chiefly the initial combien tost, which, by compressing the action and quickening the tempo, enhances its dramatic character. But the most sensational effects come from the use of aussi tost, which conveys the bewildering speed with which the newly-arrived courtier sees:-

le Louvre aussi tost depeuplé,<sup>89</sup>

the sweep of events in which France is overwhelmed so that

Mille folles cités, à faces desguisees  
Se trouvent aussi tost à tuer embrazees,<sup>90</sup>

and the histrionic reversal of fortune in which Valerian,

N'agueres Empereur d'un Empire si beau,<sup>91</sup>

finds himself

Aussi tost marchepied.<sup>92</sup>

A dramatic climax may sometimes be prepared for by introducing the concept of long duration. This can be seen in two examples where longtemps is combined with the perfect participle. In each case the situation is one of strong emotional conflict, the first within the soul of the wronged and deeply resentful Jacob, the second in the heart of a mother torn by the opposing instincts of self-preservation and maternal affection. Over the lines preceding:-

Ayant dompté longtemps en son coeur son ennui<sup>93</sup>

and:-

ayant long-temps combattu dans son coeur,<sup>94</sup>

these conflicts have been carefully built up, now to be crystallized in longtemps, but also to be relegated to the past by the perfect participle, so that the reader is left suspended in a potentially explosive situation, eagerly awaiting the developments which are felt to be both imminent and inevitable.

Generally speaking, longtemps and longuement are not strong intensifiers within the world of the Tragiques. The idea of long duration is more often pushed to its ultimate expression beyond the frontiers of time, where the fame of:-

L'Admiral pour jamais sans surnom<sup>95</sup>

and the infamy

D'une brutalité pour jamais remarquée<sup>96</sup>

may escape Shakespeare's 'razure of oblivion'. The adverbial



combinations à jamais and pour jamais may also express the inflated pretensions of a pope who claims:-

Mon règne est à jamais<sup>97</sup>

or the aspirations of the foreigner

de mettre à jamais au tyrannique poin<sup>98</sup>  
De la beste de Rome un sceptre qui commande  
L'Europe;

they may force home the immutability of the judgments of l'Eternel and the eternal consequences of sin;<sup>99</sup> finally, joined with other intensifying devices in a manner now familiar to us, they may accentuate either the irrevocable destruction that awaits Hierusalem meurtriere,<sup>100</sup> destined to perish pour tout jamais,<sup>101</sup> or, in the bold tautology permanente à jamais,<sup>102</sup> stress the enduringness of the heavenly Jerusalem.

Of course jamais is prominent too in the formula ne . . . jamais, one of the many emphatic substitutes which we find in the Tragiques for the simple negative. Other negatives include its synonym ne . . . onc (providing a rhythmic variation), nul and aucun . . . ne, ne . . . rien and the frequent ne . . . point. Where these forms dominate a passage, the tone tends to be forceful, assertive, often hyperbolic, as despair and desire, anger and indignation cause the poet to abandon the cold literal language of reason. With the exaggeration characteristic of the mood he laments:-

Sur la langue d'aucun à present n'est porte<sup>103</sup>  
Cet espineux fardeau qu'on nomme verité;

whilst, in a mixture of anger and despair, the ocean can only envisage an eternity of outrage as he questions:-

Ne sera-il jamais lassé de m'outrager?<sup>104</sup>

Other variants of the double negative form the strength of the exhortation:-

que jamais autre ouvrage,  
Bien que plus délicat, ne te semble plaisant,<sup>105</sup>

and results in the poet's aspiration:-

Qu'il n'y ait soud rocher qui entre les deux poles<sup>106</sup>  
N'entende clairement magnifiques paroles.

In the affirmation:-

les feux de Neron ne furent point des feux,<sup>107</sup>  
Pres de ceux que vomit ce serpent monstrueux,

the negative ne . . . point serves to reduce the most notorious cruelty to complete nothingness so that this angry diatribe against Catherine de Medici may the better highlight her incomparable barbarity, whilst further on the same negative is overlaid with others to convey the silent (but none the less indignant) and mounting protest of the innocent hands that proclaim:-

Cela n'a point peché; cette main n'a ravie<sup>108</sup>  
Jamais le bien, jamais nulle rançon ni vie.

Once more we find various ways in which the negative expressions may themselves be reinforced. It may be by the use of internal rhyme as in:-

Point n'esclaire aux enfers l'aube de l'esperance,<sup>109</sup>

by a slight change of word order, such as we find in:-

qu'en ce sacré lieu  
Il n'y ait zele aucun que la gloire de Dieu,<sup>110</sup>

by duplication to produce:-

nul inventeur ne treuve  
Nul tourment qui ne soit surmonté par Askeuve,<sup>111</sup>

or by such expansion as we find in the impressive jamais à la memoire.<sup>112</sup> A high proportion of these negatives is to be found in the many passages of direct address throughout the epic, in the manacing imperative of:-

N'apportez point ici, Sadduciens pervers,<sup>113</sup>  
Les corps mangés des loups,

the almost dictatorial use of the modal:-

Il ne faut point penser,<sup>114</sup>

or the accusatory:-

Tu n'as point eu de honte, impudent Libanie.<sup>115</sup>

Such intense emotions are often the outcome of deeply-held beliefs. From the martyrs come great assertions of faith based on the revealed word of God. There is confidence in His abiding presence that:-

nul champion en peine  
N'est sans la main de Dieu qui par la main le meine,<sup>116</sup>

in His omnipotence, that:-

Rien n'est difficile au celeste courroux,<sup>117</sup>

in His righteousness, that:-

Dieu tout vrai n'aime point tant de feintes douleurs.<sup>118</sup>

There is also the conviction of the total depravity of mankind, strikingly illustrated in the character of Maximin frauduleux with the eye:-

Qui ne vid onc pitié<sup>119</sup>

and the heart:-

qui ne fut onc saoulé de trahisons.<sup>120</sup>

Very closely related to this utilization of the negative is the presence of tout in its various forms. Having noted over four hundred occurrences of it throughout the Tragiques, I feel justified in claiming its usage to be another stylistic dominant. This feature alone would go far to explain the boldness of tone one so often senses, the unrestrained, exciting language which seems to preclude any questioning of the literal truth of so many of the poet's affirmations. Tout, like the categorical negatives we have been considering, helps to polarize emotions and judgments, reflecting once more some of the poem's basic antitheses, which are deepened in such lines as:-

N'avoir plus rien de mere, et avoir tout de louve,<sup>121</sup>

or:-

Ils ont tout pour Satan et rien pour te porter.<sup>122</sup>

As was the case with the double negative, tout is common in passages

of high emotional content, where all restraint of language is set aside. It helps to produce the sweeping scorn of:-

laissons languir tous ceux  
Qui en flatant nos Rois achètent, mal-heureux, <sup>123</sup>  
Les plaisirs de vingt ans d'une éternelle peine,

the overcharged accents of imprecation:-

Tout pour eux soit amer, <sup>124</sup>

Tout pourrisse, <sup>125</sup>

the extravagance of desperation in the metathesis of:-

Il avoit peur de tout, tout avoit peur de luy, <sup>126</sup>

and the unqualified condemnation of:-

Tous ces desguisements sont vaines mascarades, <sup>127</sup>

Tout y sent la putain, <sup>128</sup>

or the emphatically phrased:-

Ce sont farces et jeux toutes leurs actions. <sup>129</sup>

Again, of course, we must remember how often emotion springs from religious conviction - and the language of religious conviction is the language of the absolute. Le Tout-Puissant, a favourite appellation throughout, is one which mirrors a key doctrine of Calvinism, the sovereignty of God, the locus classicus occurring in the opening lines of the poem:-

Tout-Puissant, tout-voyant, qui du haut des hauts cieux<sup>130</sup>  
Fends les coeurs plus serrez par l'esclair de tes yeux,  
Qui fis tout, et conneus tout ce que tu fis estre;  
Tout parfaict en ouvrant, tout parfaict en connoistre,  
De qui l'oeil tout courant, et tout voyant aussi,  
De qui le soin sans soin prend de tout le souci . . .

Against this we have, as we mentioned earlier, a reflection of the equally firmly-held doctrine of the total depravity of man, as Peace presents her plea in heaven's court, lamenting:-

Tout y est abruti, tout est de moi quitté,<sup>131</sup>

or as France is shown to be tout infect,<sup>132</sup> the totalitarian adverb extracting maximum significance from an already forceful epithet. Such beliefs, when adhered to, produce the unflinching endurance, whole-hearted obedience and complete submission of the martyrs - endurance to the point where they exhaust all the instruments of human torture:-

Achevé tout l'effort de tout leur appareil,<sup>133</sup>

obedience to God which overrides obedience to any human dictates:-

La loy de Dieu luy fit mettre aux pieds toute loy,<sup>134</sup>

submission, so that Graveron's wife may proclaim:-

Le tout de nous est sacré à la mort.<sup>135</sup>

Tout moreover contributes generously to that sense of grandeur and universality inherent in all epic. Paul Merchant in his essay on the genre speaks of a:-

kind of expansiveness, the ability to open up, however<sup>136</sup> briefly, the whole landscape as far as the horizon in every direction.

By the use of recurring phrases such as par tout cet univers,<sup>137</sup> toute la terre<sup>138</sup> and tout le monde,<sup>139</sup> d'Aubigné constantly reminds us of the wide canvas on which he has chosen to work. From the pages of history he summons the legendary Artemisia, whose handiwork captivated the imagination of the whole of the Ancient world, the cruel Turks of the fifteenth century, whose force subdued all the surrounding nations, finally his near contemporaries, the great Elizabethan navigators, whose intrepidity has now encompassed the globe: there is even an aura of greatness about the papal claims to tout païs and toute gent.<sup>140</sup> Tout l'univers<sup>141</sup> is the imposing theatre in which the glory of God is displayed, whilst scarcely less impressive is the spectacle of Satan's power, as he deploys his troops en toutes parts/ Des regnes d'Occident.<sup>142</sup>

Though he works on a wide canvas, the texture of that canvas is rich, and, as d'Aubigné assures us at various points, his treatment of his subject is comprehensive. If the full extent of evil is to be shown, the author must not only demonstrate its far-reaching effects on les ames de tous,<sup>143</sup> but also detail its smallest particulars:-

il faut que les tyrans de tout point on despeigne.<sup>144</sup>

So it is that the mass of detail suggested by the enumeration of:-

Tout ce que Loire, Seine et que Garonne abreuve<sup>145</sup>

is used to give weight to the description of wide-spread destruction, and God's attention to the minutiae of the sufferings of His people

as he registers tous (leurs) maux<sup>146</sup> to arouse wonder and admiration,  
and illustrate the poet's earlier affirmation that the eye of God is

tout courant et tout voyant aussi.<sup>147</sup>

The poem functions however on a deeper level than that of mere historical narration. That evil, all evil, has its inevitable reward is the refrain echoed in the scattered sententiae:-

Tout vice tire à soi quelque prix,<sup>148</sup>

tout sang va tirant après soi d'autre sang,<sup>149</sup>

and

tous pechez ont les vengeances telles<sup>150</sup>  
Que merite le faict,

a principle fully exemplified in the magnificent tableau of the Last Judgment, where as we would expect the concentration of totalitarian vocabulary is considerably denser, for in this awesome spectacle an event is consummated in the poetic imagination which entails not only the involvement of all men from every generation, l'amas de tous vivans,<sup>151</sup> but also of every fragment, every atom of creation:-

Toute estoile se meurt: les prophetes fideles<sup>152</sup>  
Du destin vont souffrir eclipses eternelles.  
Tout se cache de peur: le feu s'enfuit dans l'air,  
L'air en l'eau, l'eau en terre; au funebre mesler  
Tout beau perd sa couleur.

Here, supremely, we sense the epic's universal scope.



The impression of copiousness and abundance also draws some of its strength from d'Aubigné's use of numerical intensifiers. There are first of all the numbers that suggest a quantity so vast as to be incalculable, infinis millions de brillantes estoilles,<sup>153</sup> mil ames despouillées,<sup>154</sup> dix mil ames,<sup>155</sup> d'un million de fleurs/Le baume salulaire.<sup>156</sup> The idea may be reinforced by other words in the immediate vicinity, as in:-

En prodiguant dessus mille fleurs espanchees,<sup>157</sup>

or in:-

Le nombre estant creu jusqu'à mille familles.<sup>158</sup>

Prodiguer, along with amas/abondance and plein/rempli, is frequently encountered in all seven cantos, whilst jusque reappears in a comparable context in the phrase jusques à cent degrés,<sup>159</sup> or in the rhetorical question:-

Où voulez-vous, mes yeux, courir ville apres ville,<sup>160</sup>  
Pour descrire des morts jusques à trente mille?

Then there is the civil war casualty list. D'Aubigné lays squarely at Catherine de Medici's door the death of cinq cens mille soldats:<sup>161</sup> later he evokes the carnage amongst the Albigenses, frappez de deux cent mille morts:<sup>162</sup> he rounds up the statistics for the massacre of Tours to produce the neatly balanced:-

Trois cens liés, mi-morts, affamés par trois jours:<sup>163</sup>

and with obvious delight he recites Montgomery's epic victory at Navarrin:-

Dix mille hommes desfaits, vingt et deux canons pris,<sup>164</sup>  
 Une ville, un chasteau, dans l'effroy du desordre  
 Sous trente cavalliers perdre l'honneur et l'ordre.  
 Un beau soleil esclaire à seize cens soldats, etc.

The sheer variety and diversity of evil is not infrequently expressed through the use of figures, the cent façons of le monstrueux carnage,<sup>165</sup> Anjou's mille accords, mariages, excuses<sup>166</sup> and the vingt mortels desseins<sup>167</sup> devised against Queen Elizabeth. Painful or dramatic moments may deliberately be replayed to give them due weight:-

Deux fois le fer eschappe à la main qui roidit,<sup>168</sup>

Il (Gardiner) avalla trois fois la serviette sanglante,<sup>169</sup>

Le tonnerre grondant frappa cent fois la nuë,<sup>170</sup>

and undisguised multiplication is used to highlight certain already emotive concepts. Earth's protection of her children, for example, is all the more firmly guaranteed because they are par deux fois (ses) enfans:<sup>171</sup> the parent of the young courtier of Princes is un pere deux fois pere:<sup>172</sup> and Condé in his death becomes doublement prince.<sup>173</sup> Similarly our attention is focused on nos Rois, doublement desguisez,<sup>174</sup> virtue trois fois plus miserable et trois foix empiree,<sup>175</sup> or the perverse enjoyment of the putains and garçons seen as:-

doublans et triplans en nouvelles façons<sup>176</sup>  
 Leur plaisir abruti.

In conclusion we may recall Claude-Gilbert Dubois' comment on what he calls d'Aubigné's 'expressionism':-

Il s'agit de donner à chaque idée son développement verbal le plus intense pour en accentuer l'impact mental.<sup>177</sup>

'A chaque idée' - the poem indeed sustains a tremendous weight of intensives. I have already quoted approximate figures when discussing totalitarian vocabulary: statistical evidence is available to show the incidence of other expressions also - about three hundred occurrences of plus, over one hundred of si and about eighty of tant, three hundred negative statements or thereabouts, and half that quantity of phrases involving numerical intensifiers. Through these d'Aubigné builds up expressions to their highest degree, introduces concepts of time, quantity and number, and strengthens the tone of dogmatism already created by the many epithets of judgment, thus arousing the reader's expectations, stretching his imagination to the bounds of credulity and convincing him yet again of the urgency and conviction that fire the author.

### CHAPTER 3 - THE WORD-PAIR

A common device in the sixteenth century, the word-pair is a feature of d'Aubigné's style, both prose and verse. In the Tragiques alone I have noted some seven hundred occurrences, an incidence of approximately one in thirteen lines. It would seem as though for d'Aubigné there were an almost unacceptable poverty about the single word, a distasteful weakness of expression in the unelaborated notion. I have touched on the device before, albeit briefly, in my consideration of double-epithet formation, where I noted its potential for reinforcing by the use of synonyms, its value in promoting concreteness and greater particularization, and its contribution, rhythmically, to the weight and impressiveness of the verse. I now propose to examine it in greater detail - its forms, the meanings achieved by pairing and the interaction between rhythm, sound, prosody and sense - and to look at some possible sources for the word-pair in d'Aubigné's poem.

The basic and most prevalent method of pairing is the linking of two words (verb with verb, noun with noun, adverb with adverb) by a co-ordinating conjunction, but other word-pair types may be distinguished - pairs without conjunction, reinforced pairs, and pairs brought together in a relation of comparison, to name but three. Unimportant as these formal variants may at first appear, it will become evident in the course of this chapter that the impact of some word-pairs at least is directly attributable to the particular mould in which the poet has chosen to set them. Unfortunately we have only very limited information about the process of composition of the Tragiques: nevertheless, the comparison of available MSS and editions testifies at several points to d'Aubigné's conscious

manipulation of the different forms and exploitation of their several resources.<sup>1</sup> The co-ordinator et normally provides a smooth transition from member to member, frequently linking synonyms or near-synonyms. Special forcefulness can result from the disruption of this pattern of expectations: here the latent possibilities are considerable. Characteristic of the unlinked word-pair is the pause between the members, a pause which is often pregnant with meaning. It has an insulating effect, so that each word receives its full sound value and comes with maximum force: dramatic terseness results: we sense that everything is weighted, exact, precise. It is repetition which d'Aubigné turns to account in his reinforced pairs. Whichever part of speech he employs, whether it be a recurring adjective, a double negative or a reiterated pronoun, the result is once again an underlining of the individual constituent words, words which in consequence often fall with hammerblow intensity. Lastly, with the comparative pair, a rarer and more sophisticated type drawing on the grammatical apparatus of comparison, d'Aubigné achieves maximal concentration as the component elements balance, complement and enrich one another. Examples of each of these different forms will appear in the following pages and where the form appears to me to have particular bearing on the meaning, I shall endeavour to point that out.

In terms of meaning pairing can produce many different results. The most obvious is the filling out of the original concept. The gifts of nature to the impoverished peasants of Misères, for example, are to become not merely sustaining viande but even restorative medecines.<sup>2</sup> The truly critical state of France's disorder is reflected in a pulse that is both faint and irregular.<sup>3</sup> (Note how the

epithets fall heavily one after the other - ton poulx foible, inégal - in a manner befitting the general harshness of the passage.) Chambre Dorée 1051:-

Le bras de l'Eternel, aussi doux que robuste

gives at a stroke a complex image of the Almighty, superlative in tenderness, superlative in strength, whilst with similar economy a comparable construction describes the royal princesses as non moins ardentes que rusees.<sup>4</sup>

By means of the word-pair, the poet may also seek to define his ideas more closely. The picture of the dehydrated corpse of 1.423 is made more vivid by adding to seché the second epithet retraict. A refinement of thought is perhaps to be detected in servir, adorer<sup>5</sup> or d'assembler, de chercher<sup>6</sup>, where d'Aubigné appears to retract the weaker verb and substitute in the manner of correctio<sup>7</sup> a more striking. One may alternatively (or simultaneously) see these two word-pairs as marking a certain development, a shameful progression in evil on the part of the obsequious courtiers, increasingly purposeful activity on the part of the Roman emperor. Certainly the word-pair very well conveys the idea of Henri IV's advance from perception to laudable action:-

Tu vois et remédie aux mal-heurs de la France<sup>8</sup> -

an idea, incidentally, absent from the Tronchin edition<sup>9</sup> - and it admirably translates that sense of growing bewilderment on the part of the newly-arrived courtier:-

Il pense, il s'esmerveille.<sup>10</sup>

On occasion the intensity of the poet's emotions is revealed through word-pairs which play on the different stylistic registers. The forcefulness of phrases such as l'audace et le caquet<sup>11</sup> and de la mort et de la boucherie<sup>12</sup> derives to a large extent from the admixture of colourful, figurative words from the low style with relatively commonplace nouns from the middle style.

There are more startling combinations, however, surprise juxtapositions with another function. These are the seemingly casual couplings of apparently disparate concepts. Through them d'Aubigné in satirical vein engenders ironic insinuation and indirect comment, means of expression which save the verse from many of the crudities of mere propaganda ploys. How suavely he makes the equation enfer = Rome or l'hostie = l'idole. It is effected quietly, undramatically, but with crushing force in:-

Ces barbares, esmeus des tisons de l'Enfer<sup>13</sup>  
Et de Rome

and in the zeugma of:-

Un Roy mangeant l'hostie et l'idole.<sup>14</sup>

Though in one instance the pair is separated by the adverbial phrase, the technique is comparable in the taunt:-

Vos meres ont conceu en l'impure matrice<sup>15</sup>  
Puis avorté de vous tout d'un coup et du vice,

or the reflection:-

On berce en leurs berceaux les enfans et le vice,<sup>16</sup>

or even the phrase:-

Aux tourbillons venteux des guerres et des cours,<sup>17</sup>

where the mention of the two spheres of activity in the same breath speaks volumes. The artistry of a phrase like chere et fausse monnoye<sup>18</sup> also lies in the use of the unemphatic co-ordinating conjunction in preference to the anticipated mais, as though the poet takes it for granted that Trahison will treasure the worthless, whilst it is through the matter-of-fact pairing of the paradoxical rians et transis<sup>19</sup> and the dry qualification of:-

Nos princes sont louëz, louëz et vicieux<sup>20</sup>

that d'Aubigné imparts to his satire a fine and subtle touch of irony.

Unexpected alliances in the form of word-pairs linking the abstract and the concrete serve to underline the symbolical nature of the poem. Significance has been written into every detail of the allegories so that Luxuria can be described as sans cheveux et sans honte<sup>21</sup> or Jeunesse sans loy ne ceinture<sup>22</sup>, whilst zeugma is once again brought into play in the scene with Fortune, who, in her request for a token kiss<sup>23</sup>, demands from the youthful courtier nothing less than a complete surrender of his highly-prized integrity. There is of course a sense in which the Christian poet sees the whole universe as a symbol, and his task the right interpretation of that symbol. As Weber remarks, "De la réalité concrète d'Aubigné cherche à extraire . . . des symboles".<sup>24</sup> Habits and hearts make strange bedfellows, yet d'Aubigné, seeing in the freakish fashions of the court a true reflexion of an inner depravity, coins the terse and devastating phrase bizzarr' habits et coeurs.<sup>25</sup> Where another might observe a crumbling of mere bricks and mortar through the assault of the tyrant king, d'Aubigné, penetrating beneath the surface, grieves at the violation of something even more basic and writes:-



L'un desbrise les murs et les loix de ses villes<sup>26</sup>,

whilst in his description of the martyrs blancs de la teste et de la pieté<sup>27</sup> he juxtaposes the grey hairs of age and the snow-whiteness of the sanctified heart.

Antithetical pairs are not uncommon in the Tragiques. Though there is some overlap, they may be assigned to two main categories. In the first their primary function is to stress the epic range of the work. Phrases such as vivre et mourir<sup>28</sup>, premiere et derniere<sup>29</sup>, et bien-faicts et injures<sup>30</sup>, et petites et grandes<sup>31</sup>, de naistre et de finir<sup>32</sup>, would seem to aspire to embrace the whole of experience. In the second category the emphasis of the pairs is on the dualistic nature of the theme - a subject we return to time and time again as the poet writes of God's election d'enfans ou d'ennemis<sup>33</sup>, of His rain that falls sur les bons et sur les vicieux<sup>34</sup>, of the choice before man ou du vray ou du faux<sup>35</sup> or of the final separation of the bons et mauvais<sup>36</sup>.

The main uses examined so far may thus be summarized in terms of expansion, greater precision, logical progression, tonal variation, compression, amplification and thematic emphasis.

I have still made only passing reference to the most common of all types, the synonymous word-pair. Occasionally we may find the abstract concept presented in the first word made pictorial in the second, as in secrettement et en tenebres<sup>37</sup>, humbles, agenouillees<sup>38</sup>, avec peine et à genoux<sup>39</sup>, meurs et jaunissans<sup>40</sup>, or even honte et nudité<sup>41</sup>, but in most instances even the mode of expression is similar - pleurs et cris<sup>42</sup>, paix et repos<sup>43</sup>, tourtres et pigeonneaux<sup>44</sup>, s'estime et se conte<sup>45</sup>, des jeux et des festins<sup>46</sup>, la peine et la

douleur<sup>47</sup>, la prudente et ruzee<sup>48</sup>, pille et prive<sup>49</sup>, clauses et terminees<sup>50</sup>. To dwell on one thought by expressing it in several different ways is of course a time-honoured form of emphasis. For this reason alone, any charge made against the second term simply because it adds little or nothing to the base-word by way of meaning needs to be reconsidered.

This particular group of word-pairs alerts us to the fact, easily overlooked in groups where the lexical content is higher, that the pair functions at other levels too. Here, for example, the impact is essentially rhythmical. In non-synonymous word-pairs too rhythm may often have an important rôle to play. In more than fifty per cent of the doublets used in the Tragiques the first term is a word of one syllable<sup>51</sup>. Lightweight on its own, it is given substance by the supplementary terms which contribute not merely extra syllables but a very important additional accent d'intensité. Quite frequently we find the same words recurring at the core of different word-pairs, but (le but et le principal soin<sup>52</sup>, le but et le plaisir<sup>53</sup>), fer (et le fer et la mort<sup>54</sup>, du fer et des flammes<sup>55</sup>, les fers et les feux<sup>56</sup>, sans fers et sans liens<sup>57</sup>, le fer et la vertu<sup>58</sup>, le fer et la main<sup>59</sup>), ire (d'ire et de vices<sup>60</sup>, l'ire et le feu<sup>61</sup>, sans ire et sans horreur<sup>62</sup>, son ire et sa justice<sup>63</sup>), pleurs (en pleurs, en sanglots<sup>64</sup>, les pleurs et les cris<sup>65</sup>, les pleurs et les playes<sup>66</sup>, pleurs et cris<sup>67</sup>, des pleurs et des larmes<sup>68</sup>), to name but a few. If in this specific area the word-pair gives weight to the insubstantial, in general terms it can be said to impart greater rhythmic resonance. D'Aubigné exploits this potential in very many passages, especially those where dignity and formality are appropriate - philosophical discourses, prophetic utterances, the evocation of saints and martyrs, of the courts of heaven or of God

Almighty. Thus he can discourse in the grand style on vicissitude ou fortune<sup>69</sup>, predict the coming transformation of the gates of Paris into prisons et citadelles<sup>70</sup>, ceremoniously evoke the passing of Cavagne et Briquemaut<sup>71</sup>, describe the ascent of la justice et la foy, la lumiere et la vie<sup>72</sup> or the Lord's vengeance et jugement<sup>73</sup>, sa vervaine et sa barre de fer<sup>74</sup>. Rhythm may also strengthen the voice of indignation, with d'Aubigné declaiming de l'infamie et de l'horreur<sup>75</sup>, de venin et d'ordure<sup>76</sup>, exposing massacre et tyrannie<sup>77</sup>, mercilessly stigmatizing as incestueux et meurtrier<sup>78</sup> Philip II of Spain, or, nearer home, branding the Duc d'Anjou traistre et bourreau<sup>79</sup>.

To examine d'Aubigné's word-pair further, this time from an aural point of view, will deepen our appreciation of the device. Particularly significant here is alliteration. According to Marouzeau<sup>80</sup>, "donner une forme originale à l'énoncé" is one of alliteration's primary functions. It can be used to give vigour and insistence to an expression: hence the ear-catching phrases de farcin et de faim<sup>81</sup>, frenaisie et fievre<sup>82</sup>, tranche et detruit<sup>83</sup>, fausses et foles<sup>84</sup>, fumer et fendre<sup>85,86</sup>. Sound-correspondence between the members moreover welds them together until they are felt as having (in Croll's phrase) "a unitary character"<sup>87</sup>. This can be observed in words already closely related, in the formulaic racines et rameaux<sup>88</sup>, femme et fille<sup>89</sup>, logis et lict<sup>90</sup>, nez et nourris<sup>91</sup>, where semantic correspondence is supported by sound parallels. This same bonding function however is also used to good effect in the many cases of surprise combinations. It reinforces the strong link already formed through the judicious use of the co-ordinator et between the pairs of words in du monde et des miseres<sup>92</sup>, du monde et

des malheurs<sup>93</sup> and le monde et ses mensonges<sup>94</sup>, and thus significantly enhances the profound pessimism of the several contexts. When the elements of a pair have opposing meanings, co-occurrence on the aural level tends to underline non-coincidence on the lexical. Thus, alliteration may establish more firmly the relationships of contrast expressed in some of the antithetical word-pairs, de plaisirs ou de plaintes<sup>95</sup>, et devant et derriere<sup>96</sup>, venge ou approuve<sup>97</sup>. In very many cases, however, alliteration makes its appearance, whether or not the sense calls for any formal strengthening. Then euphony, in keeping with Cicero's oft-repeated dictum "Voluptate aurium iudicatur"<sup>98</sup>, appears to be the ultimate criterion. There is a satisfying polish and neatness of expression about les berceaux, les esbats<sup>99</sup>, ma jeunesse et mes jours<sup>100</sup> or les espics et la paille<sup>101</sup>, which d'Aubigné seems incapable of resisting<sup>102</sup>. Nor does he confine himself to initial alliteration. He likes to interweave several alliterating consonants even within as narrow a compass as the word-pair. There is, for example, a submerged alliteration in renaisse et rajeunisse<sup>103</sup>; there are secondary sequences in l'essence et le subtil<sup>104</sup>, diligents et legers<sup>105</sup>, du marbre et de l'albâtre<sup>106</sup>, trafique et pratique<sup>107</sup>, or tremblantes, lamentables<sup>108</sup>. Striking word-pairs also occur when sound repetitions fall into chiasmic patterns - rians et transis<sup>109</sup>, ton conseil, ton secours<sup>110</sup>, ignorans, endurcis<sup>111</sup>, juste et sage<sup>112</sup>, et l'idole et l'hostie<sup>113</sup> - turned inside out l'hostie et l'idole<sup>114</sup> - l'esprit et penser<sup>115</sup>, or l'esprit et le sel<sup>116</sup>.

Alliteration, dominant though it may be in this field, is not the only figure to lend emphasis, cohesion, relief or ornament to the word-pair. Similar results accrue from the not infrequent

use of assonance - beuvoyent et se baignoyent<sup>117</sup>, les sueurs et les labeurs<sup>118</sup>, du berceau, du tombeau<sup>119</sup>, saltarin, baladin<sup>120</sup> - of rhyme - pere et mere<sup>121</sup>, financiers, justiciers<sup>122</sup>, et la terre et la mer<sup>123</sup>, souffrez, mourez<sup>124</sup>, ami ni ennemi<sup>125</sup> - and of paronomasia, a figure where minimal sound differences can produce vital distinctions in meaning. The latter device may perhaps appear to be stretched a little in:-

La vie et non l'envie ils presserent si fort  
Qu'elle donne en trois jours les signes de la mort<sup>126</sup>,

the ellipsis for "l'envie de manger" obscuring the meaning, but its force is undeniable in the satirical:-

Rompu ou corrompu au trictrac des affaires<sup>127</sup>,

or later in:-

Ce chien te fit prévoir non pouvoir à ta perte<sup>128</sup>,

as it sums up all the tragedy of a forewarning that was not a forearming. I have so far examined the rhythms and sounds of the word-pair without reference to the overall prosodic pattern. To ignore the metrical scheme within which the device operates would be to overlook an element of the poet's technique which on many occasions provides an effective means of emphasis. In his handling of the pair d'Aubigné frequently turns to account the strong caesural and line-end positions, and fully exploits the resources of enjambement.

Careful arrangement of the members of the pair gives full weight to each in such lines as:-

Au pris du déplaisir et infernal tourment<sup>129</sup>,

L'homme, crevant de rage et de noire fureur<sup>130</sup>,

Bestes de qui le but et le principal soin<sup>131</sup>,

or,

Avec tels serviteurs et fidelles amis<sup>132</sup>.

Combined with alliteration, assonance, and the reinforced form of the word-pair, a strategic placing of the nouns adds to the vehemence of the actual words in:-

Avec sa quanteur et sa punition<sup>133</sup>,

and again the same basic pattern is used to present with appropriate solemnity the contrasting destinies of men who, in the final canto, await

La desolation ou le contentement<sup>134</sup>.

When a pair without conjunction spans the caesura, as in:-

Le criminel pressé; repressé plusieurs fois<sup>135</sup>,

the characteristic pause between the parts is lengthened and the insulating effect of the comma intensified, whilst a somewhat similar effect can be observed in the reinforced pair:-

Ne pouvant ni fournir ni ouïr leur demande<sup>136</sup>,

where, without an undue effort of the imagination, the pause can be felt almost to assume the value of mesme.

The emphasis produced by enjambement, however, which d'Aubigné in common with many poets of the second half of the century<sup>137</sup> uses freely, is much more pronounced. Enjambement gives added thrust to such expressions of disgusted disenchantment as:-

Votre manteau royal fut une couverture<sup>138</sup>  
D'opprobre et deshonneur,

Il ne sort des tyrans et de leurs mains impures<sup>139</sup>  
Qu'ordures ni que sang,

or

Les princesses s'en vont de leurs lits, de leurs chambres,<sup>140</sup>  
D'horreur, non de pitié, pour ne toucher aux membres  
Sanglans et detrachés.

By dramatically foregrounding the word-pair it contributes to the violence of effect in the already shocking vignette

D'Arius, qui versa en une orde latrine<sup>141</sup>  
Ventre et vie à la fois.

And it throws into relief the expressive epithets in the poet's request:-

endurez mes vocables<sup>142</sup>  
Longs et rudes.

Again it is often the pair without conjunction which benefits particularly from enjambement. We can see this in some already quoted:-

. . . mieux qu'eux avoit souci  
D'assembler, de chercher les esprits plus habiles<sup>143</sup>,

or

Sans honte, sans repos, les serfs plus abaissez,<sup>144</sup>  
Humbles pour dominer, se trouvent avancez  
A servir, adorer.



The pause between the members is significantly lengthened, suggesting something of the deliberateness and steady determination with which the martyrs meet their end in the lines:-

. . . qui aux yeux de Dieu<sup>145</sup>  
Souffrez, mourez,

whilst it takes on altogether more sinister overtones in

Vole une sage femme, et la bande et conduit<sup>146</sup>  
Prendre, tuer l'enfant d'une Roine masquee,

following as it does the heavy emphasis on prendre, which subtly suggests the violence speedily made explicit.

There are, finally, occasions where the word-pair straddles the lines just as we have seen it span the caesura, where for special effect a strong metrical break disrupts the syntactic continuity of a word-group. One of these instances was quoted above, when attention was drawn to the daring equation enfer = Rome<sup>147</sup>. The overflow from

Ces barbares, esmeus des tisons de l'Enfer

is totally unanticipated, and herein lies its strength. A later example occurs in the midst of a tirade against the reprobate (particularly the renegade Huguenots) where all the rhetorical stops are pulled out, and in the mounting crescendo of reproach, the accusation,

Vous vous esjouïssez estans retraits de vices

at last overflows into the vituperative

Et puans excremens.<sup>148</sup>



It was stated at the outset that the word-pair was characteristic of sixteenth century writing. In no way can it be claimed as the unique preserve of d'Aubigné. Higman draws attention to it in Calvin's prose<sup>149</sup>, Sayce has made a detailed study of the pair in Montaigne<sup>150</sup>, whilst over sixty years ago Emmanuel Philipot complained:-

Chez du Fail, les mots s'en vont deux par deux comme<sup>151</sup>  
des boeufs attelés au joug.

Indeed a cursory glance at any anthology of the century would show that in the prose and poetry of most authors, Catholic or Calvinist, this particular form of binary expression is almost standard.

One vital influence on the literary style of this period was the language of the law. "A legal education was a practical necessity for anyone who aspired to have a career in the affairs of church or state", writes M. P. Gilmore. "Many of the great figures of literature from Petrarch to Montaigne had studied the law even though they afterwards revolted against it", and he comments, "Under these conditions the methods, the attitudes, and the incidental opinions of the law professors take on an importance far transcending their technical instruction. In many ways they contributed to forming the mind and style of their age."<sup>152</sup>

There is little need to enlarge on the subject of word-doubling in legal jargon. We are even to-day familiar with the lawyer's residue and remainder, noble and learned friend, null and void, fit and proper, or force and effect. Amplification of this kind, originating in a laudable concern for precision, could, and often did, degenerate into the stereotyped and the inevitable.

(Mellinkoff writing on the language of the law even suggests this proverbial prolixity may not be unconnected with a one time "pay-by-the-word legal economy".<sup>153</sup>) However it came about the rolling phrases and distinctive rhythms began to be fixed, ritualistic, and the word-pair became an ornament of an age in which the legal profession flourished as seldom before. Crespin's Martyrology makes it clear that Anne Askewe, for example, was no stranger to these legal formulae. In his text of her letters and formal pleas we come upon the following:- desirs & requestes, de faict & de nature, testifie & conferme, a tort & sans cause, charge & office, caution & pleige, autorité ou puissance, au jour & heur, dommage ou inconvenient, deuement & salutairement, limites & bornes, ordonnance et institution, de faict & substance, loix & ordonnances<sup>154.</sup>

To all this was added the Humanist influence. The literature of Middle French made use of the word-pair but as the writers of the sixteenth century preferred to take their models directly from the classics, it is probably more in keeping with the facts to see also in this trend a by-product of the period's latinizing zeal, a trend encouraged by conscious imitation of the Ancients, especially Cicero, and intensified in this age of translation par excellence by the fear lest a single French word should fail to provide an adequate equivalent for the original.

For religious authors there was yet another influence at work - the traditional language of the church, formal and impressive, as found in the writings and disputations of the theologians, sermon oratory and the Bible. For Protestant writers especially - writers

of this post-Reformation period<sup>155</sup> when the ideal was every Christian a theologian - the influence of the Bible was by far the most telling.

Unlike many of his contemporaries, d'Aubigné had little or no formal legal training. One or two of the word-pairs in the Tragiques, franchises et droicts<sup>156</sup>, faits et gestes<sup>157</sup>, for example, reflect the terminology of "de la formalité la race babillarde"<sup>158</sup>, but his acquaintance with legal jargon was on the whole derivative rather than direct. His Humanistic learning, however, was impressive, and his theological knowledge formidable. On the one hand, witness to his "éducation princièrement intellectuelle"<sup>159</sup> stand his precocious translation of Plato's Crito and the original Jambonica and Epigrammata<sup>160</sup>, on the other, products of his Protestant commitment, the satirical Sancy and Faeneste and the devotional psalm meditations and paraphrases, together with his religious verse, ethical treatises such as the Devoir mutuel des roys et des subjects and various Lettres de poincts de doctrine.

In the Tragiques, well-designated the epic of Calvinism, subject and style are predominantly religious. Rejecting the "inutiles fleurs"<sup>161</sup> of his earlier secular writings, and acknowledging as his guiding lights the "prophetes plus vieux"<sup>162</sup>, d'Aubigné asks to be nothing less than "organe à la celeste voix"<sup>163</sup>. Word-coupling in the Bible, particularly in the poetical and prophetic books of the Old Testament, is frequent. A few examples must suffice - compatissant et miséricordieux<sup>164</sup>, la misère et la faim<sup>165</sup>, elles m'environnaient, m'enveloppaient<sup>166</sup>, ronces et épines<sup>167</sup>, les idoles et les images taillées<sup>168</sup>, ma force et mon appui<sup>169</sup>, détruit, rompu<sup>170</sup>, d'étonnement, d'épouvante<sup>171</sup>. Alliteration is often used, sa fierté (gaavah) et sa hauteur (gaon)<sup>172</sup>, le ravage (sheth) et

la ruine (sheber)<sup>173</sup>, as well as chiasmus, par la famine (raab)  
et par la peste (deber)<sup>174</sup>, similar endings, la jeunesse (yaleduth)  
et l'aurore (shacharuth)<sup>175</sup>, rhyme, informe (tohu) et vide (bohu)<sup>176</sup>  
and paronomasia, ma force (oz) et mon appui (maoz)<sup>177</sup>, abandonnés  
(shoah) et déserts (meshoah)<sup>178</sup> or tout à coup (petha), en un  
instant (pithom)<sup>179</sup>. Not a few of d'Aubigné's word-pairs have their  
direct or near equivalent in the Scriptures, l'enfer et la mort<sup>180</sup>  
(cf. Rev.1.18, 20.1f.), racines et rameaux<sup>181</sup> (cf. Mal.4.1), ni  
racine ni rameau, le fidelle, le vray<sup>182</sup> (cf. Rev.3.14 et passim  
fidèle et véritable), l'aconit et la ciguë<sup>183</sup> (cf. Jer.9.15, 23.15),  
de luths et de violes<sup>184</sup> (cf. Is.5.12), toute crainte et respect<sup>185</sup>  
(cf. Heb.12.28 avec piété et avec crainte), descouvertes et nues<sup>186</sup>  
(cf. Mic.1.8 dechaussé et nu), or prudente et ruzée<sup>187</sup> (cf. Matt.  
11.25 aux sages et aux intelligents, an instance where with his  
alliteration and assonance d'Aubigné preserves, or regains perhaps,  
something of the original flavour, the Septuagint reading being  
sophos/sunetos). These recurring reminiscences contribute not  
a little towards the strong Biblical tonality of the work as a  
whole, the "langage de Canaan"<sup>188</sup>, lending to d'Aubigné's words  
special weight and authority, the cachet of authenticity that for  
the Calvinist must accompany the "propres mots des organes de Dieu"<sup>189</sup>.

Whilst, then, as we noted at the beginning, the practice of  
pairing appears with d'Aubigné to be almost compulsive, and though  
it clearly reflects contemporary trends and preferences, it is  
neither automatic nor obtrusive. Cast in a variety of moulds, it  
exhibits a not unpleasing degree of stylization, and its distribution  
within the verse reveals behind it an author careful to harmonize  
meaning and metrical form.<sup>190</sup> The copia verborum which it produces

betokens, however, his restless, inexhaustible energy, and the onward thrust of the rhythm is often paralleled by a movement of thought within the pair, the second word carrying the reader forward with a fresh concept, suddenly changing the tone, in a deft turn of phrase giving an edge to his disapprobation, interiorizing a description or bringing together in a moment alternatives or extremes, never static but matching in its diverse motions the conflicts, tensions and reversals of the struggle that animates the epic.

#### CHAPTER 4 - ENUMERATION

From word-pairing it is but a step to another device which is very much a presence in the Tragiques, the device of enumeration. This too has been touched on earlier, but only in as far as it affected the epithet, whilst with d'Aubigné the most prevalent form of enumeration, accounting for over sixty-five per cent of all noted examples, is the accumulation of nouns. Series of adjectives form perhaps twelve per cent of the whole, and series of verbs ten to eleven per cent, whilst the balance is made up with groups of phrases, clauses, sentences or combinations of these. The number of terms used may vary greatly, from the common triad as found in lines such as:-

Il ne faut plus de soin, de labeur, de despence,<sup>1</sup>

or

Aux obseques des grands, aux festins, sur l'arene,<sup>2</sup>

to the long recipe-type list of:-

Tu y brusles en vain cyprés et mandragore,<sup>3</sup>  
La ciguë, la ruë et le blanc hellebore,  
La teste d'un chat roux, d'un ceraste la peau,  
D'un chat-huant le fiel, la langue d'un corbeau,  
De la chauve souris le sang, et de la louve  
Le laict chaudement pris sur le point qu'elle trouve  
Sa tasniere vollee et son fruict emporté,  
Le nombril frais-couppé à l'enfant avorté,  
Le coeur d'un vieil crapaut, le foye d'un dipsade,  
Les yeux d'un basilic, la dent d'un chien malade  
Et la bave qu'il rend en contemplant les flots,  
La queuë du poisson, ancre des matelots,  
Contre lequel en vain vent et voile s'essaye,  
Le vierge parchemin, le palais de fresaye,

or the miniature catalogue of:-

Je laisse arriere-moy les actes de Commode  
Et Valentinian, qui de pareille mode  
Depouillerent sur Christ leurs courroux aveuglés,  
Pareils en morts, tous deux par valets estranglés;  
Et Decius qui trouve au milieu des batailles  
Un Dieu qui avoit pris le contraire parti,  
Puis le gouffre tout prest dont il fut englouti.<sup>4</sup>

In terms of relative simplicity or complexity of structure, the spectrum is correspondingly broad. There is the strictly linear composition of:-

Par veilles, par labeurs, par chemins, par ennuis,<sup>5</sup>

or of:-

Trepigné dans le pré avec bouche embavee,  
Bras courbé, les yeux clos, et la jambe levee.<sup>6</sup>

The rigidity of this may be tempered in several ways. In:-

Qui le mesprisera pourra voir tout à coup<sup>7</sup>  
Les canons, la fumee, et les fronts des batailles,  
Ou mieux les fers, les feux, les couteaux, les tenailles,  
La roue et les cordeaux,

it is by the interpolated "ou mieux", which introduces an almost conversational note (the emphatic adverbs in 2.1207 and 7.73 have a similar effect). Elsewhere it can be modified by an expansion of the final member, by the emotive comparison concluding:-

il faut qu'elle sorte  
Eschevelée, affreuze, et bramant en la sorte  
Que faict la bische apres le fan qu'elle a perdu,<sup>8</sup>

or by the narrative element colouring either:-

Quel antre caverneux, quel sablon, quel desert,<sup>9</sup>  
Quel bois au fond duquel le voyageur se perd,  
Est exempt de mal-heurs?

or:-

Superbe, florissant, si brave qu'il ne treuve<sup>10</sup>  
Nul qui de sa valeur entreprenne la preuve.

Frequently d'Aubigné uses multiple enumeration. There are the parenthetical series where minor enumerations (often ternary groupings) occur within the larger block. In the long list of crimes that make up the great indictment of the papacy we find "les degats des païs, des hommes et des vies."<sup>11</sup> Within the series of verbs describing man's exalted rôle in nature we come upon "cognoistre leur estre et nature et puissance."<sup>12</sup> In the more complex structure of the following extract, with its elliptical syntax where the principal enumeration hinges on "il faut", there are two dependent series of adjectives and nouns:-

Il faut estre vieillard, caduc, humilié,<sup>13</sup>  
A demi mort au monde, à luy mortifié,  
Que l'ame recommence à retrouver sa vie  
Sentant par tous endroits sa maison desmolie,  
Que ce corps ruiné de breches en tous lieux  
Laisse voler l'esprit dans le chemin des cieux,  
Quitter jeunesse et jeux, le monde et ses mensonges,  
Le vent, la vanité, pour songer ces beaux songes.

In cases where the terms of the enumeration are phrases or clauses rather than single words, we may find parallel or chiasmic series:-

Pharaon fut paisible, Antiochus piteux,<sup>14</sup>  
Les Herodes plus doux, Cinna religieux,

par l'autre sont chargez<sup>15</sup>  
Les pauvres de thresors, d'aise les affligez,  
De gloire les honteux, l'ignorant de science,  
L'abbatu de secours, le transi d'esperance.

Closely related to these parallel forms are the vers rapportés, with which most sixteenth century writers experimented, though Buffum seems unacquainted with the device, quoting as a "curious example" of asyndeton<sup>16</sup> the lines:-



Mais ton coeur put vouloir, et put ta main meurtriere<sup>17</sup>  
Tuer, brusler, meurtrir precepteur, ville et mere,

and attaching the same epithet farther down the page to the following:-

Je suis importuné de dire comme Dieu  
Aux Rois, aux ducs, aux chefs, de leur camp au milieu,  
Rendit, exerça, fit, droict, vengeance et merveille,  
Crevant, poussant, frappant, l'oeil, l'espaule et l'oreille.<sup>18</sup>

Finally there are the subsidiary series which branch out from an initial enumeration in the manner of:-

Le prince, defardé du lustre de son vent,  
Trouvera tant de honte et d'ire en se trouvant  
Tyran, lasche, ignorant, indigne de louange<sup>19</sup>  
Du tiers estat, du noble et en pays estrange,

or of:-

Il s'acharne au pillage, et l'enchanteur ruzé  
Tantost en conseiller finement desguizé,  
En prescheur penitent et en homme d'Eglise,  
Il mutine aisément, il conjure, il attise<sup>20</sup>  
Le sang, l'esprit, le coeur et l'oreille des grands.

This rich variety of form arising out of the fact that enumerations can be of single words or of groups of words, may have few terms or many, can be simple or complex, is matched by great flexibility in function. In the Tragiques enumeration serves d'Aubigné as a precision instrument, it can convey impressiveness, passion, completeness, ridicule and suspense, and produce colourful and often compact descriptions.

As a precision instrument enumeration helps d'Aubigné to define his terms. Concerned as he is with the prostitution of language by sycophants and flatterers, it is not surprising he should wish his own terminology to be crystal-clear. Thus he sets down forcefully

through a list of the soldier's exploits the forgotten recipe for  
old-time vertu:-

Se jeter contre espoir dans la ville assiegee,<sup>21</sup>  
La sauver demi-prise et rendre encouragee,  
Fortifier, camper ou se loger parmi  
Les gardes, les efforts d'un puissant ennemi  
Employer, sans manquer de coeur ni de cervelle,  
L'espee d'une main, de l'autre la truelle,  
Bien faire une retraite, ou d'un scadron battu  
R'allier les deffaicts, cela n'est plus vertu.

Similarly, through a succession this time of relative clauses, he  
analyses the fortitude once displayed by Christian martyrs:-

cette constance extreme  
Qui vous a fait tuer l'enfer et la mort blesme,  
Qui a fait les petits resister aux plus grands,  
Qui a fait les bergers vainqueurs sur les tyrans . . .<sup>22</sup>

Even as he ponders the problems of revealing to the great their  
corruption he lays down, once more using the technique of enumeration,  
the exact manner and substance of the desired disclosure. He demands:-

Mais où se trouvera qui à langue declose<sup>23</sup>  
Qui à fer esmoulu, à front decouvert ose  
Venir aux mains, toucher, faire sentir aux grands  
Combien ils sont petits et foibles et sanglans!

The proliferation of words sometimes suggests an author feeling his  
way towards meaning, casting round for adequate expression - for  
terms strong enough to carry, for example, the desired weight of  
disgust in the angry outburst:-

gardez nos immondices,<sup>24</sup>  
Nos rongneuses brebis, les pestes du troupeau,  
Ou galles que l'Eglise arrache de sa peau,

or for the means of representing the ghastly massacre of 1572 at  
Orleans:-

Le palais d'Orleans en vid les sales pleines,  
Dont l'amas fit une isle, une chaussee, un mont,<sup>25</sup>

where the picture assumes an almost surrealistic quality.

Enumeration, however, may also effectively impart weight and dignity to a passage. As Sayce points out,<sup>26</sup> it is one of the oldest epic devices; the very nature of the heroic almost demands it.<sup>27</sup> It is common in other French Renaissance epics, though not nearly as intensively used in, say, Ronsard's Franciade. In classical epic catalogues of heroes were a standard requirement, and it is undoubtedly the influence of Virgil and Homer that lies behind the many impressive roll-calls of the Tragiques, behind the lists of illustrious Greeks,<sup>28</sup> Bible heroes,<sup>29</sup> Hussite, Moravian and Albigensian champions of Reformation history<sup>30</sup> and men of courage and integrity of d'Aubigné's own day.<sup>32</sup> The counter-blast to these noble examples comes with the horrifying lists of classical,<sup>33</sup> scriptural,<sup>34</sup> and contemporary<sup>35</sup> monsters. One extended example may suffice to show how impressive these too may be:-

O qu'en Lybie Anthee, en Crette le taureau,  
Que les testes d'Hydra, du noir sanglier la peau,  
Le lion Nemean et ce que cette fable  
Nous conte d'outrageux fut au pris supportable!  
Pharaon fut paisible, Antiochus piteux,  
Les Herodes plus doux, Cinna religieux;  
On pouvoit supporter l'espreuve de Perille,  
Le cousteau de Cesar, et la prison de Sylle;  
Et les feux de Neron ne furent point des feux,<sup>36</sup>  
Pres de ceux que vomit ce serpent monstrueux.

A veritable bombardment of insults is provided by this comparison of Catherine with the massed tyrants of Antiquity. Here d'Aubigné would have his readers believe that, to quote Lapp, "actuality outdoes myth".<sup>37</sup>

The very accumulation of place-names may impart to them and to the passages in which they occur a degree of distinction, as in the celebration of those northern centres renowned in recent history:-

Anvers, Cambray, Tournay, Mons et Valenciennes,<sup>38</sup>

or of the little towns in the Lyons area which held out valiantly - at least for a time - against the massacres initiated by Paris:-

Voila Tournon, Viviers et Vienne et Valence.<sup>39</sup>

The chief value, however, of accumulated place-names in the Tragiques seems to lie in their contribution to our awareness of epic breadth. Sometimes the field of action is Europe, a Europe penetrated by the far-reaching operations of the Jesuits:-

Je voi comme le fer piteusement besongne  
En Mosco, en Suede, en Dace et en Polongne.<sup>40</sup>

Sometimes the action is limited to France. Yet what a sense of the vastness of his own country d'Aubigné conveys:-

Voici de toutes parts du circui de la France,  
Du brave Languedoc, de la seche Provance,  
Du noble Dauphiné, du riche Lyonnois,  
Des Bourguignons testus, des legers Champenois,  
Des Picards hazardeux, de Normandie forte,  
Voici le Breton franc, le Poictou qui tout porte,<sup>41</sup>  
Les Xaintongeois heureux et les Gascons soldarts,

De la mer, du midi, et des Alpes encore<sup>42</sup>  
L'esprit va resveiller qui en esprit adore:  
Aux costaux de la Clergue, aux Pirenes gelés,  
Aus Sevenes d'Auvergne, en voila d'appeles.

As the enumerative crowd-scenes depict it, it is a country teeming with all sorts and conditions of people, whether they be the pitiful

refugees fleeing from Montargis "femmes, vieillards et enfans",<sup>43</sup>  
the various members of society caught up in the slaughter of St  
Bartholomew's Day:-

trois mille cheres vies,  
Tesmoins, juges et rois et bourreaux et parties,<sup>44</sup>

or the martyr host on its way to glory:-

comtes et grands seigneurs,<sup>45</sup>  
Dames, filles, enfans, compagnons en honneurs  
D'un triomphe sans lustre.

This dramatic quality in d'Aubigné's writing is further  
enhanced by the use of impassioned apostrophe. The names,

Anvers, Cambray, Tournay, Mons et Valenciennes

are part of an invocation which continues with that other figure  
closely linked with apostrophe, interrogation, "a warm preposition"  
says Hoskins, which "therefore oftentimes serves more fitly than a  
bare affirmation"<sup>46</sup>:-

Pourrois-je desployer vos morts, vos bruslements,<sup>47</sup>  
Vos tenailles en feu, vos vifs enterremens?

lines paralleled by the poet's urgent call to God to vindicate His  
authority:-

N'es-tu Seigneur du monde,<sup>48</sup>  
Toy, Seigneur, qui abbas, qui blesses, qui gueris,  
Qui donnes vie et mort, qui tue et qui nourris?

Enumerative address is fairly equally divided between praise and  
censure - though the balance probably falls on the side of the latter.  
There is eulogistic apostrophe for the

Piteuse, diligente et devote Yverny,  
Hostesse à l'estranger, des pauvres aumoniere,<sup>49</sup>  
Garde de l'hospital, des prisons thresoriere,

and for Elizabeth I:-

Debora d'Israel, Cherub sur les pervers,  
Fleau des tyrans, flambeau luisant sur l'univers,<sup>50</sup>

but utter condemnation for the flatterers, both for their instability and for their intransigence. Because d'Aubigné sees them as conformists, slavishly bowing to the fashions and foibles of the great he can address them in these terms:-

O ployables esprits, ô consciences molles,<sup>51</sup>  
Temeraires jouëts du vent et des parolles.

Because, on the other hand, they refused to believe the word of God he speaks to them otherwise:-

O enfans de ce siecle, ô abusez mocqueurs,<sup>52</sup>  
Implayables esprits, incorrigibles coeurs.

The invective is rich and original: in one harangue the objects of his abuse may be called:-

Assassins pour du pain, meurtriers pasles et blesmes,<sup>53</sup>  
Cuppe-jarrets, bourreaux d'autrui et de vous mesmes!

in another:-

Superbes esventés, tiercelets de geants,<sup>54</sup>  
Du monde espouvantaux, vous braves de ce temps,  
Outrecuidés galans, ô fols.

Elsewhere negative enumeration reinforces d'Aubigné's contempt for his arch-enemy, the church of Rome:-

Sel sans saveur, bois verd qui sans feu rend fumée,<sup>55</sup>  
Nuage sans liqueur, abondance affamée.

The insults may on occasion be substantiated by specific accusations:-

Voici donc, Antechrist, l'extraict des faits et gestes:<sup>56</sup>  
Tes fornications, adulteres, incestes,  
Les pechés où nature est tournée à l'envers,  
La bestialité, les grands bourdeaux ouvers,  
Le tribut exigé, la bulle demandee  
Qui a la sodomie en esté concedée:  
La place de tyran conquise par le fer,  
Les fraudes qu'exerça ce grand tison d'enfer,  
Les empoisonnemens, assassins, calomnies,  
Les degats des païs, des hommes et des vies,  
Pour attraper les clefs; les contracts, les marchés,  
Des diables stipulans subtilement couchés,

or the angry address develop into a series of imperatives, scathing where Catherine is concerned:-

Va, commande aux demons, d'imperieuse voix,<sup>57</sup>  
Reproche leur tes coups, conte ce que tu vois,  
Monstre leur le succes des ruses florentines,  
Tes meurtres, tes poisons, de France les ruines,  
Tant d'ames, tant de corps que tu leur fais avoir,  
Tant d'esprits abrutis, poussez au desespoir,  
Qui renoncent leur Dieu,

indignant, almost hysterical, in the attack on the Jesuits:-

Allez, prechez, courez, vollez, meurtriere trope,<sup>58</sup>  
Semez le feu d'enfer aux quatre coins d'Europe!

Enumeration is thus an effective device for portraying emotions that have become uncontrollable. A topsy-turvy mingling of concrete and abstract in this enumeration, for example, conveys the ill-advised enthusiasm of the Poles in their dealings with the unfortunate Henri III. The poet, concerned to press home the enormity of the indiscretion, tells them that with foresight

vous n'eussiez voulu mettre<sup>59</sup>  
Vos loix, vostre couronne, et les droits et le sceptre,  
En ces impures mains.

Henri's wild declaration that he would

N'y espargner le sang du peuple ni la vie,  
Les promesses, les voix, la foy, la perfidie<sup>60</sup>

brings out his prejudice in rejecting both their foy and their perfidie. It is syntactic disarray that mirrors the author's distraught state of mind in the following complex sentence, whose thread d'Aubigné himself loses:-

Ils vont souffrans la faim qu'ils portent doucement  
Au pris du desplaisir et infernal tourment  
Qu'ils sentirent jadis, quand leurs maisons remplies  
De daemons encharnez, sepulchres de leurs vies,  
Leur servoyent de crottons, ou pendus par les doigts  
A des cordons trenchans, ou attachez au bois  
Et couchez dans le feu, ou de graisses flambantes  
Les corps nuds tenaillez, ou les plaintes pressantes  
De leurs enfans pendus par les pieds, arrachez<sup>61</sup>  
Du sein qu'ils empoignoyent, des tetins assechez.

A note of panic is sounded in the following examples:-

Qui a veu quelquefois prendre un coupeur de bourse<sup>62</sup>  
Son oeuvre dans ses mains, qui ne peut à la course  
Se sauver, desguiser ou nier son forfait?  
(All his options blocked, the pickpocket is reduced  
to utter confusion),

Il use d'eau lustrale, il la boit, la consomme.<sup>63</sup>  
(Henri III's progression from superstition to mortal  
terror is expressed in an example of gradatio with  
asyndeton, in which tempo is skilfully manipulated,  
moving from the leisurely first hemistich through  
the short, snappy monosyllables of the second clause  
to the ellipsis of the climax.)

Many enumerations simply have the force of absolutes. Total ascendancy is attributed to those in royal favour,

Car les plus grands, qui sont des princes le conseil,  
Sont des princes le coeur, le sens, l'oreille et l'oeil<sup>64</sup>



and absolute authority over evil spirits to Catherine:-

De telles voix sans plus tu pourras esmouvoir,<sup>65</sup>  
Employer, arrester tout l'infernal pouvoir

whilst it is the consuming force of Henri III's illicit passion  
that is effectively suggested by the periphrastic subject of:-

Maintenant son esprit, son ame et son courage<sup>66</sup>  
Cerchent un laid repos.

The perfect vigilance of the "bergers curieux", their ceaseless,  
unwavering care, is presented through the listing of their services  
to the saints:-

Les preserver de mal, se camper autour d'eux,<sup>67</sup>  
Leur servir de flambeau en la nuict plus obscure,  
Les defendre d'injure et destourner l'injure  
Sur le chef des tyrans.

Du Bourg's sacrifice of "son corps, sa vie et ses honneurs"<sup>68</sup> is of  
a piece with the willing, even reckless acceptance of suffering that,  
according to d'Aubigné, marks the true Church:-

Venez donc pauvreté, faim, fuittes et blessures,<sup>69</sup>  
Banissemens, prison, proscriptions, injures.

The triad "paisibles, saouls et sains"<sup>70</sup> expresses utter satisfaction  
(albeit hypothetical), whilst a picture of thorough-going destructive-  
ness emerges from the description of War:-

Ses cheveux gris, sans loy, sont grouillantes viperes<sup>71</sup>  
Qui lui crevent le sein, dos et ventre d'ulceres.

The wicked are versatile, like the Devil himself:-

Il s'acharne au pillage, et l'enchanteur ruzé  
Tantost en conseiller finement desguizé,  
En prescheur penitent et en homme d'Eglise,  
Il mutine aisément, il conjure, il attise  
Le sang, l'esprit, le coeur et l'oreille des grands.<sup>72</sup>

Like Catherine they are inexhaustible. She pursues her designs,  
unwearied

Par veilles, par labeurs, par chemins, par ennuis.<sup>73</sup>

Yet, looking into the future d'Aubigné anticipates the vengeance of  
the elect on every enemy of God:-

Pour fouler à leurs pieds, pour détruire et desfaire  
Des ennemis de Dieu la canaille adverse,  
Voire pour empoigner et mener prisonniers  
Les Empereurs, les Rois, et princes les plus fiers,<sup>74</sup>  
Les mettre aux ceps, aux fers, punir leur arrogance,

and anticipates in particular the surrender by the Papacy of all the  
hated ecclesiastical paraphernalia:-

Or faut-il à ses pieds ces blasphemes et titres<sup>75</sup>  
Poser, et avec eux les tiaras, les mitres,  
La bannière d'orgueil, fausses clefs, fausses croix,  
Et la pantoufle aussi, qu'ont baisé tant de Rois.

Enumeration is on occasion used with satiric intent. It is  
the ideal form in which to satirize jargon or empty words. Here the  
target is legal terminology:-

Tout interlocutoire, arrest, appointment,<sup>76</sup>  
A plaider, à produire un gros enfantement  
De procez, d'intendits, de griefs; un compulsoire  
Puis le desrogatoire à un desrogatoire,  
Visa, pareatis, replicque, exceptions,  
Revisions, duplique, objects, salvations,  
Hypotheques, guever, deguerpir, prealables,  
Fin de non recevoir.

Theological verbiage comes under fire too, the loquaciousness of the Doctors being mirrored in:-

Et malgré leurs discours, leurs fuites et leurs ruzes,<sup>77</sup>  
Il laissa les caphards sans mot et sans excuse.

The froth of the court poetasters' verse is held up to ridicule in this next example:-

Les flateurs de l'amour ne chantent que leurs vices,<sup>78</sup>  
Que vocables choisis à peindre les delices,  
Que miel, que ris, que jeux, amours et passetemps,  
Une heureuse follie à consommer son temps,

for these too are vanity, like the allurements of the world, the "vains noms de l'honneur, de liberté, de vie/Ou d'aise",<sup>79</sup> which have power to tempt the very elect. Asyndeton, which will be considered later in more detail, contributes significantly to satiric enumeration. The insubstantiality of the whole of the courtier's philosophy as summed up by Fortune, for example, is suggested by the facility with which the adjectives in these lines trip off the tongue:-

Sois pensif, retenu, froid, secret et finet:<sup>80</sup>  
Voila pour devenir garce du Cabinet,

whilst the same device also helps to create the staccato phrases of:-

Il fait semblant de craindre, et pour jouer son jeu<sup>81</sup>  
Il s'approche, il refuse, il entre peu à peu,  
Il touche le corps froid et puis il s'en esloigne,  
Il feint avoir horreur de l'horrible charongne,

which simulate the feigned timidity of Catherine's familiar demon. Finally the weight and dignity so often associated with enumeration lend themselves to burlesque, in the mock-heroic:-

Roy de charbons, de cendre et morts sans sepulture,<sup>82</sup>

or in the poet's acid observation:-

Nos coeurs froids ont besoin de se voir emmurez,  
Et comme les vieillards, revestus et fourrez  
De rempars, bastions, fossez et contre-mines  
Fosses-brais, parapets, chemises et courtines . . .<sup>83</sup>

where the show of strength turns out in fact to be a sign of weakness.

Suspense also may be created by the presence of enumeration. A common technique is to build up a subject and then immediately deflate it. This pattern adds drama to the incident of infanticide, effectively portraying the sudden, landslide collapse of all natural restraints:-

Les entrailles d'amour, les filets de son flanc,<sup>84</sup>  
Les intestins bruslans par les tressauts du sang,  
Le sens, l'humanité; le coeur esmeu qui tremble,  
Tout cela se destord et se desmesle ensemble.

Likewise after an enthusiastic listing of heroics the disappearance of valour, briefly expressed in the long-withheld predicatè, appears all the more desolating in lines I have already quoted:-

Se jeter contre espoir dans la ville assiegee,<sup>85</sup>  
La sauver demi-prise et rendre encouragee,  
Fortifier, camper ou se loger parmi  
Les gardes, les efforts d'un puissant ennemi,  
Employer, sans manquer de coeur ni de cervelle,  
L'espee d'une main, de l'autre la truelle  
Bien faire une retraite, ou d'un scadron battu  
R'allier les deffaicts, cela n'est plus vertu.

The dismissal of Henri III's attempts to impress is abrupt in the extreme:-

L'arsenic ensucré de leurs belles paroles,<sup>86</sup>  
Leur seins meurtris du poing aux pieds de leurs idoles,  
Les ordres inventez, les chants, les hurlemens

Des fols capuchonnez, les nouveaux regimens<sup>86</sup>  
Qui en processions sottement desguisees  
Aux villes et aux champs vont semer des risees,  
L'austerité des voeux et des fraternitez,  
Tout cela n'a caché nos rudes veritez.

With apostrophe a sense of anticipation prepares us for the real address. An impressive example, where tension is greatly heightened by a long postponement of the main verb, involves the judges of the Inquisition:-

Et vous qui le faux nom de l'Eglise prenez,<sup>87</sup>  
Qui de faits criminels, sobres, vous abstenez,  
Qui en ostez les mains et y trempez les langues  
Qui tirez pour couteau vos meurtrieres harangues,  
Qui jugez en secret . . .

Generally speaking suspenseful enumeration affects the subject, but there are examples where other parts of the sentence are used, adverbial phrases modifying an as yet unstated verb in:-

Les gardes d'hospital, qui un temps par prescheurs,<sup>88</sup>  
Par propos importuns d'impiteux seducteurs,  
Par menaces après, par piquantes injures . . .

conditional clauses in:-

Si de Syrte et Charibde il ne tombe au naufrage,<sup>89</sup>  
Si de peste il ne meurt, du mal de mer, du chaud,  
Si le corsaire turc le navire n'assaut,  
Ne le met à la Chiorme, et puis ne l'endocrine  
A coups d'un roide nerf à ployer sur l'eschine,  
Il void Jerusalem.

Colourful scenes like those depicted in this last example are many, for d'Aubigné frequently uses words like so many brush-strokes. The saints above, for example, read in pictures the stories of the wars below. The overall scene is of:-

Mille troupes en feu, les villes assiegees,  
Les assauts repoussés, et les saccagemens,  
Escarmouches, combats, meurtres, embragemens, 90

whilst the relief of Navarrin is shown in terms of:-

Dix mille hommes desfaits, vingt et deux canons pris,<sup>91</sup>  
Une ville, un chasteau, dans l'effroy du desordre  
Sous trente cavalliers perdre l'honneur et l'ordre.

Specific aspects of national life affected by the ravages of war -  
ancestral homes, and places of worship, healing and education - are  
singled out in:-

les hauts chasteaux jusqu'en terre rasez,  
Les temples, hospitaux pillez et embravez,<sup>92</sup>  
Les colleges destruits par la main ennemie,

whilst some of war's casualties appear in those representations of  
wanton cruelty quoted earlier in this chapter:-

ou pendus par les doigts<sup>93</sup>  
A des cordons trenchans, ou attachez au bois  
Et couchez dans le feu, ou de graisses flambantes  
Les corps nuds tenaillez, ou les plaintes pressantes  
De leurs enfans pendus par les pieds . . .

The subject of persecution provides material for another set of  
pictures. There are the autos-da-fé in which the saints are  
glorified. There God sees:-

leurs thrones levés, l'amas de leurs posteaux,<sup>94</sup>  
Les arcs, les eschaffaux dont la pompe estoffee  
Des paremens dorés preparoit un trophée .

There are also what d'Aubigné portrays as the sombre preparations  
for the St Bartholomew massacre:-

Le somptueux apprest, l'amas, l'appareil feint,  
La pompe, les festins des doubles mariages  
Qui desguisoient les coeurs et masquoient les visages,<sup>95</sup>

accusations which give rise to the rich hunting comparison of these  
vers rapportés:<sup>96</sup>

Comme un pescheur, chasseur ou oiseleur appelle<sup>97</sup>  
Par l'appast, le gagnage ou l'amour de femelle,  
Sous l'herbe dans la nasse, aux cordes, aux gluaux,  
Le poisson abusé, les bestes, les oiseaux.

Portraits as well as scenes are commonly built up by means of  
enumeration. There are the thumbnail sketches of the distraught  
Melpomene:-

Eschevelée, affreuze, et bramant en la sorte  
Que faict la bische apres le fan qu'elle a perdu,<sup>98</sup>

of the crazed Henri III:-

nostre Sardanapale<sup>99</sup>  
Ridé, hideux, changeant, tantost feu, tantost pasle  
Spectateur,

of the horribly brutalized Coligny:-

L'Admiral pour jamais sans surnom, trop connu,<sup>100</sup>  
Meurtri, précipité, traisné, mutilé, nu.

There is the vivid picture of the women duellists taking the field:-

avec bouche embavee,  
Bras courbé, les yeux clos, et la jambe levee;<sup>101</sup>

there is the ridiculous portrayal of the courtier who must

marcher mignonement,  
Trainer les pieds, mener les bras, hocher la teste,  
Pour bransler à propos d'un pennache la creste,  
Garnir et bas et haut de roses et de noeuds,  
Les dents de muscadins, de poudre les cheveux;<sup>102</sup>

and of course, there are the vices of the Chambre Doree - Ambition:-

A qui les yeux flambans, enflez, sortent du front<sup>103</sup>  
Impudent, enlevé, superbe, fier et rond,  
Aux sourcils rehaussez,

Vanité:-

Qui porte au sacré lieu tout à nouvelle guise,  
Ses cheveux afriquains, les chausses en valise,  
La rotonde, l'empoix, double colet perdu,  
La perruque du crin d'un honneste pendu  
Et de celui qui part d'une honteuse place,<sup>104</sup>

Jeunesse:-

La jeunesse est ici un juge d'avanture,<sup>105</sup>  
A sein deboutonné, qui sans loy ne ceinture  
Rit en faisant virer un moulinet de noix,  
Resve au jeu, court ailleurs, et respond tout de mesmes  
Des advis esgarez.

The matter of tempo has been raised once or twice in the foregoing section on the uses of enumeration. A few words on asyndeton and polysyndeton, the two figures that chiefly affect tempo in the Tragiques, may perhaps be appropriate before we pass on to consider the broader issues of sources and influences.

The suppression of the conjunctions in asyndeton tends to give the figure swiftness of movement, and therefore greater urgency and vigour. According to Quintilian it is "apta, cum quid instantius dicimus".<sup>106</sup> We are conscious of a stepping up of tempo in the angry, sardonic imperatives of:-

Va, commande aux demons, d'imperieuse voix,<sup>107</sup>  
Reproche leur tes coups, conte ce que tu voix,  
Monstre leur le succes des ruses florentines,  
Tes meurtres, tes poisons, de France les ruines,  
Tant d'ames, tant de corps que tu leur fais avoir,  
Tant d'esprits abrutis, poussez au desespoir,  
Qui renoncent leur Dieu,

or in the brusque commands of:-



Allez, preschez, courez, vollez, meurtriere trope,<sup>108</sup>  
Semer le feu d'enfer.

Indignation gains in force in this torrent of participles describing past sufferings:-

Cet enfant brisera de ces grands Rois les testes<sup>109</sup>  
Qui l'ont proscrit, banni, outragé, dejetté,  
Blessé, chassé, battu de faim, de pauvreté,

and accusation is sharpened by the short emphatic series:-

Vous leur avez vendu, livré, donné en proye<sup>110, 111</sup>  
Ame, sang, vie, honneur,

whilst a sense of release emerges from the asyndeton of the third line in this last example, as passion takes over from reason and the consequences of martyrdom grip the imagination as well as the mind:-

Joyeux que de l'idole encor ils vous banissent,  
Des sourcils des tyrans qu'en menace ils herissent,  
De leurs pieges, aguets, ruses et trahisons,  
De leur devoir la vie, et puis de leurs prisons.<sup>112</sup>

Polysyndeton, a figure which abounds in connectives, has the effect of slowing down the movement. Hence its fitness in:-

Puis un noeud entre deux, d'un pas triste et tardif,<sup>113</sup>  
Suyvoyent Brisson le docte, et l'Archer et Tardif.  
Ils tirent leurs meurtriers bien fraisés d'un chevaistre,  
Boucher et Pragenat, et le sanglant Incestre.

The ponderous apostrophe:-

Souisses et Grisons et Anglois et Bataves,<sup>114</sup>

with its ominous repetition two lines later on to give a double chiasmus, translates the poet's uneasy apprehension. The repeated conjunction in:-

Le tison qui l'esveille et l'embrase et la tue,<sup>115</sup>

and in:-

l'une perce, l'autre fend  
L'estomach et le coeur et les mains et les testes<sup>116</sup>

suggests on the other hand firm resolute action, whilst the heavy burden of suffering is emphasized in:-

Reçois au soir les coups, l'injure et le tourment,<sup>117</sup>  
Et la fuite et la faim, injuste payement,

the unexpected additions of the second line creating the impression of injustice piled upon injustice.

Enumeration is, as I have said, a common ingredient of the heroic style, but epic theory tends to emphasize the grand catalogue which is outside the scope of this chapter. Looking back to the "divine Aeneide" in the 1587 preface to his Franciade, Ronsard recommends the epic poet to incorporate in his composition lists such as Virgil's catalogue of captains.<sup>119</sup> The body of the Franciade exemplifies this principle, most notably in its lengthy catalogue of French monarchs,<sup>120</sup> though with regard to this same passage Ronsard had sounded a rather apologetic note in the 1572 preface.<sup>121</sup> Enumeration of the type we have been considering in d'Aubigné is not an outstanding feature of the Franciade. Its usefulness is nonetheless implied, I think, by Jean Vauquelin de la Fresnaye, who in his Art poétique (1605) describes the genre as:-

un tableau du monde, un miroir qui raporte<sup>122</sup>  
Les gestes des mortels en differente sorte,

and then proceeds to list the recommended contents in a thirty-two

line enumeration, as though the very mention of epic called this figure forth. Hagiwara too has amply demonstrated the high incidence of enumeration in the works of Scève and Du Bartas as well as in the Tragiques.<sup>123</sup>

Enumeration was a prominent, not to say obtrusive, feature of the turbulent, highly dramatic Senecan tragedies of the second half of the century. Examples abound in Grévin,<sup>124</sup> Rivaudeau,<sup>125</sup> La Taille<sup>126</sup> and Garnier.<sup>127</sup> These enumerations for the most part consist of rhetorical questions, apostrophes and laments, though Rivaudeau also uses asyndeton to increase the tempo and lighten the tone.<sup>128</sup> The themes of many of these plays reflect the preoccupations of writers active during the wars of religion (Grévin and La Taille were Huguenots, whilst Rivaudeau, a friend of La Noue, had strong Calvinist sympathies), and one feels that the vigour of their style is not unrelated to their political or religious commitment. By 1577, the year in which the Tragiques were begun, all four playwrights had published tragedies. Grévin's César appeared in 1562, Rivaudeau's Aman four years later, La Taille's Saül and La Famine in 1572 and 1573 respectively and Garnier's Porcie and Hippolyte in 1568 and 1575. It is therefore possible that they had a direct influence on d'Aubigné's work.

Enumeration is the ideal vehicle for the exhortations, imprecations and accusations of satire, a genre which flourished throughout the century. Du Bellay's Regrets, just under a quarter of which are written in the enumerative style,<sup>129</sup> served as models for many writers. Both in content and in form the ironic sonnets "Nous ne faisons la cour aux filles de Memoire"<sup>130</sup> and "Marcher d'un

grave pas, & d'un grave sourci"<sup>131</sup> herald the recommendations of d'Aubigné's Fortune.<sup>132</sup> The angry apostrophes and addresses of the Tragiques, however, owe more to such committed writings as Ronsard's Discours des misères de ce temps or the Protestants' ferocious retaliatory pamphlets.<sup>133</sup> Ronsard, defender of the Faith as he claims to be, does not leave the Church unscathed:-

Mais que diroit Saint Paul, s'il revenoit icy,<sup>134</sup>  
 De nos jeunes Prelats qui n'ont point de soucy  
 De leur pauvre troupeau, dont il prennent la laine,  
 Et quelquefois le cuir; qui tous vivent sans peine,  
 Sans prescher, sans prier, sans bon exemple d'eux,  
 Parfumez, decoupez, courtisans, amoureux,  
 Veneurs et fauconniers,

but his real targets are the Huguenots:-

ils sont larrons, brigans,<sup>135</sup>  
 Inventeurs et menteurs, vanteurs et arrogans,  
 Superbes, soupçonneux.

In general Ronsard's invective is more restrained than that of his detractors, to whose vituperations he declines to stoop, declaring to one lampooner, "Je ne veux descendre/ En noise contre toy."<sup>136</sup> His satire is none the less powerful. There is the sketch of the Huguenot minister, for example, so similar in style to some of d'Aubigné's portraits:-

Il faut tout seulement avecques hardiesse  
 Detester le Papat, parler contre la Messe,  
 Estre sobre en propos, barbe longue et le front  
 De rides labouré, l'oeil farouche et profond,  
 Les cheveux mal peignez, le sourcy qui s'avale,  
 Le maintien renfrongné, le visage tout palle,  
 Se monstrier rarement, composer maint escrit,  
 Parler de l'Eternel, du Seigneur et de Christ,  
 Avoir d'un reistre long les espaules couvertes,  
 Bref, estre bon brigand et ne jurer que "certes".<sup>137</sup>

There is the skilful use of asyndeton to mock what Ronsard sees as

the self-satisfaction of the Réformés and their pride in their special relationship with God:-

Ils sont ses Conseillers, ils sont ses secretaires,<sup>138</sup>  
Ils scavent ses advis, ils scavent ses affaires,  
Ils ont la clef du Ciel et y entrent tous seuls,  
Ou, qui veut y entrer, il faut parler à eux.

His criticisms and complaints can also be expressed through images as delicate as any used in his lyrical writings. Beside Ronsard's:-

Un vray jonc d'un estang, le jouet de la bise,<sup>139</sup>  
Ou quelque girouette inconstante, et suivant  
Sur le haut d'une tour la volonte du vent,

d'Aubigné's already-quoted:-

O ployables esprits, ô consciences molles,<sup>140</sup>  
Temeraires jouets du vent et des parolles

may be thought laborious. D'Aubigné never achieves this quality in his invective, but the influence of such writing is unmistakable in this example of enumeration also quoted several times already, the picture of Melpomene:-

Eschevelée, affreuze, et bramant en la sorte<sup>141</sup>  
Que fait la bische apres le fan qu'elle a perdu.

Ronsard's Discours des misères and his Remonstrance au peuple de France, both launched in 1562, provoked a veritable flood of Protestant pamphlets. Most of these were poetically inferior, though the monumental Remonstrance à la Royne (1563), attributed as recently as 1971 to Rivaudeau,<sup>142</sup> is by no means devoid of literary merit. Here are to be found many of the subjects of abuse developed in the Tragiques - images and relics,<sup>143</sup> tortures,<sup>144</sup> and in this extract, so reminiscent of d'Aubigné, tyrants:-

Vous avez surpassé les Nerons, Antonins,  
 Et des Domitians, des Trajans, Maximins,  
 Des Diocletians, Galliens, des Aureles,  
 Les rouges cruautés, Empereurs infideles,  
 Et d'un fol Decien et d'un Valerian, 145  
 Et de cil qui sentit le foudre Aurelian.

As in the Tragiques<sup>146</sup> a long diatribe is directed against the papacy:-

Car le Pape Romain se dit tenir le lieu,  
 La main, l'auctorité, et la force de Dieu,  
 Qu'il peut contre le droit, qu'il peut sur la justice,  
 Qu'il ne peut fourvoier, qu'il est tout franc de vice,  
 Qu'il a sur tout le monde ensemble jugement,  
 Qu'ame ne peut de lui conoistre nullement.  
 Il commande aus grans Rois, et aus Empereurs mesmes,  
 Il transporte a qu'il veut les roiaus Diademes,  
 Il se dit Roy des Rois, et Seigneurs des Seigneurs,  
 Et a par dessus eux les chaires et honneurs.  
 Il commande aus Vertus, aus Puissances, aus Anges,  
 Comme un Clement cinquiesme, et fait choses estranges,  
 Veritables pourtant, comme de disposer  
 Du Ciel, et à chascun sa part en diviser  
 Comme quelcun feroit de son propre heritage.  
 Mais quel besoin est-il d'en dire d'avantage?

The replies to Ronsard's polemics constitute only a part of the pamphlet literature of the civil wars. Other samples may be gleaned from collections such as Bordier's Chansonnier huguenot<sup>148</sup> or Tarbé's Recueil de poésies calvinistes (1550-1566).<sup>149</sup> It is from the latter that I draw this vitriolic attack on the Cardinal of Lorraine:-

Faulce vipère, aspic pernicieux,  
 Qui, en ayant au diable ton service  
 Du tout voué, n'as rien que l'avarice,  
 Loup enraigé, renard ambitieux;

Bouc, mais de tous le plus incestueux,  
 Mocqueur de Dieu, magasin de malice,  
 Où sa dernière esprouve fait le vice,  
 Tygre affamé du sang des vertueux;

Monstre hydeux, sans honte, insatiable,  
 Sans foy, sans loy, infect, abominable,  
 Fléau des chrestiens, contraire à vérité;

Qu'attands-tu plus? Ne vois-tu la tempeste,  
 Qui io déjà foudroyé sur ta teste,  
 Et contre toy Dieu très fort irrité? 150

Much material has undoubtedly disappeared and much is inaccessible, but sufficient remains to suggest that for his most pungent castigations d'Aubigné had no lack of models.

Enumeration is perhaps one of d'Aubigné's most powerful devices of intensity. Used as a precision instrument it may either reinforce the note of dogmatism or amplify by its suggestion of inexpressibility. Resounding echoes of the epic and of drama come through the listing of personal and place names and enumerative apostrophe. Topsy-turveydom of sense or syntax, planned or permitted, conveys the confusion and disorder of passion, whilst plurality is often used to suggest totality. Enumeration in mimicry and the mock-heroic makes for pungent ridicule. Suspense is created through extended apostrophe or the build-up/deflation pattern, whilst the accumulation of detail sharpens description; and all the time there is the rhythmic potential of the device, this too exploited by d'Aubigné for further effects of urgency and vigour, weightiness and deliberation.

## CHAPTER 5 - REPETITION

In this chapter I shall consider a device rich in intensifying potential, as I turn my attention from the repetition of syntactic forms found in enumeration to the repetition of actual words. This is, of course, one of the best-worn and most easily identifiable of literary techniques, especially in the rhetoric-based writings of d'Aubigné's contemporaries and immediate precursors, many of whom cultivated a wide range of the variously listed figures of repetition in their search for stylistic charm, impressiveness or vigour.<sup>1</sup> To attempt even the most general account of how they worked would be impossible within the scope of this chapter, but as I examine d'Aubigné's practice in some detail<sup>2</sup> comparisons and contrasts will inevitably spring to mind.

Of the many patterned repetitions it is perhaps anaphora, the repetition of the word at the start of a line or hemistich, which stands out most prominently in the Tragiques. It first makes its appearance in d'Aubigné's prayer for cleansing and inspiration as he petitions the Almighty God:-

De qui l'oeil tout courant, et tout voyant aussi,<sup>3</sup>  
De qui le soin sans soin prend de tout le souci,  
De qui la main forma exemplaires et causes,

and it reappears in a similar setting, opening Vengeances with the grand, rhythmic invocation:-

Ouvre tes grands thresors, ouvre ton sanctuaire,<sup>4</sup>  
Ame de tout, Soleil, qui aux astres esclaie,  
Ouvre ton temple saint à moy.

Yet again, before the "siege pompeux de la Majesté sainte"<sup>5</sup> anaphora (along with polyptoton, word-pairs, enumeration and



internal rhyme) is pressed into service to convey that expansiveness and dignity which make it a device particularly suited to imposing situations:-

Là les foudres et feux, prompts au divin service,<sup>6</sup>  
S'offrent à bien servir la celeste justice;  
Là s'avancent les vents diligens et legers  
Pour estre les herauts, postes et messagers;  
Là les esprits ailez adjournent de leurs aisles  
Les juges criminels aux peines eternelles.

(This particular patterned repetition, emphasizing the adverb, has the additional effect of creating an awareness of order, an order where each has his own place, each his peculiar assignment, and which will contrast markedly with the rout of the vices in the path of Thémis, following a mere sixty lines on.) The style becomes loftier also through anaphora as d'Aubigné states grandly - almost with a flourish - the qualities required in the ideal king:-

Voici quels dons du ciel, quels thresors, quels moyens,  
Requeroyent en leurs Rois les plus sages payens,  
Voici quel est le Roy de qui le regne dure:  
Qui establit sur soy pour roine la nature,  
Qui craint Dieu, qui esmeut pour l'affligé son coeur,<sup>7</sup>

or introduces to the angry accusation "Vous piquez sans douleur" the double antonomasia:-

Celui qui vous nourrit, celui qui vous appuye,<sup>8</sup>

underlining the solemn relationship of mutual obligation that exists between sovereign and subject. The religious and regal contexts call for the style eslevé: so too can the general and the public. Thus we find d'Aubigné using anaphora in the formalized lament:-

O quel malheur du ciel, vengeance du destin,  
Donne des Rois enfants et qui mangent matin!  
O quel phoenix du ciel est un prince bien sage.<sup>9</sup>

From particular material he continues to draw statements of universal application, and the complaint over the corruption of kings assumes a tone suited to the expression of universals, combining double negatives, antithesis, word-pairs, isocolon and anaphora:-

Nul regne ne sera pour heureux estimé  
Que son prince ne soit moins craint, et plus aimé;  
Nul regne pour durer ne s'estime et se conte  
S'il n'a prestres sans crainte et les femmes sans honte.<sup>10</sup>

The challenges which Anne Askewe hurls at death have in the first instance a Biblical source, "O mort, ou est ta victoire? O mort, ou est ton aiguillon?",<sup>11</sup> but the declamatory style of:-

"Où est ton aiguillon? où est ce grand effort?  
O Mort! où est ton bras? (disoit-elle à la mort).  
Où est ton front hideux, dequoy tu espouvantes  
Les hures des sangliers, les bestes ravissantes?"<sup>12</sup>

has close affinities too with the dramatic speeches of some of Garnier's characters - Créon, for example, in Antigone, where death is apostrophised in a very different spirit:-

Vienne, vienne la Mort a severe sourcy;  
Vienne la Mort terrible et m'arrache d'icy.<sup>13</sup>

D'Aubigné's anaphora is not always confined to the line or the couplet, and it is less appropriate to quote the final sermon-cum-defence of that other martyr, Montalchine, built round the same figure, with an opening and concluding "j'ay presché" enclosing the six-fold repetition "j'ay dict".<sup>14</sup> Here anaphora gives order to his enumeration of key doctrines and facilitates a careful build-up to the unexpected climax. This is by no means an isolated case of repetition giving structural cohesion. D'Aubigné's account of the

debaucheries of Henri III is largely held together by the reiterated "Nous avons vu" at 2.819, 829 and 831, the strict symmetry being broken by "On nous fait voir encor": the starting point of the paragraph is always kept clearly in view:-

Nous avons veu cela, et avons veu encore  
Un Neron marié avec son Pytagore,  
Lequel, ayant fini ses faveurs et ses jours,  
Traîne encor au tombeau le coeur et les amours  
De nostre Roy en dueil, qui, de ses aigres plaintes,  
Tesmoigne ses ardeurs n'avoir pas esté feintes.  
On nous fait voir encor un contract tout nouveau,  
Signé du sang de d'O, son privé macquereau;  
Disons, comme l'on dit à Neron l'androgame:  
Que ton pere jamais n'eust conu d'autre femme!  
Nous avons veu nos grands en debat, en conflict,  
Accorder, reprocher telles nopces, tel licit;  
Nous avons veus nos Rois se desrober des villes . . . 15

Another speech unified by anaphora is the long apostrophe to France in 1.609-652. The speech is in the nature of a rebuke, but the emotive repetition of the proper noun makes it a rebuke tinged with sorrow.

Reinforcement of the emotive element is a function common to many of the forms of word-repetition. Examples of anaphora to illustrate this are legion. Coligny's declamatory pronouncement on the St. Bartholomew's massacre:-

O humains insensés! ô fols entendemens!  
O decret bien certain des divins jugemens! 16

is full of regret and reproach. There is wistful longing in the lyrical:-

Plustost peut-on conter dans les bords escumeux  
De l'Ocean chenu le sable, et tous les feux  
Qu'en paisible minuict le clair ciel nous attize  
L'air estant balié des froids souspirs de bize;  
Plustost peut-on conter du printemps les couleurs, 17

the anaphora having a braking effect, momentarily slowing the pace after the account of Henri III's frenzied precautions against unseen foes. It has a totally different, rapier-like effect in an angry tirade against the so-called church, the poet returning again and again to the attack:-

Et vous qui le faux nom de l'Eglise prenez,<sup>18</sup>  
Qui de faicts criminels, sobres, vous abstenez,  
Qui en osez les mains et y trempez les langues,  
Qui tirez pour couteau vos meurtrieres harangues,  
Qui jugez en secret . . .

In a similar context (the invective is now directed against Catherine de Medici), emotion is generated by the intensive reiteration of tous, though in this case the dark vowel might make the battering-ram analogy more fitting than the rapier:-

Tu as veu à ton gré deux camps de deux costez  
Tous deux pour toy, tous deux à ton gré tourmentez,  
Tous deux François, tous deux ennemis de la France,  
Tous deux executeurs de ton impatience,  
Tous deux la pasle horreur du peuple ruiné.<sup>19</sup>

Wonder may be expressed by anaphora, the near incredulity of the poet at the joyful acceptance of death in the fires of Lyon by the five Lausanne students:-

Vous baisates la mort tous cinq d'un saint baizer,<sup>20</sup>  
Vous baizates la mort,

or admiration unlimited before the English martyrs:-

O quels coeurs tu engendres! ô quels coeurs tu nourris,<sup>21</sup>  
Isle sainte,

martyrs amongst whom are to be numbered:-

deux constances nouvelles<sup>22</sup>

De deux coeurs plus que d'homme en sexe de femelles,  
Deux coeurs chrestiens anglois, deux precieux tableaux,  
Deux spectacles piteux, mais specieux et beaux.

A word may sometimes be given an extra emotional charge by the use of anadiplosis, the figure in which the last word of a line or sentence is repeated at the beginning of the next unit. It is much less common than anaphora, but there are not a few instances of it in the Tragiques. Admiration is again to the fore in:-

Les Suisses vaincus de la main de Montbrun,<sup>23</sup>  
Montbrun qui n'a receu du temps et de l'histoire  
Que Cesar et François compagnons de victoire,

and as the voice and attention linger on the illustrious name there is perhaps, too, more than a hint of affection. However, as d'Aubigné evokes

De Thou, Gillot, Thurin, et autres que je laisse,<sup>24</sup>  
Immunes de ces maux, horsmis de la foiblesse,  
Foiblesse qui les rend esclaves et contraints,

it is the note of regret that is dominant, the anadiplosis on foiblesse underscoring the importance of his qualification. The emotive force inherent in the theme of old age is strengthened by repetition and the kindred emotions of indignation and pity are aroused in d'Aubigné's readers, as he prophesies to the reprobate:-

vous verrez le sang<sup>25</sup>  
Qui mesle sur leur chef les touffes de poil blanc,  
Du poil blanc herissé de vos poltronneries.

Finally fear and dread can be evoked. A particularly striking example comes in the address to the Duc de Retz, whose draining of the resources of France is likened to a devouring cancer. It is

un traistre et lent effort,  
Traistre, lent, te faisant charongne avant (la) mort.<sup>26</sup>

The two epithets in the first line of the couplet may trip lightly off the tongue, but their weighted, deliberate repetition in the emphatic form of the word-pair without conjunction and in strong line-initial position imposes them compellingly on the attention.

Anadiplosis can also be seen as the natural offshoot of a Rabelaisian love of words. Already in previous chapters we have had examples of one word sparking off a new train of thought - as in the pun which is also an anadiplosis:-

Cettui-ci, visité du cardinal sans pair,<sup>27</sup>  
Sans pair en trahison.

Because these methods of verbal association are so common in direct speech, there is a special vigour in the aggressive questioning:-

Dites vrai, c'est à Dieu que compte vous rendez,<sup>28</sup>  
Rendez-vous la justice, ou si vous la vendez?

or the ostensibly spontaneous:-

La crainte vous domine, ô juges criminels!  
Criminels estes-vous, puisque vous estes tels.<sup>29</sup>

A few examples of epanalepsis, quaintly defined by Peacham as placing a word of importance "in the beginning of the sentence to be considered, and in the end to be remembered",<sup>30</sup> can be extracted from the Tragiques - in combination with anaphora to express very strongly the deep longing of the church:-

"Viens, dit l'esprit, acours pour defendre le tien."<sup>31</sup>  
"Vien", dit l'espouse, et nous avec l'espouse "Vien!",

or, in chiasmic form, to translate a paralysis of inaction:-

Je voy courir ces maux, approcher je les voy.<sup>32</sup>

Epizeuxis and diacope, the repetition of a word immediately or with one or two words only in between, are primarily dramatic figures. Much use is made of them by Bèze, for example, in his Abraham sacrificant (1550). "Fendez mon cueur, fendez, fendez, fendez"<sup>33</sup> cries Abraham in his sorrow, "Misericorde, o Dieu, misericorde!",<sup>34</sup> whilst with a break in his voice Isaac pleads with his father:-

Helas, hélas, je n'ay ne bras ne langue  
Pour me deffendre, ou faire ma harangue!  
Mais, mais, voyez, o mon pere, mes larmes,<sup>35</sup>

and with his God, in anguished questioning:-

Mais qu'ay-je fait, qu'ay-je fait pour mourir?<sup>36</sup>  
He Dieu, he Dieu, veilles me secourir!

The conflicts in Feux are not dissimilar, and though the language of lament is more muted in d'Aubigné, epizeuxis is used to portray the restrained emotion of Philippe de Luns:-

"Ma soeur vois-tu ces pleurs, vois-tu ces pleurs, ma soeur?"<sup>37</sup>

or to articulate the little child's dying prayer:-

"O Dieu, prens-moy la main, prens-la, Dieu secourant."<sup>38</sup>

Resolution, inspiration and encouragement find expression in diacope in the exhortations of Anne Askew:-

"Freres, ne tremblez pas; courage, amis, courage!"<sup>39</sup>

or of the youthful Richard de Gastines:-

"Mourons! peres, mourons!",<sup>40</sup>

and epizeuxis carries the note of triumph from the very flames, as the Lyon brothers,

leurs poulmons bruslans, pleins de feu, s'escrierent<sup>41</sup>  
Par plusieurs fois: Christ, Christ!

Outside Feux these figures occur infrequently, but there are two instances in Jugement which illustrate the use of diacope in other than pathetic contexts. First there is the flash-back to St. Bartholomew's Day as on the Day of Judgment

L'Eternel se souvient que chacun d'eux disoit:<sup>42</sup>  
A sac, l'Eglise! à sac!

It is a powerful evocation of frenzied hatred, but it is not original, coming as it does almost verbatim from Marot's paraphrase of Psalm 137:-

Souviens-toi que chacun d'eux disoit:  
A sac! à sac! Qu'elle soit embrasée  
Et jusqu'au pied des fondements rasée!<sup>43</sup>

(The use here of diacope does, however, mark a tendency on the part of d'Aubigné to prefer this figure to epizeuxis; as here, the intercalated word, frequently a vocative, can have further emotive overtones.) The second instance carries the weight of divine wrath as the Supreme Judge consigns those on His left hand to perdition:-

Allez, maudits, allez grincer vos dents rebelles.<sup>44</sup>

Antimetabole, the figure in which words are transposed, often inverting the phrase into its contrary, savours less of high drama



and more of metaphysical wit, and is particularly suited to the expression of that central preoccupation of d'Aubigné; the monde à l'envers. The negation of justice is thus epitomized in the description of France's men of the robe:-

Aux meurtriers si benins, des benins les meurtriers.<sup>45</sup>

Antimetabole expresses that symbol of a topsy-turvy world, the homosexuality of Henri III, so blatantly manifest on one occasion that

chacun estoit en peine  
S'il voyoit un Roy femme ou bien un homme Reyne.<sup>46</sup>

Mal-heureux celui qui vit esclave infame  
Sous une femme hommace et sous un homme femme!<sup>47</sup>

In such a world, d'Aubigné reflects with reference to the veteran Palissy:-

La France avoit mestier  
Que ce potier fut Roy, que ce Roy fust potier.<sup>48</sup>

In his Art poétique françois (1548) the theorist Thomas Sebillet recommended that epigrams should be "aigus en conclusion".<sup>49</sup> D'Aubigné quite frequently uses antimetabole to achieve this epigrammatic finish for his verse paragraphs. The two examples concerning Henri III are instances of this. With the pithy:-

Honteuses veritez, trop veritables hontes,<sup>50</sup>

d'Aubigné draws to a close his account of the degeneracy of the Valois court; and with the neat:-

Quand nous les consolons nous sont consolateurs,<sup>51</sup>

the angels round off their plea on behalf of the Lord's "saincts zelateurs". The lapidary form of antimetabole is also appropriate for the moral dicta of Virtue as she counsels her "son" concerning his residence:-

Qu'elle ait renom par toi, et non pas toi par elle,<sup>52</sup>

or as she warns him against flatterers:-

Tien leur honneur à blasme et leur blasme à honneur.<sup>53</sup>

When we have considered the rôle of these different figures, much yet remains unaccounted for, and it clearly becomes imperative to examine d'Aubigné's use of repetition in some of its less structured forms also. Rhetoricians vary in the name they give to repetition when a word or expression recurs at fairly frequent intervals within a passage. Some use ploche, though for others this may designate the figure I have listed under diacope. The former interpretation is the one I shall adopt in what follows. Polyptoton likewise takes no account of any formal pattern of repetition. It refers simply to the reiteration of the stem of a word: again Peacham's definition is helpful, "a figure which of the word going before deriveth the word following".<sup>54</sup> In the majority of cases the impact of ploche is indistinguishable from that of polyptoton, and I therefore propose to deal with the two figures under one head. Since illustrative extracts will vary greatly in length, I have decided for the sake of convenience to start with repetitions occurring within one or two lines, and to follow on with those occurring over more extended passages.

In this first section many of the repetitions are of epithets, intensifiers, word-pairs or other words which already have a high emotive content, and this is of course increased by the reiteration. It is quite common, for example, to find an epithet in the first hemistich of a line repeated or balanced with a related epithet in the second:-

Dieu fit la force vaine et l'appui vain perir,<sup>55</sup>

N'ayant muet tesmoin de ses noires ordures  
Que les impures nuicts et les couches impures,<sup>56</sup>

Leur puante charongne et l'ame empuantie<sup>57</sup> -

even if the syntax has to be wrested somewhat, as in d'Aubigné's testimony to Jane Gray:-

Or l'autre avec sa foy garda aussi le rang<sup>58</sup>  
D'un esprit tout royal, comme royal le sang.

The combination of isocolon and repetition can moreover provide an aesthetically satisfying close to a section such as that which forms the salute to Bernard Palissy:-

De ce temps la Bastille<sup>59</sup>  
N'emprisonnoit que grands, mais à Bernard il faut  
Une grande prison et un grand eschafaud.

A very strong form of expression is produced when totalitarian adjectives are reduplicated as in:-

Achevè tout l'effort de tout leur appareil,<sup>60</sup>

and:-

A chasque pas rend Christ, chasque fois, diffamé,<sup>61</sup>

When numerical intensifiers are doubled as in:-

Trois fois plus miserable et trois fois empiree,<sup>62</sup>

Foule au pied cent degrés et cent lions vivans,<sup>63</sup>

and:-

Mille nouvelles morts, mille estranges trespas,<sup>64</sup>

or when intensifying adverbs recur:-

Attendit treize mois la trop tardive mort,<sup>65</sup>  
ce naturel trop fort

and:-

Ces joyaux sont bien peu, l'ame a bien autre gage,<sup>66</sup>

and an impressive evocation of magnificence results from d'Aubigné's repetition of the word-pair in reverse order to create his characteristic chiastic arrangement within:-

La Royne de Carie a mis pour son Mausole<sup>67</sup>  
Tant de marbre et d'yvoire, et, qui plus est encor  
Que l'yvoir et le marbre, ell'a pour son thresor  
En garde à son cher coeur cette cendre commise.

The wonder of man's destiny is successfully conveyed through polyptoton as we read of:-

l'homme, qui raisonne une gloire eternelle,<sup>68</sup>  
Hoste d'eternité.

So too is the triumph of James Bainham, who died:-

Baisant, victorieux, les armes de victoire.<sup>69</sup>

It gives force to the expression of fear as the old days are evoked, d'Aubigné deliberately<sup>70</sup> choosing the heavy root repetition in the middle line:-

Une croix bourguignonne espouvantoit nos peres,<sup>71</sup>  
Le blanc les fait trembler, et les tremblantes meres  
Croullent à l'estomac leurs pouppons esperdus.

Memories of the past are not always so shadowed. Indeed in the Tragiques the past is usually called up with nostalgia, and this nostalgia is strongly felt in the ploche of:-

La cité où jadis la loy fut reveree,  
Qui à cause des loix fut jadis honoree.<sup>72</sup>

Some instances of repetition in this section are the result of d'Aubigné's returning to an important subject to amplify it by apposition, the reiteration's primary function being once more structural. Thus we have the couplet:-

Comme un cancer mangeur et meurtrier insensible:  
Un cancer de sept ans, à toy, aux tiens horrible,<sup>73</sup>

revolving round the emotive cancer. Similarly we find the poet holding on to ingrats or Hierusalem until each has received its full expression in:-

Ce thresor precieux de nostre liberte  
Nous est par les ingrats injustement oste:<sup>74</sup>  
Les ingrats insolens à qui leur est fidele

and:-

Sous toy, Hierusalem meurtriere, revoltee,<sup>75</sup>  
Hierusalem qui es Babel ensanglantee.

In the reprise the process works in reverse order, though the

outcome is much the same, the noun being first expanded and then taken up again with a demonstrative adjective as the subject of the main statement, as it is in the following:-

C'est le conseil sacré qui la France devore:<sup>76</sup>  
Ce conseil est meslé de putains et garçons,

L'enfant chassé des Rois est nourri par les bestes:<sup>77</sup>  
Cet enfant brisera de ces grands Rois les testes,

or:-

la terre eut horreur de l'estouffer  
Cette terre à regret fut son premier enfer.<sup>78</sup>

Polyptoton and ploche can each be used to create very expressive superlatives. In the former when the related noun becomes the object of the verb, there is an effect of piling Pelion on Ossa which d'Aubigné on several occasions exploits. Extreme corruption provokes the exclamation:-

O que la playe est forte  
Qui mesm' empuantit le pourri qui la porte!<sup>79</sup>

Fulminating against the ingratitude of kings, d'Aubigné depicts as typical a council chamber incident, where:-

un bouffon bravant  
Blessera le blessé pour se pousser devant,<sup>80</sup>

or a street scene:-

quand l'amas arrange<sup>81</sup>  
Des gardes impiteux afflige l'affligé.

Ploche permits the amplifying formula x sur x or x dessus x. Examples are to be found in every canto. In Miseres the feverish

retreat of the nation behind a multitude of defences is compared with the action of a sick man:-

Quand le corps gelé veut mettre robe sur robe.<sup>82</sup>

Princes brings a denunciation of effusive flattery:-

En vain vous desployez harangue sur harangue.<sup>83</sup>

Hypocrisy's thriving trade in the Chambre Dorée is portrayed using the same prescription:-

Elle va traffiquant de peché sur pechez.<sup>84</sup>

It conveys Richard de Gastines' brave abandon in the face of the worst Feux can present:-

Si tormens sur tormens à vos yeux presentez<sup>85</sup>  
Vous troublent, c'est tout un.

In the opening scene of Fers the resplendent glory of heaven is portrayed in terms of:-

Clarté dessus clarté, puissance sur puissance.<sup>86</sup>

Plus lui devoit peser sang sur sang, mal sur mal<sup>87</sup>  
Que ce Roy sur son dos qui montoit à cheval

is the poet's comment as he reflects in Vengeances on the enormity of the crimes of the Emperor Valerian. The last example I have found comes in Jugement with the indictment:-

"Vous qui avez laissé mes membres aux froidures,<sup>88</sup>  
Qui leur avez versé injures sur injures . . .

This neatness of expression obviously appeals to d'Aubigné, for we find something akin to it in his combination of different prepositions with the same pronoun. This latter of course is more an intellectual than an emotional figure. In it we are called upon to admire the ingenuity of the justice of God who:-

sur eux (les Rebelles) et par eux desploya son courroux<sup>89</sup>

and whose judgements:-

Dedans nous, contre nous, trouvent les instrumens<sup>90</sup>

or the irony of such a situation as that in which the Huguenots find themselves after coming to the aid of Alençon. The defeated protestants, ruined for his sake but also by his actions,

Et pour lui et par lui devindrent miserables.<sup>91</sup>

The subject of irony, and within irony in the Tragiques the particular theme of the divine judgement, seems to attract polyptoton. The principle is stated:-

Dieu frappe de frayeur le fendant temeraire,<sup>92</sup>  
De feu le bouttefeu, de sang le sanguinaire,

and throughout Vengeances, in this variation of the trompeur trompé topos, supporting evidence of God's justice "si à point"<sup>93</sup> is provided in abundance - Archbishop Arundel,<sup>94</sup> Felix of Wurtemberg,<sup>95</sup> Jean de Roma,<sup>96</sup> L'Aubépin.<sup>97</sup>

Over longer passages ploche and polyptoton can be impressively developed, and it is to these that we now turn. Part of the poet's opening prayer to God<sup>98</sup> has been quoted earlier, in the section on



anaphora, and the whole passage has been mentioned in a discussion on totalitarian vocabulary, but the cumulative impact of an eightfold repetition of tout/tous within six lines at least deserves to be signalled here. A similar though less intensive instance of ploche occurs in Vengeances as d'Aubigné introduces those who have already received a foretaste of their eternal damnation:-

ceux qu'en ce monde<sup>99</sup>  
Dieu a voulu arrer de la peine seconde,  
De qui l'esprit frappé de la rigueur de Dieu  
Des-jà sentit l'enfer au partir de ce lieu,

and pronounces:-

La justice de Dieu par vous sera louëe,  
Vous donnerez à Dieu vostre voix enrouëe,<sup>100</sup>

thus proclaiming in the teeth of the reprobate the ultimate, irreversible victory of their implacable enemy, God. Throughout the Tragiques the negative adverb en vain hammers home the utter impotence of evil when confronted with divinely-inspired goodness or all-powerful retribution. In the following extract addressed to Catherine de Médici her every contrivance is shown to be stillborn; her every machination will be foiled, her most ingenious invention shrunk to mere nothingness:

En vain, Roine, tu as rempli une boutique  
De drogues du mestier et mesnage magique;  
En vain fais tu amas dans les tais des deffuns  
De poix noire, de canfre à faire tes parfuns;  
Tu y brusles en vain cyprés et mandragore . . .

La queuë du poisson, ancre des matelots,  
Contre lequel en vain vent et voile s'essaye,  
Le vierge parchemin, le palais de fresaye;  
Tant d'estranges moyens tu recherches en vain.<sup>101</sup>

Anger and scorn are specially well portrayed by this kind of repetition, and some of the most outstanding examples of plosive and polyptoton are to be found in the monumental invectives of the final canto such as:-

"Vous qui persecutez par fer mon heritage,  
Vos flancs ressentiront le prix de vostre ouvrage,  
Car je vous frapperay d'espais aveuglemens,  
Des playes de l'Egypte et de forcenemens.  
Princes, qui commettez contre moy felonnie,  
Je vous arracheray le sceptre avant la vie;  
Vos filles se vendront, à vos yeux impuissans  
On les violera: leurs effrois languissans  
De vos bras enferrés n'auront point d'assistance.  
Vos valets vous vendront à la brute puissance  
De l'avare achepteur, pour tirer en sueurs  
De vos corps, goutte à goutte, autant ou plus de pleurs  
Que vos commandemens n'en ont versé par terre.  
Vermisseaux impuissans, vous m'avez fait la guerre,  
Vos mains ont chastié la famille de Dieu,  
O verges de mon peuple, et vous irez au feu."<sup>102</sup>

The merciless pounding of vous/vos/votre in this strongly accusatory speech is reinforced by the progressive alliteration in f and v, fer, flancs, ouvrage, frapperay, aveuglemens, forcenemens, felonnie, vie, filles, vendront, violera, effrois, enferres, valets, vendront, avare, verse, vermisseaux, famille, verges, feu - the list is impressive. The insult valet has occurred earlier, notably in Jugement in the derisive:-

Desmentir ne soufflet ne sont tel vitupere  
Que d'estre le valet du bourreau de son pere.  
Vos peres ont changé en retraits les hauts lieux,  
Ils ont foulé aux pieds l'hostie et les faux dieux:  
Vous apprendrez, valets, en honteuse vieillesse  
A chanter au lestrain et respondre à la messe.  
Trois Bourbons, autresfois de Rome la terreur,  
Pourroyent-ils voir du ciel, sans ire et sans horreur,  
Leur ingrat successeur quitter leur trace et estre  
A rincer la canette, humble valet d'un prestre.

There is an obsessive quality too about much of this repetition. The word chien most appropriately haunts the address to Cardinal Crescentio:-

Crescence, cardinal, qui à ton pourmenoir  
Te vis accompagné du funebre chien noir,  
Chien qu'on ne put chasser, tu conus ce chien mesme  
Qui t'abayoit au coeur de rage si extreme  
Au concile de Trente: et ce mesme demon  
Dont tu ne sçavois pas la ruze, bien le nom,  
Ce chien te fit prévoir non pourvoir à ta perte. 104

Sang of course dominates the whole work, but there are areas of special concentration as in the mother's words to her warring sons:-

Elle dit: "Vous avez, felons, ensanglanté,  
Le sein qui vous nourrit et qui vous a porté;  
Or vivez de venin, sanglante geniture,  
Je n'ai plus que du sang pour vostre nourriture", 105

or the poet's address to the cities of France:-

"Cités yvres de sang, et encor alterees,  
Qui avez soif de sang et de sang envyrees." 106

Death confronts the poet inescapably in the person of the Périgord peasant, and a painful repetition of mort and derivatives forms the framework for this one of the more horrific accounts in the Tragiques:-

J'oy d'un gosier mourant une voix demi-vive: 107  
Le cri me sert de guide, et fait voir à l'instant  
D'un homme demi-mort le chef se debattant,  
Qui sur le seuil d'un huis dissipoit sa cervelle.  
Ce demi-vif la mort à son secours appelle  
De sa mourante voix, cet esprit demi-mort  
Disoit . . .

The most formidable single event apart from the Last Judgment is indisputably the St. Bartholomew's massacre. Its ominous approach

is announced with an incantatory repetition of jour which recalls some of the ancient prophets as they forecast the Day of the Lord:-

Ah! quel jour!  
Car le jour de l'Eternel est proche . . .  
Le jour de l'Eternel vient, car il est proche, -  
Jour de ténèbres et d'obscurité,  
Jour de nuées et de brouillards (Joel 1.15, 2.1-2)

Voici venir le jour, jour que les destinees  
Voyoyent à bas sourcils glisser de deux anneés,  
Le jour marqué de noir, le terme des appas,  
Qui voulut estre nuict et tourner sur ses pas: 108  
Jour qui avec horreur parmi les jours se conte.

Sometimes we find d'Aubigné repeating several words concurrently within a passage, as in the introduction he gives us to Julian the Apostate, where the network of repetitions, main, sang, meurtre, tache, seems to suggest frustration even more than anger in the face of this anomalous clash between appearance and reality:-

Ces bourreaux furieux eurent des mains fumantes<sup>109</sup>  
Du sang tiede versé. Mais voici des mains lentes,  
Voici un froid meurtrier, un arsenic si blanc  
Qu'on le gousta pour sucre, et, sans tache de sang,  
L'ingenieux tyran de qui la fraude a mise  
A plus d'extremités la primitive Eglise.  
Il ne tacha de sang sa robe ne sa main,  
Il avoit la main pure, et le coeur fut si plein  
De meurtres des robes!

The monde à l'envers theme also comes to the fore again in a cleverly-worked compound repetition, in which we see John Huss and Jerome of Prague:-

Couronnez de papier, de gloire couronnés<sup>110</sup>  
Par le siege qui a d'or mitrés et ornés  
Ceux qui n'estoyent pasteurs qu'en papier et en titres,  
Et aux evesques d'or fait de papier les mitres.

Here the word-play hinges on the double significance of papier and or, literal and symbolical. Just how significant a word may become

with d'Aubigné can be illustrated from this familiar passage  
early in *Miseres*:-

Puisque de ton amour mon ame est eschauffee,<sup>111</sup>  
Jalouze de ton nom, ma poitrine embrazee  
De ton feu, repurge aussi de mesmes feux  
Le vice naturel de mon coeur vicieux;  
De ce zele tres saint rebrusle-moi encore,  
Si que (tout consommé au feu qui me devore,  
N'estant serf de ton ire, en ire transporté  
Sans passion) je sois propre à ta verité;  
Ailleurs qu'à te louer ne soit abandonnee  
La plume que je tiens, puis que tu l'as donnee.  
Je n'escris plus les feux d'un amour inconu,  
Mais, par l'affliction plus sage devenu,  
J'entreprends bien plus haut, car j'apprens à ma plume  
Un autre feu, auquel la France se consume.

Within a mere fourteen lines feu has been invested with three  
different meanings: it is the fire of God, the fire of profane love  
and the fire now devastating France. Ripples and reverberations  
from each of these meanings will spread through the text as the  
poem unfolds. A full treatment of the technique is to be found in  
Sauerwein's seminal work on the cluster theory.<sup>112</sup>

In what I have said up to the present I may seem to have been  
suggesting that each instance of repetition is carefully contrived  
and that all contribute equally towards the impressiveness and vigour  
(if not the charm) of d'Aubigné's style. There is evidence of a  
great deal of conscious art, though even allowing for the different  
sensibility and artistic criteria of the sixteenth century it must  
be said that some of his most studied repetitions seem to be amongst  
his most signal failures. Surely there is little poetic value in  
the clumsy:-

Là les esprits ailez adjournent de leurs aisles,<sup>113</sup>

little to be gained from the tautological:-

Dieu seelle de son seau,<sup>114</sup> or

L'homme, seul raisonnable, eut l'ame de raison?<sup>115</sup>

And is there not perhaps even the danger of obscurity in some of the longer passages, like this convoluted comparison between the honour of Caesar and that of Jane Grey? Caesar:-

Par honneur abria de sa robe percee<sup>116</sup>  
Et son coeur offensé et sa grace offensee:  
Et ce coeur d'un Cesar, sur le sueil inhumain  
De la mort, choisissoit non la mort mais la main.  
Les mains qui la paroyent la parerent encore.  
Sa grace et son honneur, quand la mort la devore,  
N'abandonnent son front.

Not all d'Aubigné's repetitions however are planned. There are many words and even expressions which within the context of the poem are used sparingly but which nonetheless find an echo within a few pages or even a few lines of their first occurrence. In the Tragiques there are sentence structures which cling, like these, separated by a mere twelve lines in the section on the hydroptic giant:-

Qui va de braves mots les hauts cieux outrageant,<sup>117</sup>

and:-

Qui alloit de ses nerfs ses voisins outrageant,<sup>118</sup>

and there are individual words which linger in the mind, so that Catherine is depicted first aux hideux cimetieres<sup>119</sup> and thirteen lines later consulting organes hideux.<sup>120</sup> Richard de Gastines,

within the space of fourteen lines is twice heralded as docte,<sup>121</sup>  
and within a similar span the theme of sadistic cruelty provokes:-

De la guerre naissant les berceaux, les esbats<sup>122</sup>

and

Les esbats coustumiers de ces après-disnees.<sup>123</sup>

When a word is of relatively rare occurrence, it may well be that its repetition can be felt at a distance of anything up to one hundred lines. When d'Aubigné writes:-

En vain le pauvre en l'air esclatte pour du pain,<sup>124</sup>

there is a reminiscence of:-

L'ame plaintive alloit en un plus heureux lieu<sup>125</sup>  
Esclatter sa clameur au grand throne de Dieu,

a resonance which an attentive reader may well pick up. Similarly with:-

Entrer à l'improvis une vefve exploree<sup>126</sup>

and:-

Ils hument à longs traits dans leurs coupes dorees,<sup>127</sup>  
Suc, laict, sang et sueurs des vefves explorees.

Many more instances could be quoted, for these unscheduled repetitions are not isolated phenomena. Sometimes they must be interpreted as stylistic blemishes, at best marks of haste d'Aubigné has seen fit to leave, repetitions permitted rather than planned. Happily they more often emerge successfully, and it seems to me that in the end



the somewhat immodest boast of the prose preface is fully justified,  
that

ce qui a esté moins parfaict par sa negligence vaut bien<sup>128</sup>  
encor la diligence de plusieurs.

Perhaps almost as impressive as the number and variety of  
types of repetition is the manner in which d'Aubigné superimposes  
them one upon the other. The process may be seen at work as in  
conclusion we look briefly at a more substantial extract than I  
have been able to examine thus far:-

Ainsi Abel offroit en pure conscience<sup>129</sup>  
Sacrifices à Dieu, Caïn offroit aussi:  
180 L'un offroit un coeur doux, l'autre un coeur endurci,  
L'un fut au gré de Dieu, l'autre non agreable.  
Caïn grinca les dents, palit, espouvantable,  
Il massacra son frere, et de cet agneau doux  
Il fit un sacrifice à son amer courroux.  
185 Le sang fuit de son front, et honteux se retire  
Sentant son frere sang que l'aveugle main tire;  
Mais, quand le coup fut fait, sa premiere pasleur  
Au prix de la seconde estoit vive couleur:  
Ses cheveux vers le ciel herissés en furie,  
190 Le grincement de dents en sa bouche flestrie.  
L'oeil sourcillant de peur descouvroit son ennuy.  
Il avoit peur de tout, tout avoit peur de luy:  
Car le ciel s'affeubloit du manteau d'une nue  
Si tost que le transi au ciel tournoit la veuë:  
195 S'il fuyoit au desert, les rochers et les bois  
Effrayés abbayoient au son de ses abois.  
Sa mort ne peut avoir de mort pour recompense,  
L'enfer n'eut point de morts à punir cette offense,  
Mais autant que de jours il sentit de trespas:  
200 Vif il ne vescu point, mort il ne mourut pas.  
Il fuit d'effroi transi, troublé, tremblant et blesme,  
Il fuit de tout le monde, il s'enfuit de soy-mesme.  
Les lieux plus assureés luy estoient des hazards,  
Les feuilles, les rameaux et les fleurs des poignards,  
205 Les plumes de son lict des esguilles piquantes,  
Ses habits plus aisez des tenailles serrantes,  
Son eau jus de ciguë, et son pain des poisons;  
Ses mains le menaçoient de fines trahisons:  
Tout image de mort, et le pis de sa rage  
210 C'est qu'il cherche la mort et n'en voit que l'image.  
De quelqu'autre Caïn il craignoit la fureur,  
Il fut sans compagnon et non pas sans frayeur,



Il possedoit le monde et non une assurance,  
Il estoit seul par tout, hors mis sa conscience:  
215 Et fut marqué au front afin qu'en s'enfuyant  
Aucun n'osast tuer ses maux en le tuant.

Here in a mere forty lines we have examples of both patterned and unpatterned figures and of the distant echo. There is anaphora (201f) conveying Cain's panic, and antimetabole (192) to sum up his predicament. Emotive words and ideas are underscored over and again in ploche, polyptoton and echo - doux (180, 183) sang (185f), ciel (189, 193f), peur (191f), mort (197f, 200), grincer les dents (182, 190), frere (183, 186), frayeur (196, 201, 212), palir (182, 187), furie (189, 211), transi (194, 201), abbayer (196), fuir (201f, 215), and their cognates. Repetition serves to hammer home the ideas of fear and panic: by providing as it were a series of verbal flash-backs it also reminds us of the vicious circle in which Cain is trapped. As the verse paragraph draws to its conclusion, so it turns back in the echo of conscience to its beginning, and repetition finally serves to underscore one of the basic conflicts of the poem.

## CHAPTER 6 - FIGURES OF CONTRAST AND CONTRADICTION

Having noted at the outset that the mainspring of the Tragiques is the contrast between good and evil, I have already in the course of this study had occasion to mention the matter of antithesis. Up to now the term has been used in its wider application to express the idea of opposition in general, but it may also be used to describe more particularly that figure in which thoughts or words are so balanced in contrast that they are made to stand out in bold relief. Unless otherwise stated, it should be understood in this narrower sense as we turn our attention in this chapter first to the omnipresent figure of antithesis and then to the associated figures of paradox, oxymoron, denial and correctio.

The means by which symmetry of expression is attained in the Tragiques are various, the most common vehicle for antithesis being the alexandrine with the natural balance of its two equal hemistichs, as in:-

L'une juste dit vrai, l'autre perfidement.<sup>1</sup>

Quite frequently however, one line may be set against another:-

Tout peril veut avoir la gloire pour salaire,<sup>2</sup>  
Tels perils amenoient l'infamie au contraire,

while on occasion, without losing any of its incisiveness, couplet may quite effectively balance couplet:-

En autant de mal-heurs qu'un peuple miserable  
Traîne une triste vie en un temps lamentable,  
En autant de plaisirs les Rois voluptueux,<sup>3</sup>  
Yvres d'ire et de sang, nagent luxurieux . . .

On the whole a fairly rigid rhythmical symmetry seems to be the

norm, to which even syntax may from time to time be sacrificed,  
as in:-

On refusa la mort ainsi que toy la vie,<sup>4</sup>

though the example of:-

Encores le chrestien aura ici dedans  
Pour chanter; l'atheiste en grincera les dents,<sup>5</sup>

demonstrates that it is not de rigueur for the contrast to be contained within these strict metrical divisions. There are other factors which determine the degree of symmetry that will be felt - the number of terms involved for instance, the phonetic relationship between those terms, repetition and word order. In the above example the parts of the antithesis are clearly marked by two sets of words in opposition and by parallel construction, and this is representative (the metrical imbalance apart) of many of the antitheses in the Tragiques. In the region of one hundred expressions could be cited where two or more terms are affected by antithesis, and in not a few of these contrast is made more striking by alliteration, assonance and rhyme.

It is often a straight case of initial alliteration involving contrasting terms:-

Les plaisirs de vingt ans d'une eternelle peine,<sup>6</sup>

La vie te fut douce et la mort detestable,<sup>7</sup>

Prisonniere ça bas, mais princesse là haut.<sup>8</sup>

Sometimes several sound echoes are present: in:-

Pour l'estouffer de nuict triomphe de journee,<sup>9</sup>

estouffer/triomphe and nuict/journee show consonantal correspondences, and assonance joins hands with alliteration in the pair suyvre/fuy in:-

Si tu veux suyvre Dieu, fuy de loin les idoles.<sup>10</sup>

The balance of:-

parois moins, et sois plus<sup>11</sup>

is, we may perhaps think, reinforced by the reproduction in reverse of the sound sequence p . . . a . . . w, whilst the effect of rhyme can be seen in:-

Ou que tes jeunes ans soient l'heur de ta vieillesse,<sup>12</sup>  
Ou que tes cheveux blancs maudissent ta jeunesse,

as in:-

Le meschant le sentit, plein d'espouventement,<sup>13</sup>  
Mais le bon le connut, plein de contentement.

Le corps tout feu dedans, tout glace par dehors<sup>14</sup>

illustrates another simple means of reinforcement in the repetition of the intensive adjective, while chiasmic arrangement, which tends to give a sense of completeness to the whole expression, can also bring about such striking juxtapositions as are to be found in:-

Les plaisirs de vingt ans d'une eternelle peine,<sup>15</sup>

or:-

"Pourquoi nous avez-vous, diront les arbres, faits<sup>16</sup>  
D'arbres delicieux execrables gibets?"

Not every contrast is symmetrically or memorably expressed, but the basic conflict with its many ramifications is relentlessly

brought before us in antithesis after antithesis. That conflict can be viewed as one between heaven and earth - le ciel and les fanges,<sup>17</sup> la terre and le ciel,<sup>18</sup> ça bas and là haut<sup>19</sup> - or between heaven and hell - l'enfer and le ciel<sup>20</sup> or le paradis,<sup>21</sup> la gloire and les flammes.<sup>22</sup> Alternatively, good and evil may be personalized, so that the antagonists are at a spiritual level les purs esprits and l'esprit immonde,<sup>23</sup> the esprits benins and l'esprit malin,<sup>24</sup> Satan and l'Eglise,<sup>25</sup> Satan and le Seigneur,<sup>26</sup> at a human level le bon and le pire,<sup>27</sup> le meschant and le bon,<sup>28</sup> le vertueux and le vicieux,<sup>29</sup> le chrestien and l'atheiste,<sup>30</sup> les benis and les autres,<sup>31</sup> God's enfants and his ennemis,<sup>32</sup> les loups and le troupeau domestique,<sup>33</sup> ces agnelets,<sup>34</sup> les aigneaux.<sup>35</sup>

But antithesis does much more than express the co-existence of good and evil. Frequently presenting a changing situation, it makes a vital contribution to that sense of movement of which we are so conscious in the Tragiques - and indeed which typifies much of the literature of this period. Garnier's:-

Rien d'arresté ne se voit en ce monde;<sup>36</sup>  
 On y brouille tousjours,  
 Le ciel, la terre et la mer vagabonde  
 Se changent tous les jours

closely parallels d'Aubigné's:-

il n'y a rien sous le haut firmament  
 Perdurable en son estre et franc du changement.<sup>37</sup>

First, along with such verbs as changer, the more dramatic se trouver, faire, habiller, sembler and temporal expressions of the type ne . . . plus, autrefois . . . maintenant, it enables us to see evil turning everything upside down. It shows evil bringing disruption into natural order, harmony changed to discord by Catherine, for:-

Elle change en discord l'accord des elements,<sup>38</sup>

Ocean's peace turned to war:-

L'air qui estoit en paix confus se trouve en guerre,<sup>39</sup>

and the cradle becomes the grave for the little Huguenot girl called  
up

Du berceau, du tombeau,<sup>40</sup>

for, as d'Aubigné trenchantly remarks:-

Il faut faire guster les coups de la tuerie  
A ceux qui n'avoyent pas encor gusté la vie.<sup>41</sup>

The process of dehumanization is seen at work in the famished mother turned infanticide, as d'Aubigné, writing at white heat, describes the scene step by horrific step, but it is antithesis which finally drives home the horror as the stark contrast is drawn and redrawn between what was - minutes before, or so it seems - and what now is:-

Cette main s'employoit pour la vie autres-fois;<sup>42</sup>  
Maintenant à la mort elle employe ses doigts,

Tout est troublé, confus, en l'ame qui se trouve  
N'avoir plus rien de mere, et avoir tout de louve,<sup>43</sup>

Elle n'appreste plus les levres, mais les dents,<sup>44</sup>  
Et des baizers changés en avides morsures,

Il pousse trois fumeaux, et n'ayant plus de mere,<sup>45</sup>  
Mourant, cherche des yeux les yeux de sa meurtriere,

In the frightening, almost prophetic tones of Richard de Gastines, antithesis presents another type of degeneration, the departure from the standards of the age that is passing:-

De nous s'enfuit la honte et s'approche la peur:  
Nous nous vantons de coeur et perdons le vray coeur.  
Degenez enfans, à qui la fausse crainte  
Dans le foyer du sein glace la braize esteinte,  
Vous perdez le vray bien pour garder le faux bien.<sup>46</sup>

It shows further the distortion and deliberate falsification of moral values - Lucan's "iusque datum sceleri canimus" - by duellists

faisant vertu d'un execrable vice,<sup>47</sup>

by a preacher so corrupt

Qu'il habille en martyr le bourreau des fideles,<sup>48</sup>

by flattering poets prepared to paint Sardanapalus as Caesar, Nero as Trajan, Thais as Lucretia, Thersites as Achilles,<sup>49</sup> proferring

La louange cachee à l'ombre du reprendre<sup>50</sup>

so that it could well be said:-

Le Diable est fait par eux un ange.<sup>51</sup>

By stating the situation in antithetical terms ethical distinctions are restored where the lines have become blurred, where for instance hypocrisy has advanced into self-delusion:-

vous donnez tel lustre à vos noires ordures  
Qu'en fascinant vos yeux elles vous semblent pures.<sup>52</sup>

The duplicity of those who would provide themselves with a technical immunity, pitting the letter against the spirit,

Qui en ostez les mains et y trempex les langues,<sup>53</sup>

is brutally exposed, and through Montalchine the call goes out for

an unambiguous moral decision to be made for truth or falsehood:-

"O chrestiens, choisissez: vous voyez d'un costé<sup>54</sup>  
Le mensonge puissant, d'autre la verité.

But change operates in the Tragiques in another direction too,  
and antithesis expresses equally forcibly the reversals effected by:-

le Dieu favorable,  
Qui verse l'eslevé, hausse le miserable.<sup>55</sup>

Nightmare transformations occur in the twinkling of an eye. For Cain

Les lieux plus assurez luy estoyent des hazards,  
Les feuilles, les rameaux et les fleurs des poignards,  
Les plumes de son lict des esguilles piquantes,  
Ses habits plus aisez des tenailles serrantes,  
Son eau jus de ciguë, et son pain des poisons: <sup>56</sup>

for Satan, disguised as an angel of light,

un changement estrange  
Luy donna front de diable et osta celuy d'ange: <sup>57</sup>

for Nebuchadnezzar, "en un seul moment",

Un desert solitaire est toute sa province . . . <sup>58</sup>  
Son palais est le souil d'une puante bouë,  
La fange est l'oreiller parfumé pour sa jouë;  
Ses chantres, les crapaux compagnons de son lict  
Qui de cris enrouës le tourmentent la nuict;  
Ses vaisseaux d'or ouvrez furent les ordes fentes  
Des rochers serpenteux, son vin les eaux puantes;  
Les phaisans, qu'on faisoit galoper de si loin,  
Furent les glans amers, la racine et le foin.

Nebuchadnezzar also illustrates how God restores the fortunes of His  
people:-

Dieu refit cette beste un Roy quand il luy pleut.  
Merveilleux jugement et merveilleuse grace  
De l'oster de son lieu, le remettre en sa place! <sup>59</sup>



whilst in a contemporary context d'Aubigné reminds Elizabeth I of the source of her present prosperity, of

La main qui (la) ravit de la geolle en (sa) salle,<sup>60</sup>  
Qui changea la sellette en la chaire royale  
Et le sueil de la mort en un degré si haut,  
Qui fit un tribunal d'un funeste eschafaut.

Vindication often comes at the very brink of death, as also in the case of Esther:-

Sur le sueil de la mort et de la boucherie<sup>61</sup>  
La chetive receut le throne avec la vie,

though some like the martyr known simple as Marie must pass over death's threshold to find victory in the resurrection life:-

Ainsi la noire mort donna la claire vie,  
Et le ciel fut conquis par la terre à Marie.<sup>62</sup>

As d'Aubigné remarks in another context:-

Dieu des plus simples coeurs estoffa ses louanges,<sup>63</sup>  
Faisant revivre au ciel ce qui vivoit aux fanges.

Antithesis in the Tragiques has other functions less directly related to thematic considerations. A very typical form of words, for example is the positive statement followed by a negative or vice-versa, the actual state of affairs being set against the anticipated, the imagined, the apparent or the desirable, creating by this opposition quite weighted, emphatic expressions often stronger than those formed by some of the more obvious intensifying devices. The unpretentious

D'ici la botte en jambe, et non pas le cothurne<sup>64</sup>

in fact signals a complete change in the poet's outlook, while the lines:-

Il trouve, à son retour, non des agneaux craintifs,<sup>65</sup>  
Mais des lions trompés, retraite aux fugitifs

contain within them a statement both of the expectations of Henri III on his re-entry into France and of the altered situation which awaits him there. The double antithesis of:-

Je voi ce que je veux, et non ce que je puis,<sup>66</sup>  
Je voi mon entreprise, et non ce que je suis,

by voicing the unpropitious circumstances and by means of the humility formulae forestalling perhaps his critics, strengthens the note of resolution. This type of antithesis, sometimes known as arsis-thesis, may at times have a somewhat didactic flavour to it, for not infrequently its task is to correct any possible misapprehensions. Lest his original readership should imagine theirs to be a passive and not an active role, d'Aubigné writes:

Vous n'estes spectateurs, vous estes personnages,<sup>67</sup>

and lest we should misconstrue the flight of the royal princesses as the normal reaction of tender-hearted women, we are firmly instructed that they are motivated

D'horreur, non de pitié.<sup>68</sup>

Arsis-thesis in a few cases expresses the appearance/reality theme, making clear the gulf that can exist between the title and the function, for example, as the poet indicates the so-called counsellors,

changeans de nom, et ne changeans d'office,<sup>69</sup>  
Après solliciteurs non juges des supplices,

or between the outside and the inside in the picture of the domestic animals,

Faicts loups de naturel et non pas de la peau.<sup>70</sup>

A note of regret may underlie the formula. It is there in the injunction to exchange rebellion for submission:-

A prendre loy d'enhaut, non y donner des loix;<sup>71</sup>

it can be felt under the description of the kings of Israel,

Qui contoyent leurs soldats, non la force de Dieu,<sup>72</sup>

perhaps even through the arrogance of Satan's calculation, which with hindsight we know to be correct:-

ils auront leur fiance  
En leurs princes puissans et non en ta puissance,<sup>73</sup>

and finally, as the actual is set against the equitable, in the description of the Chambre Dorée,

Par dons, non par <sup>paree</sup> raison.<sup>74</sup>

The function of the antitheses in the following group of expressions is also an intensifying one, as ideas are repeated by the statement of their corollaries. Of Catherine it is said:-

La diligente au mal, paresseuse à tout bien,  
Pour bien faire craint tout, pour nuire ne craint rien,<sup>75</sup>

and of Henri III:-

Il laissa le vrai sens, s'attachant au mensonge,<sup>76</sup>

whilst François Ier was

L'appuy des vrais François, des traistres la terreur,<sup>77</sup>

and Henri de Navarre, following in his footsteps, is

Ennemi des tyrans, ressource des vrais Rois.<sup>78</sup>

The neat, symmetrical form of antithesis makes it another suitable figure for concluding verse paragraphs.

N'as tu peu bien vivant apprendre à bien mourir?<sup>79</sup>

is the anguished climax to the speech of Richard de Gastine's father. Montalchine rounds off his carefully balanced argument with the resounding antithesis:-

Vive Christ, vive Christ! et meure Montalchine!<sup>80</sup>

Antithesis moreover closes three of the seven cantos, Princes, Feux and Fers, in the two latter returning to the main conflict:-

La terre se noircit d'espais aveuglement, 81  
Et le ciel rayonna d'heureux contentement,

Aux uns arres du ciel, aux autres de l'enfer.<sup>82</sup>

We are dealing here with one of the most widespread of rhetorical figures, and I feel it would be extremely imprudent to attach overmuch importance to possible individual literary models - though in view of the heavy debt to the Pharsalia, Lucan could probably be mentioned with some confidence.<sup>83</sup> It seems as though we could safely note some very obvious Petrarchan influences in the contrasts bitterness and sweetness:-

Je mets de la douceur aux ameres racines,<sup>84</sup>

Qu'une amere poison te soit une douceur,<sup>85</sup>

Vous sucez le poison et vous crachez le miel,<sup>86</sup>

Masquans l'amer courroux d'une douce feintise,<sup>87</sup>

fire and ice:-

Le corps tout feu dedans, tout glace par dehors,<sup>88</sup>

Dans le foyer du sein glace la braize esteinte,<sup>89</sup>

Ce fier, doux en propos, cet humble de col roide  
Jugeoit au feu si chaud d'une façon si froide;  
L'une moitié de luy se glace de froideur,<sup>90</sup>  
L'autre moitié fuma d'une mortelle ardeur,

darkness and light:-

Dieu à qui la nuict est claire,<sup>91</sup>

Qui regrettent la nuict en la vive clarté,<sup>92</sup>

peace and war:-

Posseda par la paix ce qu'en guerre il conquit,<sup>93</sup>

Preennent vie en la mort, en la guerre la paix.<sup>94</sup>

It is reasonable moreover to suggest that d'Aubigné may owe something to the Renaissance vogue for emblems.<sup>95</sup> The mottos often came out in antithetical form, as Scève's Délie illustrates - "A tous clarté a moy tenebres",<sup>96</sup> "A tous plaisir et a moy peine",<sup>97</sup> "Le jour meurs et la nuict ars."<sup>98</sup> But, as in the case of other devices, a large part of d'Aubigné's inspiration is manifestly Christian. From the Bible

d'Aubigné has taken the picture of the sheep and the wolves:-

Ils viennent à vous en vêtements de brebis, mais au dedans<sup>99</sup>  
ce sont des loups ravisseurs,

and the principle stated over and again that appearance does not  
always correspond with reality:-

L'Éternel ne considère pas ce que l'homme considère;<sup>100</sup>  
l'homme regarde à ce qui frappe les yeux, mais l'Éternel  
regarde au coeur.

The contrast between bitterness and sweetness turns out to be not  
uniquely Petrarchan: it belongs too in the Wisdom literature of  
the Old Testament:-

Car les lèvres de l'étrangère distillent le miel,<sup>101</sup>  
Et son palais est plus doux que l'huile;  
Mais à la fin elle est amère comme l'absinthe,  
Aiguë comme un glaive à deux tranchants;

that of darkness and light is a Christian commonplace: the Psalmist  
writes:-

Même les ténèbres ne sont pas obscures pour toi,  
La nuit brille comme le jour,  
Et les ténèbres comme la lumière,<sup>102</sup>

and peace and war come together in the words of Christ:-

Je ne suis pas venu apporter la paix, mais l'épée.<sup>103</sup>

Montalchine's offer of alternatives is clearly patterned on appeals  
such as those of Moses in the Old Testament:-

J'ai mis devant toi la vie et la mort, la bénédiction et<sup>104</sup>  
la malédiction,

or of Christ in St. Matthew:-

Entrez par la porte étroite. Car large est la porte,<sup>105</sup>  
spacieux est le chemin qui mènent à la perdition, et  
il y en a beaucoup qui entrent par là. Mais étroite  
est la porte, resserré le chemin qui mènent à la vie,  
et il y en a peu qui les trouvent.

A great part of the teaching of the Bible comes in the form of  
antithesis. Proverbs of the type:-

Un fils sage fait la joie d'un père,  
Et un fils insensé le chagrin de sa mère<sup>106</sup>

are perhaps the obvious examples, but arsis-thesis plays an important  
role in the gospels and epistles:-

Le sabbat a été fait pour l'homme, et non l'homme<sup>107</sup>  
pout le sabbat,

Il faut toujours prier et ne point se relacher,<sup>108</sup>

N'aspirez pas à ce qui est élevé; mais laissez-vous<sup>109</sup>  
attirer par ce qui est humble,

Ne te laisse pas vaincre par le mal, mais surmonte le<sup>110</sup>  
mal par le bien,

Affectionnez-vous aux choses d'en haut, et non à celles<sup>111</sup>  
qui sont sur la terre.

It should of course be borne in mind that the influence of the Bible  
may not always be direct. The clarity which antithesis fosters has  
made the figure an important weapon in the arsenal of Christian  
apologetics at all times, whether we look to the Patristic writings  
of St Augustine, St Hilary of Poitiers and Pope Leo the Great or to  
Calvin and the great Reformers. Mario Richter in fact holds Calvin  
responsible for the proliferation of antithetical expressions in  
much Protestant literature of the sixteenth century.<sup>112</sup>

The Bible is also rich in paradox, that figure which occurs when contrast becomes apparent contradiction. The play on words frequently reflects the opposition of two points of view, the human and the divine, and many echoes of this are to be found in d'Aubigné. Jane Grey, for example, implies that the Christian must be prepared for a dramatic reassessment of his attitudes to life and death:-

De qui veut vivre au ciel l'aise soit la souffrance<sup>113</sup>  
Et le jour de la mort celui de la naissance.

In a nutshell expression she has just delivered the neat dictum:-

Hay ton corps pour l'aimer,<sup>114</sup>

an injunction in the spirit of Matthew 10.39:-

Celui qui conservera sa vie la perdra, et celui qui perdra  
sa vie à cause de moi la retrouvera.

D'Aubigné has apparently laid this lesson to heart already:-

Tu m'as montré, ô Dieu, que celui qui te sert<sup>115</sup>  
Sauve sa vie alors que pour toy il la perd,

while Richard de Gastines, in a three-fold paradox, its impact strengthened by ellipsis, reminds his audience of the martyrs of earlier days:-

Tant de braves tesmoins dont la mort fut la vie,<sup>116</sup>  
Les tormens les plaisirs, gloire l'ignominie.

The same basic paradox is presented in arresting fashion in the response of Le Brun:-

. . . qu'on l'avoit condamné à la vie<sup>117</sup>



or as the punch-line to Satan's argument:-

Puis, vivant sans plaisir, n'auroyent-ils point envie<sup>118</sup>  
De guerir par la mort une mortelle vie?

Other revaluations are called for in the paradox-based pun on  
Marguerite le Riche:-

Pauvre femme, mais riche, et si riche que lors<sup>119</sup>  
Un plus riche trouva l'aumosne en ses thresors,

recalling the principle of James 2.5:-

Dieu n'a-t-il pas choisi les pauvres aux yeux du monde,<sup>120</sup>  
pour qu'ils soient riches en la foi?

or in the wisdom paradox:-

Ne sçavoir qu'un sçavoir, se sçavoir sans science,<sup>121</sup>

reminiscent of the argument of Erasmus' Moriae Encomium or the  
Pauline references in Rabelais' Tiers Livre.

It is also a figure particularly well suited to the expression  
of the tensions and complexities of life and experience, for these  
are not always by-passed. It may voice the internal struggle of  
the peasant,

Esperant sans espoir la fin de ses mal-heurs,<sup>122</sup>

or the dilemma in which Cain finds himself:-

Vif il ne vescu point, mort il ne mourut pas;<sup>123</sup>

it may reveal a mind grappling with ideas hard to reconcile, as  
d'Aubigné considers the anomalous situation of Augustus,

Qui regna justement en sa conqueste injuste,<sup>124</sup>

or the deeper mysteries (treated with less compression in the Meditation on Psalm XVI) of the differing rewards of the blessed:-

Nul ne monte trop haut, nul trop bas ne devale,<sup>125</sup>  
Pareille imparité en difference esgale.

Paradox in the Tragiques is not infrequently presented, as in the last example, in the condensed form of oxymoron. It is not a characteristic feature of Biblical style, savouring rather more of Horace's amabilis insania<sup>126</sup> or Petrarch's diletto male.<sup>127</sup> In the Tragiques however, rather than presenting the double face of love, it serves to mirror, amongst other things, the tensions brought about by people failing to be what they should be or pretending to be other than they are. Hence its effectiveness in abusive address, in the jarring incongruity of pacifiques meurtriers,<sup>128</sup> the unexpected esclave chef<sup>129</sup> or mol tyran,<sup>130</sup> combinations which provoke instinctive rejection before we concede justness, or the bold ellipsis of cet humble de col roide,<sup>131</sup> a juxtaposition totally irreconcilable without the preceding hemistich, ce fier, doux en propos which provides the key to understanding - the humility is but skin deep. Like other forms of antithesis, oxymoron is common in the context of the suffering and death of the martyrs. Tourment can be regarded as beau,<sup>132</sup> misères and affliction douces,<sup>133</sup> whilst death itself is heureuse,<sup>134</sup> gracieuse,<sup>135</sup> propice.<sup>136</sup> It is of course used in other places too. In a crisis situation such as arises during the flight of the defenceless Protestants from Montargis the clashing connotations of an escadron d'oüailles<sup>137</sup> can be left to do their own work with

wonderful economy, whilst seen in the context of sodomy at court, the somewhat stretched oxymoron reproches joyeux<sup>138</sup> may well be interpreted also as a pun.

In some cases the adjective almost entirely empties the noun of its content. Life that is mourante<sup>139</sup> is scarcely fit to be called life; courage that is servile<sup>140</sup> is no courage at all; it is a poor justice that itself is fausse.<sup>141</sup> The privative terms in:-

Sel sans saveur, bois verd qui sans feu rend fumee,<sup>142</sup>  
Nuage sans liqueur, abondance affamee

produce a similar effect, and it is but a step from this to the denial technique in les meres non-meres<sup>143</sup> and cet enfant non enfant:<sup>144</sup> other designations must be found for mothers of such unnatural cruelty, for a child of such precocious sanctity. The denial is not always so immediate. Equally effective may be the slightly more gradual approach of:-

o terre sanguinaire,<sup>145</sup>  
Non pas terre, mais cendre!

where emotive force initially concentrated in the epithet spills over with the spontaneity of the human voice and the whole phrase is repatterned, or the groping progress of:-

Ces licts, pieges fumans, non pas licts mais tombeaux,<sup>146</sup>

with first the dramatic contrast of the apposition, then the denial and the striking correction, particularly in view of the common euphemistic relegation of tombeau in favour of lit. The expression of denial is perhaps even less vigorous in:-

Ces hommages, plustost ces demons desguisez,<sup>147</sup>

modified by a certain element of dry humour in the self correction, but there is still rejection of the already pejorative hommages for the even more abusive (and, incidentally, alliterating) phrase demons desguisez. Again plustost rather than a straight negative is used in:-

On void sous tels vallets, ou plustost sous tels maistres<sup>148</sup>

to recall a derogatory appellation, replacing it ironically and with devastating effect, with its direct opposite. Indeed denial is implicit in all substitution, and the success of correctio without the denial technique is amply demonstrated in the very forceful veiled correctio:-

Les belistres armez ont le gouvernement,<sup>149</sup>  
Le sac de nos citez.

The desire to startle, to be provocative, is a constant in all these figures: ideas are challenged, emerging finally in terse, polished phrases with a definition all the clearer for our awareness of the alternatives. But we are seldom in danger of assuming that such figures of contrast and contradiction exist solely for this. The governing contrast, good versus evil, in its many different aspects, is ever to the fore. Antithesis with its kindred figures is its stylistic correlative.

It is unnecessary to re-emphasize the emotional impetus under which d'Aubigné clearly wrote or his acute sense of moral involvement: in the previous chapters we have seen this sainte fureur translated into vives chansons<sup>1</sup> by means of epithet, grammatical intensifiers, enumeration, repetition and contrast. A feature which makes a major contribution to the overall emotive impact of the Tragiques and goes beyond identifiable rhetorical devices (for it is a whole modus operandi) is the poet's direct appeal to the emotions through the visual imagination. I have already made passing reference to d'Aubigné's exploitation of the particular,<sup>2</sup> his fondness for personification,<sup>3</sup> and his skill in building up colourful scenes or composing thumbnail sketches,<sup>4</sup> but the subject deserves fuller treatment, and it is therefore to the visual appeal of the Tragiques that I wish to devote the final chapter of my thesis.

This characteristic has been noted by most of d'Aubigné's modern critics - Bailbé, Buffum, James Dauphiné, Dubois, Hagiwara, McFarlane, Regosin, Sauerwein and Weber. Claude-Gilbert Dubois' richly-illustrated selections from the Tragiques<sup>5</sup> bear out the claim he makes in the introduction that d'Aubigné's is "un art voyant";<sup>6</sup> I. D. McFarlane, in a general survey of the poem, comments on d'Aubigné's impressive mastery of visual effects<sup>7</sup> whilst James Dauphiné sees the epic as the product of "une imagination visuelle et picturale"<sup>8</sup> and Weber, more explicitly, of an "homme de la Renaissance, homme d'un siècle qui a exalté la sensualité".<sup>9</sup>

The terminology of painting and the other visual arts is freely used in the Tragiques. Misères, according to the prose preface, is "un tableau 'piteux' du Royaume en general",<sup>10</sup> a picture moreover

within which we are shown peasants who are "peintres, brodeurs"<sup>11</sup> and Catherine de Medici who traces out in a tapestry the sorrow of the Church.<sup>12</sup> In Princes the verses of the court poets are described as "vocables choisis a peindre les delices",<sup>13</sup> whilst d'Aubigné himself produces a "tableau plein de fleurs".<sup>14</sup> A detailed account of a mural in the Palais de Justice occupies about a quarter of the Chambre Dorée, whilst Feux is almost entirely composed of what Weber has aptly called d'Aubigné's "tableaux votifs".<sup>15</sup> D'Aubigné has indeed prayed:-

Condui mon oeuvre, ô Dieu! à ton nom, donne moy<sup>16</sup>  
 Qu'entre tant de martyrs, champions de la foy,  
 De chasque sexe, estat ou aage, à ton saint temple  
 Je puisse consacrer un tableau pour exemple.

The sacrés tableaux, variously described as portraits,<sup>17</sup> peintures,<sup>18</sup> tableaux,<sup>19</sup> images<sup>20</sup> or spectacles<sup>21</sup> dominate Fers; brief mention is made as well of Vasari's frescoes in the Chapel Royal.<sup>22</sup> D'Aubigné envisages Vengeances as a "painting"<sup>23</sup> of visions, and even Jugement, perhaps the least visual of all the cantos, contains

du jugement à venir quelques traicts,<sup>24</sup>  
 De l'enfer préparé les debiles portraits.

The painting analogy apart, the Tragiques possess an extensive vocabulary of vision. Particularly prominent are the verbs of observation and scrutiny, of visual attraction or recoil. The most common, with hundreds of occurrences throughout the text, is of course voir, but frequent too are monstrer, regarder, contempler, adviser and remarquer, with the supporting cast of discerner, espier, guetter and veiller. Expressions with oeil/yeux convey varying degrees of attention, appeal or aversion, prester les yeux, avoir les

yeux, tenir les yeux, jeter l'oeil, tourner l'oeil, suivre à l'oeil, approcher des yeux, chercher des yeux, resjouir les yeux, fasciner les yeux, fermer les yeux, destourner les yeux, retirer les yeux, boucher les yeux and finally crever les yeux.

As the synecdoche of:-

Tant d'yeux sont sur vos pieds<sup>25</sup>

reminds the Protestant princes, the world of the Tragiques is a watching world. This fact in itself imparts a peculiar intensity to the narrative as we are made aware of man (and sometimes angels) watching with wonder, anticipation or calculated cruelty. There is the calm absorption in worship of the "Seraphins ravis",<sup>26</sup> the silent admiration of the Huguenot soldiers for Beaumont and his people as these latter are observed committing their cause to God,<sup>27</sup> or the mute amazement of "vingt mille spectateurs", their scepticism challenged by unexpected evidence of a physical resurrection.<sup>28</sup> Faced with the last extremity the defenceless martyrs look heavenwards with "ardentes veuës",<sup>29</sup> whilst demented women, tortured by famine, lust with "oeil have et affamé"<sup>30</sup> after the very flesh of their husbands. But the ultimate in horror is surely reached when suffering becomes spectacle, and persecution,<sup>31</sup> martyrdom,<sup>32</sup> slaughter,<sup>33</sup> become for Nero, the reprobate, and the ladies of the Louvre, esbats, jeu, bouffonneries.

Whilst there are numerous observers in the Tragiques, the most important is undoubtedly the author himself who speaks both as poet-guide and as eye-witness to many of the events described.<sup>34</sup> In this first rôle d'Aubigné's relationship with his readers is linguistically

expressed by the use of the demonstrative voici and different moods and tenses of the verb voir. With voici scenes such as that with the dying peasants<sup>35</sup> become actual and immediate. We are made co-spectators with the bemused courtier outside the Louvre<sup>36</sup> and join the poet on a tour of the Chambre Dorée as he points out Bouffonnerie,<sup>37</sup> or, with the dramatic

Quel monstre voy-je encore?<sup>38</sup>

indicates Formalité: He maintains an informed and lively commentary as we pass on to watch the triumphal procession of Themis:-

Voici venir apres des modernes la bande,<sup>39</sup>

Voyez comme ces corps  
De leurs boyaux crevés ne jettent que thresors!<sup>40</sup>

or as we turn our attention to the victorious entry of the martyrs: "Voyons si Dieu les peut endurcir jusqu'aux cendres",<sup>41</sup> he says of the women, whilst with satisfaction he remarks:-

En voici que la peau du fier lion poserent,<sup>42</sup>  
Et celle des brebis encores espouserent.

Amongst the sacrés tableaux of Fers, voici specially signals the exodus from Montargis,<sup>43</sup> the St Bartholomew,<sup>44</sup> the flight of Coligny's pastor Merlin<sup>45</sup> and the Jour des Barricades,<sup>46</sup> whilst the excited questions "Qu'est-ce que je voy?"<sup>47</sup> and "Que vois-je?"<sup>48</sup> encourage us to gaze down with the author on the victims of the Loire or to scan the whitened face of the Atlantic, as it carries in miraculous succour to the besieged at La Rochelle. In Vengeances the poet guides us first to the early church and her persecutors,<sup>49</sup> then - forcefully - to Julian the Apostate in particular:-



Ces bourreaux furieux eurent des mains fumantes<sup>50</sup>  
Du sang tiède versé. Mais voici des mains lentes,  
Voici un froid meurtrier.

In somewhat more contemplative vein he bids his readership admire the appositeness of the punishments meted out by divine Justice:-

Voyez quels justes poids, quelles justes balances<sup>51</sup>  
Balancent dans les mains des celestes vengeances,  
Vengeances qui du ciel descendent à propos;

but with the Last Judgment the drama returns, as in swift succession and with mounting tension d'Aubigné presents the triumphant Christ,<sup>52</sup> the captive and dehumanized tyrants,<sup>53</sup> the destruction of the heavens,<sup>54</sup> the awe-inspiring transformation of the wicked,<sup>55</sup> and finally God's cup of wrath.<sup>56</sup>

It is phrases such as j'ai veu, nous avons veu, mes yeux sont tesmoins or nos yeux ont veu which point to the poet's role as eye-witness. His words bring conviction because he claims personally to have seen the horrors of war, the scandals of court, the public outrage and the divine retribution of which he writes. The gruesome deaths of the Périgourdin peasant and his family at the hands of the reistres<sup>57</sup> fall within his experience as a soldier. A courtier in the retinue of Henri de Navarre, he professes knowledge of a marriage between Henri III and one of his mignons,<sup>59</sup> the King's shameful retreats,<sup>60</sup> and men vying with women in the extravagance of their dress and jewellery.<sup>61</sup> A citizen, he notes the flaunting of the law<sup>62</sup> and the disgrace of a public servant infatuated with the newly-introduced craze for duelling.<sup>63</sup> A Huguenot, he puts his own interpretation on the dementia of Bezigny, Cosseins and Tavannes<sup>64</sup> and that of other unspecified "plusieurs".<sup>65</sup>

The direct description of reality occupies a large part of the Tragiques, but it is most prominent in the style bas or moyen.<sup>66</sup> The best-known passages are those that depict the ravages of war or the degeneracy of the Valois court, for, to quote Hagiwara:-

(D'Aubigné's) realism is of a special kind. It is an<sup>67</sup> instrument calculated to inflame the reader against the atrocities of the civil wars and the moral degeneration of the world.

D'Aubigné's procedure in Misères is to begin with a broad outline of the troubles, and thence progress to several particular tragiques histoires. Whilst the tableau public may be general<sup>68</sup> it is not vague. Passing swiftly from scene to scene, the poet vividly presents specific instances of violence, helplessness, injustice and rampant evil. He pinpoints a husband and wife fleeing under cover of night,<sup>69</sup> a father strangling his son in bed,<sup>70</sup> an open coffin,<sup>71</sup> the sinister white flag of the royal troops,<sup>72</sup> mothers rocking their terrified babies,<sup>73</sup> an upright citizen watching the rape of wife and daughter,<sup>74</sup> a judge hauled to the stake<sup>75</sup> and a bandit shamelessly displaying his ill-gotten gains in the very market-place.<sup>76</sup>

When we come to the picture of the dying Périgourdin and his family, of whose deaths, as I have mentioned above, d'Aubigné claims to have been an eye-witness, attention is focused with particular intensity on an individual scene of horror:-

J'oy d'un gosier mourant une voix demi-vive:  
Le cri me sert de guide, et fait voir à l'instant  
D'un homme demi-mort le chef se debattant,  
Qui sur le seuil d'un huis dissipait sa cervelle.  
Ce demi-vif la mort à son secours appelle  
De sa mourante voix, cet esprit demi-mort  
Disoit en son patois (langue de Perigort):  
Si vous estes François, François, je vous adjure  
Donnez secours de mort, c'est l'aide la plus seure

Que j'espere de vous, le moyen de guerir;<sup>77</sup>  
 Faictes-moi d'un bon coup et promptement mourir.  
 Les reistres m'ont tué par faute de viande,  
 Ne pouvant ni fournir ni ouïr leur demande;  
 D'un coup de coutelats l'un d'eux m'a emporté  
 Ce bras que vous voyez pres du lict à costé;  
 J'ai au travers du corps deux balles de pistolle."  
 Il suivit, en couppant d'un grand vent sa parolle:  
 "C'est peu de cas encor et de pitié de nous;  
 Ma femme en quelque lieu, grosse, est morte de coups.  
 Il y a quatre jours qu'ayans esté en fuitte  
 Chassez à la minuict, sans qu'il nous fust licite  
 De sauver nos enfans liez en leurs berceaux,  
 Leurs cris nous appelloyent, et entre ces bourreaux  
 Pensans les secourir nous perdismes la vie.  
 Helas! si vous avez encore quelque envie  
 De voir plus de mal-heur, vous verrez là dedans  
 Le massacre piteux de nos petits enfans."  
 J'entre, et n'en trouve qu'un, qui lié dans sa couche  
 Avoit les yeux flestris, qui de sa pasle bouche  
 Poussoit et retiroit cet esprit languissant  
 Qui, à regret son corps par la faim delaisant,  
 Avoit lassé sa voix bramant apres sa vie.  
 Voici apres entrer l'horrible anatomie  
 De la mere assechee: elle avoit de dehors  
 Sur ses reins dissipez trainé, roulé son corps,  
 Jambes et bras rompus, une amour maternelle  
 L'esmouvant pour autrui beaucoup plus que pour elle.  
 A tant ell' approcha sa teste du berceau,  
 La releva dessus; il ne sortoit plus d'eau  
 De ses yeux consumez; de ses playes mortelles  
 Le sang mouilloit l'enfant; point de laict aux mammelles,  
 Mais des peaux sans humeur: ce corps seché, retraits,  
 De la France qui meurt fut un autre portraits.  
 Elle cerchoit des yeux deux de ses fils encor,  
 Nos fronts l'espouventoyent; en fin la mort devore  
 En mesme temps ces trois.

Every detail seems to have been etched on the poet's memory - first the peasant beating his brain out on the doorstep, beside the poet the bed and the amputated arm, then, in another room, the child still strapped in its cradle (only one child, though the father had indicated enfans) eyes lustreless, lips pale, its breathing laboured, finally the entrance of the skeleton-like form of the pregnant wife, reportedly battered to death, and indeed more dead than alive. D'Aubigné remembers the agonizing progress towards the cradle of this poor wasted body (both arms and legs have been broken), the mother's tragic

helplessness when she at last manages to raise her head and look in on the child, for, mere assechee, she has no milk to suckle it, only blood which drips down from her mortal wounds. Above all he remembers the eyes, tearless, desperate in their search for the two missing children, and, in the moment before death, horror-stricken as they light on the faces of the soldier spectators. Towards the close of this account, d'Aubigné makes a comment which deepens the import of the private tragedy. He writes:-

ce corps seché, retraict,  
De la France qui meurt fut un autre portraict. 78

"Un autre portrait" refers us back of course to the three allegorical representations of France already given in Misères, France as hydroptic giant, France as storm-tossed vessel, but especially France as a mother destroyed by strife. In the particular he sees the general, and through the concrete he describes the abstract. D'Aubigné makes considerable use of the allegorical convention - later there will be the picture of France as a dying man, the vision of Fortune and Virtue, and the gallery of vices in the Chambre Dorée - and as Buffum writes:-

D'Aubigné's personifications are never mere allegorical<sup>79</sup> figures; they strike us by their individuality; they have flesh and blood. We are interested not only in the idea represented but also in the portrait which has been created.

Nowhere is this more demonstrable than in the vices of the Chambre Dorée, which emerge as d'Aubigné seeks to unravel the various strands in the complex pattern of injustice that is being worked out in his day. They stand, clearly differentiated in the court of Injustice in all their ghastly hues, with all their physical deformities,

vividly bodying forth the unrest, the capriciousness, the turbulence of evil, acting as a lively commentary on the words of the ancient prophet:-

Les meschants sont comme la mer agitée,  
Qui ne peut se calmer,  
Et dont les eaux soulèvent la vase et le limon.  
Il n'y a point de paix pour les méchants, dit mon Dieu.<sup>80</sup>

The outstanding feature serving to distinguish the vices is the eye (as Bailbé,<sup>81</sup> Sauerwein,<sup>82</sup> Weber<sup>83</sup> and Regosin<sup>84</sup> have all pointed out). There is the small, black, sunken eye of Avarice,<sup>85</sup> the roving eye of Ambition,<sup>86</sup> the ogling glances of la douce Faveur<sup>87</sup> or the little fleshy, blinking eye of Ignorance.<sup>88</sup> Hollow-eyed Folie<sup>89</sup> sits beside the wild, restless-eyed Ire;<sup>90</sup> along the bench appear squinting Inconstance,<sup>91</sup> Paresse with her unseeing eyes<sup>92</sup> and sleepy-eyed Stupidité;<sup>93</sup> Cruauté flashes hard, bloodshot eyes,<sup>94</sup> whilst Vanité bestows her sexually ambiguous glances on the assembled company;<sup>95</sup> between Jeunesse and Insolence we can distinguish the evasive, shifty eye of Trahison,<sup>96</sup> and in the farthest corner the dull, frightened and dejected look of Crainte,<sup>97</sup> whilst to brooding Jalousie is attributed the desire for a hundred eyes to pierce hidden secrets.<sup>98</sup>

Other parts of the body are isolated too, the fingers of Avarice,<sup>99</sup> the eyebrows and wig of Ambition,<sup>100</sup> the shaven head of Servitude,<sup>101</sup> the hands of Paresse,<sup>102</sup> Envie's mouthful of rotting teeth,<sup>103</sup> the narrow brows of Folie<sup>104</sup> and Ignorance,<sup>105</sup> the translucent skin of Inconstance,<sup>107</sup> the swelling paunch of Stupidité<sup>108</sup> or the wounded breast of Crainte.<sup>109</sup> Sometimes a single trait is given, sometimes a whole complex of features, like that which goes to build up the striking physical image of Cruauté, thick-lipped, cross-eyed, with

bushy, knit brows, harsh voice and bearlike limbs.<sup>110</sup> Thus there is not only variety in the detail chosen, but variety in the extent of the portrayal.

There is diversity also in posture and movement. Crouching Avarice<sup>111</sup> is neighboured by the bolt upright figure of Ambition;<sup>112</sup> the inanely-laughing Folie moves her fingers as though she carried a bauble,<sup>113</sup> but the vice at her side used her hands to more deadly purpose;<sup>114</sup> Yvongnerie lurches across the scene<sup>115</sup> and Passion gesticulates wildly,<sup>116</sup> but Stupidité remains head in hand as though asleep;<sup>117</sup> Cruauté is enthroned,<sup>118</sup> Pauvreté has relegated herself to a corner<sup>119</sup> and Paresse squats low on a footstool.<sup>120</sup> The hyperactive Jeunesse is ever on the move<sup>121</sup> whilst Foiblesse staggers and falls under her own weight.<sup>122</sup>

Dress is of somewhat less importance than the physical attributes of the vices, but the tattered robe of Avarice<sup>123</sup> is skilfully juxtaposed with the gold-edged coat of Ambition,<sup>124</sup> Hypocrisie is decked out in rosary beads,<sup>125</sup> Ire in a veil<sup>126</sup> and Vanité in all the appointments of the courtier à la dernière mode.<sup>127</sup>

Although the portrait of Ire is an arresting composition in red and black,<sup>128</sup> and though Vengeance is depicted as black,<sup>129</sup> Hypocrisie pale,<sup>130</sup> and Jalousie alternately pale and crimson,<sup>131</sup> colour is of relatively little importance in the portrayal of the vices. This is decidedly not the case in the Tragiques as a whole. Dubois enthusiastically calls d'Aubigné a "coloriste flamboyant"<sup>132</sup> whilst Dauphiné, perhaps more accurately, declares, "Le poète . . . a oeuvré comme un peintre dont l'unique couleur serait le rouge."<sup>133</sup>

Apart from very isolated references to the colours of nature - blue,<sup>134</sup> green<sup>135</sup> and yellow<sup>136</sup> - one or two allusions to grey hair,<sup>137</sup> a few mentions of gold<sup>138</sup> and the detail of Satan's ventre jaunissant,<sup>139</sup> there is nothing but the dramatic interplay of red, black and white. Much has already been written on colour in the Tragiques, and as space forbids any more detailed treatment of the subject here, I can but refer to Dauphiné's article on sang,<sup>140</sup> Buffum's pages on redness as a characteristic of the baroque style,<sup>141</sup> Weber's comments on colour symbolism<sup>142</sup> and the whole of Sauerwein's study of the Tragiques, in the course of which he draws out the full semantic range of rouge, noir and pasle.

Buffum,<sup>143</sup> Weber<sup>144</sup> and Sauerwein<sup>145</sup> also deal in some detail with the closely-related subject of light. It is in terms of blazing splendour that God the Ineffable is consistently portrayed, while the saints, the martyrs and the hosts of heaven bathe in a reflected radiance. The preponderance of light vocabulary gives some idea of its importance. The verbs briller, esblouir, luire, reluire, rayonner, alumer and esclairer occur frequently, as do also the adjectives allumé, brillant, clair, estincelant, flambant, flamboyant, luisant, rayonné and reluisant, and the nouns flambeau, lueur, lune, lumière, lustre, rayon, soleil.

Writing of allegory Buffum comments that:-

Even the most passing reference to a concept or a moral<sup>146</sup> trait calls up images of living flesh and blood,

whilst Dubois writes:-

L'imagination métamorphose en représentations animées<sup>147</sup>  
les faits et les idées,



and Weber devotes several pages to the phenomenon in the Tragiques which he designates "personnification fugitive".<sup>148</sup> For Weber it is a device of intensity akin to metaphor, a device almost without exception successful, for in its brevity it avoids all impression of artifice, that trap into which the best of allegory is ever liable to fall. Weber does not itemize every such personification, nor can I be exhaustive. A few examples, however, are worth singling out -  
Death as an actor:-

La mort joue elle mesme en ce triste eschaffaut,<sup>149</sup>

Vice as a supper-companion:-

Le vice, possedant pour eschaffaut leur table,<sup>150</sup>  
Y deschire à plaisir la vertu desirable,

Hunger entering a besieged town:-

dans le siege entroit la pasle faim,<sup>151</sup>

Patience under the assault of Satan:-

Il estrangle en son lict la blanche patience,<sup>152</sup>

or d'Aubigné's own Alexandrines as idle children:-

Cà, mes vers bien-aimez, ne soyez plus de ceux<sup>153</sup>  
Qui les mains dans le sein tracassent, paresseux,  
Les steriles discours.

For me the success of this last personification lies in the detail "les mains dans le sein". I have mentioned above how often eyes can be significant in d'Aubigné's descriptions, but hands can be eloquent too - little children's menottes pleading for mercy from their



murderers,<sup>154</sup> Haux's hands raised in victory,<sup>155</sup> Christ's hands raised in judgment,<sup>156</sup> hands taking an oath,<sup>157</sup> Paresse's hands à la pochette,<sup>158</sup> and the dissolute spectators' thumbs-down signal for the unhappy confessors and martyrs.<sup>159</sup> It is Buffum also who remarks:-

D'Aubigné, even more than most poets, thinks in terms<sup>160</sup> of images rather than abstractions.

As well as the fleeting personifications, d'Aubigné's imagination conjures up miniature scenes. Of the death of the aged Antoine de Foucaud, sieur de Brion, he writes poignantly:-

C'estoit faire perir une nef dans le port,  
Desrober le mestier à l'aage et à la mort.<sup>161</sup>

More often, however, the context is satirical. The King's council, for example, is:-

un bois arrangé  
De familiers brigands, où tu es esgorgé.<sup>162</sup>

The fine words, the ostentatious penitential processions, the new orders created by Henri III:-

Tous ces desguisements sont vaines mascarades  
Qui aux portes d'enfer presentent leurs aubades.<sup>163</sup>

Colourful periphrastic expressions often replace the ordinary and the anticipated. The ecclesiastical dignitaries have their disguises too, but these are equally ineffective. D'Aubigné trenchantly remarks:-

Dieu les vid à travers leurs feuilles mal cousues.<sup>164</sup>

As he counters - with just a hint of contempt - the traditional arguments against exposing evil, it is with another expressive periphrasis:-

On dit qu'il faut couler les execrables choses  
Dans le puits de l'oubli et au sepulcre encloses,<sup>165</sup>

all of which boils down to oublier, enterrer.

That d'Aubigné should think in terms of images rather than abstractions is not to be wondered at. As the poem itself reminds us, d'Aubigné inhabited a world in which spectacle had assumed great importance. Royal entries such as that outlined in Miseres<sup>166</sup> were still to be witnessed in middle and late sixteenth century France. Indeed the welcome for the Polish ambassadors (1573) was very much along the lines of the princely entry.<sup>167</sup> Court fêtes and mascarades were a serious part of Catherine's 'bread and circuses' policy. Weber believes<sup>168</sup> that d'Aubigné is referring to the first magnificence at Chenonceaux in 1563 when he writes:-

Quand le peuple gemit sous le faix tyrannique,<sup>169</sup>  
Quand ce siecle n'est rien qu'une histoire tragique,  
Ce sont farces et jeux toutes leurs actions;  
Un ris sardonien peint leurs affections;  
Bizarr' habits et coeurs, les plaisants se desguisent,  
Enfarinez, noircis, et ces basteleurs disent:  
"Deschaussons le cothurne et rions, car il faut  
Jetter ce sang tout frais hors de nostre eschaffaut,  
En prodiguant dessus mille fleurs espanchees,  
Pour cacher nostre meurtre à l'ombre des jonchees."

His reference to the elaborate preparations for the royal marriages in 1572 is quite unmistakable:-

Le somptueux apprest, l'amas, l'appareil feint,  
La pompe, les festins des doubles mariages  
Qui desguisoient les coeurs et masquoyent les visages.<sup>170</sup>

And there was religious spectacle as well as secular, notably under Henri III with his despised

nouveaux regimens  
Qui en processions sottement desguisees  
Aux villes et aux champs vont semer des risees. 171

In all this allegory played an important rôle. The vigorous allegorizing tradition of the Middle Ages survived in moralistic writings in the personification of the virtues and vices (The bellum intestinum had been a favourite theme for centuries): it lived on too in satire and polemic. Thus the anonymous Huguenot poets of Bordier's Chansonnier could personify la Sorbonne, la bigotte,<sup>172</sup> the host, Jean le blanc<sup>173</sup> or the mass bién dolente et marrie,<sup>174</sup> whilst from the outbreak of the civil wars in 1562 Paix, Fausse Paix and the personified France became increasingly familiar figures in political invective.<sup>175</sup> Alongside the medieval tradition, at times threatening to engulf it, was the new humanist passion for symbolism and mythology. It had taken firm root in the College de Coqueret with Dorat's allegorical interpretation of classical texts and his conviction, passed on to Ronsard, future purveyor of numberless court entertainments, that poetry should contain hidden truth. Iconographical science flourished, and poets and artists of the mid-century and after could turn for advice to the Italian compendia of classical mythology of Giraldi (1548), Conti (1551) and Cartari (1556), to the Hieroglyphica of Horapollo, which had been translated into French in 1543, or to Valeriano's digest of secular and religious symbolism, Hieroglyphica sive de sacris Aegyptiorum literis commentarii of 1556. During d'Aubigné's periods at court it appears that he was not merely a spectator of the pomp and pageantry. He

claims to have "invented" for Henri de Navarre and Marie de Guise "mascarades, balets et carousels"<sup>176</sup> and moreover, to have planned what was to be the first ballet de cour.

D'Aubigné was intensely conscious of the power of vision to touch and inspire. This becomes almost a leit-motif in Feux where much is made of the martyrs' desire for public execution. Phillippe de Luns confidently asserts, "Nos regards parleront, nos langues sont bien peu"<sup>178</sup> and the poet confirms that:-

Leurs regards violens engraverent leurs zeles<sup>179</sup>  
Aux coeurs des assistans.

Had not the poet known it in his own experience? The sight of the Amboise conspirators was one of his earliest memories, whilst the searing impressions of the war years had brought the conviction - shared by many in similar situations<sup>180</sup> - that if only others could be brought to see as he had seen, all but the most hardened must react with an intensity equal to his own.

D'Aubigné was thus encouraged to think visually by his cultural and artistic environment, and motivated by his fervent adherence to the Huguenot cause to convey visual impressions to the best of his ability, but all these stimuli would have been fruitless had he not already been endowed with the exceptional visual imagination which in these pages we have seen in action.

## CONCLUSION

In these pages I have explored in detail some sources of emotive power either neglected or treated somewhat superficially by my predecessors who have written on d'Aubigné's procedures in the Tragiques. In d'Aubigné's use of the epithet I have noted the wide range of evaluative adjectives and the explicit references to the vices and virtues of his own generation, demonstrating, as I hope, how particular emphasis falls on the sensitive religiopolitical themes of justice and of truth and falsehood. I have pointed out the numerous epithets referring to the emotions, and I have isolated the religious qualifiers along with others not specifically or even primarily religious but which, inspired by Biblical precedents, have been raised out of the temporal and the commonplace.

The not infrequent heightening effect on the emotive epithet of the superlative and comparative degrees introduced a hitherto unsuspected element into my study of d'Aubigné's work, for it suggested that the simplest grammatical expedients are capable of exercising considerable emotive power. I have sought to bring out the expressiveness of apparently colourless adverbs whose very indeterminacy has turned out at times to be their strength. The proliferation of strong negatives and the weight of totalitarian vocabulary help to proclaim in uncompromising terms the certitudes of faith, and to reveal in the universality of the language the grandeurs of the poet's epic sweep.

In the word-pair, which provides an economical means of enriching, defining and enlivening d'Aubigné's basic ideas, I have

identified another inconspicuous intensifying agent. The surprise combinations of zeugma, suggesting a loss of emotional control, making cutting insinuations possible or adding a symbolic dimension, are here dealt with at some length.

Enumeration, a prominent figure, shares, as we have seen, the word-pair's capacity for expanding and clarifying ideas (on occasion for expressing confusion also and disorder). Its effects, seen in apostrophe and catalogue, or when the parts are listed to express the whole, are generally impressive, but this very impressiveness can be mimicked and parodied until enumeration is transformed into the perfect instrument of satire.

Repetition I have shown to be another powerful emotive stimulus in the poem. The more formal rhetorical figures are easily identifiable, and tend to swell the solemn and portentous tone. Again, however, this can only be a generalization, for a witty or conversational note may be struck by the use of anadiplosis or antimetabole. The less patterned, seemingly more spontaneous types of repetition, particularly the repetition, subtle or obsessive, of emotive words and expressions, are less easy to categorize, but play a significant part in enhancing the emotional tension of the work.

Ideas central to the poem are seen to emerge through the different figures of contrast and contradiction - the conflicts of good and evil or appearances and reality, the changes and reversals of a monde à l'envers or of a world come to judgment - while forceful, even didactic, expressions strike the ear with the impact of direct speech in correctio and arsis/thesis (a figure which may in fact itself involve a degree of anticipatory correction).

I have stressed how the imagination is stimulated by the visual presentation of so much of d'Aubigné's material. The poet is involved as both eye-witness and guide; the reader's participation is constantly solicited in terms reminiscent of the prologue to a drama, while the dramatis personae themselves, whether solid historical figures or simply personifications of ideas and inanimate objects, are a presence in the poem scarcely less vital than their creator.

In all this I hope I have not lost sight of the wood in my study of the trees. The manifold resources of d'Aubigné's poetical technique which I have here sought to list and analyse are but the vehicle of the powerful imagination, the heartfelt conviction and the burning insight into men and events which make of this author a worthy successor, in vastly different circumstances, of an Amos, an Isaiah, a Jeremiah.

## INTRODUCTION

1. Oeuvres, ed. H. Weber (Paris, 1969), p.6.
2. André Lebois, La Fortune littéraire des Tragiques d'Agrippa d'Aubigné (Paris, 1957), p.6.
3. See the Mercure galant, January 1705 and the corrections of the following February, quoted in Bayle's Dictionnaire historique et critique (Paris, 1720), p.378. It is of interest, however, to note that Montesquieu owned a copy of the Tragiques.
4. See Jean Bonnerot, Bibliographie de l'oeuvre de Sainte-Beuve, 3 vols (Paris, 1952), III, 45.
5. "On sent toujours percer une indignation puissante, et reluire je ne sais quelle verve sombre", he wrote - Tableau historique et critique de la poésie française (Paris, 1843. 1867 reprint), p.142.
6. Causeries du lundi, 15 vols (Paris, 1855), X,253.
7. Id., p.254.
8. Caractères et portraits littéraires du seizième siècle (Paris, 1859), vol 2.
9. Tableau historique et critique, p.140.
10. Oeuvres complètes, vol 5, (1884).
11. Henri-Charles Monod, La Jeunesse d'Agrippa d'Aubigné (Caen, 1884).
12. Samuel Rocheblave, Agrippa d'Aubigné (Paris, 1910) and La Vie d'un héros, Agrippa d'Aubigné (Paris, 1912).
13. Agrippa d'Aubigné, p.12
14. La Satire en France au seizième siècle, 2 vols (Paris, 1866) II, 42.
15. Id., p.45.
16. Le Seizième Siècle (Paris, 1894), p:363.
17. Id., p.354.
18. Op. cit., p.4.
19. Henry A. Sauerwein, Agrippa d'Aubigné's "Les Tragiques" (Baltimore, 1953), p.21.
20. Henri Weber, La Création poétique au seizième siècle en France, 2 vols (Paris, 1955) II, 601-733.
21. 'Poésie polémique et satirique de la Réforme', Cahiers de l'Association internationale des Etudes Françaises, (1958), No 10, 89-118.
22. Bailbé's lengthy Agrippa d'Aubigné poète des Tragiques (Caen, 1968), traditional, descriptive rather than interpretative, and taking minimal account of the work of the 1950s, offers nothing new in the way of stylistic appreciation. Hagiwara's perceptive comments on technical matters in his French epic poetry in the sixteenth century (The Hague, 1972) are limited to stylistic devices proper to that genre.
23. Op. cit., p.17.



## CHAPTER 1

1. Pierre Fontanier, Les Figures du discours (Paris, 1968), p.324.
2. J. Marouzeau, Précis de stylistique française (Paris, 1946), p.135.
3. Rhetoric III.vii.
4. Wilson's Arte of Rhetorique, 1560, edited by G. H. Mair (Oxford, 1909), p.160.
5. See William Harrison Woodward, Studies in education during the age of the Renaissance, 1400-1600 (Cambridge, 1906), pp.45f., 200f., 237-40.
6. Joannes Ravisius, known as Textor, Specimen epithetorum (Paris, 1518). I have used this edition, a copy of which is in the University Library, St. Andrews. Later editions were fuller.
7. La Deffence et illustration de la langue française, edited by Henri Chamard (Paris, 1904), p.287.
8. In L'Abbrégé de l'art poétique françois, Oeuvres complètes, edited by Gustave Cohen, 2 vols (Paris, 1958), II, 1001.
9. There is no scarcity of illustrations of the effective use to which both Du Bellay and Ronsard put the epithet in their own poetry. See, for example, Du Bellay's Songe VIII, 'Je vis un fier Torrent' or Ronsard's Sonnets pour Hélène (Premier livre) XXXIX, 'Agathe, où du Soleil le signe est imprimé'. (Oeuvres complètes, I, 232.)
10. Émile Doumergue, Essai sur l'histoire du culte Réformé (Paris, 1890), pp.9-12, quotes this as having been used by Bèze at Poissy in 1561, but points out that it had been in use at that time for over twenty years. From its inclusion in various editions of the Bible, it would appear to have remained in very general use.
11. I have used the psalms of Marot and Bèze, edited by Hierosme Haultin (La Rochelle, 1590).
12. Michel Jeanneret, Poésie et tradition biblique au XVIe. siècle (Paris, 1969), p.68.
13. H. L. Bordier, Le Chansonnier huguenot du XVIe. siècle (Paris, 1870), pp.210f.
14. Jacques Pineaux, La Polémique protestante contre Ronsard (Paris, 1973), p.411.
15. Critical edition by Andre Baïche (Toulouse, 1971), p.13.
16. 6.157ff.
17. 6.181.
18. 3.679f.
19. 5.179.
20. 7.72.
21. 4.1093.
22. 5.799.
23. 5.10.
24. 2.334, 2.927.
25. 2.691.
26. 6.515.
27. 1.1173.
28. 1.1212.
29. 6.898.
30. 7.141.
31. 3.571.
32. 6.468.

33. 1.1248.  
 34. 1.1175.  
 35. 2.309.  
 36. 5.756.  
 37. 7.788.  
 38. 2.1129.  
 39. 1.303.  
 40. 3.72.  
 41. 1.192.  
 42. 1.638.  
 43. 4.163.  
 44. 7.305.  
 45. 2.255.  
 46. 6.29f.  
 47. 1547-50: *Chambre Ardente*.  
 1550: Execution of five Lausanne scholars for 'heretical' opinions.  
 1555-57: Various attempts by Henri II to legislate for a Spanish-type Inquisition.
48. See, for example, Jean-Antoine de Baïf's *Mimes* (1576) or Jacques Grévin's *Gélodacrie* (1560).
49. For a brief, but fascinating, analysis of the problem see J. E. Neale, *The age of Catherine de Medici* (London, 1963), p.30-34. Martin Wolfe gives a more detailed study in *The fiscal system of Renaissance France* (London, 1972).
50. *Remonstrance au peuple de France*, 281f., *Oeuvres complètes*, II, 580.
51. 2.327.  
 52. 2.154.  
 53. 2.742.  
 54. 2.66.  
 55. 2.132.  
 56. 2.150.  
 57. 2.118.  
 58. 2.1130.
59. Of the sexual aberrations of Henri III d'Aubigné remarks:-  
 On a des noms nouveaux et des nouvelles formes  
 Pour croistre et déguiser ces passetemps enormes (2.815f)
- La Noue comments on the practice:-  
 Maintenant on tasche seulement de couvrir la turpitude . . .  
 de beaux noms ou de joyeuses responses . . . En ceste  
 manière met on le noir au lieu du blanc, attribuant  
 pureté à ce qui est ord et sale.
- Discours politiques et militaires*, edited by F. E. Sutcliffe,  
 2 vols (Geneva, 1967), I,32.
60. Psalm 12.
61. See Jean de la Taille, *Le courtisan retiré* (1573):-  
 La cour est un théâtre, où nul n'est remarqué  
 Ce qu'il est, mais chacun s'y masque, étant masqué.
62. 2.1073.  
 63. 2.1031.  
 64. 3.273.  
 65. 2.429f.  
 66. 2.951.  
 67. 2.439.

68. 2.608.
69. 2.207.
70. Preface 152.
71. Jean-D. Benoit, Jean Calvin: la vie, l'homme, la pensée, second edition (Mulhouse, 1948) p.275.
72. 2.154.
73. 1.482, 2.741, 5.811 passim.
74. 1.595, 2.663.
75. 1.638.
76. 1.1079.
77. 4.599.
78. 5.991.
79. 1.1200.
80. 6.66.
81. 6.370.
82. 6.699.
83. 7.167.
84. 7.938.
85. 1.285.
86. 4.571.
87. 3.839.
88. 4.1213.
89. 4.410.
90. 2.288, 3.887.
91. 3.517.
92. 3.103.
93. 5.446.
94. 4.291.
95. 3.862.
96. 4.9.
97. 1.109.
98. 1.1356.
99. 2.104.
100. 3.61.
101. 3.690.
102. 6.803.
103. 4.571.
104. 6.541.
105. 1.1207.
106. 2.690.
107. 5.283.
108. 2.948.
109. 2.242.
110. 7.782.
111. 2.465.
112. 1.245, 1.896, etc.
113. 3.561, 4.925.
114. 3.576.
115. 6.1008.
116. 3.145, 6.71.
117. 7.784.
118. 3.313.
119. 2.31.
120. 2.1248.
121. 1.622.
122. 4.261.
123. 1.9.

124. 3.130.  
125. 3.129.  
126. 5.654.  
127. 2.1043.  
128. 2.275.  
129. 1.575.  
130. 3.131.  
131. 4.928.  
132. 4.30.  
133. 2.393.  
134. 7.431.  
135. 4.151.  
136. 5.179.  
137. 1.962.  
138. 5.1258.  
139. 4.340.  
140. 7.175.  
141. 6.92.  
142. 6.92.  
143. 6.454.  
144. 7.1064.  
145. 5.448.  
146. 4.1232.  
147. 1.966.  
148. 2.995.  
149. 3.1.  
150. 5.1424.  
151. 6.700.  
152. 3.1056.  
153. 6.485.  
154. 5.1378.  
155. 7.591.  
156. 2.985.  
157. 3.391.  
158. 2.535.  
159. 4.413.  
160. 1.121, 417.  
161. 3.572.  
162. 7.315.  
163. 7.300.  
164. 6.1000.  
165. 1.497.  
166. 7.141.  
167. 4.749.  
168. 2.91, 334 passim.  
169. 1.698, 5.22 passim.  
170. 4.208.  
171. 7.746.  
172. 1.1285, 5.549.  
173. 6.682.  
174. 1.408, 4.1291.  
175. 1.665.  
176. Lev. 19.32.  
177. 1.261.  
178. 4.918.  
179. 3.452.

180. 1.728.  
181. 7.5.  
182. 5.662.  
183. 6.240.  
184. 1.275.  
185. 4.229.  
186. 5.494.  
187. 4.1311.  
188. 7.958.  
189. 7.236.  
190. 2.667.  
191. 2.902.  
192. 7.47.  
193. 7.102.  
194. 7.89.  
195. 3.89.  
196. T. S. Eliot, Choruses from 'The Rock', I.  
197. 7.72.  
198. 5.800.  
199. 5.797.  
200. 5.1.  
201. 5.1498.  
202. 3.867.  
203. 1.158.  
204. 1.135.  
206. 3.1032.  
207. 3.1015.  
208. 5.150.  
209. 2.31.  
210. 7.568.  
211. 2.1212.  
212. 7.14.  
213. 4.515.  
214. 4.74.  
215. 4.1076.  
216. 5.360.  
217. 6.389.  
218. 1.1363.  
219. 7.716.  
220. 1.561.  
221. 1.854.  
222. 1.1075.  
223. 4.321.  
224. 1.258.  
225. 5.46.  
226. 2.11.  
227. 1.577.  
228. 2.437.  
229. 3.889.  
230. 5.1506.  
231. 6.291.  
232. 6.993.  
233. 5.613.  
234. 1.1075.  
235. 5.523ff.  
236. 1.1377.  
237. 1.1377.

238. 6.752.  
239. 7.583.  
240. 3.352  
241. 1.912.  
242. 4.1377.  
243. 4.1378.  
244. 1.40.  
245. 3.424.  
246. 7.1193.  
247. 1.9ff.  
248. 5.945f.  
249. 2.535.  
250. 3.699.  
251. 1.611.  
252. 1.810.  
253. 2.306.  
254. 3.371.  
255. 4.287.  
256. 2.517.  
257. 5.751.  
258. 4.929, 5.1146.  
259. 4.975.  
260. 3.352.  
261. 6.682.  
262. 3.875.  
263. 4.925.  
264. 4.1325.  
265. 7.493.  
266. 4.229.  
267. 1.9.  
268. 1.157.  
269. 1.431.  
270. 1.725.  
271. 2.229.  
272. Albert Dauzat, Le Génie de la langue française (Paris, 1944)  
p.241.  
273. Marcel Cressot, Le Style et ses techniques (Paris, 1947)  
p.192.  
274. Dauzat, op. cit. p.241  
275. 5.159.  
276. 2.544.  
277. 2.591.  
278. 3.262.  
279. 7.465.  
280. 4.1325.  
281. 2.879.  
282. 7.857.  
283. 2.133.  
284. 6.729.  
285. 2.418.  
286. 4.420, 6.171.  
287. 7.465.  
288. 3.467.  
289. 3.562.  
290. 4.527.  
291. 7.1133.  
292. 2.101.  
293. 6.180.

294. 2.131f.  
295. 6.687f.  
296. 4.681f.  
297. 7.365ff.

CHAPTER 2

1. 3.772.
2. 5.1382.
3. 3.472.
4. 5.1508.
5. 1.1103.
6. 6.941f.
7. 7.688.
8. 2.742.
9. 4.396.
10. 1.940.
11. 6.741.
12. 1.359.
13. 6.937.
14. See the rather flat 4.620-22.
15. 2.1317.
16. 7.522.
17. 7.948.
18. 7.1076.
19. 5.279f.
20. 4.1146.
21. 2.1219f.
22. 4.1233.
23. 1.57.
24. 1.545.
25. 4.68f.
26. 1.1370.
27. 3.638.
28. 1.76.
29. It seeks to amaze us by the ability and courage of the weaker sex, the accomplishment of Elizabeth I, who could address ambassadors

Mesme en leurs propres langues,<sup>3.968</sup>

and the superhuman constancy

au coeur mesme des femmes,<sup>4.1313</sup>

or to cause us to wonder at the stubborn unyieldingness of men, whilst

mesme les demons<sup>6.327</sup>

submit in obedience to the will of God. It would shock us as in horror and sadness we reflect how:-

Mesme aux chevaux peris de farcin et de faim<sup>1.491ff.</sup>  
On a veu labourer les ongles de l'humain  
Pour chercher dans les os et la peau consume  
Ce qu'oublioit la faim et la mort affamee.

30. 4.405.
31. 4.394f.
32. 4.1278.



33. 1.115f.
34. 5.397ff.
35. 2.1433f.
36. 4.1059f.
37. 4.1013.
38. 1.1041.
39. There are several occurrences of the comparative of beaucoup de - 1.407, 2.678f, 2.1072 and 6.637. Used to form the comparative degree of practically every adjective and adverb in the language however, plus de in this context appears flimsy and insubstantial.
40. 2.360.
41. 3.1005.
42. 7.130.
43. 2.481.
44. 4.364.
45. 5.245.
46. 2.611.
47. 6.230.
48. 4.20.
49. 4.741.
50. 4.745.
51. 5.159.
52. 5.40.
53. 7.1051.
54. 1.959f.
55. 7.199.
56. 2.137.
57. 4.915f.
58. 7.477.
59. 2.117ff.
60. 2.237.
61. 7.563.
62. 2.1060.
63. 1.171.
64. 2.339.
65. 4.115.
66. 2.477.
67. 7.975.
68. 1.57.
69. 6.687f.
70. See 1.567, 2.560, 4.756, etc. Cf. also 5.720.
71. 6.112.
72. 7.416.
73. 5.1222.
74. 2.1097.
75. 5.1376.
76. 6.540.
77. 3.651f.
78. 2.262.
79. 1.677.
80. 4.41.
81. 4.43.
82. 4.609.
83. 7.323.
84. 7.324.
85. 7.218, 322.
86. 3.689.
87. 6.130.

88. 5.1349f.
89. 2.1154.
90. 5.1057f.
91. 6.579.
92. 6.580.
93. 1.108.
94. 1.519.
95. 2.1229.
96. 2.1032.
97. 7.831.
98. 1.1212ff.
99. 4.828, 6.264, etc.
100. 7.271.
101. 7.270.
102. 4.1180.
103. 2.155f.
104. 5.1468.
105. 5.1422f.
106. 6.61f.
107. 1.851f.
108. 6.473f.
109. 7.992.
110. 5.289f.
111. 4.157f.
112. 5.311.
113. 7.341f.
114. 6.981.
115. 6.653.
116. 4.1361f.
117. 6.424.
118. 2.419.
119. 6.630.
120. 6.632.
121. 1.534.
122. 1.1300.
123. 2.191ff.
124. 1.309.
125. 3.1045.
126. 6.192.
127. 2.971.
128. 3.403.
129. 2.207.
130. 1.35ff.
131. 3.71.
132. 1.146.
133. 4.167.
134. 4.296.
135. 4.500.
136. Paul Merchant, The epic (London, 1971), p.93.
137. 7.474.
138. 7.195.
139. 3.988.
140. 1.1230.
141. 1.1313.
142. 5.253f.
143. 2.403.
144. 2.1096.
145. 5.665.

- 146. 3.668.
- 147. 1.39.
- 148. 2.277.
- 149. 6.340.
- 150. 6.790f.
- 151. 7.733.
- 152. 7.927ff.
- 153. 5.1241.
- 154. 3.110.
- 155. 4.1285.
- 156. 3.656f.
- 157. 2.213.
- 158. 5.447.
- 159. 7.553.
- 160. 5.1117f.
- 161. 1.763.
- 162. 4.75.
- 163. 5.612.
- 164. 5.502ff.
- 165. 1.1042ff.
- 166. 2.924.
- 167. 3.970.
- 168. 1.532.
- 169. 4.305.
- 170. 3.145.
- 171. 1.302.
- 172. 2.1107.
- 173. 5.403.
- 174. 2.679.
- 175. 2.618.
- 176. 2.588.
- 177. Les Tragiques (extraits), edited by Claude-Gilbert Dubois  
(Paris, 1975), p.64.

CHAPTER 3

1. See for example 1.598:-  
Tronchin MS "Tu cours remedier", Ed. sans lieu ni date "Tu  
vois et remedie",  
7.14:-  
Tronchin "point d'yeux ni oreilles", Ed. s.l.n.d. "point d'yeux,  
point d'oreilles",  
7.312:-  
1616 edition "l'oeil cruel, affamé", Ed. s.l.n.d. "l'oeil have  
et affamé".
2. 1.306.
3. 1.611.
4. 2.1011.
5. 2.585.
6. 2.959.
7. "Correctio est quod tollit id quod dictum est et pro eo id quod  
magis idoneum videtur reponit." Ad Herr. IV.xxvi.36.
8. 1.598.
9. See note 1.
10. 2.1151.
11. 2.1322.
12. 6.433.
13. 3.627f.
14. 5.1319.
15. 3.1019f.
16. 6.50.
17. 6.119.
18. 3.469.
19. 1.1140.
20. 2.151.
21. 3.434.
22. 3.454.
23. 2.1199f.
24. Henri Weber, La Création poétique, 2 vols (Paris, 1955), II, 687.
25. 2.209.
26. 2.489.
27. 4.1288.
28. 1.1223.
29. 4.702.
30. 3.913.
31. 5.304.
32. 7.496.
33. 1.1279.
34. 2.1501.
35. 4.704.
36. 7.504.
37. 2.1038.
38. 3.109.
39. 3.40.
40. 5.723.
41. 7.858.
42. 3.103.
43. 1.646.
44. 1.904.
45. 2.709.

46. 4.1387.  
 47. 5.109.  
 48. 3.265.  
 49. 7.339.  
 50. 7.692.  
 51. See also cendres (4.132, 6.286, 7.460), clair (4.1278, 5.43, 5.1240, 7.925), coeur (1.1129, 2.373, 2.1197, 5.474, 5.681, 6.990), feu (1.981, 3.76, 3.162), force (2.302, 2.412, 2.918, 3.893), foudre (3.853, 3.983, 5.532), heur (5.113, 7.10), honte (2.272, 2.583, 7.858), long (4.1159, 6.885, 7.365), meurtre (1.240, 2.60, 2.575), mort (1.1376, 2.396, 2.847, 3.577, 3.603, 4.580, 6.130, 6.433, 7.894), ordre (1.283, 4.1383, 5.1098), os (1.493, 5.712, 5.1146, 7.258), paix (1.646, 2.1444, 5.1402, 5.707, 6.170), rois (1.1252, 5.1317, 7.829), sang (1.539, 2.550, 2.915, 5.630, 5.937, 6.945, 7.291).  
 52. 1.1211.  
 53. 7.385.  
 54. 1.1099.  
 55. 2.752.  
 56. 4.456.  
 57. 4.1148.  
 58. 5.418.  
 59. 6.428.  
 60. 2.378.  
 61. 6.162.  
 62. 7.154.  
 63. 7.996.  
 64. 1.10.  
 65. 1.366.  
 66. 2.1204.  
 67. 3.103.  
 68. 4.713.  
 69. 6.1081.  
 70. 7.276.  
 71. 3.860.  
 72. 5.2.  
 73. 5.1560.  
 74. 5.1563.  
 75. 5.884.  
 76. 7.768.  
 77. 2.772.  
 78. 6.517.  
 79. 5.1324.  
 80. J. Marouzeau, Traité de stylistique latine, 2nd ed., (Paris, 1946) p.45.  
 81. 1.491.  
 82. 1.1045.  
 83. 2.1092.  
 84. 4.1325, cf. 6.1082.  
 85. 7.2.  
 86. This general phenomenon has been noted in German poetry especially. See A. Aall, 'Zur Psychologie des Stabreims', Zsch. für Psychologie, 122 (1931), 98ff.  
 87. 'The cadence of English oratorical prose', Studies in Philology, 16 (1919), 32-40.  
 88. 7.517.  
 89. 1.230.  
 90. 2.1176.

91. 4.465.  
 92. 4.973.  
 93. 4.1368.  
 94. 6.29.  
 95. 2.404.  
 96. 3.701.  
 97. 6.913.  
 98. Orator 58, 198 passim.  
 99. 5.968.  
 100. 6.120.  
 101. 7.296.  
 102. The same power of association proliferates alliterative phrases throughout the poem, tourmenter la terre (1.785), on machine le meurtre (2.575), ployans la pieté (2.653), maschant le muscadin (3.407), les filets de son flanc (1.507), la gorge qui gazouille (1.529), sa rage de regner (1.744), soif de sang (2.659).  
 103. 7.536.  
 104. 1.703.  
 105. 3.855.  
 106. 1.1306.  
 107. 3.267.  
 108. 5.569.  
 109. 1.1140.  
 110. 2.1485.  
 111. 3.634.  
 112. 3.749.  
 113. 4.298.  
 114. 5.1319.  
 115. 7.433.  
 116. 7.512.  
 117. 1.60.  
 118. 2.411.  
 119. 4.997, cf. 5.1395.  
 120. 2.1134.  
 121. 1.355.  
 122. 1.163.  
 123. 3.671.  
 124. 4.1349.  
 125. 6.536.  
 126. 4.1059f.  
 127. 2.799.  
 128. 6.1017.  
 129. 1.344.  
 130. 1.443.  
 131. 1.1211.  
 132. 3.887.  
 133. 2.1094.  
 134. 7.734.  
 135. 5.83.  
 136. 1.394.  
 137. See L. E. Kastner, History of French versification, (Oxford, 1903) p.109.  
 138. 2.720f.  
 139. 1.278f.  
 140. 5.857ff.

141. 6.674.  
 142. 7.364f.  
 143. 2.958f.  
 144. 2.583ff.  
 145. 4.1348.  
 146. 2.1030f.  
 147. 3.627f.  
 148. 7.103f.  
 149. Francis M. Higman, The style of John Calvin in his French polemical treatises, (Oxford, 1967) p.112.  
 150. R. A. Sayce, 'The style of Montaigne: word-pairs and word-groups', in Literary Style: a symposium, edited by Seymour Chatman, (London and New York, 1971) pp.381-402.  
 151. Emmanuel Philipot, Essai sur le style et la langue de Noël du Fail, (Paris, 1914) p.61.  
 152. Myron Piper Gilmore, Humanists and jurists: six studies in the Renaissance, (Cambridge, Mass., 1963) pp.67f.  
 153. D. Mellinkoff, The language of the law, (Boston, 1964) p.399.  
 154. Histoire des martyrs, (Toulouse, 1885-1889), I, 501-513.  
 155. Between 1541 and 1560 Calvin's Institution, the first comprehensive French introduction to the Bible, went into 7 editions.  
 156. 7.462.  
 157. 7.811.  
 158. 3.918.  
 159. Oeuvres, ed. H. Weber, J. Bailbé and M. Soulié, (Paris, 1969) p.XII.  
 160. See Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme français 54 (1905) 228ff.  
 161. 1.32.  
 162. 1.27.  
 163. 6.59.  
 164. Neh.9.31.  
 165. Job 30.3.  
 166. Ps. 118.11.  
 167. Is. 5.6.  
 168. 2 Chron. 34.7.  
 169. Jer. 16.19.  
 170. Lam. 2.9.  
 171. Hab. 1.5.  
 172. Is. 16.6.  
 173. Lam. 3.47.  
 174. Jer. 14.12.  
 175. Eccl. 12.27.  
 176. Gen. 1.2, Jer. 4.23.  
 177. Jer. 16.19.  
 178. Job 30.3.  
 179. Is. 29.5, 30.13.  
 180. 4.1354.  
 181. 7.517.  
 182. 4.12.  
 183. 1.1022.  
 184. 7.1188.  
 185. 4.297.  
 186. 4.1381.  
 187. 3.265.

188. Oeuvres ed. cit. p.494, cf. 2.442.
189. 7.222.
190. See too his comments on vers mesurés in the letter "A. M. Certon", Oeuvres p.857f.



CHAPTER 4

1. 1.965.
2. 1.1093.
3. 1.925ff.
4. 6.661ff.
5. 1.855.
6. 1.1181f.
7. 4.880ff.
8. 1.81f.
9. 1.835ff.
10. 1.137ff.
11. 7.820.
12. 7.503.
13. 6.23ff.
14. 1.847f.
15. 3.19ff.
16. Imbrie Buffum, Agrippa d'Aubigné's 'Les Tragiques': a study of the Baroque style in poetry (New Haven, 1951), p.20.
17. 6.533f.
18. 6.927ff.
19. 2.359ff.
20. 5.213ff.
21. 1.1125ff.
22. 4.1353ff.
23. 2.85ff.
24. 7.104ff.
25. 5.1066f.
26. Jer. 14.12, 25.10.
27. 1.713f.
28. 1.1294ff.
29. 4.6ff.
30. 3.737ff.
31. 3.731ff.
32. 5.697ff.
33. 1.847ff.
34. 1.843ff, 7.740.
35. 6.955.
36. 1.843ff.
37. John C. Lapp, 'Mythological imagery as counterpoint: Agrippa d'Aubigné' in French Renaissance studies in honor of Isidore Silver, edited by Frieda S. Brown, Kentucky Romance Quarterly XXI (1974) Supplement No. 2, pp.265-82.
38. 4.606.
39. 5.1081.
40. 1.1257f.
41. 5.335ff.
42. 5.1305ff.
43. 5.455.
44. 5.801f.
45. 3.587ff.
46. John Hoskins, Directions for speech and style, Ed. Hoyt H. Hudson (Princeton, 1935), p.32.
47. 4.607f.
48. 1.1294ff.
49. 5.892ff.
50. 3.993f.
51. 2.221f.
52. 7.981f.

53. 7.139f.  
54. 6.219ff.  
55. 4.1377f.  
56. 7.811ff.  
57. 1.955ff.  
58. 1.1253f.  
59. 2.731ff.  
60. 5.1321f.  
61. 1.343ff.  
62. 5.77ff.  
63. 2.1047.  
64. 2.335f.  
65. 1.963f.  
66. 2.803f.  
67. 3.12ff.  
68. 4.548.  
69. 6.733f.  
70. 4.1323.  
71. 5.331f.  
72. 5.213ff.  
73. 1.855.  
74. 7.71ff.  
75. 7.843ff.  
76. 3.919ff.  
77. 4.965f.  
78. 2.65ff.  
79. 4.813f.  
80. 2.1297f.  
81. 1.943ff.  
82. 5.1406.  
83. 1.667ff.  
84. 1.507ff.  
85. 1.1125ff.  
86. 2.963ff.  
87. 3.595ff.  
88. 4.1047ff.  
89. 7.564ff.  
90. 5.411ff.  
91. 5.501ff.  
92. 1.1031ff.  
93. 1.347ff.  
94. 3.543ff.  
95. 5.755.  
96. For further instances of vers rapportés see 2.1415, 6.519ff, 6.534, 6.927ff., and for discussion of the form Bruno Berger, Vers rapportés: ein Beitrag zur Stilgeschichte der französischen Renaissancedichtung. Dissertation. (Freiburg, 1930).  
97. 5.761ff.  
98. 1.82ff.  
99. 5.945ff.  
100. 2.1229f.  
101. 1.1181ff.  
102. 2.1281ff.  
103. 3.263ff.  
104. 3.397ff.

105. 3.453ff.
106. Institutio oratoria IX.iii.50.
107. 1.955ff.
108. 1.1253f.
109. 6.722f.
110. 7.83f.
111. Ad Herennium IV.xix.26 " . . . in hoc autem crebro et celeri corpus vulnere consauciari videtur."
112. 4.841ff.
113. 3.875ff.
114. 3.945.
115. 2.1007.
116. 5.552f.
117. 1.259f.
118. R. A. Sayce, The French Biblical epic in the seventeenth century (Oxford, 1955) p.20.
119. Oeuvres complètes, ed. Gustave Cohen (Paris, 1950), II, 1015.
120. Ibid. I, 759ff.
121. Ibid. II, 1010.
122. I.471f.
123. Michio P. Hagiwara, French epic poetry in the sixteenth century, (The Hague, 1972). See index under "catalogues and enumerations".
124. César I.i.1-5, I.iii.219-230, II.iii.519-524, V.i.1017-1026.
125. Aman 477-81, 1229-1232, 1927-1931, 2005-2012.
126. Saül I.71-76, II.535-540, La Famine IV.1043-1045, V.1317-1358.
127. Antigone II.740-745, IV.2178-2181, Juifves IV.1479-1484, V.1837-1840.
128. Aman 639-642, 1819-1823.
129. C. E. Nelson, "Enumeration and irony in Les Regrets of Du Bellay", French Review, 36 (1963), 266-275.
130. Regrets 84.
131. Regrets 86.
132. 2.1281-1289.
133. See Jacques Pineaux, La Polémique protestante contre Ronsard, 2 vols (Paris, 1973).
134. "Discours à G. des Autels", Oeuvres complètes, II, 566.
135. "Remonstrance au peuple de France", Oeuvres complètes, II, 587.
136. "Response aux injures", Oeuvres complètes, II, 596.
137. "Remonstrance au peuple de France", Oeuvres complètes, II, 577f.
138. Ibid. II, 577.
139. Ibid. II, 574.
140. 2.221f.
141. 1.81ff.
142. Pineaux, op.cit., I, 99.
143. Ibid. I, 143f., 11.651-862.
144. Ibid. I, 145, 11.866-874.
145. Ibid. I, 145, 11.875-880.
146. 7.811ff.
147. Pineaux, op.cit., I, 116f.
148. Henri-Leonard Bordier, Le Chansonnier huguenot du XVIIe siècle (Paris, 1870).
149. P. Tarbé, Receuil de poésies calvinistes (1550-1566), second edition, (Geneva, 1968).
150. Tarbé, op.cit., p.166.

CHAPTER 5

1. "Non inopia verborum fit ut ad idem verbum redeatur saepius; sed inest festiuitas, quae facilius auribus diiudicari quam verbis demonstrari potest". Ad Herr. IV.xiv.21.
2. For the purpose of this study I have taken representative samples - approximately 500 lines - from each canto.
3. 1.39-41.
4. 6.1-3.
5. 3.842.
6. 3.853-858.
7. 2.499ff.
8. 2.109.
9. 2.655ff.
10. 2.707ff.
11. I Cor. 15.55.
12. 4.195.
13. Act 4.
14. 4.655ff.
15. 2.819ff. The technique is characteristic of Ronsard's sonnets and of frequent occurrence in those of Du Bellay - see, for example, the very close resemblance of Songe VI and VII.
16. 5.719f.
17. 2.1061ff.
18. 3.595ff.
19. 1.771ff.
20. 4.460f.
21. 4.135f.
22. 4.149ff.
23. 5.514ff.
24. 3.493ff.
25. 7.113.
26. 6.995f.
27. 6.1023f.
28. 3.1013f.
29. 4.567f.
30. Sonnino op. cit. p.163.
31. 3.1061f.
32. 7.285.
33. Ed. by Keith Cameron, Kathleen M. Hall, Francis Higman (Geneva, 1967), Act 1.793.
34. Ibid. 1.837.
35. Ibid. 2.853.
36. Ibid. 2.865f.
37. 4.487.
38. 4.1071.
39. 4.202.
40. 4.953.
41. 4.450f.
42. 7.254f.
43. v.7.
44. 7.891.
45. 3.228.
46. 2.795f.
47. 2.759f.
48. 4.1251f.
49. Ed. by Felix Gaïffe (Paris, 1910) p.114.
50. 2.1060.

51. 3.108.
52. 2.1372.
53. 2.1398.
54. Sonnino op. cit. p.24.
55. 5.425.
56. 2.935f.
57. 6.810.
58. 4.207f.
59. 4.1254ff.
60. 4.167.
61. 2.982.
62. 2.618.
63. 3.843.
64. 6.924.
65. 4.355f.
66. 4.493.
67. 7.468ff.
68. 7.407f.
69. 4.94.
70. In the first edition the reading is pitoiables meres. See Oeuvres p.909.
71. 1.221ff.
72. 5.793f.
73. 6.993f.
74. 2.627ff.
75. 7.271f.
76. 2.586f.
77. 6.721f.
78. 6.835f.
79. 2.201f.
80. 2.603f.
81. 2.687f.
82. 1.673.
83. 2.441.
84. 3.320.
85. 4.852f.
86. 5.34.
87. 6.595f.
88. 7.887f.
89. 1.195.
90. 6.792.
91. 2.884.
92. 6.1077f.
93. 6.1082.
94. 6.777f.
95. 6.800.
96. 6.828f, 831.
97. 6.859f.
98. 1.35ff.
99. 6.933ff.
100. 6.937f.
101. 1.921ff., 936ff.
102. 7.223ff.
103. 7.147ff.
104. 6.101ff.
105. 1.127ff.
106. 7.287f.
107. 1.382ff.
108. 5.765ff.

109. 6.633ff.
110. 4.63ff.
111. 1.45ff.
112. Henry A. Sauerwein, Agrippa d'Aubigné's 'Les tragiques': a study in structure and poetic method (Baltimore, 1953).
113. 3.857.
114. 1.459.
115. 7.397.
116. 4.269ff.
117. 1.136.
118. 1.148.
119. 1.902.
120. 1.915.
121. 4.963, 977.
122. 5.968.
123. 5.981.
124. 1.451.
125. 1.359f.
126. 3.129.
127. 3.213f.
128. Oeuvres, p.5.
129. 6.178ff.

CHAPTER 6

1. 3.724.
2. 1.1161f.
3. 2.689ff.
4. 6.566.
5. 6.767f.
6. 2.193.
7. 4.110.
8. 4.215.
9. 4.710.
10. 4.242.
11. 2.1374.
12. 2.1467f.
13. 3.159f.
14. 1.647.
15. 2.193.
16. 7.781f.
17. 4.378.
18. 4.835, 4.1419f.
19. 4.215.
20. 1.1244, 5.1564.
21. 4.740, 7.960.
22. 7.328.
23. 5.37.
24. 5.40.
25. 5.272.
26. 1.1300.
27. 3.242.
28. 1.1370, 3.50, 3.159f.
29. 2.890.
30. 6.767f.
31. 7.328.
32. 1.1279.
33. 1.198.
34. 5.488.
35. 1.1290, 5.1548, 6.160.
36. Juifves 178ff.
37. 3.943f.
38. 1.895.
39. 5.188.
40. 4.997.
41. 5.621f.
42. 1.515f.
43. 1.533f.
44. 1.536f.
45. 1.541f.
46. 4.747ff.
47. 1.1153.
48. 2.138.
49. 2.89ff.
50. 2.130.
51. 2.149.
52. 2.17f.
53. 3.597.
54. 4.699f.
55. 6.425f.

56. 6.203ff.  
57. 5.61f.  
58. 6.394, 397ff.  
59. 6.416ff.  
60. 3.959ff.  
61. 6.433f.  
62. 4.541f.  
63. 4.377f.  
64. 1.78.  
65. 5.1303f.  
66. 2.43f.  
67. 1.170.  
68. 5.858.  
69. 4.1385f.  
70. 1.467.  
71. 4.1152.  
72. 5.442.  
73. 5.149f.  
74. 3.234f.  
75. 1.887f.  
76. 2.313.  
77. 5.811.  
78. 1.595.  
79. 4.932.  
80. 4.706.  
81. 4.1419f.  
82. 5.1564.  
83. For forced antithesis as a characteristic of Lucan's style see Pharsalia, edited by C. E. Haskins with introduction by W. E. Heitland (London, 1887) lxxix-lxxx. For Lucan's influence on d'Aubigné see Jacques Bailbé, "Lucaïn et Aubigné", BHR, 22 (1960) 320-337.
84. 1.305.  
85. 2.340.  
86. 4.836.  
87. 6.690.  
88. 1.647.  
89. 4.750.  
90. 6.901ff.  
91. 4.990.  
92. 7.1154.  
93. 3.759.  
94. 5.732.  
95. Mario Richter in Studies in seventeenth century imagery (Rome, 1964)p.210f. suggests that d'Aubigné may have been influenced by Alciati's emblem 53 in 2.233-236.
96. Emblem 6.  
97. Emblem 20.  
98. Emblem 45.  
99. St Matt. 7.15.  
100. I Sam. 16.7.  
101. Prov. 5.3f.  
102. Ps. 139.12.  
103. St Matt. 10.34.  
104. Deut. 30.19.  
105. St Matt. 7.13f.  
106. Prov. 10.1.



107. St Mk. 2.27.  
 108. St Lk. 18.1.  
 109. Rom. 12.16.  
 110. Rom. 12.21.  
 111. Col. 3.2.  
 112. See "Il Processo spirituale e stilistico nella poesia di Jean de Sponde" Aevum, 36 (1962) p.310.  
 113. 4.249f.  
 114. 4.243.  
 115. 5.1431f.  
 116. 4.741f.  
 117. 4.890.  
 118. 5.121f.  
 119. 4.583f.  
 120. See also Pharsalia I.1.165f., "fecunda virorum/paupertas".  
 121. 6.41.  
 122. 1.331.  
 123. 6.200.  
 124. 3.758.  
 125. 7.1083f.  
 126. Odes III.4.5-6.  
 127. S'amor non è . . Line 7.  
 128. 6.657.  
 129. 2.902.  
 130. 2.569.  
 131. 6.901.  
 132. 4.988.  
 133. 4.186, 6.703.  
 134. 4.575.  
 135. 4.461.  
 136. 1.273.  
 137. 5.476.  
 138. 2.1057.  
 139. 1.613.  
 140. 2.1310.  
 141. 5.657.  
 142. 4.1377f.  
 143. 1.497.  
 144. 4.1061.  
 145. 1.89f.  
 146. 5.863.  
 147. 1.1179.  
 148. 2.333.  
 149. 1.219f.

CHAPTER 7

1. 7.68.
2. Chapter 2.
3. Chapters 1 and 2.
4. Chapter 4.
5. Les Tragiques (extraits), edited by Claude-Gilbert Dubois (Paris, 1975).
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7. I. D. McFarlane, Renaissance France, 1470-1589 (London, 1974), p.361.
8. James Dauphiné, 'Le sang dans Les Tragiques', Europe, 54, no. 563 (March 1976), 55-67 (p.61).
9. Henri Weber, La Création poétique, 2 vols (Paris, 1955), II, 639.
10. Oeuvres, edited by Henri Weber et al. (Paris, 1969), p.6.
11. 1.287.
12. 1.987ff.
13. 2.66.
14. 2.1105.
15. Oeuvres, p.987, note 10.
16. 4.19ff.
17. 5.531, 675 1211, et passim.
18. 5.319, 391.
19. 5.326, 402, 443, et passim.
20. 5.698.
21. 5.698, 1209.
22. 5.257f.
23. 6.89.
24. 7.321f.
25. 2.403.
26. 5.29.
27. 5.482f.
28. 7.614.
29. 3.825.
30. 7.312.
31. 5.978ff.
32. 1.1369.
33. 5.933ff.
34. See Oeuvres, xxvi.: - "D'Aubigné sait d'abord voir et faire voir".
35. 1.414.
36. 2.1145.
37. 3.425.
38. 3.477.
39. 3.781.
40. 3.899f.
41. 4.466.
42. 4.717f.
43. 5.455.
44. 5.765.
45. 5.1175.
46. 5.1351.
47. 5.901.
48. 5.1285.
49. 6.141.
50. 6.633ff.
51. 6.905ff.
52. 7.697f., 747, 755.

53. 7.765.
54. 7.913.
55. 7.931.
56. 7.949.
57. 1.371f.
58. 1.497f.
59. 2.819.
60. 2.831.
61. 2.1069.
62. 3.773.
63. 1.1171.
64. 6.953ff.
65. 6.977f.
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67. Ibid., p.67.
68. 1.367f.
69. 1.208f.
70. 1.212.
71. 1.212f.
72. 1.222.
73. 1.222f.
74. 1.229f.
75. 1.233.
76. 1.237ff.
77. 1.382ff.
78. 1.423f.
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82. Henry A. Sauerwein, Agrippa d'Aubigné's 'Les Tragiques' (Baltimore, 1953), p.86.
83. Oeuvres, p.967, note 4.
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85. 3.252.
86. 3.267.
87. 3.304f.
88. 3.363.
89. 3.284.
90. 3.295.
91. 3.345.
92. 3.446.
93. 3.348f.
94. 3.371f.
95. 3.404.
96. 3.465.
97. 3.506f.
98. 3.335f.
99. 3.255.
100. 3.265, 273.
101. 3.418.
102. 3.445.
103. 3.280.

104. 3.283.
105. 3.360.
106. 3.474.
107. 3.343f.
108. 3.346.
109. 3.511f.
110. 3.369ff.
111. 3.250.
112. Suggested by the verb trionphe, 3.261.
113. 3.286.
114. 3.299f.
115. 3.309.
116. 3.387.
117. 3.347.
118. 3.380.
119. 3.353.
120. 3.444.
121. 3.457.
122. 3.442.
123. 3.253.
124. 3.266.
125. 3.323.
126. 3.301.
127. 3.397ff.
128. 3.295ff.
129. 3.331.
130. 3.318.
131. 3.334.
132. Op. cit., p.59.
133. Op. cit., p.65.
134. 5.270.
135. 1.25, 281.
136. 5.723.
137. 1.829, 5.1451.
138. 3.213, 5.202.
139. 5.73.
140. See note 8 above.
141. Op. cit., pp.76-79.
142. Création poétique, II, 689-694.
143. Op. cit., pp.79-83.
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145. Op. cit., pp.82f.
146. Op. cit., p.74.
147. Op. cit., p.51.
148. Création poétique, II, 656-658.
149. 1.76.
150. 2.947f.
151. 5.1292.
152. 5.248.
153. 2.55ff.
154. 6.471ff.
155. 4.127ff.
156. 7.747.
157. 3.723.
158. 3.445.
159. 3.626.
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161. 5.927f.  
 162. 2.567f.  
 163. 2.971f.  
 164. 4.1382.  
 165. 2.1083f.  
 166. 1.563ff.  
 167. 2.733ff.  
 168. Oeuvres, p.934, note 3 (p.59).  
 169. 2.205ff.  
 170. 5.756ff.  
 171. 2.966ff.  
 172. Chanson (contre la Sorbonne), Bordier, p.162.  
 173. (Jean le Noir et Jean le Blanc), Bordier, p.158.  
 174. Chanson nouvelle . . ., Bordier, p.135.  
 175. Henri Weber, "Poésie polémique et satirique de la Réforme",  
Cahiers de l'Association internationale des Etudes Françaises,  
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 176. Oeuvres, p.398.  
 177. Although Circé was not performed until the marriage of Joyeuse  
 in 1581 - and then without any acknowledgment of d'Aubigné!  
 See Frances Yates, The French academies of the sixteenth century  
 (London, 1947), 257f.  
 178. 4.507.  
 179. 4.513f.  
 180. See, for example, the Ode ou chanson sur les misères des églises  
francoyses. En l'an 1570, Bordier, 403f. (especially vv. 15-19).

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