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SCIENTIFIC AND RELIGIOUS ASPECTS OF THE POETRY OF BEROALDE DE VERVILLE

Stephen John Bamforth

Abstract of the thesis

The thesis takes as its subject three long poems by Béroalde de Verville (1556-1629) - Les Cognoissances Necessaires(1583), De l'Ame et de ses facultes(1583), and De l'Ame et de ses excellences(1593). On the evidence of these three texts, but with reference also to Béroalde's other writings, it shows that the scientific and the religious are allied themes which play a central part in Béroalde's work.

Les Cognoissances Necessaires is situated in the tradition represented by the Microcosme of Scève and the Sepmaine of Du Bartas. At the same time its individuality is demonstrated. Order is its constant theme, and order is itself associated with function and mechanism. We suggest that throughout the poem Béroalde prefers the analytic to the pictorial, and that this is in keeping with an initial emphasis on active enquiry. But enquiry is kept within the framework of a universe superintended by God, in a way that suggests a Calvinist ethic.

We go on to show that in De l'Ame et de ses facultes the emphasis remains firmly on function. Béroalde uses the model of medieval and Renaissance treatises on soul, but in order to explain the operation of the cosmos seen as a totality. The accent of the poem is more properly scientific, and in it the alchemical, the medical and the psychological each play their part.

In De l'Ame et de ses excellences the accent shifts to the ethical. We argue for a connection with a current of neo-stoic writing. But a central concern for the place of enquiry remains. Béroalde makes knowledge the basis of a code of conduct, and stresses that it is positive and practical value.

The thesis ends by arguing that Béroalde's reputation is unjustly limited to that of the author of Le Moyen de Parvenir alone, and that he should be given credit as properly scientific writer.

* * *

SCIENTIFIC AND RELIGIOUS ASPECTS OF THE POETRY OF BEROALDE DE VERVILLE

Thesis presented for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy in the
University of Durham

1979

Stephen John Bamforth B.A.

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Note on the text of quotations

We have observed the original spelling of quotations throughout, and retained so far as possible the original punctuation. We have corrected only obvious printing errors, where not to do so would make comprehension difficult.

le zele de la verité m'eslance...

(Le Palais des Curieux, p.581)

INTRODUCTION

The justification of this thesis is that so little is known of the scientific poetry of Béroalde de Verville. One work, published towards the end of Béroalde's life, has earned him notoriety, but at the same time has caused all his earlier writing to be almost completely forgotten.

Le Moyen de Parvenir is not a representative work, but what little critical attention Béroalde has attracted has been orientated almost exclusively to Béroalde the continuator of Rabelais and Noël du Fail(1). The one serious exception has been V.L. Saulnier's Etude sur Béroalde de Verville, and even this has the subtitle Introduction à la lecture du Moyen de Parvenir(2). Saulnier's study appeared in 1944, and in the following year the same critic published an accompanying anthology of Béroalde's poetry(3). In both these works a strong plea was made for Béroalde's rehabilitation(4). These pleas have gone largely unheard, and it is now over thirty years since Saulnier made them. The only scholar to pay the poetry more than passing attention since that time has insisted upon labelling Béroalde as "baroque", and in an article published in 1970 has considered a small sample of the love poetry and one devotional poem within the terms of that definition alone(5). The same narrowness of approach is apparent in a recent book by the same writer on Le Moyen de Parvenir(6). Otherwise, apart from an occasional mention in more general works(7), there is nothing. Since the beginning of the seventeenth century the fate of Béroalde's poetry has been almost complete neglect.

At a time when the work of other previously under-valued poets has been the object of renewed critical attention, first and most conspicuously in the case of Sponde, Chassignet and La Ceppède(8), but also more recently in the case of a writer such as Guy Lefèvre de la Boderie(9), there would in any case be a justification for the reassessment of the reputation of Béroalde. In fact we shall be

concerned to demonstrate that Béroalde is a curious and enigmatic figure in his own right, whose work is both original and arresting, and whose literary achievement has never been properly recognised.

It is the eighteenth-century memorialist Niceron, seconded by Goujet in his Bibliothèque Francoise, who must take his share of the blame for the neglect into which Béroalde's poetry has fallen. Both these writers pass entirely negative verdicts on Béroalde's work, not to mention his character(10), and these verdicts have been allowed to stand unchallenged. They have even been uncritically repeated by others(11). If we turn to sources nearer to Béroalde's own time, the information becomes more helpful. La Croix du Maine, writing in 1584, mentions Béroalde's precocious talents, but without further commentary(12). Colletet, on the other hand, in his life of the poet, makes a much more positive appraisal, and more than once speaks of Béroalde in terms of praise(13). These are judgments, however, which have been passed over, and, via assessments of Le Moyen de Parvenir, Béroalde's posthumous reputation has been founded on the image of a libertine. The image, ironically enough, is one that Colletet himself helped to create(14). What we shall attempt here is to assess the texts themselves in as unprejudiced a fashion as possible.

Once Béroalde's work is approached in this way, a picture very different from the traditional one emerges, and it is this which has determined the scope of the present thesis. Béroalde's output as a writer is both large and varied, but within it the scientific is a major theme, and as yet a totally unexplored one. Through this Béroalde may be seen in a new way, as the representative of a tradition both of science and of poetry, and his poetry for the first time may be set in its proper context. It will be our first concern to establish the nature of that tradition, and thereafter to locate Béroalde within it.

Peletier du Mans, in the odes following on L'Amour des Amours of 1555 (15), presents himself as the first to introduce the celestial

Muse Urania into French poetry, and it is his name which is associated with the inception of the "scientific poem". As a genre this is singularly ill-defined, and perhaps undefinable, and it has been the object of conflicting critical views (16). The term was first given currency by A.M.Schmidt in his La Poésie Scientifique en France au seizième siècle(17), but the definition attempted there is perhaps not an entirely satisfactory one(18). The nature of the problems involved is best summarised by Dudley Wilson, in the introduction to his more recent anthology French Renaissance Scientific Poetry(19). We may accept the usefulness of the term while recognising the difficulties of circumscribing it within precise limits. The concept of science in the sixteenth century is itself an unclear one, and this is reflected in the great variety of poetry to which the label of "scientific" has been attached. Certainly it would embrace not only the medical, the meteorological, or the mathematical, but also the cabalistic and the magical. We may turn to a definition such as that provided by Colletet, and cited by Wilson, of "La Poësie naturelle"(20), but in the end no single formulation will advance us very far. We do not propose to attempt such a formulation, preferring instead to allow the concept of a scientific poetry to emerge naturally from the works we shall be examining. Here we may simply introduce the features to be associated with it.

Peletier sees his new choice of subject matter as representing a more elevated poetry, and he consciously presents it as a contrast with what has gone before;

> Donqu̸s voyant la Franc̸ lass̸
> D̸ voler d'un̸ el̸ si bass̸,
> E chercher plus haut̸ largeur,
> I'è leuè plus haut ma vole̸,
> D'un̸ el̸ qu'Amour m'à cole̸,
> Pour d̸ l'Er m̸ fer̸ nageur,
> Souz la guide d̸ la Métress̸
> A qui luiméme m̸ soumèt:
> Qui à posè ma sur̸ adress̸
> Sus l̸ Mont a doubl̸ sommet(21).

But we may see in the very nature of Peletier's statement a further element which distinguishes this concept of poetry from earlier ones.

Peletier's is a personal voyage of discovery in the company of his celestial guide, and it is the poet himself who is introduced to the phenomena of the heavens. While it is true that an essentially personal aspiration is central to Peletier's work as a whole(22), such an involvement of the poet himself in what he writes is an important factor in scientific poetry as it develops in the second half of the century. Scientific writing in a more general sense there had been before. There are passages of Le Roman de la Rose in which Jean de Meun is as much concerned with the operation of the cosmos as is Peletier in his own L'Amour des Amours. But the speech given by Nature in the later stages of the earlier poem, and in which these themes are contained, is nothing more or less than the reporting of an external reality(23). In contrast, and the distinction is an important one, Scève, Ronsard and Du Bartas are each in their various ways presenting an interpretation of reality. The data is transformed through the personality of the individual poet, and we may say that scientific poetry at its best represents not only description of the cosmos, but the attitude of an individual towards it.

The balance between these two elements is not easy to achieve, and indeed only Ronsard, in the Hymnes of 1555-56, can be said to have achieved it. In the Hymne du Ciel and the Hymne de l'Eternité Ronsard succeeds in making the cosmological the proper stuff of poetry, and he does this precisely through maintaining a tension between his own persona as poet and the phenomena he is describing. His Ciel takes on a poetic force through the awe in which it is held, and through the way in which the poet presents it in a quite conscious manner via the comprehension of man(24). But then Ronsard is writing first and foremost as the poet, and for him the poetic value is uppermost. Others, and Peletier would be among them, approach the scientific poem from a different standpoint. The Scève of the Microcosme, the Baïf of Le Premier des Meteores, the

Lefèvre of the Galliade and the Encyclie, have each of them distinct aims over and above the poetic as such. Nonetheless the status of the poet as interpreter is common to them all. The mark of the scientific poet is to present a vision of the world about him, in which the world is perceived as totality, and in which the synthesis is one personal to the poet himself.

The status of the poet as interpreter of the cosmos about him is to be seen as an extension of the role of the poet sanctioned by the theorists of the Pléiade. The Pléiade recovered for the poet his ancient dignity of vates, as the purveyor of some serious and objective truth(25). If the work of the historian has its validity like that of the poet, Du Bellay concludes in his Discours au Roy sur la poésie of 1560, this does not mean that the poet's achievement is any the less to be admired -

> ...son oeuvre n'est moins que l'histoire durable,
> Pour ce qu'en imitant l'autheur de l'univers,
> Toute essence et idee il comprend en ses vers(26).

The task of the poet takes on both cosmic and universal significance, and his status becomes quasi-divine. He is called upon to be knowledgeable, in a way that makes the Orphic poet of Ronsard's Hymne de l'Automne become also the philosopher-poet;

> Il cognoist la vertu des herbes & des pierres,
> Il enferme les vents, il charme les tonnerres...(27)

Marcel Raymond, in his L'Influence de Ronsard sur la Poésie française, draws attention to these lines, pointing the connection between the idea of the poet they propose and the ambitions which are Du Bartas' in La Sepmaine(28). The comparison is one that holds good for scientific poetry as a whole. The change brought about in mid-century poetic theory justifies the poet in a particular claim to interpret the whole of knowledge, and the commonplace of Virgil's "Felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas"(29) now overlaps with a new awareness of the poet's capabilities. With this comes the requirement of new qualities of the poet. In the Deffence et Illustration de la langue francoyse Du Bellay prescribes that the epic poet be "instruict de

tous bons Ars & Sciences principalement naturelles & mathematiques", and that he should possess a "parfaite intelligence des disciplines"(30). The view is restated in the posthumous preface to Ronsard's La Franciade;

> ...tantost il est Philosophe, tantost Medecin, Arboriste, Anatomiste, & Jurisconsulte, se servant de l'opinion de toutes sectes, selon que son argument le demande(31).

But in the case of Ronsard and Du Bellay this remains an assumed knowledge, part of a general armoury to be adopted as the occasion demands. Peletier, in his own Art Poétique of 1555, goes further, and passes from the advice given by Du Bellay that the poet should frequent the "scavans" to an actual identification of the two. The poet must himself possess the encyclopaedia of knowledge, and an apology for the poet comes to read very much as an apology for the figure of the Renaissance scientist;

> Les Ars sont an notre puissance, pouruù que nous eyons la faueur de Nature: laquele nous secoure des instrumans conuenables. Déquez le premier et l'intancion. Car ceus la peuuet, qui cuidet pouuoer. Ie n'è donq pas ici grand besoin de dire, qu'a notre Poëte et necessere la connoessance d'Astrologie, Cosmografie, Geometrie, Phisique, brief de toute la Filosofie. Sans lequeles non seulemant ne se comprand aucune perfeccion: mes ancores et tout timide e honteus celui qui ne les à a commandemant, n'osant s'auanturer d'antrer an quelque bon passage, quand il se sant coupable de n'an pouuoer sortir, etant depouruù de cela qui plus ilustre un Poème(32).

Through Peletier there is a direct link between Pléiade poetic theory and the development of the scientific poem, but there is also a more general connection. The figure of the scientific poet has been justly compared to that of the Magus, handing down the interpretation of a higher reality(33), and the assumption of such a role certainly owes something to the Pléiade's earlier re-evaluation of the poet's status.

A further aspect arises. The role of the poet as interpreter of the cosmos must be reconciled equally with that of God creator of the cosmos. The Ronsard of the Hymne du Ciel and the Hymne de l'Eternité is not concerned with a christian poetry as such, and the note of religious awe is transferred to the spectacle of creation itself. But Ronsard is also the author of an Hercule Chrestien. There is a movement towards a christian poetry within the Pléiade itself, a reaction

away from the pagan, which is discernible from an early date - the Cantiques of Nicholas Denisot date from 1553, the christian poetry of Du Bellay from 1552. Both Denisot in his Cantiques and Du Bellay in the Lyre Chrestienne are concerned to redefine the proper activity of the poet(34), and Denisot compliments Ronsard on having found his true vocation in the Hercule(35). These are considerations which take on further importance in the case of the scientific poem. In his Le Premier des Meteores, published in 1567, Baïf makes the scientific poet dependent upon grace in his search for knowledge(36), thereby giving a specialised gloss to Ronsard's recommendation in the Abbregé that the epic poem should open with an invocation to the deity(37). But with the Microcosme of Maurice Scève in 1562 the poet's dependence upon the inspiration given by God had been specifically linked with a poem that is biblical as well as scientific in content(38), and it is this model which in many ways is followed by the most influential of the scientific poems, La Sepmaine of Du Bartas(39). The scientific poem becomes the poem directly in praise of God, and the poet as interpreter becomes specifically the interpreter of the works of God.

Scève presents a special case. While the Microcosme takes its point of departure in the creation account, the central reference is man, and it is a celebration of man, and a review of his progress in all spheres of activity, which is the central purpose of the poem. First Schmidt and then Saulnier have shown how Scève draws upon the medieval encyclopaedic tradition in order to produce a verse encyclopaedia of his own(40). But while the material is traditional, the conception is not, and the function of the hexaemeral theme in this poem is to provide the framework for what becomes very much a Renaissance hymn in praise of human achievement. The example of La Sepmaine is a contrasting one. The purpose of Du Bartas' poem runs in the opposite direction, and the emphasis is transferred from man to God. The hexaemeral theme here is the substance of the poem. The poet describes creation in order to praise God, and the world

is never more than a pretext to a higher reality. Du Bartas reiterates the message in the Seconde Sepmaine of 1584;

> Nostre univers n'est rien qu'une grande boutique,
> Où Dieu ses beaux tresors desploye, magnifique(41).

Du Bartas' aspiration of "Pour mieux contempler Dieu, contempler l'Vniuers"(42) is scarcely new, and had been anticipated notably by the Bishop of Sées, Pierre du Val, who in 1553 had published his De la Grandeur de Dieu, et de la Cognoissance qu'on peut auoir de luy par ses oeuures, to be followed in 1558 by his Psalme de la Puissance, Sapience et Bonte de Dieu(43). But the choice of theme in Du Bartas' case is also the choice of a poetic, and this too is a conscious part of the inspiration of his poem. From 1574 and the publication of La Judit, Le Triomfe de la Foi and L'Uranie it is La Muse Chrestienne which Du Bartas advocates(44), and in L'Uranie it is a christian and biblical poetry which he urges upon the writers of his day;

> Pensés combien sera vostre gloire plus belle,
> Combien plus beau le los qu'heureus vous acquerrés,
> Lors que dans vos saints vers Dieu seul vous chanterés;
> Puis qu'un nom immortel naist de chose immortelle...
>
> Où pourrés-vous trouver de plus estranges choses,
> Et par qui tant de fois nostre humain jugement
> Se voye desmenti plus manifestement,
> Que celles-là, qui sont dedans la Bible encloses?(45)

In this way the scientific poem is pressed into the service of a religious ideal, and becomes the purveyor of a spiritual truth. The aim is not confined to any one camp. Du Bartas is the Calvinist poet, but the Catholic polymath Guy Lefèvre de la Boderie had been proposing very much the same programme in his Encyclie des Secrets de l'Eternité of 1571(46). Besides the polymath there is the Lefèvre of the Hymnes Ecclésiastiques, and the Recueil de Vers following the Encyclie shows the religious concern very clearly(47). In particular a sonnet to Vauquelin de la Fresnaye reveals the same aspiration for poetry as that later to be expressed by Du Bartas -

> Laissons, mon Vauquelin, ces vaines Poësies
> Qui en noz iunes ans nous ont tant delecté;
> Laissons ce fard Grégeois, ce parler affecté,
> Et du vieil Ascréan les fables ia moisies.

> Quitons du fol Amour les feintes courtoisies,
> Et ne vantons les grans qui ne l'ont merité;
> Mais celebron de Dieu la pure verité,
> Ensuyuant des neuf Cieus les neuf Muses choisies...(48)

The "antique érudition" of the Pléiade is rejected, and in its place the aims of Denisot are reaffirmed for the epic. In the Encyclie, once happily established in his new state of enlightenment, "le Secrétaire" can announce a new order of priorities;

> Loin, loin l'aueugle Amour qui tenoit en souffrance
> Sous le voile d'erreur la miserable France:
> Rien que l'Amour sacré ne me viene éjoüir...(49)

This aspect of the development of the scientific poem is in itself an important one, and it is to be seen at least in part as an indication of a general desire to abandon the trivialities of profane verse for the font of sacred truth.

At this stage a further consideration presents itself. For Du Bartas such an approach equally involves a clear distinction between the domains of reason and faith, and La Sepmaine is characterised by an uncompromising view of their relative importance. The function of the scientific in La Sepmaine is to chronicle, and the claims of scientific enquiry are rigorously subordinated to the demands of faith. The role of reason is a passive one, the scientific material borrowed in order to corroborate and illustrate rather than to analyse or explain. Near the beginning of the poem, Du Bartas warns himself against allowing mere reason to speculate upon the nature of the Trinity, and the warning is one we would expect. But in a poem where the contribution of enquiry generally is scarcely to go beyond the stage of notation, the ethic contained in these lines is an ethic for the work as a whole;

> Tout beau, Muse, tout beau, d'vn si profond Neptune
> Ne sonde point le fond: garde toy d'approcher
> Ce Carybde glouton, ce Capharé rocher:
> Où mainte nef, suiuant la raison pour son Ourse,
> A fait triste naufrage au milieu de sa course.
> Qui voudra seurement par ce gouffre ramer,
> Sage, n'aille iamais cingler en haute mer:
> Ains costoye la riue ayant la foy pour voile,
> L'Esprit sainct pour nocher, la Bible pour estoile(50).

In this definition the scientific poem takes on a character

fundamentally different from that suggested by Peletier's L'Amour des Amours. Peletier places the emphasis on knowledge itself, and his interest is in the mechanics of the world, the means by which the cosmos operates. Du Bartas is concerned with its outward glories, the more extravagant and varied the better, that the whole may serve as a catalogue to the virtuosity of the Creator. End product rather than process is the object of his verse, and in the place of incitement to enquire, there is directive to admire;

> I'aime mieux ma raison desmentir mille fois,
> Qu'vn seul coup desmentir du sainct Esprit la voix...(51)

The success of La Sepmaine is immediate. Twenty editions of the poem appear before its author's death in 1590(52), and the model it establishes is rapidly imitated by others. The alchemist-poet Joseph Du Chesne publishes Le Grand Miroir du Monde in 1587(53), and in it he echoes not only the sentiment but also the very lines of Du Bartas;

> Quel Charibde aboyant, quelle mer si profonde,
> Quel gouffre si beant est-ce ores que ie sonde?
> Ne permets donc, ô Dieu, ne permets d'abismer
> Ma nef fraisle en cinglant, en si douteuse mer.
> Ton Fils soit son Timon, ton Esprit sa Boussole,
> Sa Charte les cayers de ta saincte parole,
> L'oraison son cordage, & ses voiles la Foy,
> Afin que sans naufrage elle aborde vers toy(54).

The same direct reminiscence of the precedent of La Sepmaine is apparent in L'Vranologie of Du Monin(55). Du Bartas' poem imposes not only a framework but an emphasis.

Within the diversity of the poetry to which the label "scientific" may be attached, the type of poem represented by Du Bartas' Sepmaine constitutes one identifiable model, and which by the 1580s is becoming a dominant one. Du Bartas, Du Chesne and Du Monin are each specifically concerned with the praise of God through the created world. As we have suggested, this is itself a development of the status of the poet as interpreter which is fundamental to the concept of the scientific poem from the beginning. The idea of the poet as prophet, entrusted with a grasp of a higher reality, merges into the notion of the poet spokesman of God. In either case the world is

felt to be the reflection of a predetermined order, which it is the task of the poet to reveal. One starting-point for any enquiry into the nature of scientific poetry in the sixteenth century must be that the religious and the scientific are aspects of a single reality, and indeed the nature of the scientific poem has been associated with the attempt at a balance between them(56).

What we hope to to do is to arrive at our own balanced assessment of the poetry of Béroalde de Verville as it appears once set against this background. We might add that these are the considerations which lead us to our choice of the title "Scientific and religious aspects of the poetry of Béroalde de Verville". Béroalde did in fact write a quantity of religious and devotional poetry proper(57), but we have thought it preferable to concentrate upon a relationship of the religious to the scientific which in our view is more central to the poet's work. Obviously, given the terms of our thesis, we are bound to exclude from our discussion Béroalde's activity as a poet of love, which taken in itself is a considerable one(58). It is then within the tradition outlined in the preceding pages that Béroalde's own scientific poetry is to be located, and in particular within the context of the climate set for the scientific poem by the example of Du Bartas. It remains first however to explain the particular relevance of the scientific to any appraisal of Béroalde's career as a writer.

*

Leaving aside the unresolved question of the dating of Le Moyen de Parvenir(59), the last work by Béroalde published in his lifetime is Le Palais des Curieux of 1612(60). This is a rambling, unstructured prose work in which the only organization is division into "obiects", or short chapters, and the content of which consists in apparently random observations on every conceivable subject. Its only affinity, at a rather different level, is with the Essais of Montaigne, and we shall be returning to certain specific points of resemblance. But

one of its chief points of interest is that it contains an important autobiographical element, and that it has as a consequence something of the character of a testament and a retrospect. It is to Le Palais that we may turn for a reliable summary of Béroalde's ideas and aspirations.

For the first part of his life Béroalde was a Calvinist. He was the son of Matthieu Béroalde, Calvinist teacher and scholar(61), and Le Palais confirms that he early inherited the taste for erudition of his father. But where his father's interests were historical and scriptural(62), his own seem to have inclined from the start to the immediate and the practical. In Le Palais he speaks of mathematics as "ma premiere & plus aimée profession"(p.164), and declares that

> Des la sortie de mon enfance les Mathematiques ont esté le souuerain bien de mon esprit, & croy que si i'eusse eu en ce temps-là vn mecenas pour m'y aider i'eusse atteint vne grande perfection(p.463).

It is a direct involvement with the scientific which is reflected in Béroalde's poetry, and this involvement is not limited to the mathematical. Mathematics is only one aspect of what is nothing less than an obsession with the practical departments of knowledge. Part of Béroalde's student days were spent in Geneva, and during his stay there he made a journey to Basle which he relates in Le Palais, and which had very definite motives -

> Ie vous aduertiray en passant qu'ayant desir de voir vn iour les effects notables de la Filosofie chymique, i'auois instamment poursuiuy la cognoissance des metaux & mineraux, & de faict depuis ce temps que i'en ouy parler à Basle ie m'y incliné, & apres auoir consideré les Manipulaires (ie trouue ce mot bon pour en designer les ouuriers) ie creu qu'il falloit estre sçauant & artiste, & pourtant ie fis apprentissage tant pour sçauoir l'orlogerie que l'orfeuerie...(p.420)

The knowledge of which Béroalde is speaking here is not to be separated from its application, and the curiosity is one for the mechanical. Indeed, Béroalde's first major publication under his own name is the introduction and commentaries to the Théâtre des Instrumens Mathematiques & Mechaniques of the Dauphiné mathematician

Jacques Besson, published under the imprint of Barthelemy Vincent in 1578(63). It has also been suggested that Béroalde is a doctor(64), and certainly Le Palais provides evidence of medical interests. The association with the practical remains, and in Le Palais he claims

> Ie fay plus la medecine pour ce qu'il me plaist de faire du bien au monde, que pour profit que i'en attende(p.120).

The precise nature of the service he hopes to provide is illustrated by a further example;

> ...la grande chaleur qui est au corps humain...ie le sçay pour l'auoir obserué entre autres, en vne fille seruante d'vn de mes amis, laquelle ie gouuernois d'vne colique bilieuse, ie luy fis apres plusieurs remedes aualer trois balles de plom...(pp.70-1)

The medical, however, is not to be separated from the alchemical. Alchemy is the central feature of Béroalde's scientific activity, and is the one enthusiasm to which he devotes an entire treatise(65). But the word itself needs to be placed in perspective. The domain of alchemy at this time is virtually universal, and it has the status of experimental science as well as of metaphysical speculation. The transmutation of metals and the discovery of the secret of the philosophers' stone is its final aim, but the "adepte" may be equally concerned with the by-products and processes that result. The full definition is the one given by Scève in his Microcosme(66), and commented by Saulnier in his book on the poet(67). As Saulnier points out, the term itself may quite easily disguise radically different conceptions of the activity involved(68). For Scève the alchemists' art is "non jamais connu de l'empirique ignare"(69). For Béroalde precisely the opposite obtains. It is the empirical and the practical which is the mark of the true alchemy, and which he opposes to the deceptions of the "vain soufleur"(70). Alchemy too for Béroalde is the expression of proper knowledge and its application.

For the sources of Béroalde's medical interests we need look no further than his interest in alchemy. The "or potable" of the alchemists is thought of as a singularly efficacious medical remedy,

the means of a prolonged and healthy life(71). Furthermore, this is the time when Paracelsus is substituting chemical for the traditional herbal remedies of medical science(72). The mathematician Besson is himself the author of a treatise upon the extraction of simples from mineral substances(73). And if Béroalde sees medecine as a means of helping his fellows, this is no more than an extension of an attitude to alchemy;

> ...Parmy tant de rares fleurs ie voy les metaux, & sur tout l'or qui rayonne iusques en mon coeur, tant ie desire d'en auoir pour en faire du bien aux pauures, ausquels les riches ne songent point...(74)

The same point of view is professed by other alchemists(75), and Béroalde is doing no more than observe the orthodoxies. But as medecine is the practical application of the alchemist's art, so it is an aspect which Béroalde emphasises. His own Recherches de la pierre philosophale reiterate the link between the two;

> ...l'Alchymie, qui concerne le plus beau de la Medecine, & entretien de ceste vie mortelle & caduque, d'autant qu'elle ne laisse iamais auoir disette ceux qui la sçauent, ains leur presente le Souuerain remede contre toutes maladies, donnant la vraye conseruation de santé...(76)

> ...les Chymiques, qui par la practique de la science ont trouué la souueraine medecine des corps...(77)

> ...ceste science, de laquelle le but n'est autre que preparer les substances de son suiet en medecine...(78).

An emphasis on the scientific, and on the scientific as the direct application of knowledge, is one that recurs in Béroalde's writings. Such are his first enthusiasms, and if his life and career ultimately take a different direction, this is only, by his own admission, because financial and material support did not come at the right moment(79). But Le Palais, written at the end of his life, shows that these enthusiasms have never been forgotten. He repeats there an attitude to knowledge which to him is a basic one, and that has its own dignity;

> ...aussi ie suis Mathematicien, ie ne concede rien en science que ce qui m'est demonstré, & sur tout és sujets où les sens sont requis, & qui sont pour nous, & dont la cognoissance est de la iurisdiction de nostre entendement(p.45).

Béroalde's scientific writing shows the attitude to knowledge of one who thinks in terms of observation and experiment, and it is mechanics and process which interests him. The similarity is with the earlier model offered by the poetry of Peletier du Mans, and like Peletier Béroalde makes the desire for knowledge a central aspiration. Already in Les Apprehensions Spirituelles, the prose discourse which gives its name in 1583 to Béroalde's first published volume of prose and verse(80), the emphasis falls upon a dedication to truth, where truth itself is presented as object of enquiry;

> ...& pource que ie pose le souuerain bien en la cognoissance de la verité & en la pertuelle (sic) volonté qu'on a de la poursuyure, ie n'arracheray iamais de mon ame cette belle Idee dont la force me contraint à me vouer à elle, & à la suyure(81).

It is a similarly all-inclusive passion which informs the seemingly random arrangement of Le Palais. There the obsession with the process of knowing is constant, regardless of what the object of knowledge might be;

> Ie tiens qu'il ny a point de plaisir égal à celuy d'apprendre tousiours, car ce desir n'a pas de rassasiment, & toutesfois il cause des delices extremement agreables quand on iouït de l'effect de sa proposition, pour sçauoir en quelque suject que ce soit: C'est mon vnique passion, que ie represente aux Doctes, à fin qu'ils me facent l'honneur de me departir de leur doctrine, pour ayder à mon esprit a se rendre contant, ce pendant qu'ils se satisferont eux mesmes de tels seuls & vniques plaisirs qui sont plus diuins qu'humains (pp.423-4).

The picture that emerges from Le Palais is that of an individual who not only confers a central importance upon knowledge in his own life, but who consistently sees knowledge itself as dynamic process. The values associated with it are those of the direct, the immediate and the practical. In Le Palais Béroalde remains faithful to the scientific credo he had expressed at the end of his Recherches de la pierre philosophale, the resonance of which is decidedly modern;

> L'experience est l'essay de tout, la resolution de la verité, & la certitude des choses(82).

What is an attitude to alchemy is an attitude to the concept of enquiry as a whole. Le Palais continues the theme -

> ...Ce pendant nottons que ce n'est pas grand cas de cognoistre

simplement vn sujet, mais que c'est tout de sçauoir ce qu'il peut(p.71)

...Ie desirerois que chacun fist bien, & que ne missions rien en auant qui (sic) ne fut nostre science bien esprouuée(p.74).

Alchemy in its turn is subject to the same criteria. Béroalde frequently returns to an attack on the "vanité cendriere" of those who oppose the true philosophy(83), and it is clear that for him the essential lies in a combination of theory and practice. Alchemy is firmly identified with the practical;

Encores les destillateurs & alquemistes ont quelque apparence, car ils ont traicté le meilleur de la medecine: Et toutesfois ils sont reiectables s'ils n'ont de la science ou practique: Car n'estans que purs empyriques, ils sont reprobables....Et de faict ie diray librement comme ie le pense auoir dict ailleurs, que tout Physicien qui n'est point alquemiste, va filosofant à cloche-pied, comme tout medecin qui n'est pas empyrique, est ainsi qu'vn Prestre qui n'est pas clerc; ie voudrois que la science & la practique fussent bien vnies ensemble....& comme ie reiette le vain soufleur charbonnier, i'honore le sçauant alquemiste dont les operations sont les anatomies des sujets de Nature(Le Palais, pp.118-9).

These views are vigorous and independent, and clearly represent something more than the Renaissance and humanist commonplace of the desire to amass "scientia"(84). Knowledge in the sixteenth-century context commonly means knowledge of authority, and reliance on a bookish learning, but Béroalde's preference for observation leads to a measurable individuality of outlook;

Et ie voudrois que tout ce que l'on escrit fut aussi bien notté qu'est cecy, qui n'a gueres d'exception, pour ce que le plus souuent ie l'ay obserué estre certain: Ie trouue fort mauuaise l'authorité qui est prononcée, ON DIT...(Le Palais, p.73)

Ie veux donc trauailler apres ce que ie sçauray de moy-mesme pour m'en donner plaisir, ou enuiron ce que i'aprendray d'autruy pour m'y delecter, & pour communiquer aux curieux ce dont ie seray certain: Et pour ce ie suis prest à tout escouter, voir & obseruer, & puis repassant sur les sujets ie ne me contente pas de dire selon le commun, on dit, on croid, mais ie profere hardiment, cela est(p.312)

Es choses sensuelles il faut que les sens soient iuges tout y estant comme il doit, ainsi ie me tiens & arreste à ce qui est(pp.544-5).

Defined in these terms, knowledge becomes essentially personal discovery, and the notion is that of a community of knowledge in the present in which each individual makes his contribution, according to his own experience. The status of knowledge broadens to that of general philosophy of life;

...Ie me transporterois presques, le zele de la verité me faisant exagerer, afin d'inuiter chacun d'exposer & proposer ce qu'il sçait, sans s'amuser à la science d'autruy, ce que nous auons fait, apris, veu & cognu est nostre propre science, & de telle ie veux faire exercice pour viure heureux(Le Palais, p.75).

The quality of the dynamic, the sense of an urge and an intoxication, is again immediately obvious, and again the parallel is with Peletier. Like Peletier Béroalde sees knowledge as never static, but constantly expanding. The perspective remains highly individual and personal to the end;

...car ie ne me soucie pas d'où la science vienne pourueu que ie la puisse auoir pour rassasier mon esprit. Quand ie voy vn sçauant, ie luy desire du bien, mais ie meurs presque d'ennuy & d'enuie: d'ennuy que ie ne sçay ce qu'il sçait, d'enuie que ie n'en sçay encor dauantage Non point auoir gloire par dessus luy, mais pour luy distribuer de la science, comme ie desirerois qu'il m'en communiquast(p.423).

It would be surprising if ideas expressed with this degree of conviction left no trace elsewhere in Béroalde's writings. The poetry is our concern, and there is a prima facie case for examining more closely its scientific content. There is also a critical imbalance to be corrected. This aspect to the career of the author of Le Moyen de Parvenir has never been adequately investigated, and remains virtually unknown, despite the fact that Saulnier in his study has already pointed the way(85). But taking Le Palais at one end of Béroalde's literary career and Les Apprehensions at the other, it is the scientific, an enthusiasm for knowledge, which gives that career its element of unity. It is true that unity is not its most striking characteristic. Besides the two scientific poems with which we shall be concerned, Les Cognoissances Necessaires and De l'Ame et de ses facultes, the collection Les Apprehensions Spirituelles contains three prose dialogues of a moral philosophical nature(86), and a whole cycle of devotional poetry and psalm paraphrases(87). Bound within the same volume in five of the six copies that we have consulted is Les Souspirs Amoureux, a sequence of love poetry of considerable length in its own right(88). In 1584, the year after the appearance of Les Apprehensions, Béroalde went on to publish L'Idee de la Republique, his longest verse work of all, which deals with the

ethical foundations of the ideal state(89). Other works, testifying to a yet greater breadth of interest, and written equally in these early years, have apparently disappeared(90). There is a middle period in which this flow of publications ceases, but in 1592 it resumes, and the variety is yet more marked. Béroalde is by this time established in Tours, and from Calvinism has been converted to Catholicism(91). He obtains a canonry in the church of St-Gatien in that town(92), and presumably thereafter enjoys a measure of material security. It is at this stage that the reputation of Béroalde as the purveyor of the sentimental and the galant is founded, first with the remodelling of the translation of the Diane of Montemayor(93), and then with the composition of his own Les Avantures de Floride(94). This is the genre with which Béroalde attains his most solid success(95), and not only is the Floride itself continued and given further editions(96), but a rapid succesion of other works exploits the same formula(97).

But there are other currents also. Béroalde further translates at this time the De Constantia of Justus Lipsius(98), and is the author of an extended treatise on wisdom of his own(99). These interests are reflected in a further long poem, De l'Ame et de ses excellences, published, like the poet's treatise De la Sagesse, in 1593, the year following the Lipsius translation. The occasion is a second edition of the collection of devotional poetry which had first appeared in Les Apprehensions, La Muse Celeste(100), but the content refers us back squarely to its writer's earlier scientific interests, and specifically to an analysis of the attributes of soul. In addition there are further religious poems(101), other hermetically-inspired works(102), and even a 1200 line epic on the life-cycle and breeding of silk-worms(103). In terms of variety alone, the list of Béroalde's works is an impressive one. If we add to it Le Moyen de Parvenir as a sort of grand finale, we might readily understand that Béroalde should have acquired the reputation of "songe-creux"(104).

He wrote a great deal, and he is ready to make his fluency a point of pride(105). It is arguable that had he written less, concentrated his energies more, his achievement might have been more lasting. The diffuseness of his literary efforts makes it more difficult to arrive at any overall impression.

Writers, on the other hand, may be as much as anybody else the victims of circumstance. The diffuseness of Béroalde's writings is one that partly at least is forced upon him. A search for patronage undoubtedly plays its part in determining the course of Béroalde's career(106), and we may suppose that this has a great deal to do with the demonstration of versatility contained in Les Apprehensions(107). Then again, this very diversity is the indication of an all-consuming curiosity, and the curiosity is one that does not falter even after, in the Tours years, Béroalde has found one literary form in particular which he can exploit to the full, and which ostensibly takes him in a different direction. Béroalde's last work has in its title the word "Curieux", and in it the statement is made that

Il n'y a que la science qui nous distingue des autres animaux(108).

The commonplace in Béroalde's case is attached to a life that shows a peculiar dedication to a particular concept of scientific activity, and to which the parallel would be that offered by a similarly-titled text;

> Pource qu'il me semble, l'homme ne pouuoit souhaiter ny receuoir plus grand bien, que la vraye cognoissance des choses: ie iuge heureuse & desirable la condition de celuy qui coule sa vie auec les sciences, comme en l'exercice pour lequel l'homme est bien expressément nay, & duquel sur tous les animaux il est vniquement doüé(109).

This passage from Le Premier Curieux of Pontus de Tyard has been used by the most recent writer on the subject to help delineate the concepts of sixteenth-century science and sixteenth-century scientific poetry(110). From Les Cognoissances Necessaires to De l'Ame et de ses excellences, and beyond that to Le Palais, it is precisely this persuasion which is demonstrated in the writing of Béroalde de Verville. Whatever the diversity which tends to obscure it, the scientific enthusiasm remains

constant.

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Béroalde's scientific poetry corresponds then to a continuous theme in his writing generally. It is also to be located within a tradition of scientific poetry as a whole, as we have outlined it above. Where are the points of interaction of the two? Béroalde's celebration of knowledge in Le Palais, where "scientia" appears as personal voyage of discovery, made the object of an insatiable desire and an almost sensual attachment, is very like the personal philosophy of Peletier du Mans. The parallel is one we have mentioned before, and it deserves treating more fully. Béroalde too, we might feel, might subscribe to a view of man

> ...qui an vivant tousjours dęsirę antandrę,
> E qui trouvę sans fin ou ses desirs etandrę(111).

The similarity is one that extends further. Peletier is the man of science, the mathematician, the doctor and the astrologer, but like Béroalde he speaks of himself as mathematician first, owing his allegiance to

> ...la Matematique, laquelle i'ai tousiours estimee entre les autres, comme le Soleil entre les etoiles(112).

More generally, Peletier places the same emphasis on the observed and the practical that we have already noted in the pages of Le Palais. There is a well-known passage in Le Premier Curieux in which Pontus de Tyard tells how he and Peletier demonstrated to their own satisfaction that shadows may be cast by the planet Jupiter(113). In his Louangę dę la Sciancę Peletier himself identifies the search for truth with the observation of reality;

> La Verite n'ét point, sinon dę quelquę fet:
> E nę vient nul profit, sinon dę quelquę efet(114).

These are the concerns of Béroalde also. Both Peletier and Béroalde are drawn to the same notion of personal enquiry, and enquiry often into the same subjects. Peletier is the theorist and practitioner of a new system of orthography(115), and Béroalde has the same fascination for words and for language. One of the most

recurrent themes in Le Palais is the linguistic, and Béroalde declares a fondness for etymologies(116). Further, both writers claim a similar attitude to the writing of poetry itself. Both pursue the activity of the poet as one amongst several, and neither makes it a central concern. Peletier remarks

> ...Poesie en moy n'est, Dieu mercy,
> Le meilleur don, et n'est le pire aussi...(117),

Béroalde

> ...graces à Dieu, la poësie Françoise ne me couste gueres, ie suis tousiours prest pour en faire eschaper quelque piece(118).

The resemblances may be more than coincidental. In Le Palais Béroalde claims Peletier as his friend, and singles out particularly Peletier's role as mathematician and as reformer of spelling;

> Iettant les yeux çà et là, ie voy Pelletier qui a esté le plus intelligible en demonstrations Mathematiques de tous ceux qui ont escrit, hé bien il a voulu faire l'ortographe Françoise, & le pauuret n'a pas auisé qu'il estoit Manceau, si quelqu'vn le vouloit blasmer, i'ay encor vn reste d'espée pour le deffendre, car il a esté mon amy, duquel ie puis dire la mignone inaduertance, par ce qu'il m'en a donné congé...(119)

Between Béroalde and Peletier there is a similarity of aspiration. There may also be a personal link(120). In either case, one side of Béroalde's scientific poetry refers us to the figure of the writer who is arguably the first exponent of the genre.

However, it is equally important to consider other influences. In 1583 Béroalde is also writing in the shadow of Du Bartas. With La Sepmaine the association between the cosmological poem and the theme of the praise of God has become accomplished fact, and a certain direction has been set. Like Du Bartas Béroalde is the Calvinist poet, at least at this stage, and he adopts the same general inspiration. Les Cognoissances Necessaires, with which we shall first be concerned, is like La Sepmaine a hexaemeral poem, concerned with a description of God's creation. But where Du Bartas intends to impress by bulk, with an approach in which accumulation rather than analysis is the aim, Béroalde's remains the interest in the practical aspects of knowledge, and for him passive notation

does not suffice. One of our purposes in examining the poem will be to show the way in which, with Béroalde, the scientific poem reaches a point at which active enquiry is combined with the overall objective of a celebration of God, and at which the distinct traditions represented by Peletier and Du Bartas are in some measure reconciled.

To this development there is a specifically Calvinist overtone. As we have already suggested, the scientific and the religious are aspects of a single reality so far as the scientific poem is concerned. The interpreter-poet may be as much concerned with a spiritual reality as with a material one, and indeed one of the functions of the scientific at this time is to connect the material with the spiritual. Béroalde's own religious sensibility is not in doubt, and his scientific enthusiasms are to be balanced against a sentiment such as the following, from Le Palais;

> En saine conscience il faut confesser qu'il n'y a qu'vne science, qui est de sçauoir Iesus-Christ, & iceluy crucifié, sçauoir ses commandements, mediter aux arrests de sa volonté, & esplucher dignement les commoditez de nostre salut...(pp.57-8)

But what this does not mean in Béroalde's case is an adoption of Du Bartas' position, and a sacrifice of the interests of reason to those of faith. Reason, and a closer understanding of the physical world in terms of mechanics and process, may itself have a positive part to play in the praise of God via his creation. This is the position implied by Les Cognoissances, and it may be argued that Béroalde in adopting it is closer to the spirit of Calvin himself. For it is in the Institution de la Religion Chrestienne that we may find its particular justification.

Calvin's attitude to knowledge is a distinct one. The aim evidently remains knowledge of God, as Béroalde's poem will reflect in its turn. In order that such knowledge might be attained, Calvin explains, there is both an innate sense of religion within man, and an open declaration of the majesty of God in the world at large;

> Or pource que la souveraine félicité et le but de nostre vie gist en la cognoissance de Dieu, afin que nul n'en fust forclos, non seulement il a engravé ceste semence de religion que nous avons dite

en l'esprit des hommes, mais aussi il s'est tellement manifesté à eux en ce bastiment tant beau et exquis du ciel et de la terre, et journellement s'y monstre & présente, qu'ils ne sauroyent ouvrir les yeux qu'ils ne soyent contraints de l'appercevoir(121).

This then is the programme followed by Du Bartas, but through the subordination of reason to faith. Calvin's own concept of the role of reason is in fact more nuanced. First, he has a conciliatory attitude to the knowledge of the ancients. Calvin's first enthusiasms had been humanist ones(122), and the humanist imprint remains in his later writings. It is in his attitude to pagan writers that this is most evident, when he argues that to these also a share of "vérité", in the christian sense, is not to be denied;

Pourtant quand nous voyons aux escrivains Payens ceste admirable lumiere de vérité, laquelle apparoit en leurs livres, cela nous doit admonnester que la nature de l'homme, combien qu'elle soit descheute de son intégrité et fort corrompue, ne laisse point toutesfois d'estre ornée de beaucoup de dons de Dieu. Si nous recognoissons l'esprit de Dieu comme une fontaine unique de vérité, nous ne contemnerons point la vérité partout où elle apparoistra, sinon que nous vueillions faire iniure à l'Esprit de Dieu: car les dons de l'Esprit ne se peuvent vilipender sans le contemnement et opprobre d'iceluy...(123)

Behind Calvin's tolerance of the wisdom of the ancients lies a particular conception of the nature of human reason itself. Man's reason, though for ever vitiated by the Fall, has retained some validity. Calvin's phrase is "n'a peu estre du tout esteinte" -

...c'est qu'en la nature de l'homme, quelque perverse et abastardie qu'elle soit, il y estincelle encores quelques flammettes, pour demonstrer qu'il est un animal raisonnable, et qu'il diffère d'avec les bestes brutes, entant qu'il est doué d'intelligence...(124)

Within the scriptural context itself, Calvin places a certain emphasis on the place of reason. In this way he rejoins the commonplace that it is reason which distinguishes man from the animals, a commonplace which Pontus de Tyard makes the justification of the activity of the scientist.(125) Within the Calvinist ethic there is room for a positive appraisal of the function of reason - and, by the same token, of an enthusiasm for knowledge itself.

This then is Béroalde's view in Le Palais also;

Il n'y a que la science qui nous distingue des autres animaux. Quoy tous animaux dorment, viuent, mangent, boiuent & suiuent leurs

appetits, qu'ont dauantage les hommes? Rien, s'ils ne sont dressez à quelque industrie, voyez ceux qui ne sçauent rien, ils demeurent sans estre estimez, Hommes ils sont images animees, & rien plus...(126)

Béroalde places an extreme value on knowledge as the instrument of man's dignity. But in the way in which this is related to an approach to God, it is the Calvinist parallel which emerges most clearly. Calvin evidently allows that the uneducated too may admire God through his works, and he is careful not to detract from the universality of God's presence to all men. But he specifically allows that a special level of appreciation may be possible for those actively engaged in the pursuit after knowledge -

Ie confesse bien...que ceux qui sont entendus et expers en science, ou les ont aucunement goustées, sont aidez par ce moyen et avancez pour comprendre de plus près les secrets de Dieu(127).

It is within these same terms that Béroalde presents his own justification of knowledge. We continue to quote the statement of Le Palais. Knowledge is the dignity of man, but knowledge is conceived of as having a specific role;

...Celuy qui sçait est vrayement homme, mais celuy qui sçait bien & faict que son sçauoir tend à edification, & à l'honneur de Dieu, cét homme-là demonstre qu'il est diuin, & qu'il est faict à l'Image de Dieu, c'est ce qu'il faut sçauoir & practiquer, à fin de rendre des fruicts dignes de son essence, & bien-heureux sont ceux qui participent à telle science qui les rend accomplis, & desireux de faire bien...(128)

The attitude survives to the end of Béroalde's career. In the context of late sixteenth-century scientific writing, the formula is no more than we would expect, but within it knowledge itself retains a positive value. The concept is that of a "christian science", and it is one that had been arrived at before. In 1576 the Protestant theologian Lambert Daneau had systematised Calvin's scattered remarks on the status of scientific enquiry in a Physica Christiana(129). From these Daneau extracts a definition of his subject;

Est creationis, & distinctionis totius huius mundi & partium eius, caussarum per quas talis extitit, itemque effectorum, quae inde consequuntur, vera & ad Dei opificis laudem pertinens cognitio, siue tractatio(130).

There is a link here with earlier classical definitions of "philosophia"(131), but explicit now as part of that definition is the commonplace that

knowledge of the universe leads to recognition of God. Daneau converts Calvin's ideas on science into a doctrine, and the concept of a knowledge both "vera & ad Dei opificis laudem pertinens" is one that marks Béroalde's own Cognoissances Necessaires.

Equally, however, and this is something which is reflected not only in Les Cognoissances but in Béroalde's scientific writing as a whole, it is a concept which carries its own limitation. Once more it is Calvin who makes this limit clear. The cause of the Fall, he states at one point in the Institution, is "cachée et du tout incompréhensible" in the predestination of God. To which he adds;

> Et qu'il ne nous face point de mal de submettre iusque là nostre entendement à la sagesse infinie de Dieu, qu'il luy cède en beaucoup de secrets. Car des choses qu'il n'est pas licite ne possible de savoir, l'ignorance en est docte; l'appétit de les savoir est une espèce de rage(132).

The scriptural theme of the mysteries of God, the classical theme of hubris, the Cusan theme of docta ignorantia, are further reflections of the same idea, but it is the extreme language of Calvin's warning which we shall see repeated in Béroalde's verse. Béroalde makes it the central qualification to an active and positive concept of knowledge. Indeed, it is in this sense that the "Cognoissances" of his poem are "Necessaires" - knowledge beyond a certain point is neither necessary nor knowledge at all. The religious gloss remains constant, and yet alongside it knowledge is consistently vital concept in a way that it is not for Du Bartas.

For these reasons Les Cognoissances is in our view a poem which deserves fuller attention than it has previously received. We shall be concerned to establish its relationship to the corresponding poems of Scève and Du Bartas, and to show that it takes its place within a specific tradition. But we shall be concerned also to establish its individuality, and it is here that it will be important to assess the nature of Béroalde's scientific interests and their impact upon the poem.

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Our discussion of Les Cognoissances Necessaires will lead us to a consideration of the poem that accompanies it, De l'Ame et de ses facultes. This is a work which demands separate treatment. For this Béroalde has no model, and no consistent comparison is possible. The poem takes as its subject the nature of soul, in the world at large and then in man, arranging each of its attributes in a classification inspired by the schemas of the medieval writers. What makes it more than a recapitulation of the encyclopaedias is the same fascination with mechanics and inward process which had characterised Les Cognoissances. The subject had indeed already appeared in the earlier poem, and in it Béroalde sees the essential nature of the working of the world. Through it, again following on from Les Cognoissances, he is able to analyse the whole of creation. Nor is the analysis entirely founded on the traditional categories, since in it the alchemical plays a notable part, and even becomes a category in its own right. The terms of this synthesis are unique to Béroalde, and a poet who at first appeared in the shadow of Du Bartas shows a mind working in isolation from others. Béroalde as scientific poet proposes an interpretation of reality which depends above all upon the scrutiny of inner form, and to this the concept of soul is the key.

Les Cognoissances and the first De l'Ame offer a scientific synthesis of the creation of the world and its operation. The terms of that synthesis reflect the Calvinist, the alchemist and the mathematician, and the first enthusiasms of a poet bent upon discovery. By the time we come to De l'Ame et de ses excellences, which is the subject of the third and final part of the thesis, there is a noticeable evolution. The point of reference again is soul, but the emphasis has changed. The poet is now concerned with the soul of man alone, as before intellective soul had been the culmination of the first De l'Ame. The intention, however, is no longer a description of its faculties, but rather a programme for

their use. The guiding concern of the poem, and the movement is paralleled in other aspects of Béroalde's writing at the time, has shifted from a natural to a moral philosophy.

In De l'Ame et de ses excellences the scientific becomes an ethic, where before it had been presented as a purely personal value. Béroalde now identifies the search after knowledge with right conduct. But the link with the explorations of Les Cognoissances is a continuous one, and indeed with the enthusiasms of Peletier before that. This second De l'Ame is published ten years after the first, and one factor in the evolution of thought it presents is the nature of Béroalde's experiences in the intervening period, especially his apparent involvement in the Wars of Religion(133). Béroalde, like other writers, is distressed at the spectacle of France torn apart by civil war, but it is revealing that he should look for a solution in the proper exercise of knowledge. This is a time when neo-stoic doctrines of fortitude and constancy are enjoying a revival of popularity, and we shall show that Béroalde plays his own small part in that revival. What is particular to his case is that a stress on the right role of reason is the echo and development of an earlier attitude to "scientia" and its use.

An increasing interest in moral philosophy coincides with a more marked involvement with ideas reminiscent of those of Montaigne, and this too has its part in the poem. The parallel is already apparent in the preface to Les Apprehensions Spirituelles of 1583. Through Béroalde, Montaigne's "ignorance" and declared attitude to the writing of the Essais take their place within the vocabulary of the scientific writer;

> ...car ie ne me veux vanter que de mon ignorance, que ie confesseray librement, & sur tout à ceux qui par la force d'vn sain iugement estimeront que c'est que de sçauoir, aussi ce que i'escry, n'est point pour enseigner, comme docte, ains pour communiquer mes iustes opinions & establir vn moyen en ce qui en ceste matiere, peut estre dit verité(134).

Béroalde is not Montaigne, but we may wonder if he is not aware of his example. The outward similarities between Le Palais des Curieux

and Les Essais are striking. Whether the question is one of alchemy, medecine or etymology, Béroalde prefers his own judgment, and this leads him to make light both of reputations(135) and of prejudice(136). Like Montaigne, he has a constant inclination to go beyond surface appearance, to discover inner meaning and question motive(137). More like Montaigne still, he consciously states that the only principle of organization in Le Palais is "le hazard du discours"(138), and that self-indulgence is his only motive in writing(139). A whole series of statements recalls Montaigne's self-deprecating stance in the Essais(140). Indeed, in his aspiration to knowledge Béroalde seems to have applied to himself part of the programme of De l'Institution des Enfants, where Montaigne insists that

> à cet apprentissage, tout ce qui se presente à nos yeux sert de livre suffisant...A cette cause, le commerce des hommes y est merveilleusement propre, et la visite des pays estrangers...pour en rapporter principalement les humeurs de ces nations et leurs façons, et pour frotter et limer nostre cervelle contre celle d'autruy(141).

Apart from his years in Geneva, we have no evidence that Béroalde travels, but his attitude to the men that he meets would appear from Le Palais to be very like Montaigne's prescription for the formation of "jugement";

> ...Et bien ce sont traicts de mesnage, s'ils sont declarez par d'autres, tant mieux, tous n'ont pas tous les liures, ie ne l'ay leu que dans le grand liure du monde, dont plusieurs fueillets sont les paroles & actions des personnes auec lesquelles i'ay conuersé pour tousiours apprendre(142).

With De l'Ame et de ses excellences Béroalde makes a personal philosophy a general one, and knowledge and wisdom become the way to virtue and to the good life. In the process his thought in more than one point matches that of Montaigne, as like his more famous contemporary he comes to propose a specific aim. This De l'Ame provides the moral commentary to the two long scientific poems that had gone before it, and with a consideration of it we may reasonably feel that our enquiry into the main scientific and religious aspects of the poetry of Béroalde is complete.

*

Two further points remain. Firstly, although we have given some incidental biographical detail where it is helpful to the understanding of the poetry itself, we have decided that it is unnecessary to burden an already lengthy thesis with a biography of Béroalde as such, not even in the form of an appendix. Our own researches have not significantly modified Saulnier's in this respect. We have contented ourselves with drawing attention to those one or two points where we would differ. Secondly, we have been conscious throughout our work on Béroalde that this is not only scientific writing but is in fact scientific poetry, and we taken note of the poetic element as and when it has been necessary to do so in the course of the thesis. In the process some recurrent themes emerge, but we have thought it adequate to summarise these in general terms in our conclusion, in the hope that by so doing we shall have avoided any unnecessary repetition.

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PART I

LES COGNOISSANCES NECESSAIRES

CHAPTER I

MACROCOSM - GOD, NATURE AND CREATION

Les Cognoissances Necessaires is a poem about the activity of God in the world, and it is in the spectacle of creation that it takes its starting-point. The theme is not a new one in poetry, and we shall set out to demonstrate the specific relationship between Béroalde's poem and those of Scève and Du Bartas, which have an obviously similar choice of subject. Through this we hope the individuality of Béroalde's own work might emerge.

For the young poet writing in 1583 the daunting precedent is that of Du Bartas' Sepmaine, and nowhere is this more apparent than in the very opening lines to Béroalde's poem. Albert-Marie Schmidt is surely right when in his article "La doctrine de la science et la théologie calviniste au XVIe siècle" he argues "critiquer la pensée de Ronsard ou de Du Bartas: tâche aisée; secouer leur influence poétique: entreprise difficile"(1). Les Cognoissances is clearly in the shadow of La Sepmaine with these lines -

> Eternel qui conduis des voutes etherees
> Selon ta volonté les peines mesurees,
> Les vagues de la Mer, & tiens sous ton pouuoir
> Tout ce que l'vniuers nous cache ou nous fait voir:
> Pere qui as en main les vens & le tonnerre,
> Les arcs boutans du ciel, les piliers de la terre....(2)

Not only the theme but the elements of the picture are shared with the introduction to the Du Bartas epic;

> Toy qui guides le cours du ciel porte-flambeaux,
> Qui, vray Neptune, tiens le moite frein des eaux,
> Qui fais trembler la terre, & de qui la parole
> Serre & lasche la bride aux postillons d'AEole...(3)

Both invocations stress the cosmic role of God in the maintenance of creation, and in each case the reader is prepared for an account in which religious inspiration is paramount. Yet, although the theme is the same, the sensibility is different. Du Bartas' declamatory "Toy" is for Béroalde a

more deferential "Eternel"; a mixture of mythology and metaphor in "Qui, vray Neptune, tiens le moite frein des eaux" becomes an unmysterious "qui conduis... les vagues de la Mer"; the grandiose image of "de qui la parole / Serre & lasche la bride aux postillons d'AEole" disappears in a neutral "Pere qui as en main les vens...". In Le Palais des Curieux Béroalde has in fact his own spirited commentary to make on this last expression. There he speaks of the "faute" made by this "grand Poëte", "contre qui ceux qui escriront se froisseront" -

> ...cette figure que ie n'entends point encor est en ce vers,
> Serre et lasche la bride aux Postillons d'Eole...
> Ie n'ay iamais ouy que les Postillons fussent bridez, si ce n'est de bon vin par plaisir. On m'a dit qu'il auoit mis Courselots pour Postillons, & que le Compositeur n'entendant pas ce terme, mit Postillons luy estant aduis qu'il le lisoit entre quelques effaceures: Le commentateur deuoit y prendre garde, mais il escrit beaucoup de choses qu'il n'entend pas(4).

Even without this, however, we might see that Béroalde's version is more sober, more measured, and altogether less flamboyant than Du Bartas'. His deity does not become some sort of celestial charioteer, but presides over a universe characterised by order and an architectural coherence.

With these few lines, then, we can already note the emergence of three distinct elements which will help to guide our enquiry. First, Béroalde appears to be making a conscious choice of style, but to the style there corresponds an interpretation of the subject. From the beginning creation is presented not only as moment in the past, but as continuing state in the present. This state in its turn is characterised in terms of stability and of order. These two themes will be basic to the development of the poem. Both take their place here as part of an invocation to God which is itself a definition of approach on the part of the poet. Béroalde is true here to the sentiment of the dedication to Les Apprehensions Spirituelles -

> ...ce que i'escry, n'est point pour enseigner, comme docte, ains pour communiquer mes iustes opinions & establir vn moyen en ce qui en ceste matiere, peut estre dit verité(5).

The point of view is quite distinct from that of La Sepmaine, in which from the first Du Bartas sounds the note of didacticism wedded to eloquence;

> O Pere, donne-moy que d'vne voix faconde
> Ie chante à nos neueux la naissance du monde.
> O grand Dieu, donne moy que i'estale en mes vers
> Les plus rares beautez de ce grand vniuers.

Donne moy qu'en son front ta puissance ie lise:
Et qu'enseignant autruy moy-mesme ie m'instruise(6)

The ideas of the poet as spokesman for God's role in creation, and of the poet's own desire to learn, remain in the corresponding lines from Les Cognoissances. But the implications are transformed - from poem as showcase to poem as introverted exploration;

Eternel...
Qui as saint & parfaict la grace & les douceurs
De la belle science auouee aux neuf soeurs,
Souuerain, immortel, suffisant, inuisible,
Dieu qui gouuernes tout à qui tout est possible,
Qui prestes quand tu veux, & quand tu veux retiens
Les discours, le sçauoir, le courage, les biens,
Vueilles que d'vn saint vers que ie voue à ta gloire,
Ie chante de tes faicts la sacree memoire,
Me donnant ton esprit qui face qu'aisément
Ie les puisse comprendre en mon entendement;
Car ie veux inspiré de ta grace diuine
Monstrer de quel brasier s'eschauffe ma poitrine,
Ie veux d'vn braue accent grauement entonner
Ce qu'en l'ordre d'icy as voulu ordonner(7).

We are reminded that Béroalde's poem follows on three decades of extraordinary poetic activity, and the language of the Pléiade has left its mark on these lines. The paraphrase for the gift of poetry is the survival of an erudition which by 1583 has become a commonplace, and Béroalde is clearly aware of other precedents for his venture beside that of Du Bartas. The last four lines of our quotation give their own version of Ronsard's famous invocation in L'Hymne de l'Eternité(8).

The accent, however, has passed from Orphic enthusiasm to christian aspiration, and the poet speaks of divine inspiration not as a literary flourish, but in the proper context of grace. This is a christian, and specifically a Calvinist, poem, and it is in Calvin, after St. Augustine, that the doctrine of grace is particularly prominent -

...c'est qu'il (l'homme) ne se peut convertir à Dieu, ne persister en Dieu, sinon de sa grâce; et que tout ce qu'il peut, c'est d'icelle(9).

The Calvinist influence is a continuous one in Les Cognoissances, and a fourth major element that must figure in any analysis of the poem. But then Du Bartas' is a Calvinist poem also. We shall be concerned to show that Béroalde operates within the same canon as Du Bartas, but that the end result is very different.

The emphasis is transferred from an "enseignant autruy, moy-mesme ie m'instruise" to "Ie les puisse comprendre en mon entendement", from didacticism to an effort in comprehension. Both poets are prompted by the Calvinist portrayal of God in charge of the cosmos;

> Parquoy que ceci soit premièrement bien résolu: c'est que quand on parle de la providence de Dieu, ce mot ne signifie pas qu'estant oisif au ciel il spécule ce qui se fait en terre, mais plustost qu'il est comme un patron de navire qui tient le gouvernail pour adresser tous événemens(10).

The presentation of this theme in Les Cognoissances, however, and the invocation that accompanies it, shows a marked individuality both of style and of content. We shall see the extent to which this choice of a style will continue to match the subject. Here already there is a noticeable reaction against Du Bartas' "voix faconde" and its material "les plus rares beautez de ce grand vniuers". Again there is a plausible link with a Calvinist tradition, but this time one that Du Bartas chose to ignore. Lambert Daneau's Physica Christiana is a Calvinist definition of science(11), and in it we find the specific recommendation that scientific writing should be simple and sober, free of ornament;

> Fateor equidem a Mose, quanquam omnium qui vnquam vixerunt mortalium doctissimo, res Physicas non ακρωαματικῷ, id est, calamistrato, & ampulloso quodam stylo descriptas, sed nudo & simplici, & ornatu omni, tanquam veste spoliato, quo facilius posset quiuis percipere quae ipse scribebat...Ergo simpliciter quidem, sed vere: nude, sed recte: populariter, sed syncere tradit quae sunt nobis de mundo, eius partibus praecipuis, rerum caussis & effectis credenda, tenenda, & docenda inter homines(12).

Having placed his poem within the same broad framework as that of La Sepmaine, Béroalde develops preoccupations that are individual to him. If the scope remains universal, the aim now is explanation and analysis;

> Ie recherche de tout la forme interieure,
> La matiere du monde & de ce qui demeure
> Dessous l'enclos du ciel, & les iustes accords
> Qui tiennent les espris arrestés à leurs corps,
> Et volant bien heureux de l'vn à l'autre pole
> Poussé d'vn beau desir sur l'air de ma parole
> Ie me guinde à ce rien duquel l'eternité
> A tiré l'existant de ce corps limité.
> Ie monte, ie descens, et d'vne ame rauie
> Ie cherche tels secrés, sans peine & sans enuie,
> Et aux opinions n'estant point arresté,
> De nature ie dis selon la verité(13).

The enthusiasms that we have noted in Les Apprehensions and Le Palais des Curieux are equally the guide of Les Cognoissances. Béroalde shifts the

accent to enquiry, and the aspiration becomes a personal one. The overriding impression is not that of a predefined programme, but of an intoxication with the process of knowledge itself, and with the realisation of a "beau desir". The emotion is dynamic, the verbs - "volant", "poussé", "me guinde", "monte", "descens" - verbs of movement. The poetry is built on a tension between the alliterative heaviness of "La matiere du monde & de ce qui demeure" and the elation of

> ...volant bien heureux de l'vn à l'autre pole
> Poussé d'vn beau desir sur l'air de ma parole
> Ie me guinde à ce rien...

with its emphasis on the adjective in the first line, and its own balanced alliteration in the second. More generally, the nature of this movement, and the vocabulary through which it is expressed, is one that recalls the poetry of Peletier du Mans. Peletier is the great exponent of scientific enthusiasm in verse, and a good measure of his aspirations return in the poetry of Béroalde. Here Béroalde's "bien heureux", " d'vn beau desir", "d'vne ame rauie" directly recall the emotion of Peletier's

> Celuy qui a l'ame ravie
> Par les Cieux va et passe,
> Et souvent voit durant' sa vie
> D'en hault la terre basse(14).

Through his poetry Peletier expresses the notion of spiritual release made possible through the pursuit of knowledge, and Béroalde in Les Cognoissances announces the same aspiration. The difference is that the model for Béroalde's poem is the one established by Du Bartas, and that this expression of scientific enthusiasm operates within the defined framework of the praise of God through creation. This is a specific purpose, and it imposes its own limit on the poem from the beginning. Calvinism, with its doctrine of the validity of human knowledge, imposes another. But Béroalde's poem, concerning itself with what would be thought of as the legitimate domain of knowledge, retains an emphasis on enquiry, enquiry which leads to analysis rather than description. In Calvinist terms, and indeed in terms of religious poetry generally, this definition of the subject, and this subordination of the poet to an overall purpose, is an inevitable one. But it is this particularity of emphasis which produces a poem quite

different in spirit from that of Du Bartas. Du Bartas sees the universe as a storehouse to be catalogued, and this leads him to emphasise the outward and the superficial, with a further emphasis on the extraordinary. Béroalde's elation, on the other hand, takes him towards the interior and the hidden, "la forme interieure".

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These characteristics are gradually revealed in the course of the poem. The reader is immediately introduced to a God who is active governor of the universe, and a dual emphasis on the role of God in the maintenance of the world and his role in its creation continues. The presence of God in the world is immediately evoked in terms of order -

> Ce qu'en l'ordre d'icy as voulu ordonner.

It is with this idea of order that Béroalde will associate the continuing influence of God. It is through order that God becomes observable in the created world, and of course order is a concept amenable to scientific observation.

It is to the theme of God in creation that Béroalde first turns. Immediately the question of the influence of Du Bartas arises once more. This is the evocation in Les Cognoissances of the sufficiency of God before creation;

> Seulement tout estoit en la Diuinité,
> Et rien n'estoit fors Dieu qui par l'eternité
> Soy mesme en soy viuant, comme il est & peut estre,
> Suffisant, immortel, et parfait en son estre,
> Tel qu'il estoit desia, car sans changer il est
> Pour estre ce qu'il fut & cela qu'il luy plaist(15).

This is very much the same presentation as that of Du Bartas -

> Or donc, auant tout temps, matiere, forme & lieu,
> Dieu tout en tout estoit, & tout estoit en Dieu.
> Incompris, infini, immuable, impassible,
> Tout-esprit, tout-lumiere, immortel, inuisible.
> Pur, sage, iustę & bon, Dieu seul regnoit en paix:
> Dieu de soy-mesme estoit & l'hoste & le palais(16).

But by 1583 such a definition is a commonplace of the cosmological poem. The invocation to the pagan Muse becomes a cosmic invocation, of which the prototype is Ronsard's tribute in the Hymne de l'Eternité (itself a development of Marullus) -

> Tu es toute dans toy, ta partie, & ton tout,
> Sans nul commencement, sans meillieu, ne sans bout,
> Invincible, immuable, entiere & toute ronde,
> N'ayant partie en toy, qui dans toy ne responde,
> Toute commencement, toute fin, tout meillieu,
> Sans tenir aucun lieu, de toutes choses lieu,
> Qui fais ta deité du tout par tout estandre,
> Qu'on imagine bien, & qu'on ne peult comprendre(17).

Here in the guise of Eternity are the attributes of God - infinity in time and space, immutability, self-sufficiency, incomprehensibility. With Scève's Microcosme of 1562 these same qualities are applied to an evocation of God before the time of creation, and Scève's poem is an obvious precedent for both Du Bartas and Béroalde(18). One might point also to Lefèvre de la Boderie's La Galliade(19). But we are dealing very much in terms of a traditional definition. St.Paul had written "ex ipso, et per ipsum, et in ipso sunt omnia"(20), and Augustine and Aquinas both develop the theme(21). To trace the theme in sixteenth century cosmological poetry would be to follow the skein of a commonplace, and in the case of Béroalde as in the case of others it would be misplaced to talk in terms of any precise source.

However, it is relevant to observe that the tradition is one sanctioned by Calvin in particular. Calvin speaks in the Institution of God "tousiours semblable à soy-mesme"(22), and as of one to whom "il n'y a rien plus propre ...que son éternité et avoir estre de soy-mesme"(23). Béroalde in his turn is particularly anxious to stress the perfection and omnipotence of God(24), and uses this to give a further resonance to the Pauline theme of incomprehensibility. The element that is emphasised is that of the tension between human and divine;

> Certes comme Dieu est d'infinie puissance,
> Sa grandeur passe aussi toute force & science,
> Et ne peut on trouuer tant cét abisme est creux,
> L'estat de la raison de ses faicts merueilleux...(25)

> ...Mais ce qui nous benit ou tresiuste nous tence,
> Ne suit d'vn mouuement la sensible cadence,
> Et ne pouuons iuger de tels euenemens,
> Car les faits du seigneur sont sans nos iugemens...(26)

What is implicit in these lines, and of central importance to the poem as a whole, is an attitude to the whole question of knowledge itself. The gloss now is specifically the Calvinist one -

> ...des choses qu'il n'est pas licite de savoir, l'ignorance en est

docte; l'appétit de les savoir est une espèce de rage(27).

Given this, the Calvinist parallel generally takes on an extra significance. It becomes probable rather than possible that Calvinist theology is Béroalde's inspiration, and this in spite of the very general nature of the themes he treats. The poem refers to the goodness of God as the motive of creation -

> Adonc par sa bonté Dieu de son tout tira,
> Ce qu'en vn mesme instant second il prepara,
> Pour estre de ce monde vne belle matiere
> Qui parfait en son tout existat la premiere(28).

This has echoes in Platonism, in the mysticism of the pseudo-Dionysius, and in a whole current of patristic and scholastic thought(29). But we need look no further than the Institution;

> ...Au reste, si on s'enquiert de la cause qui l'a esmeu à créer toutes choses du commencement, et que l'induit à conserver toute chose en son estat, on ne trouvera que sa seule bonté...(30).

Similarly, Béroalde stresses the primacy of God's will in creation -

> Et Dieu remply de soy en son heureuse essence,
> N'auoit encor formé la seconde substance
> Des corps inferieurs, que lors qu'il le voulut
> Il fit de rien ce tout estre ce qu'il luy plut...(31)

Again, an ultimate source may be found in patristic writing. St.Augustine establishes the doctrine that the divine will determines creation(32), and the idea is repeated by medieval theologians(33). But a potentially closer reflection of Béroalde's ideas than St.Augustine is Calvin's digestion of St.Augustine;

> Sainct Augustin se plaind aussi à bon droit qu'on fait iniure à Dieu, cherchant cause de ses oeuvres, laquelle soit supérieure à sa volonté(34).

Further, Béroalde equates necessity with God -

> ...Et sa necessité est le point necessaire
> De ce qui assemblé par nature est à faire,
> Et non premiere loy aussi n'y a il lieu,
> Pour tell' necessité: car tout despend de Dieu(35).

Here once more, the doctrine is Calvinist as well as Augustinian;

> Ie ne doute point donc de simplement confesser avec sainct Augustin, que la volonté de Dieu est la nécessité de toutes choses, et qu'il faut nécessairement que ce qu'il a ordonné et voulu advienne, comme tout ce qu'il a préveu adviendra certainement(36).

These observations reinforce at one level the similarity with Du Bartas. Du Bartas' too is a Calvinist conception of the deity. But the vision in

Du Bartas' poem is one of breadth, the framework the sweeping one of the seven days of creation. Béroalde's is rather that of depth, where the vertical rather than the horizontal section of God's action in the universe. God here is not the cosmic workman contemplating his creation, but the principle immanent within it. The notion is again a commonplace of theology, given its classic expression by Aquinas -

> Deus est in omnibus rebus, non quidem sicut pars essentiae, vel sicut accidens, sed sicut agens adest ei in quod agit(37).

The reiteration of the idea may again be found in Calvin - "(Dieu) est par tout et remplist toutes choses"(38). It is one that has its reflection in La Sepmaine;

> Dieu est l'ame, le nerf, la vie, l'efficace,
> Qui anime, qui meut, qui soustient ceste masse.
> Dieu est le grand ressort, qui fait de ce grand corps
> Iouer diuersement tous les petis ressorts
> Dieu est ce fort Athlas dont l'impitoyable eschine
> Soustient la pesanteur de l'astree machine(39).

Even here, however, the parallelisms pile one upon another in a manner that is characteristic of the poet, and the images for the internal mingle disconcertingly with one that has an obvious emphasis on external aspect. Du Bartas cannot resist the grandiloquent image, any more than he resists the grandiloquent style generally. The immanent is sacrificed to the explicit. Expressing what is nominally the same idea, Béroalde's verse is based on a movement towards the interior, through an image that is both theological and philosophical. God is present in the created world

> ...Mettant vn ordre vray qui d'enhaut continue
> Iusqu'au centre en la part qui ne chet sous la veue
> Et qui petite atome, abaissee au millieu
> Sent aussi bien que tout, la main d'vn mesme Dieu(40).

This is evidently much more unified than Du Bartas' image. But this is a presentation which is literally anti-visual, and which is concerned instead with the analytic. It centres upon one idea, that of order. God is central to Les Cognoissances not only as a theological but as a scientific necessity. The classical and medieval commonplace of the chain of being(41), symbol of hierarchical order, becomes the symbol above all of unifying order. It is in God that this concept of unity is vested, and it is God who is guarantor of order. But in this way order comes to have a double aspect,

as it is also a scientific representation of reality. Béroalde has a proper interest in the structure of things which Du Bartas does not, and it is this which he brings to the theme of providential design. The vision is scientific, but the interpretation is that of the Gospel. It is Calvin once more who provides the theological commentary;

> ...Or la foy doit bien passer outre, c'est de recognoistre pour gouverneur et gardien perpétuel celuy qu'elle a cognu estre créateur, et non pas seulement en ce qu'il conduit la machine du monde et toutes ses parties d'un mouvement universel, mais en soustenant, nourrissant et soignant chacune créature, iusques aux petis oiselets(42).

Alternatively, we may turn our formula upon its head; this is as much an interpretation of scientific activity as an interpretation of theological truth. In this sense the link is again with the poetry of Peletier, Peletier for whom "Les Mathematiques" are the science "par qui mieux s'apprenne / L'immense Deité"(43).

God as both creator and continuator is seen to function in terms of order. But what of the status of Nature? For it is to Nature that the responsibility of maintaining creation is normally ascribed. The commonplace is that of Le Roman de la Rose;

> Nul autre droit je n'i reclaime,
> ains le merci quant il tant m'aime
> que si tres povre damoisele,
> an si grant meson et si bele,
> il, si grant sires, tant me prise
> qu'il m'a por chamberiere prise.
> Por chamberiere? certes vaire
> por connetable et por vicaire,
> don je ne fusse mie digne,
> for par sa volanté benigne...(44)

This view of Nature as God's deputy in the created world is the one that carries over into the well-known lines from Ronsard's Hymne de l'Eternité -

> Bien loing derriere toy, mais bien loing par derriere,
> La Nature te suit, Nature bonne mere,
> D'un baston appuyée...(45)

Du Bartas in his turn retains the image;

> Dieu ne fit seulement vnique la nature:
> Ains il la fit bornee & d'aage, & de figure,
> Voulant que l'estre seul de sa Diuinité
> Se vid tousiours exempt de toute quantité(46).

In each of these three the visual element remains strong, and it is clear that this concept of Nature has a tradition as an image as well as an idea.

Béroalde accepts the latter while rejecting the former, and with the disappearance of the image nature is more nearly assimilated to the ordering role in creation of God himself. A definition from Béroalde's Recherches de la pierre philosophale helps here to explain the thought underlying the poem. The reference is to

> ...vn saint desir de cognoistre les merueilles que le Souuerain a mises en ce que nous disons nature, qui est son vouloir, besongnant continuellement au Monde(47).

Likewise in Les Cognoissances the idea of nature loses individuality, as the poet speaks of

> ...la loy d'icy que nous disons nature,
> En laquelle Dieu met la force qui la tient
> Auec l'eternité, qui tousiours la maintient(48).

All that remains of the image is the data which would be its explanation;

> Non pas que la nature ait ainsi qu'Eternelle,
> La force de durer & se changer en elle:
> Mais son estat s'arreste ou l'eternité fait
> Qu'au lieu où il luy plaist paroisse son effait.

For Béroalde, then, nature is the manifestation of God in the world. He is careful only to deny nature the attributes of divinity, as the question of subservience becomes a matter of definition rather than of imagery. The thought again is close to that of Calvin, who in the same way is prepared to bring together the concepts of God and of nature, so long as the obvious proviso is met;

> Ie confesse bien sainement que Dieu est nature, moyennant qu'on le dise en révérence et d'un coeur pur, mais pource que c'est une locution dure et impropre, veu que plustost nature est un ordre estably de Dieu, c'est une chose mauvaise et pernicieuse en choses si grandes, et où on doit procéder en toute sobriété, d'enveloper la maiesté de Dieu avec le cours inférieur de ses oeuvres(49).

Béroalde accepts the Calvinist definition, and within it makes nature the subject of his poem. The concern with cause and "la forme interieure" is to be expressed through an enquiry into the order which is nature, and which through nature is God;

> Voyons donque nature en qui la cause existe
> De ce que cognoissons de l'ordonnance escrite
> En la loy d'icy bas...(50)

But there is a further important qualification, which affects the evolution of the poem as a whole. Béroalde thinks of the distinction between God and

nature partly at least in spatial terms -

> Mais son estat s'arreste ou l'eternité fait
> Qu'au lieu où il luy plaist paroisse son effait.

The sphere of nature now appears as "icy-bas", that part of the universe inhabited by man. Béroalde shows little interest in the astronomical or the meteorological, but what does interest him is an absolute distinction between the this-worldly and the other-worldly, between the mortal and the divine. Such a tension underlies a great deal of what is said, and with it we return to a purely religious consideration. Nature is in one sense the interpreter of God to men, a means by which the imperfect may catch a glimpse of the perfect. At the same time the idea of nature, through its identification with order, serves to define, and God may be seen to work within a scientifically observable pattern. In the words of the poem,

> ...la loy d'icy bas, dont les effaits certains
> Nous monstrent du grand Dieu les admirables mains,
> Qui font, refont, defont, non point par auanture,
> Mais par l'ordre & le pois establis en nature.

It is the idea of the random, of the uncontrolled, of the uncertain, which is represented as the danger and the threat. Béroalde's co-religionary and childhood companion Agrippa d'Aubigné paints in Les Tragiques a vivid picture of "le monde à l'envers", a world where all accepted values are overthrown and where civic and social order is thrown into disarray(51). In Les Cognoissances that same order is shown rooted in a scientific and religious reality. It becomes internal principle, as the stress passes to a God working from within creation. Harmony is the essential of this nature

> Qui du ciel iusqu'à bas mesuree tousiours,
> Comme Dieu le vouldra continura son cours.

This then is Béroalde's working definition. However, he is clearly uneasy about any suggestion it may give that God is in some way being identified with nature, for he chooses to follow it with a curiously detailed passage in which he insists yet further that nature is limited both in power and in space. Nature is the domain of the scientist, and this is the whole of the created world, and yet the emphasis, strangely enough, is on a concept that is as exclusive as it is inclusive -

Tout cela que le ciel contraint ou enuironne,
Et que des elemens le melange nous donne,
Est nature qui a par l'vniuers pouuoir,
Suyuant du suffisant, le persistant vouloir:
C'est ce qui sous le ciel d'vne heureuse ordonnance,
Les obiets eslongnez met en nostre presence,
Et ne disons rien tel, que ce qui est compris
Sous les ronds esleués du celeste lambris(52).

The picture is that of the medieval walled-in universe, as Ronsard had already portrayed it in his Hymne du Ciel(53). The theories of Copernicus make very little impact in the sixteenth century, and Bruno is burnt at the stake;(54) Béroalde's world, like that of virtually all his contemporaries, is a finite world. But in Les Cognoissances this is more specially emphasised in terms of a division between God and creation. The latter is a legitimate subject for enquiry, while the former is not. This in itself is the justification for the activity of the scientist, seen by Béroalde in combination with a scrupulous respect for the omnipotence of God. There is nothing here of Du Bartas' rejection of reason in favour of faith(55), but instead the two are reconciled.

Nature has to be defined in terms of the cosmic role which the scientist may explore, and Béroalde is insistent that other uses of the term are to be put aside -

Il est vray que souuent nous appellons nature
Ce qui est fait icy par sa iuste mesure
Et quelques fois aussi nature nous disons,
Nos desirs, nostre instinct, nos inclinations,
Souuantefois aussi nous prenons la naissance,
Pour l'effait qui contraint en nous nostre substance...

This is rather different from a simple survey of the different meanings of the word, which might be paralleled elsewhere(56). Its point is an insistence on a proper definition -

Nature cependant & la necessité
De ce qui sous les cieux d'vn ordre limité,
Nous dispose, nous fait, nous garde, nous fait naistre,
Et ce qu'on peut ça bas par raisons recognoistre,
Sont les iustes accords qui par leurs changemens
Pour tant de beaux suiets muent les elemens,
Et qui prennent du leur ce qui est necessaire;
Par le temps, par le pois, par le lieu, peuuent faire
Surionner les obiects des eternels patrons,
Ou ils contraignent tout par leurs proportions...(57)

Through nature viewed in this sense the continuing process of creation, the interchange of the elements, may be observed. Nature, within its

clearly defined sphere, legitimatises the role of reason. Béroalde circumscribes both concepts, and in so doing guarantees their validity. There is never any doubt over the relative status of God and nature, of human knowledge and celestial wisdom. Béroalde makes it very clear that the chain of necessity stops at God, and that God is the true originator of all that may be observed in the realm of nature;

> Car nature est l'effait de la parole sainte,
> Du puissant eternel qui iuste non contrainte,
> Mesle les elemens, les nourrit, les maintient,
> Par qui tout second corps en apparence vient,
> Et sa necessité est le point necessaire
> De ce qui assemblé par nature est à faire,
> Et non premiere loy aussi n'y a il lieu,
> Pour tell'necessité: car tout despend de Dieu(58).

Nonetheless, nature is shown to have its specific role, and to be the proper object of Les Cognoissances. The scientific finds its legitimate place within a religious, and indeed Calvinist, ethic.

*

How do these considerations find expression in the account of creation which the poem presents? First, such an account is almost inevitably biblical in inspiration. While in sixteenth century cosmological poetry we are constantly reminded of the classical depictions of chaos and creation, notably those of Ovid and Lucretius(59), Béroalde is specifically concerned with praise of God, and it is the book of Genesis which provides the obvious framework. Like Scève and Du Bartas before him, Béroalde puts before his readers the Mosaic account of creation. It remains that there are significant differences between each.

The account of creation in the Microcosme is episodic. It serves as an introduction, over some one hundred lines, to the creation of man, and it is with man and his progress that the rest of the poem is concerned. The Sepmaine, in contrast, gives each part of the creation story equal weight. It is the echo in verse of creation in act, and in terms of the structure and the length of the poem alike the parallel is consciously maintained. The account of the creation of the inanimate world in particular extends with its digressions midway into the

Troisiesme Iour, and over some 2400 lines of the poem. Within that space there are many set-piece descriptions of particular aspects of creation, and simple demonstrations of poetic virtuosity are in themselves an important part of the poem. The individuality of Les Cognoissances is best shown by a more detailed comparison with each of these two more famous precedents.

Before the act of creation itself creation is immanent in God. In the words of Du Bartas,

> Or donc, auant tout temps, matiere, forme & lieu,
> Dieu tout en tout estoit, & tout estoit en Dieu...(60)

The gloss is on the biblical In principio, and Du Bartas follows closely the Hexaemeron of St.Ambrose;

> Unde divino spiritu praevidens sanctus Moyses hos hominum errores fore, et forte jam coepisse, in exordio sermonis sui sic ait, In principio fecit Deus coelum et terram (Gen. I i): initium rerum, auctorem mundi, creationem materiae comprehendens : ut Deum cognoscere ante initium mundi esse, vel ipsum esse initium universorum...(61)

But in terms of poetry Du Bartas' interests centre on the pictural and the polemic, and after this reference he chooses to embark upon an extended invective against those who would question the nature of God's activity before creation. Calvin had dealt with the same point(62), and indeed it is implicit in St. Ambrose' commentary. But Du Bartas' version shows a particular poetic temperament, a predilection for the declamatory;

> Prophane, qui t'enquiers, quel important afaire
> Peut l'esprit & les mains de ce Dieu solitaire
> Occuper si long temps? quel souci l'exerça
> Durant l'eternité qui ce Tout deuança:
> Veu qu'à si grand'puissance, à si haute sagesse
> Rien ne sied point si mal qu'vne morne paresse?
> Sache, ô blasphemateur, qu'auant cest Vniuers
> Dieu bastissoit l'Enfer, pour punir ces peruers
> Dont le sens orgueilleux en iugement appelle,
> Pour censurer ses faits, la Sagesse eternelle(63).

The whole of the opening of the Sepmaine is in fact devoted to a manifesto for the poem, expressed through highly florid metaphor, and the cosmological aspect proper of the subject is reached only after some two hundred lines. The subject then is a highly mannered depiction of the primitive chaos(64). The contrast is a marked one with the Microcosme

of Scève, where with a much greater economy of means the poet concentrates upon the potentiality of creation in God. Staub has shown how this is achieved partly through terms of philosophical and theological definition(65), but equally important is reference forward to an as yet unformed cosmos;

> ...Bien que jusqu'adonq n'eust de son doigt precieux
> L'un sur l'autre courbé, et voutoyé les cieux
> Non assés estendus pour sa grandeur comprendre
> Et toutefois prevus pour tels leur ordre estendre(66).

Here, in quite contrary fashion to Du Bartas, the theme is anti-pictural. When it comes to the creation account proper, it is this presentation, and not that of Du Bartas, which Béroalde takes up. There is the same use of negative for positive, and the same almost hermetic quality to the verse;

> Le temps n'auoit encor d'vne suite arrestée
> Ramené plusieurs ans dont la fin limitée
> Fut nombre à sa grandeur, & les cieux n'auoient pas,
> Existants quelque part sous vn iuste compas,
> Enuironné le tour dont l'egale ordonnance
> Du grand Dieu termina la nombreuse cadence.
> Seulement tout estoit en la Diuinité...(67).

Within his enthusiasm for the praise of God Béroalde sees the universe as a mathematician, and this emphasis on number, harmony, measure and cadence is perhaps what we might have expected had Peletier ever written a similar account. It is certainly quite distinct from that of Du Bartas. Might Béroalde be thinking of the creation account of the Timaeus? The mathematical gloss is very much that of Plato(68), and a few lines later there is an even more obvious Platonic echo, as the poet alludes to the nothingness that precedes creation;

> Rien n'existoit encor, & des choses crees (sic)
> Les corps n'auoient vestu les fatales Idees,
> Et le monde non monde encor n'aparoissoit...

Before we make Béroalde a Platonist, however, we are bound to reflect that by the 1580's Platonism is no longer the intellectual force it was earlier in the century(69), and that in the metaphysical context as in others the impact of Platonic terms has been considerably diluted(70). Béroalde employs the vocabulary of Platonism, but in the service of a different ideal. Here the suggestion that an archetype is involved in creation is one that could have come from a purely theological tradition. It is an

integral part of the scholastic distich on the causes of creation -

> Efficiens causa Deus est, formalis idea,
> Finalis bonitas, materialis hyle(71).

These are the ideas which reappear in Béroalde's verse;

> Rien n'existoit encor, & des choses crees
> Les corps n'auoient vestu les fatales Idees,
> Et le monde non monde encor n'aparoissoit;
> Car inuisible en Dieu en Dieu il demeuroit,
> Et Dieu remply de soy en son heureuse essence
> N'auoit encor formé la seconde substance
> Des corps inferieurs, que lors qu'il le voulut
> Il fit de rien ce tout estre ce qu'il luy plut.
> Car sans corps tout estoit la matiere eternelle,
> Et rien estoit de tout la forme essentielle,
> Adonc par sa bonté Dieu de son tout tira,
> Ce qu'en vn mesme instant second il prepara,
> Pour estre de ce monde vne belle matiere
> Qui parfaite en son tout existat la premiere...(72)

Further, Béroalde shows the same preoccupation as Ambrose before him, the insistence on the sufficiency of creation within God. The patristic source is firm that no part of creation is external to God, and that the model of creation is within God before it is embodied in the world;

> ...(Deum) ipsum dedisse gignendis rebus initium, et ipsum esse creatorem mundi, non idea quadam duce imitatorem materiae, ex qua non ad arbitrium suum, sed ad speciem propositam sua opera formaret(73).

Similarly, the emphasis on the incredible speed with which the matter of creation is brought into being by God is to be found already in Ambrose;

> Pulchre quoque ait, <u>In principio fecit</u>; ut incomprehensilem celeritatem operis exprimeret, cum effectum prius operationis impletae, quam indicium coeptae explicuisset(74).

Within the orthodoxy, on the other hand, we might notice a peculiarity of expression. The presentation is resolutely abstract, and a full development is given to the least pictorial of themes. Du Bartas, faced with the problem of evoking the creation of the <u>materia prima</u>, has recourse to metaphor, and we read of the ship-builder buying in timber destined for many different uses(75). His is a visual imagination. Béroalde works in a different way. In <u>Les Cognoissances</u> there is no image to palliate the unfamiliarity of the idea, and on the contrary Béroalde delights in building up a picture of negative being. In expression the rhetorical is extinguished, and in content the marvellous simply disappears. In <u>La Sepmaine</u> creation is performance, with all that that implies of the

theatrical. In Les Cognoissances creation is an act, and an act analysed into its component parts.

Analysis rather than description is the key to Béroalde's account of creation, and the analysis is concerned with the positive. It is here that the scientific plays its part. This emphasis takes the poem into a domain of its own, distinct from Scève and Du Bartas alike. Béroalde and Du Bartas, in point of fact, now go in precisely opposite directions. Both take the orthodox notion that the crucial role in creation is that of the Word, the emphasis of St.John's Gospel(76). For Du Bartas this is the prelude to the depiction of the antique chaos, and the one statement leads directly into the other. The justification for this is in the associations evoked by the second verse of Genesis I - "And the earth was without form, and void" - but in Du Bartas' hands the depiction is an end in itself. The notion of an indeterminate first matter is the excuse for a rhetorical extravaganza;

> Ainsi le Tout puissant, auant que, sage, il touche
> A l'ornement du monde, il iette de sa bouche
> Ie ne sçay quel beau mot, qui rassemble en vn tas
> Tout ce qu'ores le Ciel clost de ses larges bras...
> Ce premier monde estoit vne forme sans forme,
> Vne pile confuse, vn meslange difforme,
> D'abismes vn abisme, vn corps mal compassé,
> Vn Chaos de Chaos, vn tas mal entassé...(77)

What for Béroalde is important is the idea of the "monde non monde", the negative state in which the positive is immanent. Chaos in so far as it exists at all is only "confuse non confuse", for what is essential is that it is from Chaos that order will emerge. It is this central theme of Les Cognoissances as a whole which transforms the account at this point. From the immanent we pass directly to the positive, and Chaos barely has an existence at all;

> Puis par le iuste accord de sa puissante vois
> Il separa le corps qu'il crea vne fois,
> Tirant de ce Chaos où la matiere infuse
> Estoit infiniment confuse non confuse,
> Les quatre qualités, & premiers elemens
> Qui sont de ce qui est, forces commencements
> Aide grandeur, suport, & qui en soy contraires
> Non contraires se font substances necessaires,
> Par le vouloir de Dieu qui eschapper les fait
> Du premier non par eux mais par vn autre effait(78).

The status of Chaos is denied, and it becomes merely the source for the

four elements which are the building-blocks of matter. The emphasis is reversed, from a historic cosmic disorder to a continuing present order. The "confuse non confuse", "contraires non contraires" now become the extensions of the "discordans accordz" which maintain the sub-lunar universe(79). It is a scientific commonplace at the time that the interplay of like and unlike qualities among the elements leads to harmony(80), but through it Béroalde succeeds in neutralizing the theme of a negative Chaos. Du Bartas for his part is aware of the notion that from the Chaos emerge the elements -

> Ceste longue largeur, ceste hauteur profonde,
> Cest infini fini, ce grand monde sans monde,
> Ce lourd, di ie, Cahos, qui dans soy mutiné,
> Se vid en vn moment, dans le rien d'vn rien né,
> Estoit le corps fecond d'où la celeste essence
> Et les quatre elemens deuoyent prendre naissance(81).

The accent, however, remains on the marvellous, and the interest is in the depiction, whether that of the Chaos which has gone before or that of the nature of the elements which is to follow. In Du Bartas' version of the original Chaos the accumulation of terms and the play on opposites accentuates the theme of cosmic disorder itself, and the linguistic confusion matches the literal one depicted. The accumulation in Béroalde's lines has the opposite intention. "Aide, grandeur, suport" stress the integrating and constructive role of the elements, and Béroalde presents Chaos exclusively as the anticipation of harmony.

Chaos is of course one of the most poetic of themes, in terms of the possibilities of imagery that it offers, and it is this which Du Bartas is not slow to exploit. The fact that Béroalde turns his back on this suggests interests more properly scientific than poetic. Like Scève, his preoccupations go beyond the depiction of creation as such, but where Scève is concerned with man, Béroalde's concern is at once more universal and more abstract. It is the establishment of order, with order, we are constantly reminded, as the reflection of the presence of God. Creation is made the major illustration of the process of ordering, and order is the reflection of design -

> ...rien cree corps comme essence seconde
> Fut d'vn heureux patron la substance du monde(82).

Again, the Platonic associations of the phrase serve to reinforce something else - here the notion of a benevolent purposefulness, and the purposefulness of a provident God.

Through the creation theme the notion of God guarantor of order takes on its fullest meaning. Providence and order go hand in hand, and from both the arbitrary is excluded. Scientific data now forms part of a necessary system, in which the necessity is determined by the will of God. The result is a hymn to God in which the praise is that of a scientifically interpreted activity, and in which the commonplace of "how unsearchable are his judgments, and his ways past finding out"(83) is related to the image of a God manipulating his creation as an alchemist over his alembic;

> O grandeur du grand Dieu que de changer si bien,
> Que ce qui n'estoit point que ce qui n'estoit rien,
> Meslé dans l'infini et qui estoit sans estre
> Ait peu en vn moment en si bel estat naistre,
> Pour n'estre seulement vn coup cella qu'il est,
> Mais pour reiterer ce qu'en luy de luy naist.
> Certes comme Dieu est d'infinie puissance,
> Sa grandeur passe aussi toute force & science,
> Et ne peut on trouuer tant cét abisme est creux,
> L'estat de la raison de ses faicts merueilleux.
> Car de rien il tira toute la secheresse,
> Du plus gros element qui au plus bas se baisse,
> Dessous toute l'humeur, que d'vn mesme suiet
> Il a fait eschapper comme l'air qu'il ha fait,
> Et le feu nourrissant toutes choses crees,
> Ayant fait en vn coup tant d'essences meslees(84).

If we look to the corresponding passage from the <u>Second Iour</u> of Du Bartas' <u>Sepmaine</u> -

> Or ces quatre elemens, ces quatre fils iumeaux,
> Sauoir est l'air, le feu, & la terre, & les eaux,
> Ne sont point composez, ains d'iceux toute chose,
> Qui tombe sous nos sens, plus ou moins se compose...(85)

- we shall see that Béroalde is being much more pedantic. He is careful to retain the correct ascending order of the four elements, between the heaviness of earth and the nutritive quality of fire. This precision is more like that of Scève, who takes the elements in descending order, having first dwelt upon the appearance of time. In the <u>Microcosme</u> "Chronos" is evoked as

> ...Cloans un cerne chaud non d'ardeur, qui offense,
> Mais temperee en soy de sa chaleur intense
> Pour couvrir suivamment une autre espace vyde,
> Et transpirable en vain au dessus celle humide,
> Qui serroit en son sein liquide, et spacieux,
> Pour poinct indivisible, et central des hauts cieux
> Une grand Masse seiche au milieu suspendue,
> Lourde, et pesante forme en rondeur estendue...(86)

Even here, however, the account is an elliptic one, and one feels that Scève's interest in this case is the cosmic picture rather than the scientific reference. In contrast, Béroalde's lines are immediately concerned with the elemental in the sense of the internal, and with the elements as the component parts of the world. The sixteenth-century scientist sees the continuing existence of the world in terms of the constant interchange of the elements, and indeed this would be the scientific basis for Montaigne's "branle". To speak of the elements is then to speak of an on-going and active concept, and by doing this Béroalde extends the dimension of creation into the present, and into the domain of the scientific enquirer. The dynamic is indeed the mark of Béroalde's description. It is not characterised by external detail, but the emphasis on creation as act leads here to the dramatic. Where Scève's is a static description of the status of the elements, Béroalde's is conceived in terms of motion. The verbal forms in Scève's version, from "cloans" to "suspendue", are expressive of position and relation, but Béroalde's each express action. The immediacy is in the choice of language itself - "tira", "a fait eschapper", "ayant fait en vn coup". The imagination is once more a non-visual one.

Béroalde does though see reality in scientific terms, and here a scientific interpretation of the present is applied to the exposition of a historic creation. A chief feature of the Aristotelean and Ptolemaic universe which provides the model for both the Middle Ages and the Renaissance is movement, and movement from the beginning characterises Béroalde's evocation of the elements. In fact, this movement is of a particular kind, forming part of a cosmic scheme. The ideas involved are general ones, and we can find them explained in the apparently unlikely setting of Pierre Viret's <u>Exposition de la Doctrine de la Foy</u>

Chrestienne, where we are told that there are "trois sortes de mouuemens au monde";

> Il y en a vn qui tend tousiours au millieu d'iceluy, qui est la terre & le centre d'icelle, le plus bas de tous les elemens. Et pourtant qu'il va en descendant, il est propre aux elemens qui sont les plus pesans, & aux creatures qui participent le plus d'iceux. Le second contraire à cestuy-cy, tend tousiours du millieu & du bas en haut, & est propre aux elemens les plus legers, & aux natures qui approchent plus de la leur, & aux creatures qui en ont plus grande participation. Le troisiesme ne monte & ne descend non plus d'vne part que d'autre, ains va en rond, tournoyant tousiours autour du millieu, en forme de cercle, & de roue. Cestuy est propre au ciel, & aux corps celestes, & est le plus certain, & disposé & compassé par ordre plus constant & plus ferme(87).

In other words, the sub-lunar world is the domain of a sort of continuous up and down motion, as the heavier elements of earth and water and the bodies associated with them seek to sink downwards and the lighter of air and fire strive to rise upwards. The extra-lunar, in contrast, is characterised by tranquil, undisturbed and perfect circular motion. Viret goes on to explain that this is because the celestial bodies depend directly on God, without the intermediary of any other body.

Béroalde is concerned with the former type of motion. But he is determined to make this too the manifestation of the presence of God. He cannot escape the commonplace that the sub-lunar is the domain of flux, but he assimilates it with order by withdrawing from it all taint of the random. The perpetual vicissitude of forms becomes part of a controlled process, in which the moderating factor is once again the will of God;

> Puis pour continuer voulut le souuerain
> Qu'ils fussent agitez au meslange certain,
> Ou les met ce pouuoir qui sans cesser ordonne
> Tout ce que chascun d'eux de sa puissance donne,
> Disposant ce qui est le causant au premier,
> Pour de corps non conioins establir vn entier
> Par le chois des parfaits qui sont premiere essence
> Dont la vertu se change en vne autre puissance,
> Sous le meslange heureux, qui ostant leur parfait
> Les accomplit apres par vn egal effait(88).

The development is again that of a scientific commonplace, the cyclic interchange of the elements. We can see the idea in Cicero's De Natura Deorum, translated by Guy Lefèvre de la Boderie;

> Et comme il y ait quatre sortes de corps, par leur vicissitude est continuee la nature du monde. Car de la Terre, l'Eau, de l'Eau, l'air prend naissance, de l'Air, l'Ether, puis de rechef au rebours de l'Ether, l'Air, puis de l'Air, l'Eau, & de l'Eau, la Terre infinie. Ainsi telles

natures dont toutes les autres consistent, passans haut & bas, & de part & d'autre, est maintenuë la conionction des parties du monde...(89)

The difference in Béroalde's version is that the discords are peculiarly accordans, and the notion of a flux that is the constant merging of one element into another changes its character through being directly associated with a providential creation. The "agitez" is conditioned by a "meslange" which is both "certain" and "heureux".

In Béroalde's poem the concept becomes a highly abstract one. In presenting the same data, Du Bartas resorts to a continuous metaphor;

> ...Or chacun element
> Ayant deux qualitez dont l'vne absolument
> Regne sur sa compaigne, & l'autre est hommagere:
> Ceux de qui le pouuoir de toutes pars contraire
> Est comme en contre-carre, employent plus d'effort
> Et de peine et de temps à s'entremettre à mort.
> La flamme chaude-seche en l'onde froide-humide,
> La terre froide-seche en l'air chaud & liquide
> Ne se mue aisement, à cause qu'inhumains,
> Ils combatent ensemble & de pieds & de mains.
> Mais bien la terre & l'air vistement se reduisent
> L'vne en l'eau l'autre en feu: d'autant qu'ils symbolisent
> En l'vne qualité: si bien qu'à chacun d'eux
> Est plus aisé de vaincre vn ennemi que deux(90).

In Les Cognoissances, so far from illustration being employed, the elements and their qualities are not even named. Interest is entirely concentrated on function. No concession is made to the unfamiliarity of the subject. But then Béroalde is not interested in the type of didacticism which is a major motive of Du Bartas' poem. Du Bartas intends to be popularizing, to reach as wide an audience as possible, and La Sepmaine clearly bears the stamp of a mission;

> Or tout tel que ie suis, du tout i'ay destiné
> Ce peu d'art & d'esprit que le ciel m'a donné
> A l'honneur du grand Dieu, pour nuit & iour escrire
> Des vers que sans rougir la vierge puisse lire(91).

Béroalde from the first writes in order to understand, and his approach remains highly personal. In so far as these lines are addressed to an audience at all, they are as if intended for an initiate. What they recall is the hermeticism of the alchemical treatises of the time, with their cryptic description of what is in any case a mysterious process. We know Béroalde's interest in the Great Work, and here he appears to describe the interchange of the elements in the notational manner he might

an experiment. There is an evident connection between the transmutation of metals and the transmutation of the elements, and that this might be what is in Béroalde's mind is further suggested by what follows. For having spoken of

> ...le meslange heureux, qui ostant leur parfait
> Les accomplit apres par vn egal effait

the poet adds a parenthesis which has a distinctly alchemical overtone;

> Non pas que ce parfait le soit tant en soy mesme,
> Que de perfection il ait le point extresme:
> Mais nous disons parfait, ce qui au corrompu,
> Existe plus par soy, & plus a de vertu(92).

"Corruption" and "perfection" are both terms employed by the alchemist, to refer to the intermediate and final states of the philosopher's stone. The alchemist believes that each of the metals tends towards the perfection of gold, but that each is arrested at some stage of the development. As Béroalde himself explains in his Recherches de la pierre philosophale,

> ...il n'y a point proprement de conuersion, mais vne purgation & apparance de ce qui estoit caché(93).

The point is developed later in the same work -

> ...ainsi les metaux se perdent ou se peuuent multiplier & meilleurer par la diligence de l'ouurier expert, qui est vn long chemin de les amener à leur perfection d'or & d'argent, ce que seulement promet l'Alchymie par purgation, & non pas faire des metaux(94).

Still more significant is that so far as Béroalde is concerned alchemy has its starting point strictly within nature, and that it represents the continuation of a natural process -

> ...l'Alchymie n'enseignant ny ne pretendant enseigner à engendrer ce que la nature seule met en auant par la possession qu'elle a des essences & matieres, & la cognoissance auec pouuoir des proportions de la composition des formes & substences, mais à ordonner ou nature a cessé(95).

Alchemy too is part of the picture which Béroalde depicts in Les Cognoissances, linked with the rest through the universal theme of order. The interplay of the elements is described in the same terms of relative corruption and relative perfection that would be employed by the alchemist, and indeed is part of one and the same process.

Order, and continuing order, remains the inspiration of the presentation. We have already seen that Béroalde refrains from a

depiction of the Chaos, but the contrast goes further yet. The chief literary source for such a depiction is the well-known passage from Ovid's Metamorphoses -

> ...corpore in uno
> Frigida pugnabant calidis, umentia siccis,
> Mollia cum duris, sine pondere habentia pondus(96).

The imagery is frequently taken up in sixteenth century cosmological poetry. In 1551 in his Le Siecle d'Or Berenger de la Tour d'Albenas writes in Ovidian terms of the first state of matter;

> ...Infuse estoit l'humidité au sec.
> Le chaud au froid, le bien au mal auec,
> Et l'vnion en guerre y estoient close.
>
> Le hault, le bas, le mylieu, & l'extreme,
> Le plus, le moins alors estoient vn mesme:
> L'amer, le doux, le mol, l'aspre, & le dur
> Se compartoient ensemble sans contendre...(97)

He is followed in 1555 by Peletier in L'Vranie;

> Lę chaud boulhoęt an froędurę,
> Lę sęc d'humeur s'alteroęt,
> Lę mol a la massę durę,
> Lę blanc au noęr aderoęt.
> L'horreur bruyoęt an silancę,
> Lę tout souffroęt violancę,
> E rien n'agiçoęt pourtant...(98)

But the most familiar of these "contraries" passages is to be found in La Sepmaine;

> Vn Chaos de Chaos, vn tas mal entassé;
> Où tous les elemens se logeoyent pesle-mesle:
> Où le liquide auoit auec le sec querelle,
> Le rond auec l'aigu, le froid auec le chaud,
> Le dur auec le mol, le bas auec le haut,
> L'amer auec le doux...(99)

The imagery carries with it a common vocabulary, or perhaps we should say inevitably leads to the same choice of terms, and the similarity between these passages is a self-evident one. Les Cognoissances has its "contraries" passage also, and the vocabulary recurs. But the emphasis is exactly the opposite one. The contrasts now express not opposition and conflict, but union and harmony. Accord is more important than discord, and the listing of terms now indicates not the different divisions of chaos, but the all pervasive pattern of order;

> Ainsi les premiers corps subtils en leur matiere,
> Solide forts, & ioints comme essence premiere,

Sont appellez parfaits, & leur perfection
Par nature se change en leur conionction
De l'humide & du sec, du froid & de la flame,
Quand elle ordonne vn corps au propre de son ame,
Selon le plus ou moins que par ces changemens
Elle sçait bien vser des premiers Elemens,
Estant le seul motif par qui tout fait a estre,
Par qui tout est en force, & par qui tout peut naistre
Selon le saint Patron communiqué d'enhaut,
En la proportion tant du froid que du chaud,
De l'amer & du doux, du leger & du graue,
De cela qui deseche & de cella qui laue,
Qui monte, qui dessent, se change, se desioint,
Qui prend corruption & ne se corrompt point(100).

With this we return to the definition of nature which is the object of Les Cognoissances, a nature which retains the role of God's deputy in the created world, but which in practice is so closely identified with the action of God as to lose all independent status. In exploring nature the poet is exploring proportion, moderation and harmony, and in doing this he is exploring the pattern imposed by God himself. All depends on God, the poet has said, and it becomes clear that what is in question is universal harmony. God's will, through determining the course of nature, is the guarantee of order. The essence of the definition is that the random is thus excluded -

Que si sans Dieu estoit contrainte la nature:
Dieu si possible estoit tiendroit de l'auanture,
Et par autres forcé és causes arresté
Puissant ne pourroit pas suyure sa liberté;
Luy qui est tout en tout, & des causes la cause,
Qui par sa volonté de nature dispose,
Qui a toute vertu, toute force et pouuoir,
Qui sans estre repris fait tout à son vouloir(101).

A theological definition becomes the basis of a scientific interpretation of reality. It is a theological commonplace that the chain of causality stops at God. One illustration is Melanchthon's Doctrinae Physicae Elementa;

...principalis causa Deus est, caeteras causas mirabili consilio excitans, & ad vnum finem vniuersum opus dirigens(102)

- another, Du Plessis Mornay's De la Verité de la Religion Chrestienne;

Bref, deuant Dieu sont necessaires les choses, qui és choses sont contingentes, par ce qu'eternellement il voit present à soy, ce qui est futur aux choses, & ne voit pas le futur és causes, comme les sages, mais en soy qui est la cause des causes...(103)

An enquiry after cause is the impulsion of Béroalde's poem, and he too

places ultimate cause in God. The peculiar gloss he insists upon is that cause in nature is no more than the extension of cause in God;

> Or cause est en nature ou premiere, ou suyuante,
> Qui existe ou peut estre ou est efficiente,
> Et cette cause là où quante ou qu'elle soit,
> Ne venant que de Dieu son tout de Dieu reçoit,
> Pour se multiplier, & ioindre la substance
> De tout corps accompli en contraignant l'essence
> Des premiers elemens, qui par vn mouuement
> Causant corruption, sont le commencement
> De tout cela qui pousse, ou naist, ou se peut fair
> De tout corps qui s'vnit contraire par contraire(104).

Béroalde's universe is one that of itself reveals the cause of its inception to the scientific enquirer. The examination of nature confirms the action of providence, and the physical workings of the world are fused with the intentions of God. We are left with the picture of a mechanistic cosmos, but of a mechanism which is very tightly controlled. Béroalde concentrates upon the processes of its working, but cannot, by the terms of his own definition, doubt its final cause.

Through the notion of cause, then, Béroalde establishes an identification between God and the created world. But cause also establishes a basic distinction, in that God, while setting the process in motion, stands apart from it. He is the one being not subject to any first cause, and the poet once more insists upon the primacy of his will;

> Ainsi Dieu mit au monde en iuste liaison,
> Les matieres d'embas dessous telle raison.
> Mais en le composant de l'air de sa parole:
> Sans cause il l'assit dessus son double pole,
> Aussi tost que sa vois eut nommé l'vniuers,
> Il deuint accompli pour ses effaits diuers,
> N'ayant cause premiere autre que celle bonne,
> Qui par sa volonté toutes choses ordonne...(105)

The reminder is of that other recurrent theme in Les Cognoissances, the division between the world above and the world below. Here it becomes particularly important to reinforce this. Nature in Les Cognoissances is the expression of the will of God, and a real continuity is maintained between the observable world and the presence of the divinity. Béroalde is well aware of the danger that this involves. Ronsard, in both the Hymne du Ciel and the Hymne de l'Eternité, had been less sensitive, and

his Heaven and Eternity come to share the attributes of God himself(106). The source is the passage which opens the second book of Pliny's Natural History;

> Mundum, et hoc quodcumque nomine alio caelum appellare libuit, cuius circumflexu degunt cuncta, numen esse credi par est, aeternum, inmensum, neque genitum neque interiturum umquam...sacer est, aeternus, immensus, totus in toto, immo vero ipse totum, infinitus ac finito similis, omnium rerum certus et similis incerto, extra intra cuncta conplexus in se, idemque rerum naturae opus et rerum ipsa natura(107).

For Béroalde the Calvinist writer the distinction between God and world must be an absolute one, and in Les Cognoissances the terms of Pliny's famous statement appear in a curiously inverted fashion;

> Mais que penserons nous de ce beau firmament,
> Qui comprend dedans soy tout ordre egalement,
> Est ce vne sainteté est ce la belle essence,
> Qui tient sous son pouuoir toute force & puissance,
> Est-il tout infini, sans dessus, sans millieu,
> Est-il la verité, est-il le mesme Dieu,
> Est-il fini sans fin, s'est-il formé sans forme,
> Sans naissance est-il né, à soy-mesme conforme,
> Est-il l'eternité, pour garder dedans soy
> Non suiet à plus grand de soy mesme la loy?(108)

The divinity of the world is a stoic concept, and Béroalde is at pains to reject it. This concern is one that is individual to him. Du Bartas in La Sepmaine confines himself to a simple rejection of the idea of the eternity of the world(110). Béroalde's argument, in contrast, has a specific bearing on the development of Pliny's statement that he might have found in Cicero's De Natura Deorum. This had been translated into French by Lefèvre de la Boderie, just two years before the publication of Béroalde's poem;

> Or voyons nous aux parties du monde (car il n'y a rien en tout le monde qui ne soit part de l'vniuers) qu'il y a sentiment & raison. Il est donc de besoin qu'en celle partie du monde, où est la principauté, telles choses se trouuent voire beaucoup plus subtiles, & plus grandes: parquoy il est necessaire que le monde soit sage, & que celle nature qui embrassant toutes choses les contient en soy, excelle en perfection de raison, & que pourtant le monde est Dieu, & que toute la vertu du monde est contenuë en la nature diuine(111).

Béroalde takes the same argument from part to whole, but reverses its conclusion. For the stoic the superior wisdom of the world is a necessary consequence of the fact that man, who is part of it, is himself wise. For Béroalde the equation between man and God places man apart, and the order of nature is transcended. The consideration is banal, but what is

of more interest is that Béroalde should feel bound to insist upon it, and in this particular context. He argues, then, from an actual lack of similarity between part and whole;

> S'il estoit tout par luy, le tout & la partie
> Mesme nature auroient mesme train mesme vie,
> Ce qui n'est ni sera, car nous part de son corps
> N'auons pas au mouuoir les semblables accords
> Dont il est agitté, & n'est notre durée
> Pour estre en estre autant que l'essence etheree:
> Nous ne pourrions penser qu'il y eut rien plus grand,
> Il seroit nostre tout qui sans commencement,
> Nous feroit naistre icy, & mesme sans naissance
> Comme part d'vn tel Dieu aurions mesme puissance.
> Nos yeux seroient en luy fiches iournellement,
> Et ne sçaurions pourtant son iuste mouuement,
> Et hommes de si peu, ne pourrions pas entendre,
> Ce que les ignorans peuuent mesme comprendre(112).

Man no more than part of the cosmos could not reflect upon the cosmos - the argument is the familiar one of Pascal's "roseau pensant". Central to both is a conviction of the dignity of man, elevated above the rest of creation through the uniqueness of his relationship with God. But in this setting it becomes a direct riposte to the stoic. There the inferiority of man to the cosmos is a self-evident truth;

> Car comme il n'y a aucune partie de nostre corps qui ne soit moindre que nous ne sommes, ainsi est-il de besoin que le monde vniuers soit plus que quelque partie de l'vniuers. Que s'il est ainsi, il est necessaire que le monde soit sage: car s'il n'estoit ainsi, il faudroit que l'homme qui seroit vne partie du monde, d'autant qu'il est participant de raison, fust plus que tout le monde(113).

It is precisely this last point which the consciously christian writer maintains. Man and cosmos both depend on the will of God, and man through knowledge is superior to the world about him. The firmament, Béroalde concludes,

> ...n'est donq pas le grand, mais d'vn plus grand que luy
> Des son commancement conduit comme auiourd'huy,
> Il suit la volonté, & nous faits par le mesme
> Cognoissons plus que luy la deité supresme(114).

There is nothing to match this closely-reasoned exposition in the style of La Sepmaine. Du Bartas is not concerned to argue a case, but to demonstrate what is evident. In contrast to this, we can say that a constant characteristic of Les Cognoissances is the intellectual and the abstract.

Within this overall vision man takes his place soberly. Now, it is a commonplace that the world is built for man. Let us quote the Theologie

Naturelle of Raymond Sebond, in Montaigne's translation;

> Parquoy il n'y a rien en ce monde qui ne trauaille iour & nuict pour le bien de l'homme, l'vniuers est pour luy, à cause de luy, & a esté d'vne merueilleuse structure compassé & ordonné pour son bien(115).

Béroalde's statement is correspondingly short and precise, but we might notice once again the abstraction -

> Le monde cependant est le palais que Dieu
> A basti pour son homme, y composant le lieu,
> De ce qui moins que luy, d'vne forme cognue
> Auroit pour nous seruir quelque idee vestue(116).

The Platonic vocabulary here expresses the Aristotelean distinction, between matter and form. But the striking contrast is with the use by other poets of the same commonplace - commonplace more than anything else reveals variation. Du Bartas cannot refrain from a sequence of ornate, and gastronomic, metaphor;

> Ainsi nostre grand Dieu, ce grand Dieu qui sans cesse
> Tient ici cour ouuerte, & de qui la largesse
> Par cent mile tuyaux fait decouler sur nous
> L'inespuisable mer de son nectar plus doux,
> Ne voulut conuier nostre ayeul à sa table,
> Sans tapisser plustost sa maison delectable:
> Et ranger, liberal, sous ses poiles astrez
> La friande douceur de mile mets sucrez(117).

Scève's language is less figurative, but in the Microcosme he paints a broad canvas of the animation of the world as it awaits its master - luxuriant vegetation, foaming torrents, and

> Animaux jà creés en genres, et especes
> Par chams, et prés herbus, bois, et forests espesses
> Marchans, trottans, rampans, serpentans terriens,
> Aquatiques nageans, volans aëriens...(118)

This too is a passage memorable for the exuberance of its imagery. When Lefèvre de la Boderie for his part celebrates the concept of earth created for man, the tone is more fulsome still. The passage occurs in La Galliade, and is built on the repeated refrain of "Pour l'homme"(119). Scarcely no detail is spared, and in the conclusion we read

> Pour l'homme cueille aux fleurs & la manne & le miel
> L'Abeille mesnagere, ains la fille du Ciel:
> Les Anges, la Nature, & tout cela en somme
> Qui est, qui vit, qui sent, qui raisonne, est pour l'homme(120).

The conviction that the world is built for man leads Béroalde not to catalogue its outward glories, in the manner of Du Bartas, nor to

indulge a Renaissance hymn of praise to man in the manner of Scève or Lefèvre, but instead to scrutinise its origins. Again the scientific approach proper takes over, with on the one hand the emphasis on order and harmony, and on the other the anti-pictural style which makes little concession to the reader;

> Or comme il l'ordonnoit disposant iustement
> Tout ce qui dedans luy est fait parfaitement,
> La terre il conioignoit à l'humeur eschaufee,
> Pour mixte par vn tiers la luy rendre attachee.
> Car tout le composé que le monde soustient,
> Par vn tiers moderé, en l'autre se maintient,
> Et les quatre elemens, dont chascun le tiers ayme,
> Se trouuent plus ou moins assembles en vn mesme.
> Ainsi disposoit il au millieu le premier,
> Le dernier au millieu, le premier au dernier,
> Assemblant tellement l'vniuerselle masse,
> Que le millieu premier, le dernier ne surpasse:
> A fin que bien vni en son assemblement,
> En pais il subsistat tousiours egalement...(121)

This is an account of creation which constantly comes back to inner principle. Béroalde insists upon the system of the elements as for him this is the most basic level of reality, and indeed the scientific explanation of harmony as it may be observed in the sub-lunar world.

The world appears as the equilibrium of its parts, and the equilibrium is one contrived by God. It follows that God contains within himself the knowledge of his creation, and that God is the ultimate source of the knowledge the poet seeks through the created world. The link between a providential God and the created world subject for scientific enquiry is reaffirmed;

> Et pource que Dieu est la science & le sage,
> Non enuieux sur soy il forma son ouurage,
> Egalle à elle mesme, & d'vn accort vni
> Du monde il asseura l'assemblage fini,
> L'entretenant tousiours d'vne vicissitude
> Qui est par son vouloir l'entiere plenitude
> De ce qu'il a cree, & qu'il fait auiourd'huy...(122)

We come back to the double importance of creation as act and creation as state, with the will of God as the link between the two. This for Béroalde is the anchor in a world of flux, and it is through science that he seeks to demonstrate it. Montaigne's "branloire perenne" is domesticated by a scheme in which perpetual vicissitude equals perpetual plenitude.

This approach to scientific poetry stands at the opposite pole from that of a Ronsard. Aesthetic considerations are totally subordinated to the demands of the content, and where poetry might be thought of as going beyond the confines of rational discourse, this is poetry which remains resolutely within them. The style is stark, the imagery lacking. It is an approach which carries its own pitfalls, and Béroalde himself has an awareness of this. He judges his enterprise by the same standards that he applies to creation as a whole -

> Mais nous nous confondons, Muse ma chere vie,
> Nous meslons tout ensemble, & la masse obscurcie
> De ce tout embrouillé, se mesle encor en soy,
> Sans garder d'vn accord l'inuariable loy...(123)

This is not to say, however, that he is deterred.(124)

A whole section of the poem is devoted to what is in effect an extended scientific commentary on the opening verses of Genesis. The tradition of the hexaemera is reinterpreted by the alchemist and mathematician. So, it might be added, is the model of the poem on creation as established by Du Bartas. The poet defines for himself a programme in which the essential is not the broad panorama, but the precision of detail within a firmly localised subject;

> Arrestons nous vn peu, & parmi ce meslange
> Gardons qu'en ce discours, ce tout cy ne se change
> En vn chaos obscur, mais prenant part à part
> Taschons si nous pouuons sous les lois de ton art,
> De peindre exactement cette essence creee,
> Comme Dieu l'ordonna la premiere iournee(125).

For Béroalde exactness means scientific analysis. The scientific poet of the Renaissance has been thought of as a Magus-like figure, interpreting the cosmos to men, and indeed as being more interested in the whole than in any of its separate parts(126). Béroalde too has his own special vision of the cosmos as a whole, but it is a vision which depends precisely upon analysis and the investigation of detail. It is not, in any event, an interpretation which depends upon its pictorial qualities.

"In principio creavit Deus caelum et terram" becomes

> Dieu tout sage & tout fort de soy mesme arracha
> La force, & la vertu, qu'au monde il attacha,
> Et de ce qui est rien à nostre cognoissance,

> Fit de cét vniuers l'vniuerselle essence,
> Creant en premier lieu les deux corps patissans,
> Pour lesquels il forma les deux de soy puissans,
> Qui pouuans s'alterer, en leur force meslee
> Alterent des premiers la sustance arrestee,
> Par le contraire effait du naturel qu'ils ont,
> Lors que non separés, en vng corps ils se font(127).

This of course we have seen before, in the poet's account of the appearance of the four elements and their qualities, the constituents of all matter. The internal principle now becomes the cosmic, and the commonplace of the "discordans accords" is extended from the present organisation of the world to the act of creation itself. Earth, water, air and fire become the instruments of a scientifically-minded Creator.

The physics involved is Aristotelean. First, passive matter is created, the "materia prima" or the "hyle" of the scholastics. Then this receives the perfection of form. What Béroalde does is to identify the passive and the active in turn with a pair of the elements, his "deux corps patissans" and "deux de soy puissans". But there is also a theological point. The first verse of Genesis is normally taken as referring to the state of confusion which precedes creation - "La pluspart des Theologiens sont de cest auis", says Goulart in his commentary to Du Bartas' Sepmaine(127a). Béroalde in contrast follows the view of those who interpret chaos more positively, as the matter from which creation itself will emerge. This is Du Bartas' "matiere navale", and Goulart explains the point in his commentary;

> ...Ils disent donc qu'au premier verset Moyse comprend tout son propos de la creation, & monstre en sommaire qu'auant que rien fust, Dieu crea au commencement le ciel & la terre, c'est à dire tout l'vniuers & ce qui est enfermé en son enclos, ce qui est entendu par les mots de Ciel & terre (128)

The matter of creation is heaven and earth, but "heaven and earth" is taken to mean the elements water and earth. Elsewhere, introducing the fifth book of Du Chesne's Grand Miroir du Monde, Goulart speaks of

> ...ceste sentence de Moyse, sauoir est que de toutes choses on ne peut extraire que deux elemens, l'humide & le sec(129).

In the poem itself Du Chesne reports the Mosaic version as follows;

> D'autres, qui comme il faut, croyent & donnent lieu,
> Aux vrais & saincts escrits, du Philosophe Hebrieu,
> Pour les seuls Elemens, qui aux choses du monde
> De matiere ont serui, prenent la Terre & l'Onde(130).

Why this identification? The answer lies in a further Aristotelean commonplace, namely the essential role of heat in the maintenance of

life and of existence in general. It is this quality which earth and water lack, as the first has instead those of dryness and coldness, and the second those of coldness and humidity. They can then only be the passive matter upon which the active elements of air and fire, with their qualities of humidity and heat, heat and dryness respectively, may have their positive effect.

This is the version followed by Béroalde. Earth and water, where water is identified with the biblical heaven, are the first manifestations of being, but it is fire and air which will play the dominant roles. What is more remarkable is that Béroalde should feel the need for this degree of precision, and that he should make his exposition such a methodical one. We are far here from Du Bartas' "riche pepiniere/ Des beautez de ce Tout"(131). But then Béroalde is not just the poet, and a further commentary on what follows would be the alchemical. The operation of the philosopher's stone takes its place within the same Aristotelean universe. It depends on the imitation of the process of nature itself, and performs in its own way the separation and the conjunction of the elements. Here the active and the passive have a particular importance. The stone has the form of the elements earth and water, and contains potentially the two others; it is acted upon by the active elements of fire and air, the fire and the bellows(132). The interest in process shown in these lines is the interest of the adepte.

The scientific informs what is in another sense a poetic tradition, the evocation of creation in dynamic terms, and the cosmic extension of the theory of the motion of the elements. For this the models are Ovid and Lucretius(133), and Béroalde too produces an image of the dynamic;

> Le ciel qui n'est rien qu'eau, fut l'essence premiere,
> La terre fut apres, qui d'vne autre matiere
> Contraire & non contraire, & en soy s'amassant,
> Alloit vers le millieu peu à peu s'abaissant...(134)

For Béroalde, however, the point of reference is the Genesis account, and he goes on to relate the same scientific image of like and unlike to the biblical verse "Dixit quoque Deus: Fiat firmamentum in medio aquarum: et dividat aquas ab aquis"(135). The whole becomes a process of

transformation and sublimation. The earth is settling towards some central point through the watery medium of the sky

> Lors que soudainement d'auec tant d'eaux espreinte,
> Elle fut seulement de l'humidité tainte,
> De façon qu'à l'instant des eaux mises en haut,
> Il ne resta sinon, ce qui suiet au chaut
> Et au froit donneroit matiere suffisante,
> Aux effaits que nature icy bas nous presente;
> Dieu donq' les separa, & sans les separer,
> Les fit moderement l'vn dedans l'autre entrer(136).

As bodies on earth are composed of interlocking elements, so for Béroalde is the macrocosm itself, and the same principles operate in the universe as a whole. The action of God is above all ordering action, and creation becomes controlled scheme.

Béroalde is concerned to explain the "waters above the firmament" as equally part of providential purpose. This obsession with explanation takes him once more beyond the position of Du Bartas. Faced with this same question, Du Bartas confesses himself defeated, and makes a characteristic statement of his distrust of reason and recourse to faith;

> I'aime mieux ma raison desmentir mille fois,
> Qu'vn seul coup desmentir du sainct Esprit la voix,
> Qui crie en tant de parts, que sur les voutes rondes
> Du ciel il a rangé ie ne sçay quelles ondes:
> Ou soit que de ceste eau l'estrange qualité
> Auec les basses eaux ait peu d'affinité:
> Soit que, faite vapeur, d'vn transparant nuage,
> Elle couure du Ciel le plus hautain estage:
> Ou soit, comme l'on dit, qu'vn chrystal, fait autour,
> Du doré firmament embrasse tout le tour.
> Et pourquoy, combatu de coniectures vaines,
> Donray-ie arrest certain sur preuues incertaines?(137)

For Béroalde, in contrast, the workings of providence are there to be elucidated, and the responsibility of the poet is to complement his faith with scientific explanation. The solution of Du Bartas is unsatisfactory, as for Béroalde each and every part of God's purpose in creation must take its part in the same perspective of order. What for Du Bartas is the epitome of chaos is for Béroalde the mere prelude to harmony;

> Ainsi par vn instant ces deux corps alliés,
> Les atomes de terre en l'humide noyés,
> N'estoient point terre en soy, & l'eau coagulee,
> Aussi n'estoit point eau, mais matiere meslee,
> Estans deuenus vn tant qu'à la vois de Dieu
> L'humide prit sa place, & le sec prit son lieu...(138)

Calvin in his commentary on Genesis had commended a literal acceptance of the celestial waters(139), and now Béroalde furnishes a scientific rationale for such a belief;

> Et pource que si tout se touchoit sans distance
> Rien iamais ne pourroit venir en apparance,
> Dieu ayant alteré vne part de ces eaux,
> Puis la touchant de froid la gella en christaux,
> Qui separent l'humeur, qu'à bas il a laissee,
> D'entre l'humidité qui vers le haut chassee,
> S'estend tout à l'entour rafraischissant le bas
> Pour contraindre le feu de donner par compas,
> Le chaud qui est besoin, ainsi fut l'estendue
> Qui est froide de soy autour d'icy tendue(140).

Again a cosmic extension is given to the theory of the elements. Béroalde could have read in Pliny that crystal is an especially hardened form of ice(141), and the identification of the waters above the firmament with crystal is itself a traditional one. We have seen Du Bartas refer to it, and it is explained by Viret in his Exposition de la Doctrine de la Foy Chrestienne;

> A ceste cause, aucuns ont forgé vn ciel crystalin. Et pource ils exposent la diuision des eaux qui sont dessus & dessous le firmament, pour la diuision & distinction du ciel crystalin d'auec les elemens. Ie pense qu'ils ont imaginé ce ciel crystalin à l'occasion des eaux qu'ils entendent estre sus le firmament, pource que le crystal se fait de la glace, & la glace de l'eau(142).

In Les Cognoissances this idea is incorporated into a universal scheme, and made part of a cosmic picture of the linking of the elements. Once more the presentation is analytic rather than descriptive, the poet putting forward an analogy which his reader must then understand. As at the most basic level the elements unite via their secondary qualities, and remain distinct through their primary ones, so the crystalline waters of the firmament serve the function on the cosmic scale of at once dividing and linking the lower and higher pairs of elements. Coldness is the quality common to earth and water, heat the quality common to earth and fire. Humidity, on the other hand, common to water and air, links the two pairs. In this way Béroalde contrives to explain not only the existence but the precise position of the waters of the firmament. Their function is seen in spatial, and abstract, terms, and they are shown as the incitement to life-giving heat from above and at the same

time as the means of its control. Behind the detail, the message remains one of moderation, and it is this, not the personality of the poet, which is the running theme. The same can scarcely be said of La Sepmaine, where far from being self-effacing, the figure of Du Bartas himself is often, and even aggressively, interposed. In Béroalde's poem it is the overall scheme which dominates.

The second major aspect of this scheme, as it may be seen through the process of creation, is precisely the active role of heat. Heat is the instrument of life. It is of course a commonplace, going back to Aristotle, that fire is not only the head of the elemental hierarchy, but also the vitalising force of the universe. The vigour of a body is determined by the degree to which it participates in generative heat. The general opinion is that of Pontus de Tyard's Curieux -

> Il vaut mieux...en croire plus, & en disputer moins, & adiouster à l'honneur que nous auons donné au Feu, comme premier & plus haut Element: qu'il est doué de la premiere & plus necessaire puissance en la generation de toute chose: car sans luy la Terre demeureroit en friche & sterile. Tellement que moins vn corps, quel qu'il soit, est participant de chaleur (qui est la propre & premiere qualité ignee, estendue par toute la region Elementaire) & moins il est apte à aucune generation: car la chaleur est tant requise à la generation & conseruation de toute nature, qu'elle defaillant, tout perit & vient en pourriture(143).

Aristotle had identified heat as principle of animation(144), but sixteenth century commentators see the idea equally in Plato's statement in the Timaeus that fire is the most mobile and penetrating of the elements. This is Jean de Serres -

> Ignem vero quem Pyramidalis nomine designat, ex scalenis constantem, vtpote tenuissimae naturae elementum, primum esse rerum principium docet... Calorem naturalem hauddubiè significat, qui per res omnes infusus eas nutrit atque fouet, & sine quo nihil quod vspiam rerum est, subsistere ullo modo posset(145).

The idea then is both Aristotelean and Platonic. It is worth saying, given that Béroalde has already addressed himself to one stoic doctrine, the divinity of the world, that it also forms part of stoic cosmology. Let us quote once more La Boderie's translation of the De Natura Deorum;

> Car il est ainsi, que toutes choses qui sont nourries & qui croissent, contiennent en soy vne vertu de chaleur, sans laquelle elles ne pourroient estre nourries ny croistre...
>
> Doncques tout ce qui vit, soit animal ou produit de la terre, vit à cause de la chaleur en luy enclose: dont on peut entendre que la nature de la chaleur contient en soy vertu vitalle penetrante par tout le monde(146).

Where this idea meets the hexaemeral tradition is in the gloss to the Genesis verse

Terra autem erat inanis et vacua, et tenebrae erant super faciem abyssi, et Spiritus Dei ferebatur super aquas(Genesis I ii).

In the hexaemera themselves the action of God is assimilated to that of generative heat, and already the spirit of God is frequently compared to a bird incubating her young(147). In the Sepmaine of Du Bartas this gives rise to a well-known passage;

Ainsi l'Esprit de Dieu, sembloit, en s'esbatant,
Nager par le dessus de cest amas flottant...
Ou bien comme l'oiseau qui tasche rendre vifs
Et ses oeufs naturels, & ses oeufs adoptifs,
Se tient couché sur eux, & d'vne chaleur viue
Fait qu'vn rond iaune-blanc en vn poulet s'auiue:
D'vne mesme façon l'Esprit de l'Eternel
Sembloit couuer ce goufre, & d'vn soin paternel
Verser en chasque part vne vertu feconde,
Pour d'vn si lourd amas extraire vn si beau monde(148).

The effect of these lines lies in the image, but Goulart's commentary on them draws out the scientific implication -

Les tenebres donc estoient sur la face de l'abisme, c'est à dire la terre demeuroit cachee dedans l'eau, & les elemens estoient brouillez & sans forme. Toutesfois Dieu conseruoit ceste masse comme semence de toutes choses, la fortifiant d'vne chaleur naturelle qui n'est autre chose que l'element du feu, non pas de ce feu dont nous vsons en terre, ains de ceste vertu ignee diuersement espanduë en tout l'vniuers pour la nourriture & entretien de toutes choses. Que ceste chaleur naturelle & viuifique est ce que Moyse appelle esprit de Dieu: tant pour faire recognoistre Dieu createur, & auteur de tout ce qui est en nature, que pour representer ceste vertu viuifique de la chaleur naturelle, qui est fort subtile & pourtant est nommee esprit...(149)

Béroalde's poem makes the identification directly, and ignores the image. Heat is the active component of a scheme of which the passive ingredients have already been presented, and it is as component, as part of a whole, that this section of the account is conceived. It is both stark and sober;

Mais deuant au plus bas ou la terre iettee
Couuerte de tant d'eaux dont elle estoit noyee,
L'obscurité cachoit cela qui la deuoit
Retirer de ce vain, où sans forme elle estoit.
Combien qu'aucunement elle eut bien quelque forme,
Pour n'auoir sa beauté elle fuyoit difforme,
L'esprit du tout-puissant, qui est cette challeur,
Qui se portoit espars dans le corps de l'humeur...(150)

Once again the poet betrays an interest in function. Creation becomes a study in the complementary roles of active and passive, into

which the orthodox notion of vivifying heat is integrated. Béroalde is interested in the place of heat within an overall design, and it is for this that he reserves his praise. This is a scientific prejudice, and the closest parallel is not in Du Bartas but in the work of that other alchemist-poet, Joseph Du Chesne. In Le Grand Miroir du Monde there is an extended eulogy of heat as cosmic principle -

> Salutaire chaleur qui va tout penetrant,
> Vn vray Lynce aux clairs yeux, qui va tout moderant,
> Etheree chaleur, chaleur toute vitale,
> Chaleur en qui le ciel ses grands vertus estale,
> Chaleur qui les despart aux choses d'ici bas
> Qui animees sont, ou qui ne viuent pas,
> Chaleur qui tout nourrit, qui tout conserue encore...(151)

The same idea makes its appearance in Les Cognoissances, but inserted within the hexaemeral framework. The bible relates

> Dixitque Deus: Fiat lux. Et facta est lux (Genesis I iii).

For Ambrose this still has a literal meaning;

> Unde vox Dei in Scriptura divina debuit inchoare, nisi a lumine? unde mundi ornatus, nisi a luce exordium sumere? Frustra enim esset, si non videretur(152).

Du Bartas is much more fulsome, but does not go beyond this position(153). It is left to Béroalde to bring together light and generative heat. An association between heat and light, through the element of fire, is both superficial and obvious, and is found in other scientific writing(154). But it is the Calvinist apologist Lambert Daneau, in his Physica Christiana, who argues that it is as the font and matrix of vivifying heat that light is first created. For this writer light is the outward sign of the animating and fiery force which is the instrument of God in producing fertility from confusion;

> Tum vt ea tanquam lumine accenso & adhibito confusa illa moles videretur, & in suas partes & membra secaretur: tum etiam quod vis quaedam ignea ad madidae illius materiae calefactionem & foecundationem fuit adiungenda. Omnia enim quae hic fiunt ex igneo quodam calore, tanquam patre accedente, & agente nascuntur. Itaque lux illa prima condita fuit, tanquam illius viuifici caloris externe accedentis fons communis & matrix, qui ad reliqua producenda instrumentum a Deo parabatur... (155)

The Calvinist Béroalde shows a similar concern to reconcile the scientific with the biblical. He produces a hymn addressed at once to the omnipotence of God in creation and to the generative power of heat

and light in the continuing existence of the cosmos; heat/the spirit of God

> ...estoit caché, & n'auoit pas encore
> Ce vestement heureux dont le ciel il redore,
> Si tost que le matin, ayant chassé la nuit,
> Nous venant reueiller le soleil nous reluit;
> Lors que de l'eternel la parole premiere
> En luy donnant vn corps le fit estre lumiere,
> Chaleur & iour, & feu, & le premier ageant
> Qui par cét vniuers les matieres changeant,
> Quand plus fort que le froid d'outre en outre il trauerse
> Et sans blesser les corps heureusement les perce
> Pour se mesler en eux, & y mesler du sien;
> Car sans ce bel esprit il ne se feroit rien.
> C'est l'ame de ce tout, c'est sa premiere vie,
> C'est sa force & vertu sa douce endelechie,
> Le reste estant le corps qui par luy animé
> Portant quelque beauté est au monde formé(156).

In other words, it is heat and light as internal principle which holds Béroalde's attention. We might compare Copernicus' hermetically-inspired tribute to the Sun in the De Revolutionibus Orbium Caelestium(157), but this is the eulogy of an animating force which operates from within. The imagery is that of infusion and infiltration(158), and the tone could scarcely be more different from the bravado of Du Bartas' invocation to the Sun, with its purely rhetorical emphasis;

> Clair brandon, Dieu te gard, Dieu te gard, torche sainte,
> Chasse-ennuy, chasse-dueil, chasse-nuit, chasse-crainte:
> Lampe de l'Vniuers, mere de Verité,
> Iuste effroy des brigans, seul miroir de beauté,
> Fille aisnee de Dieu, que tu es bonne & belle...(159)

In Les Cognoissances, as in Daneau's Physica Christiana before, there is a more conscious desire to mingle explanation with praise.

With these statements of the appearance of the active in the components of creation, Béroalde passes to the question of the animation of the cosmos as a whole. Like others, he sees this in terms of soul, and indeed soul will be for him a major preoccupation. But it is worth noting straightaway that the concept arises in a scientific context, that it is a further means of explaining how the world works. The terminology is applied to a mechanism overseen by God, and its status relative to God is never doubted. This is worth saying as this same identification between heat and soul had already been made by the stoics, but in the precisely opposite aim of proving the divinity of the world. We have

already seen Cicero's Balbus in the De Natura Deorum argue for heat as universal vital force -

> Doncques tout ce qui vit, soit animal ou produit de la terre, vit à cause de la chaleur en luy enclose: dont on peut entendre que la nature de la chaleur contient en soy vertu vitalle penetrante par tout le monde(160).

Vivifying heat is the source of all animation, but since spontaneous motion is the attribute of soul alone, it must follow, Balbus continues, that heat is soul - and that the universe is possessed of a life of its own;

> ...Pour ceste cause puis que de l'ardeur du monde tout mouuement prend naissance, & que telle ardeur non du poussement d'autruy, ainçois de son bon gré est mué, il est necessaire que ce soit l'ame, dont s'ensuit que le monde est animant(161).

This is the doctrine which Béroalde has himself already so vigorously condemned, perhaps indeed because of any possible ambiguity in his own view. The stoic data is accepted, but adjusted to the unequivocal context of a world created by God.

This said, there are further reminders of stoic pneuma in the world described in Les Cognoissances. There are obvious connections between the idea of pneuma as spirit, and air(162), and air, after fire, is the second active element singled out by Béroalde. He in fact gives it rather special attention. So far his commentary has been attached firmly enough to the Genesis framework, and one section of it ends, after Genesis I xiv-xviii, with the lodging of the fire on whose role it has centred;

> Puis le feu fut logé par le monde en ses yeux
> Et aux rubis luisans, en la voute des cieux(163).

With these lines the picture of inanimate creation and its workings is complete, but they are followed by an abrupt shift, in itself emphatic, an adjustment from past to present, and a conscious addition;

> Outre il y a encor vne essence subtile,
> Qui esprit non esprit, vehement & debile,
> Se dilate icy bas, depuis le ciel vouté
> Iusqu'aux lieux où il est du solide arresté.
> C'est le vent qui par l'air faisant mille passees,
> Estend dessus la mer les nauires brisees,
> Met les arbres abas, remue les sablons,
> Et prend les qualités de toutes regions(164).

For this there is no precise biblical source, and yet the unusually

pictorial nature of the presentation suggests that the poet wishes to give the idea involved a special emphasis. There would be particular precedent for an excursion into meteorological poetry, in the direction already shown by Peletier's Uranie or Baïf's Le Premier des Meteores(165), but nothing of the sort happens. Instead Béroalde makes a clear identification between the movement of the air which is the wind and the Divinity. The result is a sort of spiritualisation of stoic pneuma, and a further adjustment of stoic data to a new context;

> Mais d'où vient cét esprit, cette force mutine
> Qui agitte ainsi l'air? C'est la vertu Diuine:
> Car il n'est rien icy qui peut tant se mouuoir
> Qui puisse en vn moment tout nostre air esmouuoir...(166)

More than this, this explanation is framed as a direct rejection of the mechanistic explanation of the phenomenon of the wind given by Aristotle and accepted by virtually all commentators after him. For Aristotle the winds are to be explained in terms of exhalations from the earth(167), and the theory recurs in scientific poetry itself(168). One exposition of it, near-contemporary to Béroalde's poem, is to be found in Pantaleon Thevenin's commentary on Ronsard's Hymne de la Philosophie, published in 1582;

> Le vent, selon l'opinion d'Aristote, & des Philosophes de meilleure note, est vne vapeur & exhalation chaude & seiche, attiree en l'air par la vertu & force du Soleil, laquelle poussée en haut par sa chaleur & legereté, & paruenuë en la moyenne region de l'air, qui est tousiours froide, vient à estre repoussee de ceste qualité contraire, de sorte que ne pouuant monter plus haut, elle va en tourbillon où elle peut, & ne pouuant descendre en bas, à cause de sa legereté, est contrainte de pousser & mouuoir l'air çà & là, qui plus, qui moins, selon la force de la matiere dont elle est causee, & ces vapeurs & exhalations estans consommees, le vent cesse...(169)

For Béroalde air and its movement must have a much more positive role, and he treats with scorn the accepted view. In his scheme the wind is to be much more than the mere result of a mechanical and haphazard process;

> Si l'on dit que par l'air les vapeurs esleuees,
> Amassees en haut en espesses nuees,
> Se laissant choir en bas, poussant de tous costés,
> Sont causes que les airs sont ainsi tourmentés,
> La raison sera foible, & ne pourra attendre
> Le moindre petit vent qui la viendra surprendre,
> Qu'elle n'euanouisse, & se perde soudain
> Donnant à si grand cas vn fondement si vain(170).

It is in stoic cosmology that the parallel is to be found for this

elevation of the wind from meteorological phenomenon to cosmic principle. Seneca too argues that exhalations from land and earth cannot be the sole cause of the wind, and that the air must have within itself an innate capacity of movement -

> Quid ergo? hanc solam esse causam venti existimo, aquarum terrarumque evaporationes? ex his gravitatem aëris fieri, deinde solvi inpetu, cum quae densa steterant, ut est necesse, extenuata nituntur in ampliorem locum? Ego vero et hanc iudico: ceterum illa est longe valentior veriorque, habere aëra naturalem vim movendi se neque aliunde concipere, sed inesse illi ut aliarum rerum, ita huius potentiam(171).

Pneuma to the stoic is the manifestation of divine force, spread throughout the whole of reality, and as such the instrument of unity within the different grades of being(172). More particularly, air as vital breath animates both the world at large and the animal life within it. Wind is an aspect of the same power which gives life in man. As Balbus explains it in the De Natura Deorum,

> ...Apres l'air voisin & contigu de la mer est distingué du iour & de la nuit. Et iceluy ores espandu & attenué est porté en haut, ores amassé s'espoissit en nuees, & recueillant l'humeur, de pluyes augmente la terre, & ores coulant çà & là nous engendre les vents...Et iceluy mesme soustient le vol des oiseaux, & attiré de l'haleine nourrit & sustente les animaux(173).

What for the stoic is an aspect of the life-force is for Béroalde a further manifestation of God, but for both the movement of the air is the indication of something larger;

> Car quant toute l'humeur seroit en haut portee,
> Puis en roides glaçons sur la terre iettee,
> Encores tout cet air, ne s'esmouueroit point,
> Car il est en son corps solide, iuste & ioint;
> Il faut donq' de ce vent vne cause plus belle,
> Et pour agitter l'air vne force eternelle(174).

The method in Béroalde's case remains the same. Observation leads to hidden cause, and to the truth of a universe created and maintained by God. But for him there is a further association also, as the identification between breath and wind and the activity of the Almighty is one frequently made in Scripture(175). Béroalde's extension of the creation account continues to explain the biblical in terms of the scientific.

This wind, like the pneuma of the stoics, is a divine force permeating the whole of creation, and it is very much the cosmic aspect which Béroalde is concerned to emphasise;

> Il est vray qu'ici bas on sent pousser souuent
> Le corps espais de l'air, & former quelque vent:
> Mais cela n'est point vent, ains du vent la semblance,
> Ainsi que nostre feu n'est point du feu l'essence,
> Et ne peut on donner de cét air agitté,
> Vn autre iugement fondé sur verité(176).

The distinction between earthly and celestial fire is a familiar one, referred to by both Ronsard in his Hymne du Ciel and Du Bartas in La Sepmaine(177). We might compare the statement in the De Natura Deorum, reporting the opinion of the stoic philosopher Cleanthes;

> Or cestuy nostre feu que requiert l'vsage de la vie, consume, & deuore tout, & iceluy mesme quelque part qu'il se prenne, ard & dissipe tout. Au contraire celuy du corps vital & salutaire, conserue, nourrit, augmente, soustient, & donne sentiment à tout(178).

Béroalde, by establishing at the same time a similar distinction for the element air, comes nearer to the original stoic notion. One definition of the pneuma in stoic terminology is precisely this, that it is a compound of the two active elements air and fire(179). The role of these two elements is equally prominent in Béroalde's account of creation, and the dominance of each is carefully explained to be a cosmic one, distinct from their humbler manifestations. As the stoics had before him, Béroalde makes generative heat the unifying bond of the universe, but he makes this detour to give the movement of the air the same exalted status. The former is commonplace, but its conjunction with the latter suggests a direct connection with the subject of pneuma and that of soul. It remains, on the other hand, that for the stoics pneuma is an essentially material concept, a way of explaining the world as it is, and not at all a spiritual force(180). It is only at a later stage that the spiritualisation of pneuma occurs, largely under the influence now of the Bible(181). But the theological premiss in Les Cognoissances is constant, and for Béroalde the active element air, like everything else, has its ultimate cause in God.

Nonetheless, it is function in this world which remains the point of interest, so long as function can be explained in terms of underlying cause. "Verité" once established, Béroalde returns to the meteorological, and to the operation of a world governed by providential design;

Or en haut par ce vent dessous les estendues
S'assemblent haut & bas infinité de nues,
Et l'ardeur du Soleil attire des bas lieux,
Le soufre, & le salpestre & le transporte aux cieux
Qui pressés par le vent degoutent sur la terre
La nege, le frimas, la gresle, le tonnerre:
Car il mesle là haut, ce qui est y porté,
Et tout corps est en l'air par sa force agité(182).

At this level the world is once more machine, and specifically here a sort of celestial distilling apparatus. The imagery of alchemy evidently comes quite naturally to Béroalde, and here the phenomena of the weather are explained almost in laboratory terms, with the wind and the heat of the sun taking the place of the fire and the bellows. It is the action of these two combined which cause the mineral substances in the world seen as alembic to vaporise and condense into another form(183). It is worth noting again the emphasis on process, and the contrast with the approach of a Du Bartas, who in La Sepmaine includes a similar image, but clearly for its picturesque value(184). Nor does Béroalde indulge in any colourful description of the meteorological phenomena he mentions, in the way that Baïf does before him or that a poet such as Isaac Habert will do after him(185). Instead he concentrates upon one central idea.

This central idea has its own links with stoic pneumatology, for the alchemists, like the stoics, and even influenced by them(186), see reality as permeated by a single vital principle, in animate and inanimate beings alike. It is this inner soul which they seek to release, principally through the action of heat, from the material body which enmeshes it. Vivifying heat brings the imperfect nearer to perfection, and imposes order on the chaotic. In this sense the alchemist's fire is one and the same as the pneuma of the stoics, and in Béroalde's poem both come together. Embracing them both is the overall conviction of the continuing activity of God in the created world, the conviction which has underlied this account of creation from the beginning.

*

At this point Béroalde's account of the creation of the inanimate

world is complete. It is an account quite distinct in character from either of its two most obvious precedents, the Microcosme of Scève and the Sepmaine of Du Bartas. The purpose of Scève is in any case different, in that he wishes to portray the progress and continuing civilisation of man, and his version of the events of creation is merely an introduction to this main theme. The depiction is that of a creation from which man and man's achievements will emerge. Its methodical exposition and its almost pedantic vocabulary recall the style of Les Cognoissances, but finally the creation account of the Microcosme remains only an episode. Closer in both time and scope to Béroalde's poem is the Sepmaine of Du Bartas, and the opening to Les Cognoissances shows that there is a clear connection between the two works. Béroalde could hardly fail to be influenced by the model of La Sepmaine. He shares with Du Bartas the aim of praise of God through creation, and he shares further the view of a God who is both the creator of the universe in the past and the maintainer of the universe in the present. What is more remarkable is that the influence of Du Bartas is as restricted as it is. More than this, in many respects the creation account of Les Cognoissances is as a reaction against that of La Sepmaine, where others, Du Monin and Du Chesne notably, remain the slavish disciples of the method established by the Gascon poet.

Both Du Bartas and Béroalde are Calvinist poets, Béroalde at least at the time of the writing of this poem, but each has a different approach to the demands of faith. Du Bartas' is a poetry of immense sureness, declamatory and didactic from the start, and this sureness is one that depends, quite explicitly, on a rejection of reason and a dependence on faith. Of course, La Sepmaine is scarcely a visionary poem , but it is true that it is concerned not so much with explanation as with statement. The energies of the poet are devoted not to analysis, but to accumulation, and to the language in which that accumulation is expressed. The thornier

issues, such as the question of the waters above the firmament, are avoided. In terms of content, the approach is listing and encyclopaedic, and as such open-ended. Du Bartas' poem is by definition a continuing labour, in which comprehensiveness and volume are conscious preoccupations, and even a duty (187). The interest is not in cause, but in effect, and for preference the most theatrical and striking of effects. The poet has an obvious enthusiasm for the unusual and the bizarre, and has a love of paradox for its own sake. This carries over into the highly florid and figured language of the poem, in which one senses a delight in imagery for imagery's sake, and through which the poet's own demonstrative personality is part of the subject.

The language of Les Cognoissances is quite the opposite. It is sober and factual, and almost totally eschews imagery. The poet deliberately casts himself in a much humbler role, and from the beginning the emphasis is on understanding on the poet's own part. The method now is not the comprehensive survey, but the analysis of function, the breaking up into parts, and the searching behind outer appearance for inner cause. The approach is more properly a scientific one, and the implicit role of reason is now not to oppose but to complement faith. The aim is consonant with Calvinism, and indeed finds a justification in the Physica Christiana of the Calvinist pastor Lambert Daneau. Béroalde is alchemist and mathematician, and has a positive and active interest in science. This enthusiasm, and the note of aspiration with which it is bound up in the poem, refers us to Peletier du Mans rather than to Scève or Du Bartas. Only here the intention is the praise of God, and the context is one that imposes its own limitation. These are the "Cognoissances" which are "Necessaires", and the theological element is reinforced by the specific influence of Calvinism.

The aim of this creation account is not to prepare for the coming of man, in the manner of Scève, nor to awe in the manner of Du Bartas, but simply to explain the activity of God in scientific

terms. This means a movement away from the spectacular, towards a detailed explanation of the presence of God within the created world. More consciously even than Du Bartas, Béroalde stresses the continuing role of God in creation. He produces a scientific commentary on the creation verses of Genesis, and the commentary is one that shows the same scientific principles underlying God's actions then as govern the functioning of the world now. Here the central idea is that of order. Creation is presented as a process of ordering, to the extent that the idea of chaos all but disappears. In the same way order and harmony is the essential component in the organisation of the created world.

An anti-pictural style in Les Cognoissances matches an emphasis on inner working, on the component parts of creation. As God's activities are assimilated to a scientific programme, so the "building-block" role of the four elements emerges more strongly. Béroalde's universe is one of movement, but of controlled movement, where the interchange of the elements has the crucial role. It is also one of the interplay of forces, with vivifying heat the principal of these. The commonplace is originally Aristotelean, but it is one that has particular applications to alchemy and to stoic theories of pneuma. Both of these play an important part in Béroalde's poem. Béroalde is the alchemist, and Les Cognoissances shows a use of alchemical vocabulary and imagery. But more than this, there is a general parallel between the work of transmutation and the act of creation itself, and this may help to explain Béroalde's consuming interest in process and function. The poet is fascinated by the change of one form into another, and even portrays God himself in the role of the adepte manipulating his creation.

There is a further link, however, between the activity of the alchemist and the stoic theory of pneuma, in that both believe in the presence of a single vital principle underlying creation. Both are part of Béroalde's preoccupation with unity and harmony in his

depiction of the cosmos. In the idea of pneuma Béroalde finds ready-made the concept of one animating force binding together all the lower parts of creation, and this he adapts to a christian context, making all an explanation of the providence of God. World-soul is of course a very widespread notion at the time, far from limited to only stoic influence, but in Béroalde's thought its importance is fundamental. It becomes the guarantee of cohesion in a world directly overseen by a provident deity, and may then be analysed part by part. The role of generative heat in the creation account of Les Cognoissances is made the central one, and it is as a manifestation of soul that Béroalde presents it.

The exploration is more systematic than that of Du Bartas. In particular, the ideas are of philosophical rather than pictorial significance. That stoicism is a particular influence is suggested by the attention that Béroalde gives to rebutting the stoic rider to the theory of world-soul, the divinity of the world itself, and by the prominence given first to fire and then to air as the active elements in creation, the elements themselves identified with pneuma. All this, however, takes its place within the biblically-inspired framework of creation, and it is to the religious value that we must return. Praise of God is the poem's object, and it is here that we see most clearly the rejection of the popularising, and the break with the encyclopaedic and didactic tradition represented by Du Bartas. Scientific ideas are to make their own contribution, and the poetry that results can only be of more restricted appeal. But the search for cause, in which religious sensibility is allied with scientific enthusiasm, is constant.

* * *

CHAPTER II

MACROCOSM - THE ORGANISATION OF THE WORLD

A view of creation as a vast essay of organisation not only involves an interpretation of the act of Creation itself, and an analysis of its continuing consequences, but also has important implications for the relationship between God and the created world. Béroalde's account of the appearance of the inanimate world leads to the discussion of the status of man within it.

At this stage we are forcibly reminded that the theological aspect is central to the interpretation of reality given in Les Cognoissances. Béroalde's universe is one built upon a division between "là-haut" and "icy-bas", and on a tension between God and man. The world is a palace built for man, and the second half of the poem is concerned with the microcosmic theme proper, but the poet takes as his premiss the inferiority of the terrestrial world and of man who inhabits it. Man's position in regard to the Deity is only one aspect of this inferiority. The influence here comes from the christian-penitential tradition rather than the stoic. For the Stoic there is the problem of evil in a world penetrated by the beneficent principle of pneuma. But, as others have pointed out, the problem is philosophical, and countered by a double argument - first, that the world is to be considered as a totality, and that therefore individual imperfections disappear in the overall order of the universe; second, that a distinction is to be made between the principal aim of an action and the consequences which may result from certain actions(1). The solution is achieved at the expense of individuality, which in the stoic cosmology consistently suffers for the sake of unity.

In the christian ethos it is the individual who seeks regeneration, within a system where the contrast between the perfection of God and the corruption of man is absolute. St. Paul emphasises that the natural state of man is sin(2), and Gargantua's

letter to Pantagruel is only the most famous statement of what is a theological commonplace(3). In Les Cognoissances Necessaires it becomes the implicit limitation upon a scientific enquiry, and Béroalde accepts the sinfulness of man at the same time as the supremacy of God. At the same time, we have already pointed to the influence of Calvin on the expression of Béroalde's ideas, and this theme is one that is put forward with particular force in Calvin's writings. The language reserved in the Institution de la Religion Chrestienne to characterise the debasement of man is categoric, and striking in its vehemence;

> Pourtant, que ceste sentence, laquelle ne peut estre aucunement esbranlée, nous demeure ferme et certaine: assavoir que l'entendement de l'homme est tellement du tout aliéné de la iustice de Dieu, qu'il ne peut rien imaginer, concevoir ne comprendre, sinon toute meschanceté, iniquité et corruption. Semblablement, que son coeur est tant envenimé de péché, qu'il ne peut produire que toute perversité. Et s'il advient qu'il en sorte quelque chose qui ait apparence de bien, néantmoins que l'entendement demeure tousiours enveloppé en hypocrisie et vanité, le coeur adonné à toute malice(4).

Calvin develops with a remorseless logic the idea that the corruption of man proceeds from his own nature;

> ...nous disons que tous les désirs et appétits des hommes sont mauvais, et les condamnons de péché, non pas entant qu'ils sont naturels, mais entant qu'ils sont désordonnez. Or ils sont désordonnez d'autant qu'il ne peut rien procéder pur n'entier de nostre nature vicieuse et souillée(5).

Man's degradation arises directly from original sin - "Il a donc par sa propre malice corrompu la bonne nature qu'il avoit receue du Seigneur" (6). If we turn now to Les Cognoissances, both the sentiment and the uncompromising way in which it is expressed suggest the Calvinist inspiration;

> Car nous causons nos maux par nostre seul malheur
> Et meschans de nature arrachons sur nous mesmes
> Des mains de l'eternel les sentences extremes:
> Et toutesfois là haut ses conseils eternels,
> Arrestent les destins de nous pauures mortels,
> Sans que nous le sçachions ou que moins sage il preine
> De nos foibles auis la discretion vaine.
> Aussi sommes nous rien et sans entandement,
> Car il est tout l'esprit, & tout le iugement,
> Dont il nous preste icy, mais si peu que nous sommes
> Contraints de confesser la misere des hommes(7).

The universe presented by Les Cognoissances is built upon religious

values as well as upon principles that may be given a scientific gloss, and Calvinism is a major influence on the formulation of those values. The equation, and the emphasis, of the poem is that of the Institution;

> Parquoy contemplons plustost en la nature corrompue de l'homme la cause de sa damnation, laquelle luy est évidente, que de la chercher en la prédestination de Dieu, où elle est cachée et du tout incompréhensible(8).

The same evocation of the weakness of man and the might of God leads in Les Cognoissances to an interpretation of the hexaemeral theme quite distinct from that of Du Bartas. Du Bartas' is a faith proclaimed, and the implicit stance he adopts is one of superiority. When he interrupts his cosmological account, it is to declaim against "Des hommes-chiens sans Dieu la blasphemante bouche"(9), or to evoke an apocalyptic end to the world against the Greek philosophers who argue for its permanence(10). Béroalde's gloss, in contrast, is explanatory rather than declamatory, and the poet is concerned with the qualities of self-abnegation and humility, effacing personality and not vaunting it. The individuality is that of the sinner, and the status of the poet-interpreter is bound up with an obsession with the dangers of pride. This is something basic to Béroalde's religious sensibility, but also to his scientific enthusiasm.

Béroalde's interpretation of the world is conditioned by a view of the place of man within it, and this view has the same uncompromising quality as does Calvin's. The theological justification that he provides for it is the Protestant one. It is a universal view that free will is the instrument of man's damnation(11), and Calvin agrees that Adam before the Fall was endowed with free will, and the ability to choose good or evil(12). However, the distinct Reformist position is that the consequence of the Fall is its loss. Man's subjection to evil is absolute(13). Calvin follows Luther in teaching the enslavement of the will(14), and argues that man is incapable of doing good unless helped by the grace of God, which is given only to the chosen(15). It is here that Les Cognoissances comes nearest to the sectarian;

Il est vray toutefois que par nostre nature,
Nous resentons des maux la cruelle auanture,
Et par nostre peché miserables rendus,
Esclaues au malheur nous nous sommes vendus,
Et plains de liberté ne pouuans bien eslire
Auons au lieu du bon plustost choisi le pire,
Qui fait que nous changeons non pas les faits parfaits,
Mais des faits du seigneur dessus nous les effaits,
Et au pris que du ciel le bien sur nous s'abaisse
Nous changeons sa douceur au malheur qui nous presse(16).

In Les Cognoissances also then there is an inevitability about the state of man, in which the action of the will is of no avail. Good is beyond the reach of man in his unaided state, and "plains de liberté" becomes the material of an ironic paradox.

Béroalde's notion of enquiry is framed within the context of man's total dependence upon God, and to his picture of the wretchedness of man is to be opposed the portrayal of a God in whom all the absolutes are vested;

Or le Dieu tout puissant cette infinie essence,
Qui par son seul vouloir nous donne cognoissance
De ce qu'est sa grandeur, perpetuellement,
Demeurant sans changer le mesme egalement,
Qu'il a tousiours esté en l'egalité belle,
Qui seule & simple estant est en estre eternelle,
Créa cét existant dont son iuste parler
Tira les cieux, le feu, la mer, la terre, l'air,
Faisant ce monde entier d'vne belle mesure,
Durant six iours certains & non par auanture(17).

The six days of creation provide of course in the case of Du Bartas the pattern and the structure for the whole poem, but what interests Béroalde here, and what indeed brings us back to the central distinction between Les Cognoissances and the model of La Sepmaine, is the concept of order they represent. "Auanture" has no role, and creation is the antithesis of—the haphazard. The idea once more is that of providential design;

Rien par vn si grand Dieu ne se fait sans conseil
Tressage il fit le ciel...(18)

Such a design embraces in the poem not only the physical composition of the world itself, but the status of the human condition. It is not only Creation, but also its continuing organisation, which is the manifestation of the divine will;

Et ce qui du Soleil
Sent les glissans rayons, par sa iuste ordonnance

> Receut quand il luy pleut sa premiere naissance,
> Et mesme maintenant comme il est de tousiours,
> Ses iustes volontés suyuent vn mesme cours.
> Il n'est rien de plus grand qui plus sage l'enseigne,
> Il n'est rien de fatal qui son vouloir contraigne,
> Et ne fut ordonné par autre que par luy
> De faire ce qu'il fit, & qu'il fait auiourd'huy(19).

These reflections bring Béroalde to consider a philosophical problem of a different order, that of the role of fate and destiny. The question is a very old one, but has an immediate relevance when, as here, part of the definition of God's superiority over man is made his immunity to the action of fate;

> Il n'est point comme nous borné à vne fin,
> Il n'est point arresté par les lois du destin.
> Car le destin n'est rien que cette prescience
> Dont il vse sur nous par sa iuste puissance,
> Nous y sommes suiets, & non luy: car il peut
> Le rompre et destourner en vn moment s'il veut:
> La fortune non plus dessus luy ne commende,
> Mais tout ploye suiet sous sa force plus grande(20).

Destiny is nothing more or less than God's prescience of the actions of man, and by definition God himself is exempt from it, as he is from the more random influence of fortune. Man, on the other hand, is the helpless victim of those same forces of destiny.

This would appear to have grave implications for the status of man in Béroalde's world-view. On the face of it, the universe which Béroalde presents could scarcely be more determinist. Order is omnipresent force, and everything has its place. The world is seen as the projection of God, and the random is systematically excluded. But Béroalde now finds himself faced with the same problem as had faced Calvin before him. It is one that relates to the question of the possible accord between human free will and divine providence, and the dividing line between them. This is a problem which had been debated in the epic mode before, in Jean de Meun's Roman de la Rose(21). As it is stated there, its terms are simple, if not its solution. How may the free will operate within the inevitability of God's knowledge of all human action? As De Meung says,

> Mes de sodre la question
> conment predestinacion
> et la divine presciance,

plaine de toute porveance,
peut estre o volanté delivre,
fort est a lais genz a descrivre...(22)

To say that God might be without knowledge of what men might do, "ce seroit deablie a fere"; yet to make all human action preordained and inevitable, beyond the responsibility of the individual, is to render meaningless the very concept of vice and virtue itself. What then of reward and punishment?

Car conmant fere le porroit?
Qui bien regarder i vorroit,
il ne seroit vertuz ne vices;
ne sacrefier en galices,
ne Dieu prier riens ne vaudroit,
quant vices et vertuz faudroit(23).

Nobody could merit the grace of God through good works - "nus ne pourroit recouvrer / la grace Dieu par bien ouvrer"(24). After an involved discussion, de Meun's solution is an uneasy one. God's intentions for the world are ineluctable, but the general destiny of the individual (represented by the power of the stars) may be modified by the secondary influences of chance and the will(25).

For Calvin, and Béroalde after him, the problem is a different one. Free will is not a problem, as there is no free will. For the Calvinist the spectre of an intractable destiny looms even larger, and the danger is that the individual will be caught up in a web of Stoic determinism, with no apparent escape. Béroalde's poem spells out the Calvinist response. First this goes in the direction of a denial of the concept of fortune.

The theme of Fortune is a commonplace in both literature and art(26). The Roman Goddess Fortuna has a vigorous survival into medieval philosophy and literature(27), and with the literary tradition comes an iconographic one. In the Consolation of Philosophy Boethius elaborates the image of Fortune's wheel, which, alongside that of winged Fortune astride her globe, is to become a commonplace in its own right(28). Both are recurrent pictorial motifs, in sacred as well as in secular art(29). They grip the imagination of poets also. The Roman de la Rose gives a

full development to the idea of the wheel of Fortune(30), and in Ronsard's Priere à la Fortune the goddess becomes truly cosmic figure;

> O grand' Deesse, ô FORTUNE, qui tiens
> Entre tes mains les hommes & leurs biens...
> Qui de ton chef hurtes le haut du pole,
> Et de tes piedz la terre vas foulant
> Dessus un globe incessamment roulant...(31)

Ronsard conducts his own dialogue with the deity, making Fortune the object of prayer or complaint. In either case Fortune is presented as independent power controlling the destinies of man. In the Complainte contre Fortune she is responsible for the reverses in the poet's career. Blind in her actions and fickle in her favours, Fortune appears above all as a malevolent deity,

> ...ennemie, inconstante & legere,
> Sourde, muette, aveugle, ingrate & mensongere,
> Sans foy, sans loy, sans lieu, vagante sans arrest,
> A qui le vice agrée & la vertu desplaist,
> Mechante, piperesse, abominable, infame,
> Et digne (comme elle est) de l'habit d'une femme(32).

Such is the artistic and literary tradition, but Béroalde in Les Cognoissances reverts to a separate one, which is above all aware of the threat posed by Fortune to Providence. This is the problem met by Aquinas and Augustine when they reduce Fortune to "causa per accidens", and deny it the status of "causa per se"(33), and which leads other writers to use apologetic formulas in their use of the term(34). In Les Cognoissances it is assimilated to the pattern of creation itself. In a universe ordered to the extent that chance and the irrational are precluded from it, there can be nothing affecting human fate external to the influence of God. Fortune has no place, and the existence of the concept is now referred to that other leitmotif, the feebleness of man. An incidental result is once more an emphasis on the anti-pictorial, and a preference for the abstract over the concrete, as the classical and medieval image is drained away. All is brought back to a single reality, and other commentaries become purely linguistic;

> Cependant le grand Dieu enuoye bien sur nous
> Ce que nous disons sort tesmoin de son courous,
> Et pour ne sçauoir pas au vray quelle nature

> Ont ses fais tant diuers, les disons auanture,
> Sort, fortune, destin, mais tout est le pouuoir
> Du puissant Eternel, sa sagesse, & vouloir,
> Que par iuste compas il ordonne equitable
> Quoy qu'on l'ait estimé sans ordre & variable(35).

The tradition of this sentiment is one that goes back to Augustine and the fifth book of The City of God;

> Prorsus divina providentia regna constituuntur humana. Quae si propterea quisquam fato tribuit, quia ipsam Dei voluntatem vel potestatem fati nomine appellat, sententiam teneat, linguam corrigat(36).

But it is Calvin who is the likely intermediary. Boethius had taken the Augustinian idea further, establishing a proper parallel between Fate and Providence. Providence is in God, simple, unvarying, and above being; Fate is its objective realisation in the world, in movement and multiple. It is the latter, Boethius says, which is perceived by men(37). Calvin in the Institution thinks in similar terms, but the pattern of emphasis is now the one which will be adopted by Béroalde. There is the same stress on the lack of comprehension of man, and the same admonitory tone;

> Ie di donques, combien que toutes choses soyent conduites par le conseil de Dieu, toutesfois qu'elles nous sont fortuites. Non pas que nous réputions fortune dominer sur les hommes pour tourner haut et bas toutes choses témérairement (car ceste resverie doit estre loin d'un coeur Chrestien); mais pource que des choses qui adviennent, l'ordre, la raison, la fin et necessité est le plus souvent cachée au conseil de Dieu et ne peut estre comprinse par l'opinion humaine, les choses que nous savons certainement provenir de la volonté de Dieu nous sont quasi fortuites; car elles ne monstrent point autre apparence, quand on les considère en leur nature, ou quand elles sont estimées selon nostre iugement et cognoissance(38).

Du Bartas too relates the theme of fortune to the nature of providence, and subscribes to the Calvinist view. But he is content to conclude the matter with a reference to the mysteries of God, and it becomes merely a passing episode in his personal dialogue with the Deity;

> Si demeures tu iuste, ô Dieu! mais ie ne puis
> Sonder de tes desseins l'inespuisable puis
> Mon esprit est trop court pour donner quelque attainte
> Mesme au plus bas conseil de ta Maiesté saincte.
> Tes secrets moins secrets, ô Dieu, ie reconoy
> Lettres closes à nous, & patentes à toy.
> Bien souuent toutesfois ce qui de prime face,
> Comme iniuste à nos sens nostre raison surpasse:
> Tu veux, ô Tout-puissant, tu veux qu'en sa saison
> Nous le reconoissions estre fait par raison...(39)

Béroalde, in contrast, demands a fuller solution, and follows Calvin in robbing the notion "Fortune" of all validity. It is Calvin's injunction which he seems to be heeding;

> ...Fortune et Adventure sont mots de Payens, desquels la signification ne doit point entrer en un coeur fidèle(40).

Les Cognoissances suggests a further aspect to the problem which Du Bartas' poem does not. It is of course in itself a biblical and evangelical theme that what seems chance to man is Providence in God, that the action of Providence is universal(41), and Calvin himself is well aware of this;

> Pour mieux esclarcir telle diversité, il est à noter que la providence de Dieu, telle que l'Escriture la propose, s'oppose à fortune et à tous cas fortuits(42).

The particular implication is the abandonment of the poetic and literary theme. A writer such as Philippe du Plessis Mornay, in his De la Verité de la Religion Chrestienne, makes this clear. The Protestant apologist links an insistence upon order with a specific denial of the traditional image of Fortune;

> Or si on parle de la Fortune telle que la peignent les Poëtes, aueugle, qui a les pieds sur vne boule & qui tourne à tous vents, elle sera aussi aisee à effacer qu'à peindre. Car qui ne voit, qu'il y a & en l'vniuers & en toutes ses parties vn ordre, & comment le pourroit vn aueugle conduire?....
>
> Or si entre les hommes qui sont tous d'vne espece, & mesmes à peu prez ont mesme portion de raison; il y a telle difference d'aage à aage, de qualité à qualité, de sagesse à sagesse, que ce qui est auanture à l'vn est prouidence à l'autre: trouuerons nous estrange que ce qui nous semble auanture, à nous qui ne sommes qu'aueuglement & ignorance, soit vne singuliere Prouidence en Dieu?(43)

It is this point of view which Béroalde's poem puts into effect, but suggesting at the same time, as Du Plessis Mornay implies, a reaction against poetic styles of diction. With the rejection of the concept comes the rejection of a language, and the sober and factual presentation acquires a philosophical overtone. The question is one to which we shall have to return(44).

The role of Fortune then is transformed, from independent force to merely a name coined by the feeble intellect of man for the inexorable Providence of God as it appears in the world. Apparent "fortune" is a further manifestation of the will of God in the

continuing organisation of creation, and as such the blind Goddess is transformed into an all-seeing presence;

> Tout y est iustement & sans varieté
> S'y trouue exactement le vray & l'equité,
> Et en tours accomplis par pois & par mesure
> Y est la verité qui en soy se mesure,
> Par ses yeux tous voyans, qui lumiere de soy
> Suyuent de l'eternel l'inuiolable loy,
> Communiquant ça bas & la fortune bonne
> Et la sinistre aussi alors que Dieu l'ordonne,
> A fin de nous punir, sans en estre l'auteur(45).

Following Calvin, and indeed ultimately following Boethius, Béroalde makes Fortune the secondary agent of Providence, the interpreter of the will of God in the world. But that will remains fixed and stable, and Béroalde is careful, like Calvin, to free God of responsibility for man's suffering. The Institution makes the same distinction;

> Si nous endurons quelque dommage, ou pour nostre négligence, ou pour nostre nonchalance, nous penserons que cela s'est fait par le vouloir de Dieu, mais nous ne laisserons point de nous en imputer la faute(46).

All fault, all inconstancy, must reside with man, and Les Cognoissances too works within this opposition between the total iniquity of man and the total goodness of God. "Nous causons nos maux par nostre seul malheur"; but also God's supreme wisdom obliterates "De nos foibles auis la discretion vaine". The negation of the free will leads Béroalde to the same ethical problem which had earlier confronted Calvin.

The solution, moreover, is the same. Calvin is determined to exempt man from a mere web of determinism, in which the only attitude of the individual could be entirely passive;

> ...nous ne songeons pas une necessité laquelle soit contenue en nature par une conionction perpétuelle de toutes choses, comme faisoyent les Stoiques. Mais nous constituons Dieu maistre et modérateur de toutes choses...(47)

A section of the Institution(48) is devoted to combating the opinions of those who in the face of Destiny refuse to take any decision or action for themselves, on the grounds that all in any case is foreordained, and who further refuse, for the same reason, to condemn

others. A rogue who has killed a man of worth is said to have carried out God's will; a robber or a libertine becomes the minister of God's Providence. In the hands of these people all the vices become virtue. Calvin's opposition is withering. In the light of the activities of the Consistory in Geneva(49), one thing that Calvinism cannot be accused of is the lack of a moral code. The control of Providence does not nullify the responsibility of man -

> Pourtant le coeur de l'homme Chrestien, veu qu'il a cela tout résolu qu'il n'advient rien à l'adventure, mais que toutes choses se font par la providence de Dieu, regardera tousiours à luy comme à la principale cause de tout ce qui se fait; mais cependant il ne laissera point de contempler les causes inférieures en leur degré(50).

Béroalde's warning is the same, but worded even more strongly;

> Or encor qu'en ces vers ie tante brauement
> Le secret du destin, & quel euenement
> La fortune sur nous constante non constante,
> Comme nous le pensons tous les iours nous presente,
> Pour nous faire esprouuer ou le bien ou le mal,
> Le destin casuel, ou le hazard fatal...
> Et combien que vraiment ie di qu'il determine
> De tout, & tout est plain de la force diuine,
> Et que sans le vouloir de nous pauures humains,
> Il execute icy ses arrests souuerains:
> Ie ne veux pas pourtant qu'on forcene en soy mesme
> Et que parlant en vain, malheureux on blaspheme,
> Qu'on die s'il y a vne fortune, vn faut,
> Qu'on ne doit auoir soin de cela qui en haut,
> En bas ou au millieu, possible nous peut nuire,
> Puis que sommes contrains la destinee suyure(51).

The statement of the nullity of the human will is uncompromising, but Béroalde, like Calvin, is concerned to maintain an active relationship between the individual and God. "Invocation, est le recours que nostre âme a à luy, comme à son espoir unique" is Calvin's phrase(52), and similarly the pendant that Béroalde attaches to "la misère des hommes" is a spiritual one;

> Et pourtant ceux qui ont le coeur deuotieux
> Qu'ils sçachent le deuoir qu'ils doiuent rendre aux cieux,
> Et que d'vne ame entiere, innocente & fidelle,
> Ils attendent leur bien de sa grace eternelle,
> Et ayans mis sous pied la fiance de soy,
> Se raportent tousiours à sa tresiuste loy.
> Car pour courir icy vne fortune heureuse,
> Pour fuir du danger la peine douloureuse,
> Pour se garder du mal, d'vn mesme soin tousiours
> A d'autre qu'au grand Dieu, ne faut auoir recours.
> Il faut d'vn long souspir en esperant sa grace,
> Respirer à longs traits les desirs de sa face,
> Qui se presente à ceux, qui le veulent auoir

Pour fortune, pour sort, pour destin, pour espoir(53).

The content, with its condemnation of philautia and insistence upon trust in God, would in a different context be termed evangelical. The Rabelais of the Tiers Livre is expressing very much the same idea, and, to take an earlier example, there is a distinct parallel between the philosophy of a Grantgousier and the formula Béroalde expresses here. The tone, in contrast, is that of a Chassignet or a Sponde. The mood suggested is both penitential - "d'vn long souspir" - and ecstatic - "respirer à longs traits". The presentation is markedly emotive, and behind the personal and the intimate lies the classic pattern of devotionalism, from abnegation of self to fulfilment in contemplation and hope(54). Perhaps most remarkably, the context is still that of the hexaemeral poem as established by Du Bartas. The contrast now could scarcely be more clear. Where Du Bartas' poem turns always to the grandiloquent and the extrovert, the hexaemeral theme in Les Cognoissances leads naturally to the reassertion of the interior value, in this instance specifically spiritual. But the spiritual reality is itself bound up into a picture of the cosmos as a whole.

The theological commentary is that the order of God is unvarying, and that the erratic comes from the imperfections of man alone. Sin is man's creation. In The City of God Augustine relates this to the foreknowledge of God;

> Neque enim ideo (non) peccat homo, quia Deus illum peccaturum esse praescivit; immo ideo non dubitatur ipsum peccare cum peccat quia ille cuius praescientia falli non potest non fatum, non fortunam, non aliquid aliud, sed ipsum peccaturum esse praescivit(55).

God's infallible prescience sees that man alone will sin. If an individual chooses not to sin, it foresees this also; Augustine retains the concept of the free will. In terms of Calvinist doctrine, the opposition is more straightforward. In De la Verité de la Religion Chrestienne Du Plessis Mornay assumes without question "Que la nature de l'homme est corrompuë", and the proviso he adds to this is explicit;

> ...aduisons consequemment, d'où & de quand ce mal luy peut

estre venu, & quelle en a peu estre la cause. Certes si nous disons de Dieu, & dés sa creation, nous blasphemons trop lourdement. Dieu est bon & la bonté mesmes(56).

Again Béroalde's poem reflects the Calvinist view;

> Non pas que le malheur ait de Dieu son essence,
> Ou qu'il y ait du mal en la iuste puissance,
> D'autant que comme Dieu son pouuoir est bonté,
> Soit que nous le disions, propice, ou irrité(57).

But even in this purely theological context Béroalde's scientific interests may make their presence felt. An obvious and traditional analogy for the goodness of God embracing creation is that of the sun and its rays(58), and the image of light in itself is one that carries metaphysical overtones(59). In the Institution Calvin gives it a characteristically concrete development, to the extent that we almost lose sight of the original. The appeal of this image is no Augustinian intellectualization, but a direct appeal to the senses;

Et dont vient la puanteur en une charogne après qu'elle est ouverte et pourrie? Chacun void bien que cela vient des rais du Soleil, et toutesfois personne ne dira qu'ils puent pourtant(60).

Béroalde in the poem is making the same point that both God and the instrument of his influence on man are essentially incorruptible, and employing the same illustrative distinction between the sun's rays and their effect. But we are faced with a very different sensibility. To the concrete, the sensual and the direct Béroalde prefers the abstract, the geometric, and something which is much more the intellectualization of reality. The food of the intellectual is here the scientific, and an optical image. The result is very curious;

> Il ne patit aussi comme nous dont la vie
> Suiette aux passions en est tousiours suyuie:
> Mais comme du Soleil la clarté nous voyons,
> Se ietter dessus nous, par ses iustes rayons,
> Qui droicts vont droitement, aux obiets opposites
> Par la forme desquels les ombres sont conduites,
> En cent mille façons courbant diuersement,
> La lumiere qui est iettee droitement:
> Tout ainsi du grand Dieu la force non changeante,
> Par nostre naturel semble estre patiente.
> Mais elle est dessus nous bonne sans se changer,
> Car nous ne la saurions contraindre ny fausser(61).

With this image Béroalde sums up the nature of the relationship between God and man as it is presented in Les Cognoissances, and the formula, as we have seen, is very much a traditional one. But the area in which the problem of fate and destiny presents itself most forcefully at this time is that of astrology. Indeed, it is as a protest against astrological determinism that Augustine launches his definition of the action of Providence in The City of God(62). A discussion of astrology has a prominent part in Les Cognoissances also, but astrology now is firmly located within the view of the world that the poem has already expressed.

*

Les Cognoissances condemns, with vehemence, the practice of astrology, but the character of the condemnation is determined by the definition of the universe that the poem presents. It is certainly not unique in its attack upon astrology as such. Giovanni Pico's Disputationes adversus Astrologiam Divinatricem was first published in 1496, and was a model for later writers(63). One of these writers is Calvin himself, who in 1549 wrote his Traité ou Avertissement contre l'Astrologie qu'on appelle judiciaire(64). However, each of these works recalls in its title a distinction which is fundamental to the sixteenth century approach to the art of astrology. Astrology is thought of as having two branches, "natural" and "judicial", and both the character and the reputation of each of these branches is quite distinct. It is important to note that it is specifically with an attack upon divinatory astrology that both Pico and Calvin are concerned.

It is divinatory or judicial astrology which deals with the influence of the stars upon human affairs, and which claims to forecast that influence through the art of prognostication and the casting of horoscopes. As such it represents a determinism which brings it into direct conflict with the two theological principles of the freedom of the will and the omnipotence of

divine providence. On these grounds it is condemned by writers from Augustine onwards, and officially forbidden by the Church. In February 1494, after due deliberation, the Sorbonne delivered the following pronouncement;

> Nous déclarons que l'art, si l'on peut lui donner ce nom, dont les adeptes sont appelés souvent mathématiciens, parfois généthliaques, chaldéens ou astrologues, est absolument vain, n'existe absolument pas, ne s'appuie sur aucune raison probable, est plein de mensonges et de superstitions, usurpe l'honneur qui appartient à Dieu, corrompt les bonnes moeurs, a été inventé par le démon...; nous disons et nous déclarons qu'aucun chrétien ne peut y recourir sans danger de péché mortel...(65).

This opposition on the part of authority continues. In 1538 Michel Servet, who was to finish his days at the stake in Calvin's Geneva, was publicly condemned by the Parlement of Paris, at the instigation of the medical faculty, for lecturing on judicial astrology, and forced to agree not to teach judicial astrology in the future(66). Calvin takes up the theme;

> Bref, nous voyons que toute cette partie d'astrologie qui sert à divination, qu'on appelle judiciaire, non-seulement est tenue de Dieu pour vaine et inutile, mais est condamnée comme dérogeant à son honneur et entreprenant sur sa majesté...(67)

The opposition is one of principle, but it may also be based upon practical considerations. A further standard argument against divinatory astrology is that its predictions are notoriously unreliable, and that the information on which they are based is itself inaccurate and impossible to determine with sufficient precision(68). Nor is there any shortage in the sixteenth century of satirical parodies of astrological almanachs. It is not, says Rabelais in his Pantagrueline Prognostication of 1533, "legier peché de mentir ainsi à son escient, et ensemble abuser le povre monde qui est curieulx de sçavoir choses nouvelles"(69), and the Prognostication itself is only the best-written example of what is almost a small genre in its own right(70).

On the other hand, virtually no-one denies the principle of astrological influence. Rabelais himself, while satirising the abuses of "ung tas de Prognostications de Lovain", has a reputation

as a serious astrologer, and there is strong evidence that he published properly scientific almanachs(71). "L'astrologie naturelle" is generally accepted, and is a respectable part of Renaissance science. Busson has referred to the statement of Cardan in the De Rerum Varietate, categoric enough by any standards;

> Influxum syderum esse, nemo dubitare debet: eamque uim occultam, qua omnia mortalia reguntur: quamuis quidam omnino improbi & ambitiosi, longè magis Erostrato impij, negauerint(72).

Astrology in this sense - and it must be admitted that the terms of its definition are very wide - has the prestige of a received science. The court astrologer is a familiar figure, and Catherine de Medicis has an astrological observation platform incorporated into the designs for her new Hôtel de Soissons(73). This is a science which, like others, has observation and measurement as its basis, and it is not for nothing that the astrologer is also known as "mathematicus". Astrology is even thought of as positively superior to other sciences. It is on these grounds that Mellin de Sainct-Gelais recommends it in 1546 to his "studieuse damoyselle", in the Aduertissement sur les iugemens d'astrologie;

> Car comme l'Astrologie est fondee sur demonstrations si euidentes qu'on ne les peult nyer, & sur des mouuemens si certains qu'ilz ne peuuent faillir, ainsi les enseignemens qui viennent d'elle, sont plus resolus, & moins varians que de nulle autre discipline...(74)

This is the point of view adopted by the scientifically-minded Peletier du Mans, whose poetry, as we have already seen, is in many ways a model for the enthusiasm of Béroalde's. A love of mathematics leads in his case to a regard for astrology as nothing less than the queen of sciences;

> ...l'Astrologie ét celé,
> Prevoyant l'avénir, qui tout savoér excelé:
> E ét cété excelancé, einsi qu'un but final
> De tous les autres Ars, le trofée e sinal:
> Tel qué l'Amé bien neé, e hautémant ravié,
> Né peùt rien dé plus grand aquérir an la vie(75).

Peletier attaches his belief in astrology to a scientific belief, and his persuasion of the fortune-telling propensities of the stars is only an extension of the spirit which leads him with his friend

Pontus de Tyard to conduct their experiment at Bissy to observe the shadows cast by the planet Jupiter(76).

Astrology is further strengthened as a science by its application to the art of medecine. It is no coincidence that it is the Faculty of Medecine which in 1538 brings the prosecution against Servet. It is because the interpretation of planetary signs is a jealously-guarded part of their own craft that the doctors are so determined in their opposition to the practice of astrological divination by others. Four years earlier they had made formal request to the Parlement that the publication of almanachs and prognostications by those unqualified to write them - in other words, by those who are not doctors - be banned(77). Ficino devotes a chapter of the De Triplici Vita to the proposition "Comment nous deuons vser des Planetes aux medecines"(78), and Calvin in his Traité... makes the use of astrology in medecine one of the bases for an acceptance of "l'astrologie naturelle";

> C'est aussi de la vraie science d'astrologie que tirent les médecins ce qu'ils ont de jugement pour ordonner tant saignées que breuvages, pilules et autres choses en temps opportun. Ainsi il faut bien confesser qu'il y a quelque convenance entre les étoiles ou planètes et la disposition des corps humains(79).

For the Traité ou Avertissement contre l'Astrologie qu'on appelle judiciaire follows the mental climate of its day in calmly accepting natural astrology while rejecting judicial. The former is defined with very broad strokes, as

> la connoissance de l'ordre naturel et disposition que Dieu a mise aux étoiles et planètes, pour juger de leur office, propriété et vertu, et réduire le tout à sa fin et à son usage(80).

This for Calvin is "la vraie astrologie". Were it not for the very clear insistence upon the role of God, it might almost be the definition of the modern science of astronomy, and indeed in the sixteenth century there is no very clear distinction made between the two. A definition of astrology which Calvin arrives at elsewhere, in the Institution, blurs it yet further(81). But this is a point which should not be pressed too far. It is clear from the Traité

that in the "office, propriété et vertu" of the heavenly bodies Calvin specifically includes their influence on terrestrial events;

> Or, je confesse bien...qu'en tant que les corps terrestres ont convenance avec le ciel, on peut bien noter quelque chose aux astres des choses qui adviennent ici-bas...En tant donc qu'on verra un ordre et comme une liaison du haut avec le bas, je ne contredis pas qu'on ne cherche aux créatures célestes l'origine des accidents qu'on voit au monde(82).

It is traditional to associate the incidence of famine, pestilence and war with the disposition of the stars(83), and Calvin, while specifically allowing for the extraordinary intervention of God, is far from denying the premiss underlying this association. On the contrary, the premiss is one that he himself reiterates(84). The precise nature of his rejection of astrology lies in the denial that celestial influence may be precisely interpreted and a prediction derived from it of future events in the life of the individual. This compromise is itself a standard one among critics of astrology. For instance, Pico allows astral influence as a universal cause of terrestrial events, but maintains that this cannot in itself determine a specific outcome in the individual object or soul(85). The same type of solution is apparent in the Microcosme of Scève, but in a context which is no longer critical. Scève is defending the general principle of astrology, and has Adam introduce the topic with the words

> Ceste science en art, ma chere, et bien aymee,
> Blasmee à tort sera de plusieurs estimee...(86)

Nonetheless, Scève too accepts that astrology is concerned with universals rather than with individualised effects, and his Adam goes on to speak of

> Les effects de cest art, que veritables (l'homme) trouve
> Plus aux universels, comme plus singuliers
> Assés plus importans, que les particuliers(87).

Another writer whose attitude to astrology has been often discussed, and variously interpreted, by later critics is the philosophical bishop of Châlon, Pontus de Tyard(88). An extreme view is that he is a "precursor of the Enlightenment" in his opposition to it(89).

And yet an examination of the conclusion to the Mantice shows that Pontus is simply following the particular tradition exemplified by Scève and Calvin before him. On the one hand he criticizes the practice of individual divination, and on the other he does not doubt the more universal influence. The words are ones that he allows to himself, addressing Mantice;

> Et vous suffise que ie sois d'opinion auec vous, que les Astres ne luisent là hault sans nous faire sentir çà bas quelque efficace de leurs viues vertuz: car au reste, si ie ne tien le party du Curieux, niant entierement l'influence celeste, ie m'eslongne de vous: croyant l'Astrologie, de laquelle en ce temps vos deuins Prognostiqueurs tirent leurs diuinations, estre vaine & d'vsage inutile(90).

It is in this climate of opinion that Béroalde's poem takes its place. He too is concerned to deny the claims of an astrology which would assert the power of the stars over the life of the individual. But from the beginning he views the question in a broader context. Unlike others, he approaches it from a consideration of the place of fate and destiny in a world superintended by God, and sees in it the central problem of order versus the random. The mediating factor is the weakness of man, the limitations of man's perception of reality;

> Or tout ce qui auient sous la chappe du ciel,
> Qui ne suit mesme train dessous mesme soleil,
> Et qui de nos raisons comme par auanture
> Eschappe lentement la sage coniecture,
> Qui n'est point arresté, pour suyure quelque fois,
> Vn ordre perennel dessous semblables lois,
> Se nomme parmi nous par vne vois commune
> D'vn nom propre à l'effait, sort destin ou fortune:
> Car ce qui se cognoist par vn rang de raisons,
> Qui s'establit tousiours en semblables saisons,
> Est tout vn autre effait de cause differente
> Qui plus facilement à nos yeux se presente(91).

In other words, the difference between the ordered and the haphazard lies in man's mind alone. The essential nature of the universe is not threatened.

This is the basis upon which Béroalde makes a first and fundamental objection to astrology as divination. As absolute order is vested in God, so the foreknowledge of that order is God's alone. The activity of the astrologers is necessarily a

vanity, and worse still a crime, a direct trespass upon Providence;

> Ceux qui d'vn vain esprit s'agittent fierement,
> Qui peuuent mesurer par leur entendement
> Les faits du souuerain, & outrecuiidez pensent
> Que les biens & les maux sur nous des astres pendent,
> Y ont mis vne force, & loin de iugement
> En ont tiré la cause à tout euenement(92).

The terms recall Calvin's condemnation of the practitioners of judicial astrology, whose art is condemned by God "comme dérogeant à son honneur et entreprenant sur sa majesté". In both Calvin's and Béroalde's remarks there is more than an echo of the classical theme of hubris, the crime of Prometheus, of the Giants, and of Phaethon, the fable of the man who seeks to transgress his allotted role and challenge the power of the Gods. This is the warning of Ronsard's Les Estoilles -

> L'un sans peur de meschef
> Bat d'un superbe chef
> Le cercle de la Lune,
> Qui tombe outrecuidé
> Pour n'avoir bien guidé
> Les brides de Fortune(93).

The same theme underlies the "Eschelle qui voudra les estages des cieux" of Du Bartas' Sepmaine(94). For Béroalde too the key words are "fierement" and "outrecuiidez". But the theme is one that may also be given a spiritual dimension. In Béroalde's poem it is heightened by a conviction of the innate wretchedness of man in opposition to the perfection of God. In this sense it represents not only arrogance but a revolt against the providential scheme. Béroalde repeats the view of Calvin's Traité, where the contrast is specifically drawn between the astrologers and the proper attitude of the Christian;

> Il y eu de longtemps une folle curiosité de juger par les astres de tout ce qui doit advenir aux hommes, et d'enquérir de là et prendre conseil de ce qu'on avoit à faire...Quand Dieu ne nous auroit révélé de notre temps la pureté de son Evangile, toutefois, vu qu'il a ressuscité les sciences humaines, qui sont propres et utiles à la conduite de notre vie, et, en servant à notre utilité, peuvent aussi servir à sa gloire, encore auroit-il juste raison de punir l'ingratitude de ceux qui, ne se contentant point des choses solides et bien fondées, appètent, par une ambition outrecuidée, de voltiger en l'air...(95)

In Calvin's treatise the question of astrology takes its

place within a theory of knowledge. Scripture must be the primary source of truth for the Christian believer, but it is good and proper also to use the resources of human knowledge in the conduct of one's life, as this too is to the glory of God who even after the Fall has allowed those resources to be recovered. The essential is that they are to be used and not abused. Opposed to the proper utilisation of knowledge is its misuse by those who are the object of Calvin's attack;

> Que grands et petits, savants et idiots, pensent que nous ne sommes point nés pour nous occuper à choses inutiles, mais que la fin de nos exercices doit être d'édifier et nous et les autres en la crainte de Dieu. De fait, quand on aura bien regardé de près, qui sont ceux qui nous amènent cette astrologie erratique, sinon ou gens outrecuidés, ou des esprits extravagants, ou gens oisifs, qui ne savent à quoi prendre leur ébat, ou de quoi deviser?(96)

The validity of knowledge lies in the fact that it is ordained by God to serve his glory. God at once furnishes the means and prescribes the limits. The domain of knowledge is that of the "choses solides et bien fondées", and its role is not speculative but interpretative. The direct consequence is that in both its purpose and the sphere of its operation astrology is to be condemned. This is the exact position of Béroalde. More than indicative of hubris, astrology becomes directly impious in a world in which man's essential condition is ignorance, and his greatest temptation vanity;

> Ainsi souuantesfois la mortelle arrogance,
> Mesprisant le grand Dieu sans luy sage se pense,
> Se cognoist aux effaits qui sont loin de ses yeux,
> Se cognoist par le cours dont s'ordonnent les cieux,
> Sçait tout, iuge de tout, & toutefois debile,
> L'homme ne sçait coment d'vn peu de vaine argile
> Dieu l'a formé si beau, & sans penser en soy
> Au tout qui remplit tout, voudroit faire la loy(97).

The values, the irony, are those of Calvin in the Institution;

> Retenons bien que si en tous les hauts secrets de l'Escriture il nous convient estre sobres et modestes, cestuy-ci n'est pas le dernier, et qu'il nous faut estre sur nos gardes que nos pensées ou nos langues ne s'avancent point plus loin que les limites de la parolle de Dieu ne s'estendent. Car comment l'esprit humain restreindra-il à sa petite capacité l'essence infinie de Dieu, veu qu'il n'a peu encores déterminer pour certain quel est le corps du Soleil, lequel néantmoins on voit iournellement? Mesmes comme parviendroit-il de sa propre conduite à sonder l'essence de Dieu, veu qu'il ne cognoist point la sienne propre?(98)

Like Calvin, Béroalde condemns with violence on the one hand, but preserves a positive attitude to knowledge on the other. A diatribe against the astrologers leads without further adjustment of tone into an appeal to piety and humility, and to the statement of a Christian concept of enquiry;

> O grande impieté miserable manie
> De chercher nostre sort par vne astrologie,
> Dont la iuste raison qui a iamais ne faut,
> Sans descendre icy bas est demeuree en haut.
> Cassés, brisés, rompés ces estranges mesures
> Destruisés mesprisés ces menteuses figures,
> Vous qui couués encor auec la pieté,
> Vne ame dans le sang aymant la verité,
> Et qui d'vn sort benin respirant cette vie,
> Humbles ne grossisses d'vne orgueilleuse enuie
> De vouloir trop sçauoir & contans recherchés
> Les secrets, qui ne sont dessus le ciel cachés:
> Ains qui d'vn beau desir de cognoistre sans cesse,
> Admirés par ses faits, du seigneur la hautesse,
> Comme il vous est permis, car le seul naturel
> Suit d'vn chemin cognu l'ordre continuel(99).

Astrology is rejected in Les Cognoissances as it presents an interference in the necessary relationship between man and God. But it represents further a denial of the proper process of knowledge, and these for Béroalde are the true grounds of its condemnation. Calvin had said that

> des choses qu'il n'est pas licite ne possible de savoir, l'ignorance en est docte; l'appétit de les savoir est une espèce de rage(100),

and this division between possible and impossible knowledge is one followed by the poem. But Béroalde has the enthusiasms of the scientist, and what he attempts to add is a scientific justification. The poet's indignation is redoubled by his own aspiration to knowledge, and the possible becomes the observable. Conversely, the same criterion may be used to strengthen the Pauline commonplace of the unsearchable mysteries of God;

> Mais ce qui nous benit ou tresiuste nous tence,
> Ne suit d'vn mouuement la sensible cadence,
> Et ne pouuons iuger de tels euenemens,
> Car les faits du seigneur sont sans nos iugemens(101).

In either case, astrology oversteps the limits.

Insofar, however, as this remains a condemnation of judicial astrology, its content is traditional. Béroalde is refining upon

a position which Calvin and others had stated before. The issue there is a conflict with the omnipotence of God. But Béroalde goes on to consider the place of astrology within the world of order whose creation he has already described, and this leads to a questioning of the very basis of the art, notably more radical than that of other writers. Calvin himself, as we have seen, while denouncing judicial astrology, accepts astral influence as fact. He concedes that it may affect the bodily humours of man, and even bring about general calamities(102). While disputing the claims of astrology, he is unable to free himself of its terms, and the result is criticism which is frequently technical rather than categoric. Calvin takes the example of twins to cast doubt upon the validity of horoscopes, as Augustine in The City of God had done at great length before him(103), but there is almost a note of the conciliatory about what he writes;

> Or, comme il n'y a jamais mensonge si lourd ni si impudent qui n'emprunte quelque couleur de vérité, je confesse bien, quant à la complexion des hommes et surtout aux affections qui participent aux qualités de leurs corps, qu'elles dépendent en partie des astres, ou pour le moins y ont quelque correspondance, comme de dire qu'un homme soit plus enclin à colère qu'à flegme, ou au contraire. Toutefois, encore en ceci il y a plusieurs choses à noter. Nos mathématiciens, auxquels je parle, assoyent leur jugement sur l'heure de la naissance. Je dis, au contraire, que l'heure de la génération est plus à considérer, laquelle le plus souvent est inconnue. Car la mère n'a pas toujours terme préfix pour enfanter selon qu'elle a conçu. Quelques répliques qu'ils aient, si est-ce qu'ils seront convaincus par raison qu'en l'enfantement les astres n'ont pas si grande vertu pour imprimer quelques qualités à l'homme, qu'en sa conception. Je dis encore, le cas posé que les astres nous qualifient par leur influence, que cela ne vient point de la naissance; et de fait, l'expérience commune le montre: ce n'est pas sans cause que Perse dit:
>
> Geminos, horoscope, varo
> Producis genio.
>
> C'est-à-dire que sous un même horoscope, deux sortiront du ventre de diverses natures(104).

Only two other writers besides Béroalde openly attack the abuses of divinatory astrology in verse, but each of them adopt a precision similar to Calvin's in their criticism. D'Aubigné's La Creation of 1616 is noteworthy apart from anything else in that Schmidt in his Poésie Scientifique... is obviously mistaken in according its author "le petit honneur d'être le premier des

poètes scientifiques qui ait combattu en vers l'astrologie"(105). However, d'Aubigné's lines are unexceptional in their open acceptance of the principle of the influence of the stars, and in confining their criticism to the manner of its interpretation;

> Non que je veille dire aucun d'eux pouvoir rien
> De soy causer à l'home aspect de mal ou bien,
> Mays bien l'ouvrier d'iceux tout puissant & tout sage
> Comme il luy semble bon il les met en usage...
>
> Ainsi l'oroscoppeur ne peut juger par eux
> Surement du destin, car n'estans plus aux lieux,
> Leurs aspectz ne sont telz comme autre foys ils furent
> Dont il s'ensuyt qu'ilz n'ont pareilz effectz qu'ilz eurent(106)

A more immediate point of comparison with Les Cognoissances is Du Monin's L'Uranologie, published in the same year. Du Monin too fulminates against astrologers and almanach writers, "céte troupe, horrible, decharnée"(107), his language is equally forceful as he denounces the idea of the celestial vault as "vn Tyran robuste, & à la main actiue"(108), and he too considers astrology as an affront to the majesty of God;

> Ie dis donques en foi que ce serf escadron
> A la soulde combat du noir roi d'Acheron:
> Car si l'homme exclaué à ces Celestes arches
> Dresse par leur veuil seul ses marches & demarches,
> DIEV de grace iamais ne tireroit au bien
> Que ceus qui porteroint des Cieus le serf lien:
> DIEV donc pere & Seigneur des Essences creées
> Ploieroit soùs le ioug de ces dames Astrées(109).

On the other hand, the argument is constructed along the now familiar lines, and Du Monin, while qualifying judicial astrology as a "blaspheme heretic", is yet far from a denial of active astral influence. The possibility of interpreting the movements of the heavens he takes for granted. Indeed, he even recommends a way in which such interpretations may be made more accurate, suggesting, like Pico(110), that account be taken of the modification of the active influence of the stars by the individual properties of the receiving matter on earth;

> Ainsi les arcs astrés par leurs diuers regars
> Peuuent les fors efors decocher de leurs dars,
> Mais les quatre Elemens par leur preparatiue
> Gauchissent à maints coups de l'Influence actiue.
> Ie conseillerai donc à ces vains curieus,

Des motifs partisans se rendre studieus:
Car dument informés des Causes iointes toutes,
Truchement se feront des radieuses voutes(111).

This is a possibility which Béroalde is not prepared to allow, and the attack he directs against astrology is more fundamental. But the notion of the occult influence of the stars does lie on what to the sixteenth-century mind is a very solid basis. The heavenly bodies may be seen to have a physical effect upon objects and even upon animate beings on earth - why not then some other, less tangible effect? Even Augustine, in his challenge to astrology in The City of God, had been obliged to admit the existence of these physical influences -

Cum igitur non usquequaque absurde dici posset ad solas corporum differentias adflatus quosdam valere sidereos, sicut in solaribus accessibus et decessibus videmus etiam ipsius anni tempora variari et lunaribus incrementis atque detrimentis augeri et minui quaedam genera rerum, sicut echinos et conchas et mirabiles aestus oceani...(112)

Aquinas quotes this same passage with approval, and concludes that it is legitimate to draw lessons from the stars in those things which do not depend upon the human will(113). Calvin in his turn concedes as "une maxime qui est vraie"

...que les corps terrestres et en général toutes créatures inférieures sont sujettes à l'ordre du ciel pour en tirer quelques qualités...l'astrologie naturelle montrera bien que les corps d'ici-bas prennent quelque influxion de la lune, parce que les huîtres se remplissent ou se vident avec icelle; pareillement, que les os sont pleins de moelle ou en ont moins selon qu'elle croit ou diminue(114).

There is a profusion of such passages in sixteenth-century scientific poetry(115), and Béroalde's poem is no exception. He too grants a physical sympathy between earth and stars which produces observable effects;

Il est bien vray qu'on a certaine cognoissance
De l'accord general entre essence & essence,
Car il est euident que ce qui bas ou haut
Reçoit les qualités, tant du froid que du chaut,
Et ce qui par dessus de substance plus belle
Semble tenir en soy la nature immortelle,
Il y a sympathie ainsi que nous voyons,
Car le soleil iettant plus a droit ses rayons
Sur le front lumineux de la torche nuitale,
Plus hausse son orgueil la mer qui le rauale,
Quand d'vn chiche regard le grand flambeau des cieux
Sur le front de sa seur, vient mirer ses beaux yeux;

Et aussi nous sentons icy sa force telle,
Car ainsi qu'elle croist, croist en nous la mouelle...(116)

The preciosity of the language contrasts with the diagrammatic nature of the image. In fact, it is the scientific explanation which Béroalde is concerned to express. Where others are more effusive, listing examples(117), Béroalde emphasises process, and the object is to bring this aspect of his subject too within "d'vn chemin cognu l'ordre continuel". What is systematically excluded as a solution within this context is the presence of the non-scientific, of that which would deny such an order;

Ce qui ne cache en soy non plus que tant de feux,
Semez par le ciel, ny le destin heureux,
Ni le sinistre sort, ny la grace future,
Ni la peine à venir d'aucune creature,
Si bien ou mal viuante inclinee par eux,
Elle suit de leur train le chemin hazardeux:
Car ce qui eternel de fait ou par puissance
Est pour plus fixe en soy demeurer en essence,
Ne peut estre forcé par ce qui seulement,
Dure pour quelque temps en son assemblement(118).

The question, historically, is that of the freedom of the will. It is the problem faced by Cicero in the De Divinatione, and to which Cicero's answer is that for the free will to survive, any foreknowledge of the future, whether in the Gods or in man, must be judged an impossibility(119). To this Augustine's reaction in The City of God is sharp -

dum vult facere liberos, fecit sacrilegos(120).

For Augustine it is imperative to reconcile the independence of the will with the providence of God, and this he does by asserting that the individual's freedom is itself part of God's foreknowledge. In foreseeing this, God is foreseeing something, but the individuality of the will is not thereby precluded. Both are necessary to the Christian, the one for correct belief, and the other for right living(121). From the beginning the attitude of the Church towards astrology is conditioned by this need to guarantee the independence of the free will. The attitude is exemplified by St. Thomas Aquinas, in the Tractatus on the uses of astrology to which we have already

indirectly referred. St. Thomas accepts the usefulness of astrology in day to day life, in the help it gives to farmers, sailors and doctors. But he condemns any astrological practice infringing the free will of man as a pact with demons -

> Nolo vos fieri socios demoniorum et ideo pro certo tenendum est graue peccatum esse circa ea quae a voluntate hominis dependent iudicijs astrorum uti(122).

This is the doctrine that emerges in Ronsard's Hymne des Astres of 1555 -

> Les Estoilles adonc seulles se firent dames
> Sur tous les corps humains, & non dessus les ames...(123)

- and, twenty years later, in Les Estoilles;

> Nostre esprit, une flame agile
> Qui vient de Dieu, depend de soy,
> Au corps vous donnez vostre loy,
> Comme un potier à son argille(124).

The doctrine of the division in man between body and soul, mortal and immortal, becomes in this way the rationale of astrology. Celestial influence is restricted to the former, but there its power is not in doubt. This is the sentiment of Marguerite de Navarre's Les Prisons, when she says

> Je viz après les notables planettes...
> ...leurs effectz des corps humains se sentent
> Qui plus qu'à Dieu à elles se consentent(125).

The pendant to this is the freedom of the will itself. In the same year that Béroalde's poem itself appeared, the topic had been discussed in Du Monin's L'Uranologie, and Du Monin makes it clear that it is will which plays the essential role;

> Ie sai qu'il n'i a corp qui puisse commander
> A l'étre qui du corp a peu se debander:
> Le Ciel n'est il pas corp? spirituel est l'être
> De nôtre Volonté: sottement donc l'empêtre
> L'Astrologue menteur, de Pluton le butin,
> Au Dedalique cep d'vn tortueus Destin(126).

In the unified world which Béroalde presents the idea that the will alone resists the power of the stars is subject to a new interpretation. For Béroalde the Calvinist writer the issue is no longer that of the freedom of the will, but that of the uniqueness of a relationship between man and God. It is this

and only this which stands above the ordered and the mechanical. The adjustment of view is radical. At the heart of astrological belief is the picture of the universe as hierarchy, in which the supremacy of the stars is a natural inference from the superiority of the celestial over the sub-lunar. This superiority is reflected in the material composition of the world. The science is that of Aristotle, that the stars and the element in which they move are composed of the incorruptible fifth element, the ether(127). It is to this that both Ronsard and Du Bartas refer, when in the Hymne du Ciel and La Sepmaine the distinction is made between terrestrial and heavenly fire(128). The characteristic of the latter, as Ronsard emphasises, is its permanence;

> ...celuy qui là haut en vigueur entretient
> Toy, & tes yeux d'Argus, de luy seul se soustient
> Sans mendier secours, car sa vive estincelle,
> Sans aucun aliment, se nourrist de-par-elle(129).

The admiration is shared by Du Bartas, as he speaks of the composition of the stars themselves;

> Quand ie remarque en eux & le lustre & le chaud,
> Accidens naturels de l'element plus haut,
> Ie di qu'ils sont de feu, non de ce feu qui dure
> Seulement tant qu'il prend grossiere nourriture:
> Car ie ne pense point que tous les elemens
> Peussent pour vn seul iour les fournir d'alimens(130).

If we turn to Béroalde the contrast is total. The poet chooses to emphasise the material nature of the stars, and for the Aristotelean distinction between corruptible and incorruptible is substituted a unity in which the heavenly bodies share the same transience as the earth below. The exception to a properly universal scheme is no longer the celestial sphere, but uniquely the spiritual nature of man;

> Les astres ne sont point d'vne essence plus belle
> Que la nostre, combien que mortelle immortelle
> Elle passe dessous, car ils ne sont que feu
> Qui tient à sa matiere, & finit peu à peu,
> Pour s'esteindre en vn coup perdant le corruptible
> Au monde, & ne laisser que le monde inuisible:
> Et nostre essence est sainte, entretenue icy
> Par le Dieu qui de nous et d'eux prent le soucy,
> Ayant basti les corps d'vne iuste influence,
> Du plus grand au petit, en egale puissance,

Sans que le haut du bas force les qualités...(131)

The distinction between the higher and lower parts of the created world is replaced by a more fundamental one between the material and the spiritual, and within the former the idea of hierarchy fades before that of equality. With this it is not only judicial but the foundation of natural astrology itself which is called into question. God is depicted as embracing both highest and lowest with the same providential care. Through providence man and the stars are part of the same scheme, and it is inconceivable where material nature is concerned that one part should dominate over another. Rather than seeking an escape clause from a fatalistic system - such as a stress on the uniqueness of the soul provides - Béroalde challenges the system itself, by attacking the very notion of supremacy within it.

Béroalde in this way is more radical than Calvin himself, Calvin who had confessed

En tant donc qu'on verra un ordre et comme une liaison du haut avec le bas, je ne contredis pas qu'on ne cherche aux créatures célestes l'origine des accidents qu'on voit au monde(132).

One of the difficulties precisely is the need to fit the stars into some sort of cosmological scheme. It is this which is expressed by Du Bartas, who on this topic as on others represents the prejudices of his time;

Ie ne croiray iamais...
...que tant de flambeaux
Qui passent en grandeur & la terre, & les eaux,
Luisent en vain au ciel, n'ayant point autre charge
Que de se proumener par vn palais si large(133).

A compromise frequently adopted is that the stars are the agents of God's will, appointing the destiny of man, but in a subordinate role. One example is Calvin's; if the stars conceal the origin of earthly events,

J'entends l'origine, non pas première et principale, ains comme moyen inférieur à la volonté de Dieu, et même dont il se sert comme de préparation pour accomplir son oeuvre ainsi qu'il l'a délibéré en son conseil éternel(134).

The solution is echoed by the poets(135), Du Bartas among them;

> Ie tiens que le grand Dieu, comme cause premiere,
> Donne aux celestes corps force, course, lumiere:
> Qu'il les tient en sa main: que pas vn d'eux ne peut
> Verser sur les mortels que le destin qu'il veut(136).

In the world-view presented in Les Cognoissances the argument from size and distance has no place, and the secondary solutions designed to meet it become redundant. Instead, the controlling image is that of the chain of being, re-emphasised to suggest unity rather than hierarchy. We have mentioned this before as central to Béroalde's interpretation of the created world, and it is this which supplants any other vision. There is a Pascalian resonance in the delving into a microscopic world, but for Béroalde the "deux abîmes de l'infini et du néant" are united by a single binding force. The note is not of spiritual anxiety, but of spiritual confidence, in which all parts of creation are subject to the same order and design;

> Car d'vn semblable accord ils sont tous agites,
> Mettant vn ordre vray qui d'enhaut continue
> Iusqu'au centre en la part qui ne chet sous la veue
> Et qui petite atome, abaissee au millieu
> Sent aussi bien que tout, la main d'vn mesme Dieu(137).

The chain of being is itself the guarantee against confusion, as Du Plessis Mornay's De la Verité de la Religion Chrestienne makes clear;

> Mais voyons maintenant comme toutes ces diuerses choses en l'vniuers se raportent l'vne à l'autre...Bref, les plus nobles ont affaire des plus viles creatures; & les plus viles se seruent des plus nobles: Et toutes sont tellement enchainees d'enhaut en bas, qu'vn anneau n'en peut manquer sans confusion(138).

But in Béroalde's poem the order becomes an end in itself, equalising and not hierarchical. The stars still have a place within the cosmological system, but no longer a special one. This solution of continuity makes as it were a direct riposte to the position of a Du Bartas;

> Or d'autant que souuant on iuge à l'auanture
> De ce qu'on ne sçait pas, & sur tout en nature,
> Recognoissant le haut, on a iugé du bas,
> Pource que touts les corps vont de mesme compas,
> Mais il ne failloit pas attribuer empire
> A ce qui par dessus au large se retire,
> Et se dilatant plus se fait cognoistre mieux,

Que ce qui plus petit s'elongne trop des cieux;
Par ainsi abusé puissance on attribue,
Du grand sur le petit ainsi qu'on a cognue
La mesure du haut, qui plus grand plusieurs fois
Est, bien que plus cognu, suiet à mesme lois,
Se proportionnant en son petit espace,
Le moindre tout ainsi que le grand en sa masse,
Par vn lien commun, continuant tousiours,
Du haut iusques à bas son preordonné cours...(139)

In place of precedence stands proportion, and through the image of proportionate equality emerges the harmony of a continuous bond throughout creation. The doctrine of astrology threatens not only an article of faith, the unique status of the providence of God, but also an article of scientific belief, the true natural order which is the concomitant of a providential God in the created world.

It is this which explains the nature of Béroalde's reaction to astrology in the poem. This true natural order is the object of Les Cognoissances, the binding and unifying link "Qui nature se dit qui parmi nous besogne". Such is the standard concept of nature established as governess of the world by God, but part of the condition of its being is that, like God, it is exempt from every quirk of fate,

Non suiette à l'abus d'vn destin casuel,
Qu'ont feint ceux qui n'ont point recognu l'Eternel(140).

It is this which is the ultimate crime of the astrologers, and this crime takes on the depth of a heresy. The casting of horoscopes would invalidate the reality of a nature both determinate and determining, when it is to the persuasion of such a reality, given by God, that the ethos of Les Cognoissances, with its continuing restriction to "icy-bas", corresponds. The astrologers ignore the essential qualification;

Voila comment Dieu fit cette belle substance,
Dont sans impieté recherchons la science...(141)

The commonplace of recognising God through the book of his creation is enriched by a Sponde-like resonance of human vanity, and by a diatribe in which hubris is given its eschatological significance;

Car d'esplucher plus haut c'est en homme pecher,
Et desirer trouuer ce qu'il ne faut chercher.
Lisons donq' librement dans ces cartes vulgaires,
Et sans vouloir sçauoir nos biens ou nos miseres
Voyons le naturel, car il n'est rien si beau
Tandis que morts viuans nous courons au tombeau
Que de cognoistre Dieu, par l'oeuure qu'il a faite,
Et d'en oser iuger d'vne ame plus discrette
Que ceux qui vont plus haut, pour descendre plus bas,
Et perir malheureux pensants ne perir pas(142).

*

To sum up, the presentation of the macrocosm theme in Les Cognoissances shows as great a concern with the continuing relationship between God and the world as it does with the historical moment of creation. That account of creation concentrates upon the two central points of order, and order as the reflection of providential design. Those same concerns dictate the organisation of the world in the present. A single reality informs the whole of the creation which Béroalde describes, and concepts such as fate and destiny become spurious ones. But it is perhaps the greatest measure of the conviction of the vision involved that Béroalde should challenge, and in the way that he does, a belief as traditional and as well-established as that in astrology. His attack differs from that of others precisely in that it is one of principle, and that for him a world-order is at stake.

An essential part of that order is a constant equation between the omnipotence of God and the powerlessness of man. Béroalde shares with Calvin an uncompromising view of man's abject state, and implicitly accepts the abnegation of the will. But this is in order to throw the emphasis upon prayer and upon the responsibility of the individual towards God. A moral for the present informs Les Cognoissances, which gives it an air very different from the cosmic panorama of La Sepmaine, where the constant direction to the reader is no more than to stand in awe of the Creator.

But Les Cognoissances is also a scientific poem, and the same ethic is related to a theory of knowledge. At the same

time that he presents his interpretation of the cosmos Béroalde indicates the limits to that interpretation. "Le naturel" is its scope, and order and moderation its characteristics. These are considerations affecting the poem as a whole, but explicitly stated in this first part of the work.

Béroalde applies his own discipline to the genre of the hexaemera as it had been inaugurated by Du Bartas, and in his evocation of creation and its organisation turns it towards internal structure rather than external appearance. That structure is shown to be part spiritual and part mechanical, and the poem is concerned to demonstrate both. With the theme of microcosm the preoccupations will be the same.

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CHAPTER III

MICROCOSM

THE CREATION OF MAN - THE DIVISIONS OF SOUL

In the account of Genesis, and in the hexaemeral tradition which follows upon it, the creation of the world is the backdrop for the creation of man. Man inevitably is the centre of the composition, and Béroalde, introducing the microcosm theme proper, pays his own respects to the commonplace;

> Muse arrestons vn peu, que le foudre n'estonne
> Cét homme que voicy, que le grand Dieu façonne,
> Et deuant qu'assembler tant de suiets diuers,
> Voyons ce petit monde hoste de l'vniuers(1).

The depiction of man in Les Cognoissances follows upon the depiction of the world at large, but in fact the two are very much interrelated. In speaking of the universe Béroalde has spoken of man's place within it, and the same cosmic scheme underlies the discussion of man as an individual. The microcosm episode of Les Cognoissances reinforces points that have already been made, and its organisation in one sense is similar to what has gone before. Man is described first as a world in his own right, created independently and with his own mode of operation. He is then described in terms of a relationship and a system, but the relationship at this point is with his fellow-men, and the system social rather than cosmic. The preoccupation with inner working, on the other hand, is the same.

If Les Cognoissances is a poem about the activity of God in the world, it is also a poem about man as the agent of that activity, man who knows his place and the proper extent of his knowledge. These are the ideas now expanded and developed. By 1583 the theme of man as microcosm is of course a well-worked one. It is one well-known in medieval philosophy, exploited at least from the twelfth century and Bernardus Silvestris(2). But it had been taken up in particular in the sixteenth by Scève and Du Bartas, and once again in the Microcosme and La Sepmaine we find a direct point of comparison

for Béroalde's poem. In the Microcosme of Scève, while much of the material appears to come from medieval sources, the emphasis is a Renaissance one, and even almost an eighteenth century one. Man holds the centre of the stage throughout, and the philosophical commonplace of the title cloaks an epic of man's endeavours and progress. Although the mention of God opens and closes the poem, the vital relationship involved in the saga which Scève's Adam relates is the changing one between man and the world in which he finds himself. The accent of Du Bartas' Sepmaine is markedly different. Within the linear and chronological approach of that poem, the episode of the microcosm no longer has a central place, and the manner of the presentation is uniform with the rest of the work. Du Bartas' aim is not admiration of man, but admiration of God, and the creation of man is one more means to that end. It is also a further opening for the painterly abilities of the poet;

> Et bref l'homme n'est rien qu'vn abregé du monde,
> Vn tableau raccourci, que sur l'autre Vniuers
> Ie veux ore tirer du pinceau de mes vers(3).

Man is a further exemplum of the bountifulness of God, albeit the most perfect one. The relationship between man and God that results is a purely descriptive one, fixed and constant. The use of the microcosm notion is that sanctioned by Calvin;

> ...aucuns des Philosophes anciens ont à bon droit nommé l'homme un petit monde, pource que c'est un chef d'oeuvre auquel on contemple quelle est la puissance bonté et sagesse de Dieu, et lequel contient en soy assez de miracles pour arrester nos esprits, moyennant que nous ne desdaignons pas d'y estre attentifs(4).

Béroalde too is concerned specifically with man as created by God. But the reality of man's relationship with God is stressed in a different manner. Already Béroalde has referred to the commonplace of the world built as a palace for man(5), and the unwillingness to turn to man as to theme of praise which we noted there is reinforced in the fuller context of man's creation. The status that Du Bartas gives to man, as guest of honour at the

banquet, is eliminated. Du Bartas' microcosm, we remember, walks into a banqueting-hall ablaze with light, to a table laden with a thousand sweet dishes(6). Thus Du Bartas figuratively expresses the position of man "Le Roy de l'Vniuers, & l'honneur de Nature"(7), and translates the sentiment of Genesis I 26;

> Et ait: Faciamus hominem ad imaginem et similitudinem nostram, et praesit piscibus maris, et volatilibus caeli, et bestiis, universaeque terrae, omnique reptili, quod movetur in terra.

Scève also had elaborated this into a picture of teeming life, a living fresco of the world awaiting its master;

> Animaux jà creés en genres, et especes
> Par chams, et prés herbus, bois, et forests espesses
> Marchans, trottans, rampans, serpentans terriens,
> Aquatiques nageans, volans aëriens,
> Erroyent en leurs manoirs pellemeslés ensemble
> Sans qu'aucun d'eux encor' avec son per s'assemble,
> Nature estant en tous commune, et familiere,
> Ne d'instinct, ne d'adresse aux uns particuliere,
> Le Lion ne sachant sa force, ne son ire,
> Le Tygre sa vitesse, et ferocité pire:
> Mais attendoyent en paix celuy, qui devoit estre,
> Comme Dieu est au ciel, icy bas leur seul maistre(8).

Characteristically, Scève presents man with the attributes of a God upon earth.

As Béroalde presents the backcloth to what will be the creation of man, he too makes his concession to the convention of the genre. The poetry becomes momentarily scenic, the picture one of profusion, and nature suddenly animate. The reference, on the other hand, remains concise, the inclusion of stones and chemical substances in the spectacle of animation is, to say the least, unusual, and the topos of the world awaiting man is omitted;

> Le ciel estoit rempli de diuines images,
> L'air portoit des oiseaux peins de diuers plumages,
> Tout genre d'animaux sur terre il y auoit,
> Toute plante, arbre, bled de terre se leuoit,
> Dessous, tout estoit plain d'animaux, et de pierres,
> Des sels, de vitriols, de metaux & de verres,
> Et la mer qui en soy mille tresors cachoit,
> Du dessus iusqu'au fons, en poissons abondoit(9).

After this introduction, in fact, the emphasis is transferred not to man, but to God. In <u>Les Cognoissances</u> order and the imposition of order is the mark of God's presence in the world, not of man's.

The rationale of man's creation lies not in the issue of his sovereignty over creation, but, like Creation itself, in the will of God. Béroalde is interested in the central position of man in the world, but as he is placed there by God. The created world has its purpose as a setting for man, but the purpose of man is the praise of God. It is this which Béroalde emphasises, and which brings about, in comparison with the Microcosme of Scève, an exact inversion of man's role. Man's place in the scheme of things becomes not dominion over the earth, but one of necessary subordination;

> Et le grand suffisant cette essence sublime,
> Qui soy mesme de soy par soy mesme s'anime,
> Trine vn non distingué, ne fit cét vniuers
> Plain de commodités en suiets tant diuers,
> Pour oisif demeurer & n'excita nature,
> Pour durer otieuse et pour à l'auanture
> Sussiter tant d'effaits, qui d'vn ordre eternel,
> Semble resusciter tout ce qui est mortel.
> Mais il le fit pour cause, & la cause fut bonne,
> Car tousiours bon & iuste est cela qu'il ordonne.
> Il le fit pour sa gloire, & pour auoir l'honneur,
> Par l'homme qu'il estoit tout puissant createur(10).

It is Scève who is closer to the spirit of the Genesis verse here, but then Béroalde is interpreting it in the light of a philosophy which itself depends upon the Old Testament image of a God of judgment. It remains that this is a mood far from the active optimism of the Microcosme, or indeed from the complacency of La Sepmaine. Man's primary function is to pay homage to the Creator, and he is effectively isolated, through this spiritual responsibility, from the rest of creation. Once more the reality emphasised is the higher one of the tension between man and God, with its terms the opposition between divine and perfect on the one hand, mortal and degenerate on the other. This Béroalde is consistently careful to preserve, here through the commentary that God's will is not to be interpreted as deficiency, as the desire of something lacking;

> Non qu'il en ait enuie, & que de veine en veine,
> Luy passe comme en nous cette cruelle peine,
> Qu'aporte le desir qui agitte nos coeurs,

> Lors que nous poursuyuons les douteuses erreurs
> D'vne gloire passable, & que par le vulgaire,
> Nous recherchons l'honneur, du saint honneur contraire,
> Il est assés en soy pour de soy s'honnorer,
> Sans sa gloire icy bas des hommes mendier(11).

Like Du Bartas', Béroalde's account of the creation of man is destined to the glory of God, and man remains after the words of Genesis God's special creation;

> Toutefois il voulut qu'à sa gloire eternelle,
> Apres tous animaux d'vne idee plus belle
> L'homme portast en soy, plus iuste & plus parfait,
> Les traits plus accomplis de son sacre pourtrait(12).

But where for Du Bartas this is the occasion for a further catalogue, in Béroalde's poem it furnishes the counterpoint to the already established devotional motif. The praise is tempered by an anxiety.

This though is not the only accent. Béroalde's account of the creation of man bears the mark also of his scientific interests, and indeed these are impossible to separate from the aim in which he employs them. Scève, Du Bartas and Béroalde each follow closely the biblical source;

> Formavit igitur Dominus Deus hominem de limo terrae, et inspiravit in faciem eius spiraculum vitae, et factus est homo in animam viventem(13).

Béroalde's is a particularly literal re-creation of the Genesis verse, as may be seen if each of the biblical elements is isolated from its context -

> Adonq' il prit la terre...
> Luy Dieu qui auoit fait de rien ce grand enclos,
> Fit de la poudre chair...
> Et respirant en luy d'vne propice grace,
> Fit entrer son esprit dedans luy par sa face...
> Ainsi cette machine au parauant muette,
> Il eschaufa pour estre & viuante & parfaite(14).

But the character of his version is best shown if it is placed alongside the corresponding passages from the <u>Microcosme</u> and <u>La Sepmaine</u>.

Of these two earlier verse accounts of the theme it is Scève's which is the fuller. The picture of the animation of man in the <u>Microcosme</u> is a detailed one, and expressed in a technical language deriving from the encyclopaedias(15);

Parquoy le grand Ouvrier de tout ce grand pourpris...
D'argile molle, et tendre, à l'oeuvre obeïssante
Composa une masse...
Puis tout en un instant ce Modelle si beau
Fut solidé en os vestus de chair, et peau:
Forme qui tant luy plùt, et tant il eut en grace
Que de son saint Esprit luy soufla en la face
Une alaine de vie, une ame vegetante
Croissant de sensitive en ratiocinante,
Qui firent ce corps vif bouger, mouvoir, courir,
Et apte en tout, par tout, et de tout discourir.
Et de passible actif luy ouvrirent les yeux
Tournoyans çà et là, et admirans les cieux
Se contemplans en luy, qui jà tout respiroit
De vie humaine, et jà l'eternelle aspiroit
Dressé sur piés branchus, une jambe en avant,
L'autre restant, se vit à cheminer savant,
Et se conduire droit en tous lieux pas à pas,
Mesurant son alleure avec grave compas.
  Les Animaux divers l'appercevant marcher
Ainsi la teste en haut, comme leur Seigneur cher
Craingnans, et estonnés autour l'environnerent,
Et tous, la teste en bas, humbles le saluerent:
Reconnoissans en luy la main de leur facteur
L'adorerent ensemble avec son Plasmateur(16).

Scève's God is here the cosmic workman, whose aptitude will be imitated by man in the course of the poem which follows(17). Scève deliberately emphasises the mechanical aspects of the verse from Genesis II, which itself forms as it were a technical commentary to Genesis I 26-27. The impression is that of an elaborate piece of clockwork, in which God turns the key, the making of a sort of cosmic Pinocchio. Scève's "microcosme" is memorable as a miracle of animation, springing into a jerky life that is mirrored in the jerky movement of the verse, hesitantly putting one foot before the other. But he finds himself already in his rightful place at the very hub of mortal creation, "apte en tout, par tout, et de tout discourir". Ultimately deriving from Cicero and Ovid(18), but now on the authority of the hexaemera incorporated into the biblical account(19), is the commonplace of man's upward gaze towards the heavens. For Scève this is the confirmation of man's status as the master of the world. When the Adam that he describes admires the heavens "se contemplans en luy", it is the better to admire his position at the centre of them, and the contrast between his upright stature and the downward-turned heads of the

animals is the further symbol of his dominion.

Du Bartas utilises the same commonplace in La Sepmaine, but in a distinct context. Like Scève, he is concerned with the excellence of man, but with the excellence of man as the reflection of that of God. The stress here falls upon man's celestial origins, as, we might add, the poet continues to conduct his dialogue with the Divinity, displaying an intimacy with the Creator's motives as well as actions, and enhancing his own status as narrator in the process;

> Estant donc desireux de produire en lumiere
> Le terrestre Empereur, tu prins de la poussiere
> La colas, la pressas, l'embellis de ta main,
> Et d'vn informe corps formas le corps humain:
> Ne courbant toutesfois sa face vers le centre
> Comme à tant d'animaux qui n'ont soin que du ventre,
> Mourans d'ame & de corps: ains releuant ses yeux
> Vers les dorez flambeaux qui brillent dans les cieux:
> Afin qu'à tous momens sa plus diuine essence,
> Par leurs nerfs contemplast le lieu de sa naissance(20).

Du Bartas makes the separation of man from the animals expressed in the classical image a primarily spiritual one, the embodiment of a higher truth. The interpretation has the authority of Calvin, who is more prepared than Luther had been to accept the validity of the illustration(21);

> Et si quelcun me veut dire que cela aussi soit comprins sous l'image de Dieu, que l'homme a la teste levée en haut et les yeux dressez au ciel pour contempler son origine, comme ainsi soit que les bestes ayent la teste panchée en bas, ie n'y contrediray point, moyennant que ce poinct demeure tousiours conclud, que l'image de Dieu, laquelle se voit en ces marques apparentes, ou bien démonstre quelque petite lueur, est spirituelle(22).

Behind his exuberant familiarity with the Deity, Du Bartas remembers the point. However, Du Bartas does not share Scève's interest in the mechanical process of the creation of man. The reference of these lines is brief, and their importance no more than episodic. They serve as an introduction to an extended survey of the parts of the human body, in which the accent is consistently upon the marvellous(23). The justification is within the hexaemeral tradition, and Du Bartas heeds in his own way the injunction of Ambrose;

> Cognosce ergo te, decora anima; quia imago Dei es. Cognosce

te, homo; quia gloria es Dei(24).

It is equally true that here as elsewhere in La Sepmaine the depiction becomes something of an end in itself, and the reader might be forgiven for losing sight of the original purpose over the some two hundred lines which follow. It is only then that Du Bartas comes to the second part of the original Genesis verse;

> Or ce docte Imager, pour son oeuure animer,
> Ne prit de l'air, du feu, de terre, de la mer,
> Vne cinquiesme essence, ains poussant son halaine,
> Il fit comme couler de la viue fontaine
> De sa Diuinité quelque petit ruisseau
> Dans les sacrez conduits de ce fresle vaisseau...(25)

Whereupon Du Bartas embarks upon a passage of similar length in celebration of the "effects sacrez" of the human mind(26). This is poetry calculated to impress, not to say to overwhelm.

The accent of Béroalde's account is quite different. Like Scève, he is interested in the actual operation of the creation of man. But in fact his version is distinct from that of either of his two predecessors. His lines are far from being either anthropocentric in content or incidental in function. Their tone is more self-effacing and more distant than that of Du Bartas', more fluent than that of Scève's, although their lineage is clearly the same;

> Adonq' il prit la terre & d'vne main heureuse,
> Au lieu que parauant elle estoit otieuse,
> La trempant en l'humeur, la fit croistre & changer,
> Et par son feu secret iustement s'eschaufer,
> Puis la moulant aux traits de sa sainte semblance,
> Sa masse il transmua en vne autre substance,
> Luy Dieu qui auoit fait de rien ce grand enclos,
> Fit de la poudre chair, sang, peau, veines, & os,
> Et ayant iustement establi la mesure
> De la proportion de cette architecture,
> L'asseant sur deux pieds il luy donna les yeux,
> Au plus haut de son chef pour regarder les cieux,
> Aussi est il seant qu'ayant pris son essence,
> D'vne telle façon, l'homme ait la cognoissance
> Que Dieu mesme abessé a touché de sa main,
> Tant il peut quand il veut, tout ce qu'il a d'humain,
> Et respirant en luy d'vne propice grace,
> Fit entrer son esprit dedans luy par sa face,
> Par sa face où l'on voit de ses conceptions
> Bien souuant les dessins & les intentions.
> Ainsi cette machine au parauant muette,
> Il eschaufa pour estre & viuante & parfaite(27).

This is more developed, more detailed, and more unified than the corresponding passage from La Sepmaine, and indeed it is with Scève's poem that the textual similarities seem to arise(28). It is further in keeping with the Microcosme that the emphasis falls upon God as Maker. But there is no account of man as maker to follow. The focal point remains "Luy Dieu qui auoit fait de rien ce grand enclos", and the status of man emerges as strictly relative. The reality is not the marvel which is man or the marvel of his achievements, but the conditioning reality of a relationship with God. Like his predecessors Béroalde takes the topos of man's contemplation of the heavens, and even builds it around the same rhyme of "yeux-cieux". But where for Scève and Du Bartas this vertical gaze marks a culminating point, a final indication of man's uniqueness and divinity, in Béroalde's poem it is the reminder that God has stooped to the level of man, that man is a tributary of the omnipotence of God. The emphatic spiritual commentary here has as its premiss not the superiority but the inferiority of God's creature. The note of pride is now missing, and man in Les Cognoissances regards the heavens more as a reminder of his indebtedness than as a token of his privilege.

Béroalde follows to the letter Calvin's reminder that the real distinctiveness of man is a spiritual one, but this to the extent of glossing over completely man's terrestrial role. What he does do, and this is consonant with the rest of the poem, is to expand the scientific commentary within those limits he has set himself. We have already remarked that Béroalde closely observes his biblical original, but, as he has done for the creation of the macrocosm before, he consciously re-creates it in scientific terms. For "Formavit igitur Dominus Deus hominem de limo terrae" Scève has, in a fairly literal transcription,

> D'argile molle, et tendre, à l'oeuvre obeïssante
> Composa une masse...

and, to express if not to explain the mystery of the transformation

from clay to flesh, the verbal equivalent, in Weber's phrase, of a wave of the magic wand(29);

> Puis tout en un instant ce Modelle si beau
> Fut solidé en os vestus de chair, et peau...

With "tu prins de la poussiere / La colas, la pressas, l'embellis de ta main, / Et d'vn informe corps formas le corps humain" Du Bartas is more reticent. Béroalde of course is not in any more of a position to explain. But he is in a position to assimilate. First, he pays attention to the preceding biblical verse, Genesis II 6;

> Sed fons ascendebat e terra, irrigans universam superficiem terrae.

The creation of man is then placed within an exactly similar scientific framework to that of the creation of the world before, with the same emphasis upon each stage of the process. Earth and water are the two passive elements which form the matter of the cosmos;

> Le ciel qui n'est rien qu'eau, fut l'essence premiere,
> La terre fut apres...(30)

It is in the same way that God sets about the creation of the man for whom that cosmos will be the home -

> Adonq' il prit la terre & d'vne main heureuse...
> La trempant en l'humeur, la fit croistre & changer.

But then, and again as before(31), Béroalde's God, manipulating his creation, assumes the role of master alchemist. Heat is at one level general scientific principle in the maintenance of the cosmos, and when Béroalde speaks of it in the context of the emergence of the world, it is in terms of universal praise;

> C'est l'ame de ce tout, c'est sa premiere vie,
> C'est sa force & vertu sa douce endelechie...(32)

But heat, and its precise regulation, is also the key to the alchemists' art, and it is heat which has the critical role in the process of creation;

> Et Dieu en reschaufant par la force du feu
> Ce qui estoit au bas, fit amasser le peu,
> Et monter le beaucoup de la substance humide...(33)

Heat now has the same indispensable role in the creation of man, and

here transmutation is specifically the aim;

> ...Et par son feu secret iustement s'eschaufer,
> Puis la moulant aux traits de sa sainte semblance,
> Sa masse il transmua en vne autre substance.

Through the resources of science, and the particular vocabulary of alchemy, Béroalde relates to a definable reality what in Scève's poem remains veiled in mystery, and what in La Sepmaine is not discussed at all. But in Béroalde's scheme there remains a further properly scientific link between macrocosm and microcosm, the other activating principle of the universe. In Les Cognoissances the breathing of life into man, the final seal on man's uniqueness, is also part of the universality of pneuma in the created world. The

> Et respirant en luy d'vne propice grace,
> Fit entrer son esprit dedans luy par sa face...

is echoed by the "esprit non esprit, vehement & debile" which is the wind as cosmic principle. The discussion that for Béroalde derives from the creation of man is the ensoulment of the world, and the way in which man himself is both part of it and separate from it.

*

In the Microcosme Scève had related the animation of man to the traditional categories of medieval psychology, making the divine spirit grow and develop as it is breathed into man along the proper scholastic lines;

> ...de son saint Esprit luy soufla en la face
> Une alaine de vie, une ame vegetante
> Croissant de sensitive en ratiocinante...

The three categories of vegetable, sensitive and intellective soul, reflecting the basic divisions of life between plants, animals and men, are constant ones from Aristotle onwards. Hence a medieval compilation such as Reisch's Margarita Philosophica recommends as a matter of course

> Tria itaque animarum genera distinguis:vegetatiuum scilicet & sensitiuum & intellectiuum(34).

Béroalde does not include this degree of precision where the

creation of man is concerned, but he instead turns to man as part of a whole world inspired to life by God. The interpretation becomes that of the cosmos perceived as unity;

> Or en tout ce qui est vne vie il a mis,
> Et en cet vniuers vne ame il a transmis,
> Qui quatre en faculté, par le monde puissante,
> Solide, vegetable, animale, sentente,
> Nous monstre tant d'effaits: car tout corps se maintient
> Selon que plus ou moins de ses forces il tient(35).

It is to the Platonic concept of world-soul, to the commonplace of Virgil's "mens agitat molem"(36), that Béroalde chooses to relate the appearance of man. Again, the desire is to approximate to a definable reality. Through the use of a scientific vocabulary the poet strives to reduce the world to a perceptible order which is superintended by God.

The concept of world-soul is, moreover, a permissible way of perceiving the structure of reality at this time. In the sixteenth-century context it is perfectly straightforward to make world-soul the principle of animation within the cosmos. In his De la Vicissitude ou Variete des Choses en l'Univers Louis le Roy describes a sort of cosmic dance spreading outwards, and affecting each part of the created world in turn, which is no more than a synonym for the vitalising presence of nature;

> Doncques les Astrologiens & Physiciens afferment de la partie superieure de l'vniuers descendre certaine vertu accompagnee de lumiere & chaleur qu'aucuns d'eux appellent l'esprit de l'vniuers, les autres nature, se meslant parmy la masse de son grand corps penetrant, viuifiant, nourrissant, moderant toutes choses sublunaires variables. Laquelle estant de telle efficace commence au feu & à l'air, lesquels agitez par mouuemens coelestes, esmeuuent apres l'eau & la terre, consequemment les natures composees de ces quatre elemens tant hommes, bestes, poissons, oyseaux, que germes, plantes, arbres, pierres & metaux. Là estre le premier mouuement dont deppendent les autres inferieurs, & toute essence...(37)

This is the world also which Ronsard evokes in Le Chat, permeated by the quickening force of soul;

> Par la vertu de cette ame meslée
> Tourne le Ciel à la voute estoillée,
> La Mer s'esgaye, & la Terre produit
> Par les saisons, herbes, fueilles, & fruit,
> Je dy la Terre, heureuse part du monde,
> Mere benigne, à gros tetins foeconde,
> Au large sein: De là tous animaux,

Les emplumez, les escadrons des eaux:
De là Belleau, ceux qui ont pour repaire
Ou le rocher ou le bois solitaire
Vivent & sont, & mesme les metaux,
Les Diamans, rubis Orientaux,
Perles, saphirs, ont de là leur essence,
Et par telle ame ilz ont force & puissance,
Qui plus qui moins, selon qu'ils en sont pleins:
Autant en est de nous pauvres humains(38).

Ronsard's poem has a clear overtone of pantheism, but it depends otherwise on a legitimate concept of reality. Both he and Le Roy are implicitly referring to a world divided into hierarchical grades, each corresponding to a state of being. The hierarchy is that of Charles de Bouelles in the De Sapiente, where the writer nominates Substantia, Vita, Sensus and Ratio as the four grades of being in nature(39). But the concept is a standard one. The same layered and all-embracing framework is presented by Raymond Sebond at the beginning of La Theologie Naturelle;

...Tout ce qui est, ou il a l'estre seulement sans vie, sans sentiment, sans intelligence, sans iugement, sans libre volonté: Ou bien il a l'estre & le viure seulement & rien du reste, ou bien il est, il vit, il sent, & c'est tout: Ou bien il est, il vit, il sent, il entend, & veut à sa liberté. Ainsi ces quatre choses, estre, viure, sentir & entendre, comprennent tout, & rien n'est au dela(40).

In Les Cognoissances Necessaires Béroalde constructs a picture of the operation of the world which depends upon a similar division of being. But he is not content to make this division correspond to categories of being and no more. A view of the world as efficiently operated machine demands an interplay of forces, and for Béroalde each category of being is the domain of a distinct and individual soul. With this the traditional tripartite division of soul is expanded by one, and Béroalde supposes the existence of an "ame solide", with its own faculties and attributes. The departure is a radical one, but since this new fourfold division of soul forms the basis of an entire poem in De l'Ame et de ses facultes, which follows Les Cognoissances, we propose to postpone our discussion of its precise source to the later context(41). What is clear immediately is that it represents the elaboration of the normal description of an all-pervasive anima mundi. Béroalde

contrives to express with an equal scientific exactness for each level of being the notion of its universal influence, and an already established association between soul and stones and metals is brought within the discipline of a unified scheme(42).

Soul is the unifying bond in Béroalde's universe, and soul, as we have seen before(43), is heat. This is the identity at the scientific level of the principle from which no part of creation is exempt, and through it Béroalde continues to express in a specialist terminology the unceasing action of God in the world. Soul as vital principle determines the vigour of a body - "tout corps se maintient / Selon que plus ou moins de ses forces il tient" - and this physical function is explained in terms of universal vivifying heat. The detailed exposition is given in the Recherches de la Pierre Philosophale, and its source, as for the interpretation of the creation of the world before, is clearly Aristotelean;

> Ce n'est pas sans raison que cette chaleur naturelle qui nous entretient ce pendant que nous auons és poumons la force de souspirer vn air, dont l'agreable agitation chauffant les charbons interieurs de la temperature ignee qui est en nostre sang, nous fait durer en estre, à receu vn si beau nom que d'estre appellee Ame, ayant sa force de cette vertu nourrissante qui est espendue par le monde. Car la disposition de la chaleur temperee que nature donne aux choses inferieures, continue l'estat auquel elles subsistent, tant qu'elles ont forme(44).

The "ame solide" in this context is the soul which has received the greatest amount of heat, and which hence confers the greatest permanence;

> Nous le voyons asses, car qui plus a son ame
> Solide ou metallique, a plus receu de flame
> Pour se recuire en soy, par ainsi dure plus
> Que ce qui du solide a les moindres vertus(45).

Béroalde is then careful to include this within the concept of universal soul, by relating it to the levels of being. But the Aristotelean definition of soul as the "actuality of a body which possesses life"(46) rests on the assumption that the mark of life is self-movement(47). Béroalde meets the problem by devising a distinction between two grades of life. The solution is one he has already arrived at in the prose treatise Les Apprehensions Spirituelles;

...les animaux sont vifs & viuans, & les autres ne sont que vifs, n'vsans pas tous en tout des puissances mouuantes par l'ame qui en general est telle qu'elle constitue de soy abstracte vne grandeur comme les esprits viuans, qui se disent tels, pource que leur forme demeure, eux estans abstracts ou liez, en quoy leur sont differentes les ames mortelles, qui se disent telles, pource qu'elles ne demeurent pas en leurs figures(48).

With the help of this subtlety, Béroalde's concept of soul may embrace as it does the very lowliest members of creation, and this without necessarily offending the Aristotelean canon;

Aussi l'ame icy bas se dit en toute chose,
Pour ce que son estat, ou vie elle dispose,
Pour en la vegetant, pousser ou maintenir,
Ou pour sans mouuement compacte la tenir.
Telle ame ont les metaux, les perles & les verres,
Les cuirs prests, bois coupés, foins, os, coquilles, pierres
Et sont vifs non viuans, & puis leur corps est mort,
Leur composition perdant le doux effort
De l'ame qui les tient...(49)

The impression once more is that of harmonious arrangement, and the presentation of the more orthodox "ame vegetable" which follows is firmly in the same mould;

...Mais l'ame vegetable
Est en tout ce qui a vn desir agreable
D'engendrer son pareil, ou qui sans sentiment,
Produit d'vn germe heureux, par vn doux changement
Vn autre comme luy, ou croist & de nature
Prend de l'ame de tout, sa tendre nourriture...(50)

The four manifestations of world-soul fill out the order of nature, and their effects are presented as the further guarantees of a tranquil stability, evoked in terms of a "doux effort", "desir agreable", "germe heureux", "doux changement", "tendre nourriture". It is the embodiment once again of the "discordans accords", and once again it is on the accord that the accent falls;

Ces quatre vne vertus sont en tous animaux,
En leurs effaits diuers diuersement egaux(51).

In this way the concept of world-soul in Les Cognoissances is the further expression of the unity of the created world. Unlike Du Bartas, Béroalde's interest is in function, and unlike Scève, he applies an interest in function to creation in its totality. The animation of man is related to the animation of the whole. This is not to say that Béroalde is writing from the point of view which was Ronsard's in Le Chat. Henri Busson has suggested that certain

of Ronsard's later poems, of which Le Chat is one, suggest a mind increasingly attracted by the doctrines of averroism, and, more particularly, of stoic pantheism(52). Béroalde, who has already reacted against the stoic doctrine of the eternity of the world(53), is equally sensitive to the heterodox in the domain of soul. For the Ronsard of Le Chat, one soul alone animates the universe, and upon this all life, including that of man, depends. The image, and the idea behind it, is the development of Virgil's spiritus, and the lines

> inde hominum pecudumque genus uitaeque uolantum
> et quae marmoreo fert monstra sub aequore pontus(54)

Without this force the whole universal machine would collapse(55). But in Ronsard's definition this soul is inseparable from God. God is to the universe as the soul is to the body;

> Dieu est par tout, par tout se mesle Dieu,
> Commencement, la fin, & le millieu
> De ce qui vit, & dont l'Ame est enclose
> Par tout, & tient en vigueur toute chose
> Come nostre Ame infuse dans noz corps(56).

The result is, Busson argues, that Ronsard comes dangerously close to a heresy(57). An actual identity between soul and God confers upon soul the attribute of eternity, and independence of creation in time;

> De Dieu vient l'ame, & come il est parfait
> L'ame est parfaite, intouchable, immortelle,
> Come venant d'une Essence eternelle:
> L'Ame n'a doncq commencement ni bout:
> Car la Partie ensuit toujours le Tout(58).

This is the stoic argument for the immortality of the heavens(59), and within it there is no further place for the christian concept of the immortality of the individual. The human soul is no more than a particle of the divine, returning to it at death. "Surjon de la divine flame", as Ronsard calls it on returning to these ideas in the Franciade, the immortal part of man is caught up in the Platonic and Pythagorean concept of the transmigration of souls(60).

What is an important factor in Béroalde's own approach to the question of world-soul in Les Cognoissances is that these errors had been specifically, and vehemently, condemned, and that the condemnation is Calvin's(61). Calvin's concern is centred on a revival of the

heresy of the Manichaeans, who for their part supposed a "good soul", simple emanation of the divine(62), but the terms of the attack obviously have a much wider bearing. The phrase Calvin ascribes to his heretics immediately recalls Ronsard's interpretation of the human soul, and the issue is related to the Genesis verse which is the starting-point of Béroalde's account;

> Or devant que passer plus outre, il est nécessaire de rembarrer la resverie des Manichéens, laquelle Servet s'est efforcé de remettre sus de nostre temps. Quand il est dit que Dieu a inspiré en la face de l'homme esprit de vie (Gen. 2, 7), ils ont songé que l'âme estoit un sourgeon de la substance de Dieu, comme si quelque portion de la divinité fust découlée en l'homme. Or il est facile de monstrer au doigt quelles absurditez et combien lourdes tire cest erreur diabolique après soy...(63)

Calvin in fact shows himself to be intolerant of the concept of world-soul in general. He cannot dissociate it from the heretical idea of a world created in all eternity;

> Quant à ce qu'aucuns babillent qu'il y a une inspiration secrète tenant le monde en sa vigueur, et ne passent point plus outre pour magnifier Dieu, ce n'est pas seulement une fantasie froide et sans goust, mais du tout profane. Le dire d'un Poète payen leur plaist, assavoir qu'il y a un esprit qui nourrit et fomente le ciel et la terre, les champs, le globe de la lune et toutes les estoilles, et que cest esprit estant espandu en toutes parties pousse de son mouvement la masse, et se mesle par tout le grand corps, et que de là vient la vie des hommes, des bestes, des oiseaux et poissons, et qu'en toutes choses il y a une propriété de feu et origine céleste. Voire, mais c'est pour revenir à un poinct diabolique, assavoir que le monde, qui a esté créé pour spectacle de la gloire de Dieu, soit luy mesme son créateur...(64)

In contrast, world-soul has a proper role in Les Cognoissances, assuring the fabric of the created world. But Béroalde is consistently aware of the danger of which Calvin warns, "d'enveloper la maiesté de Dieu avec le cours inférieur de ses oeuvres". As the cosmos itself had been explicitly subordinated to God, so world-soul in Béroalde's universe operates within precise limits. It is the inner source of life within the physical world, but it is itself shown as having its source in a God acting through creation, both historically and in the present. The context remains that of an active providence, and if Béroalde the alchemist/scientist, with a belief in the inner force of matter, retains a legitimate place for universal soul where Calvin does not, this is never for him

a challenge to the power of an overseeing God. On the contrary, he presents a scheme in which the latter is the guarantee of the former. Béroalde reiterates the point that pneuma is the further manifestation of the Almighty, and world-soul takes its place in an universe finite in the christian sense. Ronsard's pantheistic vision gives way to an ordered image of which the rationale had been given in the prose discourse Du Bien de la Mort commune;

> Car soit que les philosophes par leurs admirables & gentiles inuentions, ayent donné vne ame à cét vniuers...Si n'est ce pas ce qu'ils ont pensé. Car l'eternelle suffisance du tout puissant n'a pas fait cét oeuure pour le laisser là, & l'abandonner à sa conduite propre sans en auoir soin, ains perpetuellement le conduit, regit, & anime, l'entretenant tant que le iour determiné vienne pour la consumation du corruptible(65).

Man, in so far as he is part of the harmony of the created world, is subsumed in this same picture of universal animation. But Béroalde is clearly aware of the dangers of implying that man is no more than this. The world of Le Chat recedes further, and the concept of world-soul is married to a specifically christian eschatology. Soul as philosophical concept merges into the christian concept of spirit. In truth, the two are scarcely separate, in that a definition of the Holy Spirit advanced by Calvin has little to distinguish it from Béroalde's evocation of the soul of the world -

> ...c'est luy qui est espandu par tout, soustient et vivifie toutes choses au ciel et en la terre, et leur donne vigueur(66).

However, Béroalde's is a conscious separation of two domains of experience;

> Mais plus que tout cecy l'homme en a encor vne,
> Plus sainte, plus capable, aux autres non commune,
> Qui est l'esprit viuant qui le rend immortel,
> Docte, discret, heureux, cognoissant l'eternel.
> Cette essence est diuine, inuisible, & tres-belle,
> Non suiette à toucher, subtile, & immortelle,
> Venue du grand Dieu et respiree au corps
> Non par les doux effaits des mesurés accors
> De l'ame de ce tout, mais par le Dieu supresme
> Qui l'a souflee en luy, de sa bouche luy mesme:
> Et la disons Esprit qui par l'eternité,
> Fera iouir le corps de l'immortalité(67).

World-soul as scientific concept, explanation of function, stands at one level, the spiritual status of man

at another. In the words of St.Paul, quickening spirit is placed above living soul -

> Factus est primus homo Adam in animam viventem, novissimus Adam in spiritum vivificantem(68).

This is the verse cited by both Luther and Calvin in their respective commentaries on Genesis II 7(69). Man's second birth lies in the spiritual regeneration he is offered through the sacrifice of the "new Adam" Christ, but in the light of the Pauline verse this is to be seen as anticipated in the account of the first(70). So too for Béroalde God's breathing of life into man is the direct token of man's personal immortality, and man is saved by the Spirit from a purely animal life. The promise is that of bodily resurrection. It is in his vigorous defence of this in the Institution that Calvin cites further St.Paul's warning to the Corinthians -

> An nescitis quoniam membra vestra, templum sunt Spiritus sancti, qui in vobis est, quem habetis a Deo, et non estis vestri?(71)

It is to this, and not now to a Virgilian concept of world-soul, that Béroalde's lines form the gloss.

They form part, however, of an interpretation of the working of the world, and this is the portrayal of a christian cosmos which replies to the pagan one of Ronsard. Béroalde insists upon the division between the mortal and immortal parts of man, and makes it clear that the immortal part is not to be viewed simply as man's participation in the divine substance. What he writes is a reinforcement in verse to Calvin's rejoinder to the "resverie des Manichéens". Ronsard is unable to avoid the suggestion of dualism;

> Des Elements & de cette Ame infuse
> Nous sommes nez: le corps mortel, qui s'use
> Par trait de temps, des Elementz est fait:
> De Dieu vient l'ame...(72)

Béroalde's, in contrast, is the christian vision in which all parts of man are immortal. Soul in man is at once the link with the ensoulment of the world at large, and, informed by spirit, the means of an eternal life for the individual in body as well as in soul;

> ...celle des humains de l'esprit separee

S'endort pour quelque temps, tant qu'en fin rappellee,
Le corps la reprendra auecques son esprit,
Pour estre vn à la fin vnis en Iesus Christ:
Et ce petit sommeil entre nous mort s'appelle,
Combien que n'ayons part, qui ne soit eternelle(73).

The language is that of the devotional writer(74), and within a depiction of animation in which all components of creation are involved, Béroalde is careful to preserve man's special status.

It is equally true that with this safeguard Béroalde preserves the validity of world-soul also. Calvin refers to the passage in the Georgics in which Virgil describes bees as participating in the life of the world(75), but only to treat the idea with scorn;

Car voilà comment s'expose ailleurs Vergile...c'est que les abeilles ont quelque portion d'esprit divin et ont puisé du ciel quelque vertu, d'autant que Dieu s'espand par tous traits de terre et de mer comme par le ciel. De là les bestes, tant privées que sauvages, les hommes et toutes choses tirent quelques petites portions de vie, puis elles les rendent et se résolvent à leur principe, et ainsi qu'il n'y a nulle mort, mais que le tout vole au ciel avec les estoilles. Voilà que profite pour engendrer et nourrir une droite piété en noz coeurs ceste spéculation maigre et fade de l'esprit universel qui entretient le monde en son estat...Bref, tout revient là, de forger quelque divinité ombrageuse afin de chasser bien loin le vray Dieu qui doit estre adoré et servy de nous(76).

In Les Cognoissances, and within the terms of reference of a providential creation, the notion is retained, and becomes the distinguishing mark of animals from men. On their dissolution the souls of animals rejoin that universal soul of which they are part, and from which others will be made. The Platonic idea of the transmigration of souls, familiar from the Phaedrus and the Republic(77), becomes the stuff of a further distinction between mortal and immortal;

...les ames mortelles...se disent telles, pource qu'elles ne demeurent pas en leurs figures: mais se dissoudent & resoluent au spirituel vniuersel, dont les autres ames sont façonnees pour les especes succedentes(78).

This is the rendering of Béroalde's thought in the prose discourse Les Apprehensions Spirituelles, but in the poem it raises an immediate parallel with the passage from the Georgics to which Calvin refers(79). Béroalde attains an epic grandeur of his own, but the difference is that from his Virgilian periphrasis

for animal life man is now specifically excluded, and that the operation of his world-force is one that is finite in time. Its function now is to serve as a counterpoint to a christian destiny;

> Ainsi que de nos corps les diuerses parties,
> Sont par leurs lieux en nous, plus ou moins ennoblie:
> Cet esprit a aussi auec l'ame conioint
> Ce qui est immortel, & ce qui ne l'est point
> Pour vn temps, car l'ardeur que conuoitise excite
> Est suiette au trespas, & comme tres-petite
> S'esuanouit en rien, differant toutesfois
> De celle des oiseaux, & des poissons sans vois,
> Et de tous animaux, qui sous la terre viuent,
> Ou cet air doucement, en leurs poumons respirent
> Car leur ame s'esteind, du corps se separant,
> Pour se reioindre au tout, & ne meurt pas pourtant:
> Car en l'autre elle va, selon l'ordre arrestee
> En la proportion qui en est limittee,
> Pour durer tant qu'en fin termine sa vigueur,
> Et de cét vniuers finisse la rondeur...(80)

The vertical division in Les Cognoissances, between the world of God and that of man, is mirrored in the twin aspect of the human soul. Through his lower forms of soul man is himself part of the harmonious workings of the universe as machine, but through the gift of the spirit he is made capable of knowledge also. The mark of man is not only the promise of an eternal life, but also the uniqueness of the human intellect;

> Or nostre ame & l'esprit sont l'ame que l'on dit
> L'ame viuante en nous, pourautant qu'elle vit,
> Et que de vie double elle rend nostre essence,
> Vsant de mouuement, capable de science.
> Et cette ame en soy tient, comme le plus parfait,
> L'vsage bien heureux du diuin intellect,
> Qui a pour son obiect les parfaictes Idees,
> Qui sans corps sensuels sont au ciel imprimees...(81)

Béroalde insists upon the status of the intellect, and in the later De l'Ame et de ses excellences he will make the same point the basis of a moral philosophy(82). The essence of soul in man is not only that it turns the mind heavenwards, but that it makes the individual "capable de science"(83). Hence the hierarchy of the categories of soul furnishes not only an explanation of how the world works, but why man has a special place within it. Function, however, remains the object of Béroalde's enquiry, and the final vindication of the concept of soul is that in it he sees the key to functioning, the

substance of "la forme interieure". The poem De l'Ame et de ses facultes takes the framework of soul which Les Cognoissances has outlined, and makes it the subject of a full-length scientific study.

In this instance Béroalde's scientific enthusiasm gives him an order of priority which is distinct from that of Calvin. The subject is one to which Calvin specifically refers. In the Institution he devotes a paragraph to a consideration of the faculties of soul, but prefaces it

> Or quant est des facultez, ie laisse aus Philosophes à les deschiffrer mieux par le menu, il nous suffira d'en avoir une simple déclaration pour nous édifier en piété(84).

Here the point of view could scarcely be that of Béroalde, who sees the reinforcement of piety in scientific enquiry itself. One feels he would agree still less with Calvin's conclusion;

> Quand toutes ces choses seront vrayes, ou pour le moins vray-semblables, encores n'est-il ia mestier de nous y amuser, pource qu'il y a danger qu'elles ne nous pourroyent aider de guères, et nous pourroyent beaucoup tormenter par leur obscurité(85).

The very existence of Béroalde's De l'Ame et de ses facultes would suggest that he takes a different view.

Already in the context of the creation of man, Béroalde seizes the opportunity to make a rapid survey of the microcosm seen in terms of internal organisation;

> ...plus bas sont les sens, qui comme inferieurs
> Reçoiuent les obiets des plaisirs et douleurs,
> Et de ce qui en bas d'essense plus grossiere,
> Est suiet au suport d'vne basse matiere.
> Mais entre ces deux la se tient le iugement,
> Qui conioint par accord proportionnement,
> A le resouuenir vray support de la vie,
> L'opinion, l'instinct, le sens, la fantaisie,
> Qui par diuers effaits exercent dedans nous
> La force de raison, de desir, de courrous(86).

The upshot of it all is that microcosm, like macrocosm, is an instance of harmonious arrangement;

> Ainsi l'homme formé, d'vne iuste harmonie,
> Eut la perffection par l'effait de sa vie(87).

*

At this stage of the poem we can see Béroalde's debt to a tradition and his independence from it. His depiction of the creation of man is within the mainstream of the hexaemeral tradition, and this fact in itself makes possible a direct comparison with the poems of Scève and Du Bartas. Béroalde's account proves to be more mechanical than that of Du Bartas, more God-centred than that of Scève. He is fascinated by creation as process, and even uses an alchemical image to accentuate the aspect of function. He is drawn to assimilate the formation of Adam to the stages of a scientific operation. Yet the purpose is not the glorification of man, but of God. The context remains that of human frailty opposed to divine omnipotence, and the issue of man made in God's image is not exempted from the theme. The place which Béroalde allots man in the universe is not superiority over the animals, but inferiority in regard to his Maker. The creation of man is interpreted in terms of a continuing relationship between man and God.

The question of the ensoulment of the universe rests not upon an episode related in the Genesis account, but on the interpretation of one verse from it. The nature of the commentary that Béroalde draws from that verse is a strong indication of the direction of his interests. Animation for Scève means the expanding faculties of soul within man himself. For Béroalde it means the survey of forces within the world as a whole. A scientist's preoccupation with inner cause and working leads him towards a sort of analysis which would not appeal to the less scientifically minded Calvin. But Béroalde's analysis still functions within the framework of a providential universe, actively superintended by God. His world-soul is the physical expression of an unified cosmos which ultimately has its rationale in the pattern given it by the Deity.

More than this, this structure of world-soul is carefully arranged so as not to interfere with the christian status of man, with its attendant guarantee of a resurrection in the flesh. Béroalde

is in fact devising a christian cosmology which so far from casting doubt on the major tenets of Calvinist doctrine is conceived as their collaboration. But it rests on what for Béroalde is a scientific basis also. Here "harmonie" remains the catch-word, the essence of microcosm and macrocosm alike, and it is with the nature of reality that Béroalde continues to strive to make the idea of "harmonie" correspond.

* * *

CHAPTER IV

MICROCOSM

THE CREATION OF WOMAN - THE SOCIAL FABRIC

Man, and within man the intellect, represent the ultimate step in a process of creation upon earth working towards order and harmony. Man however is to be situated in the fabric of a human society, and the further refinement upon man in the biblical context is Genesis II 18;

> Dixit quoque Dominus Deus: Non est bonum esse hominem solum: faciamus ei adiutorium simile sibi.

This has its direct echo in Les Cognoissances;

> Mais cét homme est tout seul & la derniere main,
> De Dieu n'a pas encor parfait le genre humain...(1)

In the context of a creation where all is for the good, the creation of woman in its turn must be providential. But for the commentators of the verse it raises a problem. This is put by Luther;

> ...here there is a question: "When God says: 'It is not good that man should be alone,' of what good could He be speaking, since Adam was righteous and had no need of a woman as we have, whose flesh is leprous through sin?"(2)

Adam finds himself already in a state of innocence, which woman in fact will make him lose. The answer that Luther gives is the one that will be developed by Calvin. Adam's innocence is his personal good, but whilst he is alone he lacks that common good for the whole of the human race which is that of procreation. The nature of God's blessing is the gift of legitimate increase conferred upon mankind through the creation of Eve. The gloss comes within a general Reformist emphasis upon the institution of marriage, and it is this aspect which is singled out by Calvin. His commentary on this verse starts from the "general principle, that man was formed to be a social animal", and continues

> Now, the human race could not exist without the woman; and, therefore, in the conjunction of human beings, that sacred bond is especially conspicuous, by which the husband and the wife are combined in one body, and one soul(3).

If we turn now to the two hexaemeral poems which provide us with our standard of comparison for Béroalde's Les Cognoissances, we find that Du Bartas, beneath his exaggeration, is faithful to the notion that the creation of woman is the harbinger of christian marriage. Marriage contains the perfection that without woman man is denied. Du Bartas' evocation of the imperfection of man alone is enough to put him on a par with the most ardent champion of feminism;

> Vous qui dans ce Tableau, parmi tant de pourtraits,
> Du Roy des animaux contemplez les beaux traits,
> Ça çà tournez vn peu & vostre oeil & vostre ame,
> Et, rauis, contemplez les beaux traits de la femme,
> Sans qui l'homme çà bas n'est homme qu'à demi:
> Ce n'est qu'vn Loup-garou du soleil ennemi,
> Qu'vn animal sauuage, ombrageux, solitaire,
> Bisarre, frenetique, à qui rien ne peut plaire
> Que le seul desplaisir: né pour soy seulement,
> Priué de coeur, d'esprit, d'amour, de sentiment...(4)

In highly theatrical colours Du Bartas prepares the way for what to a diehard Renaissance feminist as François de Billon is "la tresnoble, gracieuse & plus que nécessaire Condition des Femmes"(5). But this baroque theatre is one that has the support of the theologians. We may take Luther's words;

> (Adam) was not yet in possession of the common good which the rest of the living beings who propagated their kind through procreation had. For so far Adam was alone; he still had no partner for that magnificent work of begetting and preserving his kind(6).

Du Bartas' then appear as their expansion;

> Dieu donc pour ne monstrer sa main moins liberale
> Enuers le masle humain, qu'enuers tout autre masle,
> Pour le parfaict patron d'vne saincte amitié,
> A la moitié d'Adam ioint vne autre moitié,
> La prenant de son corps, pour estreindre en tout aage
> D'vn lien plus estroit le sacré mariage(7).

The same comparison with the animals, and the same notion of imperfection, appears in Scève, but with different emphasis. For Scève it is man's inferiority to animals in this respect which is in itself the imperfection. Man lord of the rest of creation does not at first show his capacity for procreation, but in the world of constant emanation which is that of the Microcosme(8), it is contained in potential within him. In the event, the imperfection is scarcely

man's at all. The fault becomes that of an imperceptive Nature;

> Mais voicy que Nature estonnee apperçoit
> Animaux divisés de sexe, et ne conçoit
> Le secret du Creant ceste division
> En laquelle duroit sa conservation.
> Et l'Homme toutefois d'elle non bien connu
> Seigneurier voyant de nouveau genre nu,
> Maints autres endossans plume, poil, seye, et laine,
> Restoit toute confuse, et d'ignorance pleine.
> Mesmes (ce lui sembloit) que seul se monstrant masle
> Ne penetroit en luy, qui de puissance egale
> Estoit Androginé...(9)

It is left to Béroalde to implicitly recall the problem of interpretation referred to by Luther. His depiction of man alone does not dwell upon the potentiality of female within male, in the manner of Scève, but more emphatically still, it stands at the very opposite pole from the lugubrious image of Du Bartas. This is an Adam revelling in his "personal good";

> Toutesfois ie voy l'homme accompli en soy mesme:
> Tout seul mieux ressembler la maiesté supresme,
> Il est riche il a tout, & n'a point de soucy
> Qui le rende suiet, & ne sent point aussi
> Le mespris, la fierté, le desdain, & l'audace
> D'vne qui par l'effort d'vne agreable grace,
> Contraint dessous ses lois son miserable coeur
> A souspirer d'amour la mortelle douceur:
> Il ne la cognoist point, aussi entier ne pense
> Qu'aux obiets infinis dignes de sa presence(10).

Perfection in Béroalde's universe is the perfection of man alone. There is a theological basis for this in the notion of the original righteousness of Adam, held by Luther to consist in that

> Adam loved God and His works with an outstanding and very pure attachment; that he lived among the creatures of God in peace, without fear of death, and without any fear of sickness; and that he had a very obedient body, without evil inclinations and the hideous lust which we now experience(11).

However, explicitly to identify such a state of innocence with the absence of woman is to go one stage further. The state of mind is one that is revealed by Luther himself -

> ...if the woman had not been deceived by the serpent and had not sinned, she would have been the equal of Adam in all respects. For the punishment, that she is now subjected to the man, was imposed on her after sin and because of sin...Therefore Eve was not like the woman of today; her state was far better and more excellent, and she was in no respect inferior to Adam...(12)

Béroalde's hitherto uncomplicated attitude to a providential creation

is in this respect given a noticeable nuance by the intellectual climate of his day. "Quand je diz femme," says Rondibilis,

> je diz un sexe tant fragil, tant variable, tant muable, tant inconstant et imperfaict que Nature me semble (parlant en tout honneur et reverence) s'estre esguarée de ce bons sens par lequel elle avoit creé et formé toutes choses, quand elle a basty la femme...(13)

Béroalde would appear to agree, and we would add in parentheses that it is a little ironic that he should later have gained in certain quarters the reputation of a champion of the ladies(14). But what is said does not necessarily correspond to what is thought, and, after all, Béroalde is also the author of the highly galant Souspirs Amoureux. What is more suggestive here is that the reference is not an isolated one. In the prose Les Apprehensions Spirituelles Béroalde warms to his theme of nostalgia, setting up a model which squarely contradicts Calvin's "general principle" of man as social creature;

> ...Que voicy vn temps heureux & vne solitude agreable, d'estre maistre sans que nul contredise, de pouuoir sans s'assuiettir à la volonté d'aucun, & n'auoir pour guide que la seule liberté qui meine aux plaisirs sans mal & sans enuie. Vrayement tel contentement s'il estoit pour pouuoir estre en quelque lieu écarté, se deuroit acheter de la moitié de la vie, ce m'estoit-il aduis, discourant de la felicité de l'homme seul comme ie l'entendois...(15)

On the face of it, this particular vision of celibacy could scarcely present a sharper contrast with the doctrine of the Reformers. For Calvin celibacy is a "pestilential law"(16), and the idea that a happy life may be passed without a wife, a "wicked suggestion of Satan"(17). Luther is even more extreme. His venom is reserved for nobles and princes who refrain from marriage in order to avoid having offspring -

> Surely such men deserve that their memory be blotted out from the land of the living. Who is there who would not detest these swinish monsters?(18)

It reads oddly to come back to Béroalde and find him even going to the extent of questioning divine providence itself for having unleashed upon man the perfidious charms of the female;

> O homme heureux, voire infiniment, si l'immence bonté de ton facteur eut tant espandu de sa faueur sur toy, que semblable à toymesme tu n'eusses eu que faire de celle qui te desrobant le coeur, & t'attirant à elle, a faict naistre ceste agreable fureur qui d'vn soing enchanteur passant en l'ame, ensorcele le sang d'vne poison si

violente, que le plus souuent la mort en est la seule guerison...(19)

We might of course suspect that these remarks of Béroalde's are no more than a rhetorical exercise. The impression is strengthened by the continuation of the passage from Les Cognoissances, which presents an abrupt change of direction, or at least appears to do so;

> Hé, quel plaisir a il, de quel contentement
> Se peut il consoler en son entendement:
> A qui peut il conter ce qu'il a dedans l'ame,
> S'il est seul eslongné, d'vne benigne femme,
> Qui viuant en son coeur, adiouste à ses plaisirs
> Le comble bien heureux, de ses chastes desirs,
> D'vne femme qui peut tant est ingenieuse,
> Transformer le malheur, en vne vie heureuse,
> Et par ses doux attraits tous forceans, tous diuins,
> Des hommes adoucir les contraires destins,
> Qui subtile de soy, toute amour, toute grace,
> Du sort, du ciel, de mort les cruautés efface...(20)

However, this picture is one which itself takes its place within the larger;

> Si discrette elle veut vsant de sa douceur,
> Esteindre les rigueurs qu'elle couue en son coeur(21).

In Les Cognoissances woman is given a defined, and necessary, role within creation, but in spite of her nature rather than because of it. Unlike Scève or Du Bartas, Béroalde arrives at an interpretation of the creation of woman which depends closely upon influences extraneous to the biblical account, and which provides as a consequence a rather different version of the workings of providence.

The insistence upon the insidious powers of woman is Béroalde's own. For him there is a definite association to be made between woman and the disappearance of earthly pleasures, in which the point of reference is not so much the sin of the Garden of Eden as a present reality;

> Mais cela qui n'est point peut-il auoir puissance
> De contraindre l'estant sous son obeissance,
> Et le but n'existant ce qui s'y doit trouuer,
> Viendra il pour sans luy, contre luy s'esprouuer?
> La femme n'y est point, ou n'est encores veue
> Donq' sa puissance aussi ne sera point cognue.
> Si rien à desirer ne se trouuoit icy,
> De desirs nous n'aurions iamais le coeur saisi,
> Et l'amour non amour n'vseroit à outrance,
> De ses aueugles traits sur nos coeurs sans deffence,
> Le plaisir ne seroit d'auec nous separé,
> Et le bien hors de nous ne seroit retiré(22).

Woman is the instrument of man's fall from an original state of innocence, but in this version through the destructive power of passion which with her is introduced into the world. Béroalde's nostalgia for Paradise is that of the Renaissance anti-feminist.

It would be fairer to say that for Béroalde, and for the sixteenth century in general, anti-feminism is the realization of the inevitable. What Béroalde does is to remember this even in the context of providence, and, in so doing, to maintain a constant relationship between man and God. Luther and Calvin in their opposition to celibacy are thinking of marriage. It is through marriage, according to Calvin, that God has ordained man to salvation(23). For both, however, the context is that of the world after the Fall. Christian marriage is both the reflection of God's purpose, and the confirmation of man's lapsarian state. This is Calvin in the Institution;

> Pource que l'homme a esté créé à ceste condition, de ne vivre point solitaire, mais avoir une aide semblable à soy; davantage que par la malédiction du péché il a esté encores plus assuietty à ceste nécessité, d'autant qu'il estoit expédient, le Seigneur nous a donné remède en cest endroit, en instituant le mariage, lequel, après l'avoir ordonné de son authorité, l'a sanctifié de sa bénédiction(24).

Calvin is commenting here the seventh commandment. Marriage is the bridle to concupiscence. Luther, again, is more forthright -

> Today, after our nature has become corrupted by sin, woman is needed not only to secure increase but also for companionship and for protection....In addition - and this is lamentable - woman is also necessary as an antidote against sin....we are compelled to make use of this sex in order to avoid sin. It is almost shameful to say this, but nevertheless it is true. For there are very few who marry solely as a matter of duty(25).

For Luther this is the occasion for an unfavourable comparison with the animals, who in copulating only once a year give the sign as it were that they do so because of duty. Intercourse between man and wife, on the other hand, is the necessary means of the avoidance of the sin of concupiscence. The consequence is that "we are begotten and also born in sin, since our parents did not copulate because of duty but also as an antidote or to avoid sin"(26).

Luther goes on to contrast procreation in the state of innocence

of Adam and Eve, than which there was "no activity more excellent and more admirable", with the "hideous and frightful" pleasure of procreation in the present. Separating the two is "bestial desire and lust", and a state of affairs where there is an actual disease linked with the activity(27). The conclusion centres upon the necessity of woman, but also places that necessity firmly in context;

> ...it is a great favor that God has preserved woman for us - against our will and wish, as it were - both for procreation and also as a medecine against the sin of fornication. In Paradise woman would have been a help for a duty only. But now she is also, and for the greater part at that, an antidote and a medecine; we can hardly speak of her without a feeling of shame, and surely we cannot make use of her without shame(28).

Little of this survives in the version of Du Bartas. His is the direct and unquestioning proclamation of providence, the dramatic assertion of the privileged position of man;

> Source de tout bon heur, amoureux Androgyne,
> Iamais ie ne discour sur ta saincte origine,
> Que, raui, ie n'admire en quelle sorte alors
> D'vn corps Dieu fit deux corps, puis de deux corps vn corps.
> O bien heureux lien, ô nopce fortunee,
> Qui de Christ & de nous figures l'Hymenee!
> O pudique amitié, qui fonds par ton ardeur
> Deux ames en vn ame, & deux coeurs en vn coeur!(29)

For Béroalde who has so warmly praised the state of man alone, man's coupling with woman becomes the mark of a necessary subordination, and it is as such that it appears in the plan of divine providence;

> Or d'autant qu'vn seul Dieu est le bien de soy mesme,
> Et qu'il est seul assés, pour estre ce qu'il ayme,
> Pour faire sa grandeur, à son homme admirer,
> L'a fait ainsi de luy en cela differer,
> Que seul il ne fut tout, mais qu'il eut vn semblable
> Où il trouuat pour luy tout ce qui est aymable(30).

We return to a scheme in which man's dependence upon woman is the sign of inferiority and not of superiority. In terms of the poem, an attitude to the creation of woman becomes part of a general view in which the necessary condition of man is not his dominion over creation, but his imperfection in regard to God. The existence of woman is a further control upon the sin of <u>hubris</u>. In terms of the ideas involved, Béroalde re-establishes, and even particularly emphasises, the precise context of the relationship between the

sexes in Calvinist and Lutheran theology. Woman is for Béroalde, as for Luther and Calvin, the reminder of man's state of sin. It is this which in the passage from Les Apprehensions Spirituelles quoted above merges with the theme of anti-feminism;

> ...le souuerain qui est la sagesse...ne voulut pas que luy seul fut la gloire de soy-mesme, ains qu'il eut en recommendation celle de son Dieu, & pourtant apres l'auoir creé luy monstra par la femme son infirmité & que il ne pouuoit estre seul, & que pourtant il falloit qu'il eut humblement recours à son createur. Ha si ma raison humaine & desraisonnable s'osoit auancer, elle voudroit disputer contre Dieu pour ceste cause, mais il faut aquiescer. Or par la femme, l'amour, le mariage, & les loix ont eu essence ensemble, & nous monstrent combien le peché par nostre malice a respandu & respand sur nous de miseres...(31)

A scale of values in which the creation of woman is source of regret rather than source of consolation, and becomes part of a progression from perfection to imperfection, is the reversal of those enshrined in the Microcosme and La Sepmaine. This said, the function of woman in Béroalde's Les Cognoissances remains the same. The justification of woman lies in the biblical commonplace of "Crescite et multiplicamini", the purpose that Du Bartas refers to marriage;

> Par ton alme faueur, apres nos funerailles,
> Bien-heureux nous laissons des viuantes medailles,
> Changeons la guerre en paix, en parens nous croissons:
> Et l'homme eternizant en nos fils renaissons(32).

Equally this remains for Béroalde a motive in the creation of a partner for man by a beneficent God -

> Pour donq' faire de luy, ainsi comme sans luy,
> Cella qui l'eternise encores auiourd'huy,
> Forma l'autre luy mesme, en qui seul il s'assemble,
> Qui sur tous animaux homme à l'homme ressemble...(33)

The description, however, is that of providential scheme, and the note of individuality is omitted. Béroalde's depiction of the creation of woman as such does not aim to foreshadow the institution of marriage - this will come in a later context - but instead to place this event within the continuing system of creation as a whole. The stress does not fall on the particular issue of the passing of an individual personality from father to son, but on the more general one of the continuity of the species.

The detail in Béroalde's account is reserved for the physiological

phenomenon of the oncome of sleep, the Bible's "Immisit ergo Dominus Deus soporem in Adam"(34). The germ of the idea is in Scève's

> ...par la douce rosee
> Du doux et lent Sommeil d'obly sourd composee
> Luy enchantant les yeux...(35)

but in Béroalde's version the succession of phrases is more balanced, the assonance carefully contrived;

> Et combien qu'autrement le tout puissant eut peu
> L'enuoyer icy bas si lors il l'eut voulu,
> Et par autre façon, demonstrer sa puissance,
> Si luy pleut il vser selon sa prouidence
> Du bien heureux moyen, continuant tousiours,
> Comme tres-necessaire, à conseruer nos iours,
> Car il fit choir du ciel d'vne sorte nouuelle,
> Par son oeil dans ses os, des os en sa mouelle,
> De la mouelle au sang, du sang au pres du coeur,
> D'vne agreable humeur du sommeil la douceur,
> Qui comme d'estournant l'esprit hors de son homme,
> Esteind les sentiments estourdis par le somme...(36)

Béroalde's intention is to emphasise the familiarity of the experience. Du Bartas, in the corresponding passage in La Sepmaine, thinks of exactly the opposite. There Adam's sleep is portrayed as an extraordinary event, and compared to a death-like anaesthetic(37). But in Les Cognoissances the narrative gives way to the explanatory, and the sleep of Adam is assimilated to a present reality. Sleep too is a part of providential design in the on-going aspect of creation.

The same is even more true in Béroalde's approach to the appearance of woman herself. The stage of the account is the awakening of love between Adam and his mate, and both Scève and Du Bartas make much of the erotic possibilities. Du Bartas picks out the details of Eve's femininity;

> Bref si bien engourdit & son corps & son ame,
> Que sa chair sans douleur par ses flancs il entame,
> Qu'il en tire vne coste, & va d'elle formant
> La mere des humains, grauant si dextrement
> Tous les beaux traits d'Adam en la coste animee,
> Qu'on ne peut discerner l'amant d'auec l'aimee.
> Bien est vray toutesfois qu'elle a l'oeil plus riant,
> Le teint plus delicat, le front plus attrayant,
> Le menton net de poil, la parole moins forte,
> Et que deux monts d'yuoire en son sein elle porte(38).

Du Bartas is perhaps remembering the lingering description of the attractions of the first woman which Scève had included in his

Microcosme. What we have there, in effect, is a Blason de la Femme in its own right, with its methodical, linear exposition, and its dwelling on the erotic detail;

> ...de son costé fendu,
> Et le corps assoupi, peu à peu se haussant
> Une teste formee, et en sfere croissant
> Couverte d'or filé, mais deliément blond
> Espars, et ondoyant dessus maint membre rond
> Col, espaules, et bras, gorge blanche avancee
> Couvrant en son secret la pudique pensee
> Enflee en deux tetins de mignonne rondeur,
> Nourrissiers attrayans Amour à sa grandeur,
> Le ventre ample, et fecond, double hanche, et ceinture
> Du Ceste virginal rebellant à Nature
> Son entree celant sous un moussu verger,
> Ou un tems Cupidon pourroit chaste heberger
> Entre deux marbres blancs, et chacun pour colonne
> Sur son plinte petit sous base ferme et bonne
> Au soustien du droit plan de la fin anoblie
> De l'oeuvre du haut Dieu sur la terre accomplie:
> Forme elegante, et propre, au Dormant tressemblable...(39)

Not for the first time, Béroalde turns his back on the pictorial in his version. Nothing of the enticing creature of Du Bartas and of Scève survives. But in this case Béroalde has a particular motive for his rejection. His is not the depiction of an individual, but of a type, and his purpose not the re-creation of a historic moment, but the anticipation of a continuing scheme for the maintenance of the world;

> Alors dormant Adam: car ainsi fut nommé
> Le premier qui ça bas fut en homme formé,
> Dieu prit de son costé, la matiere feconde
> Dont apres il forma la personne seconde,
> Et d'vn peu en beaucoup la fit multiplier,
> Pour estre en vn moment d'vn rien vn corps entier:
> Car au pris de son corps l'homme ayant sa substance
> Diminuee en rien, ce peu n'auoit puissance
> D'estre appellé matiere, & toutesfois il fut
> Tout grand en vn moment, lors que Dieu le voulut.
> O secret admirable où Dieu veut qu'imitée
> Soit d'vn de ses grands dons, la pratique cachee(40).

The emphasis, as with the creation of Adam himself, is on hermetic process, but the process here is one to be imitated by man. Once again Béroalde shows an interest in the mechanics of a moment of creation where Scève and Du Bartas do not, and his lines, unlike theirs, represent more than the transcription of the biblical original. Their Eve emerges miraculously from Adam's rib, but Béroalde chooses to

present the creation of his in the guise of prototype of the mystery of generation itself. It is on the last two lines, not on the individuality of Eve, that the emphasis falls. Generation is a "pratique cachee" as Béroalde is no more able to explain it than any other doctor of his time(41), but the very fact that he draws attention to it suggests an attitude more concerned with the present in creation than the past. Equally striking, in the light of the earlier versions of Du Bartas and Scève, is the absence of the note of sexuality. The implication is that for Béroalde as for Luther the dignity of procreation lies in its status as duty. This, as part of God's design, is kept rigorously distinct from any suggestion of sex as source of gratification or pleasure. Marriage for Luther, and for Calvin also, is the remedy against sin, but it is also this in Luther's estimation which makes it almost impossible to speak of woman without a sense of shame. In Les Cognoissances in turn woman may be a force for good or for evil, and she becomes part of a more subtle arrangement than in the Microcosme or La Sepmaine. Notably her creation is justified uniquely in terms of her legitimate place.

In the Bible Adam exclaims "Hoc nunc, os ex ossibus meis, et caro de carne mea"(42), and Scève, Du Bartas and Béroalde alike follow the biblical text closely. The parallel is even more exact with the French translation, which in Robert Estienne's Geneva Bible of 1553 reads "Lors Adam dict, A ceste fois il y a os de mes os, & chair de ma chair"(43). In the extrovert atmosphere of La Sepmaine the exclamation is literal, and accompanied by demonstrative action. Adam operates to a precise stage direction;

> Or apres la douceur d'vn si profond sommeil,
> L'homme vnique n'a point si tost ietté son oeil
> Sur les rares beautez de sa moitié nouuelle,
> Qu'il la baise, l'embrasse, & haut & clair l'appelle
> Sa vie, son amour, son apuy, son repos,
> Et la chair de sa chair, & les os de ses os(44).

The reference in Scève is much more restrained, more intellectual as we might expect, and subordinated to the image of sleep as the prefiguration of death. Dialogue is replaced by cogitation;

> ...Forme elegante, et propre, au Dormant tressemblable,
> Mais qu'au reveil il vit à l'oeil plus agreable,
> Bien que tout sommeillant l'une et l'autre lumiere
> Esbloüe encor eust de ceste mort premiere
> Luy anonçant cy bas travail continuel,
> Mais par elle là sus repos perpetuel.
> Si connut il en elle et sa chair, et son os,
> Son costé luy restant sans cicatrice clos(45).

It is this, without the prophetic parallelism, which is closer to the version of Les Cognoissances. There too is the detail of Adam's drowsy awakening, although the whole episode is now much more consciously subordinated to the control of God;

> Quand il eut fait la femme & renuoyé au ciel
> Iusques aux autres fois le doux moite sommeil,
> A l'homme la donna qui d'vne douce peine,
> Ainsi que le sommeil glissoit de veine en veine
> Dans son corps l'anguissant, songeoit ce qui estoit,
> Recognut aussi tost ce que Dieu luy donnoit,
> Appellant cette femme encor toute nouuelle,
> Delicate, amoureuse, enforme toute belle,
> Os venu de ses os, sang venu de son sang,
> Chair de sa propre chair tiree de son flang...(46)

Furthermore, the place of the episode is different in each poem. For Du Bartas the union of Adam and Eve is one more marvel of creation, to be catalogued like the others. It leads without a break in his poem to a consideration of the increase of other species, bear with bear, dolphin with dolphin, vulture with vulture. Human procreation is part of this universal picture(47). Marriage itself has been emphatically introduced as an object of wonder, and one senses that Du Bartas' real interest is with the unusual, the extravagant, the arresting. He passes in this way from the place of wedlock to the monstrous progeny of animals of two different species(48), and hence to examples of spontaneous generation. It is the bizarre, the irregular, which truly grips the poet's imagination -

> ...ô changement estrange!
> Mesme corps fut iadis arbre verd, puis vaisseau,
> N'aguere champignon, & maintenant oiseau(49).

Again, there is more of a connection between Béroalde and Scève. Both restrict the context to the human, and both deal with the awakening of love between Adam and his companion. But Scève will be concerned to chronicle the achievements of man, achievements that

are to be understood in the context of man condemned to a continuous labour(50), and the creation of Eve in his account betokens original sin and man's fall from grace. Scève's amplification of the events of the biblical paradise builds the contrast with what is to follow, and his evocation of the love between the first human couple is historic and personalised. What is stressed is the uniqueness of that love, as a natural passion before the Fall. Thus Eve's love for Adam is of a not to be repeated innocence;

> Ses yeux estincellans non de flamme lascive
> Rioyent pudiquement la naïveté vive,
> La bonté, et douceur de sa simplicité,
> Se hontoyant modeste en humble gravité.
> Qui la fait de costé à demi l'oeil ouvrir
> Ne l'osant plus à plein dessus luy descouvrir,
> Que peu à peu plus seure elle regarde, et voit,
> Mais sans connoistre encor ce qu'elle appercevoit.
> Et si se sent remplir l'ame d'un si doux aise,
> Que çà, et là ne voit chose, qui tant lui plaise,
> Ne qui s'offre à ses yeux plus belle, ou aggreable,
> Ne mieux de forme vive à la sienne semblable.
> Dont de pareille image, et d'une mesme chair
> Toute se plait en luy, et sur tout le tient cher,
> Et l'ayme, et prise en soy, non qu'il luy semble beau,
> Et moins qu'attainte soit de ce lascif flambeau,
> Ne d'autre affeccion, que d'ardeur mutuelle
> Du fort instinct poussé de vertu naturelle(51).

In Les Cognoissances the structure is no longer chronological, and the poet's interest centres instead on the forces binding together creation. It is in this sense that love takes its place. Remembering both the Bible's "masculum et feminam creavit eos"(52) and the "amoureux Androgyne" of Du Bartas, Béroalde yet contrives to make his Adam's acceptance of Eve the symbol above all of further unity and harmony;

> Partant il la receut, ainsi deux formes d'vne
> Deux esprits d'vn esprit, en vne ame commune
> Qui les tient sous l'accort d'vne iuste amitié,
> Furent d'vn mesme corps vne double moitié(53).

Here the end is stated before the means, as it is the end which in the proper functioning of the world is important. In this overall view it is as a means that love has its status. Moreover, it is a continuing means. The emphasis is the opposite one to Scève's, falling in this account of the emergence of love upon its continuum as an emotion,

from its first origins to a present reality;

> Lors par nouueaux desirs, en leurs nouuelles ames
> S'attiserent d'amour, les bien heureuses flames,
> Qui saintes dedans eux couuoyent mille souhaits,
> Qu'auiourd'huy nous nommons d'amour les effaits,
> Quand amour non amour, comme vne maladie,
> Agitte nostre sang d'vne l'ente furie.
> Car adonq' cét effort qui glace par chaleur,
> Qui brusle par froideur, iusqu'au centre du coeur,
> Et qui nous repaissant en la belle esperance,
> D'vn plaisant desplaisir eut sa douce naissance...(54)

Béroalde constructs a system in which love maintains the social fabric as universal vivifying heat does that of the physical world. Scève had insisted upon the natural and instinctive character of the love between Adam and Eve, and Béroalde too qualifies their ardours as "saintes". But the theme for him is an abstraction, and the preoccupation is with the emotion rather than with the persons who feel it. The historic merges into the actual, and the language from biblical becomes Petrarchan. At this point Béroalde suddenly drops the hexaemeral framework altogether, and devotes the whole of the second part of his poem to the discussion of love and its manifestations. The individuality of his Adam and Eve all but disappears, and their place in these lines is simply that of the first representatives of a continuing scheme.

The central idea throughout this poem is the organisation of the world, and the reduction of disorder to harmony. As Béroalde transfers his interest from the cosmic to the human, different interests come into play, and the model of La Sepmaine recedes. Les Cognoissances takes a course of its own. But it is clear that for Béroalde the two halves of the poem represent aspects of the same. The essence of La Sepmaine lies in spectacle, and in the end it is as much the display of the poet's virtuosity as of God's. Les Cognoissances is more like the Microcosme in its subservience to a unifying theme, but then Scève's vision of the triumphs of man is very different from this picture of man's inferiority. From a humanist enthusiasm, perhaps already a little out-moded in 1562, we pass in this poem of 1583 to a Calvinist sense of realities. The real unifying link in Béroalde's poem is the persuasion

of a structure, and a structure that can be explained in scientific terms. The creation of woman, and the necessity for the union of the sexes, becomes in the vision of Les Cognoissances the sign of the imperfection of man. But all this in the end is fused within the larger vision of the operation of the cosmos. Calvin had said

> But although God pronounced, concerning Adam, that it would not be profitable for him to be alone, yet I do not restrict the declaration to his person alone, but rather regard it as a common law of man's vocation, so that every one ought to receive it as said to himself, that solitude is not good, excepting only him whom God exempts as by a special privilege(55).

Béroalde finds place for the same truth in his poem, only, as one whose nostalgia is for the state of man alone, giving the emphasis rather to the exception. Love has its purpose

> Pour ioindre doublement, ce qui durer ne peut
> S'il n'existe sans pair, ou si Dieu ne le veut
> Quand changeant cét arrest qu'il a mis en nature,
> Particulierement donne à sa creature
> De se forcer soy mesme...(56)

But the point is that it is to the universal scientific vision that this is assimilated. Celibacy and continence, as St.Paul had praised them(57), become part of an omnipresent design that embraces both man and the physical structure of the universe. The reality is that of a variety, but a controlled variety, both intended and overseen by God, God who

> ...ayant quelque pouuoir
> Sur ce qui peut icy toute chose esmouuoir,
> Et qui les choisissant en certain differentes,
> Les rend d'vn bel accord doucement conuenantes:
> Ainsi qu'en ce grand tout, tout semble differer,
> Qui en son different, ne se fait qu'allier
> En soy mesme dans soy d'vne egale harmonie,
> Qui par diuersité semblablement se lie(58).

"Discordans accors" rule the whole, and it is within the same equation of order and diversity that the poet analyses the role of love itself. But the model of the hexaemeral poem as it had been established by Du Bartas is transformed in an extraordinary enough sort of way.

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It might seem odd to pass from an essay on cosmic organisation to a discussion of the place of love, and without any apparent break between the two. But there is an obvious parallel in Ficino, in the latter's frequently published commentary on the Symposium of Plato(59). It is of course Plato who intellectualises the theory of love for the sixteenth century, and by the time Béroalde is writing the vocabulary of Platonism has become a common coinage(60). The evidence of Les Cognoissances suggests that any examination of the subject of love written after the popularisation of Platonic theories, whatever the context, is bound to carry its traces. What is more curious is that Béroalde, who is after all writing in a literary ambience very different from that of, say, Marguerite de Navarre, should return in the degree of detail that he does to the Platonic model. Les Cognoissances grafts the world of Castiglione and Ficino onto what up till now has been a further poetic re-creation of the world of Genesis.

It is equally obvious, we should add, that Platonism is immediately identified with Christianity. Indeed, this is the sense of Ficino's commentary. The Platonic themes in Les Cognoissances are likewise the explanation of a christian truth. Béroalde never loses from sight the overall context of a universe created and maintained by God. More than this, Béroalde bends the Platonic and the Ficinian to a specifically Reformist emphasis.

There is straightway a connection between the religious and the Platonic in the myth of the Androgyne. In his commentary on the Symposium Ficino explains the myth of the Androgyne in terms of a division of the soul. The two halves of the Androgyne represent the two lights within the soul, one natural and the other infused by God. The revolt consists in their turning uniquely towards the natural, mortal light, and the punishment for it in their imprisonment within the body. The yearning of each half of the Androgyne for the other is, according to Ficino, the yearning of the soul for its

celestial origin(61). Ficino's is the major influence in the spread of Platonism in the first half of the sixteenth century in France(62), and it is this theological interpretation which is imitated by Héroët in his L'Androgyne de Platon of 1542;

> Le lieu commun est de philosophie,
> Qui enseignant l'homme, luy signifie
> Qu'au premier temps l'ame heut double lumiere,
> Naturelle une (et estoit la premiere)
> Et l'aultre après du createur infuse...(63)

There is however another, and distinct, tradition. This lies in biblical exegesis, and it constitutes a direct link with the hexaemeral. The question at issue is the interpretation of Genesis I 27 -

> Et creavit Deus hominem ad imaginem suam; ad imaginem Dei creavit illum, masculum et feminam creavit eos.

From Nicholas of Lyra onwards, commentators make the association between this verse and legends that man was first created in both sexes(63a). It is to Lyra that Luther in his own commentary refers, only to refute any idea of such a connection with scorn;

> Lyra also relates a Jewish tale, of which Plato, too, makes mention somewhere, that in the beginning man was created bisexual and later on, by divine power, was, as it were, split or cut apart... but let them themselves be monsters and sons of monsters - these men who make malicious statements and ridicule a creature of God in which God Himself took delight as in a most excellent work, moreover, one which we see created by a special counsel of God. These pagan ideas show that reason cannot establish anything sure about God and the works of God but only thinks up reasons against reasons and teaches nothing in a perfect and sound manner(64).

Others are more favourably inclined. One of these is Leone Ebreo. In his Dialoghi d'Amore, translated into French by both Pontus de Tyard and Du Parc(65), the Jewish writer directly identifies the male and female Adam of Genesis I with the androgyne of Plato. According to Leone Plato is directly inspired by Moses, and the myth is elevated to the status of reality(66).

Scève, with an Adam who is "Androginé", Du Bartas, with a bond between Adam and Eve which represents that of the "amoureux Androgyne", refer to the myth. But their almost casual use of the term reflects a general evolution in the use of a Platonic vocabulary in the later

part of the century. It is of course as myth of love that the original Androgyne legend is intended, and it is in this sense that the theme has its most frequent echoes in French Renaissance poetry. Du Bartas' androgyne is "amoureux", and a favourite image is that of the lover seeking out his "moitié". Initially, in the circle of Marguerite de Navarre, the image is still attached to the detail of the original story, as it was recounted by Héroët in his poem and by Bonaventure des Périers in the Blason du Nombril(67). But it rapidly takes on a life of its own, and the lover's "belle moitié" becomes a commonplace of poetic vocabulary. It is a commonplace which from the middle of the century onwards is rapidly becoming colourless, remote from its Platonic source. The strict sense of "moitié" is forgotten, and already in 1552 Ronsard could write

> ...Et quelle autre moytié,
> Apres la mort de ma moytié si saincte,
> D'un nouveau feu, & d'une neuve estrainte,
> Ardra, noura ma seconde amitié?(68)

The reminiscences of the Androgyne legend pass into the vocabulary of love poetry, and are reduced to the status of cliché, of no more philosophical significance than the Petrarchan tropes they sometimes replace(69).

Seen against this background, the contribution of Les Cognoissances is a striking one. Béroalde is discussing the origins of love, and he returns to Plato's legend. But where Scève and Du Bartas in their different ways make only a passing reference, his is a full-blown re-creation of the original myth, such as had not been seen in French poetry since L'Androgyne de Platon of Héroët. The idea of the "double moitié" is reinstated in its proper context. More striking still, in a poem that up to this point has been singularly devoid of ornament, a whole passage takes its place which has its apparent inspiration in fable. But from the beginning Béroalde is cautious over its inclusion, and the whole episode is further important for what it tells us about Béroalde's approach to the writing of the poem.

In 1583, Béroalde is not recounting a novelty as Héroët had been

doing, and he will be concerned to adapt it to his own purposes. The whole is a commentary on the gulf that separates the intellectual atmosphere of the circles around Marguerite de Navarre from the world of the young Calvinist writing in the 1580's. The platonising future bishop of Digne gives a sure and faithful account of Plato's original, but for the Calvinist writer there is no compromise to be struck in what is for him a straightforward opposition between pagan deception and christian truth. The story itself is deliberately introduced as myth in the sense of falsehood, an aberration of the ancients. It is illustrative of terrestrial love, but it is made clear from the outset that the true rationale of love lies elsewhere, in the design of a christian God. The myth is explained away before it starts;

> Pour ce que de tout temps on a porté au coeur
> Ou le iuste desir, ou l'aueugle fureur
> De la force d'amour, qui d'vne occulte flame
> Sans offencer le corps s'allume dedans l'ame
> Ceux qui n'auoient cognu l'efficiant premier,
> De la necessité de si heureux brasier,
> Consumant par son feu & le sang & la vie,
> Tandis qu'on suit l'espoir d'vne amoureuse enuie,
> Ont creu certainement, que quelqu'vn des grands Dieux
> Dont ils mettoient grand nombre habitans par les cieux,
> Auoit façonné l'homme ordonné d'vne sorte,
> Que sa machine estoit toute parfaite & forte...(70)

Immediately the myth is denied all independent existence, and immediately it is related to a present reality. Béroalde then goes on to narrate the fable quite literally, and even to embellish its dramatic force;

> Car il l'auoit moulé, sous vn double patron,
> A fin que tout en soy il n'eut rien que tout bon,
> Ayant en ses desirs l'obiet de sa pensee,
> Possedant son amour auec la chose aymee:
> Ainsi male & femelle accompli iustement,
> Il iouissoit heureux de son contentement,
> N'ayant rien dedans soy qui plus que luy fut sage,
> De soy viuant en soy, de semblable courage,
> Et qu'ainsi se voyant estre son tout, sa loy,
> Et que tout son besoin il auoit auec soy,
> M'esprisa de ce Dieu la force peu puissante,
> Et brauant sa grandeur, en son ame meschante,
> Conspira de forcer les eternels palais,
> Où les Dieux sans soucy iouissoient de la pais,
> Et pourtant s'esmouuant, tout animé d'enuie,
> Porta de mont sur mont, sa force, & sa furie,
> Et eschellant le ciel mainte affaire donna
> Au Dieu, qui depité sur sa teste tonna,
> Et pource qu'il vouloit garder son homme en vie,

Afin que sur l'autel encor il sacrifie,
Et donne d'vn encent qui luy est precieux,
Es grands nues fumant le presant gracieux,
Sa grandeur l'espargna; & du bas iusqu'au feste,
En luy fendant les pieds, l'estomac, & la teste,
D'vn il en fit deux pars, asseant ses moitiés
Differentes en peu, dessus deux fermes pieds...(71)

If we compare this to Héroët's version(72), we see that it is the epic aspects which are voluntarily emphasised by Béroalde. In L'Androgyne de Platon an idyllic picture is painted of this hypothetical first state of man, and self-sufficiency is identified above all with contentment -

Chascun estoit de son corps tant aisé,
Qu'en se tournant se retrouvoit baisé;
En estendant ses bras, on l'embrassoit:
Voulant penser, on le contrepensoit;
En soy voioyt tout ce qu'il vouloit veoir;
En soy trouvoit ce qu'il failloit avoir...(73)

Superficially similar to Béroalde's, in so far as it is based on the same material, this depiction ends for its part with reference to the Age of Gold;

...Si de son cueur sortoient simples desirs,
Il y rentroit tant de doubles plaisirs,
Qu'en y pensant, chascun est incité
A maintenir que la felicité
Fut de tel temps, et le siècle doré,
Non qu'il fust myeulx de metal decoré
Que cestuy cy. Mais belle est la dorure
Representant au vif telle paincture...(74)

The balance of the myth as it is conceived by Héroët inclines towards this picture of initial state. The second part of the story, the overweening pride of the androgyne, is notated, in comparison with this, in almost cursory fashion -

Ce monstre doncq, tel que l'ay figuré,
Se tenoit fort de sa force asseuré.
L'oultrecuydé de soy s'accompaignoit,
Ny seulement les hommes desdaignoit,
Mais contempnoit la celeste puissance,
Dont le ciel print courroux et congnoissance(75).

Likewise Jupiter's punishment of the offender is reported in its barest form;

Là Juppiter usa de son sçavoir
Et commanda soubdain, sans s'esmouvoir,
Que par moytié ce corps fust separé,
Et tellement le simple reparé,
Que chasque part vesquit pour tesmoignage

Perpetuel de l'orgueilleux oultrage...(76)

The essential for Béroalde lies elsewhere. The crime and the punishment is the centre of interest, and not so much for what it is as for what it represents. Plato himself relates the androgynes' attack on the Gods to the Homeric giants' revolt. This is Heret's translation of 1556;

> ...ils se sont reuoltez & leuez contre les dieux, voulans monter au ciel & les combatre, ainsi qu'escrit Homere de Ote & Ephialte(77).

The Gigantomachy is a well-established poetic motif, and Béroalde, like Du Bellay and Ronsard(78), dramatises the theme. But he uses it to make an epic of the original Platonic fable itself, and to impart a vividness to the moment of revolt that Héroët before had glossed over. In this revolt it is the element of pride which is emphasised to the exclusion of all else. If Du Bellay in Les Antiquitez had painted a similarly vivid picture of the Giants' attack on the heavens, in the sonnet

> Telz que lon vid jadis les enfans de la Terre
> Plantez dessus les monts pour escheller les cieux,
> Combattre main à main la puissance des Dieux,
> Et Juppiter contre eux qui ses fouldres desserre...(79),

his object had been to comment on the overreaching ambition of Rome. The same motif in Les Cognoissances, more like the import of the original story in the Symposium, is an allegory of the pride of the human race in general, but given now a christian context. Unlike Scève or Du Bartas, Béroalde seizes upon the further meaning of the androgyne legend, and makes it the additional symbol of a relationship between man and God.

Self-sufficiency in Béroalde's universe is the attribute of God alone, and his androgyne is from the beginning usurping the divine. Its revolt is not only a historic but a necessary event. Ficino in his commentary had made the same point(80), and in the poem the legend becomes part of a repeated refrain on the imperfection of man and the dangers of hubris. Béroalde stresses that side of the myth which may be assimilated to what is a central vice in the christian tradition,

that of self-love. This is the vice for which Panurge is condemned in the Tiers Livre, and which is castigated by the theologian Sebond;

> Or comme l'amour de Dieu premiere est en nous racine & origine de tout bien,ainsi à l'opposite l'amour propre, & l'amour de soy premiere, est en nous fondement & fontaine de tout mal, il est fondement de toute iniustice,vice, peché, aueuglement, ignorance, & pour abbreger de toute douleur,& de tout mal'heur. Ainsi de luy prend naissance toute poison, peste & misere(81).

The myth as presented by Béroalde is the expression of an attitude of man to God, but also that of God to man. The other element that he expands is precisely the one which has the biblical parallel, and which corresponds to the other half of the equation central to his poem. For Plato's explanation of the sparing of the androgyne -

> Donques Iupiter & les autres dieux aians consulté entre eux pour y obuier, se sont trouués en grand difficulté. Ils ne vouloient foudroier ces hommes, comme les geans: car le genre humain ainsi effacé, l'honneur & adoration que les hommes faisoient aux dieux periroient quand & quand...(82)

- is also the refrain of the Psalms(83). In Les Cognoissances it is one more echo of the theme of a providential God.

The same concern with a present reality underlies Béroalde's interpretation of the consequences of the androgynes' revolt. The idea of the "moitié" is restored to its original context, but Béroalde's is rather a commentary on the myth than an involvement in it. He refers to the poetic vocabulary of his time, and shows his awareness of the difference between the label and what it denotes. But the interest of the fable from his point of view is that it offers a further explanation not just of the emotion love, but specifically of the part that love plays in a cosmic scheme. The whole legend becomes a justification of an idealised state of harmony;

> ...Qui fait que maintenant la naturelle enuie,
> Espoinçonne chascun à trouuer sa partie,
> Et se tendant les bras se ioindre doucement,
> Pour estre deux en vn ainsi qu'au parauant.
> Et cependant souuant chasque des moitiés erre,
> Sans vraye passion, longuement sur la terre,
> Et ne rencontre pas celle qui d'elle fut,
> Et qui d'vn iuste amour mesme flame receut,
> Qui fait comme l'on dit que souuant on esprouue
> Plusieurs belles moitiés, ains que la sienne on trouue:
> Puis quand on a trouué ce qui est d'estiné,

On est viuant icy doublement fortuné,
On a son mesme coeur, & en telle partie,
Des mutuels accords la premiere harmonie(84).

Unlike the poet of love, Béroalde in this context places the emphasis not on the search but on its successful conclusion. The emphasis, we would suggest, is one that recalls Calvin's own commentary on the "male and female" verse of Genesis I 27;

> So God created man. The reiterated mention of the image of God is not a vain repetition. For it is a remarkable instance of the Divine goodness which can never be sufficiently proclaimed. And, at the same time, he admonishes us from what excellence we have fallen, that he may excite in us the desire of its recovery. When he soon afterwards adds, that God created them "male and female", he commends to us that conjugal bond by which the society of mankind is cherished. For this form of speaking, "God created man, male and female created he them", is of the same force as if he had said, that the man himself was incomplete. Under these circumstances, the woman was added to him as a companion that they both might be one, as he more clearly expresses it in the second chapter(85).

For Béroalde too the creation of a male and female, which the androgyne legend expresses in its turn, is the way towards a state of harmony. The harmony is the intention of God, and its introduction into human society parallels its necessary existence in the physical world.

Nonetheless the inclusion of the fable is clearly something that causes Béroalde some misgivings. It is not our concern here to discuss the aesthetic principles underlying Béroalde's poem(86). But it is self-evident that the Calvinist influence on the content of Les Cognoissances may also be related to its style(87). It would be an interesting exercise in its own right to relate the Calvinist emphasis on simplicity of expression(88) to Béroalde's method of presenting often extremely complex ideas in the poem. In this instance Béroalde shows an aversion to mythology which has an inescapable Calvinist association, and the question is clearly one which worries him more than it does his co-religionary Du Bartas. In the Brief advertissement sur la première et seconde Sepmaine of 1584 Du Bartas is both reacting against the place of mythology in poetry and defending his use of it. La Sepmaine and its successor represent the aspiration to a christian poetry, but it is equally apparent that Du Bartas can seldom resist the appeal of mythological reference or image. Or, as the poet himself puts it,

La poésie est de si long temps en saisine de ces termes fabuleus, qu'il est impossible de l'en déposséder que pié à pié. Je luy ay donné les premiers assauts; quelque autre viendra qui luy fera quitter du tout la place...(89)

Du Bartas hesitates. In La Sepmaine mythology, with its resources of colour and association, is still an indissoluble part of the language of epic. But the Calvinist interdict on the use of paganism in poetry is quite firm. In the same year that Du Bartas published his poem the members of the Synod of Sainte-Foy declared

Ceux qui mettent la main à la plume pour traiter en poésie l'histoire de l'Ecriture sainte sont avertis de n'y mesler les fables poetiques et de n'attribuer à Dieu le nom des faux dieus et de n'ajouter ou diminuer à l'Ecriture sainte, mais de se tenir à peu pres à ses termes(90).

Considered against this background, it is not surprising that Béroalde should have his doubts. In fact, he remains closer to the letter of the Calvinist view than does Du Bartas, who avoids the issue with a "...quant j'en use c'est par métonymie, ou faisant quelque allusion à leurs fables, ce qui a esté pratiqué, jusqu'à present, par ceus qui nous ont donné poèmes chrestiens"(91). For Béroalde even a reference to Jupiter/Zeus is excluded, and the god of the fable is cloaked in the safe, and distant, anonymity of "quelqu'vn des grands Dieux / Dont ils mettoient grand nombre habitans par les cieux". The whole episode leaves an unresolved doubt of a type which one feels Du Bartas would not encounter, and which is itself expressed in the body of the text;

J'auois deliberé de ne me profaner
Aux fables des payans, de peur de ruyner
Le fondement si beau, qu'à cette poësie,
Ie tire des secrets de la meilleure vie...(92)

Béroalde devotes as much space to his use of the myth as he does to the myth itself, and the sense of inhibition is a distinct one.

The justification that follows is in fact curiously convoluted. Béroalde finds himself driven to demonstrate the impossible , namely that truth may be found in the intrinsically false. Although ostensibly concerned with the reconciliation of pagan fable and christian truth, Béroalde's approach could scarcely be further distant from the

syncretism of an Erasmus or a Rabelais. The premiss remains an absolute distinction between truth and falsehood. The poet's motive in his recourse to fable is a continued desire for truth, but the result is only to demonstrate that in fable the truth is not to be found. The "truth" is the affirmation of the sacred, to the exclusion of the profane;

> ...l'eternel desir que i'ay de rencontrer
> Le lieu de verité, m'a fait vn peu tirer
> Sur le chemin s'enestre, & chercher en ce monde
> Sous les voiles d'erreur, la sagesse seconde,
> Qui par mille labeurs à grand peine inuentés
> A de la verité les hommes escartés:
> Luy monstrant toutefois, mais en telle distance,
> Que tel sçauoir n'estoit rien en fin qu'ignorance.
> Et toutefois parmi l'abus on rencontroit
> Ce qui à verité doucement conduisoit:
> Mais dessus le chemin vne chimere fiere
> Espouuantant les gens, les chassoit en arriere.
> I'ay donq' touché cecy pour cognoistre combien
> Au pris de ce mensonge ores on a de bien,
> Par la vraye beauté de la Philosophie,
> Qui au vouloir de Dieu pour fondement s'apuye:
> Et qui sans artifice et loing de vanité
> Monstre aisement les traits de sa naiueté...(93)

In this Calvinist perspective Ronsard's "fabuleux manteau" is transposed into "les voiles d'erreur", and the resources of mythology become no more than artifice and vanity. As if he wished to make conscious compensation for his own use of fable, Béroalde paradoxically links it to an impassioned plea against having recourse to what he himself a few lines earlier had called "la sagesse seconde". A certain over-anxiety betrays the embarrassment;

> Ne recherchons donq' plus la belle resuerie
> Qui cache les secrets de la vieille Sophie,
> Et qui sous mots couuers parlans de l'age d'or
> Cache d'vn meilleur or le precieux tresor,
> Qui non suiet au sort d'vne perte douteuse
> Ne rend iamais icy autre que bien heureuse
> La personne qui l'a, & qui porte tousiours
> Tout son bien, son plaisir, son honneur, ses amours.
> Laissons la parabole à ceux qui ont enuie
> De consumer leur bien & de perdre leur vie,
> A esplucher le vain: car sous la vanité
> Ne se trouue iamais la sainte verité:
> Il faut chercher le vray & prendre pour l'essence
> Ce qui non eslongné est de mesme substance(94).

That the poet should go on later in the poem to employ the Age of Gold theme himself is a further sign of his confusion. An

apparent desire to be faithful to what would be the Calvinist aesthetic leads to a contradiction, and Les Cognoissances contains both the myth and the recrimination. But Béroalde's conscious rejection of the mythological within his poem makes his attitude at this point a more forthright one than that of Du Bartas, and it indicates a view of poetry that could scarcely be further removed from that of the Pléiade.

The myth rejected here is a Platonic one, but the ambivalence of the rejection is more apparent still when we consider that in other ways the influence of Platonism is a marked one on the evolution of Béroalde's theories of love, and on the view that he expresses of the role of love in the life of the individual. This is not to say that his is a theory of love like that of Dagoucin in L'Heptaméron, "qui s'escript et ne s'experimente poinct". On the contrary, it takes its starting-point in the physical sensation. The terms in which the sensation is described are Petrarchan, but it is still on an immediate reality that the initial emphasis falls. The connection of ideas, and the mode of presentation, is one that Béroalde has already anticipated in the prose Les Apprehensions Spirituelles;

> Ce pendant qu'en cest endroict ie considerois la naissance de la femme, ie sentis comme en mes os entrer ie ne sçay quelle douceur, qui furetant en mes moëlles, me faisoit desirer la recherche de l'amour...(95)

The poet evidently finds himself the victim of the same forces in the poem, but here the rhetorical development is directly linked to the first outline of a scheme;

> Mais quelle douce ardeur vient m'eschauffer le sang,
> Mais quel air delicat vient m'agitter le flang,
> Arreste arreste toy doux amour, ie te prie,
> Ie ne t'ay pas laissé pour prendre la folie
> De ceux qui eschaufez d'vne cendreuse ardeur
> Pensent trouuer le vray au fondement d'erreur.
> Ie veux dire de toy, & d'vne douce frase
> Chanter le feu diuin qui chastement embrase
> Les courages mieux nées & d'vn vers adoucy
> D'escrire en ta faueur des amans le soucy(96).

Against the sparing style of the rest of the poem, the introduction is an arresting one. For Béroalde the topic is sufficiently important to merit a sort of invocation of its own. Curiously, the same dramatic flourish, with its repetitions and imagined dialogue, and in precisely the same context, is to be found in the medical poem La Generation de l'Homme by the Angevin doctor-poet René Bretonnayau, published in Paris in the same year as Les Cognoissances(97). Further, the same poet's Le Temple de l'Ame, published in the same volume, is the solitary parallel to Béroalde's otherwise unprecedented scientific epic on a single theme, De l'Ame et de ses facultes(98). Are we to suppose some reciprocal influence? The question must remain open.

In any event, in both cases Béroalde goes much further than Bretonnayau. In Les Cognoissances, the opening statement is the prelude to a whole philosophy of love. Like the poet's attitude to myth, it is built upon an opposition, not to be concealed by the preciosity of the expression. A "cendreuse ardeur" is equated with error, a "feu diuin" with a Petrarchan "doux-amer" of which only the "douceur" remains. A "douce frase" and a verse that is "adoucy" will respond to the theme of an emotion that the poet presents as both chaste and the preserve of "les courages mieux nés".

The scheme inevitably recalls Plato's distinction, commented by Ficino, between the Heavenly and the Earthly Aphrodite, and between the two types of love they respectively inspire. In the Symposium Pausanias speaks of one love "governing the passions of the vulgar", physical rather than spiritual, and unconcerned with the worthiness or unworthiness of its object, and of another, which is intellectual, steadfast, and innocent of the carnal(99). The concept is refined by Ficino, who casts Pausanias' two loves in complementary roles(100). The earthly is vested in the soul of the world, and has the power of procreation; the heavenly, placed in the angelic intelligence, has as its object the contemplation of the beauty of God. Both have their reflection in the human mind, where they have their respective

attributes in a desire to procreate and a desire to contemplate beauty. In this view both are to be approved, in that both have their connection with the divine. The sparks of divinity, concentrated in the higher Venus, are passed on to the lower, which in its turn transmits them to the matter of the world. For Ficino love is abused when this union is broken, and generation is divorced from contemplation. Proper love praises the beauty of the body, and from that ascends to the superior beauty of the soul, intelligence and God. But the process involves both, and does not interfere with the duty of generation and carnal union, as the "natural order and civil laws" prescribe. At the same time the separate identity of "amor vulgaris" and "amor divinus" is maintained.

Béroalde's "feu diuin" is the descendant of Ficino's, and like Ficino he condemns a purely physical passion. For Ficino the baser impulse of desire is not in any way to be confused with the sacred name of love. We quote from the translation of the commentary to the Symposium which Lefèvre de la Boderie published in 1578;

> ...chacun, qui est de sain entendement, se doibt garder que l'amour, nom certainement diuin, ne soit sottement transferé aux folles perturbations...l'embrasement effrené, duquel nous sommes tirez aux actes lascifs, comme ainsi soit qu'il tire à la deformité, il se iuge estre contraire à la Beauté(101).

The scale of value, and the distinction between terms, is that of Les Cognoissances also;

> Cette vaine l'angueur dont par maint artifice
> On attire dans soy le malheureux supplice,
> Et qui par mille feux, l'estommac embrassant,
> Qui par mille douleurs, la vie d'estruisant,
> D'vn eternel soucy en sa force cruelle,
> Les coeurs passionnés sans relasche bourelle,
> (Que d'vn nom bien heureux on nomme mais à tort,
> Ainsi que qui diroit la vie estre la mort,)
> N'est point cette douceur dont la force diuine
> Anime de son feu toute chaste poitrine:
> Ce n'est point le desir dont iadis les premiers
> Viuant d'vn mesme amour sentirent les brasiers,
> Et ce n'est point aussi la douce fiere flame,
> Dont la pudique cendre est cachee dans l'ame
> De ceux qui dans leur sang ne conçoiuent l'ardeur
> D'vn tison amoureux que sous les lois d'honneur(102).

But where for Ficino the true nature of love lies in the contemplation of an ideal Beauty, the standard that Béroalde applies is that of the

"chaste" and the "pudique". The model set against a false love is the double one of an ideal state in the past, and the norm of a conduct related to it in the present. The crux in this interpretation of the place of love lies in "les lois d'honneur".

The norm, and the nature of the idea of chasteness that it involves, is identical with Calvin's. The context is that of Calvin's commentary on the commandment "Tu ne paillarderas point", from which we have already quoted;

> La fin est, pource que Dieu aime pureté et chasteté, que toute immondicité doit estre loin de nous...A quoy respond le précepte affirmatif: c'est que nostre vie en toutes ses parties soit reiglée à chasteté et continence. Or il défend nommément paillardise, à laquelle tend toute incontinence, afin que par la turpitude et deshonnesteté, qui est en paillardise plus apparente et plus énorme entant qu'elle déshonnore nostre corps, il nous rende toute incontinence abominable. Pource que l'homme a esté créé à ceste condition, de ne vivre point solitaire, mais avoir une aide semblable à soy; davantage que par la malédiction du péché il a esté encores plus assuietty à ceste nécessité, d'autant qu'il estoit expédient, le Seigneur nous a donné remède en cest endroit, en instituant le mariage, lequel, après l'avoir ordonné de son authorité, l'a sanctifié de sa bénédiction. Dont il appert que toute compagnie d'homme et de femme hors mariage est maudite devant luy, et que la compagnie de mariage nous est donnée pour remède de nostre nécessité, afin que nous ne laschions la bride à nostre concupiscence. Ne nous flattons point donc, quand nous oyons que l'homme ne peut cohabiter avec la femme hors mariage sans la malédiction de Dieu(103).

It is the institution of christian marriage which is implied in Béroalde's lines, and it is this which he builds up as the embodiment of harmony in the social fabric. A Platonically-inspired distinction becomes part of a Reformist argument.

An immediate consequence is a reaction against a whole poetic tradition of love. Once love becomes in this way part of a providential scheme, directed to a remedying of man's imperfection through the institution of matrimony, unrequited suffering can have no part in it. In this ideal vision the status of the Petrarchan lover and the concept of "amour courtois" is denied, along with the whole idea of love as disruptive force. What is at first more curious is that the Petrarchan vocabulary remains. But the conventions of the poetic language survive beyond the system of values which they represent, and are here transposed into a different one. The reality they describe is not eliminated, but subordinated to a higher one;

Bien qu'amour ait le soin qui nostre coeur transporte
Apres ce qui est beau & sa puissance forte,
Nous pousse à souhaitter par gratieux appas,
Ce qui nous vient à gré & que nous n'auons pas:
Bien que par son effait nostre ame soit pressee
D'admirer en l'aymant, la chose desiree,
Et que croissant en nous ce desir allumé,
Par sa force l'on soit peu à peu consumé,
Qu'on porte le soucy d'vne agreable peine,
Qu'on sente dedans soy vne mordante gesne,
Que l'on oublie tout, pressé de sa douleur,
Qu'on n'ait autres pensers qu'en sa douce aigre ardeur,
Et que tandis qu'on a ce mal en la ceruelle,
Cét aise dans le coeur, cette douceur cruelle,
Aux veines, dans les os, on ne desire rien
Qu'en si beau desplaisir rencontrer tout son bien:
S'y n'est ce point erreur encores moins furie...(104)

With the ennobling of the concept of marriage comes an ennobling of the concept of love. Ficino had made Pausanias' distinction between a Heavenly and an Earthly Aphrodite part of a view of love as essentially divine, and gone on to construct a metaphysic based upon love as divine fury. In the grip of the lesser fury of vulgar love man sinks to the level of the animals(105). Béroalde's scheme, in contrast, is other than purely intellectual. Love is elevated from random emotion to a place in the cosmic pattern, but as with other aspects of Béroalde's universe, the interpretation is related to an immediate reality. It is the physical sensation which is explained in terms of the ideal, and this is not error or fury -

Mais seulement des coeurs la vraye endelechie,
Et pour la bien nommer ne la faut dire ardeur,
Ne mal, ne desplaisir, ne perte, ne malheur,
Mais le sacré lien des ames bien heureuses,
Qui par vn feu diuin deuiennent amoureuses,
Et l'esprit infini, qui iamais otieux,
A donné la façon à la beauté des cieux:
Qui tout libre de soy met en toute ame belle
Quelques traits du patron de l'essence eternelle,
Qui par tout espendu egale iustement
De l'eparse vnion le doux concentement,
Le seul bien par lequel pretend toute substance,
A la perfection dont il est la semblance,
Qui faisant souhaitter loge dedans le coeur,
Vne aprehension par l'espoir du bon heur(106).

This is a love no longer to be complained of, but a necessary instrument of cosmic organisation. As vital heat is the entelechy of the physical world, so a certain concept of love is the entelechy of a human society. The parallel is more than a linguistic one. If

love is presented in these lines as a divinely-inspired link between two souls, it is also a cosmic principle akin to world-soul itself. This idea of love as cosmic force is one that comes directly from Ficino's commentary on the Symposium. Ficino's interpretation of the speech of Eryximachus is the obvious model for Béroalde's notion of love as universal binding force, the "doux concentement" which maintains all in existence;

> Si l'Amour fait toute chose, certainement toute chose il conserue : parce qu'à vn mesme appartient l'office & le deuoir de faire & de conseruer. Sans doubte les semblables sont conseruez des semblables : & l'Amour tire le semblable au semblable...
> ...En outre par l'vnité de ses parties, toutes choses se conseruent, & par la dispersion se gastent. Et l'vnité naist des parties de l'Amour qui est entre elles(107).

Equally Ficinian and neo-platonic is the emphasis on love as aspiration. In Ficino's commentary on the arguments of Diotima Béroalde would readily have found the idea of love as the intermediary between the opposite poles of absolute beauty and earthly matter, as the motive force in the soul's quest, via the image of beauty in this world, for the ideal beauty from which it is descended(108). Here those ideas are transferred to the context of the union of individuals. Later, the Platonic formula is restated with fuller force.

But for the moment the idea of love as both cosmic and transcendental force is made secondary to its definition as plenitude and possession, and as an antithesis to strife. Béroalde seizes upon Ficino's idealised concept of love and makes it correspond to an idealised concept of christian marriage. As in Ficino's world the wolf eats the lamb through the impulsion of love, so Béroalde's is maintained by a love from which suffering is excluded. It is separation, Béroalde is careful to explain, which is the cause of suffering, and not the aspiration itself;

> Il est vray toutefois qu'on sent en son courage,
> Tandis que l'on poursuit ce qu'on ayme vn dommage,
> Et ie ne sçay qu'el soin, qui ronge heureusement,
> Par sa delicatesse vn bel entendement:
> Mais ce n'est pas pourtant à cause qu'il souhaitte,
> S'vnir d'vn bel effait à l'essence parfaite,
> Ains pour ce qu'il ne peut de son bien separé,
> Se ioindre au feu diuin dont il est alteré,
> Ainsi le seul d'effaut de la chose cherchee
> Est cause du tourment dont nostre ame est touchee,

Dont l'amour ne peut mais, estant contentement,
Et par qui aucun mal ne suruient à l'amant(109).

An element of ambiguity between celestial and terrestrial union continues. Béroalde's lovers, in common with Ficino's picture of man, are separated while apart from each other from their "feu diuin", and are incomplete without it. This necessary aspiration towards perfection and divinity is that of the Platonist. In Ficino's words, equally absolute in la Boderie's rendering of them;

Ie veux que vous sçachiez que le vray homme, & l'Idee de l'homme est tout vn. Et pourtant aucun de nous en terre n'est vray homme ce pendant que de Dieu nous sommes separez, parce que nous sommes deioincts de nostre Idee, laquelle est nostre forme. A icelle nous reduira l'Amour diuin aueques vie pieteuse(110).

But for Béroalde the intermediary in this progress towards completeness is marriage. The individual in Béroalde's world finds his spiritual fulfilment not just through the contemplation of the beauty of another, but through a christian union with that other. The evangelical emphasis on the importance of marriage becomes part of a philosophical scheme, and the motif of unity takes on a specific sense. Pain, then, is expressed as lack of unity, and disunity is the contradiction of love;

Par quoy si en perdant l'agreable presence,
De l'obiet desiré, quelque douleur offence
Vn coeur loin de son bien, cest pour la cruauté
De ce qui le desioint de sa douce vnité(111).

The observation is given greater impact by the medical image which follows;

Car adonc tout ainsi que la peau separee,
Par vn coup d'esuant la matiere serree,
Le corps patit douleur, ainsi la passion
Suit l'esprit separé de sa perfection,
Et le faisant l'anguir apres ce qu'il desire,
Luy cause les effaits de son cruel martire(112).

If we compare this to Du Bartas' similar venture into the medical to evoke Adam's sleep before the creation of Eve(113), the more direct and more physical nature of Béroalde's image is obvious. But more important overall is the poet's apparent wish to discuss love and marriage in their turn as part of the harmonious pattern informing the universe as a whole.

An integral part of this design in Béroalde's view is the imperfection of man. It adds a distinctive element to his version of a hierarchy which otherwise owes a clear debt to neo-platonism. For Béroalde the neo-platonic framework is simply the statement of an existing world-order, and in his presentation of it the tone is dispassionate and the personal value is discarded. The first agent in the Platonic ascent towards the Ideal is love of a person, and the loves that follow are expressed in Diotima's original speech in the Symposium as a continuing personal revelation. The same idea of initiation clearly survives in Bembo's speech in The Courtier. This is Hoby's translation;

> But among these commodities, the lover shall find another yet farre greater, in case hee will take this love for a stayre (as it were) to climbe up to another farre higher than it. The which he shall bring to passe, if he will goe and consider with himselfe, what a straight bond it is to bee alwaies in the trouble to behold the beautie of one bodie alone. And therefore to come out of this so narrowe a roome, hee shall gather in his thought by litle and litle so many ornaments, that meddling all beautie together, he shal make an universall conceite, and bring the multitude of them to the unitie of one alone, that is generally spred over all the nature of man. And thus shall he beholde no more the particular beautie of one woman, but an universall, that decketh out all bodies(114).

In the love poetry of the Renaissance the structure of this scheme is either blurred or forgotten, but the personal aspect of the experience is seized upon(115). In the world of Les Cognoissances it is very different. The first term of perfection is no more than the completeness of the married state, and the fact that it otherwise lacks is the reminder of necessary mortal inadequacy;

> Aussi Dieu a voulu pour nous à nous monstrer,
> Nostre perfection en vn autre arrester:
> Car si nous la gardions nous nous pourrions parfaire,
> Et n'aurions de l'autruy pour nostre bien que faire...(116)

As for the Platonist, love is a revelation, but the revelation of a state of inferiority. An optimistic emphasis on the potentiality of the individual is transformed into the statement of his inevitable place in the cosmic order. The Platonic is merged with the devotional. The aspiration which is love is still present, but firmly controlled by God, part of the purpose and economy of Creation;

...Encor il a voulu nous distinguant ainsi,
Mettre de la chercher en nous quelque soucy,
Qui est le saint effait (tant il est bon & sage)
Qui desir & amour touche nostre courage(117).

The ennobling of love is here the consecration of a scheme. The aim of the scheme, as always, is equilibrium and harmony;

Et pourtant cét amour represente à nos yeux,
Auec l'affection, ce qui est nostre mieux:
Puis nous fait desirer par vne oculte cause,
Pour viure en bien l'aymant vne si belle chose,
Laquelle possedee, on ne desire point,
On ne recherche plus: car on y est conioint.
Mais le desir qu'on a est d'vne amitie sainte,
La garder cherement sous la douce contrainte,
Qui fait amour és coeurs, la faisant lors aymer,
Et par vn mesme feu deux ames s'animer(118).

This is a finite aspiration, in which the emphasis falls upon stability, and it is the further expression of Calvin's praise of marriage. It could all be taken to stem from a particular interpretation of the myth of the Androgyne. But Béroalde equally integrates within Providence the idea of the neo-platonic ascent itself. The overall plan of gradation from a corporeal to a divine beauty remains, only assimilated now to the idea of a continually provident Deity;

Or de ce beau desir de cette belle peine
L'eternel a posé vne cause certaine,
Et vn desir forcé des la creation,
Que tout cela qui est tende à perfection.
Cette perfection qui toute chose attire,
Cette perfection que toute ame desire,
Est la seule beauté qui en suiets diuers,
Embellit haut & bas tout ce grand vniuers;
Et la beauté de soy n'est rien que l'excellence,
Ou le pourtrait heureux de la parfaicte essence(119).

As in Ficino's world before, beauty in its turn is cosmic principle, and like Castiglione's Bembo Béroalde makes beauty the object of an aspiration, with the same progression from beauty in diversity to beauty as unity. But the Calvinist writer makes that beauty the reflection of a higher reality.

This aspiration itself is part of a harmony, as the cosmology of the poem extends to the inner harmony of the individual as to the external harmony of the universe. The aspiration to perfection furnishes a spiritual impetus, and becomes a principle of cosmic organisation;

Appres ce beau patron tout desire imiter

Quelque perfection pour à soy l'adiouster,
Et sur tout les humains, qui ont l'ame pressee
De mille impressions de la parfaite Idee:
Et pource qu'il n'est qu'vn qui en soy soit parfait,
On tasche à s'egaler par vn diuin effait,
Et s'vnir pour n'auoir pensee qui fouruoye,
Pour plus loin que soy mesme aller chercher sa ioye(120).

A divinely-inspired pattern is the rationale of both the Platonic Ideas and christian matrimony, and we appear to return to a strictly limited ambition. Whatever the poet's attempts to give the idea of perfection a cosmic significance, the ideal evoked in these lines is a present one. "Plus loin que soy mesme aller chercher sa ioye" is part of a continuing apology for marriage. But at the same time there is an echo of a different aspect of aspiration. The emphasis on a constant striving is that of the scientist, the suggestion is that of Peletier's

L'Hommé, qui an vivant tousjours désiré antandré,
Et qui trouvé sans fin ou ses désirs etandré...(121)

Marriage represents the end of a process, and Béroalde reports it as part of the social fabric, to be analysed in the same way as the role of the elements in the composition of the physical universe. But the tone changes markedly as he makes a specific exception to this universal picture of stability, in which the individual seeks and finds his place. What is personal to Béroalde is the enthusiasm that had been Peletier's before;

Car quand on est compris d'vne belle vnité,
On ne sent plus en soy son coeur inquieté,
Si ce n'est pour iouir outre l'ordre commune,
De toute la beauté qui est parfaite & vne,
La cherchant és effaits du sçauoir bien heureux,
Qui plus touche le coeur plus le rend desireux:
Non pas d'vn vain desir, mortel & perissable,
Mais d'vn braue-souhait qui le rend admirable(122).

In Béroalde's world there is one more way in which man may escape his mortal condition, and this is through the pursuit of knowledge. The universal scheme is one that specifically allows for the place of the scientist as Béroalde understands it. The final aspiration is other-worldly, and the Platonic framework now serves as an allegory of the role of the intellect;

Et les beautés d'icy aux espris curieux,

Seruent d'aile & de vent pour les porter aux cieux
Remarquer la beauté, qui seule simple & bonne,
De tout cét vniuers egalement ordonne(123).

*

The Platonic programme is the justification of an aspiration after knowledge, and a restatement of its object. Here it becomes a coherent programme, while references elsewhere in the poem remain scattered. But it remains subordinated to the central purpose of the poem, which had been that of La Sepmaine before. The Platonic terms only thinly disguise the old theme that the glory of God is to be seen through the created world, and the concept of a unifying and co-ordinating Beauty merges with the general one of a purposeful creation. Beauty in the sense of Platonic Ideal becomes active force, and a surrogate of God in all but name. Eryximachus' idea in the Symposium of love governor of all things is resurrected, but deprived of all independence -

Cette beauté voulut dés le commencement,
Que tout fut accompli dedans le firmament,
Par doublee vnité, du lien qui assemble
Par la force du beau deux vnitez ensemble,
Formant adonq' l'amour que d'vn egal effait,
Par deux vnis en vn elle rendit parfait(124).

The definition is that of love as union, and it is this which makes the link with the major theme of order. Anything that might detract from it is discarded, and we have seen that love in its poetic aspect of unrequited passion has no place in the scheme. Béroalde is establishing an ideal within terms of the functioning of human society that might correspond to his description of the harmonious workings of the physical universe. Following on these lines the concession to reality comes as an afterthought;

Il est vray que souuant l'amour & le souhait
Prenent vn mesme nom par leur semblable effait(125).

It is this which gives the specific impulse to the defence of marriage, which only now makes its first explicit appearance in the poem. Marriage is presented as an ideal to be imitated, and Béroalde adopts the moralising tone of Calvin. But where for Calvin marriage is above all the remedy against concupiscence, Béroalde is especially

concerned to present it as the cornerstone of order. The institution is first willed by God between Adam and Eve, then decreed for humanity. But what in the physical world is a question of design, in terms of society becomes law -

> Or par cette vnisson heureusement diuine,
> Des premiers s'eschauffant la pudique poitrine,
> Dieu ça bas establit d'vne eternelle loy,
> Sur le gaige sacré de nostre humaine foy,
> Pour rendre des mortels la semblance immortelle,
> Du mariage saint, la liaison fidelle,
> Qui est le libre amour, que libre on doit nommer,
> Car les cieux n'ont permis autrement de s'aymer,
> Icy bas, pour iouir de la rencontre douce,
> Ou le desir d'amour nostre volonté pousse(126).

The statement is a dogmatic one, but the ground has been well prepared beforehand. It is a reenactment of the progression from the creation of woman to the awakening of love, and the role of woman in the perpetuation of the species is transferred to the institution. What is new is a tension between liberty and compulsion, a definition of freedom in terms of constraint. The insistence on the sole legitimacy of marriage is like Calvin's, but in Les Cognoissances it is a further aspect of the interpretation of the creation theme as a whole. Ordering is given its specific application to the organisation of society.

The image is partly the Protestant one. As the individual lives in a fixed relationship with God, and in which the status of his own free will is denied, so a pattern of life on earth is determined, and in this marriage has a central place. In this respect Béroalde makes the same moral assumptions as would have been made in Calvin's Geneva. But the emphasis on stability and the force of law is a generalised one in Renaissance thought. It is virtually a universal belief, spelled out by Ronsard in his Hymne de la Justice, that

> La Loy sert aux Citez & au peuple qui est
> Inconstant en pensée, & n'a jamais d'arrest(127).

For Montaigne too, although it is left to him to make a different analysis of the respect owing to the law, there is an opposition to be drawn between the constancy of the law and the diversity of human actions(128). Man is naturally inconstant, lacking in stability. The rule of law, to

all save a Montaigne, provides that stability, and without it chaos would return. The threat to the sixteenth century mind is not imaginary, and the poetry of d'Aubigné is evidence that by the end of the century, in the France of the Wars of Religion, the threat must have seemed even stronger. In Béroalde's poem the particular reference is to the sanctity of marriage, but the message is the same. He menaces his reader with the picture that d'Aubigné and Du Bartas actually paint;

> Ceux qui disent qu'amour n'estant que liberté
> De se lier ainsi est contre l'equité,
> D'autant que l'on s'oblige & qu'apres on endure
> Vne cruelle loy faite contre nature,
> Contrarient à eux: car viure librement
> Est en suyuant les lois passer heureusement
> La course d'icy bas, où si sans ordonnance
> Nous nous gouuernions tous selon nostre puissance,
> Tout y seroit confus, & sans aucuns accors,
> Les effaits de nature, & du ciel seroient morts(129).

In the Hymne de la Justice Ronsard too makes the laws of God inviolate, handed direct to man(130), but for Béroalde it is marriage itself which is the lynch-pin of social order. The reference is not unique to him - in his Mantice Pontus de Tyard refers to "le Mariage, vnique, au moins singulier & excellent lien de la police & humaine tranquillité"(131) - but in Les Cognoissances the subject attains new proportions. Ronsard distinguishes the laws of God, of which justice is the greatest, from those by which nature governs her own domain(132). The observance of the latter is the guarantee of the harmony of the cosmos(133). In Les Cognoissances the two are aspects of a single reality, and the liberty of the individual itself has a potentially destructive effect. With the picture of the harmony of marriage goes the image of the disorder there would be without it;

> Seroit ce liberté que ne pouuoir poursuyure
> La moitié en laquelle on desireroit viure?
> Ce qui nous auiendroit, quand sans loy nous serions,
> Car tousiours nous aurions celle que nous pourrions,
> Encor la perdrions nous, si vn autre estant maistre,
> Nous la venoit rauir, et ainsi faudroit estre
> En eternelle peine, & suyure malheureux,
> Ou de vie ou de mort, le chemin hazardeux(134).

Apart from its spiritual role in the fulfilment of the individual,

marriage is the guarantee of civic and social order. In this perspective the authority of law takes on an especial importance, and it becomes the further embodiment of controlling order. Béroalde sees in this the true nature of liberty;

> Certes la loy vaut mieux: car seure elle presente
> La douce liberté qui seule nous contente,
> Et soient comme on voudra prises de tous costés,
> Les libertés sont lois, & les lois libertés(135).

In Les Cognoissances this is part of a picture of a universe subject to divinely-inspired controls. Ronsard's Hymne keeps the law of nature and the law of God apart, but in Béroalde's poem both are one. The cosmic portrayal of the Hymne de la Justice is the depiction of an external reality, in which the poet is observer, taking in the panorama before him;

> La nature a donné aux animaux des bois,
> Aux oyseaux, aux poissons, des reigles & des loix
> Qu'ilz n'outrepassent point: au monde on ne voit chose
> Qu'un tresfidelle accord nè gouverne & dispose:
> La Mer, le Ciel, la Terre, & chacun Element
> Garde une loy constante inviolablement...(136)

The point of view in Les Cognoissances is from within, and the picture is one of real unity. Béroalde draws together the working of the world and the working of society, and assimilates the law of marriage to the cosmic "accords" he has portrayed from the beginning of the poem. The final vindication of marriage is a scientific one, in its relation to the phenomena activating the universe as a whole;

> Tout ainsi que les cieux d'vn ordre necessaire,
> S'agittant iustement d'vn mouuement contraire,
> Et estans differens, ils sont egalement
> Establis en l'accord de leur saint mouuement,
> Mesme des elemens le different meslange
> Sans accord mutuel en meilleur ne se change:
> Aussi en ce qui est Dieu a mis vn lien,
> Qui est cette vnion sans qui ne se fait rien,
> En qui sont faites vn les choses dissemblables,
> Et par qui sont esclos les effaits agreables,
> De tout ce qui ça bas suiet à s'esmouuoir,
> Est propre pour donner ou propre à receuoir,
> Et l'effait de sa force est le but où doit tendre
> Tout ce qui veut icy parfait & beau se rendre(137).

Marriage too is a discordant accord, following the controlling pattern of the sub-lunar universe. The union of like with unlike is stated as the principle underlying the whole of existence, and man's desire for

union is a token of the forces of union binding together the whole physical world. Embraced within a decidedly scientific formulation is a conclusion of which Marguerite de Navarre would have approved.

All this gives a new philosophical resonance to the terminology of love;

> Partant le mariage est le but arresté
> De l'esprit qui d'amour vn coup inquieté,
> Brusle pour les beautés de sa moitié fidelle,
> Qui doit sentir son feu d'vne ardeur mutuelle:
> Il est le dernier but des chastes passions,
> Et le sacré suiet ou les affections
> Doiuent prendre l'arrest, que la plus part appette,
> Apres les tourbillons de la ieune tempeste(138).

The theme of love itself becomes part of the general reduction to order that characterises the workings of the universe. Little remains of the Petrarchan metaphor of the lover adrift on a storm-tossed sea(139), and the emphasis is exactly reversed, from turbulence to stability. The reference here is a personal one, but Les Cognoissances is a poem from which the personal is excluded, and Béroalde hastens back to his main theme -

> Ie ne suis pas assés pour chanter dignement
> Cet estat bien heureux où du commencement
> Nos ancestres rangés, & faits maistres du monde
> Furent d'vn petit monde vne forme seconde...(140)

At the end of Béroalde's praise of marriage, and at the end of the poem, the perspective suddenly reverts to the historical, and, with a reference to a conceit that he could have found in either Ficino's commentary on the Symposium(141) or in Ronsard's Hymne de la Justice(142), the poet paints an ideal both past and present;

> - Or le monde se dit pour autant qu'il est net,
> Et ce petit aussi pource qu'il est parfet,
> Et qu'en cette vnion l'honnesteté gardée
> Fait croistre le vouloir dessus la chose aymee.
> Le mariage aussi commence par destin,
> Se forme par amour, par honneur prend sa fin:
> Car nulle n'est iamais à sa moitié donnée,
> Si tout premier au ciel elle n'est ordonnee,
> Et si d'vn saint amour on n'eschauffe son coeur,
> Ainsi que n'estant rien il n'y a point d'ardeur:
> Et l'honneur n'estant pas gardé au mariage,
> Ce qu'il a de plus beau seroit fureur & rage(143).

Like Rabelais' Thélémites, and after the precepts too of Marguerite de Navarre's Parlamente, Béroalde's husbands and wives are guided by

"honneur", but in the determinist world of Les Cognoissances their union is predestined. In the context of the organisation of the world, the image of the microcosm in Béroalde's poem is not that of man alone, but that of the marriage bond.

The model from which this springs is the biblical one, and Béroalde's comments on the organisation of society arise directly from his hexaemeral commentary. But there is another myth of the first society of man which has as strong a grip on the Renaissance imagination, and it is to this that Béroalde now returns. An account of the first couple leads into an account of the first civilisation, and the poet evidently feels no inconsistency in turning to a non-biblical source. Here there is no apology for an involuntary digression into paganism, and we are dealing with the portrayal of a simple commonplace. But Béroalde applies it to a purpose of his own.

The tradition represented by Ovid's lines in the Metamorphoses -

> Aurea prima sata est aetas, quae vindice nullo,
> Sponte sua, sine lege fidem rectumque colebat...(144)

- is one that held an attraction for Ronsard in particular(145). Like Ronsard in the Hymne de la Justice, Béroalde paints an idyllic picture of a first world untainted by vice;

> Dieu donques fit tout bon en rendant accompli
> Ce petit monde icy en ses lois establi,
> N'ayant faute de rien: car il a la richesse,
> Le sçauoir, la vertu, le bon-heur, la sagesse;
> Et l'ignorance aussi, le soin, ny le labeur
> N'auoient mis sous leur ioug l'homme leur seruiteur,
> Et des abismes creux leur mortelle presence
> N'auoit plaine d'horreur pris sa fiere n'aissance
> L'aage estoit simple & saint, & innocens encor
> Nos ancestres estoient, regnans en l'aage d'or...(146)

The depiction of the Age of Gold is commonly made the narrative of an age in which justice reigned, and Béroalde's poem is no exception. The picture of the past is built up by ironical reference to the present. Ronsard adopts the technique in the Hymne, and in more detail in the later Elegie au Seigneur Baillon(147). On the other hand, it is perhaps significant that in the later Galliade of Lefèvre de la Boderie the same handling of the theme takes on the edge of social

satire. There the emphasis falls exclusively on the absence of present evils; in the age of Magog, Lefèvre tells us, there were neither castles nor tyrannies, natural justice reigned, and

> ...Le poure de son bien n'estoit point despouillé
> Par quelque haubereau, qui croit que sa Noblesse
> Ne se peut maintenir, s'il ne frappe, & ne blesse
> L'humble & le debonnaire, & s'il ne luy rauit
> Le bien dont luy, sa femme, & sa famille vit...(148)

La Boderie's reference anticipates the graphic portrayals of injustice of Les Tragiques, and breaks with a further tradition in the depiction of the theme, the pastoral detail of Ronsard's

> L'age d'or precieus,
> Où le peuple ocieus
> Vivoit aux bois sans peine
> De glan cheut & de feine(149).

La Boderie turns instead to the present. Béroalde likewise, and as we might expect, jettisons the Lucretian pictorial detail, and attaches the theme as a whole to the question of the imperfection of man which has been a running motif of the poem. His poem too now takes a satirical edge;

> Tant d'estats n'estoient point & de tant de trafiques,
> On ne s'alloit trompant parmi les republiques,
> Et l'homme ne tiroit mesmes du font d'enfer,
> L'or, le cuyure, l'argent, l'estain, le plomb, le fer,
> On n'estoit different par mestier, ny estude,
> Il n'y auoit grandeur, estat, ni seruitude,
> Les nobles ne pressoient dessous leur ioug contraint
> Le pauure roturier qui n'a le coeur atteint
> Des delices d'honneur, & par tant d'artifices
> On ne faisoit sembler les vertus estre vices:
> La difference encor, les degrés, ni l'honneur,
> Ne pressoient de dedain, de gloire, de fureur,
> Les hommes qui ne sont maintenant que l'ombrage
> De la perfection qui fut au premier aage(150).

While the satire of the present is similar to La Boderie's, this use of the Age of Gold theme relates to the more general concern, and adds a further dimension to it. Man is inferior not only to God but also to his forebears. Similarly, it is a commonplace that any man-made inequality is absent from the first of human societies(151), but order in Les Cognoissances has a fuller resonance. Order is the touchstone of a smoothly-operating cosmos and society alike, and this Age of Gold is its embodiment as the creation before it had been;

> Le grand n'estoit pour lors pour autant qu'il eut plus
> Que le moindre que soy de force ou de vertus,
> Et le sage n'estoit distingué par personne:
> Car en vn tout estoit d'vne ordonnance bonne(152).

We might wonder, however, if this is an ideal in which Béroalde entirely believes. In this picture of absolute uniformity the ambition of man is curbed, and properly so, as man alone may interfere with the process of ordering, and overstep the limit prescribed for him. The earlier warning against the vanity of the astrologers -

> ...ceux qui vont plus haut, pour descendre plus bas,
> Et perir malheureux pensants ne perir pas

- is remembered. But in this world of the static and the fixed there would be no place for the "sage" either, nor for a more legitimate aspiration;

> On ne recherchoit point par sa vacation
> La richesse ou grandeur: & cette ambition
> Qui mesme touche au coeur le philosophe sage,
> N'auoit encor saisi de l'homme le courage,
> Et l'esprit remuant ne faisoit rechercher
> Les secrets où ne faut prophanement toucher...(153)

An urge for knowledge, whether legitimate or illegitimate, no longer has any justification, and it becomes apparent that this vision is one more rhetorical than real. When it comes to the scientific enthusiasm, the poet's fascination is clearly with the present rather than with a past that exists only through a negative;

> On ne mesloit aussi au Mercure volage,
> Le Mercure fixé, pour de leur alliage
> Vne poudre non poudre, & liqueur non liqueur
> Former, & doucement luy donnant la challeur,
> La faire ores noircir, puis en petites pointes
> Tout au dessus du noir, d'vn blanc gris sale teintes,
> L'esclaircir peu à peu tant que de coulleur palle
> La matiere se veste & prene la blancheur:
> Puis la couleur citrine et en fin la rougeur(154).

The kaleidoscope of the mutations of the philosophers' stone is what gives Béroalde's Age of Gold its identity - but in fact the movement of nostalgia, from present to past, is reversed(155).

It is in fact as rhetoric, as an imagined projection into the past, that this vision of the Golden Age has its force. It is not the picture of an idealised backwoods community, but the vision of an entire universe as the apotheosis of harmony. The traditional

idea that in this primitive age the earth supplies all wants(156) is woven into a broad canvas in which Béroalde achieves a real grandeur of expression;

> Les arts y estoient morts comme estans inutiles,
> Il n'y auoit pallais, maisons, chasteaux, ny villes
> Et se poussant par l'air les clochers orgueilleux
> Leurs pointes ne croisoient en s'approchant des cieux
> Il n'y auoit qu'en haut la voute radoucie,
> Qu'en bas le plain panchant en rondeur applanie,
> L'vniuers estoit tout qui en tout abondoit,
> Qui les necessités en soy mesme gardoit,
> Ou sans crainte, sans mal, sans honte, & sans enuie
> Les premiers commençoient le plus beau de leur vie(157).

This distant vision is one that is decidedly unreal. Ronsard's is an open nostalgia for a time that he perceives as a reality, as a lost Eden in the proper sense, and the subject of an unfulfilled desire. "Helas! que n'ai-je esté vivant de ce temps là..." he exclaims in the Exhortation pour la Paix of 1558 (158), and the sentiment is repeated by Navarrin in the Bergerie;

> O saison gratieuse! helas, que n'ay-je esté
> En un temps si heureux en ce monde aletté!(159)

Béroalde's mood, in contrast, is one of resignation and regret. His is a disabused use of the myth, and the emphasis falls upon the sad reality of the present. The successive degeneration of the ages from Gold to Silver, to Bronze and to Iron is part of Ovid's original fable, reiterated among others by Joseph Du Chesne in his Morocosmie;

> ...Mais le monde au rebours s'est veu quatre seruices
> D'or, d'argent, cuyure, & fer: tout d'or fut son printemps,
> Qui fut riche en valeur, & ores tous ses vices
> Du fer tout le plus vil enrouillent ses vieux ans(160).

In Les Cognoissances this same pattern of decline is more immediate and vivid. It is witnessed by the poet himself, who stands over it as does the "adepte" over the process of alchemical putrefaction;

> Or laissons les icy; aussi bien à regret,
> Ie m'eslongne des bords d'vn pais si parfet,
> Ie trouue l'or si beau qu'à peine ie puis viure
> En le voyant changer, à l'argent puis au cuyure,
> Et s'abaissant tousiours, encores se mouiller
> En la corruption, pour en fer se rouiller...(161)

The emotion is expressed through a scientific metaphor, and with it the myth is firmly realigned as a perspective towards the present

rather than as memory of an idyllic past. What has started as an exploration of the hexaemeral theme leads in the end to a conclusion very different from that of Du Bartas. In La Sepmaine a single note of boundless and optimistic faith sounds throughout, but Béroalde finds room for more subtlety of response. A desire to praise God through his work in creation is coupled with an equally strong persuasion of the opposition between terrestrial corruption and celestial perfection, and for the poet as spokesman is substituted the poet who is engaged in a dialogue. A devotional attitude constantly underlies the scientific explanation.

Appropriately enough these different levels meet at the end of the poem in the symbol gold. Gold, the object of the ambitions of the alchemist and the sign of purity for the christian, is also the identification of a perfectly-ordered world. There is a suitable ambiguity in Béroalde's wish to remain in its domain, but the value which that wish is given is a spiritual one, and the poem's final impulse is a move away from this world, towards a higher level of reality;

> Demeurons donq' à l'or, Muse ma chere vie,
> Et nous haussans tousiours d'vne ame au ciel rauie,
> Recherchons le thresor, qui encores meilleur
> Nous peut donner le bien, la santé, le bon heur,
> Et volant à ce beau que parfait en son estre,
> On ne peut par les sens en ce monde cognoistre,
> Separons nous d'icy, et en moins d'vn clin d'oeuil
> Trauersons par les airs iusqu'à nostre soleil(162).

This is an aspiration quite foreign to Du Bartas' revelling in the marvels of an earthly creation. The parallel instead is with that other Protestant writer d'Aubigné, who like Béroalde concludes his epic on a note of ecstatic reunion -

> Chetif, je ne puis plus approcher de mon oeil
> L'oeil du ciel; je ne puis supporter le soleil.
> Encor tout esblouï, en raisons je me fonde
> Pour de mon ame voir la grand'ame du monde,
> Sçavoir ce qu'on ne sçait & qu'on ne peut sçavoir,
> Ce que n'a ouï l'oreille & que l'oeil n'a peu voir;
> Mes sens n'ont plus de sens, l'esprit de moy s'envole,
> Le coeur ravi se taist, ma bouche est sans parole:
> Tout meurt, l'ame s'enfuit, & reprenant son lieu
> Exstatique se pasme au giron de son Dieu(163).

Béroalde shares with the d'Aubigné of Jugement a vision of fulfilment in the perfection of God, beyond the world perceived through the senses, and perhaps both are inspired by a verse from St.Paul(164). But in Les Cognoissances "vne ame au ciel rauie" carries a double association, not only of spiritual experience but also of intellectual enquiry. At the beginning of the poem Béroalde announces that it is "d'vne ame rauie" that he seeks after the secrets of the created world, and now at the end the same emotion marks the desire to escape beyond it. The two desires are indeed not contradictory but complementary, and Peletier too had seen the only possible ending of the mental voyagings of man in "un Dieu infini"(165). But with Les Cognoissances they are embraced within a single poem, and it is this which constitutes its final originality over Du Bartas' Sepmaine.

Here the desire to explain is added to the hexaemeral tradition, but the ultimate scale of values is never in doubt. If Les Cognoissances opens with an invocation to God by the poet that he might understand the mysteries of creation, it ends with a plea for grace of a different type, which implies a scorn for a transient world. The closing lines of the poem have the character of a prayer in which the contemplative, the personal and the intimate combine;

> Ainsi m'auienne ô Dieu, mais fay moy cette grace,
> Tandis que dans ce corps eslongné de ta face,
> I'erreray par l'erreur des vanités d'embas,
> En esperant en toy i'attende le trespas,
> Et que me defaillant cette vie premiere,
> I'aille trouuer en toy mon heureuse lumiere(166).

Any other assumption would be surprising. It is for the nature of its approach within this formula that Les Cognoissances Necessaires is a poem worth examining.

*

The creation of woman in Les Cognoissances does not mark the end of a poem concerned only with a hexaemeral account, but rather ushers in a whole new development. A poem that owes a clear debt to the tradition represented by Scève and Du Bartas goes beyond the specific model of either. It is immediately obvious that it does not follow

the fixed and self-evident framework of La Sepmaine, and the similarity is more with the Microcosme, where the hexaemeral theme serves only as the spring-board for the poet's own interests. But Béroalde's poem remains the interpretation of a universe created and maintained by God, where Scève's does not. All three of these ventures into the hexaemeral epic have their own distinct purpose, and that of Béroalde's is primarily the exposition of function in a world governed by Providence.

Concern with function and cause underlies the opening statement of "ie recherche de tout la forme interieure", and lends an element of unity to what would otherwise be a disparate whole. Béroalde evidently views woman less than favourably, but he sees her creation as part of a necessary scheme. That scheme is the social one, which is to mirror the organisation of the cosmos at large. Like God's plan for the interchange of the elements, it is subject to definite controls. Love is no random emotion, but predestined, and bound up with the christian ideal of marriage. Marriage represents stability in flux, like the discordant accords of the macrocosm, and the love that inspires it is uniquely identified with harmony. In a Platonic-like progress towards the fulfilment of the individual, marriage is the necessary intermediary. The picture reaches its culmination in an idealised Age of Gold, in which the most perfect feature is the total absence of any threat to the effortless realisation of order.

In this respect Béroalde's version of the Golden Age is a fitting conclusion to the poem as a whole. The consistent emphasis of Les Cognoissances is away from external appearance, and towards what the poet perceives as an inner reality. Order is the inner reality that he discovers, in macrocosm and microcosm alike. The Renaissance commonplace of a universe ruled by symmetry and proportion is joined by the religious truth of a universe created by God. This is the inner unity of Béroalde's poem, and as chaos itself is reduced to harmony in the first half, so the destructive effects of passion are neutralised in the second.

This alone is enough to give the poem a character distinct from that of La Sepmaine and to make it a commentary on Genesis worthy of attention in its own right. But Béroalde is also particularly interested in the relationship between God and his creation, and between God and man. La Sepmaine too assumes a God who is actively maintaining the universe, but in Les Cognoissances a tension arises between this presence and man who has the capacity to disturb the divine order. It is a tension which is summarily resolved, in terms of an unswerving opposition between celestial omnipotence and human frailty, but the repeated statement of it is one of the features of the poem. The overweening pride of the astrologers is condemned out of hand, in the name of a vision of the universe which is one of continuous unifying order, and in which no part may dominate another. But equally implied in the condemnation is the conviction of an obligation of man towards God.

Les Cognoissances is a Calvinist poem, and the uncompromising attitude that it presents to the wretchedness of man may be paralleled in Calvin's writings. Such a view in itself is scarcely original, but it is coupled with a continued faith in the potentiality of human knowledge. Béroalde accepts the Calvinist interpretation of the place of man in the universe, and this itself imposes a limitation on the process of scientific enquiry. But for him it is at the same time the guarantee of its validity. Calvin had stated that reason has still its part to play in the life of the christian, and that the scientist may be better placed to understand God's creation. He returned to the theme sufficiently often for Lambert Daneau to make his remarks the basis of a Physica Christiana, and it is such an alliance of religion and science which underlies Béroalde's poem.

Béroalde is especially well placed to deploy it. To Du Bartas' aim of the praise of God through creation he brings the enthusiasms of alchemist, doctor and mathematician, and it is in terms of his science that he describes the creation of the world and of man. The

ceaseless aspiration after knowledge which is the mark of the poetry of Peletier du Mans is now accommodated within a poem that has an explicitly religious aim. The reality of Béroalde's aspiration should not be doubted. The one exception allowed in the otherwise all-satisfying harmony of christian marriage is the ongoing urge for a "sçauoir bien heureux". Like Peletier, Béroalde has a universally curious mind, and the synthesis he presents is built up of many elements, stoicism and Platonism among them. More consistently than Du Bartas, whose account remains the amplification of the historical events of creation, Béroalde takes the hexaemeral framework as the point of departure for an exploration of a present reality. But in Les Cognoissances the reminder is constant that the reality is one of a universe created and directed by God. Like another scientific poem of its time, the Encyclie of the Catholic Lefèvre de la Boderie, Les Cognoissances is intended as a christian epic, and it is on a christian note that it both begins and ends. Rather as in the case of the Encyclie, a display of scientific knowledge concludes in a closer contemplation of the Godhead, and indeed it is to this purpose that Béroalde's science is applied.

Les Cognoissances is closely related to the poem De l'Ame et de ses facultes which follows it. Both are conceived in similar spirit, and the second continues the analysis of the first. But the particular approach of De l'Ame cannot be understood outside the interests and assumptions which Les Cognoissances has already made apparent.

* * *

PART II

DE L'AME ET DE SES FACULTES

CHAPTER I

SOUL AS A SUBJECT FOR POETRY

Whatever its apparent eccentricities, Les Cognoissances is recognisably related to the model of Du Bartas' Sepmaine. Its innovations are innovations within a tradition. The hexaemeral theme is redirected from within by the enthusiasms of the alchemist and the mathematician, from without by the world-view imposed by a reading of the Institution. To Du Bartas' aim of praise of God through the hymning of his glories is added a concern for reasoned scientific exposition as such, but the subject, the creation of the world and of man, is that of Genesis still. Béroalde is presenting his own version of a well-worked theme, and specifically one that has been treated in poetry before.

The subject of De l'Ame et de ses facultes is taken from within Les Cognoissances, and is a conscious development of the earlier poem. It is as such that Béroalde presents it. Les Cognoissances is referred to as the broad picture, De l'Ame as the separate account which will take its most important features;

> Apres auoir tanté la matiere du monde,
> Son estat eternel, & sa forme seconde,
> Assemblé maints suiets en vn chaos diuers,
> Des couleurs de nature ayant vestu mes vers,
> Demeslant le plotton des formes que i'amasse,
> A fin qu'en sa beauté sa beauté ne s'efface:
> Mon discours me contraint de prendre separez
> Les traits que i'ay desia diuersement tirés,
> Et choisissant de tout la plus belle partie,
> Chanter le doux effait, qui nous donne la vie(1).

De l'Ame et de ses facultes has its own internal logic, and its own defined place in Béroalde's work, but its theme is one that takes it into a new domain for poetry. After the outward diversity of Les

Cognoissances, De l'Ame is concerned with the exploration of a single aspect of that knowledge, the knowledge of soul. Put another way, after the first poem's statement of the place of knowledge in a world created by God, and its description of the principles underlying that world, the second is a demonstration of how the interests of the scientist may function within it. The earlier poem allows a large place for religion, as religion, or more properly Calvinism, plays an essential part in the view of the world it portrays. In the poem that follows it, the framework is established, and the part of religion is much reduced. We see Béroalde turning his attention more in the direction of science.

It is important first to put the work in perspective by summarising the general history of writing on soul, and the other fragmentary appearances of the topic in the poetry of the time. The question of soul is one that preoccupied the Renaissance, and discussions relating to it are an important part of the intellectual atmosphere of the sixteenth century. However, it is a topic which tends to be ignored by modern criticism. The fullest examination is to be found in Busson's Le Rationalisme dans la littérature française de la Renaissance(2), but Busson's main concern is the philosophical debate over the immortality of the human soul, which was especially prominent in the earlier part of the century. By his own confession, he is interested in discussions on the nature and destiny of the soul, but not in considerations of its mechanism(3). It is precisely the latter, however, which is the object of interest of the scientist, and it is in this that the wider implications of the subject lie.

The distinction between the scientific and the philosophical aspects of the subject of soul is one that can be traced back directly, as in so many other instances of the sixteenth century perception of the world, to the different influences of Aristotle and Plato. Plato had been concerned with the human soul. In the Timaeus he stresses its divine origins and composition, in the Phaedrus he formulates the

famous image of the chariot for the terrestrial and celestial forces within it, and in the Republic he illustrates with the myth of Er the nature of its fate after death. But the emphasis throughout is on the soul of man alone, and the scale of values is metaphysical. For Aristotle who follows this is not enough. His treatise De Anima, which is the model for virtually all the writing on soul which comes after him, begins with the comment that the writers of his day confine their attention to the human soul alone(4), and it is he who radically changes the definition of the subject. The Aristotelean premiss is that soul is the first and highly developed actuality of the body, inseparable from it. It separates animate from inanimate, as the "first actuality of a natural body potentially possessing life"(5). On this basis soul is not restricted to man alone, but equally has a presence in lower forms of life. The realm of soul is extended to the animal and the vegetable. These are concepts sharply distinct from Plato's notion of a soul independent of body and external to it, divinely-inspired and unique to man. With Aristotle human soul is integrated within a structure, and the emphasis is an opposite one, towards the physiological and the biological.

The Platonic and Aristotelean strands each have their distinct part to play in the subsequent history of writing on soul. In the Renaissance period Platonic definitions come into their own as part of the growing debate over the immortality of the human soul. The debate is not a new one, but towards the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth centuries it is coming to a head. It is an important episode of the intellectual history of the Renaissance in its own right, and it has been well documented by Busson, who testifies to the passions it arouses(6). In 1513 the immortality of the soul is explicitly defined as part of the dogma of the Church by the Fifth Lateran Council, and this step in itself seems to be a direct consequence of the controversy, since the Council's decree makes specific reference to the heretical opinions held and expressed

by contemporary philosophers on the subject(7). Within these discussions Platonism has a central role, exemplified most fully and most impressively in Ficino's Theologia platonica de immortalitate animorum of 1482 (8). But the prominence of this debate, and this crucial place of Platonism within it, should not obscure a continuous, and more pervasive, Aristotelean influence.

The topic of soul has its status as a practical science as well as that of philosophical problem, and indeed it is with the former that the bulk of Renaissance writing on soul is concerned. We may be reminded in the process that the Renaissance looks backward as well as forward, since the primary influence is medieval and Aristotelean. There are treatises on soul by Vives, Melanchthon, Vitus Amerbachius and Gesner, and from our examination of them each is firmly cast in the medieval mould(9). Doubtless others can be added to the list. It is not as discussions of the immortality or otherwise of the soul that these works are written, and certainly not as such that they were read. They are manuals of the attributes and properties of soul, and their aim is to be informative and comprehensive. The question of the immortality of the human soul is one that they do not necessarily ignore, but which is only one part of a much wider topic. They may either take it for granted(10), or refer the reader elsewhere(11). The ancestor of these compilations is not Plato but Aristotle, Aristotle who has the scientist's interest in the whole of the world about him rather than the philosopher's interest in the place of man within it. Their identification of soul with all forms of life is ultimately Aristotelean, as is the system of classification they employ. Aristotle's categories are his great legacy to all later scientific writing, and these Renaissance treatises demonstrate their continuing influence. The De Anima provides a ready framework for a scientific enquiry into soul which the much more general assertions of Plato do not.

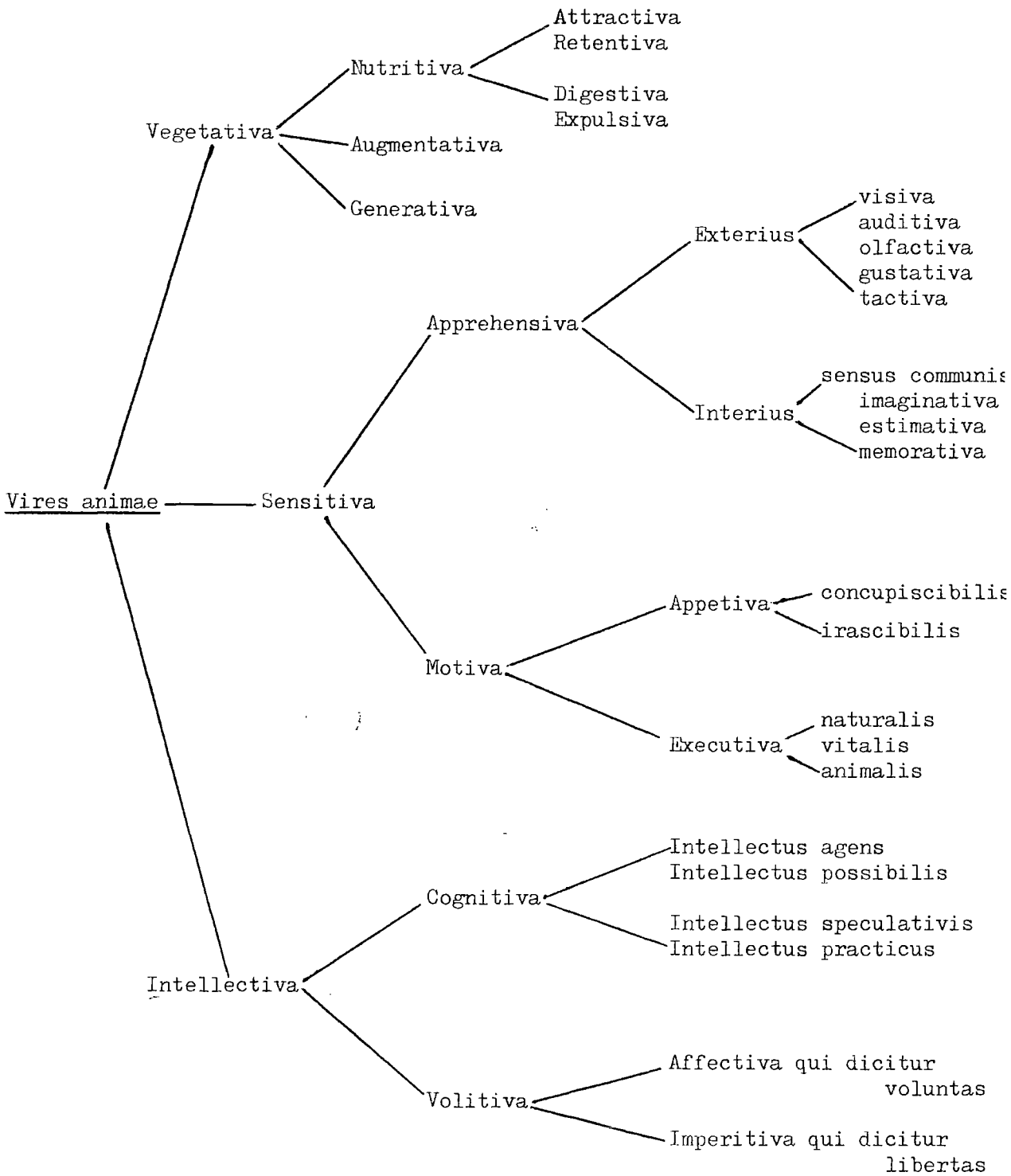
But coming between Aristotle and sixteenth century discussions

is the medieval contribution. When Scève speaks of Adam animated by

> Une alaine de vie, une ame vegetante
> Croissant de sensitive en ratiocinante...

it is not Aristotle or Plato to whom he refers, but to the faculties of soul as they are defined in medieval psychology(12). Discussion of soul is a noticeable feature of patristic writing, and Migne's Patrologia Latina includes treatises by Augustine, Tertullian, Cassiodorus and Rabanus Maurus(13). But more particularly, it is a subject which enters the encyclopaedic tradition. The popularising activity of the medieval compilers dispenses with the need to consult any earlier source, and it is in these works that the sixteenth century writer on soul, as he might do for many other topics, finds the commonplaces ready to hand. Book III of Bartholomew the Englishman's much-read Le Proprietaire des Choses is devoted to an exposition of "l'Ame raisonnable, & de ses proprietez", and there are similar sections to be found in Brunetto Latini, Vincent de Beauvais, and Gregor Reisch(14). Each of these writers assumes a scheme of the different faculties of soul which, with that mania for classification which characterises so much of medieval thought, had become steadily more complex. An original division between intellective, sensitive and vegetative soul, corresponding to the fundamental divisions of life, and deriving ultimately from Aristotle, becomes the basis of a highly elaborate framework in which each part is sub-divided in order to indicate its precise qualities and attributes. The whole concept may be set out diagrammatically, and this is what is done in a 1494 printed edition of the Tractatus de Anima by the fourteenth-century Chancellor of the University of Paris, Pierre d'Ailly(15). The date of this edition is an indication of the continuing influence of the medieval model, an influence which is further accelerated by the invention of the printing-press itself. Through the work of d'Ailly and others like it, all of them published in printed editions at the end of the fifteenth century and even well into the sixteenth(16), not to mention the teaching of the schools and

the universities, the categories of medieval faculty psychology continue to impose their organisation on later treatises on soul. Those of the Renaissance are survivals of the form, and it is conditioned still by the assumptions they preserve that Béroalde writes his poem. Its very title suggests the tradition from which it derives. It is for this reason that we reproduce below d'Ailly's original scheme. This is the outline which dictates the shape of Béroalde's poem in its turn;



This type of arid schematisation survives well into the time in which Béroalde is writing. In the 1580's cardinal Du Perron delivered a Discours de l'Ame to the Palace Academy of Henri III, and its opening lines reveal the same desire to identify the subject by division and sub-division;

> Tout ce qui est en l'Ame de l'homme, y est né, ou il est acquis: s'il y est né, il s'appelle Puissance naturelle; s'il est acquis, il s'appelle Habitude.
>
> La puissance naturelle fait ses effects, ou auec cognoissance, ou sans cognoissance.
>
> Si c'est auec cognoissance, ou c'est auec cognoissance qu'elle a de soy-mesme, ou par emprunt & participation.
>
> Si c'est auec cognoissance qu'elle ayt de soy-mesme, ceste puissance la est de deux facons: Car elle cognoist les choses vniuersellement & selon leur essence, ou elle les cognoist particulierement selon leurs accidents.
>
> Si elle les cognoist vniuersellement, elle s'appelle Entendement, lequel est de deux sortes: Car il prepare les choses pour estre entendues, & alors il s'appelle entendement agissant; ou les reçoit, & alors il s'appelle entendement puissantiel...(17)

It must have been difficult at any time to relate this sort of abstract philosophising to an observable reality, but in other respects there was a ready link between the traditional categories set out by d'Ailly and concerns both more immediate and more practical.

This link is forged by the theory of medecine. In sixteenth-century terms the study of soul is the province not only of the philosopher but also of the doctor. Doctors after Galen associate the three main mental powers of thought, imagination and memory with the supposed existence of three ventricles within the brain(18). The first at the front is the location of sensus communis, a second in the middle houses Imagination, and a third at the rear is the store-house of Memory. With minor variations, this is the plan reproduced throughout the Middle Ages, described in words in a compilation such as Bartholomew the Englishman's Le Proprietaire(19), and shown in an image in the Margarita Philosophica of Reisch(Fig.1). It also forms part, as Vesalius confirms in the De humani corporis fabrica, of the basic training of the student of medecine(20). Vesalius also tells us that these ideas were taught through medieval commentaries on Aristotle's De Anima, and corroborated through such illustrations

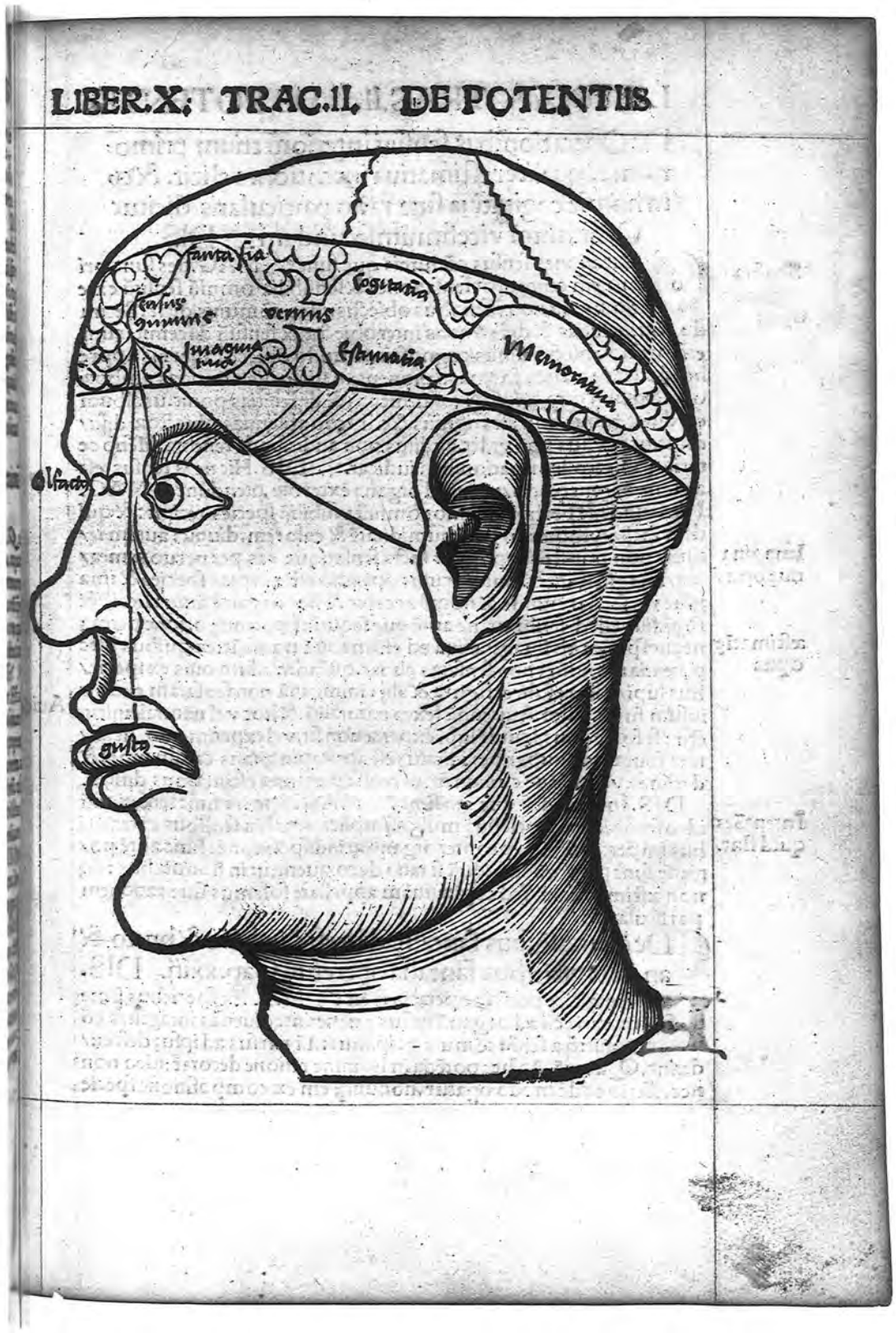
as that of Reisch(21). This duality between the medical and the philosophical is a constant feature of discussions on soul, which may be as much concerned with the anatomical and the physiological as with the sort of "philosophical" concept in which Du Perron is involved. Man's soul, as Aristotle had said(22), includes the lower powers of the vegetative and the sensitive, and soul as a concept is held to explain the functioning of body as well as of mind. It can also, as is the case in Béroalde's Les Cognoissances, be held to explain the functioning of the world. To the Aristotelean and Platonic interpretation of soul must be added the stoic. Essentially however, and quite apart from the separate debate on immortality, soul is a standard way of expressing mechanism.

It is not, on the other hand, a standard topic for poetry. Scève, as we have seen, confines himself to a passing reference to the scholastic scheme. In La Sepmaine Du Bartas follows closely his hexaemeral model. Part of Ambrose's praise of the creation of man is a fairly detailed description of the head, a description which itself has an antecedent in Cicero's De Natura Deorum(23). This fits well with Du Bartas' predilection for the marvellous, and a passage in Le Sixiesme Iour gives a similar catalogue an epic grandeur all its own(24). Lines that follow, and again for which there is a parallel in Ambrose, extol the unquestionable virtues of the hands, knees, arms and feet(25). But Du Bartas chooses to introduce in a different manner his survey of the inner anatomy of man. Although the rhetorical flourish is the same, there is the suggestion of an inhibition;

> He! quoy? n'est il pas temps, n'est il pas temps de voir
> Dans les secrets du corps le non-secret pouuoir
> D'vn si parfait Ouurier? Prendray-ie la scalpelle
> Pour voir les cabinets de la double ceruelle,
> Thresoriere des arts, source du sentiment,
> Siege de la raison...(26)

In fact, some sixty lines of highly imaged description follow, but only to lead to the answer to the original question -

> Mais non, ie ne veux pas faire vne ample reueue
> Des membres que l'ouurier desrobe à nostre veue.
> Ie ne veux despecer tout ce palais humain:



BIBL. NAT. PARIS 3859 Rés. R 812 Fol. hh VII

Fig. 1

Gregor Reisch, Margarita Philosophica, Strasbourg, 1504
(Bibliothèque Nationale Rés. R. 812), f. hh vii r°

Car ce braue proiet requiert la docte main
Des deux fils d'AEsculape, & le labouré style
Du disert Galien, ou du haut Herophile...(27)

Du Bartas refrains from developing his rapid survey of the inner organs of the body, and this on the grounds that such a topic is the domain of the doctor rather than of the poet. Du Bartas' modern editor has shown that the reticence is that of Ambrose, who declares that he talks of these matters in a cursory fashion,

ut tamquam indocti obvia perstringere, non tamquam medici plenius scrutare videamur et persequi quae natura latibulis abscondita sunt(28).

Du Bartas evidently shares Ambrose's view, that it would be for the doctor to seek what nature has hidden away.

It may then be more than a coincidence that the only two poets who in the course of the sixteenth century attempt such an exploration are themselves doctors. One is Béroalde himself, and the other is the Angevin poet René Bretonnayau(29). Le Temple de l'Ame as we have it is only the fragment of a much larger Esculape in verse, which is now lost. As the name suggests, and as the extracts which Bretonnayau published from it show, the whole poem was intended as a medical epic. Bretonnayau's is the doctor's interest in disease and its cure, and in the working of the human body. He devotes a sequence of poems to different examples of the former, including colic, gout and piles(30), and produces careful and detailed verse descriptions of the eye, heart and liver. Anatomy remains one of his main concerns. Take this account of the liver;

Estre de loing vn mont de iaspe rouge & noir
Lissé de tous costez on diroit à le voir,
Gros, espais et pesant, plus ferme qu'vne roche,
Ioignant de toutes parts au membre le plus proche.
Vers la droite du corps, inegalement rond,
Il se rehausse en crouppe, & caue par le fond,
En voulte il se recourbe, où l'ardente cholere
Dans vn vaisseau de verre y pend iaune & amere...(31)

The poem Le Temple de l'Ame attempts to do the same for the inner faculties of the mind, and presents a rhymed account of common sense, imagination and memory and their places in the cavities of the brain. The enterprise as a whole is an innovation in the history of the

scientific poem, but it is for this poem on soul that Bretonnayau reserves the specific claim of originality. The dedication is to the King's brother Anjou, and in it the poet states his case in no uncertain terms;

> Assiste à mes desseins, ô diuine puissance,
> Et me fais acheuer l'oeuure que ie commence:
> Oeuure laborieux, sur nul autre imité,
> Temple, que le premier à la diuinité
> De l'ame ie basty, le premier ie dedie
> A l'ame, qui de l'homme est l'immortelle vie.
> Fay qu'immortel comme elle il puisse triompher
> De l'eau, du feu, du temps, de l'orage & du fer.
> Ie ne quiers que me soit ceste grace donnee
> Par ton moyen, Pallas, deesse vierge-nee
> D'vn dieu éceruelé, & de toy ne depend,
> Apollon, mon secours, ny de ton fils-serpent.
> De vous ie n'ay que faire: Aussi ie ne m'addresse
> A si fantasques dieux, ny à telle deesse.
> Ains, Seigneur eternel! qui n'es pas vn dieu feint,
> C'est toy, qui m'octroyras vn entendement sainct...(32)

The grandiloquent tone, the echo of Horace's "Exegi monumentum", is Bretonnayau's own, and the rejection of pagan inspiration is couched in the very terms it claims to reject. The references have an air of deliberation about them, and indeed within a few lines Bretonnayau is presenting himself as a rival to Ronsard(33). But while the style and tone of this invocation is distinct, its appeal to the divine, and its substitution of the christian for the mythological, are both features of Béroalde's scientific poetry in its turn. Published as a separate piece in the same year, but presumably written at some earlier date(34), Bretonnayau's Le Temple de l'Ame is the only clear precedent for Béroalde's own poem on soul.

Yet Béroalde's poem remains unique. Bretonnayau is interested in soul as it affects the inner harmony of man, but for Béroalde these same concerns make part of a much larger whole. He retains in De l'Ame et de ses facultes a view of the operation of the cosmos in its entirety, with that operation brought back, as it had been in Les Cognoissances, to the single concept of soul. But now it becomes the subject of a whole poem. In the synthesis that results the medical is one element, but the overall inspiration remains the pursuit of knowledge and "la forme interieure". After Les Cognoissances De l'Ame is properly the

scientific poem, and Ambrose's note of caution is transformed into a matter for enthusiasm.

Like Bretonnayau's, Béroalde's poem opens with an invocation to the divinity. But in De l'Ame, as in Les Cognoissances before, the accent is more on a direct dependence on the inspiration of God, and on the poet's own efforts at understanding. Béroalde manages to strike a more genuine note of supplication, and his own personality is effaced before a subject which is undoubtedly scientific in character;

> O toy qui tout viuant a respandu ça bas,
> Ce qui nous fait bouger attendant le trespas,
> Et qui appres l'effort d'vne mort ennuyeuse,
> Nous donne par l'esprit la vie bien-heureuse,
> Qui iamais ne faillant dure en l'eternité,
> Comme ayant pris son estre en la diuinité:
> Anime mon esprit, & d'vne belle flame
> Allume dans mon ame, vne plus parfaicte ame,
> Qui grande, belle, & simple ait en soy le pouuoir
> D'entendre, de iuger, cognoistre, apperceuoir,
> Les formes de l'esprit, & la vraye nature
> Du feu de nostre sang, de la temperature
> Qui agissant en nous, & en tout ce qui est,
> Est ainsi qu'il t'a pleu la forme qu'il te plaict(35).

Like Bretonnayau, Béroalde announces his intentions for the poem he is about to write. But the definition of soul is a much wider one. For Bretonnayau soul is the "immortal life of man", and Béroalde repeats the christian article of faith even more emphatically. It takes its place, however, alongside a broader view of the diversity of soul in creation. This is soul in the sense of the supporter of life in this world, identified with the role of vivifying heat. The emphasis falls upon soul as a link between man and the rest of the world about him. But it is equally clear that the whole concept remains within the context established by Les Cognoissances, a world constantly supervised by an active and provident God. Béroalde explicitly attaches the functioning of soul to the continuing will of the Creator, and the poem's ostensible purpose is still the praise of God through creation. Meanwhile, a great deal of room is left within the formula for the poet to express the direction of his own scientific interests.

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CHAPTER II

BEROALDE'S DIVISIONS OF SOUL - L'AME SOLIDE

In Les Cognoissances Necessaires Béroalde has already related the creation of man to the spectacle of a universe animated in its every part by God. Soul already appears there as a force omnipresent in the world, and above all as the expression of its unity. The connections with the world-soul of Plato and Virgil, and with the pneuma of the Stoics, we have already discussed(1). In Les Cognoissances Béroalde adapts the concept to his own purposes, and through it links the animation of man to the animation of the whole. At the same time he is careful to preserve the uniqueness of man's spiritual existence, over and above the rest, and makes his point through a reference to the fate of souls after death. Otherwise soul is straightforwardly identified with the harmonious arrangement of the created world. In De l'Ame et de ses facultes Béroalde takes each part of that interpretation of the mechanism of the cosmos in turn, but the nature of the overall vision remains the same.

In particular, the basis and the principle of organisation of De l'Ame comes directly from the earlier poem. The programme of De l'Ame derives from these lines in Les Cognoissances;

> Or en tout ce qui est vne vie il a mis,
> Et en cet vniuers vne ame il a transmis,
> Qui quatre en faculté, par le monde puissante,
> Solide, vegetable, animale, sentente,
> Nous monstre tant d'effaits: car tout corps se maintient
> Selon que plus ou moins de ses forces il tient(2).

This short passage repeats the traditional structure of the subject of soul, with the threefold division between vegetative, sensitive and intellective that d'Ailly had drawn out. But we have already commented on the peculiarity of its addition of a fourth heading(3). The presence of "l'ame solide" in itself would be enough to secure Béroalde's De l'Ame a place of its own in the history of writing on soul. However, the poem is a remarkable one in other respects also. Béroalde sets out to

demonstrate the proposition he advances in Les Cognoissances, and does so in a piece which is of equal length to the creation epic which precedes it. The degree of enthusiasm it implies is extraordinary, and this in a poem for which there is virtually no precedent. But a very full introduction makes it clear that Béroalde sees more in his poem than a simple emulation in verse of medieval and Renaissance manuals on soul.

Those manuals have a largely pedagogical purpose. The example is of course set by Aristotle himself. For instance, Aristotle introduces his subject in the De Anima, like any good teacher, with a review of earlier opinion(4). Renaissance treatises tend to do likewise. Hence the student could turn to a text such as Gesner's De Anima Liber and document himself from its opening section - "De Animae essentia diuersae veterum sententiae: ex authoribus collectae, Plutarchi praesertim libro quarto de placitis philosophorum, Galeno adscripta philosophorum historia, Aristotelis de anima libro primo, & alijs quibusdam"(5). Béroalde's point of departure is different, and he does not show an interest in compilations such as those of Plutarch or the pseudo-Galen. As in Les Cognoissances, instruction is not his aim, and the impression is much more of a writer writing for himself, using the poem to work out his own preoccupations. The highly individual synthesis of that first poem matches a claim of "aux opinions n'estant point arresté", and Béroalde's presentation of his theme in De l'Ame is just as much a personal one;

> Les mots ont de tout temps par vne oculte cause,
> Tout estre defini, & nommé toute chose,
> Mais la corruption cause de tout malheur
> Nous ayant tout caché sous le voile d'erreur,
> A perdu la plus part des noms qui interpretent
> Les formes qui de corps par le monde se vestent,
> Dont le nom nous deffaut, ainsi sommes contrains
> D'en entendre beaucoup par les noms plus prochains:
> Et mesme bien souuant du general on vse,
> Autant que le permet la matiere confuse,
> Qui fait que maintenant ie donne mesme nom
> A la douce challeur de generation,
> A l'effait qui contraint toute chose de prendre
> Nourriture de l'autre, & doucement s'estendre
> En son estat fatal, & à ce qui au corps
> Fait entendre l'esprit touchant par le dehors:

Et à ce sel diuin emprunté par nature,
Dont elle fait icy que toute chose dure,
Comme morte non morte, & n'ayant le pouuoir
Soit dedans ou dehors, de s'estendre, ou mouuoir.
Doncque ceste challeur en sa force tiedie,
Ceste occulte vertu, qui nous donne la vie,
Qui entendre nous fait, sentir, & vegeter,
Et tout corps en estat icy fait arrester,
Par le nom excellent qui la rend admirable,
Par le mot bien heureux qui la rend amiable,
Par l'amoureux desir qui la fait souhetter,
Et par le propre effait qui tout fait exister,
Ame nous la disons de tout cause eternelle,
Forme de l'vniuers, immortelle & mortelle,
Mise diuersement en matieres & lieu,
Au monde, et dans le corps comme il pleut au grand Dieu(6).

De l'Ame too presents itself as the exploration of a divine truth placed above the opinions of men. The single reality is the pleasure of God for his creation, and the knowledge of men is merely its interpretation. But in this the activity of the scientist is crucial, as it is only through enquiry that precision becomes possible, and, with precision, a proper understanding of the activity of God. This is the justification of the detail of the poem that follows. The predisposition is that of the religious writer, but the intention is the scientific one of explaining the world as it is.

Most curiously of all, these views are expressed through a linguistic theory. First, Béroalde reveals a nostalgia for the purity of an original language in which there was an essential link between name and the object denoted, and which now has been lost through sin. In subscribing to such a nostalgia Béroalde is not alone. Claude-Gilbert Dubois, in his book Mythe et Langage au seizième siècle, has shown the general importance to the sixteenth century of the concept of an original language and the dream of an ideal one(7). Men look back to the lost world of Genesis II 19-20, and think of a forgotten harmony. Luther's commentary is cast in this mould, and like Béroalde he emphasises what has caused its loss;

Here again we are reminded of the superior knowledge and wisdom of Adam, who was created in innocence and righteousness. Without any new enlightenment, solely because of the excellence of his nature, he views all the animals and thus arrives at such a knowledge of their nature that he can give each one a suitable name that harmonizes with

its nature...by one single word he was able to compel lions, bears, boars, tigers, and whatever else there is among the more outstanding animals to carry out whatever suited their nature. This ability, too, we have lost through sin(8).

Scève speaks of Adam who "En langage de Dieu tous ces brutaux nomma"(9), and Du Bartas laments the disappearance of Adam's sacred tongue -

> Heureux, & trop heureux! si tu n'eusses, ô Pere,
> Apostat, effacé ce diuin charactere(10).

But Béroalde has moved beyond the Edenic. It is true that in saying "la corruption cause de tout malheur"

> A perdu la plus part des noms qui interpretent
> Les formes qui de corps par le monde se vestent

he is allowing a certain place for the notion of the word/symbol. But if he draws attention to this "oculte cause", his is not the cabbalist's urge to recover it. His concern is with a present reality, and with the ever-present need to reduce confusion to order. This he proposes to do not through the esoteric, but through a closer perception of reality. The same name is used to cover a variety of phenomena, which Béroalde is careful to define, and in which we recognise his own categories of soul. In soul he sees the nature of existence itself, and the epitome of multiplicity within unity. An awareness of that multiplicity is what the poem seeks, within the single concept. This opening passage states a problem, but it will be resolved by the use of a multiplicity of names. Béroalde shows elsewhere a fascination with language for its own sake(11), and a similarly intricate evocation of "nature" in Les Cognoissances offers an immediate parallel to this insistence on the complexity of soul(12). In both cases the object is precision, and as a particular definition of nature is used to determine the scope of Les Cognoissances, so these approximations of soul anticipate the substance of the poem that is to follow. Their identification, it will become clear, is the explicit domain of the scientist, and it is only through the naming of them that the true pattern of creation is revealed. "Nommer" is the preoccupation that the poet goes on to

develop.

This, we should repeat, represents a coming to terms with reality, and it is a correspondence between reality and soul that Béroalde is determined to establish. The point of reference is the world-soul he had evoked in Les Cognoissances;

> Car si tost que sa vois eut donné forme au monde,
> A l'air, à la challeur, à la terre, & à l'onde,
> De l'ame de ce tout il dressa les accords,
> Et en mesme moment la fit auec le corps...(13)

The reality is a cosmological one, that of a mathematical and harmonious universe. First worked out by Plato in the Timaeus, this is a commonplace of medieval philosophy thereafter. Plato describes God's careful measuring out of the soul-stuff, and the intricate proportions that this involves(14). Hence results the equilibrium of the cosmos and the harmony of the spheres. It may be identified, as it is done certainly from the time of Boethius onwards(15), with music itself, the musica mundana of the macrocosm. Thereupon a whole network of correspondences arises, thanks to the presence of musica humana governing the inner harmony of man, and the art of musica instrumentalis itself. The infusion of soul in the cosmos is the bond of this harmony, and in her Platonic hymn to the Deity Boethius' Philosophy accordingly proclaims

> The bridge of threefold nature madest Thou soul, which spreads
> Through nature's limbs harmonious and all things moves(16).

So Béroalde's God "de l'ame de ce tout...dressa les accords", and the concept of harmony is one with which he cannot do any other than agree.

But what Béroalde is concerned to avoid is any suggestion that soul is abstraction, and while evidently aware of these ideas, he is careful to qualify them;

> Ce n'est point seulement vne forme harmonique,
> Qui suyue par les rangs posés en la musique,
> Car elle est toute en soy, et la musique a pris
> Les accords que depuis les hommes ont appris
> Par le vray, qui de soy en soy-mesme se trouue,
> Et par sa verité son existance prouue(17).

Music is to be explained through soul, and not vice-versa. The musica mundana assured by soul is self-sufficient, and the existence of soul

is proved by a "verité" which may be observed. The characteristic of this truth is its unity, however diverse the forms of its expression. Soul has its "divers accords" in the same way as sub-lunar creation itself, and these too are reduced to an inner simplicity and design;

> Il est vray que dans soy l'ame de l'vniuers
> N'egalle pas son tout sans effaits bien diuers:
> Car ainsi que ceci n'est vne forme vnique,
> Aussi l'ame en ce corps en tous se communique
> Comme les choses sont, & les choses ne sont,
> Que ce que par leur ame, en leurs substances ell'ont...(18)

The whole is subsumed into the picture of an ordered and harmonious world created and functioning through diversity;

> ...Tellement que celluy qui faisant la matiere
> Fit l'ame ensemblement, qui seconde, & premiere
> Anime ce total l'excitant iustement,
> Par fois en violence, & par fois doucement,
> Se proportionnant en la douce ordonnance,
> Des effaits, que nature ameine en existence(19).

The essential is the universality, and the reality, of soul. Ficino had said in the <u>De Triplici Vita</u>

> Et ne se trouue rien tant diforme en tout le monde viuant à quoy l'ame ne soit presente, & en quoy ne soit vn don de l'ame...(20),

and Béroalde says with him in <u>De l'Ame</u>

> Or l'ame est le support de tout ce qui ça bas
> Existe & peut perir par l'effort du trespas(21).

But Béroalde sees in this the key to a unified explanation of the working of the world.

It is from this that Béroalde extracts his method, a concentration on what can be named, observed and known. Inner form is to be discerned through outer effect. The idea is that what is named can be precisely known. "Nommer" therefore is itself the science of the exact, and the linguistic criterion becomes the measure of reality;

> Donq' la vie & la mort est la cause qui fait
> Les choses subsister, et ce qui les d'effait,
> Tellement qu'en ce tout, toute idee vestue
> Doit estre par sa vie, exactement cognue,
> Laquelle on peut nommer: car les noms sont ainsi
> Que les pourtraits certains des essences qu'icy,
> La nature nous offre en la forme euidente
> De ce qui se soustient, en cette ame latente,
> Qui est sa forme vraye, & le sel eternel,
> Qui tient en estre icy ce qui est naturel...(22)

At the same time, this criterion is the double of the other, the

scientific assumption that what is known may be observed. The truth of soul, the scientist Béroalde insists, may be perceived by the senses, and its manifestations are self-evident;

> Ainsi l'ame par soy iustement accomplie
> ...Se monstre par soy mesme, & comme pouuant peindre
> Sa nature par soy se fait mesmes atteindre
> Iusques à son plus creux, & auec le parler
> Nous fait ses facultés par les sens deceler,
> Tirant de son pouuoir ce qui retourne en elle
> Pour d'escouurir aux sens sa nature eternelle,
> Et le reste qu'en soy allié par le temps,
> Tombe dessous le pié des mesures des ans:
> Et comme elle est tressimple en sa parfaicte essence,
> Tressimple existe aussi si belle cognoissance...(23)

However, if the obstacles to the knowledge of soul were as few as this, Béroalde's poem would have little justification. In fact, the poet adds, such a knowledge is subject to the same corruption as has overtaken the nature of the language in which it is expressed. The decadence of the latter brings with it that of the former. The abject condition of man prevents him from comprehending an essential, and unified, reality;

> Mais la corruption, qui nostre sens contraint,
> Mais la stupidité dont le corps est atteint,
> Et le nuage espais de l'obscure verriere,
> Où passe ce parfait dedans la part grossiere,
> Qui vnit nostre esprit auecques nostre corps,
> Brouille la verité de ses iustes accords,
> Si bien qu'és noms certains mille metamorphoses,
> Ont caché le secret de l'essence des choses...(24)

In these terms lies the justification of the scientist as magus. The scientist alone, by virtue of his knowledge, may rise above his condition and enter into contact with an inner truth, both to discover it for himself and to interpret it for others. As a poet, he too deals in mysteries, just as does the figure exalted in Pléiade theory. What is at stake for him, on the other hand, is not truth hidden in fable, but truth hidden in physical reality. Béroalde returns to his previous statement, and modifies it. The true nature and importance of soul is apparent, but to an initiate. Essence is no longer self-revealing, but is to be disentangled and deduced, separated from names pertaining to superficial appearance. Soul which a moment ago was readily apparent "iusques à son plus creux" is now the discovery of those who actively

search out the inner form of the world. The claim of "Ie recherche de tout la forme interieure" is vindicated;

> Mais l'ame en son entier existe toutefois,
> Et se monstre par tout, sous vne sourde vois,
> Qui meslee du nom de la chose existante,
> Et des effaits qui seurs la rendent apparente,
> S'explique à ceux qui vont par les forces du sens,
> Les corps de l'vniuers chercher iusques dedans...(25)

This brings us back to Béroalde's own position, and the subject of his poem;

> Ainsi les recherchans ilz trouuent vne vie,
> Qui quatre en ses effaits en tout se multiplie,
> Et qui en dignité excellente se dit
> Dessus le general, ame par qui tout vit(26).

*

If soul is to be a universal topic, then no part of existence can be excluded, and Béroalde is forced to see soul where others had not seen it -

> Mais quel commencement auray-ie à la descrire,
> La solide tout pres me contraint de la dire...

No other writer extends the scholastic terminology of soul quite in this way. But striking as the idea is, it is not in fact entirely without precedent. The Spanish humanist Vives in his treatise <u>De Anima & vita</u> takes the notion seriously enough;

> Sunt qui metalla inter res numerent anima praeditas, quòd videamus ea crescere, & quidem intrinsecus, vt appareat non fieri absque alimento. quae opinio haud prorsum est absurda. neque est quod prohibeat, illa quoque recipi inter viuentia.nec ea suis carent meatibus, tametsi illorum auctus ad applicationem molis possunt magis referri, quàm ad actionem altricis. quemadmodum crescunt fontes ac fluuij humore accedente: saxa item in imis terrae, & scrupi ac lapides in superficie(27).

Vives applies to stones and metals the Aristotelean doctrine that the essential mark of soul is self-movement, and finds that this attribute is not necessarily to be denied them. Their increase in mass might be likened to a sort of growth, as rocks grow in substance in the way that rivers do.

The belief that even inanimate objects might possess some principle of life and movement is one that is held by the ancients. Plotinus in the <u>Enneads</u> writes of the "earth-principle";

Take the most earthy of things produced and found shaped in earth and they exhibit, even they, the indwelling earth-principle. The growing and shaping of stones, the internal moulding of mountains as they rise, reveal the working of an ensouled Reason-Principle fashioning them from within and bringing them to that shape: this, we must take it, is the creative earth-principle corresponding to what we call the specific principle of a tree; what we know as earth is like the wood of the tree; to cut out a stone is like lopping a twig from a tree, whereas if the stone remains a member of the earth, it is as the twig uncut from the living tree(28).

The argument is still by analogy, and Plotinus' "earth-principle" clearly owes some debt to the universal vitalising pneuma of the Stoics. According to the Stoics three types of pneuma correspond to each level of existence. A pneuma of soul, the πνεῦμα ψυχικόν, manifests itself in animals and men, and a "physical pneuma", the πνεῦμα φυσικόν, pervades the realm of vegetative life. But there is also a third, the πνεῦμα ἑκτικόν, which assures the existence of the inanimate(29). This inner force of cohesion is the ancestor of later philosophical attempts to assimilate the force of soul to mineral substances.

The Vives reference is itself not an isolated one among Renaissance treatises on soul. The discussion is continued in Gesner's De Anima. Gesner refers to Hermes Trismegistus, who also had maintained the existence of an animating principle affecting the inanimate, such as stone or block of wood(30). He cites also Aristotle's statement that Thales had believed the magnet to be endowed with soul(31). The question, he feels, is one to be debated. If stones have the faculty of growth, there must be some form of life within them, however difficult to determine. Some say that certain stones have the power of generation. Gesner apparently accepts the possibility, and gives them a place in the hierarchy of being;

Aut si lapides quoque vndique et per totum...augentur, in illis quoque genus aliquod vitae fuerit, sed exilis & obscurae admodum. nam et generare lapides quidam dicuntur, vt Clearchus ait. Verùm in his quoque generatio vel aequiuocè, vel alio quodam modo fuerit. In multis enim apparet naturam, paulatim ceu gradibus quibusdam progredi: ita vt quaedam inter animalium ac stirpium genus, alia verò stirpium et lapidum, ambiguam. Haec ille. Dixeris autem haec, lithophyta, vt illa apud authores zoophyta nominantur(32).

The problem of whether stones have life is then one that enjoys

a certain currency. But it would be fair to say that both Vives and Gesner think in terms of assimilating stones and metals to other forms of life. The more unequivocal statement that stones have a life of their own is to be found in Cardan. Cardan, like Béroalde, is particularly interested in how things work, and his two encyclopaedic works the De rerum varietate and the De subtilitate, while continuing the tradition of the medieval manuals, throw a particular emphasis onto the medical and the mathematical/mechanical. Like Béroalde again, Cardan is both doctor and mathematician, and if La Croix du Maine is right in saying that Béroalde is the translator of the De rerum and the De subtilitate(33), there is a tangible link between the work of the two men. The fifth book of the De subtilitate deals with metals, and in it Cardan goes much further than the sources we have so far quoted in insisting that the inanimate possesses life. The work was translated by Richard le Blanc in 1556, and it is from this translation that we quote;

> Nous auons dit que les matieres metalliques, les metaus, & les pierres viuent. Car les matieres qui ont maturité, acerbité, & vieillesse, elles ont aussi vne vie. Aucunes pierres sont trouuees sans maturité d'vne couleur petite, & de substance non cuite: mesmement vne portion d'icelles est veue pure, l'autre impure, comment on voit aus fruis d'vne mesme arbre. Outre plus les veines & instrumens de nutrition y sont, & les meates & petis pertuis, comme nous voions aus pierres, par lesquelles choses nous pouuons cognoistre qu'elles sont nourries non autrement que les plantes, & les os aus animaus: car si elles estoient augmentees par acces & addition, elles n'auroient besoing des veines...Et les vraies pierres souffrent la mort, parquoi elles ont vie. Car ches moi la pierre d'Hercules, dite aimant, en Latin magnes, en peu de tems est perie: & quelque tems attirante viuement le fer, apres par succession de tems elle ne l'a plus attiré. Or qu'est-ce autre chose que la vie, sinon l'operation de l'ame?(34)

Cardan states in so many words that there is a presence of soul in stones, and it is left only for Béroalde to give it a name. Cardan's statement is striking. Not only does the metallic and the mineral have life, but also all the attributes of the living. The association with colour, nourishment and health he elaborates yet further;

> I'ai monstré ci dessus que toutes choses qui sont mixtes viuent: & ce principalement conuient aus pierres. Et non seulement elles viuent, mais aussi elles souffrent les maladies, la vieillesse, & la mort... Ces choses sont plus obscures aus pierres qu'aus plantes, d'autant que les plantes ont moins de vie, & qu'elles ont les euures de la vie

manifestes. Toutefois si tu contemples diligemment, tu cognoistras les pierres deuenir pales, estre obfusquees, destituees de leur propre vertu, & souffrir pourriture & vermoulissure...(35)

Cardan suggests that these mysteries will be patent to the sufficiently attentive observer. The parallel is obvious with Béroalde's

...ceux qui vont par les forces du sens,
Les corps de l'vniuers chercher iusques dedans.

But the man who contemplates the inanimate with this degree of application is the alchemist.

Béroalde's "ame solide" stands in a clear relationship with Cardan's speculations on the life of stones, and the stoic theories of pneuma give it a philosophical respectability. But in the perspective of transmutation it takes on a further dimension. There is a curious echo of Cardan's statements in an alchemical treatise published anonymously in the seventeenth century, which may fairly represent alchemical doctrine;

Puis donc que les metaux sont creatures, & que toutes les creatures ont esté instituées, pour estre multipliées, il s'ensuit que les metaux sont aussi crées, pour se multiplier; veu qu'il est manifeste que toutes les choses proviennent seulement de leurs semences, dont elles sont multipliées; on peut conclure que les metaux croissent, & sont aussi augmentez de leurs semences, aussi bien que les autres creatures...(36)

We may doubt whether this is the gloss in the mind of Cardan, who in the De subtilitate at least is openly sceptical of the alchemists' claims(37); but of Béroalde's active concern in alchemy there can be no doubt. It is emphatically not a concern which is constructed in terms of credulous belief, but which is framed on the contrary as a further method of scientific enquiry. Alchemy is for Béroalde one more aspect of the search for "la forme interieure", and in the Recherches de la pierre philosophale it is for their failure to realise this that he attacks the "souffleurs";

Que si vn saint desir de cognoistre les merueilles que le Souuerain a mises en ce que nous disons nature...poussoit les coeurs de ceux qui s'addonnent à souffler, & à rechercher les secrets anfermez aux matieres, tant sousterraines, qu'autres, leur entreprise seroit diuine, leur oeuure louable, & l'effect qui ensuiuroit, les rendroit bien-heureux(38).

This then is the nature of Béroalde's aspiration in De l'Ame.

In Les Cognoissances the alchemical provides a model for an explanation of the creation of the world, and an implicit image for the activity of God within it(39). But the alchemical, we may recall, may also be the pneumatological(40), and it is this which is central to the way the world works.(40a) A single vital principle underlies the operation of the cosmos, and the alchemist, for his part, is trying to tap that source. His fire, he believes, has an affinity with the substance of which this inner spirit is composed. "L'ame solide" in Béroalde's poem is not simply another academic category. Through alchemy it takes on life.

The correspondences are those that have already been established in Les Cognoissances. Soul is heat, and vivifying heat is the universal quickening force -

> La solide tout pres me contraint de la dire,
> Et ie ne puis chanter son estat sans nommer
> Le feu qui doucement vient les corps animer,
> Pour mouuoir ou sentir, ou d'vne belle adresse
> Vifs & viuans en soy, vser de la sagesse...(41)

The distinction is one that Béroalde has made before, and in the same context(42). Its point here is to stress the totality of the hierarchy of which "l'ame solide" is the first and vital part. Therein lies the order both of the poem and the world it depicts. What is at the most basic level of existence is also at its top;

> D'vn lien circulaire elle est egalement
> En l'homme qui de tout peut iuger iustement,
> Car il a vn esprit qui est bien d'auantage
> Que l'ame d'icy bas qui le ioint à sa cage,
> Et faut considerer que moyenne elle tient
> C'est esprit qui du ciel plus loin qu'elle nous vient(43).

The substance of solid soul runs through creation to the soul of man itself, and unity is assured. The exemption that follows is the same that has been made in the scheme of world-soul of Les Cognoissances, and the divine part of the soul of man indicates another order of reality. But this is not devotional poem as such. The "cage" of the body is a devotional commonplace, Ronsard's "l'humaine prison de ce terrestre corps"(44), but Béroalde's phrase nuances the straightforward duality of body and soul. "Soul" is also a balance of forces in the

created world, not the prisoner of the body but the link between it and the presence of the divine. It is all a matter of definition;

> Car l'ame nous disons des corps d'embas la vie,
> Et ame aussi l'esprit, mais la iuste harmonie
> Qui gouuerne icy bas entre nous le pouuoir,
> Qui les corps entretient & les peut esmouuoir,
> Du nom particulier proprement s'appelle ame...(45)

Béroalde returns to a preoccupation with the exactness of a name, and the inevitability of its ambiguity -

> Et de mesme souuant aussi se dit la flame,
> Qui venue des cieux de nos corps se reuet,
> Et cette forme aussi, qui en tout corps se met...

The distinctions of the poem, though, are clear enough. Béroalde takes the medieval scheme of soul and uses it to explain a world seen as mechanism. But the final reality to which it is subject is no more in doubt here than it had been in Les Cognoissances. This is still the christian poem, in which the scientific is the gloss on the activity of God, and in announcing his programme Béroalde curiously echoes the conclusion of the piece that has gone before;

> Telle nous la dirons commenceant par la moindre,
> Afin que par degrés en fin puissions atteindre
> Jusques dessus le ciel, ou diuine passant
> Se rende entre les bras du pere tout puissant(46).

*

A programme that will end with the divine starts with the very simplest. Through "l'ame solide" even the smallest part of creation is given a specific place, and the outward order of Les Cognoissances is shown to spring from an inner unity. In the pursuit of that unity the poet's enthusiasm knows no bounds, and unfortunately much of what he produces is indigestible as poetry. The fault is not unique to him. The same criticism can be and has been made of the Microcosme of Scève, particularly of those passages where Adam suddenly becomes medieval magister, explicating one branch of human science after another(47). It was passages such as these which prompted Saulnier to remark "c'est à se demander ce qui manque le plus, en de telles rencontres: la clarté, la valeur scientifique, ou le charme poétique"(48), and we may well feel that a similar observation might be made of some

of the passages of De l'Ame which now follow. As in the case of Scève however, we can argue that the intention behind the verse is more important than the verse itself.

That intention is an explanation of the force driving the universe, in which that force is equated with soul. The vision is inward, and microscopic. A contrasting point of comparison would be the detailed universe of a Théophile or Saint-Amant, with its butterflies and glow-worms(49). But there is nothing of the pretty-pretty about this evocation. Rather, the urge to see behind the surface appearance recalls the ciron of Pascal(50). Not content with discerning the elements as the building-blocks of matter, Béroalde can now find within them a soul;

> Les simples elemens qui d'eux mesmes existent,
> Qui les corps composés par eux mesmes suscitent
> Ont leur corps propre à eux, et ce corps se soustient
> Par l'ame qui solide, en estat le maintient,
> Ainsi deux ioints en vn, par vn simple meslange
> Sont vn corps accompli sans auoir rien d'estrange...(51)

The simplicity, however, is one to be discovered by the scientist. In a world characterised by unity within diversity, it is left for the active enquirer after truth to discover that unity. The simple body formed by two elements

> ...toutesfois meslé en la diuersité
> Cache d'vn long manteau sa simple verité,
> La distrayant aux sens, qui seulement, comprenent
> Ce que des elemens les elementez prenent(52).

The scientist/poet who is Béroalde draws aside that cloak - thereby doing rather the opposite of Ronsard, who was taught by his Nymph

> ...à bien deguiser la verité des choses
> D'un fabuleux manteau dont elles sont encloses(53).

The object of the exercise is, as Du Bartas' had been, to reveal the majesty of God in creation, but patently the method is rather different. The elements, the poet goes on to explain, are the first embodiments of a soul which is then manifested in "tant de beaux obiets"

> ...dont la belle ordonnance
> Nous tesmoigne d'vn Dieu l'admirable puissance,
> Qui toute peut si bien s'abaisser doucement

Qu'elle se communique à nostre entendement,
Qui simple la conçoit, car il n'est rien au monde
D'autre simple qui n'ait simplicité seconde...(54)

After this reasonably clear exposition, it is perhaps to be regretted that Béroalde should choose to add a further explanation of his terms. The argument falters, and impetus is lost. But it is worthy of note that the parenthesis is again a linguistic one;

Et encor pour chercher & dire exactement,
Il n'est rien icy bas de simple simplement,
Seulement nous vsons d'vn terme par vsage,
De simple en ce qui est de simple d'auantage,
Dont la simplicité entre nous se cognoist,
Au regard de tout corps qui plus composé croist
De la conionction des plus simples d'essence
Qui sont dits tels icy, en nature, et puissance(55).

There follows an account of the manipulation of the elements by nature, in which element equals "simple", its essence its "vray", and its soul its "esprit". The whole operates with the precision and delicacy of a watch mechanism, and the inter-marriage of the elements is played out in just the same way as that of humans at a far higher level of the scale;

Les simples ont en soy chacun sa qualité,
Dont par son propre esprit le vray est arresté,
Et puis communiqué comme il est necessaire
Lors que nature és corps par leur meslange oppere(56).

The conjunction of the elements becomes judicious assembly, and the essential foundation of a perfectly-proportioned universe. Nature, like the God of the Timaeus, is transformed into mathematician;

Car nature deuant vn corps constituer,
Vient des quatre elemens l'estre distribuer,
Les ioignant doucement, selon que iuste & sage
Elle sçait faire en tout, de leur corps le partage...(57)

Compared to the similar descriptions of Les Cognoissances, this picture is yet more detailed. For the alliance of the elements in the context of "ame solide" is a first illustration of animation, animation carried to the level of what in sixteenth-century terms is the infinitesimally small. Each element has its own "flame" of soul, which may kindle and be kindled by others. Béroalde encourages the visual aspect, and the reader is presented with a miniature universe

of fiery exhalations. Indeed, he employs an image which had been used before him by Baïf in Le Premier des Meteores(58), and the origin of which is in the Meteorologica of Aristotle(59). Aristotle had spoken of a flame being transmitted from one wick to another, and Béroalde converts this into a suitably small-scale image, not without a touch of mignardise; nature, gently uniting the elements,

> ...excite le dous feu
> Que leur ame retient dedans elle conceu,
> Qui tout ne plus ne moins que la longue fumee
> De la mesche bruslante, a demi consumee,
> Du feu qui y flamboit, & que l'on a chassé,
> Par vn air de la bouche encontre elle poussé,
> S'eslance, s'esguisans deuers vne lumiere,
> Qui estant mise aupres, semblable à sa premiere,
> L'excite à l'aprocher, & puis en vn moment
> La ralume en vn coup, ainsi qu'au parauant:
> De mesme fait ce feu qui partie de l'ame,
> Qu'il semble demender se reioint à sa flame,
> A cette heureuse part qui tout fait vegeter,
> Qui pour le mouuement vient és corps se ietter(60).

In the lines that follow Béroalde deals in terms of scientific commonplaces, all of which have their place in the medieval encyclopaedias that his poem comes increasingly to resemble. But his is an encyclopaedia centred on a single concept. An animating principle in the union of the elements contains in embryo the animation of plants and animals thereafter. It is a general assumption that the "radical humour" is the source of life, a basic component as is vivifying heat. It is the mysterious union of "l'humide" and "le sec" which Béroalde has portrayed in Les Cognoissances, "les deux corps patissans" which may be transformed by the active force of the others, and inversely to which all substances may be reduced. In his Grand Miroir du Monde the doctor/alchemist Du Chesne explains how it may be obtained by distillation, and how the two active elements are latent within it;

> ...L'autre qui est huyleuse, & qui sort la derniere,
> Est l'humeur radical, l'ame de la lumiere,
> Le fourrage du feu, le nourriçon de l'air,
> Qu'on voit tousiours monter, eschauffer & brusler...(61)

He also adds the interesting advice;

> Goutteux, vous cognoistrez les forces merueilleuses
> De ce Souffre en frottant voz gommes doloreuses.

"L'humeur radicale" is in fact a special concern of the doctor, and a phrase from Reisch's Margarita Philosophica succinctly summarises its importance;

> ...humido radicali deficiente viuens morti appropiat...(62)

Béroalde's approach is to replace the concept within a mechanistic world, and to make it too depend upon an inner force of soul;

> Lors que les elemens l'vn à l'autre se ioignent,
> Que pour les corps futurs d'eux mesme se contraignent
> Sous la loy de nature, & que leur ame a pris
> Vnité, au lien que leur corps a compris,
> Cette premiere humeur, que l'on dit radicale,
> Par leurs diuers effaits, dedans les corps s'egale,
> A l'ame qui les tient, & dedans cette humeur
> Se sied, y loge, y est, & luy donne vigueur(63).

"Ame solide" is shown to inspire the most basic processes of creation, and its function runs parallel to the force of cohesion which the Stoics saw in pneuma;

> Cette humeur radicale & liaison premiere
> Qui par l'ame solide est retenue entiere,
> Tant qu'elle y peut durer, qui aussi s'y maintient,
> Par le meslange heureux des qualités y vient...(64)

This is a vision of the universe which is firmly scientific before it is poetic. In his use of technical terms Béroalde at least has the justification which Scève does not that his poem represents interests personal to him; but the result cannot be said to be any more successful as poetry. The ideas involved are abstruse ones, but Béroalde's explanations do not make them any clearer. Over and above the vagaries of sixteenth-century punctuation, one may well feel that something has gone wrong in the following exposition of "humeur radicale";

> ...c'est ce qu'en nature en sa force puissante,
> Les quatre qualités és elemens augmente,
> Et que du sec premier de pur a peu tirer,
> L'abreuant de l'humide au monde le premier,
> Qui iustement compris sous les forces agentes,
> Garde de leurs vertus les vertus plus durantes,
> Se liant par soy mesme, en la proportion
> De l'assemblage vni, de leur conionction,
> Et par soy mesme elle est la racine premiere,
> Dont s'excitte le suc conseruant la matiere
> En la forme, qui fait, s'y glissant doucement,
> Que tout dure en estat vniuersellement,
> Et le produit qui fort en estat la tient ferme
> Auec l'ame solide ainsi que premier germe(65).

The lines of the argument, however, are constant. "Ame solide", equated with vivifying heat and "radical humour" alike, is the embodiment of the basic unity of the world. Through "ame solide" as the common denominator of all levels of existence, soul is demonstrated to be a properly universal principle. Hence its importance is fundamental;

> Ce germe bien heureux solide, humidité,
> Qui vn, qui deux, qui trois, est la mesme vnité,
> Qui conserue icy tout, les estres multiplie
> Pour faire subsister leur naturelle vie,
> Et qui en s'espendant se communique aux corps,
> Qui pour sa quantité sont ou foibles ou forts,
> Est l'excitant de tout, car selon qu'il s'eslance
> Es parties des corps dont il tient la substance,
> Il l'aide à se garder...(66)

In a cosmic scheme solid soul has the function of assuring the qualities of stability and permanence, and the most humble level of being is linked to the rest. Béroalde may be blamed for being over-zealous in the degree of detail with which he treats it, but the idea itself is clearly defined. It is of course the same idea that he has already expressed in Les Cognoissances(67), and it depends on the same scientific commonplaces of soul as heat and of heat as the preservative of a body. A specific scientific identity is given to the world-soul which is Ronsard's in Le Chat;

> ...& mesme les metaux,
> Les Diamans, rubis Orientaux,
> Perles, saphirs, ont de là leur essence,
> Et par telle ame ilz ont force & puissance,
> Qui plus qui moins, selon qu'ils en sont pleins...(68)

Ronsard refers to a commonplace to which Béroalde for his part gives a relentless development. We might recall the original topos, as stated by Pontus de Tyard in his Premier Curieux -

> ...la chaleur est tant requise à la generation & conseruation de toute nature, qu'elle defaillant, tout perit & vient en pourriture(69)

- and remind ourselves that heat itself, according to Les Cognoissances, is "l'ame de ce tout"(70). Hence in the earlier poem the object endowed with "ame solide"

> ...a plus receu de flame
> Pour se recuire en soy, par ainsi dure plus
> Que ce qui du solide a les moindres vertus(71).

It is the same point which is being made, somewhat more wordily, in De l'Ame, and rather than cite the whole passage, we shall take from it one phrase which, it at least, is admirably clear;

> ...ce qui plus l'aura plus long temps durera(72).

But De l'Ame is the specialised poem, and its content becomes more recondite yet. As the "solidity" of soul depends on the fact that it has received the greater part of vivifying fire, so the duration of the individual object endowed with it is in direct proportion to the intensity of its quickening flame. "Solidity" has degrees.

Again, a relatively simple idea is expressed in an extraordinarily convoluted way;

> Ceste humeur ou cett'ame arreste la substance,
> Quelquefois plus long temps, selon la difference
> Des compositions, & vne autre fois peu
> Selon la qualité de ce qui de son feu
> L'entretient doucement, au lien agreable
> Qui ioint vniquement, semblable par semblable,
> Cause que la nature en fin dissout en rien,
> La chose perissant, par le defaut, ou bien
> La tient par cette humeur pour vn temps calcinée,
> Ou la conserue en corps tousiours vitrifiée,
> D'autant que cette humeur d'auantage se rend
> A ce qui plus prochain, plus solide la prend,
> N'estant égale en tout d'autant qu'elle se donne
> Comme l'ame solide en son suiet l'ordonne,
> De sorte que souuant le corps se dissoudra,
> Et en son premier rien comme rien s'en ira,
> Signe tout euident que foible en estoit l'ame,
> Et que son corps estoit chaufé de peu de flame(73).

Behind the dislocated syntax, however, lies a firm grasp on a certain type of reality. "L'ame solide" is part of a philosophical scheme, but it is not an abstract concept. If it rounds off the picture of a cosmos animated by soul, in the eyes of its author this is scarcely the reason for its existence. With "l'ame solide" Béroalde specifically attaches the world of the alchemist to his vision of harmonious creation.

It is in terms of alchemy that these lines are to be explained. "La difference des compositions" is the preoccupation of the adepte in his laboratory, and the operations of "ame solide" are the mirror of his. The aim of the alchemist is to imitate the processes of nature(74), and Béroalde in his poem sets those processes out. Just as the experiments of the alchemist, the effects of "ame solide"

depend on the gentle regulation of a flame. For the alchemist, the different melting-points of the substances in which he deals are an immediate concern, and Béroalde's poem gives him the scientific explanation of the phenomena that he observes. "Dissolution", "calcination" and "vitrification" are alchemical terms, and the processes that they denote are shown to be the results of the operation of a "soul".

The first of these is calcination. Béroalde is referring to concepts which, however bizarre they may seem to us today, flourished up to the end of the seventeenth century and beyond, and indeed it is in a Dictionaire Hermetique published in 1695 (75) that we have found the most compact definitions to set beside their verse equivalents in De l'Ame. This then is "calcination";

> CALCINER : c'est rendre une chose solide, comme est une pierre ou un métal, en poudre & en menuës parties, qui se désunissent par la privation de l'humidité qui unit ces parties, & n'en fait qu'un corps: & cette privation se fait par l'action du feu, ou des eaux fortes(76).

Béroalde describes the process in the same terms, as dissolution caused by the loss of the vital "humeur". Only in his case of course this is related to the role of soul, or rather to its absence;

> Mais celluy (le corps) qui aura plus de force dedans,
> Qui plus tiendra du vray de ses commencemens,
> Et toutesfois n'aura cette humidité forte
> Autant que le suiet plus solide la porte,
> Perdra le general de telle humidité,
> Recellant toutesfois quelque realité
> Qui le fait consister, & ainsi se calcine
> Telle chose tendant au but de sa ruyne,
> Puis en fin se dissout pource qu'elle na point
> Ce qui de part en part, en atomes la ioint
> A son ame solide, aussi tost eschappee
> Que de priuation la matiere est frappee...(77)

The "humidité" which Béroalde expresses as soul is the guarantee of the stability of the metal or mineral subjected to the alchemist's fire. Once it is driven out, the metal or mineral is reduced to a calx. As the author of the Dictionaire points out, "calcination" is the result of prolonged heating.

On the other hand, the alchemist might discover that his operations had had the opposite effect, and that his substance had become vitrified. "Vitrification" is the phenomenon whereby the

substance is hardened by the action of heat and takes on the lustre of glass. But for the would-be maker of gold the attainment of this result has a special significance. This is the alchemists' vitrum, not then the ordinary substance, but something with an importance of its own in the process of transmutation. Its property, according to the Summa Perfectionis of Geber, perhaps the most important medieval alchemical text, is "omnia vincere, & ad se conuertere"(78). The alchemical definition is given in full by the Dictionaire of 1695;

> Le Verre Philosophique qui a pouvoir sur toutes choses; C'est la Pierre parfaite, qui amene toutes choses à sa nature, les accomplissant de toutes perfections: c'est ce Verre seul qui est infiniment humide & infiniment sec, & de telle nature qu'il s'unit avec tous sujets; s'il est fondu au verre fondu, & il le teint; avec le metal il fait de même, mais plus intimement, d'autant qu'il est de sa nature: Il penetre tout, & même se fond dans les humeurs humaines, aiant ingrés par tout pour rectifier toutes les substances(79).

Vitrification seems to have had this status for the alchemist as it confers apparent permanence while other substances lose their identity through calcination. It is permanence which Béroalde stresses as its quality, the result again of an operation of soul. The vocabulary here is quite certainly that of alchemy, and if the poet says that vitrification is also a triumph over death, it is that for the alchemist the corruption of his ingredients in the first stages of transmutation is itself a "death". We can assume that the parenthesis here speaks for the experience of the adepte;

> Mais le corps mieux compact, & qui ferme retient
> La douce humidité qui egal l'entretient,
> Et que l'humidité auec son ame vnie,
> Fait de ces trois en vn vne egale partie,
> Ne se peut abolir, mais en dernier effort,
> Brauant la cruauté des effaits de la mort,
> (Qui met tout à neant & par le froit destourne
> De nos yeux ce qu'icy la nature nous donne,
> Dissipant, foudroyant, pour sous le vain trespas,
> Reduire sans pouuoir les matieres d'embas,)
> Ainsi que ne pouuant se priuer de la vie,
> Gardant son germe heureux heureux se vitrifie(80).

"Le verre" is the culmination, but "le verre" which is called "philosophique" by the alchemist, the ultimate embodiment of the two creative principles of "l'humide" and "le sec". By the same token it is the most perfect representation of "ame solide". The

process brings about in the end

> ...la belle rareté
> Qui au verre demeure, & qui le plus solide
> Est du tout sec en soy, & en soy tout liquide(81).

With the "solide" Béroalde's search after "la forme interieure" reaches its furthest possible point, and it is alchemy which provides the key to the analysis. In his attempts to arrive at the philosophers' stone the alchemist believed that he was observing the most fundamental processes of nature. It is not surprising that Béroalde, in his desire to explain cosmic mechanism down to its most basic level, should return to the alchemist's conception of the world. In "l'humide" and "le sec", and their combination in the "solide", he perceives those basic principles. Theirs is the combination at the root of existence which is the starting-point for the adepte's transmutation, and also, at a cosmic level, which is the matter on which an alchemist-God sets to work in creation. The alchemical parallels we suggested in the creation account of Les Cognoissances(82) find their confirmation here. The alchemists' fondness for analogy has been remarked upon often enough, particularly their conscious approximation of the work of transmutation to the cycle of the life of man(83), but in Béroalde's case the analogy is from one scientific activity to another. Alchemy and the Genesis creation are seen as aspects of a single scientific reality. These three principles of "humide", "sec" and "solide" are both the beginning and the end of all matter;

> Telle est la fin de tout & ces trois seulement
> Monstrent combien fut fort le vray commencement,
> Car ainsi qu'en son peu il ioignit les matieres,
> Ainsi tournent en fin ses puissances dernieres...(84)

The whole process of creation has its origins in the same conjunction of elements to which all in the end is reduced. The description which Béroalde gave in Les Cognoissances of the emergence of the first components of creation(85) becomes in retrospect part of a cyclic view of matter. The terms of that first description -

> Le ciel qui n'est rien qu'eau, fut l'essence premiere,
> La terre fut apres, qui d'vne autre matiere
> Contraire & non contraire, & en soy s'amassant,

Alloit vers le millieu peu à peu s'abaissant,
Lors que soudainement d'auec tant d'eaux espreinte,
Elle fut seulement de l'humidité tainte...(86)

- are repeated as scientific process, devoid of further description, and related to what will be a final dissolution. There are more famous and more striking descriptions of the end of the world in Du Bartas and d'Aubigné(87), the impact of which depends entirely upon the visual and the grandiose(88), but this hermetic equivalent is expressed in just four lines. It is not a spectacle, but a secret, the perception of what goes on behind all appearances. The alchemist alone observes it, and sees in it at the same time an origin;

...Et comme au premier coup il se fait vn moyen
Qui au regard des corps, ne se dit encor rien,
Et qu'humide de soy & non du tout humide,
Par la force du sec, se lie, à son liquide,
Pour en cét entre-deux, donner occasion
Aux feus vniuersels de generation
Aussi en defaillant quand il vient a dissoudre,
Il se met en liqueur, cachee sous la poudre
Qui fait que ce n'est pas vn tout seul Element,
Mais de deux par les deux egal assemblement(89).

This powder is the calx, the residue of the primary material of transmutation after it has been subjected to its vigorous heat. From this all humidity is removed, and "soul" is departed. Béroalde suggests that the process may be instantaneous or lengthy, but he allows the exception of vitrification;

Cette poudre est la chaux qui cache dans sa cendre
La fin qui par l'effait en fin se fait entendre,
Car l'humeur radical y est ou y deffaut
Y persiste tous iours ou a la fin y faut,
Et selon la puissance en cette chaux cachée
Qui sera du solide egalement priuee,
Pource qu'en moins de rien cette chaux se perdra,
Et foible en se perdant telle ame elle lairra,
Ou bien s'y resserrant, pour vn peu plus d'espace
Le solide s'en va comme la chose passe.
De ces deux est chassee en tout l'humidité,
Non en la chaux qui tient la perpetuité
Pour le verre, ou en temps oculte elle demeure,
Et garde son subiect ceste ame qu'il ne meure...(90)

These ideas are unfamiliar ones, and it certainly seems strange to see soul evoked in the midst of them. But Béroalde is following a tradition as ancient as alchemy itself. The "vitalising spirit" in matter is the object of the alchemist's quest, to find it and

release it is the key to transmutation. Its model can be traced in the stoic idea of pneuma spread throughout creation, and existing as a force of cohesion even in the inanimate.(90a) In Béroalde's poem it becomes "l'ame solide". But alchemy is also the confirmation of a christian world, in that the alchemist sees in the processes of transmutation a death, a birth and a resurrection - the corruption of matter, the formation of something new from it, the final reappearance of soul in a new and glorious body. The alchemists continually stress their religious fervour(91). Inversely, a religious writer of the order of Sponde is sometime alchemist(92). Alchemy in De l'Ame et de ses facultes too is part of a world in which there is no doubting of the ultimate reality, and Béroalde consciously adds to the passage we have quoted above

> Non pas plus que le temps, mais tant que dureront
> Les siecles qui nos ans par conte nombreront,
> La perpetuité n'estant dite à ce monde,
> Que tant que durera sa substance seconde(93).

What is most important of all in terms of the poem is that this becomes part of a universal pattern. De l'Ame is constructed as a hierarchy, as a pyramid of which "ame solide" is the base, and Béroalde separately identifies each of its layers. A transition to a higher level is marked with a flourish. At the same time "solide" is given its place in the total design, of which the final point of reference is the soul of man;

> Muse mon petit oeil solide deuiens-tu,
> N'exciteras tu point ton entiere vertu?
> Passons vn peu plus haut, nostre ame est eternelle
> Plus forte mille fois que ceste naturelle,
> Qui auec nos beaux iours, se perdant laissera
> Tout ce qui seulement d'elle s'animera(94).

"Ame solide" shows that animation and life is constant, even where it is most hidden. With the "ame vegetative" which follows the poet is only passing to its more obvious manifestations.

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From this point Béroalde returns to the traditional categories of medieval faculty psychology. The importance of the alchemical

influence in causing him to depart from it should not be underestimated. In the context of alchemy, "ame solide" is something of a commonplace. In the context of the history of writing on soul, it is a complete innovation. It is left for Béroalde to bridge the two, but we are very much aware that it is an alchemist who is writing. It is even to alchemy we should look, we believe, for the origins of Béroalde's interest in soul as universal vitalising principle. As we have said before, the alchemist's view of the world is one that comes quite naturally to Béroalde, and there are points at which he returns to it in his discussions of the higher divisions of soul.

But the world of the alchemist is not to be taken in isolation. For the alchemist himself it is the reflection of something much larger. Béroalde's poem is the working-out of that larger reality. De l'Ame takes the central assumption of the alchemist and converts it into a cosmic scheme, but the implications of that scheme go far beyond the alchemical. What alchemy does provide is the resources for a scientific enquiry that may be turned to praise of God. For this the quest for the philosophers' stone is itself the prototype. It is intriguing to wonder whether Béroalde might have remembered Du Bartas' warning in La Sepmaine;

> ...Face encor, qui voudra, ses plus beaux pensemens
> Ramper par le limon des plus bas elemens,
> Et contemple, attentif, tellement cest ouurage,
> Que l'honneur de l'ouurier s'estouffe en son courage(95).

We might see Béroalde's speculations on "l'ame solide" almost as a direct riposte. But these are only one part of the general scientific enquiry which is De l'Ame.

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CHAPTER III

L'AME VEGETATIVE

If Béroalde is the alchemist he is also the doctor, and with "ame vegetative" the point of reference becomes the medical and the physiological. This is traditionally the most basic faculty, the first power of soul in all living beings. Consequently it concerns both plants and animals. Béroalde now enters the domain of the normal faculty psychology of his time, and we can turn to the manuals for a precise definition. D'Ailly's diagram sets out for us the three main attributes of the "vegetativa", and Reisch's Margarita Philosophica gives us a representative explanation;

> Anima vegetatiua vis quedam est in viuentibus: conuertens alimentum in substantiam aliti: vt ipsum in esse conseruet: ad quantitatem debitam prouehat: & simile in specie generare tribuat. In hac descriptione tres vegetatiue potentie exprimuntur: que sunt nutritiua/augmentatiua/& generatiua: quarum & actus & obiecta differunt(1).

To each of these three powers Reisch devotes a chapter in turn, in the sort of neatly-packaged presentation of knowledge at which the encyclopaedias excel, and which indeed is their main purpose. "Nutritiva", with its sub-divisions of attractive, retentive, digestive and expulsive, covers the main physical processes of the body; "augmentativa" conveys the benefits of nutrition to the body that is fed; "generativa" is the ability to procreate. In many respects, Béroalde's discussion of "ame vegetative" amounts to little more than the versification of these same assumptions and the detail behind them. But in his treatment of the whole subject the stress upon function remains. The generalities of vegetative soul are brought back to mechanical process.

As a result, the episode goes beyond the impersonal step-by-step exposition in the manner of Reisch. With "l'ame solide" Béroalde's universe comes into being. With "l'ame vegetative" it takes on life. The traditional view of the cumulative powers of soul, with all levels present in the highest, and each faculty of soul an addition to the

last, is one that Béroalde necessarily adopts. But it gives rise in the poem to a picture in which things suddenly start to move;

> Lors que l'ame Solide au composés allie(sic),
> Non comme separee, ains de nature vnie
> L'esprit qui fait mouuoir commence à l'agiter,
> Et pour croistre l'effaict à pousser l'inciter,
> De sorte que soudain elle le multiplie
> Et met dedans son corps la vegetante vie...(2)

Motion for Béroalde is the identifying mark of vegetative soul, and it is to this that he now applies his alchemist's concern for inner cause;

> ...voyons la vertu de ceste ame tant belle,
> Recherchons iusqu'au fonds sa force naturelle
> Et apprenons comment en ses effects diuers
> Auec l'ame solide, elle aide à l'vniuers(3).

The Renaissance world is one characterised by movement. Perhaps one of the greatest scientific commonplaces of this time is "la vicissitude des choses". We might refer back to Viret's description in his Exposition de...la Foy Chrestienne of the "trois sortes de mouuemens au monde"(4). The Renaissance scientist thinks of a world in which the heavier elements strive continually downwards, the lighter ever upwards, and which is girded round about by the perfect circular motion of the heavenly bodies. The sub-lunar is the perpetual domain of conflict and flux, marked by the constant shifting of one form into another. Montaigne's "branloire perenne" is itself only the particular application of a universal assumption. "La matiere demeure, et la forme se perd", writes Ronsard(5), and in Ronsard's sensitivity to metamorphosis and fleeting form there is another link with the force of a commonplace(6). In the creation account of Les Cognoissances Béroalde adds his own gloss by subjecting the random to control(7), but the principle remains the same. In the Recherches de la pierre philosophale he attaches it to the very workings of nature -

> ...Or il est euident que tout est suiet à mouuement: car nature agit perpetuellement, & ne peut rien sans actif & passif(8).

And in the Stances de la Mort et de la Vie he adds the Aristotelean overtone, to give the topic, as Ronsard does, its philosophical

resonance;

> Tout ce qui est ça bas n'est rien que changement,
> Tout est naissance & mort: car eternellement
> Comme vn estat se perd, vn autre prend sa forme.
> Et pour conclure mieux, rien ne meurt icy bas,
> Mais tout au lieu de choir sous l'effort du trespas
> Pour tousiours exister iour à iour se transforme(9).

In De l'Ame this movement is given its place in the mechanism of a world of which the single motive force is soul. In the De Anima Aristotle identifies movement and sensation with soul(10), but in the poem Béroalde is concerned with an overall synthesis. This account of the origins of movement in soul, while hampered by the lack of any visual element, is at least of a piece with what has gone before, and by the end achieves a certain grandeur;

> Si tost que ceste humeur que les elemens aiment,
> En laquelle leur germe abondamment ils sement,
> Est iointe au naturel de l'ame qui la prend,
> Alors que leur subtil en leur commun se rend,
> L'esprit viuifiant qui par le monde habite,
> Qui s'espendant par tout heureusement incite
> Et le froid, & le chaud, pour par compas donner
> Ce que nature veut és formes ordonner,
> S'entremet de leur fait, & lentement remue
> Leur estre qui par luy en vn autre se mue,
> Faisant mouuoir le tout, comme au commencement,
> Pour les conioindre entr'eux, les fait differemment
> Mouuoir & remouuoir, en tout & en partie,
> A fin que chacun d'eux l'vn à l'autre s'allie,
> Et ce mouuement né tousiours continuant
> Fait croistre ce qui est au monde de croissant...(11)

This presentation of movement and of its place in the cosmic scheme, in which the conjunction of the elements becomes a dynamic process, is part of a standard world-view. It is the one which had been suggested by Cicero in the De Natura Deorum, and which we have already quoted;

> ...Ainsi telles natures dont toutes les autres consistent, passans haut & bas, & de part & d'autre, est maintenuë la conionction des parties du monde(12).

Béroalde's contribution is to integrate it more firmly into a purposeful structure, shown to be universal, and at the same time to explain its "inner cause" in terms of soul. Montaigne's "branle" now operates to precise limits;

> Car seulement il est en nature ordonné
> Pour faire croistre tout iusqu'au poinct terminé,

Puis estant accomply ce que veut la nature
Il sort pour luy tirer des autres nourriture(13).

The force of vegetative soul is the explanation of a dynamic world. But for the alchemist there is an obvious respect in which change cannot be the sole prerogative of movement as growth, and Béroalde goes on to include transmutation itself under the heading of a world in flux. Movement is the cause of growth, but

...il se passe aussi quand la force premiere
De l'ame seule tient en estat la matiere(14).

Alchemy is a continuing reality in the world presented by the poem, and Béroalde is careful to allow an exception for it here. Lack of external movement in animate life is normally the sign of decay and death, but the alchemist who is Béroalde points out that change may be brought about even where external form remains the same. To a non-initiated audience the details would be obscure, but the obvious effect is to bring alchemy itself within the scientific commonplace of a ceaselessly shifting sub-lunar world. Movement remains the poet's concern;

Or tout luy est suiet par propre & par destin:
Car le corps qui n'a fait de se croistre la fin
S'aidant tousiours de luy, se maintient par sa grace,
Et puis par son deffaut priuation l'efface,
Quelquefois, non tousiours: car ce qui l'a perdu
N'est pas pourtant priué de solide vertu,
D'autant que ce qui est en la vertu solide
Soit dans les airs legers, soit dans le corps liquide,
Ou dedans l'espaisseur, que mortels nous pressons,
Patit iournellement mille mutations,
Et par vn mouuement suruenu de fortune
Endure quelque change en sa forme commune,
En beaucoup de façons, car souuent ils (sic) auient
Au corps qui neantmoins à sa forme se tient...(15)

The reference is to the world as a whole, but the experience on which it rests is that of the alchemist;

Ainsi que les metaux qui sur le feu liquides,
Sans changer sont long temps humides non humides,
Et par ce mouuement, se peuuent alterer,
Si on chaufe bien fort ou qu'on sache mesler
Quelque corps auec eux qui mouuant en leur estre
En rien espard leur corps, ou en autre fait naistre:
Mais si à petit feu on les tient seulement,
Ils ne changeront pas par ce seul mouuement(16).

In a passage concerned with the traditional concept of vegetative

soul, this episode seems an incongruous one, but through it Béroalde is able to relate a scientific generality to the directly observed and experimented. A picture of movement as universal force becomes more immediate, and, inversely, the enthusiasms of the adepte are defined in relation to an overall scientific reality. The question of the true nature of transmutation - and here Béroalde seems to reply to Cardan's criticism(17) - becomes the illustration of a more general proposition. A reference to the significance of vitrification is used in the same way. The tone is not that of the theorist, but of the practitioner;

> Bien que tel mouuement dessus l'or ayt puissance,
> Car il peut transmuer à la fin sa substance,
> Si ne sera-ce rien si dedans & dehors,
> Il ne meut le dessus & le centre du corps,
> Pour vser de sa force extremement puissante
> Comme il fait sur matiere en pouuoir transparente,
> La reduisant en verre où deffaut son pouuoir.
> Car la vertu du verre il ne peut esmouuoir...(18)

The lines that follow refer us to the proposition itself, and remind us once more of Montaigne. Béroalde offers the scientist's commentary to "La constance mesme n'est autre chose qu'un branle plus languissant"(19);

> D'autres choses y a qui dés long temps ne meuuent,
> Et qui en apparence exister tousiours peuuent,
> Mais dessus eux en fin se peut semblablement
> Exciter le pouuoir d'vn nouueau mouuement,
> Qui les dissipera & changeant leur nature
> Ou leur donra le vent, ou du verre figure
> Tant peut le mouuement qu'il peut tout alterer
> Quoy que nature l'ait, ou ait fait adherer
> Au corps tout acheué, qui plus de luy ne tienne
> Ou qu'au moyen d'vn tiers à la chose il suruienne(20).

The vegetative, however, remains the theme, and through the vegetative continued order--

> Or de ce mouuement ce qui est naturel
> Excite doucement l'ordre continuel
> Qui est en la nature, et contraint aggreable
> La force & la vertu de l'ame vegetable(21).

Béroalde now turns to those attributes listed by d'Ailly and Reisch. After the originality of an "ame solide" identified with the "radical humour" of "l'humide" and "le sec", the medieval structure survives intact;

> Ceste ame est qui apres l'egale humidité,

Où logent les effects de la solidité,
Fait tout de ce qui est, & richement compose
La croissance, le bien, l'estat de toute chose:
Premierement ceste ame en sa force nouryt
De toutes qualitez ce qui par elle vit,
Receuant pour obiet lors qu'elle est nourrissante,
L'aliment sous l'effait de sa force attirante...(22)

The account that these lines introduce is characterised by its precision, and by an enormous wealth of detail. Béroalde evidently shares none of Du Bartas' reticence when it comes to a description of the inner processes of the body, but the detail is consistently intended to explain rather than to impress. Indeed, the style continues to make little concession to the reader, and we are constantly reminded that Béroalde writes as scientist rather than as poet. But equally apparent is a desire to make vegetative soul part of a whole, and to locate it within an interpretation of the working of the cosmos. The emphasis is still on function, and this of course is quite different from Du Bartas. It is much closer to the encyclopaedic tradition itself, in the sense that the subject of soul already has a mechanical aspect in that tradition. Béroalde's remarks are the amplification of those of Reisch;

Nutritiua...per attractiuam vi caloris & siccitatis alimentum nature aliti conueniens potentia hoc aliquid attrahit: per retentiuam vi siccitatis & frigoris attractum donec alteretur & digeratur retinet: per digestiuam vi caloris & humiditatis retentum alterat & digerit: per expulsiuam vero vi frigoris & humiditatis digestum impurum a puro segregatum expellit(23).

These are the commonplaces repeated by other encyclopaedias, and by Renaissance writers on soul(24). But there the details tend to make us lose sight of the whole, and their impact is fragmentary. Béroalde draws our attention to them also, and even more so, but they take their place now in a more unified vision. The medieval categories of soul are themselves an attempt at an explanation of reality, and Béroalde's poem makes the tendency more apparent, retaining as it does the same style of itemised exposition. It is important to remember, on the other hand, that scientific enquiry at this time is not theory based upon experiment, and the displacing of that theory by further experiment, but rather the search for a truth

which is felt to be unalterable, and there to be discovered. For Béroalde, and in this he is representative of much of the science of his day, it is the terminology which is to be superimposed upon reality, rather than vice versa. But "la forme interieure", the nature of that reality, is still his concern.

Explanation buttresses the use of the scholastic terms, and a view of the "attractiva" similar to that of Reisch is incorporated into a model of the universe which is even more explicitly a working model;

> Car ceste faculté de tout tire le bon,
> Pour le multiplier par son attraction
> Ou pour l'entretenir quand il est cheut au terme,
> Où l'a determiné la force de son germe,
> Ayant deux instrumens dont elle sçait vser,
> Lors qu'elle veut le mieux des substances puiser,
> Qui sont le chaud & sec, par qui l'essence espreinte
> Lors qu'elle est par sa presse en toutes pars attainte
> Rend ce qui la soustient, pour à l'autre prester
> Ce qui la destruisant, veut par elle exister...(25)

There is evidently no compromise on the degree of technical detail. But Béroalde sets the complex scientific statement by the side of an evocation of life, which has a much more direct reference. The occult becomes palpable, as it is related to an observable reality;

> Ceste vertu secrette aux corps qui se maintiennent
> En la solidité, apres qu'ils se soustiennent,
> Sans l'aide vegetante, est dedans et dehors
> Lors que croissent encor en vegetant leurs corps,
> Car aux plantes qui sont deçà delà semees
> Qui sont du feu du tout doucement animees,
> S'esmouuant peu à peu, garde son iuste lieu
> Non trop haut, ny trop bas, mais au simple millieu,
> Qui sous terre est caché, en la racine viue,
> Où s'exerce en ses faits l'ame vegetatiue(26).

A judicious interpretation of the faculties of soul is the confirmation of the world as equilibrium, as that harmony is shown to be reflected in its parts. Béroalde's lines curiously recall Ronsard's -

> Ny trop haut, ny trop bas, c'est le souverain style,
> Tel fut celuy d'Homere & celuy de Virgile(27).

What for Ronsard is an aesthetic is in the scientific poem a statement of the nature of existence, and the creation of an artificial world makes way for the explanation of the real one.

Béroalde's is an interpretation of the cosmos as unity, and he is as much concerned here with the processes of life of plants as he is with those of animals. The more restricted accounts of Du Bartas and Bretonnayau are left behind. There is a direct point of comparison nonetheless, in that the physiology of the body is itself the manifestation of vegetative soul. Béroalde's interest is in soul, but when it comes to physiology the inescapable influence for any sixteenth-century writer is that of Galen(28). Galen was the staple diet of the student of medecine, and even Vesalius, whose influence is most responsible for eclipsing his work, owes him a considerable debt(29). It is scarcely surprising that the medical writing of Du Bartas, Bretonnayau and Béroalde alike should continue to depend upon the Galenic model. Béroalde extracts from it an image of the body as mechanism, and specifically as a machine which reduces disorder to order.

Having referred to plants, and introduced the "attractiva", Béroalde continues

> Mais aux corps animez outre ceste vigueur,
> Qui ont dedans le sang vne douce chaleur,
> Qui leur preste le bien de la viuante vie,
> A son siege arresté, en la belle partie
> De son interieur, qui caché se fait voir
> Par les certains effets de son égal pouuoir,
> Qui est en l'estomac, où la chaleur trauaille
> A ce qu'a l'appetit pour l'appaiser on baille...(30)

The reference is to the Galenic definition of nutrition. Food first undergoes alteration in the stomach, being broken down into parts through the action of "coction". The agents of "coction" are phlegm, bile, pneuma and innate heat, and Galen compares the viscera around the stomach to "a lot of burning hearths around a great cauldron"(31). The resulting chyle is passed on to the liver, the real home of the nutritive faculty, there to be converted into venous blood and broken down into the four bodily humours. It is also infused with the "natural spirits", for Galen, like the stoics, sees the body as penetrated by <u>pneuma</u>(32). These spirits are distributed by the blood in the veins to every part of the body. All this Béroalde explains

step by step. The nutritive faculty is in the stomach,

> Puis au foye qui peut comme alchimiste heureux,
> Separer du grossier, le subtil vigoureux,
> Lors que dans l'estomac la matiere meslee,
> Est sans ordre & sans pois en confus amassee,
> Et encores de là peu à peu se glissant,
> Par les membres s'enferme, ou sa force pressant
> Les fait multiplier, ou les garde en nature
> Par le ferme entretien, dont par la nourriture
> Elle les pousse & tient, les modere en vigueur,
> Leur donne par compas & le sec & l'humeur,
> Et passant va filant ses iournalieres peines
> Par les diuers canaux des bouillonantes veines,
> Par lesquelles l'humeur, se conduisant par tout,
> En remplit le millieu, & l'vn & l'autre bout,
> Et puis par les secrets de l'artere ou deuale
> La plus subtile essence de l'esprit vital(33).

The comparison of the work of the liver to the work of the alchemist reminds us of a further continuous theme, but Béroalde is not the only one to think of the connection. Rabelais too remembers his Galen in Panurge's famous praise of debt in the Tiers Livre, and has his dubious hero recount the same conversion of food into blood by stomach and liver, but now greeted with delight by the other members of the body;

> ...Lors quelle joye pensez vous estre entre ces officiers, quand ilz ont veu ce ruisseau d'or, qui est leur seul restaurant? Plus grande n'est la joye des alchymistes, quand apres longs travaulx, grand soing et despense, ilz voyent les metaulx transmuez dedans leur fourneaulx...(34)

However, Béroalde's account of the nutritive faculty has a character and purpose of its own. For Béroalde the labour of the alchemist is a real continuation of the ordering process of nature, and the function of the liver strikes a parallel with the functioning of the cosmos as a whole. This view of the nutritive is welded into an overall scheme, and falls within a general interpretation of the nature of inner cause. The physiology of the body in its turn is shown to exemplify moderation and control. The Galenic data is made the illustration of the theme, and at the same time in this context of the vegetative the quality of the dynamic remains. Nutrition itself becomes a process of movement, from the action of the liver to the flow of the blood in the "diuers canaux des bouillonantes veines". In so far as medical poetry may succeed as poetry at all, this passage represents a certain achievement.

In his curtailed survey of physiology in La Sepmaine, Du Bartas poetises the subject with an image, but makes no real attempt at explanation(35). Béroalde's verse does attempt such an explanation, yet retains its impetus as part of a whole. Bretonnayau's Le foye is an eloquent enough reminder of the perils it avoids(36).

Béroalde's explanation of soul is the consistent unfolding of a balanced scheme. The "retentiva" is the necessary pendant to the "attractive";

> Mais ce n'est pas assez, il y a vn deuoir,
> Qui a de retenir le capable pouuoir.
> Car tout ce qui est fait s'en iroit en fumee,
> Si ceste faculté ne tenoit enfermee
> L'essence separee afin de digerer
> Ce qu'a peu l'estomac de son suc retirer:
> Partant ceste vertu en elle retenante,
> Qui dedans l'estomac, ses puissances augmente,
> Par le froit & le sec, en opposition,
> Met tout le retenu sous la digestion,
> S'y gardant iustement, puis se reserue au foye
> Duquel pour le nourrir dedans le coeur l'enuoye,
> Ou estant conserué, pur & net l'aliment,
> En sa subtilité passé soigneusement,
> Le coeur le couue en soy, puis comme sainte essance
> La transmet és vaisseaux qui gardent la semence(37).

Again, the science is sound. Galen too had pointed to the necessity for a "retentive" faculty(38), and Galenic as well is the reference to the further role of the heart in the refinement of the blood. Rabelais again can provide the illustration;

> Puys (le sang) est transporté en une autre officine pour mieulx estre affiné, c'est le Coeur. Lequel par ses mouvemens diastolicques et systolicques le subtilie et enflambe, tellement que par le ventricule dextre le mect à perfection, et par les venes l'envoye à tous les membres(39).

But through the science the body becomes elegant and ordered mechanism.

Unlike Du Bartas and Bretonnayau Béroalde sets this against the picture of the cosmos as a whole. The processes of life in man are located in a wider context, in which the interests of the alchemist are not forgotten;

> Cecy est seulement ainsi aux animaux
> Et non aux vitriols, aux verres, aux metaux,
> Car tels pour ne tenir l'ame vegetatiue,
> Que tant que chacun d'eux à leur parfait arriue,
> Ne peuuent engendrer, ains meurent sans mourir,
> Car ils ne peuuent plus estans faits se nourrir.
> Ils n'ont rien seulement que leur ame solide,

Qui conserue dans eux leur radical humide...(40)

The same inward scrutiny which had directed Béroalde's examination of that first category of soul is now brought to bear on the phenomenon of growth itself. The poet continues his portrayal of a universe in animation, in which one type may be distinguished from the rest;

Mais les arbres qui longs s'aiguisent vers les cieux,
Les plantes qui ça bas s'estendent en tous lieux,
Ont quelque chose plus, & animez iouissent
Du plaisir d'attirer les choses qui patissent
Sous leur doux foible effort, & peu à peu montant
Se fournissent au pris que leur permet le temps...(41)

The "auctrix facultas" had been identified by Galen(42), and it too is consecrated in the history of writing on soul. This is the definition given by Vives in his De Anima;

...ea non est additio extrinsecus, vt quum lignorum & lapidum aggregatione surgit domus, & vestis assuendis pannis: sed eodem tacito atque occulto artificio, quo nutrimur, nempe conuersione alimenti per intima extenditur quantitas extrinsecus. Itaque vis haec ex nutriente manat, & cibus nutrit, qua est substantia congruis qualitatibus praedita: & auget, qua moles(43).

Béroalde takes up the idea of a secret force within, and makes it the subject of the same detailed exposition which before he had accorded to the inner processes of solid soul. The definition gives way before the dynamic itself;

Ainsi par les destroits que dans leurs corps ils cachent
Ce qui est attiré vers leurs fibres ils laschent,
Et poussant vn atome apres l'autre pousse
Qui en son tout touché par maint autre amassé,
Ouure l'extremité, & plus outre se porte,
Et comme hors d'iceux fait vne escorce forte
Où se met le subtil qu'ils auront retiré,
De tout leur aliment parauant alteré...(44)

The play of forces involved in growth is given a life of its own, and Béroalde, through a use of purely literary devices, manages to convey to the scientific the same immediacy that d'Aubigné confers upon the resurrection of the dead;

...Ici un arbre sent des bras de sa racine
Groufller un chef vivant, sortir une poictrine;
Là l'eau trouble bouillonne, & puis s'esparpillant
Sent en soy des cheveux & un chef s'esveillant...(45)

But here the assonance, the alliteration, the use of the telling detail, combine not to suggest the disintegration of a world, but the ordering

of one, in which each and every force has its place;

> Là il est colloqué, comme semence enclose,
> Pour engendrer l'effait dont ils auront la cause
> Qui contraingnant le tout, le fait multiplier
> Et pour renouueller son essence trier:
> Es plantes on cognoist estre aussi ceste force
> Aux bouts & entre-deux le moileux & l'escorce,
> Et dans les animaux prendre l'extremité
> Des tuyaux où le sang est iustement porté(46).

In the meantime, the effects of vegetative soul continue to be evoked as the parts of a system in which each is dependent on the other. The digestive faculty brings us back to the realm of human physiology, and to a reiterated account of the function of stomach and liver. The detail is prolix, and to a certain extent repetitive, but Béroalde's overriding concern is to set everything within the same context of precision -

> Ceste belle vigueur leur seroit inutile
> Et se perdroit au lieu qui trop froid ou debile
> Ne pourroit l'exciter si l'operation
> De l'effait challeureux, de la digestion
> Ne venoit rencontrer la matiere apprestee
> Pour estre par sa force au tout distribuee.
> Doncques la faculté qui fait tout digerer,
> Distribue le tout qui c'est venu renger
> En vn par le pouuoir de la cause cachee,
> Qui a premierement la matiere eschauffee,
> Et par vn chaud humide arrestant l'attiré,
> Attirant l'arresté, le rend tout digeré,
> Logeant premierement en la premiere entree
> Par où a l'estomach la viande est donnee:
> Non pas qu'elle soit là, à fin d'y operer,
> Comme en dernier ressort, ains à fin d'attirer
> Ce qui est proposé pour digerer et moudre
> Le suiet qui dedans doit par tout se resoudre...(47)

Moreover, in the closely defined world which Béroalde had shown created in Les Cognoissances, and which he shows operating in De l'Ame, the description is the means to a parallel. The physiological is revealed as the precise echo of the cosmic, its operations part of the same design. As nature in the creation described in the first poem causes the four elements to emerge from disorder, after the pattern communicated by God,

> En la proportion tant du froid que du chaud,
> De l'amer & du doux, du leger & du graue,
> De cela qui deseche & de cella qui laue,
> Qui monte, qui dessent, se change, se desioint,
> Qui prend corruption & ne se corrompt point(48)

so the faculty of digestion works on the chyle in the stomach;

De là en l'estomach vient son affection
Pour dedans exciter la separation
Du gros & du subtil, du leger & du graue,
De ce qui espaissit, & de cela qui laue...(49)

This is the process further refined by liver and heart, the "second" and "third" digestions, and the end of which is the creation of the natural spirits in the blood;

En fin chet dans le foye où doublant ses vigueurs,
Tout l'aliment receu dissout en quatre humeurs,
Pour allier au coeur la partie plus pure,
Et en ce mouuuement (sic) pousser la nourriture
En la digestion, qui tierce est l'instrument
Qui peut en finissant, donner commencement,
A ce qui par degrés à mesme effaict peut tendre
Et qui s'accommodant de l'animal s'engendre.
Puis le tout digeré, n'estant plus nutriment
Se redigere encor' pour estre egalement,
Non cela qui nourrit, mais la pure partie
Qui dans le tiede sang cause & retient la vie(50).

A complex procedure is linked to a single cause.

This is the domain of animals alone. But the "digestion" of plants is no less part of a harmonious world. Nothing is exempt from Béroalde's microscopic gaze;

Or les plantes n'ont pas les deux digestions,
Qui font dedans le corps telles abstractions,
Car vne par dehors au commencement trie
Le pur qui entretient leur vegetante vie,
Prenant le seul subtil qui en soy digerant
Nourrissant, accroissant, retenant, maturant
Les fait comme elles sont ayant en leur matiere,
Pour accomplir leur corps la faculté derniere
De la digestion, distinguant iustement,
Ce qui propre leur est de chascun element(51).

We have already noted that in these lines Béroalde is the botanist as much as the physician, and the science that he displays in this connection is as much part of a tradition. Plants that live not so much by their own lives as by the life of the universe - "du feu du tout doucement animees" -, plants which conserve the effects of vegetative soul in their roots, and

Aux bouts & entre-deux le moileux & l'escorce,

are not in any way exceptional to the Renaissance scientist. The knowledge again is that of the compendia. For convenience' sake we shall again quote from Reisch, who is himself a later representative of the tradition. Reisch discusses the life, growth and nutrition

of plants much in the same terms as Béroalde, starting from the assumption of an external and universal animating force;

> Virtus namque & influxus celestis superficiem terre penetrans: partes subtiliores quibus dicta seminalis vis occulta inest / in fumum resoluit: rursumque condensat: & in radicis species transfigurat. Hec infixa terre tanquam matri virtute caloris connaturalis & supercelestis humorem terre circumiacentis alterat & quod nature sue conueniens est attrahit & in sui & plante substantiam conuertit. Vnde planta radice loco oris / qua nutrimentum accipit: et medulla pro stomacho corde & epate vtitur: in quibus acceptum nutrimentum digerit: & digestum partibus singulis per venulas subtiles transmittit...(52)

But in De l'Ame the lives of animals and of plants are presented as different aspects of a single whole, and it is the synthesis that counts. Nor, paradoxical as it may seem, does the synthesis stop there. We opened this chapter by stating that vegetative soul concerns plant and animal life, but even here Béroalde contrives to stretch the orthodox view. Reisch assimilates the digestion of the plant to that of the human, but Béroalde's panorama of animation is structured in contrast from the base upwards. The alchemist's interpretation of reality is added to that of doctor and botanist. Béroalde has already made the point that stones may not enjoy a vegetative life, but he now adds a further observation in the context of the "digestive". Behind the remark lies the alchemist's conviction that the origin of metals is itself to be explained as a type of growth - so that they too may embody the effects of the vegetative, as Béroalde has already put it, "tant que chacun d'eux à leur parfait arriue". After the animal and the vegetable, the mineral too has its relevance;

> Es autres tout cecy n'a pas mesme ordonnance,
> Car ayant veietté pour croistre leur substance,
> Ils ne veiettent plus & la digestion
> Se fait lors que le chaud en derniere action
> Les tenoit en son sein, tellement qu'en eux cesse
> Auec le mouuement la chaleur qui les presse
> Sous l'effaict vegetant qui ne les touche plus,
> Depuis que leurs corps sont en nature receus
> Accomplis en estat. Par telle difference
> D'iceux on recognoist la solide puissance(53).

Béroalde once more analyses and differentiates, but in doing so orchestrates the different levels of being into a single vision.

Into this the faculties of vegetative soul are woven. The attributes of "nutritiva", with their bias towards function, hold

Béroalde's attention. The "augmentativa" is the subject of a parenthesis, a reminder that the animate is after all separate from the "solide";

> D'auantage il y a pour le tout accomplir,
> Vn pouuoir excitant le pouuoir à nourrir,
> Qui fait qu'en se tournant l'appetit tousiours dure
> Tant que peut subsister la santé de nature:
> Car si tout demeuroit, necessaire il seroit
> Qu'en tout corps acheué l'ame qui dureroit
> Fust ainsi qu'aux metaux egalement solide,
> Sans plus s'aider de chaud, de froid, de sec, d'humide,
> Et sans plus vegeter, tous corps s'accompliroient,
> Et sans y retourner, d'vn coup se nourriroient(54).

But with the "expulsiva" the medical and the mechanical reasserts itself. Curiously enough, it is in this context that we are reminded that the whole design is providential;

> Or pource que tousiours la vegetante est meue
> Et que iournellement la substance se mue
> Dessous son action, l'eternel a posé
> La force qui poussant purge le composé
> Des superfluitez, et iustement les chasse,
> Apres que le meilleur a rencontré sa place:
> Par ceste expulsion, ce qui en quantité
> Nuit dedans l'estomach, est vers le bas ietté
> Dedans les intestins, & l'humeur separee
> Du foye en la vessie vrine est distillee...(55)

Even with this potentially colourful subject, however, the stress remains on function alone. Bretonnayau had shown that the stercoraceous might have distinct descriptive possibilities(56), but to compare his cultivation of this topic with Béroalde's is to bring together two essays different in kind. Bretonnayau is expansive, taking a subject in isolation; Béroalde is analytic, attaching it to a system.

The system is one that includes also the "generativa", and in this too Béroalde's approach is medical and physiological. It is a part-of the medical theory of the time that generation is part of the topic of evacuation from the body, as Pietro d'Abano explains;

> Sperma est superfluitas cibi quarti in toto corpore, et est sanguis magis digestus...(57)

It is equally generally accepted that the sperm contains the whole form of man, and that it is literally the seed from which man as man will grow.(57a) These are ideas which in the <u>Tiers Livre</u> are the material for a comedy, but which in <u>De l'Ame</u> are drawn into a scientific exposition that leaves no detail overlooked;

...Puis en fin est chassé vn subtil separé
D'auec l'autre subtil, qui en vn retiré,
Ainsi que quinte essence est la forme petite,
Où d'vn autre animal toute la forme habite,
Et ce peu est chassé en soy-mesme poussé:
Car il tasche tousiours se sentir auancé
En l'effait naturel par lequel il desire
Le but où son effaict auidement le tire(58).

What is at stake here is not any special theory of the origin of the sperm(59), but the place of generation in a cosmic scheme. The point of reference is not man, but a level of existence. Béroalde continues to think in terms of the correspondence, and a further comparison with alchemy arises. The view is one that he has already expressed in the Recherches de la pierre philosophale;

...ainsi les metaux se perdent ou se peuuent multiplier & meilleurer par la diligence de l'ouurier expert, qui est vn long chemin de les amener à leur perfection d'or & d'argent, ce que seulement promet l'Alchymie par purgation, & non pas faire des metaux...(60)

But this observation now takes its place as one more precision within the presentation of a universal ordering framework imposed by soul -

Les metaux sont priuez de ceste douce humeur
Quoy qu'ils ayent en soy l'effect de la chaleur,
Et ceux sont abusez qui pensent que leur ame
Separee et apres excitee en la flamme
Du feu qui l'esiouit, puisse vn autre engendrer:
Car pour si bel effect faut tousiours vegeter...(61)

The status of metals is now one to be opposed to that of plants;

Mais les plantes ont bien ceste force expulsiue
Qui coniointe suiuant la vertu nutritiue
Et triant cette humeur les fait perpetuer
Et leur subtilité en semence muer(62).

The result of all this is a panorama of the life of the sub-lunar world in its entirety, seen in the perspective of vegetative soul. Its individual aspects merge into a picture of the functioning of the whole, and its continuing action is the guarantee of the order of a world which evolves with a mathematical exactness;

Ainsi ceste vertu qui presque en tout vegete
Se circulant en soy, en ses faits ne s'arreste:
Car ayant augmenté vn coup par l'aliment
Puis faisant engendrer par l'entretenement,
Tire les qualitez que de la nourriture
Elle prepare en fin pour produire à nature
Le simple composé, dont elle sçait agir
Pour faisant croistre vn corps, encores le nourrir,
Partant n'a point de fin qu'en changeant la substance

Par le lien heureux de la viue semence,
Qui s'excitant au pris que la forme s'y met
D'vn corps plus accomply à la parfin la vet,
Que n'aist ou pour mourir, & dilatant sa vie
La rendre au general dont elle estoit sortie,
Ou pour continuant en l'ordre destiné
Produire vn autre corps, qui encor' de luy né
Par vn sentier plié autour d'vn seul atome,
Ainsi que le premier, continuera sa forme(63).

Treschier filz, entre les dons, grâces, et prérogatives, desquelles le souverain plasmateur, Dieu tout puissant, a endouayré et aorné l'humaine nature à son commencement, celle me semble singulière et excellente par laquelle elle peult, en estat mortel, acquérir une espèce de immortalité, et, en decours de vie transitoire, perpétuer son nom et sa semence(64).

Gargantua's letter to Pantagruel is the better-known reference in French Renaissance literature to the idea that man may gain an earthly immortality through his children. For Gargantua this is a subject of consolation, but in the factual and not fictional context of Béroalde's poem there is no part for emotion. The object for Béroalde is the depiction of a system, in which the ability of certain forms of life to continue their species is one eventuality among others. Man's part here is as a representative of a higher form of vegetative life, while the rest comes into a category which has already been mentioned in Les Cognoissances, and whose lives fade into the life of the universe(65). It is not only a harmony, but a hierarchy which De l'Ame confirms;

Icy vous cesserez plantes & mineraux
La vie qui s'ensuit est aux seuls animaux(66).

*

Thoroughness is the characteristic of Béroalde's treatment of the traditional faculties of vegetative soul. The enquiry seems at times even to be over-exhaustive. In itself this is inevitable, once the subject-matter is of more concern to the poet than the aesthetic of the poem. Nor is it without parallel; we need only recall the martyrology of d'Aubigné's Feux. Transposing a critical observation which has been made of that poem, we can say that all the scientific detail of De l'Ame has a place, as it is all equally valid in the eyes of the poet(67). All of it is part of a mechanical explanation of the world, and all of it makes a contribution to proving the proposition

that the world operates according to a harmonious and ordered pattern. Béroalde goes further than either of the partial attempts of Du Bartas and Bretonnayau to describe the physiology and functioning of soul, and resolutely follows through an intention to be comprehensive. The resulting synthesis of vegetative soul is medical, botanical, and even part alchemical. The poetry is an amalgam of Béroalde's own enthusiasms, and it is the embodiment of a continuing aspiration after knowledge. But the mould into which it is cast is that of the scholastic programme of soul, and once more, as in the case of Scève's Microcosme, perhaps even more strikingly in view of the later date, the Renaissance scientific poem is shown to be indebted to its medieval models.

The vegetative in Béroalde's poem, however, supplies the scientific rationale of a world in movement. What is otherwise a scientific commonplace is tied to a specific cause, and each category of soul furnishes the means to a more precise knowledge of the reality involved. In the "vegetative" lies the explanation of the basic processes of life. What follows is the "sensitive", and an evolution from the physiological to the psychological proper.

* * *

CHAPTER IV

L'AME SENSITIVE

Béroalde's De l'Ame advances with even greater conviction, and more explicitly, the thesis of the medieval writers, that the life of every part of the universe is explicable in terms of soul. An alchemically inspired "ame solide" makes the definition more comprehensive still. But within the range of the categories of soul there is a point at which the character of the discussion inevitably changes. The attributes and qualities of solid soul are familiar to the alchemist, and those of vegetative soul to the physician and the botanist. Both are expressions of a material reality. With sensitive soul, the question becomes more complex. Physiology is still the principal means to a knowledge of the five exterior senses, and even, given Galen's location of them in the cerebral ventricles, a legitimate method of understanding the interior ones. But with those interior senses the reality being explained is a non-material one. As such, Vesalius argues in the De Fabrica, it cannot properly be the concern of the doctor;

> ...I can in a measure reasonably follow the functions of the brain, through the dissection of living animals, with some degree of probability and truth. But I cannot understand to my satisfaction how the brain performs its office in imagination, reasoning, cogitation and memory - or however else you may wish (following the doctrines of I don't know who) to subdivide or enumerate the powers of the reigning soul(1).

Vesalius maintains that the mental faculties of imagination, thought and memory cannot be identified with any particular part of the brain, and that a knowledge of anatomy is of no use in the attempt to understand the nature of soul(2). But his is an opinion not expressed before, and its interest from our point of view is that it sharply reveals the medical prejudices of the time.

Traditional faculty psychology makes the boundary between medecine and philosophy very indistinct. Vesalius refuses to go beyond the evidence of his eyes, but medical students were taught, as indeed

Vesalius himself was(3), that the mental powers inhabited their respective cavities of the brain in a literal sense. The doctor is concerned not only with processes of sensation, but with imagination, memory and reason as well. These ideas are reflected in the arrangement of the established categories of soul. The powers of sensitive soul, which man shares with the animals, are all in some way connected with bodily organs. They are divided into two main groupings, the "apprehensive" and the "motive" powers. The "apprehensive" comprises the interior and exterior senses with their organs, the "motive" the power which first commands and then effects motion, through the nerves and muscles. This is the structure which forms the basis for this part of Béroalde's poem, the medical bias of which we see in its insistence upon the physiological. But at the same time, and to a greater extent than in its earlier sections, we are made aware that this is a poem rather than a treatise, as a more consistent attempt is made to enliven the scientific nature of the material.

First, Béroalde embarks upon a review of the five exterior senses. He has already suggested that his poem is now passing from the realm of the recondite to the more directly experienced -

> Or i'attens à ce pas ceste ame belle & viue,
> Qui des autres tenant, & de soy sensitiue
> Coniointe auec son tout, fait iouyr l'animal
> Des aises, du plaisir, & fait sentir le mal(4)

- and this is borne out by his presentation of the sense of sight. The subject is one that has distinct scientific possibilities. The theories of the mechanics of vision are various, and we may turn to the Attic Nights of Aulus Gellius for a convenient summary;

> De videndi ratione deque cernendi natura diversas esse opiniones philosophorum animadvertimus. Stoici causas esse videndi dicunt radiorum ex oculis in ea quae videri queunt emissionem aerisque simul intentionem. Epicurus afluere semper ex omnibus corporibus simulacra quaedam corporum ipsorum eaque sese in oculos inferre atque ita fieri sensum videndi putat. Plato existimat, genus quoddam ignis lucisque de oculis exire idque, coniunctum continuatumque vel cum luce solis vel cum alterius ignis lumine, sua vi et externa nixum efficere ut quaecumque offenderit inlustraveritque cernamus...(5)

There is also the question of the organ of sight, but about this there is generally more agreement. Melanchthon's methodic exposition in his

treatise on soul is representative of others;

> Quid est sensus Visus.
> Est sensus percipiens oculis lucem & colorem, tanquam propria obiecta, & magnitudines, figuras, numerum, motum & situm corporum, tanquam communia obiecta...
> Quod est organum?
> Oculus, & in oculo crystallinus humor, qui & sua natura lucet, et afferunt ei spiritum nerui optici...
> Quod est obiectum?
> Propria obiecta sunt: Lux & Color...(6)

However, in poetry as such sight has another sort of association, and already in the Blason de l'Oeil of Mellin de Saint-Gelais the two levels of literary and scientific co-exist;

> Oeil attrayant, oeil arresté,
> De qui la celeste clarté
> Peut les plus clairs yeux esblouïr,
> Et les plus tristes esjouïr:
> Oeil, le seul soleil de mon ame,
> De qui la non visible flamme
> En moy fait tous les changemens
> Qu'un soleil fait aux elemens,
> Disposant le monde par eux
> A temps froid ou à chaleureux,
> A temps pluvieux ou serain,
> Selon qu'il est proche ou loingtain...(7)

Here the conceit is to draw a comparison between the eye, become sun in the Petrarchan sense, and the action of the sun in the sky, influencing the weather now this way, now the other. Other writers develop the image of the potency of the mistress' gaze, the inamoramento which may be either the most agreeable of experiences, Ronsard's

> ...heureux trait de ces yeulx,
> Qui m'ont parfait l'imparfait de mon ame(8),

or else altogether unfortunate in its consequences, the object of Scève's recollection in the Délie -

> Des yeulx, ausquelz s'enniche le Soleil,
> Quand sus le soir du jour il se depart,
> Delasché fut le doulx traict nompareil
> Me penetrant jusques en celle part,
> Ou l'ame attaincte or' a deux il mespart...(9)

A curious testimony to the power of the image is that in Béroalde's poem it becomes part of a definition. A scientific appraisal of vision which might otherwise be compared to a text such as Melanchthon's is extended by the reference to the vocabulary of love poetry;

> Ceste ame en faculté a premiere la veue,
> Par qui toute chose est par le dehors cogneue,
> Par qui aucunesfois iusques dedans le coeur
> Tombe le doux patron de quelque exterieur...(10)

Like Saint-Gelais Béroalde draws together the scientific and the literary, but in his case the scientific element is turned inwards towards anatomy rather than outwards towards comparison with the macrocosm;

> Son moyen diafane à penetrer facile
> Luy permet les obiets quand sa force subtile
> Venant du nerf optiq qui né dans le cerueau,
> Finissant au cristal du miroir clair & beau,
> Ne reçoit seulement de la beauté l'Idée
> Mais sa priuation qui luy est opposee(11).

Similarly Du Bartas in La Sepmaine makes the eyes "ces doux carquois d'amour"(12), but it is left to Béroalde to have the ingenious idea of supplying the scientific mechanism which validates this role. We should add that an association between scientific theory and an attitude to love is not especially new, and that Béroalde's poem continues what is even a tradition in the Renaissance treatise on love(13). But it is all the more striking in a context where a discussion of love is not the primary concern. The eye is the channel for the sense-impressions from an object, which are then transmitted to the receptacle of the sensus communis, placed by Galen in the brain. Aristotle, on the other hand, locates the sensus communis in the heart. We shall return to this point in a moment, but we can note straightaway that Béroalde seems to be undecided as to which school of thought to adopt, and produces a rather ambiguous phrase. His view of the method of transmission as far as the eye itself is more straightforward, and he reproduces the stoic/Platonic model of sight as an emanation from the object seen;

> Son organe est c'est oeil, qui par mille rayons
> Receuant les obiets, esmeut les passions
> Qui logeant dans le coeur, au sens commun s'espendent
> Et par telle vertu de tout le corps s'entendent(14).

Béroalde's poem becomes the vehicle for a well-established theory of love. In his commentary on the Symposium Ficino had called "vulgar" love a fascinatio, comparing its effects to those of a disease,

and had not hesitated to ascribe its cause;

> L'oeil est toute la cause & origine de ceste maladie, comme a chanté Musee, de sorte que si quelque personne a les yeux agreables, encor qu'aux autres membres elle ne soit pas bien composee, neantmoins elle contraint celuy qui la mire en ceste façon d'en deuenir Amoureux(15).

Béroalde clearly accepts Ficino's view that "amour vulgaire" is "une perturbation de sang"(16), but goes so far as to include it in a definition of the nature of sight. Melanchthon's statement of the objects of vision finds itself extended;

> Tant peut ce beau cristal, qui simple nous fait voir,
> Et qui le plus subtil a le plus de pouuoir
> Ayant pour son obiect la couleur & lumiere,
> Et le trait penetrant d'vne force meurtriere,
> Qui rencontrant à droit ses rayons les moins forts
> Pousse iusques au sang ses estranges efforts(17).

We might also consider another idea which appears in Ficino, namely that the organ of sense has in some way an innate affinity to what it senses(18). Hence the eye as Béroalde describes it is receptive to light and beauty, and is itself "clair & beau", of crystal and "diafane". Aristotle had said that the pupil of the eye was composed of water(19), and in the De Triplici Vita Ficino thinks of the watery substance of the eyes as aiding the process of vision(20). Implicit in the idea of such an affinity, at least so far as Renaissance theories of sense-perception are concerned, is the concept of pneuma. This complicates the question still further(21), but where it has a more immediate application is in the case of hearing. Again according to Aristotle, the medium of hearing is air, and there is a physical unity between the movement of air which is sound and the unmoved air lodged deep within the ear which is the means of its perception(22). Alongside this there is the Galenic theory that the functioning of the body is assured by the bodily spirits, natural, vital, and animal. These spirits are the intermediary between soul and body, and the instruments of sense-perception(23). Ficino for one goes on to identify the air within the ear with the spirit, thereby establishing a direct link between the nature of sound and the whole spirit of the body(24). To come back now to De l'Ame, it seems that Béroalde

in his turn attaches a similar importance to the sense of hearing. In hearing like is perceived by like, and specifically, through soul, harmony by harmony;

> Vn peu plus bas que l'oeil se repose l'ouye,
> Souspiral par lequel aucunesfois rauie
> L'ame s'approche aupres, & s'estonne comment
> S'imite par les corps le doux concentement
> De ses iustes accords...(25)

The Ficinian theory of spiritus and its relation to hearing is given an additional status. Hearing is the link between microcosm and macrocosm, and the means of contact between sensitive soul and the operation of soul in the functioning of the cosmos. The underlying theme is once more that of pattern imposed on discord, through an elaboration of the Aristotelean definition of sound as movement. Sounds come and go, and Béroalde gives them an animated entity of their own rather as Rabelais does for his "paroles gelées". Within this continuous cycle of coming to be and passing away order is preserved through the existence in the ear of the patterns of sounds, and a balance is maintained between permanence and transience. But to the philosophical commentary is related the anatomical detail;

> ...Cette ouye a sa place
> En la concauité qui sous vne peau crasse
> Vn peu subtiliée, est remplie de nerfs,
> Qui gardent les patrons des sons les plus diuers
> Lesquels par l'vniuers, nés & non nés demeurent,
> Subsistent tout soudain, et tout soudain se meurent...(26)

The combination of the detail and the image of the dynamic at the end suggest that it may not be entirely impossible to produce poetry from this material, but Béroalde is more interested in the fullest possible explanation. The nature of the information he communicates is the same as in any number of other expositions, but let us cite as a point of comparison that of Vitus Amerbachius in his De Anima;

> Auditus est potentia percipiens & dijudicans sonos. nam sonus est obiectum huius sensus. Medium eius est aër etiam, non tamen internus, sed externus. Habent enim aures intus collocatum aërem immobilem, ad hoc, vt impulsus ab externo aëre, sentiat omnia sonorum discrimina. Huic est praetensa pellicula, sicut fit in oculis. Igitur noto externo aëre, & vnà eo qui est in aure, efficitur actu auditus, quod non potest fieri, nisi aër motus, non sit dispersus, sed vnus & continuus pertingat

in aurem. Quod accidit, quando colliduntur duo solida corpora, & sonandi vim habentia...(27)

The data is straightforwardly Aristotelean - air as the medium, the unmoved air within the ear, sound as a result of the checking of the movement of the air. Béroalde does not sacrifice the precision, even to the point of the "praetensa pellicula". But his own "sonnant tabourin" has a touch more immediacy about it, and again the idea of movement is insisted upon;

> ...Car vn nerf du cerueau à l'oreille s'estend
> Qui retient le patron, de tout ce qui s'entend
> Remplissant iusqu'au fond de la tendre membrane
> Du sonnant tabourin de son subtil organe,
> Ayant l'air pour moyen où fortuitement
> Se rencontrent les corps, qui mutuellement
> Par leur solidité, inuisible ou visible
> Excitent en mouuant par leur force passible
> Le bruit, son iuste obiet, qui seul le fait iouyr
> Par sa proximité de l'action d'ouyr(28).

Air is equally the medium of the sense of smell, but here the context is altogether more humble;

> Plus bas que ces deux-cy d'vne façon contraire
> Se descend du cerueau la puissance qui flaire,
> Dont l'organe est le Nez et le moyen est l'air,
> Par qui l'odeur se fait iustement discerner,
> Ores douce, ores forte, & selon qu'il contente
> Le cerueau par cela qui l'odeur luy presente(29).

With smell and taste Béroalde is dealing with two senses that have an immediate physical connotation, and this he is not slow to exploit. The scientific can also be the expression of the familiar. In the case of smell, however, Béroalde does not attempt to emulate the transports of Eustorg de Beaulieu, who had found in the nose something near perfection;

> ...Nez odorant cent foys trop mieulx que basme
> Dont la senteur - quand je suis pres madame -
> Vient esveiller mes naturelz cinq sens
> Plus que ne feit onc à l'eglise encens(30).

He prefers instead a realism that recalls the unpleasant odours of Du Bellay's "Vieille Amie". The nose not only smells but makes itself smelt. This is reported with proper scientific detachment;

> Or doit-on remarquer que ce qui tire à soy,
> Pour estre aussi tiré patit semblable loy,
> De sorte que l'organe empesché donne peine
> A la vertu d'auoir efficace certaine,

Et ne pouuant tirer forte ny douce odeur,
Assemble dedans soy vne maligne humeur,
Qui luy fait reietter, comme vn corps momentaire,
Vne odeur corrompue à la bonne contraire(31).

The contrast is with what follows, as from the foul we pass to the sweet. Béroalde introduces taste with much the same enthusiasm as Saint-Amant anticipates his melon(32);

Mais en quelle douceur ma langue fretillant
Par l'apprehension, va le goust desirant?
Quelle friande humeur sur ma langue tombee,
La tient en sa douceur heureusement sucree?...(33)

The sequel is somewhat less expected;

Ha les mots ne sont pas d'vn goust exterieur,
Ils ont vn autre goust non formé par liqueur,
Eschauffee en son sec, aussi ces sens ne passent
Qu'en ce que par dessus leurs puissances compassent...

To the range of emotional states which Béroalde evokes in his discussion of sensitive soul is added that of the aspiring writer, expressed the more spontaneously by one who has already demonstrated a particular interest in the nature and uses of language(34). A tribute to the power of language forms a postscript to the discussion(35). But language relates to a higher reality than that of sensation, and Béroalde returns to his main theme.

A depiction of taste, like that of the other senses, relies on a blend of Aristotle and anatomy. On the one hand, there is Aristotle's statement that taste, while requiring no medium, depends on the presence of liquid -

...as the object of sight is colour, so the object of taste is flavour. But nothing can produce a perception of flavour without liquid; it must possess wetness actually or potentially, like salt...(36)

On the other, there is the doctor's and anatomist's concern with physical process. Both combine in Béroalde's verse;

...ce goust seulement se loge par dehors
Comme les autres sens seruiteurs de ce corps,
Dont vn moyen se tient en la chair spongieuse
De la langue, oú dessus la voute spacieuse
Du palais ou les nerfs descendus du cerueau
Font distinguer le boire, et le goust du morceau,
Qui reposant dessus l'autre moyen excite
Et son humeur sallee auec le corps agitte,
Pour receuoir le bien du doux ou de l'amer
Et de mille autres gousts, qu'on ne peut bien nommer(37).

More markedly Aristotelean still is the primacy which Béroalde allots to touch. The two noblest senses according to Plato are sight and hearing(38), but in the De Anima Aristotle declares that without touch it is impossible to have any other sense. Touch is the most indispensable of the faculties, and an animal cannot exist without it;

> It is obvious, then, that deprived of this one sense alone, animals must die; for it is impossible for anything but an animal to possess this, nor need an animal possess any sense but this...(39)

Touch, like taste, does not depend on the medium of air or light for its operation, but on direct contact. Indeed, for Aristotle taste is a kind of touch -

> ...for it relates to food, and food is a tangible body. Sound, colour and smell supply no food, nor do they produce growth and decay. Hence taste must be some kind of touch, because it is the perception of what is tangible and nutritive(40).

Aristotle argues that tangible things are perceived not by a medium, but at the same time as the medium, "like a man wounded through his shield" -

> In a general sense we may say that as air and water are related to vision, hearing and smell, so is the relation of the flesh and the tongue to the sense organ in the case of touch...when objects are placed on the other sense organs no sensation occurs, but when they are placed on the flesh it does; hence the medium of the tangible is flesh(41).

Béroalde has the same priority. Taste, "dont vn moyen se tient en la chair spongieuse / De la langue", is given a special place in the hierarchy, but the praise is reserved for touch;

> Cette force est bien grande, & si elle s'arreste
> En vn petit de lieu que nature luy preste,
> Encor' n'a elle pas sa vertu simplement
> Et toute entiere en soy, comme le touchement...(42)

Emotions evoked by the platonically-approved senses of sight and hearing are often enough the subject of Renaissance poetry(43), but Béroalde restores the balance in favour of a more Aristotelean preference -

> ...Touchement qui heureux n'a des autres que faire
> Et les autres sans luy seuls ne peuuent rien faire:
> Touchement qui dernier les enuironne en soy,
> Qui à leur action general donne loy,
> Par qui on est heureux, & par qui seul on pense
> Apres qu'on a touché de l'obiect la substance,
> Qui quelquesfois respond mesmes iusques au coeur,

Tant sur les autres sens de force a sa douceur(44).

But behind the pleasurable sensation the poet is, as ever, concerned to point out the scientific reality;

Ce sens a pour moyen la chair vniuerselle,
Qui nerf multiplié le cuir ou peau s'appelle
Couurant les autres nerfs qui respondant dedans,
Portent l'exterieur aux communs iugemens,
Son organe est par tout en la superficie
De la peau qui plus forte ou plus tenue s'allie,
Par le dessus des nerfs qui en l'extremité
Reçoiuent leurs obiets en leur varieté,
Posee és qualitez composant toute chose
Et qui par le toucher du plaisir sont la cause(45).

Béroalde's review of the exterior senses has an evident medical bias, yet a consistent appeal to experience saves it from the arid. The tendency is summed up by the four lines which conclude it;

Tout cecy n'est sinon le sens exterieur
Par qui s'attache au corps le plaisir, la douleur,
Et tant de passions, que iour à iour produisent
Les contraires effects qui en nous les conduisent(46).

The same desire to evoke a physical and an emotional reality is evident in the account of the interior senses which follows.

Béroalde reproduces in verse the physiological psychology of the encyclopaedias(47). Without concerning ourselves unduly with the minor variations to which the system may lend itself(48), let us observe straightway that Béroalde is content to accept it as he finds it. The only extended parallel to what he attempts is Le Temple de l'Ame of Bretonnayau, but Béroalde's concern goes beyond the purely descriptive. Bretonnayau relates, and in extreme detail, the functions of each ventricle of the brain, but in comparison to that of Béroalde, his account is distanced and dispassionate. The brain is placed on the dissecting-table before us, or rather, it is bodied forth from the pages of a book. The physiological is essential to Béroalde's version also, and we are reminded that this is a medical account. But at the same time Béroalde succeeds rather more than Bretonnayau in relating what he has to say to the human. The psychology that he depicts is a pre-existing one, and the emphasis falls more on its effects in terms of human behaviour. Ultimately, Béroalde's pursuit

of the theme of soul leads him from an involvement in the alchemical and the medical to a consideration of an area bordering on the moral philosophical. Within its aim of analysing a universe animated by soul, his poem comes to suggest also a theory of the passions(49).

The first of the interior senses, or the inward wits as E. Ruth Harvey calls them in her recent and excellent discussion of the subject(50), is the sensus communis. We would refer the reader to Harvey's book for a fuller examination of this and the other concepts involved in sensitive and apprehensive soul as it is expressed through the interior faculties, and restrict ourselves to mentioning those points which are the important ones in terms of the poem. The sensus communis, located in the front ventricle of the brain, is a sort of cerebral sorting-office which receives, distinguishes and collates the messages from the five exterior senses. Its position, as the illustration in Reisch's Margarita Philosophica makes admirably clear, is the best adapted for that purpose. But it does not retain the impressions it receives; if it did, it would soon become hopelessly cluttered up and have no room for the incoming sense data. Instead, it dispatches them after a more or less short interval to the imaginatio or fantasia which lies immediately behind it, and with which it forms a pair. The imaginatio can do what the sensus communis cannot, and can store the "forms" of the sense impressions passed on to it. In this way these impressions are available for future reference, either to be perceived again by sensus communis, or to be employed by the cogitative faculty itself.

These ideas Béroalde translates into verse. Bretonnayau does so too, but in a way that is as mechanical as the mechanistic process he describes;

> Luy (le sens commun) cependant ne chomme, ains s'employ à ranger
> Les ombres des obiects, que le sens estranger
> Confusement luy offre, ensemble les compare,
> Le blanc d'auecq' le noir és couleurs il separe:
> Le doux d'auecq' l'amer, le chaut de la froideur,
> Le pesant de l'aigu et l'odeur de l'odeur,
> Leurs causes epeluche, à leurs moyens prent garde,

Et qu'els sont leurs effects contemplatif regarde,
Recognoist leurs rapports et leur varieté...(51)

Béroalde starts on a different foot. Taking it as the representative of apprehensive soul, he first insists upon the physical reality of sensus communis and its operations;

Mais l'ame qui sentant est en l'interieur,
Qui touche viuement le cerueau et le coeur,
Et qui dedans le sang les nerfs & les mouelles
Esmeut ses doux effaicts ou puissances cruelles,
A l'apprehension qui a le sens commun
Espandu au dedans, qui seul qui tout, qui vn
Les rapporte à part soy et comme leur vray centre
Les fait au coeur, au sang, & au ceruau comprendre...(52)

Function in this instance is expressed through an image, and one part of natural reality is related to another;

Car tout ne plus ne moins que du coeur d'vn rameau
Mille petits surgeons sortent au temps nouueau,
Qui poussans vers les cieux leurs termes appointissent
Et viuans du milieu aupris qu'ils s'appetissent
Vers leur extremité, retiennent cependant
Tousiours le mesme suc du premier vegetant,
Ce sens, ce iugement où les autres s'assemblent
Qui n'en est point vn seul, mais à qui tous ressemblent,
Son organe a posé en la concauité
Du cerueau qui le plus reçoit d'humidité,
Qui souuent agreable es esprits plus debiles
Moule mignardement mille formes faciles...(53)

This is a much more fluent and confident account than Bretonnayau's. Béroalde seizes upon the idea that the sensus communis alone partakes of the nature of all the other senses, and produces a characteristically more intimate version of Scève's "arbre renversé"(54). Its purpose is not illustrative, but explanatory. Like the shoots from the branch, the senses draw nourishment from their common faculty in the front ventricle of the brain, the ventricle most open to the humid vapours of the outer air.

What is interesting is that Béroalde chooses to detail not, as does Bretonnayau and as would be more usual in the depiction of this faculty, the nature of the sense impressions received by sensus communis, but instead the various states which might be provoked by it. Bretonnayau reports the orthodox definition of common sense as clearing-house, and no more(55). Béroalde picks out his "mille formes faciles", the images formed by sensus communis from the disparate

messages transmitted by the senses, and makes them the characteristic of this faculty. Sensation is directly linked with readily-identifiable emotion. These "formes faciles" are instanced not in terms of their origins, but of their effects -

> Qui font l'esprit or' doux, ores plain de fureur,
> Ores ny l'vn ny l'autre, ores d'vne autre humeur
> Agitte ses desirs ou doucement la flame,
> Si veue vne beauté il a senti la flamme
> D'vn oeil qui le plus fort, luy monstrant sa vertu
> L'aura facilement par sa beauté vaincu.
> Là dedans bien souuent logera la furie,
> Le desdain, le mespris, le soin, la resuerie,
> Et cette belle humeur qui s'y seiche & s'y fond,
> Qui monte, qui descend & se pourmene en rond,
> Et puis se dilatant par les sentiers obliques,
> Excite le subtil des essences chimiques(56).

Tears are the palpable expression of an emotional state, and Béroalde's explanation of their mechanism is not without parallel(57). But their appearance here, along with the other emotions, extends the normal terms of reference of sensus communis. An account of sensory processes merges into an account of the passions.

The Galenic, and faculty psychology, continue to provide its basis. But we have remarked also on an Aristotelean element in Béroalde's evocation of the senses, particularly of those of taste and touch, and the Aristotelean lies behind a further curiosity here. The question is that of the role of the heart. For Aristotle the heart is the home of sensus communis, and the seat of sensation(58). The heart, located in the middle of the body, appeared to Aristotle to reign over the other organs, distributing warmth and life, and receiving the impressions from the senses(59). The Aristotelean view was shared by others, notably by the stoics(60), but it became increasingly difficult to sustain as knowledge of the body's nervous system itself advanced(61). Aristotle had relegated the brain to the status of cooling-mechanism for the heart, but by the time of Galen the brain is firmly established as the centre of sensation and intelligence. Nonetheless, there was evidently a certain reluctance to abandon Aristotle's theories. Harvey discusses Avicenna's attempt to reconcile respect for Aristotle with a greater knowledge of

anatomy, and shows that he does this via the concept of the bodily spirits(62). Avicenna takes the medically respectable idea that the role of the heart is to refine the vital spirits; it is these, further acted upon by the brain, which are the instruments of sensation and motion. Hence, he argues, Aristotle is justified in teaching the heart's central importance. This is the essential reality which lies behind the appearances investigated, and legitimately so, by the doctors.

Béroalde clearly allows something of this same importance. He cannot deny the location of sensus communis in the brain, but does not wish to deny the role of the heart either. The result, as we have already pointed out(63), is an apparent ambiguity in his account of the exterior senses. The passions moved by sight are lodged in the heart, and the power of the sense of touch is such that it

> ...quelquesfois respond mesmes iusques au coeur,
> Tant sur les autres sens de force a sa douceur.

This too, however, is part of a system. Béroalde retains the role of the heart in the perception which for him leads directly to emotion, and in order to do so makes it the equal partner of sensus communis in the brain. Aristotle's idea returns, but now as part of a duality;

> Outre ce haut estage encores a son lieu
> Le sens comme tresgrand dans le iuste milieu
> Dedans le coeur, qui prompt, & de tout susseptible
> Perpetuellement tant qu'il vit est passible(64).

Béroalde then appears to suggest that the sensus communis is even a universal presence, embracing as it does all the other senses; its presence is identified with the point of sensation. The reasoning behind this would be similar to Avicenna's. The heart, the originator and the distributor of the vital spirits, is the key to the functioning of the body as a whole, and the spirits equally are the vehicles of the sensations. Heart, spirit and sensation are as one. But Béroalde relates this in terms of a more immediate reality;

> Et si ce n'est pas tout: car par tout il s'estend,
> Comme il doit par raison, car tout autre il entend:

Et si en autre lieu sa place on vouloit dire,
Il faudroit le plaisir loger où le martire
Ne passeroit iamais, ce qu'on ne peut donner,
Non plus que de son lieu autrement ordonner(65).

This then is the faculty which takes its place in the overall scheme;

Or il a pour obiet du senti la science,
Et ce qui peut tomber dessous la cognoissance
Et ses actions sont distinguer ce qui prend
Le sens exterieur à la chose presente
Puis à la fin iuger des choses presentees,
D'icelles receuant les parfaites Idees(66).

Sensus communis is a stage in the process of the distillation of reality, from the confused mass of the impressions of the senses to the perfect clarity of the concepts of the intellect. The part played by imaginatio is represented as equally important;

Mais il seroit bien peu si ne luy suruenoit
Ce qui en son estat entretenir le doit,
Et le plaisir soudain delairroit nostre vie,
Si cette ame n'auoit en soy la fantasie,
Qui est vn mouuement que par son action
Le sens fait naistre estant en quelque passion...(67)

The function of imaginatio is to preserve the images passed on to it by sensus communis, and a frequent analogy for its operation was the idea of the seal, which leaves a more or less lasting impression depending on the substance on which it is impressed. The imaginatio is as stone, where the sensus communis is as water(68). The seal is also Aristotle's illustration for the relationship of sensation to reality(69). It is not altogether surprising, then, that Béroalde should return to it. But he adds a further image of his own;

C'est le diuin tableau où se peint sans peinture
Tout cela qui n'est point, ou qui est en nature,
Le principal outil de cette faculté
Estant dans le cerueau, en la concauité,
Qui moins que la premiere humide & vaporeuse,
Reçoit l'impression d'vne image douteuse,
Ayant pour son obiect ce qui est delaissé
Apres que le cachet de la chose a pressé
Son simulachre au sens, & qui diuerse essence
Retient tout freschement du senti la semblance...(70)

Equally through imaginatio sense impressions from the past may be stored, this faculty

Ayant son action egalement au trait
Du senti absenté, qui laissant son portraict
Comme tout releué, encores le releue,
En la matiere proche en sa forme il reserue(71).

The sensus communis and imaginatio together serve the faculty housed in the middle ventricle of the brain, and known either as the cogitativa, or, somewhat confusingly, as the imaginativa(72). The choice of terms relates to its rational and non-rational aspect; it is called the former when part of the intellective soul of man, and the latter when part of the sensitive soul of animals. In man its object is the formation of "universals", the intellectual abstractions derived from the data summoned from imaginatio. In animals it consists of a sort of instinctive understanding that is known as the estimativa. This last Avicenna illustrates as "the power which in the sheep discerns that the wolf is to be avoided, and its own lamb is to be cared for"(73). It is this double aspect which Béroalde preserves in his version;

> Encores nous faut-il en viuant animer
> De cette faculté qui nous fait estimer,
> Qui en apprehendant la forme vniuerselle
> La cogitation dans les hommes s'appelle:
> Telles en nostre sens sont nos intentions
> Meslees sans l'obiect d'imaginations...(74)

A tradition that has its origin in Plato's Timaeus(75) makes the head the most divine part of man, and the lord of the rest of the body. Cogitatio itself, lodged at the mid-point of the brain, is thought of as having a topographical as well as a mental supremacy. This is the idea repeated by Du Bartas in La Sepmaine, with the lines

> Mais tu logeas encor l'humain entendement
> En l'estage plus haut de ce beau bastiment...(76)

Béroalde's poem has a wider span, and this same point is developed, to become the means of a distinction between sensitive and intellective. Once more, the physiological reinforces the philosophical. But we might notice that the issue involved for Béroalde in the supremacy of the reason is not its sovereignty over the rest of the body, but the familiar motif of a closely-defined aspiration;

> Les bestes l'ont aussi, mais en effaict plus basse,
> Car ell' ont du cerueau la matiere plus crasse,
> Aussi l'organe en est au derriere du test
> Plus bas que le sommet, mais és hommes elle est
> En la plus belle chambre, où au cerueau habite
> L'esprit qui raisonnant vers le sommet incite,
> Comme voulant chercher par sa viuacité
> En ce qui est en bas, du haut la verité...(77)

Béroalde's discussion of sensitive soul anticipates a further one, but the actions of "esprit" are to be reserved for the intellective. In terms of the sensitive, the object of the estimativa is brought back, like that of sensus communis, to instinctive emotion;

> L'obiet de cette force est l'amitié, la hayne,
> Le bien, le desplaisir, l'alegresse, la peine:
> Et telles que l'on peut vniment separer
> De ce qui les a fait vn coup imaginer,
> Toutes intentions par force elle apprehende,
> Soit pareille ou contraire, ou soit petite ou grande(78).

In the traditional scheme, as Harvey points out(79), memory, the last of the interior senses, stands to the estimativa as imaginatio does to the sensus communis. Inhabiting the rearmost ventricle of the brain, it stores up what the estimativa has apprehended. To Béroalde this means that it conserves the passions;

> Mais qu'en deuiendroit tout, si d'vn lien heureux,
> N'en estoit retenu ce qui auantureux
> Se frayant par dessus, en vn moment se passe,
> Et comme peint au vent sa peinture s'efface,
> S'il n'estoit arresté dedans l'entendement,
> Le plaisir ne seroit plaisir qu'en vn moment,
> Et la douleur aussi, douleur ne seroit ditte,
> Qu'à l'instant que sa force en nostre ame s'irrite,
> Tout passeroit soudain, & par comparaison
> On ne gousteroit point la douce passion,
> Qui meslee en douleur soulage nostre vie,
> Par l'obiet des pourtraits nés en la fantaisie,
> Qui y sont reserués par la memoire où tient
> Tout suiet dont apres l'homme se resouuient...(80)

The psychological function takes on a clear overtone of the galant. It all represents a rather specialised version of what Bretonnayau writes in Le Temple de l'Ame;

> Mais depeur que le temps, qui sans retourner passe,
> Les vrays originaux n'abolisse et n'efface,
> De chacun exemplaire elle tire & extraict
> Sur ces impressions autre pareil pourtraict.
> Ce qui n'est de grand pris, ce que moins elle estime
> En cire seulement negligemment imprime.
> Ce qu'elle veut garder plus curieusement
> En marbre ou en metal burnie viuement:
> Qu'apres dedans son Louure ell' s'enferme & dispose,
> Souuant deuant ses yeux le remet & propose:
> A fin que du passé se puisse souuenir(81).

It is also noticeably less pictorial. The physiological in Béroalde's poem is no more than that, and the emphasis falls again on an explanation of function. Memory preserves in a pristine state the intentiones, the

judgments arrived at by the cogitativa from the data supplied by imaginatio. The verse is a little bit dizzifying too;

> Et proprement en nous cette saincte puissance,
> Comme née de tout temps se dit ressouuenance,
> Qui garde en nostre sens ce qu'elle a de plus beau,
> Comme en son cabinet, ou vouté le cerueau
> En sa concauité plus grande et plus entiere,
> Plus capable de soy, tient la rondeur derniere.
> Ayant pour son obiet la molle intention,
> Que tire de plus loin la cogitation,
> Entant que separee elle peut non faussee
> Pour changer de suiet entiere estre gardee,
> Ainsi elle reçoit en son egal effait,
> Ce que l'intention des sensibles distrait,
> Pour estre faculté qui fait que le sens pensé
> La forme ou le pourtrait de l'opposee essence(82).

Béroalde is not interested in embellishing the description itself, but in relating it to human experience. It is at this level that the illustration arises, as the areas of experience are clearly defined. Béroalde's first consideration is highly practical, and in the same vein as the one he has arrived at before;

> Sans ce iuste pouuoir celluy qui dans son coeur
> A logé d'vn espoir l'agreable douceur,
> Ne se souuiendroit plus du desir qui son ame
> Anime du bon heur de sa diuine flame(83).

Memory has its part to play in the preservation of systems other than the psychological. It also has its relevance to the philosopher/poet himself;

> Et ceux qui d'vn esprit gentiment curieux
> S'esleuent sur les airs & plus haut sur les cieux,
> Effaceroient soudain ce qu'ils ont au courage,
> Et de leurs beaux pensers se racleroit l'image.
> Bref tout seroit confus mesmes parmy ces vers
> I'oublirois l'escriuant ce suiect qui diuers
> Me fera dire heureux, & par cette memoire
> Me donnera possible vne eternelle gloire(84).

With this personal reference Béroalde's review of the apprehending powers of soul is complete, and however incongruous, or even naive, these final illustrations might seem, they are consonant with the poet's whole presentation of sensitive soul. As solid soul is rooted in the alchemical, and vegetative in the physiological, so the sensitive is given a concrete aspect. The concrete in the case of the exterior and interior senses still means the physiological, but, as we have seen, it is doubled by a stress on the reality of their effects. The

reality concerned here is the more variable one of human behaviour. The motive powers of sensitive soul are not so obviously linked with one particular organ, but in that they are expressed through the nerves and muscles of the body a tangible link with the physical remains. At the same time their immediate manifestation is in behaviour. In his verse account Béroalde takes note of physical process, but inevitably this is overshadowed by the need to expound the diversity of states for which anima motiva is responsible. In this way a trend in the structure of the poem is confirmed, and faculty psychology is put forward as a coherent and comprehensive explanation of human experience. This is more apparent in the poem, with its fuller resources of description, than in the treatises themselves(85).

The appetitive faculty of soul is identified by Plato(86), and discussed at length by Aristotle in the De Anima(87). Aristotle asks the question of what it is that makes the living creature move, and arrives at the answer that this must be a combination of appetite and the practical thought which sets the aim for desire. In terms of faculty psychology, then, appetitiva which causes motion is governed by estimativa(88). Its two branches are the concupiscibilis and the irascibilis. The concupiscibilis, as its name suggests, seeks the pleasurable and the profitable, while the irascibilis, in Harvey's words, "includes emotions such as the desire to overcome something, or to escape from something harmful, and fear, and grief"(89). But the relationship between desire and thought is not always a stable one, and here we can do no better than to quote Aristotle;

> ...mind is never seen to produce movement without appetite (for will is a form of appetite, and when movement accords with calculation, it accords also with choice), but appetite produces movement contrary to calculation; for desire is a form of appetite. Now mind is always right; but appetite and imagination may be right or wrong. Thus the object of appetite always produces movement, but this may be either the real or the apparent good...(90)

While appetite and mind together form a single mover, then, their action is not always in unison. The rider to concupiscibilis and irascibilis is that the passions represented by them may be false

or authentic(91).

Continuing his account, Béroalde introduces the appetitiva motiva as the faculty determining action. The matching force to apprehensiva, it commands motion;

> Or l'ame sensitiue est icy seulement
> En l'apprehension, car double en mouuement
> Outre ce qu'elle tient en force dirigente
> Toutes ces facultez iusques à l'estimante,
> Espandue dans nous motiue la sentons
> Elle commande en nous, nous luy obeissons...(92)

What follows is a dichotomy, as Béroalde gives the motiva the broadest of definitions. For the philosopher it is the force which drives to an enquiry into the visible world;

> Ceux qui d'vn beau desir de rechercher l'essence
> Iusqu'en l'interieur de chacune substance
> Portez par le guindal de leur entendement,
> Ont monté dans le ciel passé le firmament,
> Pouuans des elemens la solidité fendre
> Pour entrer dedans eux leur naturel apprendre,
> Ont nommé ceste force appetitiue, et sens,
> Qui sait l'exterieur selon les iugemens...(93)

In the paraphrase there is an immediate echo of Béroalde's own aspirations, and a knowledge of the world through the resources of reason and observation is a major part of his own enterprise. But alongside the Aristotelean in Béroalde there is the Platonic;

> Mais ceux qui delaissant les naturels images
> N'ont eu que l'Eternel en leurs heureux courages,
> Et qui ont recherché pour nous les dire apres
> De la diuinité les plus rares secrets,
> Ne considerent rien en nostre ame si grande,
> Que l'intellect parfaict qui à l'autre commande(94).

With this double phrase Béroalde leaves the question ostensibly unresolved, but in fact, as the poetry of Les Cognoissances itself had shown, the contradiction for him is not a real one. The poet as philosopher and the poet as the revealer of the ways of God to men are as one. Lest we think that the poet's exhaustive enquiry is losing sight of its original purpose, the interruption serves as a reminder that the scale of values remains the same.

Again Béroalde has anticipated his own argument. The spiritual aspect has its place in the context of intellective soul. What Béroalde describes in his survey of sensitive soul may be subject

to a higher authority, but for the moment it is those lower powers which are his subject. The "other" commanded ultimately by "l'intellect parfaict" is the domain of the passions, represented first by the concupiscibilis; intellect commands,

> ...Et l'autre qui tousiours plain de diuersité
> Retient, ce qu'ils ont dit la sensualité,
> Qui est la faculté qui nous fait trop puissante
> Selon nos appetits suiure la conuoitante...(95)

From the beginning the passions are presented as part of a duality with the intellect; but this is only one term of the duality. The picture is that of the power of the passions in sensitive soul, and as such unchecked by reason. The references, however, are to the human. "Conuoitante"

> ...tant a de pouuoir sur les coeurs qu'elle atteint,
> Que douce les forçant, aisément les contraint,
> Ainsi qu'elle commande, & sa force debile
> Chattouillant les desirs leur presente l'vtile,
> Qui en les allechant par la necessité
> Ne les pousse que trop dessous la volupté:
> Qui de la verité prenant le vray-semblable,
> Nous gaigne par l'effort d'vn effaict agreable,
> Et nous feint ce pendant n'auoir obiet sinon
> Pour tromper nostre auis, qu'absolument le bon,
> Et ainsi se glissant dedans nostre pensee
> Du naturel desir facilement pressee,
> Par le respect du bon rampe sur le plaisir,
> Dont se sent nostre sens facilement saisir:
> Puis pour mieux nous contraindre, elle masque sa force
> Des delicats attraits de la coeleste amorce
> Qui monstre la vertu, à fin de nous garder
> De ce qui peut icy nostre forme blesser...(96)

Increasingly Béroalde stretches the genre from which his poem derives. The label of the concupiscibilis comes from the tradition, but with these lines it is transformed into a social commentary.

The categories of soul have taken Béroalde from the explanation of a physical reality to the different realities of human experience. Now the aspect of human experience itself takes on a different edge. Béroalde takes one definition of the concupiscibilis alone, and through it changes the statement of one more heading in a continuous framework into an essay in the satirical. At one level, this picture relates to a general depiction of the weakness of man, such as we have already seen in Les Cognoissances. But it also goes further. Its key words

are "feindre" and "masquer", and its themes dissimulation and deceit. Béroalde's indictment of the insidious effect of the passions reads very much like d'Aubigné's condemnation of the hypocrisy of the Valois court(97). In this part of De l'Ame the distinction between outer form and inner reality becomes a contrast, and a "conuoitante" that has taken on the force of a personification substitutes the "vray-semblable" for the "vray", and perfidiously disguises herself as virtue. This is the language of d'Aubigné's "coeurs non vrais coeurs, ces desirs non desirs"(98), and which in Les Tragiques is shown to have a direct application to the corruption of an age;

> Si, depuis quelque temps, les plus subtils esprits
> A deguiser le mal ont finement apris
> A nos princes fardez la trompeuse maniere
> De revestir le Diable en Ange de lumiere(99).

What makes the parallel more striking is the remedy which Béroalde proposes for these fatal distractions. The "conuoitante" assumes superficial charms,

> ...Mais toutesfois menteuse aupris qu'elle remue
> Et que nous la suiuons, cruelle elle nous tue,
> Et ne peut-on fuir qu'on n'en soit abbatu,
> Si braue on ne se iette au sein de la vertu(100).

Béroalde, then, proposes the same solution as does d'Aubigné for his young courtier in Princes(101). In this unexpected context, there is a certain precedent for d'Aubigné's satire of a historical situation. Virtue, of course, is a term that appears in many contexts at this time, but there is evidence to suggest that for Béroalde himself the link with a contemporary reality is not lost. It will be more appropriate to discuss this at a later point, since it is in De l'Ame et de ses excellences, published ten years after the first De l'Ame, that this theme of virtue, first stated here, is most fully developed(102).

In the context of De l'Ame et de ses facultes the irascibilis is pressed into illustration of the same truth. Man abandoned to the passions of the senses is no more than their plaything, buffeted now this way and now that. Stability, as in d'Aubigné's universe, disappears. The irascibilis complements the chaos. But it is important

to remember as we read these lines that this is a world which up till now, both in Les Cognoissances and the present poem, has been the embodiment of order(103);

> Encor n'est ce pas tout, vne force mutine
> Seur de la conuoitise, en nos sans s'enracine,
> Et s'agittant en nous d'vn fier commandement
> Nous esmeut à chasser ce qui violemment
> Garde que nostre coeur, plain de iuste vangeance,
> N'execute l'effait de son impatience(104).

Even more than the "conuoitante" the "irascible" is a destructive force, threatening the overthrow of equilibrium. Painting its effects in lurid colours, Béroalde singles out once more the quality of duplicity. Like the "conuoitante", the irascible substitutes false values for true;

> C'est la force qui fait que plains d'ire portions
> Vn regard furieux, & que nous desirions
> D'enfoncer dans le sang de l'ennemy coupable,
> Vn fer qui sans mercy le touche miserable
> Iusqu'au lien heureux, qui retient doucement
> Du feu de son esprit le saint temperament,
> Et tant a de pouuoir dessus nous sa puissance,
> Que se representant d'vne fausse apparence,
> Elle n'a pour obiet, en toute intention
> Rien que l'expediant, le tres grand bien, le bon(105).

A medical periphrasis for the force of life itself expresses those values of harmony and moderation that the passions of anger would destroy. But as in the case of "conuoitante", the weight is thrown upon "vertu". Through the latter the destructive may become the constructive. The idea is the Aristotelean and Platonic one that the desires should work with reason. First a negative irascibilis should associate itself with its more positive partner in the "conuoitante"; then, in harness with "vertu", it may assume worthy objectives -

> Ce pendant elle tient tant de la conuoitise,
> Que si fortifiant, par elle elle s'attise,
> Puis en coroborant l'impetuosité
> Des forces de vertu, & du coeur irrité,
> Elle change, & ainsi par effets dissemblables
> Fait suyure des effaits braues et honorables(106).

Once combined with "vertu", the passions may lie at the centre of a positive ethic, which Béroalde announces in no uncertain terms;

> Est-il rien de plus beau que plain d'ambition
> Desirer voir chacun à sa deuotion,
> Et qu'esperant beaucoup contenter son courage

De ce qu'on veut tousiours estre à son auantage,
Auoir le sang esmeu de se voir en grandeur,
Ne couuer dedans soy que la gloire & l'honneur,
Et se faisant beaucoup tout au pris que l'on s'ayme,
Chacun moindre que soy despriser en soy-mesme:
Puis par vn sort heureux à la fin dominer,
Commender, establir, retrancher, ordonner,
Et ne penser iamais rien nous estre impossible,
Tels sont les beaux effets de nostre ame irascible(107).

These statements appear to be made quite seriously, but in the sixteenth-century context they are unusual ones. The ethic suggested here, founded on pride and ambition, is a far cry from the ideals of grace and nonchalance which Castiglione proposes for his courtier(108). The more accepted definition of "gloire" would be that of Montaigne, for whom it is

une approbation que le monde fait des actions que nous mettons en evidence(109).

"Gloire" in fact tends to be a largely pejorative term, denoting an external sort of honour. But in Béroalde's poem it appears as a self-sufficient principle, and as a means of fulfilment for the individual. For a closer parallel we should have to look beyond the century, to the heroes of the theatre of Corneille(110). We should not though overstate its importance; the idea plays only an incidental part in the poem. What is certain is that it represents a doctrine of virtue as active concept, and this is something to which we must return in the ethical context which is that of De l'Ame et de ses excellences(111).

An active virtue, in which the passions corroborate, is further opposed to a state in which "coeur" and virtue may be at odds. Clearly, Béroalde has a view of the proper force of the passions. There are those of which he strongly disapproves. As fortitude is the most admired quality, so its lack is the most despised -

Mais se debilitant impetueusement
La foiblesse du coeur, qui la vertu dement,
Sous vne honnesteté par les sages prisee
Dessous vne vertu des Saincts recommandee,
Suruient vn autre effait, qui à la verité,
Ne suit point de la court la braue honnesteté:
Mais plustost detournant le plus commun vsage,
Monstre d'vn sang figé, le debile courage,
Qui fait que ceux qui ont vne belle ame au coeur,
N'estiment tels effaits que sottise & qu'erreur(112).

The reference to "la court" is a mysterious one. Could it be that Béroalde, like d'Aubigné, has in mind an immediate reality? The impression is reinforced by what follows, but why the court should be associated with a "braue honnesteté" remains unclear. Béroalde puts forward a practical ethic, and among the states to which it is opposed he sets not only cowardice but the contemplative;

> Car vn courage lasche au desespoir arriue
> En la crainte trebuche, & fait que sot on suiue
> Vne vie qui fait, pour tourner tout en bien,
> Que la vertu d'icy on estime estre rien,
> Et que se reuestant d'vne humble patience,
> On aille par les bois tirer sa penitence(113).

In our view it is more than a coincidence that this poem was published in the same year as the foundation by Henri III of his penitential orders - the Pénitents blancs de l'Association Notre-Dame in March, and the Hiéronymites in December(114).The convent of the Hiéronymites was in the Bois de Vincennes, and was a frequent retreat for the king. Béroalde's poem momentarily joins the contemporary mockery of these orders, reported in the Journal of Pierre de l'Estoile(115).

But the purpose of De l'Ame lies elsewhere. All these remarks flow from the scholastic division of anima motiva, and it is to this that Béroalde now returns. More precisely, he passes from those powers commanding motion to those effecting it, from the appetitiva to the executiva. Before we regret this resumption of the categories, let us remind ourselves that it is through them that Béroalde's universe has its vitalism and life. Nowhere is this more apparent than in this executive power of motive soul;

> Icy vne vertu encores nous poursuit
> Pour auoir quelque place en cette ame qui vit
> Au pris que doucement nostre sens se remue,
> Et pour nous acheuer dedans nous s'esuertue:
> C'est la force motiue espandue en nos corps,
> Qui suyuant l'affectif, correspont au dehors,
> Car par tout se meslant aux nerfs, muscles & veines,
> Pressant ou relaschant ses ordinaires peines,
> Egalement s'esmeut, & se conioint au sens
> Pour en dehors pousser ce qui se fait dedans(116).

This is a faculty which links the inner with the outer world. If we look back now to the schema of d'Ailly, we see that it is sub-divided

into three sections corresponding to the three types of spirit and three levels of existence, the "naturalis", "vitalis", and "animalis". Béroalde converts these to "generalle", "particuliere", and "l'operatiue", but, as we shall see, the assumption behind each is the same. Through vegetative soul, Béroalde's world had become a world in movement, but this in itself now becomes the foundation for a finely-graded study in animation. "Generalle" is the unifying force of sensitive soul, bringing together like with like, and as such a further manifestation of the overall cosmic harmony;

> ...Or elle est generalle, & est particuliere:
> Generale suyuant la loy iuste & entiere
> Des accords desia dits, & qui luy conuenans,
> Vse, s'ayde, & iouit des mesmes instrumens,
> S'esiouit de semblable, & d'vne mesme forme
> Comme d'elle a son tout aisement se conforme(117).

With the "particuliere" Béroalde arrives at a force working within the body itself. This is the physiological effect of sensitive soul. The whole body is given the motion of the heart;

> Mais en ce qu'elle tient de plus particulier
> En tous membres elle est comme organe premier,
> Qui suyuant par raison toute la sensitiue,
> S'excite dans le corps vne force motiue,
> Qui par ces facultez, le fera reserrer,
> Et par mesme pouuoir estendre et dilater(118).

The abstraction of the definition is suddenly abandoned - this is the faculty which brings into the world the movement of animal existence. With a type of Virgilian periphrasis for which Béroalde has already shown a fondness(119), the esoteric is brought literally to life;

> C'est cy l'effait premier de la force plus viue.
> Car plus puissante vn peu se dira progressiue,
> Principe de vigueur, par qui de lieu en lieu
> Haut, bas, deça, delà, au costez, au millieu,
> Se pourra transporter, & libre se conduire
> L'animal qui voudra, ores les airs élire,
> Pour leger y voller, ou s'abaissant plus bas,
> Sur le sec espoissy cheminer pas à pas:
> Ou bien en delaissant les espaces plus vuides,
> Estandre ses costez dans les plaines liquides(120).

Yet again we see that the system of soul for Béroalde is more than an arid classification. It is the means through which the poet perceives a living correspondence and a living principle of unity in the swarm of life.

A strange and rather unfamiliar world of definitions is made to make sense in terms of experience. The experience itself passes from the generalised to the particular as after "naturalis" and "vitalis" the "animalis" is reached, the topmost faculty of animation which itself governs the others. The natural and vital spirits assure the movement and functions of the animal, but the action of the "operatiue", through the animal spirits, is required to direct them. To evoke this Béroalde, as he has done once before, turns to a personal and direct illustration;

> Mais tant de facultez ne scauroient s'exercer,
> Sans le principe heureux qui cause l'operer,
> Car cette vertu fait que la main bien dressee
> Couche sur le papier vne couleur tiree,
> Du bec de ce tuyau, qui fendu doucement,
> Y peint ce que cachons dedans l'entendement,
> Et que d'vn nerf tendu sur le long d'vne lire,
> Elle tire du bois vne ame qui soupire
> La mesme affection qu'aura dedans le coeur
> Pour peine ou pour plaisir, l'ingenieux sonneur.
> Elle dresse la main delicate & mignonne,
> Qui vn peu de son temps à quelque ouurage donne,
> Fait qu'allegre & dispot le ieune cauallier
> Sache vn gentil cheual iustement manier,
> Et que mesme suyuant vn harmoniq precepte
> A certaine mesure il conduise la beste(121).

All we would say is that the activities described, like those of Rabelais' Thelémites, belong to a leisured class, and that it is a genteel world that this particular faculty of soul appears to animate(122).

Behind the picture of the refined society, however, lies the straightforwardly medieval conception. Béroalde's principle of unity comes directly from the tradition of the encyclopaedias, and for each of these engaging depictions of animation there is an immediate precedent in the texts of earlier compilers. Let us take once more the Margarita Philosophica of Reisch. Béroalde's "generalle", the expression of the basic processes of life, clearly corresponds to the standard definition of naturalis, to which Reisch only gives a more medical and physiological complexion;

> Naturalis in epate precipue ex nutrimento sanguinem operatur: quem per venas ab epate ortas ad singula corporis membra transmittit: vt inde nutriantur & crescant(123).

Again, Béroalde's "particuliere" and Reisch's vitalis are the same. "Particuliere" is expressed through the motions of the heart,

Vitalis operatur in corde: cuius feruorem motibus dilatationis & constrictionis / per aeris in spirationem & expirationem temperat. Et in sanguine per arterias a corde ortas ad singula membra exiens omnibus vitam largitur(124).

Further, Béroalde speaks of this faculty becoming "progressiue". We can turn to Reisch for our explanation;

Sortitur autem motiua in diuersis diuersa nomina. Nam que dilatationis & constrictionis motu operatur: contractiua dicitur: vt in vermibus / conchis & ostreis. Que autem de loco ad locum mouet / progressiua appellatur: & hec rursus in organis diuerse enunciatur(125).

The list of various types of motion that follows shows that even Béroalde's panorama of animal life has its model(126). With the "operatiue" not only the concept but the name can be identified from Reisch's account; Béroalde is apparently making the part stand for the whole. The animalis, after Reisch, is lodged in the brain,

...a quo per neruos inde exeuntes sensibus vigorem & reliquis membris motum influit(127).

Béroalde prefers to suggest a similar force through depicting its outward expression. The operativa, we learn from Reisch, is properly the sub-faculty which determines the movement of the limbs;

...que in manibus / rostris alij sue membris ad operationem adaptatur / operatiua dici solet(128).

What Béroalde does is to instance those movements of the limbs which in man are directed by "entendement". Even in a social activity he sees an identifiable function of soul.

Reisch mentions one further aspect of animalis;

Que pulmonem & vocalem arteriam vna cum lingua ad formationem vocis mouet / vocatiue / & affectionum indicatiua dici posset(129).

This too is an elaboration which Béroalde faithfully reports, and in more detail;

Ce pouuoir espandu dedans tous les organes,
Forçant également les subtiles membranes
Cachees au dedans, au plus subtils endroits,
Enuoye du poumom (sic) sur la langue la voix,
Aussi des animaux ceux la seuls la voix iettent,
Qui ayant des poulmons en respirant hallettent,
Et selon la vertu de l'apprehension
Ce pouuoir naturel fait operation(130).

On the other hand, it is evidently a faculty which has a special status

for a writer who has already drawn attention to the problem of the nature of language(131). In a final addition to this comprehensive survey of sensitive soul, Béroalde shows himself to share the attitudes which Peletier du Mans had expressed in his Louangé dé la Parolé just two years before(132). The polyglot Peletier praises the word as the medium of knowledge -

> C'ét la Parolé, ouvrieré d'anseigner
> Tout cé qu'an soe l'hommé peùt desseigner:
> Qui dedans l'amé a concevoèr anclinè,
> Fèt par l'ouyé antrer la Disciplinè,
> Ambeliçant, commé un luisant flambeau,
> Céla qui ét an l'hommé lé plus beau...(133)

Béroalde does not write his own Louange, but announces it;

> La parole en ce lieu tant admirable & grande
> Presque de la chanter en ces vers me commande.
> Mais ie ne puis encor la dire en cet endroit:
> Car pour en bien parler ce lieu est trop estroit,
> Ie veux pour elle seule vn grand oeuure entreprendre,
> Où ie puisse subtil tout entiere la prendre,
> Et demonstrer qu'icy tel parle sans sçauoir,
> Et ne sçait du parler l'admirable pouuoir,
> Possible ie diray si mon siecle en est digne
> Comment le parler seul toute chose designe,
> Et que si plus aisé esplucher ie pouuois,
> Ainsi que ie le sçay plus sçauant ie serois,
> En tout ce qui peut choir sous nostre cognoissance,
> Que ceux la qui nous sont les peres de science(134).

Béroalde and Peletier alike see in "la Parole" one of the finest of subjects, but Béroalde goes even further than the older poet in proposing not only that language is the key to knowledge, but that through a knowledge of language one may attain knowledge itself. The idea is the one suggested at the beginning of the poem, as an approach in this instance to the subject of soul(135). We might place beside it the cabbalistic enquiries of Lefèvre de la Boderie(136), and indeed we are left reflecting that this is an aspect of the activity of the scientific poet that merits fuller exploration.

Béroalde in the meantime pursues his own verbal synthesis -

> Mais, Muse, que fais-tu, ne nous oublions point,
> Nous sommes ignorans, & hors mis ce seul point
> Nous égalons chacun, passons outre mignonne,
> Et voyons cet esprit qui la vie nous donne:
> Non point ce peu de feu qui agite nos sens,
> Mais la diuinité de nos entendemens(137).

The topmost level of the edifice of soul is the intellective. While

not discussing it as such, Béroalde's estimation of the faculties of sensitive soul, particularly in its later stages, supposes the existence of some higher principle to which they are subject. It is with this topic that he now, and finally, deals.

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In the very process of following through the traditional categories of sensitive soul Béroalde's poem crosses a boundary. It is true that in sensitive soul he is still dealing with a material principle. Both the interior and the exterior senses have identifiable organs and identifiable functions, and the forces of appetitiva and executiva in turn have their physiological effects. These are all still powers which regard the working of the body. But the processes of thought, imagination and memory would also interest the philosopher, and the question of the passions and their role in human behaviour is one that concerns the moral philosopher in particular.

In this sense the status of "ame sensitive" is an equivocal one, and Béroalde's discussion tends to bear this out. He approaches the topic from the medical viewpoint, attaching it to a previous consideration of the physiological effects of vegetative soul, and continues to relate it to an anatomical reality. Through sensitive soul he is still concerned with a question of mechanics, and this episode like the two before it takes its place in a poem that sets out to explain how the world works. The senses, as the means of perception, are part of function. In the case of the motive powers of sensitive soul, the function aspect is more obvious still. On the other hand, when Béroalde says that the end result of perception is emotion, and even more so when he suggests that the passions are unruly unless subordinated to "vertu", he is making a different type of statement. From a commentary on physiological function he passes to a commentary on human behaviour.

It remains that through the powers of sensitive soul the body is a mechanism - a sophisticated mechanism, but a mechanism nonetheless.

The apparatus is indeed identical with the purely mechanistic physiology of Descartes(138), but Descartes dispenses with soul. Writing when he does, Descartes too represents the forces of conservatism in preserving the system at all(139), and Béroalde's assumption that the mover of the system is soul is only the other aspect of the tradition. In sixteenth century terms the assumption is an indispensable one. "Pousse iusques au sang ses estranges efforts", "le sang esmeu", "vn sang figé", are the phrases that Béroalde employs. The blood is the link between the physiological and the spiritual, as the material channel of the immaterial vital spirits, themselves the medical application of stoic pneuma. These spirits, refined further in the brain, are the instruments of sensation itself.

At the same time, this method of explaining the functioning of the body preserves a hierarchy. First, there is the gradation of the spirits themselves. But the spirits as a whole, and with them the functions they assure, are the emanation of a lower principle. Their proper justification in terms of the medical theory of the time is that they are the means of correspondence with a higher. Where for the Stoics they had represented the whole body of man, their importance for the medieval theorists, and for those in the Renaissance who follow them, is that they join the material operations of the body to the incorporeal principle of human soul.

This, the principle of reason in man, controls the rest. From the point of view of the moral philosopher, the destructive tendency of the passions is curbed, while from the point of view of the doctor the rational faculty subsumes all the lesser ones. But its essence is different from the powers which precede it in the scale. All those are diverse expressions of the animating heat which is the constant principle of the organisation of the cosmos - Béroalde's "ce peu de feu qui agite nos sens". Anima intellectiva is "la diuinité de nos entendemens", and it is now to an essentially immaterial concept that Béroalde's poem turns.

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CHAPTER V

L'AME INTELLECTIVE

In a world governed by soul the human intellect has at once an integrated role and an essentially separate status. Its home is identified by the doctors as the central ventricle of the brain, and its operations are parallel to those of the estimative faculty in sensitive soul. It stands at the pinnacle of a hierarchy which is a continuous one, extending from the most basic manifestations of life. In Béroalde's poem, as we have noted, the same hierarchy becomes even more all-embracing. But alone of all the types of soul as they are defined in the scholastic tradition, the intellective is the preserve not of many but of one creature to the exclusion of the rest. Its place is unique. To explain its precise nature is much more difficult. Aristotle takes the view, in a way that is not altogether clear(1), that while soul is the first actuality of body, as form to matter, intellect itself is not mixed with body(2). The conclusion would be that intellect is in some way form without matter, but still belonging to the body. Plato, in contrast, accepts the dualism of body and soul, which is the solution taken up by the christian tradition. The soul is divine and immortal, created before and in precedence over the body(3), and the body is merely its fleshly envelope.

Béroalde has come thus far taking a more or less Aristotelean view of the soul and its functionings, but to reach the point of "divinité" is the culmination of that particular hierarchy, and the point beyond which it may go no further. The Platonic and christian tradition separates the human soul from the body, and considers it a principle come from without. In the context of faculty psychology the life of intellective soul is distinct from the life of the rest of the universe. This is a distinction which Béroalde has already made in Les Cognoissances(4), and which he repeats in De l'Ame.

It takes its place here, however, after an actual portrayal of the animation of the world. The statement now takes the form of a retrospective, in which the diversity of names refers to the diversity of the levels of existence which the poem has considered;

> Le monde subsistant subsiste par sa vie,
> Par son ame dans luy d'vne iuste harmonie,
> Meslés également, et d'vn feu temperé
> Par sa medieté est tousiours demeuré
> En l'estat accomply, où l'a mis le grand maistre,
> L'eternel, l'infiny, qui de rien le fit naistre:
> Et cette qualité ou ce sel conseruant,
> Cette premiere humeur, ce germe permanant,
> Cette force, cette ame, ou cette autre puissance,
> Qui forte dedans luy preserue son essence,
> Dite par diuers noms ça & là empruntez
> De ce qu'on l'a pensee, & de ses facultez
> Contient tout auec soy, ainsi que la premiere
> Le doux temperament de la belle lumiere,
> Qui allumant le sang de tous les animaux
> Excite dedans eux les organes vitaux(5).

This is a straightforward account of soul as the quickening force of life, referring us back to the cosmology of Les Cognoissances and its description of creation. Conveyed through the blood it causes the vital organs to function. But, as he had done before, Béroalde makes this the grounds of a distinction. Animals have no other soul than this, and it is no more than part of the universal animating principle. To this it must return at death;

> Aussi cette douceur qui les meut & agitte,
> A leur forme les ioint, combien que tres-petite
> Est partie du tout, & de l'esprit qui fait
> Que tant grand & diuers il subsiste parfait:
> Aussi se dissoluans des animaux les ames
> Comme on voit dedans l'air s'esuanouir les flames,
> Sortant de leur suiet parmy le tout s'en vont,
> Se reioignant au tout dont essence elles sont(6).

After this Béroalde explains at even greater length the special status of the soul of man, as the necessary prelude to a discussion of the intellect. This is unequivocally the christian context, and man is placed in a unique relationship to God;

> Mais cela qui à nous de semblable se preste,
> Ne suit pas tel estat que l'ame de la beste:
> Car plus dignifié il a ie ne sçay quoy,
> Qui le remet au tout, non par semblable loy,
> Encore, qu'en apparence il y passe & perisse,
> Et qu'en son premier rien telle ame euanouisse
> D'autant que nous auons en icelle espandu,
> Vn esprit qui a plus mille fois de vertu,

Vn esprit immortel, vne diuine essence,
Vne forme de Dieu vne sainte puissance,
Qui comme petits Dieux enfans de l'eternel,
Eternise par soy ce qu'auons de mortel(7).

Once again, the specifically christian rescues Béroalde from a Virgilian and stoic pantheism. An individual and immortal soul is the direct gift of God to man, over and above the ways in which man, through the workings of the vegetative and the sensitive, participates in the general animation of the cosmos. This Béroalde calls "esprit", to distinguish it from soul as cohesive force in the created and finite;

Cet esprit qui aussi entre nous se dit ame,
N'est point ainsi que l'autre vne accordante flame
Dans les corps composez, mais vn esprit entier
Vne diuinité qui est d'vn Dieu premier,
Qui respirant en nous, tant clement il nous ayme,
Sans rien oster de soy nous donne de soy mesme
Cette belle lumiere, ayant l'estre tout tel,
Qu'en le nous respirant a voulu l'immortel(8).

Béroalde sketches an orthodox picture of the origins and nature of human soul, and is careful to distinguish a divine "esprit" as the mark of its uniqueness. By the same token, that "esprit" lies beyond the concept of soul as it has been explored in the poem. Recognised as divine, neither its nature nor its relationship with the other parts of soul in man may be enquired into further, and by definition it cannot be part of a synthesis of soul as it may be perceived through the created world. Within the scale of values that is Béroalde's, this is the essential interdiction, and the language is as uncompromising as that of similarly-inspired passages in Les Cognoissances;

Mais gardons de chopper, il nous suffit d'entendre
Ce que veut l'eternel que nous puissions comprendre
Enfermez en ces corps, de ce qu'est sa grandeur,
Qui plus en veut sçauoir a le coeur plain d'erreur,
Est superbe & méchant, indigne de la vie,
Meritant que par force elle luy soit rauie(9).

The nature of the "esprit" is then both inevitably and necessarily mysterious. But its effects are transparent. Joined with soul, it is the means of a double life for man, and in this double life Béroalde sees the origin of the intellect. Spirit lifts soul to the level of understanding, and in the union of the two lie the operations of anima intellectiva. A dualism between body and soul is restated as a dualism

between a celestial "esprit" and a soul representing life as physical function, and in which both terms are valid;

> Or cet esprit heureux des hommes le plus beau,
> Conioint à ce qui peut tomber sous le tombeau
> Se respent dedans l'ame, ou la vie doublée
> Est par dessus les cieux sainctement esleuee,
> Par son diuin effait, ainsi vifs doublement
> Par l'ame & par l'esprit auons l'entendement
> Outre les animaux, qui sans plus ne iouissent,
> Que des ames d'icy qui auec eux perissent,
> Et pourtant nous nommons entre nous cet effet,
> Bien qu'il soit ioint en nous, le diuin intellect,
> Que nous distinguerons en ces iustes puissances
> Ainsi qu'il est fait vn, en nous de deux essences...(10)

Such a long and carefully weighed introduction before a discussion of the powers of intellective soul is a striking one. Béroalde evidently feels it imperative to underline the christian definition of "esprit", and the intellect becomes simply its manifestation. This is the most explicit reminder in the poem that the scheme it describes is subordinated to a higher reality, and Béroalde is almost self-conscious in formulating it. As in Les Cognoissances, he is at pains to demonstrate the validity of his exercise, and to show that it operates within a legitimate concept of knowledge. In the case of soul, it is only with the intellective that the problem arises. Calvin, for his part, had been disparaging of the philosophers' claims to analyse the faculties of soul(11), but Béroalde could have found justification in the fact that even so he leaves the door open to enquiry;

> ...Or quant est des facultez, ie laisse aux Philosophes à les deschiffrer mieux par le menu, il nous suffira d'en avoir une simple déclaration pour nous édifier en piété. Ie confesse que ce qu'ils enseignent en cest endroit est vray, et non seulement plaisant à cognoistre, mais aussi utile et bien digéré par eux, et ne voudroye point destourner ceux qui ont désir d'apprendre qu'ils n'y appliquent leur estude(12).

"Le désir d'apprendre" is Béroalde's motivation, and after his lengthy proviso he comes to anima intellectiva as its further legitimate object. Through its operations the intellective comes within the scope of the poem's enquiry;

> Car l'ame auec l'esprit, dedans nous ne sont qu'vn,
> Ayant dedans nos coeurs commandement commun:
> Et pourtant les dirons du nom d'ame qui viue,
> Et qui en cet endroit s'entende intellectiue(13).

At the same time it is made abundantly clear that the topic goes beyond the terms of reference of all other categories of soul.

A discussion of the intellective completes an evolution away from the physiological. By definition it concerns the immaterial. Sensitive soul too in part involves immaterial processes, but there the link with physical organs remains. In the case of the intellective, the question is more complex. The medical tradition, which has its source in Galen, gives the reason a precise location in the central ventricle of the brain. This however is in direct contradiction to the authority of Aristotle, who asserts that the intellect has no bodily organ. Moreover, even in the medical tradition there is a problem, in that it fails to answer the question of why, when the cerebral ventricles are observable in both animals and men, the power of reason should be man's alone. Asked to explain the precise nature of reason's dependence on the organs of the brain, the doctors are reduced to the most tentative of hypotheses(14). The solution, then, is not a very satisfactory one, and reason appears as no less an intangible principle. The difficulty is the need to account for it as an active force, working on the data supplied to it by perception. To meet this faculty psychology produces an elaborate and intricate scheme.

Béroalde starts with a definition. Its terms are those of the tradition. The intellect is divine, immortal and incorruptible, separate from the body, and not limited to any bodily form. A close parallel is once more to be found in the Margarita Philosophica of Reisch, as it could also be found in others;

> Anima est substantia spiritualis / simplex & indissolubilis: inuisibilis & incorporea: passibilis atque mutabilis: carens pondere / figura & colore(15).

In De l'Ame, in this borderline area between the spiritual and the terrestrial, the Calvinist note emerges, and the definition is completed with a warning;

> Premierement elle est en son degré parfait,
> Du tout aprehensiue & se dit l'intellect,

Cet intellect heureux qui saint non perissable,
Va par dessus les cieux de nos corps separable,
Et en sa dignité iamais ne se corrompt,
Car il n'est distingué par quarré n'y par rond,
Ny par les elemens, ny sous quelque mesure,
Ne tombe sous nos sens sa parfaite nature,
Il est vif & leger, et sans vser du corps,
Ores il est dedans ores il est dehors,
Sans qu'il ait plus ou moins: car cette intelligence
Mouuant dedans l'esprit est de l'esprit puissance,
Qui n'a corruption sinon quand reuolté
Il mesprise de Dieu la saincte maiesté(16).

In the scheme which has evolved by the time of d'Ailly's treatise the two main branches of the intellect are knowledge and the will(17). Béroalde, following the same tradition, takes each in turn. The action of the intellect in knowledge lies in the perception of the universals, the forms abstracted from the data of experience. In the performance of this function it is known as the intellectus agens, and this passes direct into Béroalde's verse;

Premierement agent d'vne action doublee,
Comme l'illuminant il abstrait toute idee,
Qui sensible existant d'imagination,
Les reçoit iustement en leur proportion,
Puis les ayans ainsi du suiet retirees,
Il les tient dedans soy iustement assemblees,
Ayant pour son obiet de cognoistre ce qu'est
La chose qui par luy en forme se cognoist,
Qui retiree estant de l'espece animale,
L'esclarcit pour la voir de sa lumiere égale,
Et se manifester ce qui tant seulement
Tombe sous le pouuoir d'vn vif entendement(18).

Béroalde goes on to follow the precise pattern which the medieval writers adopt in order to explain how such a power is realised. First, the intellect contains in potentiality its power to perceive the universals. This is what Reisch means when he refers to the intellect as "passibilis", and the division of intellectus passibilis duly appears in d'Ailly's framework. It is defined as the passive state of intellect before it has received intelligible forms, and may also be called materialis after the first matter which precedes all creation(19). Once more, Béroalde's transcription is literal;

D'auantage en son tout il est en soy passible,
Semblant ores plus fort & ores plus debile:
Car parfois on le dit estre materiel,
Lors qu'il ne tient en soy nul existant formel,
Et que tant seulement par sa capable essence,
Les formes il retient dedans luy par puissance(20).

However, both the agens and the passibilis take their place within the ambit of a poem in which the imposition of order upon the disordered is a constant motif. The intellect itself may be the supreme embodiment of the principle of harmony. It is when that harmony is threatened that the tempo of the poem rises. This we have already noted in Béroalde's depiction of the concupiscibilis and the irascibilis faculties of sensitive soul. Unless restrained by a higher force, the power of those faculties is a destructive one. Intellect is such a force, but it now appears that intellect itself may be threatened. Béroalde's commentary takes the form of a disenchanted reflection;

> Et qui pourroit penser que le iuste intellect
> Se peut iamais lier à vn estre imparfait,
> Et que la sapience en ce monde deesse,
> Tombast sous le pouuoir de l'ame tromperesse:
> Qui par l'opinion & le soupçon meschant
> Tasche à destruire ce qui est permanant?
> Et que cette science eternelle & diuine,
> Fondee en verité peut tomber en ruine?
> Et que cette prudence animee du bon,
> Ainsi que n'estant rien patit priuation?
> Et que l'art qui du vray fonde ses axiomes,
> Peut prendre en vn moment tant de menteuses formes,
> Comme l'opinion, & le soupçon, qui sont,
> Ou le vray, ou le faux, comme ils le contrefont,
> Et qui se dilatant d'importunité pressent
> Ceux qui par les vertus, leur iugement ne dressent?(21)

Intellect is the culmination of a hierarchical system of soul, but it is also for Béroalde the starting-point of another. These lines are an aside in the present poem, but their sentiments become the basis of a programme in the later De l'Ame et de ses excellences. Again, the parallel is with the earlier description of the passions. At the most general level, this abrogation of the designed workings of the intellect, like the unbridled effect of the passions, is an affront to the concept of a harmonious world ruled by providence. In this case, it is also an explicit challenge to the status of knowledge itself - "la sapience en ce monde deesse". "Sapience" is identified with the intellect, and with the divine, and the scientia which is its object is "diuine" in its turn. Béroalde's attitude to knowledge is promoted to the status of a philosophy of knowledge. "Opinion"

and "soupçon" are its enemies, as the passions are the potentially disruptive forces at the level of sensitive soul. Like the passions, they are evoked in terms of duplicity and deceit, and like the passions they may present "faux" in place of "vray". The positive term, and the refuge, is once more "vertu". However, "vertu" is now given an implicit identity. The only absolute value is "le iuste intellect", but like Plato's soul, it is weighted down by an imperfect element(22). A return to "vertu" must in some way be a return to the enlightened rule of intellect itself, and a direct link emerges between "vertu" and the cultivation of knowledge. With this the argument moves to another plane, and it is these themes which are developed in De l'Ame et de ses excellences(23).

In the later poem a theory of knowledge is given an ethical significance, and becomes the foundation of a moral philosophy. In the present poem the process of knowledge is explained in every detail, and the concern with function is maintained. The medieval categories continue to provide the material. As the intellectus passibilis represents absolute potentiality in terms of the process of thought, the theorists of soul conceived of a state in which the intellect, while not actually active, is directly prepared for action, having in its possession the patterns and processes it will use. This they called the intellectus in habitu. Its nature is best explained by analogy, and we borrow Harvey's words (after Avicenna's De Anima);

> As intellect gradually obtains control over rational processes and principles, it comes to a stage like that of the scribe who has mastered the art of writing. The trained scribe can write whenever he wants to, he is a scribe even when he is not actually writing. In the same way a man who has mastered his intellectual processes can think whenever he likes; his intellect is then called intellectus in habitu(24).

For Béroalde this means that the essence of intelligence is balance, and that intellect operates in equilibrium in an ordered world;

> Or cecy qui patit se trouue disposé
> A lors que dedans soy menteur, ny abusé
> Les principes il tient, dont les formes cognues
> Sont dedans luy par luy iustement retenues,
> Lesquelles ressemblant en leur conuersion,
> Se fait de l'entendement l'aquisition...(25)

Still paraphrasing Avicenna, Harvey continues;

> When the scribe is actually writing, he is putting into effect the skill he has in potential; in the same way, when the intellectus in habitu is actually thinking, it is in effect, and called the intellectus accomodatus(26).

Béroalde's version similarly takes the form of a report, but again adds the precision that intellect functions as harmony;

> ...Combien qu'il ne soit pas de nature changeante,
> Pour principe former sa faculté faisante,
> Par laquelle il est dit à lors accommodé,
> Tout ainsi que par luy l'effait est regardé,
> Et que considerant par action la chose,
> Ainsi que la faisant, à elle il se dispose.
> D'auantage cette ame où est l'entendement
> A comme vn ordre en soy distinguant iustement
> Son haut d'auec son bas, qui fait que l'on estime
> De sa force plus grande ou de sa plus infirme(27).

The potentiality of the intellect is realised in the interaction of the intelligible forms within it and the data of perception supplied to it. It has in this way its power to consider universals, and to abstract from experience. This aspect of its activity is what d'Ailly calls intellectus speculativis, or Avicenna the virtus contemplativa(28).

What the contemplativa is not concerned with is the direction of individual actions. This function is fulfilled by d'Ailly's intellectus practicus, Avicenna's virtus activa. Harvey describes the operation of the latter as follows;

> ...virtus activa looks downwards to the body, and considers what is right and wrong, lawful or unlawful, in the particular incidents of human life. When this latter power works with the appetitive powers it brings about laughter and blushing, and the human emotions; working with the inward wits, it discovers art and natural principles(29).

The intellect is not only a process within the mind, but a practical instrument. This second aspect is the one that Béroalde emphasises. Highly appropriately in a poem which, like the one before it, has as its guiding principle "Ie recherche de tout la forme interieure", some of the concluding pages are devoted to an explanation of intellectual enquiry itself.

It is the combination of the intellect with the "inward wits" of sensitive soul which interests a poet whose own dedication is to the pursuit of knowledge. For him the truth of the intellect is to

be found rather through what it does than what it is;

> Mais pour mieux arrester de cette faculté,
> Faut de son action chercher la verité,
> Et cete difference en icelle amassee,
> Qui comme estant plusieurs en quatre est disposee...(30)

Béroalde's four actions of the intellect are "l'inuention", "la iudicatiue", "la memoratiue", and "l'interpretatiue". Each is an active power of the mind, helping in the production and the conservation of the abstract intentiones, and each corresponds to an internal power of sensitive soul. The intellect is now shown to guide and control the mental processes which Béroalde has already evoked in the earlier context, and to that first picture a specifically rational superstructure is added.

The term "invention" is more generally encountered in the literary context, as a part of rhetorical theory. It is as such that it makes its appearance in Reisch's Margarita Philosophica -

> Quid est inuentio?...Est verborum & rerum aperta negocijs excogitatio(31).

This statement comes from the third book of Reisch's manual, which is devoted to a discussion of the parts of rhetoric. It is the same definition which Ronsard later develops in his Art poëtique françois;

> L'invention n'est autre chose que le bon naturel d'une imagination concevant les Idées & formes de toutes choses qui se peuvent imaginer tant celestes que terrestres, animées ou inanimes, pour apres les representer, descrire & imiter...(32)

Equally obviously, these definitions of inventio, and those of Cicero and Quintilian from which they spring, suppose its status as a mental process. Inventio is an extrapolation from reality, and involves an effort of the mind. In fact, Cicero elsewhere defines inventio purely in this sense, referring to

> illa vis quae investigat occulta, quae inventio atque cogitatio dicitur(33).

Inventio is assimilated to the process of thought itself. It is "the investigating power of the mind, that which seeks out the hidden causes and reasons of things"(34). The words are those of Grahame Castor in his book Pléiade Poetics, and we quote them as they provide a particularly apt illustration of what is Béroalde's central

obsession. Béroalde returns to the idea of "invention" as power of intellective soul, and in writing about it he is writing about his own ambitions;

> ...l'espece premiere est la viue action,
> Qui pousse à rechercher, dite l'inuention,
> L'inuention qui fait aupris qu'on la rencontre,
> Que l'homme foible et rien, grand & sçauant se monstre,
> Car en elle du vray est l'inquisition,
> Par soy entierement sans supposition
> Du vray, dont bien souuant on a la cognoissance
> Par heureuse rencontre, auec l'experience,
> Soit en assemblant tout par compositions,
> Soit en remuant tout par resolutions,
> Ou bien par le moyen de ce qu'on peut cognoistre,
> Duquel suyuant l'effait ou consideré l'estre,
> Ou ayant son estat en l'intellect conceu,
> De l'effait on atteint à ce qui est cognu...(35)

In this seeking after truth, and this aspiration after the cause which lies behind outer effect, the "entendement" inevitably has its role. But it is a function which also depends upon the data of experience, and Béroalde specifically allows for the contribution of the senses. Its operations are practical, and not that of any disembodied intellect;

> ...Pour à quoy paruenir sur tout entre en vsage
> La disposition d'vn entendement sage,
> Qui est quand l'intellect en son tout estendu,
> Apperçoit iustement ce qui est entendu:
> L'experience aussi, qui est la certitude
> Que les sens ont cognu entre la multitude
> Des infinis obiets, qui sont tombés en eux,
> Par l'effait bien conduit ou par l'auantureux(36).

"L'inuention" presents the parallel at the level of intellective soul to the functioning of <u>sensus communis</u> in the reception of the simple sense impressions, and its role appears as in some way complementary to it.

<u>Inventio</u> is the vital preliminary to the process of reason and intellectual enquiry. It constitutes the first identification of the idea upon which the intellect will operate. But Béroalde passes on to another power;

> Cette aprehension & reception nue
> Qui reçoit simplement la chose retenue,
> Ne sert pas moins que fait cette conception,
> Qui les formes reçoit quand en l'intention
> L'intellect est compris, & s'embrassant soy mesme
> Reçoit de l'entendu le millieu & l'extresme(37).

Unfortunately, the distinction in these lines is not entirely clear, as inventio itself must be a function of the intellective. Béroalde goes on to say this himself, but he also explains further what the purpose of the second power is;

> Encor pour inuenter il faut que la raison
> Face dedans nos sens quelque opperation,
> Et que cette vertu dont l'effait admirable
> Par ses conclusions rend l'homme raisonnable,
> Qui est le vray discours que fait nostre intellect,
> Quand pour venir à l'vn de l'autre il se distrait,
> Que comme se mouuant par vn certain espace,
> D'vn obiet à vn autre en sa puissance il passe(38).

Inventio perceives the abstract impressions which are the intentiones, but these must then be gathered together and compared one with another. As the images from the senses are stored in imaginatio and passed on to the cogitative or imaginative faculty, so there is a power at the level of intellective soul which is concerned with combination and selection.

This is the "iudicatiue";

> En la distinction qu'en ce lieu nous faisons,
> La force de iuger seconde nous disons,
> Qui n'est rien que l'effait de l'action subtile,
> Par lequel l'intellect plus puissant que debile,
> Se releuant vn peu, discerne iustement
> Le faux d'auec le vray, et a son fondement
> Sur les cinq facultés qui donnent la science,
> Par la diuersité de leur experience(39).

Memory in its turn has a special role. Here we can look to Reisch for a measure of elucidation, as he too distinguishes an intellective memory from the sensitive one, and explains its role as part of passive intellect;

> Passibilis...omnium intellectiones in se recipit. Dum speciem intelligibilem ab agente & phantasmate causatam recipit & conseruat / memoria intellectiua dicitur(40).

Béroalde differs in making this both active and passive power;

> Pour tiers nous remarquons ce que (sic) fait souuenir,
> Qui memoire, de soy par soy peut retenir
> Comme riche thresor les formes entendues,
> Dont les especes sont par leurs effaits conceues,
> Et qui forte de soy refait celles qui n'ont
> Aucun trait naturel de l'essence qui sont,
> Ou bien les establit lors que parauanture
> Cheant de leur suiet se corrompt leur nature(41).

None of this is particularly easy to follow in detail, and in this respect Béroalde's poem is reminiscent of the encyclopaedic

tradition from which it derives(42). But through it the highest form of soul is shown to operate according to the same sort of precise pattern as the rest. The intellect attains its object through closely defined stages, and there may be a functional aspect even to the essentially immaterial. This is most apparent of all in the "interpretatiue", the faculty through which the judgments of the intellect are externalised. Béroalde, whose announced ambition is knowledge and its communication, sees in this single aspect the justification of the rest, and in particular the affirmation of a "parole, heureusement diuine";

> La quatriesme espece aydant l'intention,
> Est la commodité d'interpretation,
> Qui est puissante & forte, & par qui accomplie
> Toute autre faculté apparoist esclarcie,
> Par l'effait cogitant, dont les pinceaux heureux
> Despeindent les suiets tous semblables à ceux,
> Qui sont compris dedans pour les faire paroistre
> Tels en l'exterieur, comme ils sont en leur estre,
> A fin que rencontrant ce qui par signe expres
> Signifie leur forme, & les demonstre appres,
> Qu'ils ont esté conceus, subsiste en euidence
> Le dedans & dehors de la vraye substance,
> Ce qui par mouuemens se demonstre par fois,
> S'explique par le geste, & se dit par la vois,
> Qui forme la parole, heureusement diuine,
> Monstrant tous les desirs cachés en la poitrine,
> Et anatomisant les parties du coeur,
> Monstre s'il est atteint de plaisir ou douleur,
> Descouure du cerueau les secrettes pensees,
> De celle (sic!) les ardeurs aux veines attisees,
> D'vn chaud continuel, fait cognoistre le froid
> Qui par contraire effait au sang se trouueroit(43).

The uniqueness of the intellect, and of man, lies in the attainment and the communication of knowledge. But the final section of the poem is devoted to demonstrating that there is a further higher principle, that of the will. To the end Béroalde follows his medieval model, distinguishing now the volitiva from the cognitiva in the functions of intellective soul(44);

> Mais ce n'est pas assés d'auoir osé apprendre
> Qu'elle est l'intellectiue à fin de la comprendre,
> En ce qu'apprehendant elle nous fait sentir
> Ce que peut nostre esprit des choses retenir:
> Il le faut voir icy au souhait qui l'attire,
> Dessous ses appetits à cella qu'il desire,
> Qui sont ses volontés qui ont pour tout obiet,
> Tout cela qui est bon ou du bon le respect(45).

The intellective like the sensitive has its motive or appetitive faculty, and this lies in the will. In principle, man is moved to action not merely by the instinctive stimulus of estimativa, as are animals, but at the prompting of his will, which takes a choice between several different alternatives. Like the appetitiva in sensitive soul, it may take the form of the concupiscibilis or the irascibilis. It is explained by Reisch in the Margarita Philosophica;

> Sicut in sensitiua preter apprehensiuam etiam appetitiuam siue motiuam ostendimus: sic & in rationali preter cognoscitiuam: quam intellectum nominamus siue rationem / etiam appetitiuam inuenimus: quam voluntatem dicimus. Et est (vt inquit Augustinus lib. de duabus animabus) motus animi cogente nullo / ad aliquid vel non admittendum / vel adipiscendum. Subsunt enim voluntati irascibilis & concupiscibilis. Per hanc contraria non admittit: per illam conuenientia addipiscitur: verumtamen vna sunt res cum voluntate: nec realiter & organice ab ea distinguuntur: quemadmodum in sensu. Hic est appetitus rationalis motum imperans in rationalibus ad ea que ratio cognoscit(46).

Béroalde first emphasises that the will is equitable, the further embodiment of harmony. It is only restricted by the force of the law, for which the poet has already shown his respect(47). Referring to the intellect, then, Béroalde continues

> De sa iustice tient ce vouloir la balance
> Pour se parfaire en soy par le mesme d'essence,
> Qui comme dans son propre, estant son equité
> Parfait se contregarde auec sa pureté,
> De façon que tousiours cette volonté belle,
> Par sa propre iustice equitable s'appelle.
> Il est bien vray aussi, mais c'est improprement,
> Qu'elle garde par fois son accomplissement,
> Sous vn droit suruenu, par la loy establie,
> Qui outre sa nature estroitement la lie(48).

It is clear, however, that this balance may be threatened. Man's soul is sensitive as well as intellective, and Béroalde has already evoked the potential conflict between the two parts. The appetitive powers may be moved to action by the reason, embodied in will, but they may equally be excited by the senses alone. The appetency of will may be supplanted by the appetency of desire. Béroalde is quite clear in distinguishing between them;

> Or en ces actions l'appetit excité
> Est extraict au regard de son but arresté,
> Qui est vouloir tousiours en se forceant de sorte
> Qu'il desire iouir de ce qui le transporte,
> Ayant pour cét egard en soy exactement
> L'election, l'vsage & le consentement.

Or il y a encor des effaits dissemblables
Qui ores sont fascheux & ores agreables,
Quoy qu'ils soyent ordonnés selon la volonté,
Ou que selon raison leur tout soit arresté,
Ou suyuant le pouuoir des membres qui se meuuent
Iustement, tout ainsi qu'auec eux les sens peuuent(49).

When the will is joined with appetency, however, the union of soul in spirit is in Béroalde's eyes at its closest. It is this which he sets out to illustrate here. Through the action of the intellect the "conuoitante" is brought to its highest point, and such, according to the poet, is the origin of the emotion of love. Where Les Cognoissances sets love in its social context, De l'Ame relates it to the highest action of the mind. In either case, considerable status is conferred upon it, and this is clearly another enthusiasm of Béroalde's in its own right. Through this topic faculty psychology is given an immediacy it lacks in an account such as that of Reisch, and the reality to which it is attached is now rather the literary one of a Petrarchan "doux-amer";

C'est icy que se ioint le plus estroitement
L'ame auec son esprit qui en l'assablement
De leur communauté egalement attise
Le plus subtil brasier du feu de conuoitise,
Qui met dedans le sang le fier elancement
Des desirs de l'amour ou de son doux tourment:
Et qui versant és os ses enuies cruelles,
Y excite souuant mille haines mortelles,
Nous fait chercher l'obiet qui le coeur vient saisir,
Pour iouir doucement d'vn desiré plaisir:
Puis apres quelques fois d'vne contrainte force
En nous ayant tendu de ses douceurs l'amorce,
Nous en ostant le bien, auec trop de malheur,
Nous precipite au mal d'vne estrange douleur.
Ce desir inconstant qui se couue en nostre ame,
En sensualité y attise la flamme,
Qui à bien ou à mal venant toucher nos coeurs,
Les incite aux souhaits, & les pousse aux fureurs(50).

After its long and methodical progress De l'Ame ends with a sudden burst of animation. Concupiscibilis is swept onwards into irascibilis, and a different and unredeemed emotion;

Et pource que le mal dessus nos sens domine
Plus souuant que le bien: cette force mutine
Sous le nom de courroux loge dans nostre flang,
Poussée de nostre coeur s'espend en nostre sang,
Nous faisant mainte fois, animés de furie,
Tromper, forcer, iurer, tuer, porter enuie,
Ne penser rien si grand qui nous puisse garder
De suyure le desir qui nous fait hazarder
Aux efforts, à la mort, & plains de hardiesse
Monstrer sans craindre rien nostre braue prouesse,

Et qui puis nous laissant à l'auanture errer,
Sans courage, sans coeur nous fait desesperer...(51)

Taken in isolation, the passage might be thought of as coming from Les Tragiques, with which it shares its vividness and its energy, and even its rhetorical devices. But it remains an illustration of psychological theory. This is the inevitably negative result of the unsupervised rule of the senses, and of the passions they inspire. Opposed to it is a tranquil and timeless picture of intellect fused with desire, which in the poet's own case leads to an other-worldly aspiration;

...Puis aussi quelques fois doublant nostre asseurance,
Nous fait suyure à la fin vne belle esperance,
Qui de tous conduisant le non cognu destin,
Les pousse bien contans à rechercher sa fin,
Selon qu'on delibere & qu'en son ame on graue
Vn plus humble desir ou vn souhait plus braue,
Et qui glissant en moy ne me fait retirer
De ces heureux discours sans me faire esperer,
Au lieu du vain abus, d'vne gloire immortelle,
Les biens que Dieu promet à la vie eternelle(52).

This poem, like the one before it, concludes on a note of dutiful devoutness, but at the end of it we can say that it constitutes an even more unusual celebration of God and his works.

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In many ways De l'Ame et de ses facultes is an old-fashioned poem. It draws its inspiration and its structure from medieval sources, continuing to represent as it does traditional faculty psychology. Like Scève's Microcosme, it depends upon the example of the encyclopaedias, and that dependence, more obviously than in the case of Scève, is reflected in the organisation of the poem itself. Nor is the interpretation of the borrowed material particularly innovatory. With the exception, admittedly a substantial one, of "solid soul", Béroalde is mostly following received ideas. If we consider the structure of the poem, we are bound to say that it is not very convincing - while individual parts of the poem are dogged in their pursuit of a particular idea, the piece as a whole remains discursive. We pass in a rambling way from one idea to another, and the links between the different sections

are too often artificial, added from without rather than growing from within, and consisting of phrases of the type "Mais ce n'est pas assés", "Mais il seroit bien peu si...", "Mais qu'en deuiendroit tout, si...". This fragmentary character is all the more apparent if we isolate the phrases introducing each major division of soul -

> La solide tout pres me contraint de la dire...
>
> Muse mon petit oeil solide deuiens-tu,
> N'exciteras tu point ton entiere vertu?
> Passons vn peu plus haut...
>
> Icy vous cesserez plantes & mineraux
> La vie qui s'ensuit est aux seuls animaux...
>
> Mais, Muse, que fais-tu, ne nous oublions point,
> Nous sommes ignorans, & hors mis ce seul point
> Nous égalons chacun, passons outre mignonne,
> Et voyons cet esprit qui la vie nous donne...

Twice Béroalde has recourse to the same rather worn rhetorical device; the weakness is all too apparent. In De l'Ame much more than in Les Cognoissances the overall effect is that of a catalogue, in which the individual items carry more conviction than the whole.

The poem does though have a logic of its own within the setting of Béroalde's thought. It grows organically from Les Cognoissances Necessaires, and its themes are taken up in De l'Ame et de ses excellences of 1593. In this evolution the notion of soul is a central one. In particular, the model of traditional faculty psychology gives Béroalde the framework for an enquiry into "la forme interieure", and through it he is able to give expression to a particular type of enthusiasm. Despite the uneasiness of some of its transitions, De l'Ame et de ses facultes reveals a singleness of purpose, and that purpose is that of the scientist/magus, to explain how the world works. The harmony which is the theme of Les Cognoissances is shown to be reflected in the innermost details of God's design.

This is to go beyond the presentation of the medieval treatises on soul, and of those in the sixteenth century which are written after them, by making their material part of an overall synthesis. In this De l'Ame stands alone in the history of the scientific poem. Its

weaknesses we may well consider to be inevitable, given the choice of subject and model. The two precedents for Béroalde's venture, those of Du Bartas and Bretonnayau, are much less ambitious in scope. Du Bartas makes the subject of the faculties of soul part of the overall theme of creation, but the treatment he gives them is essentially episodic. His exclusive object is to celebrate the marvels of man as created by God, of which the human soul furnishes a further example; a methodical exposition is not attempted. Bretonnayau's Le Temple de l'Ame is one of the surviving parts of what would have been a much larger epic, but the subject nonetheless is the human soul alone. The bias is purely medical, and as in the poems on eye, heart and liver which follow the principal concern is the physiological. Bretonnayau does not have the aim of evoking a total scheme of soul.

Béroalde's poem alone sets out to be universal. While the model is that provided by the medieval encyclopaedia, the result is a unified picture of the world in which soul is co-extensive with creation itself. Within a single poem the range extends from the force of heat informing the inanimate to the immortal part of man, and through a particular concept of soul a continuous link is forged between one extreme and the other. Order is given concrete expression. The alchemist would not wish to exclude the metals from this cosmic picture, and Béroalde is brought to include even the inanimate in his scheme of soul. The long section on "l'ame solide" has its source in ideas that are already in circulation, and especially in those of Cardan. Béroalde's distinction, however, is to integrate it into a whole. The portrayal of vegetative soul that follows presents the theme of a world in constant movement - Montaigne's flux is here part of an essentially ordered vision. The sensitive raises the question of the passions, and from a description of the apparatus of sense-perception passes to a discussion of the actions and the states of mind the senses provoke. The intellective gives rise to a further consideration of the emotions, this time in the

context of the will. But it also, and more substantially, brings a statement of the process of knowledge itself.

This universality sets De l'Ame et de ses facultes apart, and at the same time gives it a special status within Béroalde's own work. The theme of soul, announced in Les Cognoissances, becomes the subject of an entire poem, and the centre of an interpretation of the world as harmony. The familiar idea of world-soul is fused with the distinct tradition of faculty psychology on the one hand, and given new meaning by the poet's own enthusiasms on the other. But within this portrayal of an ensouled cosmos, there is a notable and indeed inevitable evolution. Through solid and vegetative soul Béroalde is advancing an explanation of a material reality, and indeed it is through soul that that explanation is made coherent. The human body too is made a definable mechanism, to which the operation of soul is the key. What is true for the alchemist as he observes his experiment is true for the doctor as he observes his patient. The break in the poem comes with the transfer of emphasis from human physiology to human emotion and behaviour, a change of direction consummated with the transition from sensitive to intellective soul. With intellective soul Béroalde is no longer able to speak of any distinctly physical organs or processes, and the subject must become the action of the intellect on its environment, whether this be an aspiration after knowledge, an aspiration to God, or a reaction to the conflicting emotion of love.

In this way a discussion of soul comes to be a commentary on an implied standard of conduct. The norm is provided by the idea of "vertu", but in this poem the concept is not developed. We are told, however, that it is the corrective to the passions, and to "opinion" and "soupçon". It appears to be associated with the intellect itself. These are the issues which Béroalde will elucidate in De l'Ame et de ses excellences. This poem is published ten years later, when the circumstances of Béroalde's life, and to a certain extent the

nature of his own enthusiasms, have changed. It is the logical development nonetheless of the themes marked out in the earlier poem on soul. In the terms of an overall evolution, De l'Ame et de ses facultes represents an intermediate stage between the poem based squarely on the cosmological and hexaemeral tradition of scientific poetry which is Les Cognoissances, and the poem concerned above all with the moral philosophical, and influenced by the stoic, which is De l'Ame et de ses excellences. The nature of Béroalde's philosophy, and by this we mean especially his enthusiasm for knowledge, provides the unifying thread between what would normally be thought of as two quite different types of poem.

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PART III

DE L'AME ET DE SES EXCELLENCES

CHAPTER I

THE INTELLECTUAL BACKGROUND TO THE POEM

Both Les Cognoissances Necessaires and De l'Ame et de ses facultes appear in the collection Les Apprehensions Spirituelles of 1583. It is ten years before De l'Ame et de ses excellences is published in 1593. In the meantime the circumstances of Béroalde's life have changed markedly. In 1583, when he publishes that first collection in Paris, he is still a Protestant, and seemingly set upon a career as a writer. His need is to attract a wealthy patron, and the immediate aim of Les Apprehensions Spirituelles is to demonstrate the versatility of his talents. His past has been highly unstable, and his future is equally uncertain. His enthusiasm and ambition, on the other hand, seem to be boundless. Neither Les Cognoissances nor De l'Ame are works modest in scope, and within them Béroalde suggests at least once that he is ready to go on and write others(1). The long L'Idée de la Republique does appear in 1584(2). But then between 1584 and 1590 he publishes nothing. The silence is broken in 1590 by a solitary sonnet introducing the Premier Livre du Théâtre Tragique of the poet's friend Roland Brisset(3). The theme of that sonnet is civil strife, and this and other evidence suggests that in the intervening years Béroalde has been directly involved in the Wars of Religion(4). The Brisset work is published in Tours, and it is with Tours that the rest of Béroalde's career is associated(5). After his earlier stay in Paris he becomes the provincial writer(6).

By 1590, moreover, he has in all probability been converted to Catholicism. In November 1593, the year which sees the publication

of De l'Ame et de ses excellences, he is installed as a canon of the collegiate church of St.-Gatien at Tours(7). De l'Ame et de ses excellences itself is published as part of an expanded edition of the collection of devotional poetry La Muse Celeste, which had earlier appeared in Les Apprehensions Spirituelles(8). In 1593 the collection becomes a vehicle for its author's profession of his new-found religion. Its extra length is largely accounted for by the fact that it now includes several pieces of an overtly Catholic and liturgical nature, among them paraphrases of the Athanasian Creed, the Te Deum, the Magnificat, and the Canticle of Zachariah. After this date there is an obvious change of emphasis in Béroalde's career, and the scientific poet that we have seen revealed in Les Cognoissances and the first De l'Ame becomes the author of the sentimental Les Avantures de Floride. Of the diverse aspects of Béroalde's talent represented in Les Apprehensions Spirituelles, it is the vein of the galant which is the most thoroughly exploited in the latter half of his career(9). This is not to say that other aspects play no further part. The hermetic and the alchemical reappear in a translation of Le Songe de Poliphile which Béroalde published in 1600, and in the "oeuure steganografique" which is Le Voyage des Princes Fortunez of 1610(10). Le Palais des Curieux demonstrates that Béroalde's scientific enthusiasms remain with him to the end(11).

There is continuity as well as contrast between what Béroalde publishes in 1583/4 and what occupies his attention ten years later. De l'Ame et de ses excellences continues the themes of the earlier poem De l'Ame, while developing them in a different type of framework. The connection lies in the motif of "vertu". This, the antidote to the turbulence of the passions or the forces of "opinion" in De l'Ame et de ses facultes, is defined in the later poem as the touchstone of an ethic. This poem, unlike the two epics with which we have up till now been concerned, is strophic, and divided into six "chants". The sixth "chant" is devoted to "la vertu" itself, while the five

that precede it explore the qualities which make it up. But before considering in detail the ideas that the poem contains, we should first briefly consider two works in which those ideas are anticipated, and then give a fuller account of the context from which De l'Ame et de ses excellences emerges.

In 1584, after the appearance of Les Apprehensions, Béroalde published two further works. One is L'Idee de la Republique, and the other is a prose dialogue De la Vertu(12). This last takes the form of a rather one-sided conversation between a lady and a somewhat sycophantic gentleman, eager to better himself at the hands of his companion. There is some discussion of the four cardinal virtues of prudence, justice, temperance and fortitude, but a notable additional feature is a double identification made between virtue and constancy, virtue and knowledge. Constancy is not stubbornness, but

> ...vne force par laquelle l'esprit se retient en son integrité en bien, fait que iamais on ne se destourne de ses desirs reglez par vne longueur qui ne craint point d'empeschement, & de fait ceste partie cy est comme le cyment de vertu, sa fin, son origine, son tout, ainsi que presque toutes les autres parties d'icelle qui subsistent l'vne par l'autre d'vn mutuel accord...(13)

This is followed some pages later by the confession of "la dame" that she desires to know of virtue

> ...pource que la vraye science est cette cy, d'autant que science est l'arrest de l'intellect sur ce qui estant certain peut estre cognu, & qu'il n'y a rien plus certain que la vertu, au but de laquelle i'arreste la science (14).

L'Idee de la Republique is in fact concerned with very much the same themes. The longest of all Béroalde's poems, it sets out over seven books its author's conception of the ideal state. After Utopia and Thélème the theme of the ideal state is an established one in Renaissance literature, but already Béroalde's choice of title suggests a more universal application. Unlike More or Rabelais Béroalde is uninterested in political or social organisation, and instead his poem is wholly moralising in tone. The double Platonic reference of the title proves to be the announcement of an ideal which is to be striven for, and the ideal itself is defined not in terms of a model social organism, but in terms of the worth of the individual. The

link with the dialogue De la Vertu rapidly becomes apparent. "Vertu" is to be the foundation of the state, and a reform of society is to be achieved through a reform of moeurs. The key to the approach is to be found in the Discours which precedes the first book -

> ...il faut que chacun viuant en la Republique & s'y contenant politiquement face vne Republique en soy mesme, s'esgalant, de sorte que la vertu, & la pieté soient en luy les colomnes de la seurté de son asseurance permanante. Ce que s'il se fait par les membres, à la fin le corps entier composé de bonnes parties alliees par la vertu se trouuera tellement vni que ceux qui y viuront trouueront en iceluy la verité de l'estat auquel on peut viure heureux(15).

The concept that the healthiness of the whole depends on the healthiness of the parts is a familiar one in Renaissance political theory(16), but Béroalde pursues it in a single-minded way, insisting on the importance of ethical standards at the level of the individual. The first book of the poem associates "vertu" with the values of "amitié" and "honnesteté", while the second extols virtue's traditional division between "prudence", "iustice", "temperance" and "valleur" (to adopt Béroalde's own terms). Book III, after an introduction around the themes of "devoir", "fidelité", and their relation to providence, sets out to show these ideas in operation. Its main topic is that of marriage, and through it the ideals of Les Cognoissances are translated into a specific programme. Man and wife are each told of the virtues required in, and the duties owed by, their respective partners. The husband receives such edifying advice as the following;

> Or il la faut aymer, non pour ce qu'elle est belle
> Ou pource qu'elle plaist, mais pource que fidelle
> Elle attend comme nous, plaine de piete
> La gloire & le bon heur de l'immortalité,
> Pource que chaste-sainte, agreable, et paisible,
> Elle aide à trauerser par le sentier penible
> Des erreurs de ce monde...(17)

Advice continues to be the object of the fourth book, with the recipients now, among others, the prince, the magistrate, the noble and the soldier. The fifth extends the picture to love and the duties imposed by love, whether between parent and child, tutor and pupil, or master and servant. Book VI presents a panorama of the diverse occupations and professions which would make up the life of the

Republic, in which Béroalde both castigates present malpractice and urges the need for honesty in every calling. The essential qualities are never in doubt;

> La pieté, l'honneur, l'amitié, la iustice,
> ...dedans ces discours si on les daigne voir,
> Contraindront les plus fiers à suyure leur deuoir,
> Et des autres touchant l'ame equitable & bonne,
> Feront que tout chascun à pieté s'adonne(18).

Virtue and piety then are the predominant themes of the concluding book, in which the discussion ranges from the chastity of widows to the image of ministers of the Church as "philosophes sacrés", with more than a hint of Calvin's Geneva on the way. The conclusion to the whole work makes it clear that the ultimate scale of values is the same as that of Les Cognoissances and of De l'Ame et de ses facultes, and that this scheme of behaviour is the reflection of the godly;

> ...Puissent tous les mortelz d'vn semblable vouloir,
> Viure en religion, recherchant le deuoir,
> Affin que ce pendant qu'en ces foibles images,
> Nous respirerons l'air, nous ayons les courages
> Tentés de pieté, qui nous face soigneux
> Aymer nostre prochain, & desirer les cieux,
> Et qu'aspirans tousiours à la vie immortelle,
> Nous cherchions la cité qui seule est eternelle(19).

In particular, the pursuit of virtue and religion is the practical embodiment of order. Whether expressed through friendship or marriage, or through the acts of king, magistrate or artisan, the preservation of order is a recurrent concern of Béroalde's state. The world described in L'Idee de la Republique is as comprehensive as that of Les Cognoissances, and harmony is as much its essence. Where it goes beyond the model of the earlier poem is the way in which it becomes also the reaction to a contemporary situation. The degradation hinted at in the closing lines of Les Cognoissances is here spelled out in more detail. The theme is particularly evident in the prose prefaces to the books of the poem. Béroalde blames political disorder on moral corruption;

> Apres l'amitié nous auons l'honneur qu'on doit auoir sur tout en recommendation, mais ores de quel honneur se soucie on? l'honneur qui court par les bouches des hommes, l'honneur qui se couue en leur

coeur est le mespris de la vertu, & de la pieté, ô quelle estrange auanture que tout soit ainsi renuersé...(20)

> Les Rois, qui sont du peuple & les Rois & les peres,
> Du troupeau domesticq sont les loups sanguinaires...(21)

D'Aubigné's "monde à l'envers" is paralleled in Béroalde's. So is his apocalyptic view of reality. Béroalde, like the author of Les Tragiques, sees the hand of the Almighty in the events around him, and specifically the action of the God of vengeance of the Old Testament rather than of the God of mercy of the New;

> Veritablement le Ciel indigné de noz iniquitez respand à bon droit sur nous l'aigreur de sa vengeance, & nous bandant les yeux par nostre propre vice nous faict demeurer ignorans en nostre opinion(22).

In this work as in De l'Ame et de ses facultes, and again like d'Aubigné, Béroalde shows an acute awareness of the difference between outer appearance and inner reality. True "vertu" is not to be found, only apparent virtue and dissimulation(23). As the cosmological poetry of Les Cognoissances has stressed interior cause, now the response to the ethical problem lies in a stress on an interior value.

L'Idee de la Republique, like De l'Ame et de ses facultes, takes some steps towards the formulation of a moral philosophy. The concern is that of Montaigne - "Si le monde se plaint de quoy je parle trop de moy, je me plains de quoy il ne pense seulement pas à soy"(24). Its expression, of course, is fundamentally different. Where Montaigne is interested in the development of the whole individual, and the combination of all his faculties, Béroalde follows a more traditional and rigid model, recommending the cultivation of certain values to the exclusion of others. His inspiration in doing this is most obviously the stoic, and he retains the framework which Montaigne for his part grows beyond. It is at this time that Guillaume Du Vair translates the Manual of Epictetus, with its opening phrase "Il y a des choses qui sont en nostre puissance, les autres n'y sont pas"(25). Only the former, says Epictetus, should be the concern of the sage. In introducing the second book of his poem, Béroalde repeats the stoic view. The individual may only find tranquillity through those

things which are in his power;

> ...tel est l'esprit humain, car il ayme vne monstre exterieure, & se soucie peu de la verité, mais qui pourra penetrer les pensées tant occultes, veu que mesmes elles sont difficiles a cognoistre a ceux a qui elles appartiennent? il ne faut se donner telle peine, ains se tenir a ce qu'on peut, ne se formalisant de ce que l'autruy se permet, d'autant que si nous regardons tousiours aux autres, l'inquietude se glissant en nos ames ne permetra que le repos nous donne l'vsage de sa commodité...
>
> ...ne nous soucions que d'estre contans en nous mesmes, certains que la verité du contentement est en l'interieur iuge exact d'icelle(26).

But there is another standard, and this carries even more clearly the stoic echo. Usefulness to the general good determines the efficacy of virtue. Virtue is cultivated within the individual, but it is to be fulfilled through its practical expression. Prudence is represented as either perfect or imperfect, and inner contentment is tied to a call to patriotism;

> Or la vraye prudence imparfaite se dit,
> Quand pour le bien publiq courtois on ne la suit...
> Mais elle est accomplie, et en grandeur parfaite,
> Quand au bien du commun son vray but elle arreste,
> Et que cil qui la suit soy mesme s'oubliant,
> De la communauté va le bien recherchant:
> O que rare est celuy, qui tout a sa patrie,
> Pour sa commodité veut consacrer sa vie,
> Veu qu'ores on ne void en cet aage perdu
> Qu'au point du seul profit la bute de vertu(27).

In 1584 then the themes of civic consciousness and of "vertu" are already present in Béroalde's work, and even prominently so. The concept of "vertu" mentioned in <u>De l'Ame et de ses facultes</u> is given more precise definition. In the period after 1592 it recurs even more frequently in his work. <u>Les Avantures de Floride</u> purports to show "combien sont en fin agreables les fruicts de la VERTV"(28), and the succession of similar works which follow it all explore the same theme. Indeed, Colletet was led to say of Béroalde's attachment to virtue that "jamais homme n'eut apparament dans tout ce qu'il fit plus d'inclination pour elle, dont le nom luy couloit incessamment de la plume"(29). Virtue may be construed as social attribute as well as as moral standard.

At the same time the specifically stoic associations of virtue continue to have a bearing on Béroalde's work. The religious and

political climate of the closing years of the sixteenth century produces a certain revival in the popularity of stoic ideas, and although the precise nature of this revival may be questioned(30), there is a notable fashion for the adoption of stoic sentiments. It certainly impinges upon Béroalde. The years 1588-1590 in particular see succeed each other the Journée des Barricades, the flight of the monarch from the capital, the assassinations of Henri duc de Guise and of his brother Lorraine, the assassination of Henri III himself, the siege of Paris. Even in the absence of any other evidence, it would not seem likely that an author who already in 1584 had shown himself sensitive to the moral and political degradation around him should remain unmoved. In the 1584 dialogue De la Vertu Béroalde already takes up the value of constancy, and in the years that follow constancy becomes an oft-cited virtue. It is left to Montaigne to go beyond the commonplace - constancy in suffering is only praiseworthy in those situations where there is no way of avoiding the suffering(31). But doubtless the most famous example of the more orthodox advertisement of the virtue is Du Vair's Traité de la Constance et Consolation es Calamitez Publiques(32). Its opening note is personal, and its claimed inspiration the siege of Paris itself;

> Vn iour, pendant ce siege, que Paris a enduré auec tant de miseres, ie me pourmenoy tout seul en mon iardin, pleurant du coeur & des yeux la fortune de mon pays...(33)

In fact, the work is indebted for its ideas to what must be the most readable of the treatises on constancy, the De Constantia of Justus Lipsius(34). First printed at Antwerp in 1584, this could be described as the standard text. By 1600 it has been edited or reprinted a total of fourteen times. Three of these editions are brought out in France, and the book's particular appeal to a French audience is further borne out by its translation into French at least twice within the same period(35). The interest from our point of view is that for one of these, that published by Jamet Mettayer in Tours in 1592,(36) Béroalde himself claims to be responsible. Neither the title-page nor the text carry any

mention of the name of the translator, but against this we have to weigh a statement by Béroalde in Le Palais des Curieux;

> Mes delectations ne sont point de me faire valoir par le labeur d'autruy...Et si d'auanture ie l'ay faict quelquefois ç'a esté à la requeste de quelque amy, comme quand ie mis en François la Constance d'vn Docteur que Iamet imprima, ce fut à la solicitation de l'Imprimeur(37).

Through this, and in addition to the earlier signs of his interest, Béroalde is personally acquainted with the ethical doctrines of stoicism. The lessons of stoicism transfer in any case easily enough to a christian ethic, and Béroalde is not alone in adapting stoicism to a specifically religious message. Du Plessis Mornay himself adds a translation of the letters of Seneca to his Excellent Discours de la Vie et de la Mort of 1576(38). The status of the stoic ethic is essentially that conferred by the De Constantia of Lipsius;

> ...Et certes ie donne à bon escient ceste loüange à la compagnie des Stoïques, qu'il n'y a eu aucune secte qui ait plus gardé & rendu l'honneur deu à la Maiesté de Dieu, & mieux recognu sa Prouidence, & qui ait dauantage attiré les hommes aux choses celestes & eternelles qu'eux(39).

Lipsius though, through his spokesman, is concerned to give advice, and indeed the attraction of stoicism lies in its holding out of a code of conduct, in its potential as a practical philosophy. In this the idea of wisdom is directly involved, and specifically the apparent progression of the idea of wisdom in the course of the sixteenth century from contemplative ideal to active ethic(40). In this evolution the influence of stoicism plays its part. Lipsius' treatise itself makes a contribution, for it is unequivocally the active idea of wisdom which is being proposed when in the De Constantia the speaker urges

> Tournez-vous à la sagesse, qui corrige vos moeurs, qui asseure & nettoye vostre esprit trouble & salle. C'est celle qui peut imprimer la vertu, fournir la Constance, & qui seule vous peut ouurir le Temple de Bon Entendement(41).

This development is reflected in Béroalde's own work, and in 1593, the year after the Lipsius translation, he publishes his own De la Sagesse(42). Written in the aim that it should "plaire à tous sans complaire à personne"(43), it opens with a general dedication to

"La France", in which Béroalde shows even more emphatically than before that he shares the attitude of a Ronsard or a d'Aubigné to the fate of his nation;

> France, ie ne vous addresse point ces discours pour descouurir vostre vergongne, car fils obeïssant ie craindrois d'encourir la malediction que merite celuy qui publie la honte de ses parens, ie les vous offre en signe de deuoir, & pour aduertir ceux qui ont pris auecques moy leur premiere nourriture en la douceur de vostre sein, afin qu'ils s'aduisent d'oublier leur desobeïssance, pour s'vnir & effacer les troubles qui nous perdent auec vous...(44)

He goes on to refer to an earlier Discours de la Guerre (the title of which is given in a marginal note), written at the beginning of the period of the wars, in which he had depicted the benefits of peace(45). No trace of this work remains, and it may not have been published. But it seems that the preoccupation is a real one. The De la Sagesse is the work in which Béroalde presents his own solutions. The link with the other treatises on consolation of the time is shown by its full title, in which the ideas of the remedying of affliction and the embracing of constancy both have their part(46). Like Lipsius and Du Vair, Béroalde aims at instruction. The instruction claims to be based on personal experience, and the idea is related to those passages of Le Palais des Curieux where Béroalde insists upon the importance of an interchange of knowledge(47);

> ...Or ressentant la douleur vniuerselle par la pointe qui m'en touche, i'ay tasché de me fortifier moy-mesme, & ayant descouuert vn beau secret pour s'exempter de mal entre tant de diuerses sortes de dangers, ie n'ay voulu estre comme ceux desquels le coeur estant abreuué d'vne lenteur ingrate les fait oublier toute courtoisie, si qu'ils cachent ce qu'ils sçauent, ains i'ay pensé qu'il falloit faire comme les flambeaux qui charitablement luisent à tous, parquoy i'ay apporté liberalement ce que i'ay esprouué estre tres vray, & que taschant de iour en iour à continuer, ie trouue plus abondamment certain, & l'apporte icy, afin que chacun de ceux qui ont encor vn reste de courage & d'amour vers vous, mettent aussi en auant à qui mieux mieux ce qu'ils auront de meilleur, pour en faire vn notable comble & de conseils & d'effets par lesquels on se restablira, tant au general qu'au particulier(48).

The nature of Béroalde's own contribution is an amalgam of stoic values and religious truth. Each of the fourteen sections - "considerations"(49) - into which the work is divided supports its argument with biblical quotation, and ends with a prayer. Béroalde justifies this formula in terms which make it clear that he himself

thinks of the work as an exclusively religious one;

> ...à chasque fin de consideration i'ay mis vne oraison à Dieu, pource que puisant de l'Escriture sainte tout mon discours, il me sembloit que i'auois occasion d'en parler au maistre, afin qu'il luy pleust nous communiquer ses thresors(50).

Béroalde's change of religion has not affected his scriptural bias, and like L'Idee de la Republique before, the De la Sagesse presents the God of the Old Testament rather than of the New. It is from the Old that the great majority of the quotations come, and especially from Job and Proverbs. These two Books are the source of what Béroalde presents as a fundamental assumption - "la crainte du Seigneur est principe de Sagesse"(51). Béroalde's point of departure is the biblical conception of wisdom, as the inscription which he places on the portal of his Palais de Sagesse makes yet more evident. Wisdom is placed under the sign of an omnipotent God who sits in judgment on mankind;

> CRAIN DIEU, ET GARDE SES COMMANDEMENS, C'EST LE TOUT DE L'HOMME: CAR DIEU AMENERA TOUTE OEVVRE EN IUGEMENT, QUI SERA DE TOUT CE QUI EST CACHE, SOIT BIEN SOIT MAL(52).

In the same vein, true "Sagesse" is described as not of this world, as evoking the permanent by the side of the transient. When Béroalde explains the proposition "Par Sagesse on paruient au contentement", his terms of reference go beyond the terrestrial;

> Le but des desirs que nous auons en ce monde est de passer ce petit souspir sans ennuy auec douceur, le mieux & plus paisiblement que nous pouuons...recognoissant que tout ce qui est icy bas est perissable, n'apportant qu'vn ombre menteur de plaisir, & que ce qui est de Sagesse est permanent, & seul donnant toute vraye liesse, que rien ne peut destourner(53).

On the other hand, Béroalde shares with Du Vair a practical view of wisdom. He is insistent that "sagesse" should be tangible reality rather than abstract concept, and his attitude shows a reaction against the notion of wisdom as contemplative ideal;

> Le discours de Sagesse n'est point vn air battu à la volee pour seulement frapper les oreilles hypocrites, & s'escouler en ses voyes, ains il est la demonstration d'vne substance veritable, dont la dignité est infinie(54).

Béroalde's desire is to anchor the abstraction in the concrete, to avoid it becoming the subject of a debate of words and no more. The

preoccupation is the one we have already noted, with the distinction between inner reality and outer form. As Montaigne puts it in a different context, the danger is that of "La question est de parolles, et se paye de mesme"(55);

> Que sert-il de discourir simplement? certes les paroles ne sont qu'abus, & sont auec le fol comme auec le Sage, cestuy-là qui mesprise la Sagesse en son coeur peut souuent vser de l'artifice du discours pour louër en apparence celle dont il hait la rencontre. Le langage peut estre communiqué aux malins comme aux innocens: mais les saincts effects dont les causes sont saintes n'escheent qu'à ceux qui ont les coeurs entiers ou reformez...(56)

In both Montaigne and Béroalde we see the reaction of the later Renaissance against the emptiness of scholastic debate, but in the case of "sagesse" there is a practical ethic which may be enforced. Christianity has its own, and Rabelais' "foy formee de charité", itself part of an ongoing idea(57), has its echo in the definitions of Béroalde's work;

> Charité est la perfection de l'ame abondante en pieté, par laquelle elle reçoit les rayons des graces de Dieu, pour les communiquer perpetuellement sur le prochain, sans auoir esgard à son particulier(58).

The attainment of "sagesse" has a value both in this world and in the next, the wish being that the prosperity which results "nous soit vn vray chemin de paruenir au dernier bon-heur, & vne occasion d'aduancer la felicité de nos prochains"(59). Within the religious already Béroalde emphasises the active, and it is this quality of the active which is the real distinguishing feature of his portrayal of wisdom.

It is in this context that we return to the concept of virtue. Virtue, according to Béroalde, is the foundation of wisdom. He describes the house of wisdom, after the model of Proverbs, as having seven pillars;

> ...le fondement sur lequel la Sagesse a basty & le plan qu'elle s'est choisi, est la Vertu qui est vne puissance accomplie, laquelle pousse toute ame capable de bien à ce qui est iuste & bon, & l'y arreste auec raison. Et les sept colomnes sont Prudence, Temperance, Iustice, Valeur, Foy, Charité, Esperance...(60)

Readily recognisable in Béroalde's interpretation of the seven pillars of wisdom are the four cardinal virtues of prudence, temperance, justice and fortitude(61), and the three theological ones of faith,

hope and charity. In an image that is itself biblical Béroalde draws together a philosophical and religious tradition. The cardinal virtues are of course familiar from other contexts, including the patristic(62), but it is noticeable that when Béroalde defines them further, it is the stoic note of reasonableness and moderation which predominates. Prudence is defined as "qui par raison nous fait eslire ce qui est bon", Temperance as "qui par raison nous faict moderer nos desirs & actions", and "Valeur" becomes the force which "nous incite raisonnablement à nous hazarder à ce qui est dangereux, ou difficile pour le vaincre ou y atteindre"(63). As in a stoic ethic, the rational becomes the controlling faculty, and it is from a stoic definition of reason that Béroalde takes his point of departure. Reason is

> la permanente & necessaire constitution de ce qui est bon, la cause parfaicte des existences iustes, & la reigle vnique de bien(64).

This persuasion leads Béroalde to include the stoic gloss even in his definition of the theological virtues proper. Hope is the moderation of desire;

> Esperance est le iuste pouuoir de l'ame fidele, par lequel elle s'arreste en ses mouuemens & sains desirs, qui autrement n'auroient point de fin, ains l'inquieteroient sans contentement(65).

It is through a stoic terminology that virtue, defined in this way, is underlined as active concept. The central idea of <u>De la Sagesse</u> is that of wisdom as active code, related to the life of the individual. Within the clearly-delineated religious framework it is the moral and ethical which has force, and Béroalde brings back "sagesse" to a practical reality. In this way wisdom is made the corroboration of the patriotism which the work has defended from the start; both dictate a concern for the well-being of one's country. Béroalde is in fact at some pains to make the patriotic a respectable emotion;

> C'est abus de dire & penser que le public ne nous soit rien, & que l'amour du pais n'est qu'opinion, qu'imaginant vne esgalité en cela nos ames seront en repos, certes la douceur auec le lien de laquelle Dieu a conioints nos esprits à la terre de nostre natiuité, est tant & tant aggreablement puissante, qu'elle demeure emprainte aux plus excellents courages...(66)

Clearly, "sagesse" has meaning in a variety of situations, but what

finally marks Béroalde's definition of it is the quality of the practical. Indeed, this is what we might expect, given Béroalde's earlier uses of the term -

> Aussi est-ce estre sage que de cognoistre tout, & desirer la sagesse est vouloir apprendre toutes choses pour les entendre & mettre en effait: car on n'entend rien si on ne le sçait demonstrer(67).

The statement is from the Recherches de la pierre philosophale, and the reference is to an attitude to alchemy rather than to adversity; but the ethic is the same. It reminds us that the notion of "sagesse" has equally its relevance to the scientific.

Common to both Béroalde's publications of 1584 and those of 1592/1593 is the continuing evidence of a religious sensibility, a use of terms with a stoic resonance, and a reaction to a contemporary historical situation. It is against this background that we should see De l'Ame et de ses excellences. It too is concerned with the themes of knowledge, wisdom and virtue. Already in the works we have so far discussed a certain evolution is apparent. The virtue of the 1584 dialogue De la Vertu is in the poem L'Idee de la Republique contrasted with a picture of corruption, and made the foundation of an ideal. But in De la Sagesse Béroalde's ideas are better defined. He has translated the De Constantia of Lipsius, and the stoic presence in his own treatise on wisdom is a more systematic one. Reason is now proposed as a standard, and a proper pattern of behaviour is outlined in which "sagesse" is the means to "contentement"(68). The stoic is here fused with the christian, as Lipsius had already brought them together in the De Constantia. The result is a definition of wisdom, and a definition of virtue, which emphasises the active and the practical, but which reserves also a specifically spiritual aspect.

In the De la Sagesse these ideas of wisdom and virtue are related to the picture of a desolate France. In De l'Ame et de ses excellences they become part of a theory of knowledge. The poem too bears the imprint of stoic attitudes, and implicitly refers to a contemporary reality. It is a product of the same atmosphere as the

Essais of Montaigne, to which it sometimes expresses a parallel viewpoint. But its starting-point is an attitude to enquiry, and it is difficult not to see it in the context of the two earlier epics which had themselves turned upon just such a concept. Les Cognoissances and the first De l'Ame represent the fulfilment of a programme of enquiry, and the synthesis of the workings of a universe which is created by God. In the second of those two poems a survey of the quickening force of soul is carried from the most basic level of existence to the level of the intellective forces of man. De l'Ame et de ses excellences presents further successive stages, and an evolution apparent in the first De l'Ame is carried to its logical conclusion. A movement from the medical and physiological to the moral philosophical is completed. But the moral philosophical is based still upon an attitude to knowledge, and De l'Ame et de ses excellences becomes in one sense the theorising pendant to the two earlier works. In another it takes its place with De la Sagesse as a contribution to another sort of debate.

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CHAPTER II

KNOWLEDGE AND WISDOM

The themes of De l'Ame et de ses excellences are ones that we would recognise from the earlier poetry. In it Béroalde evolves a philosophy of knowledge which is a clear development of the ideas announced in Les Cognoissances and the other De l'Ame. We propose to examine each stage of that development, following the exposition of the poem itself, and showing how the scientific enthusiasms of the earlier poems are restated here, and given a new application.

De l'Ame et de ses excellences opens, like the two other poems that we have considered, with an invocation to the Deity;

> Grandeur qu'on ne peut dire Essence des essences,
> Bon Principe de Tout, Puissance des puissances,
> Seul parfait en toy-mesme, Immense eternité,
> Toy par qui nous viuons, pour viure pour ta gloire,
> Donne moy qu'en ces chants, t'ayant en ma memoire,
> J'aye pour me guider l'astre de verité(1).

As in Les Cognoissances, knowledge of the universe is interpreted as knowledge of the actions of God, and an invocation to the forces of inspiration becomes necessarily an invocation to the Creator. In the second chant of the poem Béroalde goes on to refer to the Muse as "mon second heur"(2); the standard recourse of the poet is not displaced altogether, but relocated within the larger scheme.

This insistence on the presence of the divine is the first characteristic of the theory of knowledge which Béroalde formulates in the Excellences. From the beginning we have emphasised that a concern with knowledge is central to Béroalde's work, and we have associated this with the Aristotelean commonplace of which one rendering is Montaigne's "Il n'est desir plus naturel que le desir de connoissance"(3). We have drawn the parallel with the activity of Peletier du Mans, in whom we have the man who is actively mathematician, doctor and astronomer while at the same time poet, and who places all these activities under the single motif of aspiration. Peletier's life and work are bound up in this desire

for knowledge, a desire which Peletier himself reports as being as insatiable as it is impossible of satisfaction(4). The emphasis consequently falls upon the ongoing process of knowledge, and this process is translated in terms both of ecstasy and of flight(5). These are the motifs in their turn, as we have seen, of Les Cognoissances and De l'Ame. In De l'Ame et de ses excellences Béroalde will make a defence of knowledge in every way as impassioned as that of Peletier, but his assumption of the nature of knowledge is in one respect radically different. For Peletier the process of knowledge is truly continuous. It could only ever cease in knowledge of God himself, but since such a knowledge of the infinite is impossible, the aspiration continues unchecked;

> L'Homme, qui en vivant toujours désire entendre,
> Et qui trouve sans fin où ses désirs étendre,
> Puisque ses pensements n'ont terme défini,
> Où peut-il s'arrêter, qu'à un Dieu infini?(6)

Knowledge for Peletier is a never-ending series of approximations to an ultimate reality that can never be attained(7).

Béroalde of course does introduce such a check, the notion that there is a point beyond which knowledge is no longer licit. We have linked this with a Calvinist ethic, and with the strong statements of the same theme in L'Institution(8). There is no doubt that Béroalde's poetry preserves a much more conscious awareness of the presence of God than does Peletier's. It may be the inspiration of a particular episode, as it is in the case of the condemnation of astrology, but in more general terms it produces the mixture of enthusiasm and restraint that characterises Béroalde's scientific verse as a whole. De l'Ame et de ses excellences starts from a blend of the same elements, and explains the state of mind in which "Cognoissances" must only be "Necessaires". A stress on active enquiry marks off Béroalde's poetry from that of Du Bartas, but he shares with Du Bartas, and the poem De l'Ame et de ses excellences reminds us of the fact, the aim of celebrating a creation which is God's creation.

The assumption that man's desire to know is subject to a proviso

is as much a commonplace as is Aristotle's own statement in the first place. For the sixteenth-century writer, to say that the desire of man is to know automatically entails the rider that full knowledge in this life is impossible. As Montaigne puts it, "nous sommes nais à quester la verité; il appartient de la posseder à une plus grande puissance"(9). In his Almanach for 1535, Rabelais even makes of this the proof of the existence of an after-life, such is the strength of the assumption. If man desires to know,

> ...c'est à dire que Nature a en l'homme produit convoitise, appetit et desir de sçavoir et apprendre, non les choses presentes seulement, mais singulierement les choses advenir, pource que d'icelles la cognoissance est plus haute et admirable. Parce doncques qu'en ceste vie transitoire ne peuvent venir à la perfection de ce sçavoir... et Nature n'a rien fait sans cause...s'ensuit qu'une autre vie est aprez cette-cy, en laquelle ce desir sera assouvi(10).

This too is the ethic of the verse from Peletier which we have already quoted. But for Peletier the consequence is a straightforward emphasis on the unending nature of enquiry. The same is true of Montaigne - "Il n'y a point de fin en nos inquisitions; nostre fin est en l'autre monde"(11). It is left to Béroalde to insist upon the double emphasis, upon knowledge and its limitation, and to accommodate enquiry within an explicitly religious ethic. The thought of <u>De l'Ame et de ses excellences</u> is remarkably consistent with that of <u>Les Cognoissances Necessaires</u>, and the Calvinist imprint remains. Béroalde's interest is in formulating a code of practice for knowledge itself.

Thus each stage of the argument is presented as axiomatic. The primary qualification is that to any form of enquiry the prerequisite must be knowledge of God; - --- -

> C'est rechercher en vain l'estre de toutes choses,
> Leurs principes, effects, estats, puissances, causes,
> Sans sçauoir quel en est le sage conducteur,
> Pour asseoir iugement des affaires du monde,
> Il faut ains que penser quelque force seconde,
> Cognoistre le grand Dieu, qui en est createur(12).

It seems at this point that Béroalde stands at the opposite pole from Peletier, and from the type of enquiry represented by that poet. Knowledge of God is not only the only possible end, but the only possible beginning, and the movement of the poem is inevitably a

circular one. From the start the poet's field of enquiry, which as in the previous poem we have considered consists in a knowledge of soul, coincides exactly with the actions of God;

> Vueilles que discourant des saintetez de l'ame,
> Je sçache de quel feu procede ceste flame,
> Qui d'vn heureux effect agite nostre corps,
> Et que t'ayant cognu pere de ceste vie,
> Je recognoisse aussi ceste belle harmonie
> Dont tes doigts ont tendu les accordants accords(13).

Knowledge of anything is knowledge of God, and even more explicitly than its predecessors this De l'Ame is launched upon a note of religious praise. The formula is of course one we have noted before, but here the pietistic note is unusually insistent;

> Dieu, est celuy qui vit seul cause de soy-mesme,
> Vn trine en vnité, infiniment extresme
> En pouuoir, en effects, en prudence, en bonté,
> Inuisible, eternel, suffisant, impassible,
> A qui tout ce qui plaist est iustement possible,
> Et auquel est tousiours toute fidelité(14).

The attitude that this imposes upon the poet is not simply assumed, but dwelt upon;

> Considerant vn iour ses gloires infinies,
> Vn iour en voulut deux, deux, cent, cent, mille vies,
> Tant ce sujet croissoit par dessus mes esprits,
> Tant plus i'en veux parler, & plus fort se desbouche
> Le canal des discours qui naissent en ma bouche,
> Sa grandeur l'escriuant surmonte tous escrits(15).

The theme of inadequacy is the same as that of the earlier poems, but its expression is given a new weight. What might otherwise be a mere topos is made the subject of a personal meditation, and the religious fervour is that of the Psalmist. In the same way, the commonplace of the provisory nature of all knowledge in this world is allied now with a straightforward devotional posture, a statement of human frailty and an aspiration to final union with God;

> Mais pourautant qu'humain en ce corps ie demeure,
> Ne pouuant rien comprendre, il faut que d'heure en heure
> Je medite sans plus, ce qu'on en peut sçauoir,
> Admirant seulement ce qu'à nostre puissance
> Il a voulu permettre, en toute reuerence
> Ie l'adore, attendant que ie le pourray veoir(16).

Again, the theme is anticipated in Les Cognoissances and the first De l'Ame, as each of these had ended similarly on a note of spiritual

elevation. In De l'Ame et de ses excellences the same personal meditation sets the course of the poem from the start, and the relationship between the individual and God is made the necessary foundation of what follows.

The philosophical commonplace of man's urge to know can be taken as the epitome of the Renaissance itself, but knowledge at this time almost always has some foreordained purpose. Vesalius and Copernicus are the exceptions, not the rule. Béroalde's poem, in its celebration of knowledge, returns to earlier models. The biblical commonplace is the one that had already furnished the central idea of his own De la Sagesse, that the fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom. For the religious writer the formula is an inescapable one. It appears in the Imitation of Christ of Thomas à Kempis;

> Every man naturally desireth to know; but what doth knowledge avail without the fear of God?(17)

The religious premiss of De l'Ame is further shown by its reiteration of the motif. As the poem progresses, it becomes almost a refrain - "On trouue en craignant Dieu sagesse & verité"(18), "La crainte du Seigneur est la source de vie"(19), "Qui sçait sans craindre Dieu est du tout ignorant"(20). It is in these terms that the limitation on knowledge of Les Cognoissances is now explained;

> Que nous fians en toy de toute nostre vie,
> Philosophions heureux par la philosophie
> Que l'on apprend de toy: De toy nous apprenions
> Comme il faut se tenir au bien heureux limite
> De ta crainte, Seigneur...(21)

There is a further significance to the theme. The fear of God represents not only a limit, but also a force of ordering. Knowledge not subject to this control is mere vanity, and vanity involves chaos;

> Toutesfois c'est en vain qu'ainsin on s'encourage
> A voir & mediter, pour en vain estre sage,
> Si de tous ses desirs on ne s'esleue à Dieu,
> Sans la crainte de Dieu, qui est la Sapience,
> La vanité comprend ignorance, science,
> Cause, Element, Chaos, matiere, forme, lieu(22).

As in L'Idee de la Republique virtuous conduct is proposed as the

guarantee of order, so in Les Cognoissances Necessaires God is the ordering force within the universe, and so in the second De l'Ame fear of God is the ordering force within the process of knowledge.

Like De l'Ame et de ses facultes before it, De l'Ame et de ses excellences takes soul as the manifestation of God's presence in the universe, and from the opening definition it is repeated that soul is the embodiment of cosmic unity. The poet invokes God that he might discern

> ...ceste belle harmonie
> Dont tes doigts ont tendu les accordants accords(23)

and in the phrase there is a voluntary reminiscence of the "discordant accords" which maintain the universe in existence. It is the "accordant accords" of soul which draw all together. The edifice erected by De l'Ame et de ses excellences rests on the same interpretation of reality which had been set forth in De l'Ame et de ses facultes, and takes its place in the same synthesis. The earlier poem had made the interpretation the subject of detailed analysis, and the object of a scientific scrutiny. The opening stanzas of De l'Ame et de ses excellences place the emphasis on the Christian side of the equation. It is worthy of note that in this context Béroalde returns to a prejudice which we have already seen him express in Les Cognoissances;

> Ie ne veux point orner de la fable payenne
> Les bien-heureux accords de ma Muse Chrestienne,
> Car le Chrestien ne doit les Dieux payens nommer,
> Assez de grands pechez foudroyent nostre teste,
> Sans que nous assemblions le malheur qui s'arreste
> Sur nous, quand les nommant nous osons blasphemer(24).

De l'Ame like its predecessors is conceived as a christian poem, and again this is related to a stylistic statement. Before we compared this to Du Bartas' attitude, and to the pronouncements of the Calvinist Synode de Sainte Foy(25). It is clearly a notion which survives Béroalde's outward change of religion. In this instance it is specifically presented as a reaction against an encomiastic type of poetry;

Flattant ie ne veux point profaner ceste Muse
Vsant d'vn vain discours qui les esprits amuse,
Au recit des grandeurs de quelque Roy mondain:
Je ne veux resonner des Princes le merite,
Sans plus ie veux tascher que ma plume merite,
De raconter les faits du Prince souuerain(26).

What in fact this introduces is a scientific discourse in the manner of the earlier poems. Béroalde is once more interested in soul as active principle, as revealed in existence;

Quand des corps nous disons la iuste architecture,
Nous discourons aussi les causes de nature,
Cet humide, ce sec, cet ombre, cet esprit,
Qui souffrans agissants, causent, estans en causes,
Sont les corps & l'esprit de tant & tant de choses,
Reposans ou mouuans, dont le monde s'emplit.

Ne disant maintenant que la force agissante
Qui a receu de Dieu toute vigueur viuante,
Je ne m'arresteray qu'à elle seulement...(27)

These are the active and passive forces in terms of which the creation of Les Cognoissances is described, and we are reminded as before that this is soul understood as the explanation of a physical reality. But Béroalde is consistently careful to distinguish the action of soul from the action of God, and an almost equal concern on his part is to avoid any suggestion of pantheism. These are preoccupations which we have noted before in the context of Les Cognoissances(28). It is clearly understood that soul is a principle only at a subordinate level. Over three stanzas Béroalde rather wearyingly insists on the point, concluding

Dieu est premier autheur & principe de vie,
Et pourtant quand vne ame est à son corps vnie,
Le viure elle luy donne en son premier effect,
Ce principe imagé au patron du grand maistre,
Et le iuste motif, & cause de nostre estre:
Car tout estre est causé de l'estre plus parfait(29).

With this proviso the concept of world-soul is a legitimate one. Béroalde returns to the idea of soul as universal animating force;

Par tout cet vniuers l'eternelle puissance
A mis d'vn estre vif l'infinie abondance,
Qui est ce qui couuroit les eaux premierement,
Cet esprit est celuy qui excite les formes,
Et qui en esueillant les matieres difformes,
Les met en appetit d'vn meilleur changement(30).

These are precisely the cosmic scenes described in Les Cognoissances, where the yet unshaped earth

Combien qu'aucunement elle eut bien quelque forme,
Pour n'auoir sa beauté elle fuyoit difforme,
L'esprit du tout puissant, qui est cette challeur,
Qui se portoit espars dans le corps de l'humeur...(31)

It is this identification of the soul with the world which De l'Ame et de ses facultes has so exhaustively explored. A poem concerned with the excellences of soul singles out one aspect, but it still relates it to the picture of the whole. The soul is to the body as ensoulment is to the world at large;

Ainsi qu'en l'vniuers la force vniuerselle
Conduit l'estat de tout, la forme essentielle
Que de Dieu nous auons, opere dans son lieu,
Estans extraits aussi de l'essence supresme,
Nostre ame en son petit est vn petit de mesme,
Accomplis & parfaits sont les oeuures de Dieu(32).

Once again, the scientific commonplace, the view of the organisation of the world as it is, so far from being excluded from the theme of religious praise, is included within it. The microcosm/macrocosm parallel that it presents is, needless to say, a commonplace in its own right, but Béroalde enlivens it by taking the comparison in the opposite direction, from the macrocosmic to the microscopic. The relationship between soul and body in man is paralleled equally at a humbler level, and to illustrate this Béroalde chooses the scientific image. The sensibility revealed is the same as that of the other poems we have examined. The illustration is drawn from alchemy and the directly observed, and the result is a concept of the overall unity of the universe which is somehow attached to the domain of the experienced;

Comme quand dans l'argent on-met de l'eau tiedie,
La chaleur tout soudain perce toute partie
Iusqu'à l'exterieur, sans corps passant le corps:
Ainsi nostre ame en nous, par l'Eternel soufflee,
Non corps est dans le corps, de tout en tout meslee,
Le transperçant soudain iusques à son dehors(33).

The language twice plays on the paradox of "Non corps...dans le corps", but what might otherwise be no more than a formula is given its basis in a conception of reality.

All this is included in the first "chant" of the poem, and is concerned with the progressive delineation of the human soul, of which

the attribute is the capacity to attain knowledge. Like Rabelais, and indeed following the whole christian/platonic tradition, Béroalde makes the first essential of soul its primacy over body. For Gargantua writing to Pantagruel, the all-important point is that "les meurs de l'âme" should shine forth in his son, at the same time that his mere bodily "ymage" should continue(34). The same duality, and the same relative status, is made evident in Béroalde's poem, and integrated within a definition of soul;

> Viuante de soy-mesme, & non par aucun ayde,
> Elle agite le corps, qu'en force elle precede,
> Le menant à son gré selon ses passions,
> Le fait ainsi qu'elle est, luy donne sa nature,
> Et non sujette aux loix de son architecture,
> Le forme le pourtrait de ses conditions(35).

The scientific gloss, and the one which Béroalde has made in the earlier De l'Ame, is that this may be related to all levels of being, and that it is soul which determines life, and even mere existence, in a universal sense. In the case of man, behaviour is influenced by the use or misuse of the faculties of anima intellectiva, unique to him, and the question of soul has an application to ethics.

Soul for Béroalde is the living application of the discordant accords, of a system whereby essential diversity is reconciled with an all-embracing unity;

> Ainsi comme l'on void tant de corps dissemblables,
> Les ames, bien qu'ell's soient formees raisonnables,
> Et par vn mesme Dieu, ne se ressemblent pas,
> Dieu qui est tout puissant creant toutes Idees,
> A les ames de tous distinctement guidees
> Sous la diuersité de son iuste compas(36).

At a human level, the difference between individuals becomes part of the same pattern. We cannot argue that in positing the primacy of the soul Béroalde is being anything other than the traditionalist. He represents still a habit of thought with which Montaigne, for his part, had already broken. In De la Praesumption Montaigne writes

> Le corps a une grand'part à nostre estre, il y tient un grand rang; ainsin sa structure et composition sont de bien juste consideration. Ceux qui veulent desprendre nos deux pieces principales et les sequestrer l'une de l'autre, ils ont tort. Au rebours, il les faut r'accoupler et rejoindre(37).

Montaigne's concern is man; Béroalde's is still man in relation to God. Despite this, a considerable area of similarity remains. Like Montaigne, Béroalde is interested not in a contemplative but in an active ideal, and if soul remains the subject, it is soul understood as the route towards an ethical code. The perspective is more specialised, but Béroalde's poem too presents a view of "l'humaine condition".

Whether viewed in the divine or the human perspective, soul is centrally important. Both are considered in Béroalde's poem, but it is the latter which leads to the formulation of a moral philosophy, and which forms the core of what the poet has to say. The importance of the topic as such is prepared from the beginning. Soul guarantees the "accord" within the world, and from this idea of harmony comes the metaphor of music. The connection is with the mathematical explanation of the cosmos given in the Timaeus, and with the music-spirit theory of Ficino;

> Nostre ame en nostre corps pour establir sa vie,
> Est de mesme qu'au luth la nombreuse harmonie,
> Qui comme esprits du nerf, s'y tient occultement;
> Dans les conduits secrets de nostre corps logee,
> Puissante en sa vigueur est sa force cachee,
> Et la vie est au corps de l'ame mouuement(38).

In the De Triplici Vita Ficino insists upon the special powers of music to affect the mind, powers which it possesses thanks to the similarity between its medium, air, and the substance of which the human spirit is composed(39). Béroalde is suggesting that life is the expression of the powers of soul, but in doing so he too draws a connection between music and the nature of soul. Soul may be perceived as harmony is perceived;

> Viure, est faire paroistre vne ame retenuë
> Dedans les beaux endroits, d'vne forme pourueuë
> De tout ce qui sensible, est tel comme estre il doit,
> Ainsi l'ame inuisible à nos yeux se presente
> Comme à l'ouye le ton, lors que la Lyre enfante
> Les gracieux accords qu'en elle elle conçoit(40).

Both Ficino and Béroalde think of soul as the embodiment of a larger, cosmic harmony.

But the emphasis of this poem is towards the practical. The key to what follows is a persuasion that the inner qualities of soul in man, once recognised, are to be expressed through a particular kind of action. With this goes a warning. A consideration of the role of wisdom and knowledge in conduct is also the indication of a responsibility;

> Ceux là ne viuent pas bien que leur ame ils sentent,
> Qui croupis en paresse autre viure ne tentent,
> Que celuy qui commun est à tous animaux,
> Pour viure il faut monstrer, non l'estat corruptible,
> Mais par de beaux effects se faut rendre inuisible
> A nos yeux de la chair pour paroistre aux plus beaux(41).

This ethic has as its aim a higher ideal, and to this ideal the name "vertu" is given. It is an ideal which, as here, may have decidedly other-worldly connotations. But it is also identified with qualities both identifiable and practical. Like the treatises on consolation, the De l'Ame is written to be read for profit. Unlike the earlier poems, it speaks directly to its audience, and has explicit links with a historical situation. The content of the concluding stanza to this first "chant" is undiluted Platonism, a reproduction of the doctrine of the Phaedrus, but the idea of the nobler part of soul of soul is now attached to the call to a nobler code of behaviour;

> Bien que nostre ame soit en nostre corps liee,
> De l'estat immortel, & du mortel meslee,
> Ses effects pour cela ne sont effects charnels,
> Le mortel en nostre ame est alors que complice
> Du corps abandonné elle embrasse le vice,
> Mais suyure la vertu soit ses faits immortels(42).

*

It is also of course a devotional commonplace. Béroalde, like the most spiritual of writers, makes the image of the soul in the body an image of the pure amid the impure, and besides the Platonic there is the echo of Marguerite de Navarre's

> ...En terre gist sans clarté ne lumiere
> Ma chetiue ame, esclaue, & prisonniere...(43)

The stanza which opens the second "chant" of Béroalde's poem presents the aspect of a variation on the theme;

> L'Ame, encor qu'elle soit vne essence diuine,
> Pour autant que dans soy folle elle se mutine,
> Et ne se tient tousiours en sa perfection,

> Le vice la vertu, & cent mille autres formes
> En leurs successions parfaites & difformes,
> Meslent sa pureté de la corruption(44).

The object, however, is different. It is not the lamentations of soul, nor even, although the idea is not absent, its heavenly aspirations, which will occupy the poet, but rather the further aspect of the workings of soul in the world of the present, as the first De l'Ame has already described them. Analysis is still a preoccupation, but now the analysis has to take a different turn;

> En nostre ame il n'y a des humeurs differences
> Ny des corps patissans, les passibles puissances,
> Car vn esprit n'a rien de semblable à cela,
> Mais pource que le corps prend de l'humeur sa cause,
> Tandis que son esprit pour sa vie y repose,
> Humeurs on n'a (sic) nommé les effaits qu'il y a(45).

It is true that Béroalde then claims to follow no other principle than the random in his exploration of these varied effects of soul. The aesthetic would be the one which Théophile and Saint-Amant later make their own(46);

> Muse mon second heur, puisque d'vne humeur telle
> Tu bande tes accords, sus d'vne frase belle
> Discourons des humeurs, quand l'humeur en viendra,
> Car sans suyure aucun art que le diuin caprice
> Dont tu m'esmeus, laissant la peine & l'artifice,
> Chantons d'vn libre accent tout ce qui s'offrira(47).

In fact, it is the careful unfolding of a hierarchy which the rest of the poem presents.

In De l'Ame et de ses excellences Béroalde shares with the devotional writer the premiss of a necessary relationship between soul and body, and between soul and God. But he bases himself equally on the picture that he has built up in the earlier De l'Ame. The starting-point of this poem is recognisably the anima intellectiva of the other. The action of the intellective, which can have no individual bodily organ in which to manifest itself, is expressed through the intelligence. The intelligence then, at the peak of the pyramid of the faculties of soul, is a truly universal force;

> Tout cela qui subsiste, ayant propre existence
> En puissance, est compris par nostre intelligence,
> Qui est de l'intellect, & l'acte & l'instrument:
> Tel organe il luy faut, car le corps n'a partie

> Qui luy serue d'outil, la seule fantaisie
> Luy en fournit assez vsant d'entendement(48).

The virtues of the intellect are presented as manifest. In the working of the world it bridges the gulf between unity and diversity, as the unity of the intellect is itself capable of infinite variety;

> Simple en simplicité, non sujette à ce trouble,
> Qui des corps composez l'architecture trouble,
> L'intellect est de soy de tout corps separé,
> Susceptible tousiours de formes infinies,
> Son vnité comprend mille places vnies,
> Où tout est par pouuoir compris & attiré(49).

As soul in the largest sense is principle of unity, so in a more specific one the intellect has the role of imposing order upon the diversity of experience. To express the neatness of its operations Béroalde turns to a further science in which he has a direct interest, and which is itself concerned with measure and proportion;

> Comme sur vn parterre on fait voir en practique
> Les mesures qu'on fait par la Mathematique,
> Ordonnant au compas mille compartiments,
> Ainsi peuuent en luy d'vn bel ordre rengees
> Se trouuer par accord, infinité d'Idees,
> Qu'excite la vigueur de nos entendements(50).

In this validation of the power of the intellect we might see a further indication of a continuing stoic strain in Béroalde's thought. For the stoics reason is infused in man by the divine. It is with Seneca as mentor that Lipsius defines reason in the <u>De Constantia</u>;

> La Raison à son origine du ciel voire mesme de Dieu, & Seneque là magnifiquement declaree. <u>Vne partie de l'esprit diuin infuse en l'homme</u>: car elle est ceste excellente force d'entendre & de iuger. Laquelle est la perfection de l'ame, comme l'ame est la perfection de l'homme(51).

Reason is innate principle. The doctrine of innate ideas had already been formulated in the Platonic theory of reminiscence(52), but here, since the stoics take reason as a guide to conduct, it takes on an ethical significance. The divine status of soul is something that Béroalde has already amply underlined - soul is "la forme essentielle / Que de Dieu nous auons"(53) - but he goes on also to add the further emphasis, that ideas are implanted within it. He clearly regards it as a self-evident truth, which a simple image only makes the more

obvious;

> Les fleurs par le iardin diuersement iettees,
> Leuent par cy, par là, comme elles sont traictees
> Par l'humeur du terroir, qui leur germe nourrrit, (sic)
> Si la greine n'y est iamais elles ne sortent,
> Ainsi sont les subjects qui iamais rien n'apportent,
> Si la semence aussi n'en est dedans l'esprit(54).

To the external features of the created world correspond the intellective forms of the mind, and the parallelism between mind and universe, the idea of unity and order, is reinforced -

> Tout est en nostre esprit, car il est de ce monde
> Le petit racourcy, & comme tout abonde
> Au premier ainsi tout en l'autre est abondant,
> Il est vray que les corps le grand monde remplissent,
> Et par leur propre aussi, les formes s'establissent
> En l'esprit qui de soy est leur commencement(55).

Béroalde assumes that the intellective process has its origins in these pre-existing patterns, which are then compared by the "iugement" with the data of experience;

> En l'intellect qui est l'idee des idees
> Toutes idees sont, comme n'estant pas nees,
> Car elles ont de luy leur principe formel,
> Mais par le iugement elles sont rapportees
> Selon qu'ayant esté, elles sont figurees
> De ce qu'on a cogneu par l'aide sensuel(56).

The commonplace is the same as that expressed by Montaigne in De la Phisionomie, that there is "la semence de la raison universelle empreinte en tout homme non desnaturé"(57). For Béroalde too those who do not through their actions demonstrate the force of the intellective soul within them are no more than animals(58). But Béroalde relates the notion to a picture of the working of the soul. His use of the term "iugement" illustrates the point well enough. It is presented not in Montaigne's sense as an aptitude which may be cultivated, and distinguish one individual from another, but as mental faculty. The image is one of process. Similarly, the role of the passions is formulated as a generality, an element in the functioning of the mind -

> ...Tant de discours diuers qui dedans luy s'amassent,
> Tant de pensers meslez, qui passent & repassent,
> Dedans luy sont causez selon ses passions(59).

In this scheme a continuing opposition between mortal and divine has a necessary part. The vertical division of Les Cognoissances,

between "icy-bas" and "là-haut", is mirrored in the composition of the intellect. It has its origins in the divine, but this dependence on the passions in its operation is the reminder of its links with the mortal;

> Il n'y a qu'vn seul Dieu à qui tout est possible,
> Qui ne s'esmeuue point, & qui soit impassible
> Car tout luy est cogneu, tout est à son plaisir,
> La ioye ou la douleur ses pensees n'alterent,
> Immobile tout fort, ses forces ne different,
> Et n'est pas comme nous agitté de desir(60).

The stoic opposition between a normative reason and the potentially destructive effects of the passions is given the additional Christian gloss of opposition between divine and mortal, but the emphasis on reason itself is the same. What is not permitted still is the operation of reason outside the Christian context. An idea of order automatically entails the idea that order should not be transgressed. The warning which in Les Cognoissances is addressed to the astrologers Béroalde now addresses to himself, and its substance now is the theological commonplace that the mysteries of God are not to be explored;

> Muse coulons tout beau, il ne faut entreprendre
> De dire en ce subject plus qu'il n'en sied d'entendre,
> Cognoissons nostre esprit, sans plus outre-passer,
> Ceste petite essence entendons la petite,
> Nous ne pecherons point obseruant ce limite,
> Bien souuent on se perd se pensant aduancer(61).

We should not misinterpret this imposition of a limit. It is the definition of a theme, not the truncation of an enquiry. Béroalde deals in an almost casual way with this for him self-evident truth, and promptly turns his back on speculation. What he does emphasise is the essential importance of soul in a terrestrial context, taking up and extending the concerns of his first poem on soul. We return to the point that De l'Ame et de ses facultes shows soul as fundamental to the functioning of the world, De l'Ame et de ses excellences shows it as fundamental to the proper behaviour of man. "Ie pose le souuerain bien en la cognoissance de la verité" is Béroalde's declared philosophy(62), but without a knowledge of soul such an

aim is unattainable;

> Celuy qui ne sçait pas la verité de l'ame,
> Est comme vn qui voudroit dans vn vaisseau sans rame
> Et sans voile, passer outre le continant,
> Celuy qui veut sçauoir de verité l'essence
> Faut que de l'ame il sçache, & l'estre & la substance,
> Qui sçait sans ce sçauoir se trouue impertinent(63).

This is the purpose of Béroalde's own poem, and its application is a practical one.

It takes him in a different direction from those writers who earlier in the century had debated the soul's immortality(64). Soul for Béroalde is the matter neither for philosophical nor theological speculation. The immortality of soul is something which he plainly accepts without question. He mentions it in his poem only in order to rebut those impious enough to deny it;

> Ceux-là sont hommes vains, qui trop naturalistes
> Et non trop toutesfois, mais ce pendant sofistes,
> Se desmentans honteux, ne se cognoissent pas,
> Et sont dignes de mort qui morts par leurs paroles
> Maintiennent par discours, iniques & friuoles
> Que des hommes tout meurt à l'heure du trespas(65).

In this sense <u>De l'Ame</u> represents a reaction against the emptiness of earlier debate, and the reassertion of the traditional concept of the human soul. Béroalde is interested not in the hypothetical, but in the identified and known, and is content to take the immortality of soul as falling within the latter. It is a truism, to be illustrated with an analogy from nature;

> Quand du bois peu à peu la matiere enflammee,
> Se reduit & resout, en cendre & en fumee
> La substance du feu pour cela ne perit,
> Le feu ne meurt encor qu'il laisse la chandelle,
> Ainsi l'ame fuyant de sa place mortelle,
> Ne meurt auec le corps car sans luy elle vit(66).

The emphasis, instead, falls upon what might be understood;

> Sans disputer en vain d'vne chose certaine
> Resolus de l'estat de la forme hautaine,
> De nostre ame pourtraict de l'essence de Dieu,
> Sans escheler trop haut, & sans trop bas descendre,
> Ses forces nous dirons, comme on les peut entendre
> Tousiours les bien-heureux se tiennent au milieu(67).

As had Du Bartas at the beginning of <u>La Sepmaine</u>(68), Béroalde sets out to steer a middle course. The concept of moderation is not making

its first appearance in his poetry(69), and it relates to a programme as well as to a style. If Ronsard's "Ny trop haut, ny trop bas, c'est le souuerain style"(70) echoes the phrase, we might stretch a point and say that there is another sort of parallel in the "Soubhaitez doncques mediocrité" of Rabelais' Quart Livre(71). This too is a statement of the golden mean designed to lead to a positive code of conduct.

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The first term of this code is knowledge. By this Béroalde means the intellective as opposed to the sensual, and the central idea to which he attaches it is knowledge of self. In the context of the later sixteenth century the immediate parallel must be that of Montaigne. Like Montaigne Béroalde bases an ethic on knowledge of self, and there are some specific points of comparison to be made. Equally obviously, what in the essayist is autobiography and gradual evolution is in Béroalde's poem both more impersonal, and part of a system from the outset. Béroalde belongs to the more conventional moralising tradition from which Montaigne, in the opening lines of Du Repentir especially, consciously distinguishes himself(72). For this reason there is a more precise echo still to the position that Béroalde adopts in a work which sets out to systematise Montaigne, and which in so doing replaces the Essais in a tradition which they in fact transcend. The work is the De la Sagesse of Pierre Charron, first published in 1601 (73). Here we may find expressed as a formula what in Montaigne is a progressive revelation, and what will equally be the assumption of De l'Ame et de ses excellences;

> Le plus excellent & divin conseil, le meilleur & plus utile advertissement de tous, mais le plus mal pratiqué, est de s'estudier & apprendre à se cognoistre: c'est le fondement de sagesse & acheminement à tout bien(74).

The theme is a popular one among the neo-stoic writers of the period also. Du Vair has already translated the Manual of Epictetus(75), and self-knowledge is the first principle of the ethic which Epictetus

proposes. The stoic sage distinguishes between those things which are in his power and those which are not, and finds within himself the moral virtues which others around him abandon(76). Like Charron and like the stoics, Béroalde sees in knowledge of self the guide to a pattern of behaviour. But other terms are his own.

For Béroalde knowledge of self means awareness of potentiality, and the potentiality is the action of the intellect. In this realisation lies knowledge of the soul. Condemnation of the merely sensual is correspondingly uncompromising;

> L'Homme n'a point d'esprit ou n'en a iouissance
> Qui ne cherche soigneux de l'ame la science,
> Et de nostre intellect les accomplis effects,
> Le sens dessus les sens exerce sa puissance,
> Et qui n'a que des sens par les sens cognoissance,
> Aueuglé d'ame & d'oeil, ne se cognoist iamais(77).

Béroalde devotes the third "chant" of his poem to the celebration of knowledge, and the vigour of this opening is maintained throughout. The Renaissance hymn of Peletier's Louange de la Science is transformed into a polemic. Knowledge becomes a morality;

> C'est à faire à l'enfant qui n'a point de conduite,
> Et qui tout ignorant nullement ne s'incite
> Au sçauoir, que passer sans science ses iours,
> Aussi qui ne sçait rien vicieux se delaisse
> En l'aage d'ignorance, & ne void sa ieunesse
> Honorer en plaisir de sa vie le cours(78).

This is "scientia" not so much as aspiration as as responsibility. Knowledge is promoted from activity of an elite to general ethic. Du Bellay had called for a "rare et antique erudition" on the part of the poet(79), but Béroalde replaces this in the arena. In this definition, however, "scientia" clearly has a very broad meaning, and becomes as a faculty of intellective soul in its own right. The emotion of the earlier poems is remembered, but to be translated into a doctrine, in which the rapturous enthusiasm of enquiry is now become a standard, the simple opposite of an animal-like existence. For he who remains in his "aage d'ignorance"

> ...n'a pas le plaisir d'vser sa fantaisie
> A mille beaux discours, quand son ame rauie
> De quelque beau subjet surpasse le mortel,
> Ains tout mort dedans soy, pris d'vn eternel somme

> Autant homme que marbre, & autant marbre qu'homme,
> Comme vn boeuf ne cognoist rien que le sensuel(80).

Man is free to choose his state, but only through the intellect does he attain the true dignity of his being. Through the realisation of this potential, through knowledge of self, he arrives at the knowledge of externals, and goes beyond his mortal condition. Intellect is transcendental principle, the instrument of a purely cerebral neo-platonic scale;

> L'intellect operant de toute sa puissance
> Par progrez de raison, considere l'essence
> Des principes qu'il faut, pour voir la verité,
> Et contant s'esleuant comme dessus soy-mesme,
> Occupé de plaisir, de tout plaisir extresme,
> Mesprisant le mortel suit la diuinité(81).

At this stage the ideal remains a contemplative one, and it is apparent that contemplation has the force of purely intellectual value;

> Qui aime le scauoir, doctement imagine
> Quelque chose de grand que son esprit rumine
> Balançant les objects de son intention,
> Et recherchant ainsi de verité la cause,
> D'vn desir attentif, son intellect dispose
> Aux plus subtils effects de meditation(82).

Through the intellective forms within it, the mind as microcosm comprehends the macrocosm about it. By reflecting on the world, it contains it(83).

Through this emphasis on knowledge as the vindication of man Béroalde returns to an earlier, and traditional, hierarchy. The picture is equally that of Charles de Bouelles in his De Sapiente(84). Man has his place within a fixed scale, but at the same time he may rise or fall within it. In the 1509 edition of the work(85) the idea is shown in a diagram(Fig.2). Man, endowed with rational soul, stands at the summit of a pyramid, with below him the representatives of sensitive, vegetative, and inanimate being. But the man who cultivates knowledge, the studiosus, is the sole representative of virtus, and to strengthen his point Bouelles' illustrator shows the scholar seated at his desk. The alternatives are states of degradation. Homo sensualis lives for the senses alone, and wallows in luxuriousness.

The man who does no more than live is depicted in the figure of the glutton, while at the very bottom of the scale is the victim of sloth, who has done no more than return to the level of the inanimate. The choice is man's alone, but only the wise man represents the properly finished individual(85a).

Béroalde's view is the same, and he too presents an opposition between studiosus and sensualis. For him the man who remains ignorant is no more than "marbre", and it is he who

> Comme vn boeuf ne cognoist rien que le sensuel.

The difference is that an enthusiasm for "scientia" is the general theme of the poem, and the positive appraisal of knowledge is in itself taken much further. In addition, the distinction between the intellective and the sensual is made to carry a specifically christian element. The intellect leads men to an appreciation of the divine. Those who turn from it are portrayed not only as animal-like, but as earth-bound in the most literal sense;

> Les bien-creez esprits, dont l'intellect loüable
> Pensant à tous subjects, se rend mesme admirable,
> Comprennent sans cesser quelque chose de beau,
> Mais les autres laissans de l'ame tout l'vsage,
> Fantastiques & lourds, n'ont iamais le courage
> D'esleuer leurs pensers par dessus leur chapeau(86).

The contrasting picture is that of a Platonic ascent, in which it is difficult not to think of Béroalde's own expressed aspiration;

> Ainsi le sage esprit, ayant qui le contente,
> Par ses propres discours, en sa ioye s'augmente,
> Si tost qu'il est espris des graces du sçauoir,
> Se guide par le vray vers l'essence diuine,
> Et tirant à ce but sa puissance il n'incline
> Vers les cruels escueils du sensuel vouloir(87).

Within the overall aim, the emphasis falls as squarely as can be on the value of knowledge itself. Pressing his point, Béroalde polemicizes the debate. "Opinion" and "soupçon" had already appeared in De l'Ame et de ses facultes as the enemies of intellect(88), and now the threat of the former is positively identified. In itself, the context might suggest a further connection with the Platonic, through a

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Auaricia viciorũ ancilla atq; ministra.

Luxuriosꝰ homo vt bestia.

Gulosus vt planta.

Piger vt lapis.

¶ Qui vero sese ab extremis abercuerit/ qui immobilis equa lance constiterit in medio sederitq; in homine: hic merito veraciter homo/ hic studiosꝰ/ probus/ sapiens/ felix beatusq; censeatur. Circũstant itaq; vnicũ hominẽ/ precipua mala sex: que velut truculẽtissime fere ex abditis/ pestifera in eum arma mouent illiusq; felicitati insidiantur. His vero eadem instrumentaria Auaricie labes famulatur. Vniuersas ceca habẽdi rabies (velut impijssima ancilla) fouet/ alit/ nutrit. Largitur siquidẽ hec diuitias: proter quas aut nosipsos honotibus dignos arbitramur (Superbe inquàm elenamur/ In honorãtibus succẽsemus/ paribꝰ inuidemus) aut misera carnis blandimẽta fluxalq; voluptates insipienter prosequimur. ¶ Efficit quippe luxuries: & immoderatus fede libidinis amor/ hominẽ haud bestijs absimilem illumq; ab humana sede; in brutorum animantiũ gradum/ infeliciter extrurbat. quãdoquidem nil prestantius brutis animãtibus adsit: q̃ seminis profusio sueq; speciei propagatio. Gula siue corporee alimonie irrepressa auiditas: hũc a primo proprioue loco/ deiicit in tertium: plantisq; persimilem efficit. que licet totiꝰ sensationis & voluptatis probentur expertes: officia tamen alimentationis exercent. Porro extrema Acedia: hominem in imũ vltimumq; gradum extrudit: facitq; mineralibus persimilẽ. ¶ Sicut enim mineralia que in extremo sedent gradu: haud aliud aliquid habent/ q̃ ipsum esse nullaq; naturali operatione excerceri aut per seipsa dimoueri illis indultum est: ita & quoscũq; portentosũ Acedie mõstrum obsederit: assiduo ferme somno cõsopescunt/ ab actu omni & operatione remittũtur Immoti vt lapides perstãt: tanq̃ si simplex eẽ sine vlla preclara viatq; laudabilium operationum facultate: natura mater illis esset elargita. Perseuerant quippe isti/ plusq̃ omnes/ in nature muneribus ingrati: nullam naturalium suarum virium excercentes. in ipsa ratione penitus irrationabiles. In sensu/ insensibiles: in vita exanimes/ emortui/ infecundi. In ipsa deniq; substantia: ociosi/ desides/ torpẽtes. Et hec clarius/ ex subiecta figura dinoscuntur

SERVICE PHOTOGRAPHIQUE BIBL. NAT/7317 Rés. R 155, f.119v°
PARIS

Fig. 2

Charles de Bouelles, Liber de sapiente, Paris, Ambianis, 1509 (Bibliothèque Nationale Rés. R. 155), f.119v°

choice of terminology. In the Solitaire Premier Pontus de Tyard defines "Raison intellectuelle" as "une puissance de l'ame qui consiste en bon ordre"(89), and "Opinion" below it as "une puissance de l'Ame, muable, et sans ordre, en multitude d'imaginations diverses"(90). Béroalde's own insistent distinction between true and false, on the evidence of the world-view presented in his two earlier poems, must embrace the same preoccupation. But philosophy is converted to propaganda;

> C'est icy, c'est icy, c'est la vraye science
> Car quand de l'intellect, on laisse la puissance
> Pour se laisser mener à la debilité,
> Enflé des vains discours de l'ame abandonnee,
> Apres l'opinion, l'on fausse sa pensee,
> Qui suit l'opinion il fuit la verité(91).

This is a philosophy of knowledge projected into the different intellectual atmosphere of the period of the Wars of Religion, when the aim of neo-stoic writers in particular is to offer a specified conduct which may be adopted. In De la Sagesse Béroalde had made his own contribution. A similar object is a dimension of the poem in its turn. "Raison" and "Opinion" become partisan terms, and once more the satirical world of d'Aubigné's Tragiques becomes a point of comparison. "Opinion" takes on concrete form;

> Dangereux accident à l'ame audacieuse
> Quand elle va suyuant l'opinion menteuse,
> Qui d'vn venin mortel refroidit le bon sens...(92)

The themes of disguise and deception to which Béroalde has already referred in De l'Ame et de ses facultes(93) now take on a harder edge. Béroalde gives "opinion" a role uncannily similar to that of the disguised Satan at the beginning of Les Fers. "Couuerte de fard" opinion dissimulates its true nature, that of the animal associated with archetypal evil;

> C'est vn serpent glissant, dont la teste pointuë
> Passe plus vistement qu'elle n'est apperceuë,
> D'vn arcenic succré apastant les esprits,
> Braue en deductions, elle vient apparoistre,
> Mais couuerte de fard, ne se fait pas cognoistre,
> De peur de desgouter les coeurs qu'elle a surpris(94).

In the same way the inhabitants of the Valois court attempt to corrupt

with "l'arsenic ensucré de leurs belles paroles"(95). Béroalde's emotion is as direct as d'Aubigné's, and like d'Aubigné he presents a rampart against the enemies of "verité". Through De la Sagesse and L'Idee de la Republique he has shown that his patriotism and concern for the plight of France is no less. But his turn of mind is different. It is not the partisan in the religious or the political sense which interests him; when he writes this second De l'Ame he has from Protestant become Catholic. Instead, he seeks consolation in an intellectual discipline. His faith is in a different ideal.

It is knowledge, and proper application of knowledge, which is this ideal. Perhaps we may see something in it of the optimism, in a far different context, of an Erasmus. But to explore that particular echo would take us too far from our subject. Béroalde, while cherishing an ideal, has a firm grasp of the realities of his age, and the use of a concrete imagery brings the perception closer. He continues to describe the action of "opinion";

> Flateuse elle conduit, d'vne belle apparence
> Les assasins discours, que subtile elle aduance
> Et par son artifice elle emmielle les coeurs,
> Par vn zele feruant menant sa violence
> Happe les fondements de la sainte science,
> Et pour la verité assemble mille erreurs(96).

The final condemnation of "opinion" is that it traduces the ideal.

The Béroalde of "Ie recherche de tout la forme interieure" confers upon knowledge the value of an absolute, and it is as a model of perfection that knowledge is presented. The contrast with "opinion" is explained point by point;

> La science au contraire, humblement s'achemine
> Par les vnis sentiers que verité designe,
> Suyuant principes vrais demonstrez vrayement,
> Faisant cognoistre au vray par raison & par cause,
> Rien qui ne soit certain, certaine ne propose,
> Et s'eslongnant du faux suit le vray constamment(97).

To the vertical division of Les Cognoissances, the division between above and below which is that between God and man, De l'Ame adds further ones, between the intellective and the sensual and between the follower of "science" and the victim of "opinion". In Les

Cognoissances the opposition between celestial perfection and terrestrial imperfection is a straightforward one, but with the ethic of knowledge of De l'Ame a further positive term is introduced. The context is never any other than the Christian one, and there is never any doubt that the pursuit of truth in this definition leads ultimately to the divine. Nonetheless Béroalde encounters an embarrassment. He himself has observed the Scriptural commonplace of the wretchedness of man, but he is clearly perturbed by the statement of Ecclesiastes -

> For in much wisdom is much grief: and he that increaseth knowledge increaseth sorrow(98).

The vanitas theme embraces knowledge. Béroalde, who has accepted the other biblical commonplace that the fear of God is the beginning of wisdom, notably hesitates before a concept which appears to strike at the validity of knowledge itself.

The reference is a biblical one, and Béroalde introduces it into his poem. But he is evidently not quite sure what to do about it. He presents it as an objection which he cannot understand;

> Toy qui le plus sçauant de tous les Isacides,
> Des Gregeois, des Romains, des Nilois, des Druides,
> As surmonté l'oubly le battant de sçauoir,
> Pourquoy sage dis-tu qu'assemblant la science
> On assemble douleur, tristesse, impatience,
> Puis que le sçauoir saint fait les hommes valoir?(99)

In this instance Béroalde's positive ethic of knowledge involves a reaction against biblical authority. As in the case of Les Cognoissances and the first De l'Ame, it is a direct enthusiasm for knowledge which gives this poem its distinctive identity. Against the pronouncement of Solomon is pitted the voice of personal commitment;

> Ainsi ce docte Iuif que le Prince de vie,
> Esclarcit luy ayant sa lumiere obscurcie,
> Dit qu'auec grand sçauoir est l'indignation,
> Comment! il faudroit donc pour viure en patience
> Se nourrir endormis dans le sein d'ignorance?
> Ne sentant de sçauoir aucune esmotion!(100)

In Béroalde's poem knowledge takes its place within the vanity motif as the redemption of an otherwise empty life. It is clear that the values are those of Rabelais' 1535 Almanach(101), but the emphasis falls on the positive. This is even the justification of the poem

itself;

> Mais qu'est-il de plus beau & qui mieux desennuye
> Auec toutes douceurs, nostre inutile vie,
> Que de sçauoir beaucoup, & apprendre tousiours,
> Que s'il est autrement, Muses belles folettes
> Retirez vous de nous, si ces graues prophetes
> Accusent de folie & douleur nos discours(102).

This is the ethic that had been Peletier's, and it is just as much the driving force in Béroalde's life as it had been in his;

> Plustost il faut mourir que ne vouloir apprendre,
> Mais pource qu'on ne peut infiniment entendre
> Au pris que lon apprend, l'ignorance apparoist,
> Adoncques le coeur grand, qui grand (sic) choses medite
> Voyant pres du scauoir, sa force tant petite,
> Se desplaist comme on faict si tost qu'on se cognoist(103).

As we have seen, Béroalde makes it a scruple to insist that the domain of knowledge has defined limits. His scientific poetry remains conscious of considerations that Peletier's does not. But it is difficult not to see in these lines the further statement of Peletier's unending aspiration. We might compare Peletier's Rémontrancé, A Soeméme, written as old age approaches;

> E né voulant rien lesser imparfet,
> Jé fè tousjours, e si n'è james fèt.
> Jé coúr sans fin, e tant plus jé galopé,
> Tant plus Dedalé an son clos m'anvélopé...(104)

But Béroalde joins this with a specific self-awareness, with the knowledge of self in which he sees the essential action of the intellect. Once again, the scientific motif is given ethical significance. The parallel here is with Montaigne;

> Ainsin en cette (subtilité) de se cognoistre soy mesme, ce que chacun se voit si resolu et satisfaict, ce que chacun y pense estre suffisamment entendu, signifie que chacun n'y entend rien du tout... Moy qui ne faicts autre profession, y trouve une profondeur et variété si infinie, que mon apprentissage n'a autre fruict que de me faire sentir combien il me reste à apprendre(105).

Béroalde's ethic similarly is one that depends on recognition;

> Souuent en apprenant, la subtile malice
> De fausse opinion, dedans l'ame se glisse,
> Adonc enflé de gloire, on s'estime beaucoup,
> Mais qui se glorifie, est au crapaut semblable,
> Qui glorieux s'enflant, se creua miserable,
> Qui pense s'esleuer se perd tout en vn coup(106).

The moralising aspect is prominent, and the stanza has almost the status of a fable of La Fontaine, but the animal image, like similar

examples in d'Aubigné(107), is meant to translate scorn. Béroalde is still concerned with the distinction between true knowledge and false, and this brings him closer to Montaigne's model of knowledge of self;

> Qui s'estime scauant, loin de toute science
> En fait d'aage & de sens, n'a pas la cognoissance
> Que c'est que du scauoir, ny comme il faut scauoir:
> Ainsi souuentesfois l'annee qu'on commence
> On pense scauoir tout, mais au pris qu'on s'aduance
> On cognoist qu'on n'a pas ce qu'on pensoit auoir(108).

Recognition of self is the first step towards true scientia. Scientia is based on the just powers of the intellect, powers which if abused are degraded to the level of "opinion"(109). But the validity of scientia depends on more than an awareness of its nature. It is bound up also with an awareness of its effects. Béroalde's condemnation of "fausse opinion" makes implicit reference to St. Paul's statement in I Corinthians;

> Scientia inflat, charitas vero aedificat(110).

The development of this point opens a further dimension in the poem.

*

Béroalde is certainly not unaware of the point which St. Paul makes. In Le Palais des Curieux he expressly recommends

> Le bien-heureux seruiteur de Dieu dit que la science enfle: Il faut apporter vne grande consideration à son dire(111).

In the same chapter in which this remark is made, he goes on to reach his edifying conclusion

> En saine conscience il faut confesser qu'il n'y a qu'vne science, qui est de sçauoir Iesus-Christ, & iceluy crucifié, sçauoir ses commandements, mediter aux arrests de sa volonté, & esplucher dignement les commoditez de nostre salut...(112)

But then the rest of Le Palais, and the poetry which we have been examining, suggests a different kind of curiosity. Behind the devotional formula is the alchemist and mathematician, and the writer who is above all interested in function, and who bases on this idea an interpretation of the world about him. The caution to which it is subject is both inevitable and indispensable for the sixteenth-century writer, but "scientia" for Béroalde is never anything other

than positive value.

The contrast is immediate with the position of Charron in his De la Sagesse. There St. Paul's verse is used to demonstrate a very different proposition;

> La science est fiere, presomptueuse, arrogante, opiniastre, indiscrete, querelleuse, scientia inflat: La Sagesse modeste, retenuë, douce & paisible(113).

Charron opposes a vain "scientia" to the picture of a laudable "sagesse", and the distinction is one that can be traced to the example of Montaigne. Charron's version is more absolute, and characteristically converts the suggestive to the categorical, but the terms nonetheless are those of the Essais. Montaigne develops a "sagesse" which is an interior value, cultivated by the individual from within himself, and practiced rather than learnt(114). It involves a reaction against reverence for the fact of learning, what Montaigne calls "sçavoir". We should not over-simplify Montaigne's point of view, which in this instance is coloured also by the aristocrat's disdain for study, but his remains a voice representative of an intellectual climate in which unqualified enthusiasm has given way to appraisal(115). The opening paragraphs of the Apologie speak for a generation which wishes to use what a previous generation has discovered(116). There is a shift of emphasis from knowledge to the application of knowledge, and bound up with this is a general evolution in the idea of wisdom itself. According to Rice, in his book on The Renaissance Idea of Wisdom(117), the medieval view of wisdom as an other-worldly concept, an attribute of God and accessible to the individual through the intercession of grace, is one that is gradually displaced in the course of the sixteenth century. By the time of Charron and the formulations of De la Sagesse the prevailing model is that of a secularised wisdom with a direct application to the things of this world, moral rather than intellectual in content, and become a naturally-acquired human virtue(118). Rice's interpretation has been challenged(119), and he himself is cautious in his presentation

of it(120). It is clear that the evolution can in no sense be a straightforward one, and Béroalde's poem is itself further confirmation of this fact. But Montaigne, and after him Charron, do present a notion of wisdom which is fundamentally different from that of earlier writers. Another notable contributor to it is Du Vair. Common to all three is a depiction of wisdom not as contemplative ideal, but as active ethic.

It is against this background of ideas that we propose to set Béroalde's presentation of "sagesse" in De l'Ame. It is evident first of all that for Béroalde wisdom is the application of knowledge, and that he holds just as insistently as Montaigne that "sçavoir par coeur n'est pas sçavoir"(121);

> Sçauoir n'est point scauoir si on n'en scait l'vsage,
> Le sçauant ne l'est pas si scauant il n'est sage.
> Car Sagesse est le but, ou le docte se tient:
> On ne deuient meilleur pour beaucoup de science,
> Mais quand au coeur on a la saincte sapience,
> En apprenant beaucoup, beaucoup bon on deuient(122).

Béroalde would agree with Montaigne's statement in Du Pedantisme, "Il falloit s'enquerir qui est mieux sçavant, non qui est plus sçavant"(123). Like Montaigne, he is interested from the beginning in the question of human behaviour, and his concern too is with an ethic. The aim for both authors is that of a "bien viure". Montaigne writes in De l'Experience

> Il n'est rien si beau et legitime que de faire bien l'homme et deuëment, ny science si ardue que de bien et naturellement vivre cette vie...(124),

Béroalde in De l'Ame;

> Qui scait, void le chemin qui luy conuient eslire
> Pour viure craignant Dieu, le seul but on aspire,
> L'esprit regenere deuot, humble, prudent,
> Ainsi le seul bien viure est la quinte substance,
> Qu'on extraict doctement de toute la science,
> Cestuy-là ne scait rien qui bien viure n'entend(125).

The comparison does not of course demonstrate an equivalence, but merely that both writers share in the same current of ideas. Montaigne's "naturellement" relates to a philosophy which is his alone. Béroalde the alchemist arrives at his quintessential "bien viure" by a different route. But De l'Ame does show a preoccupation with wisdom as an ars

vivendi, of which the object is a practical good in the life of the individual. As such it stands in a direct line of descent from the concept of wisdom of Cicero and Seneca, and in the tradition of wisdom viewed as moral virtue. The tradition is one much in vogue at this time, and had recently been restated in Du Vair's La Philosophie Morale des Stoiques(126).

But in Béroalde's case it takes its place also within a specifically devotional context. Du Vair's remarks are of course themselves scarcely divorced from the general religious commentary, and we have already seen how Lipsius' De Constantia makes a point of drawing together stoicism and christianity(127). In De l'Ame the same concern takes the form of a frequently-repeated reminder of the relationship of wisdom to God, and of their respective values. The commonplace of "viure craignant Dieu" is not forgotten, and the ethical question is seen in terms of the same providential scheme which before had governed the world of Les Cognoissances. A stress on wisdom as practical value does not exclude an earlier and traditional image of wisdom as God-given attribute. Béroalde's "bien viure" involves both, and the poem as a whole passes with apparent lack of concern from emphasis now on the first element, then on the other.

At one moment Béroalde appears to present a straightforward programme of christian/stoic "sagesse", but at another that programme is obviously qualified. In La Philosophie Morale des Stoiques Du Vair introduces piety as the foremost of virtues for the sage;

> Le bien estant l'obiect de la volonté de l'homme, où il est plus pur & plus entier, là doit-elle estre plus esmeuë. Donques la premiere & plus ferme affection doit estre celle qui le lie auec l'autheur & principe de tout bien, ceste affection est la pieté... Le principal effect de la pieté, est de nous apprendre à cognoistre Dieu: car de la cognoissance des choses procede l'honneur que nous leur portons(128).

Similarly Béroalde founds the aim of "bien viure" on the assumption of a dutiful attitude towards God, and makes the ethical directly depend on the pietistic;

> Par cet heureux scauoir, on vient à discipline,
> Qui fait que peu à peu, nostre ame s'achemine

> Au sentier bien dressé qui meine à la bonté,
> Si tost que la bonté en nostre coeur prend place,
> A la foelicité heureusement on passe,
> Le bon-heur est le fruict de nostre pieté(129).

Du Vair goes on to insist upon the necessity of the individual's recognition of God's providential role(130), and there can scarcely be any doubt that this is Béroalde's position also. But for Du Vair piety is the means to a civic virtue, the guarantee of a secular conduct(131). In Béroalde's version there is the suggestion of the other-worldly, and a reaction away from the present;

> Nous donc qui desirons la vie sans malice,
> Du monde abominant le menteur artifice,
> Apprenons, apprenons l'aisee verité,
> Desirons de scauoir, cherchons la sapience,
> Et s'il y a dans nous quelque belle esperance,
> Nous en aurons en fin ce loyer merité(132).

To this corresponds a duality in the idea of wisdom itself.

Within the overall concept lies the consistent emphasis on the value of knowledge itself. "Scientia inflat" is the topos, and Béroalde's response to it is that knowledge misapplied is vain;

> Je meurs de desplaisir, quand ie voy la doctrine,
> Dans vn coeur vicieux, qui iamais ne s'incline
> A l'vsage sacré de ce qu'il a appris,
> La science dans luy, est comme la parole
> Au bec du perroquet, dont la langue friuole
> Enuoye parmy l'air des propos de mespris(133).

The tone becomes satirical, and Béroalde rejoins the strictures of Montaigne on <u>pedantisme</u>;

> Nous sçavons dire: "Cicero dit ainsi; voilà les meurs de Platon; ce sont les mots mesmes d'Aristote." Mais nous, que disons nous nous mesmes? que jugeons nous? que faisons nous? Autant en diroit bien un perroquet(134).

In this context it is worth returning to a point which we referred to-above. The tradition behind Montaigne's "sagesse" is that of wisdom as interior value. In his <u>De Remediis utriusque fortunae</u> Petrarch had already made the observation

> Bene irent res, si tot essent sapientes, quot sapientiae professores(135)

But the characteristic of Montaigne's view is a distinction between wisdom and "sçavoir". It is this which is the basis of his attitude to education. The statement of "plutost la teste bien faicte que bien

pleine"(136) supposes two concepts become the expression of true values and false;

> De vray, le soing et la despence de nos peres ne vise qu'à nous meubler la teste de science; du jugement et de la vertu, peu de nouvelles(137).

"Sçavoir", says Montaigne, may be taught, but "sagesse" must spring from within ourselves -

> Quand bien nous pourrions estre sçavans du sçavoir d'autruy, au moins sages ne pouvons nous estre que de nostre propre sagesse(138).

"Sçavoir" is re-assessed rather than excluded ("Or il ne faut pas attacher le sçavoir à l'ame, il l'y faut incorporer"(139)), but the scale of values in an essay such as Du Pedantisme is very clear. In an official of the Parlement, Montaigne argues, both knowledge and "jugement" are necessary, but while the latter can operate independently of the former, knowledge alone will not suffice(140). Moreover, the military man Montaigne finds against "l'estude des sciences" on the grounds that it has a damaging effect on valour - cannot the ease with which Charles VIII swept all before him in his invasion of Italy be accounted for by the fact that the Italian princes and nobles spent more time "à se rendre ingenieux et sçavans que vigoureux et guerriers"? (141) The implication, and logical conclusion, is that those things which make up "sagesse" are not to be found via "sçavoir", and that the two are mutually independent. "Sagesse" as ethical principle becomes distinct entity. These are the ideas taken further and developed by Charron in De la Sagesse. For Charron not only are "sçavoir" and "sagesse" distinct, "mais au rebours elles sont presque tousjours separées"(142). "Science" becomes a positive barrier to "sagesse". The greatest states and empires were governed wisely and sagely in time of peace and war without the intrusion of learning, while as for the product of school and university, "Y a il gens au monde plus ineptes & plus sots & plus mal-propres à toutes choses?"(143) In a town council, merchant or burgher is worth ten times more than one of these "sçavanteaux". "Sagesse" is to be prized and esteemed above all,

Car elle est necessaire, utile par tout, universelle, active, noble, honneste, gratieuse, joyeuse(144).

But in Charron's classification these are qualities exclusive to "sagesse", and a definition of "science" is conceived as a deliberate contrast;

La science est particuliere, non necessaire ny guere utile, point active, servile, mechanique, melancholique, opiniastre, presomptueuse(145).

Melancholy here is no longer the respectable melancholy of the intellectual, but the wasteful melancholy of the pedant, and "scientia" and "sagesse" become mutually exclusive concepts.

Béroalde's poem shows the desire to draw them together. Wisdom defined as the application of knowledge, but knowledge remains its first term in a real sense. The enthusiasm of

Ie tiens qu'il n'y a point de plaisir égal à celuy d'apprendre tousiours...c'est mon vnique passion(146)

becomes part of a general programme. Montaigne's opposition to <u>pedantisme</u> is in Béroalde's case an opposition to the imperfection of "opinion". Both aspire to a wisdom which may be the guide to right living, but in Béroalde's wisdom knowledge remains a positive term, neither synonym for "pedantisme" nor impediment to "sagesse". It is in this respect that wisdom is neither theoretical nor speculative, but bound up with an emphasis on the practical. <u>De l'Ame</u> continues the sentiment of the <u>Recherches de la pierre philosophale</u> -

...desirer la sagesse est vouloir apprendre toutes choses pour les entendre & mettre en effait(147).

Béroalde subscribes to Montaigne's division between "mieux sçavant" and "plus sçavant" - "On ne deuient meilleur pour beaucoup de science". But he cannot share the aversion, implied in Montaigne and explicit in Charron, for "science", where "science" is held not to contribute to wisdom. He obviously feels the need to attach the concept of "sagesse" to the immediate, and his preoccupation here is the same as that of Peletier;

La Verite n'ét point, sinon dé quelqué fet:
Et né vient nul profit, sinon dé quelqué efet(148).

Béroalde's is an ethic depending on a positive evaluation of knowledge. In his poem the warning of the Book of Ecclesiastes against "scientia" is a difficulty, to be opposed to the enthusiasm of personal experience(149). For Charron of course there is no such problem, and the biblical authority on the contrary helps his argument splendidly;

> La premiere tentation du diable, dict la Bible, & le commencement de tout mal & de la ruine du genre humain, a esté l'opinion, le desir & envie de science...Un des plus sçavans, qui a esté, parle de la science comme de chose non seulement vaine, mais encores nuisible, penible, & fascheuse. Bref la science peut nous rendre plus humains & courtois mais non plus gens de bien(150).

"Envie de science" in Béroalde's scheme plays a different role, and the point at issue is not the nature of knowledge but its use. Finally, the response which his poem makes to the objections of both Charron and Montaigne is a direct one;

> ...quand au coeur on a la saincte sapience,
> En apprenant beaucoup, beaucoup bon on deuient.

All then depends on the precise nature of "sapience". Here Béroalde draws direct on the Christian ethic. His practical conception of wisdom represents not only an aversion to the speculative, but the assimilation of the evangelical concern;

> Omnis enim lex in uno sermone impletur: Diliges proximum tuum sicut teipsum(151).

Unable to accept the commonplace of "scientia inflat" without qualification, Béroalde distinguishes between true knowledge and false, and the standard he applies is that of Pauline charity;

> Plusieurs meus d'vn esprit nullement charitable,
> N'ont que le vain desir d'vn scauoir perissable,
> N'apprenant seulement que pour se contenter:
> C'est iniquement fait, il faut que lon apprenne
> Pour le bien du prochain, car la science est vaine
> Si lon ne la recherche afin d'edifier(152).

"Scientia inflat, charitas vero aedificat" becomes an almost textual parallel, but charity itself is now defined in terms of knowledge. At the end of the century Béroalde's sentiment curiously echoes an earlier, and better known, "science sans conscience n'est que ruyne de l'âme". Rabelais' statement relates to a concept of faith which itself has a firm tradition behind it(153), and the humanist

enthusiasm is set within the theological context. Béroalde's is the definition of a science, and his "formée de charité" pertains to knowledge itself. He repeats the point that he has already made in De la Sagesse(154), that knowledge and wisdom are to be directed to a practical end.

As Rabelais' novel is the demonstration of his concept of faith, so there is some evidence that the ethic of knowledge which Béroalde presents in his poem is one that he himself attempts to put into effect. The statements suggesting this are those of Le Palais des Curieux;

> ...ie fay plus la medecine pour ce qu'il me plaist de faire du bien au monde, que pour profit que i'en attende(155)

> ...Parmy tant de rares fleurs ie voy les metaux, & sur tout l'or qui rayonne iusques en mon coeur, tant ie desire d'en auoir pour en faire du bien aux pauures, ausquels les riches ne songent point...(156)

For Béroalde the practice of medecine and the pursuit of the philosophers' stone are each the embodiments of the theory of knowledge outlined in Les Excellences.

Béroalde's "sagesse", then, is one distinct from that of Montaigne both in its attachment to a Christian ethic and in its retention of knowledge as positive value. Like Montaigne's, it takes "se connaître" as a motif and as an aim, but this too is a value, it emerges later in Le Palais, which Béroalde sees in terms of a larger stress on the active and the practical;

> On a tant fait d'estat de cette sentence, Cognoy toy...Ce cognoistre(sic) n'est-ce point croire que l'on est l'objet des autres, comme nous sommes leur objet?(157)

Where Montaigne speaks to and through the individual, Béroalde shows a more apparent concern with the community. It is here that De l'Ame most obviously joins the current of the moralising treatises on consolation;

> ...que toute ame pure
> Qui iettra son regard dessus ceste escriture,
> Apprenne auecques moy de sagesse le bien

he says at the end of this third chant of the poem(158).

However, the poem presents two concepts of "sagesse" at once. It is active ethic, based on a positive appraisal of knowledge, and

those who do not pursue it in this guise are condemned as the partisans of "opinion". But the ethic itself is interpreted through the christian, and it is also the irreligious which is being indicted;

> Perissent confondus ceux dont l'ame maligne,
> Ne s'applicquans qu'à mal, ne cherchent la doctrine
> Que sous les vanitez de curiosité.
> Tousiours les curieux quelques abus apprennent,
> Et ne pensant aux Cieux, rien de bon ne retiennent,
> Ains tout ce qui s'oppose à la Diuinité(159).

Alongside this definition the reminder of the poem's point of departure is constant;

> La science consiste, en ce que lon adore
> Le grand Dieu, d'vn coeur saint, & que iuste on honore
> Les vertus, les suyuant en toute humilité:
> Ainsi faut-il sçauoir, ainsin a on l'vsage
> De ce que l'on apprend, ainsi deuient on sage,
> On trouue en craignant Dieu sagesse & verité(160).

Knowledge becomes a double value, not only the means to a "bien viure" but also, properly observed, an essential sign of respect towards God. On the one hand, a wisdom based on knowledge is indispensable to the proper conduct of life;

> Sans sagesse on ne peut en ce monde bien viure,
> Sans elle on ne sçauroit vn bel estat poursuyure,
> Sans elle on ne pourroit magnifique exceller,
> C'est nostre ambition que d'auoir l'excellence,
> Il faut donc pour l'auoir chercher la sapience,
> Le sage peut tousiours les autres preceder(161).

Béroalde is quick to correct the impression these lines in themselves may give that "sagesse" is exclusively the preserve of the ambitious;

> Que l'on ayt auec soy pauureté, ou richesse,
> On se sçait contenter si on a la sagesse,
> Le sage sçait vser, & du peu & du bien,
> Rien n'est icy tant fort qui en fin ne perisse,
> Fors la seule sagesse, il faut que tout finisse,
> Car de tout, & de soy seule elle est le soustien(162).

But at the same time as this half of the picture there is the persuasion that wisdom leads to God. The conclusion that follows from this is positive enough in its own right;

> Celuy n'ayme point Dieu qui la science n'ayme,
> Cil qui l'a en mespris ne s'ayme pas soy-mesme,
> Qui sçait sans craindre Dieu est du tout ignorant...(163)

Both these elements lie behind Béroalde's condemnation of those who turn aside from the pursuit of knowledge, and help to explain its

vehemence;

> Indigne de ce iour, & du nom d'homme indigne,
> Indigne de tout bien, qui vicieux desdaigne
> De sçauoir & chercher ce qui guide au bon heur:
> Tel est cil qui malin la science desprise,
> Qui ne veut que son ame heureusement esprise
> Recognoisse apprenant de science l'honneur(164).

The duality is one that is equally apparent in Béroalde's presentation of the nature of wisdom. While he stresses the role of wisdom as ethical principle and moral virtue, he evidently sees no difficulty in combining this with the more traditional view of wisdom as a quality granted by God, and unobtainable without the help of grace. A gift of God, it is towards God that wisdom must be properly directed. It is in this perspective that to love knowledge is to love God;

> La sagesse on n'a point n'ayant point Dieu propice,
> Dieu seul est qui la donne à l'humble requerant(165).

Béroalde's discussion of the themes of knowledge and wisdom begins and ends with an emphasis on their necessary involvement with the idea of a christian God, while in between he suggests a role for them which has strong connections with the moralising and the stoic.

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Knowledge and wisdom as themes are directly related to the concerns, and indeed to the motivation, of the two long poems <u>De l'Ame</u> and <u>Les Cognoissances</u> which we have already examined. Over the period separating their publication from that of <u>De l'Ame et de ses excellences</u> the nature of Béroalde's preoccupations has not altered. The object now, however, is not the detailed analysis of the fabric of the created world, but rather an exploration of the assumptions which have determined that analysis in the first place. It depends first upon a knowledge of, and reverence for, God. <u>De l'Ame et de ses excellences</u>, no less than the two scientific poems which have preceded it, is set in the context of a universe created and maintained by God. In its own case, this determines a specifically biblical resonance to the theme of knowledge and wisdom. "Fear of the Lord" remains a motif for the poem as a whole.

So much is inevitable for the religiously-inspired writer. What is more remarkable is that Béroalde insists to the degree that he does on the positive value of knowledge. Despite his otherwise unqualified loyalty to Scripture, at the one point where the Bible questions the validity of knowledge, Béroalde allows himself to disagree. This distinguishes his own attitude from the point of view put forward by Montaigne, and later developed by Charron, that scientia is independent of "sagesse". Charron takes this to the point of declaring that knowledge is the negative pole to wisdom. Béroalde, on the contrary, seeks to incorporate knowledge into an ethic, and into a general aspiration towards "le bien viure". His motive for doing so is an enthusiasm for knowledge which bears comparison to that of Peletier du Mans, and which has been the inspiration both of Les Cognoissances and the earlier De l'Ame. Unlike Peletier, however, Béroalde is concerned to validate knowledge as part of a code of conduct for all. Here the influence is that of the historical situation in which he is writing, which had already been the impulsion of his prose De la Sagesse, but also that of the current of neo-stoic writing associated with the names of Lipsius and Du Vair.

Thematically there is a link between De l'Ame et de ses excellences and the earlier De l'Ame et de ses facultes. Béroalde makes it clear that he is relating his remarks to the status of intellective soul as it has been established in the 1583 poem. But the larger question of the responsibilities of man, the concern with the ethical, and the whole problem of choice, inevitably set the poem of 1593 in a different sort of context. Béroalde, like Montaigne, makes the point that the man who does not apply his knowledge has not progressed beyond the stage of a parrot, and in several respects his concerns come to resemble those of the author of Les Essais. He discusses knowledge and wisdom not in a vacuum, but in relation to a model of behaviour. He too distinguishes true knowledge from false, and it is the active,

the practical, and the useful which are his criteria.

Béroalde's handling of the theme of wisdom would support the arguments of those who have criticised the evolutionary theory of the Renaissance idea of wisdom(166). Béroalde describes wisdom as the application of knowledge, and clearly sees it in some sense as the development of the intellective faculties. It is equally obviously something which has a practical relevance to the life of the individual. But this picture of a human wisdom is doubled by that of a wisdom infused by God, dependent on the gift of grace, and indeed it would be very difficult to disentangle the two. Wisdom as divine principle encourages proper conduct, and more than this, proper conduct is impossible without it.

> Que nous fians en toy de toute nostre vie,
> Philosophions heureux par la philosophie
> Que l'on apprend de toy...(167)

Béroalde addresses God. But wisdom as the application of knowledge itself leads to God. The two are aspects of the same, and we certainly could not pretend on the basis of Béroalde's poem that the concept of wisdom has become secularised as moral virtue, to the detriment of wisdom acquired by a theological grace.

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CHAPTER III

PHILOSOPHY, REASON AND VIRTUE

It is on an attitude towards knowledge and wisdom that Béroalde bases the ethic of De l'Ame et de ses excellences. The second half of the poem elaborates the position he has established in the first. The commentary is built around the three concepts of philosophy, reason and virtue. By philosophy Béroalde means the practice of the wisdom whose nature he has already indicated. The "philosophe" is his response to the stoic sage, and is presented as an individual exemplifying a particular ideal of conduct. The fourth chant of the poem, then, is devoted to the explanation of the phrase with which the third had ended;

> ...Philosophions heureux par la philosophie
> Que l'on apprend de toy...

After this the final two chants of De l'Ame turn to concepts that have a distinct stoic resonance. For the Stoic reason is the guide to conduct, and it is in this guise that Béroalde presents it also. The value the Stoic seeks to express through his conduct is virtue, and this too is the culmination of Béroalde's poem. But all this is evolved within the context of an ethic based upon knowledge, where knowledge, and wisdom with it, has an essentially dual nature.

This duality is immediately apparent in Béroalde's presentation of philosophy as theme. The insistence on the active, the practical, and on the relevance to a code of behaviour, could scarcely be more marked;

> C'est peu que de penser vne diuine essence,
> Vne force de Dieu, vne sainte science,
> Si on ne la poursuit & de l'oeil & du coeur:
> Aussi c'est moins que rien d'admirer la sagesse,
> La cognoistre en discours, si saisi de paresse
> On ne cherche en l'aymant par elle son bon-heur(1).

This is a representation of wisdom which offers a specific reaction to an earlier contemplative ideal, and Béroalde consciously introduces it as such;

Des iadis les esprits qui la gloire ont aymee,
Ont d'vn honneste soin la sagesse estimee,
Cherchans en tout desir ses plus rares secrets,
D'vn glorieux penser poursuyuant son image,
Ils ont long temps gardé ce trop haut nom de sage,
Pour-autant qu'ils pensoient estre desia parfaits(2).

The active distinguishes the proper definition of wisdom; but so does an association with the christian notion of grace. Béroalde's distinction between true "sagesse" and false implies not only an attitude to knowledge in the present, but a criticism of the errors of the past. Here the deciding factor is that of the christian revelation. True wisdom, as Béroalde has defined it, is inseparable from religion. The error of the ancient philosophers is to have imagined that they had attained perfection in this world, where for Béroalde human wisdom is powerless if isolated from the divine. Nonetheless one senses a certain nostalgia on Béroalde's part for the achievements of those who he is otherwise bound to represent as misguided. His respect for wisdom as an ideal, and his recognition that this was shared by the ancients also, leads him to temper his view;

Celuy qui a touché la boulette odorante
Du musc, bien qu'il s'essuye encor faut-il qu'il sente
Cet esprit vigoureux, qui luy passe au cerueau:
Aussi celuy qui suit quelque chose excellente,
Ou qui en son esprit belle la represente,
En retient à iamais quelque chose de beau.

Tout ainsi la sagesse ayant attiré l'ame
De son pudique amour si fort elle l'enflame,
Qu'y pensant elle croit ja du tout en iouyr:
Voila pourquoy les coeurs qui suyuoient son Idee,
L'ayant iusques au vif viuement ciselle,
Sages se surnommoient la pensant ja tenir(3).

The association between the lingering smell of the musk and the continuing aspiration after the beauty of knowledge is an arresting and original one, but the attitude that it conveys is one of hesitation between respect for wisdom as absolute value and the need to situate it in its christian context. But the standard that Béroalde applies is never in doubt. In the light of his own enthusiasms, it is perhaps not surprising that his highest regard should go to the mathematician/philosopher Pythagoras of Samos, and he quotes with approval Pythagoras'

name for the seeker after wisdom. But Béroalde is not in any way concerned with the claims of a prisca theologia, and it is evident that in this poem the days of syncretism are past;

> Celuy qui fut plus pres des plus loin de sa grace,
> Ce docte Samien qui en sçauoir surpasse
> Tous ceux qui n'ont cognu la Resurrection,
> Se voyant esloigné si loin de la science,
> Voulut que les esprits cherchans la sapience,
> Se dissent amateurs de sa perfection(4).

The negative of "plus loin de sa grace" is emphatic. Béroalde's philosophy, like his interpretation of wisdom, is an active code, but it is also learnt from God, and confines man within a legitimate sphere of knowledge and within a legitimate aspiration. Again, the concept explains the attitude which has underlain the earlier poems. It is in this sense that the earlier Les Cognoissances is described in its subtitle as "poeme contenant plusieurs belles resolutions philosophiques", and that Les Cognoissances themselves are no more than Necessaires. The active is contained within this, and is itself explained by grace;

> Dés lors ceux qui ont eu de la science enuie
> Heureux se sont espris de la philosophie,
> Qui seule comprend tout sous son large manteau,
> Et d'vn ardent desir de bien se recognoistre,
> Ont recherché de tout la fin, la cause, & l'estre,
> Du haut iusques au bas, du bers iusqu'au tombeau(5).

The declaration is the one that Béroalde has already made in his own right at the beginning of Les Cognoissances. Philosophy as the practice of wisdom is all-embracing activity, while for Béroalde knowledge of self means knowledge of the world. Through a definition of philosophy the activity of the philosopher-poet and the aspiration of the christian become as one.

In itself this assessment of the nature of philosophy and of its activity shares the ground of standard definitions. If we turn to Ronsard's Hymne de la Philosophie, we find the same description of philosophy as "...la science premiere / De qui toute autre emprunte sa lumiere"(6), and the same air-borne approach to the evocation of her activities;

> Elle, voyant qu'à l'homme estoit nyé
> D'aller au Ciel, disposte, a delié
> Loing, hors du corps, nostre Ame emprisonnée,

Et par esprit aux astres l'a menée,
Car en dressant de nostre Ame les yeux,
Haute, s'attache aux merveilles des Cieux,
Vaguant par tout, & sans estre lassée
Tout l'univers discourt en sa pensée...(7)

But Ronsard, as we have mentioned before, writes as the poet, dealing in a multiplicity of themes of which philosophy is just one, and the aesthetic conerns of the artist are never very far away. The impact of Ronsard's lines depends on the force of the image. The same subject for Béroalde represents a more fundamental reality. It is less as poet than as participant that he is involved, and his imagery translates the emotion of the individual;

Passant & repassant du ciel iusques en terre,
Par infinis replis diuersement on erre
Pour vaincre les erreurs que conçoiuent les sens,
D'imagination trauersant la verriere,
On void presques au vray les Estres sans matiere,
On cognoist les esprits, on sçait les Elemens(8).

Indeed, the emotion is closer to that of Mallarmé;

Est-il moyen, ô Moi qui connais l'amertume,
D'enfoncer le cristal par le monstre insulté
Et de m'enfuir, avec mes deux ailes sans plume
- Au risque de tomber pendant l'eternité?(9)

But again, Mallarmé's is the statement of the activity of the poet. Béroalde's is the vindication of a programme of knowledge, and of the ambition of Les Cognoissances and of the first De l'Ame.

The tribute is to the power of the intellect, rising above the domain of the sensual, and the fervour seems unlimited, the intoxication complete. But Béroalde immediately brings his reader to face what for him is an equal reality;

Toutesfois c'est en vain qu'ainsin on s'encourage
A voir & mediter, pour en vain estre sage,
Si de tous ses desirs on ne s'esleue à Dieu...(10)

Ronsard's Philosophie

...seulle peut des astres s'aller
Osant de DIEU la nature espier(11),

but the domain of Béroalde's "philosophy" is necessarily restricted, in a way which takes us back to the spirit of the opening of the poem;

On philosophe en vain espluchant la conduite
Qui est en l'vniuers, si cil qui l'a construite
En nostre entendement ne s'entend le premier,

Le philosophe vray en sa philosophie
Sous le vouloir diuin, mortel ne s'estudie
Qu'à contempler fidelle en l'ouurage l'ouurier(12).

This aim is no more than the one which had been Du Bartas' before, and Béroalde is apparently content to define "philosophie" in terms of an attitude to the created world which is no more than traditional. The distinction is that Béroalde raises it to the level of a general precept, and even makes it part of a polemic. De l'Ame as a whole is concerned with the adoption of one set of values to the exclusion of others, and nowhere is this more evident than here;

Dieu! que de vanitez on comprend sous le voile
De cet art curieux qui ressemble à la toile
Où l'imprudente mouche enfile son destin,
Abusant & du nom & de l'art tout ensemble,
Au lieu de verité le mensonge on s'assemble,
Et de labeurs sans fruict on se consomme en fin(13).

Béroalde sets out to defend a concept, and again the animal image expresses scorn. Like knowledge and wisdom before, philosophy is subject to the same criteria of true and false, and it is as much this distinction between true and false that Béroalde is concerned to make clear. In doing so he attacks a class which before him had already been the butt both of Plato's criticism and Rabelais' satire;

C'est vn art enchanteur que cet art qu'on suppose
Au lieu de la raison d'vne si digne chose,
Et que l'on doit fuir auant qu'en estre espris:
Ceux qui le font valoir, Sofistes on appelle,
Qui dessous la couleur d'vne apparence belle
Par leurs faintes raisons abusent les esprits(14).

The underlying theme is once more that of disguise and deception, and what is otherwise very like Montaigne's condemnation of "pedantisme" is joined with a perception of opposites that relates to the art of the Tragiques.

The exploitation of contrast is the stock-in-trade of the propagandist, and Béroalde does not hesitate to use it. The false philosophy of the Sophist stands at one pole, the aspiration of the true philosopher at the other. This decidedly is an other-worldly ideal;

Le Philosophe heureux non vain en sa pensee,
Ne medite l'erreur d'vne fantasque Idee,

Ains au ciel esleué pense à la verité:
Comme hors de son corps iouyssant bien-heureuse
De la vie à venir, son ame curieuse
Du bien, medite en bien toute diuinité(15).

This is "philosophie" as a meditation on divine truth, and as a spiritual elevation liberated from the constraint of the body. The ethic is become a devotional one, of which the essence is a contrast between a transient and unimportant mortal condition on the one hand, and the eternal and the immutable on the other. The hierarchy of values is one emphasised by the poet, and the movement is one of withdrawal from the world;

Si tost qu'il a pourueu à la santé passable
De son passable corps, apres la santé stable
Qui vient de l'Eternel, va repensant tousiours.
Il se contente en Dieu, & d'vne ame celeste
Comme le desdaignant ce vain monde il deteste,
Sacrant à la vertu de sa vie le cours(16).

As in Ronsard's Hymne, philosophy is able to release the imprisoned soul, but in this perspective not so much to knowledge of the cosmos as from the snares of the present. The devotional image here has its full weight, and the emphasis is not on what is to be attained, but on what is to be escaped;

De fait ce corps mortel n'est rien que nostre cage,
Ceste vie n'est rien qu'vn ennuyeux passage
Par où nous cheminons pour paruenir à mieux:
Par la philosophie heureux on s'en retire,
D'elle s'entretenant plus doucement on tire
Sa voye sans soucy des sentiers dangereux(17).

Béroalde is not only the contemporary of Du Bartas on the one hand, Du Vair on the other, but also of Sponde. Philosophy is now less the means of explaining the world than of refusing it. It is the adjective "dangereux" which is thrown into relief by the alliteration of the last line.

Once more, however, Béroalde distinguishes himself by entertaining this concept of philosophy alongside another. He is quite happy to maintain an equal enthusiasm for philosophy knowledge of the world and philosophy apprehension of the Eternal. The former, the triumph of the intellect over the senses, he has already expressed -

...Pour vaincre les erreurs que conçoiuent les sens,

D'imagination trauersant la verriere,
On void presques au vray les Estres sans matiere,
On cognoist les esprits, on sçait les Elemens...

- but it becomes obvious that he does not perceive the latter in any significantly different way;

Ceste philosophie admirablement belle
Represente à l'esprit de la vie eternelle
Le patron tout autant qu'en permet l'Eternel,
Par elle nous passons iusqu'aux sieges des Anges,
Par elle nous croyons des mysteres estranges,
Au vain entendement de l'homme sensuel(18).

For Béroalde philosophy is a properly universal concept, the "rerum divinarum et humanarum causarumque, quibus eae res continentur, scientia" of the stoics(19). Through a knowledge both of the divine and the created, man is raised above his sensual condition. Béroalde is careful to add the qualification - man perceives the insubstantial principles of creation "presques au vray", and his experience of the eternal is "tout autant qu'en permet l'Eternel". Les Cognoissances explores the causes of the world, and transforms through its note of enquiry the commonplace of "contempler fidelle en l'ouurage l'ouurier". De l'Ame et de ses facultes continues the process. In both enquiry is placed under the sign of piety, and both enquiry and piety, we are again reminded, are aspects of a single definition of "philosophie".

In the Recherches de la pierre philosophale Béroalde had opposed a true alchemy to the vain pretentions of the "souffleurs"(20). This in itself would be part of a distinction between true philosophy and false. Bouelles, in the Liber de sapiente, had compared the wise man to a God on earth(21), reiterating at the same time man's subordinate status, and his dependence on divine wisdom(22). In Béroalde's concept of true philosophy, the notion of grace is, as it were, built in. It too has as its essential reward that man may transcend his mortal state;

Par elle nous croyons facile l'impossible,
Par elle nous voyons ce qui est inuisible,
Par elle l'homme est fait citoyen des hauts cieux,
Par elle despouillans nostre mortelle enfance
De l'Eternel trine-vn nous auons cognoissance,
Les Philosophes vrays sont comme petits Dieux(23).

This is not to say that the practical aspect of philosophy is forgotten. So far from being forgotten, it is the one indispensable part of its definition. The dual nature of philosophy is itself accounted for by the fact that it is the practice of a wisdom both human and divine. The ideal of the philosopher as a God on earth embraces not only a relationship with the Divinity, but a role in society. Béroalde follows his portrayal of the ideal with a further depiction of the false, again employing a contrast between outer show and inner reality, and now using the concrete detail in description with the same sort of withering effectiveness as d'Aubigné. Further, the ground of the condemnation is the practical one, the objection an alleged lack of usefulness to society;

> Les fantasques esprits qui sans cesse chagrignent,
> Qui pour se rendre affreux leur chef iamais ne peignent,
> D'vn poil herissonné se fourchant le menton,
> Qui viuent retirez, qui fuyent la lumiere,
> Qui laissent du commun l'agreable maniere,
> Philosophes ne sont que de robe & de nom.
>
> Ainsi on a nommé pour leur façon contraire
> Philosophes ceux là, qui veulent contrefaire
> Vn estat incogneu pour se faire estimer,
> Aussi chacun s'en mocque, & leurs crottes pendantes
> Tout au bas de leur robe ainsi qu'à ces pedantes,
> Les fait, mesmes des gueux, fols & bestes nommer(24).

It may well be, given the other points of resemblance which we have noted(25), that this portrait has its origin in some of the suggestions of Montaigne's Du Pedantisme(26). But Béroalde clearly warms to his task. Both he and Montaigne have a preference for a different conception of wisdom. As Montaigne puts it,

> ...Ils sçavent le theorique de toutes choses, cherchez qui la mette en practique(27).

Montaigne's concern is man, and his wisdom is expressed in a mode of life. Béroalde's likewise;

> On ne vit pas ainsi quand d'vne belle enuie
> On vse ses desseins en la philosophie,
> Car on entend sa cour, on est de belle humeur,
> Courtois, on sçait monstrer l'effect de sa science,
> Et en vsant iamais d'vne vaine apparence
> De chacun sans enuie on desrobe le coeur(28).

This is a wisdom like Montaigne's cultivated as an interior value,

and like Montaigne's it evidently has as its aim to "gaigner... l'ordre et tranquillité à nostre conduite"(29). Where perhaps it differs is in the urbanity of its expression. Theory of knowledge here becomes code of manners. The expression "honneste homme" is Montaigne's(30), but it is Béroalde who puts forward the model which appears to anticipate that of the following century. Béroalde's "philosophe" stands midway between Castiglione's courtier and a Philinte or a Chrysalde;

> Tel Philosophe sçait ce qu'à tous il faut rendre,
> Parlant auec chacun, aysé se fait entendre,
> Ne rendant par son art esbahy le commun:
> Son geste sent son bien, sa grace est asseuree,
> Fascheux il ne rend pas sa façon affectee,
> Le Philosophe tel iamais n'est importun(31).

This is a picture of philosophy not only in terms of the individual, but in terms of a social harmony. It might seem distant from any immediate historical situation, from the realities which provoke into writing a Du Vair or a d'Aubigné. Yet Béroalde is concerned with the same problems. A philosophy based on a practical "sagesse" also has practical ends. It is in this respect that it echoes the writings of the neo-stoics. Like the consolatio of Lipsius or Du Vair, it offers an answer to the reverses of fortune;

> Par la philosophie on apprend de sagesse
> Pour se bien gouuerner la bien-heureuse adresse,
> Et conduit-on son coeur selon le bon conseil:
> Par elle on se resoult aux faueurs de fortune,
> Et soit qu'elle se monstre ou fiere ou opportune,
> De peur qu'on ne s'esgare on la prend pour Soleil(32).

"Philosophie", like "sagesse", is linked to the immediate. It is not only the means to a "bien viure", but also specifically to a "bien faire". By now the refrain is a familiar one, but it serves to draw still more closely the parallel between the activity of the poet/scientist and this conception of wisdom;

> Par la philosophie on apprend à bien faire,
> Par elle on suit le bien, & fuit on son contraire,
> Car de la vie elle est l'organe plus parfait:
> Elle n'est seulement des discours en nuee,
> Elle est vne action iustement ordonnee,
> La parole du sage est suyuie du fait(33).

In the Recherches de la pierre philosophale Béroalde had written

...discourir de la Philosophie & sur tout ce qui est de la nature sans experience, est parler comme vne pie en cage, & au lieu de dire sa science dire celle d'autruy: aussi n'auoir que la seule rude experience trouuee le plus souuant par hazard, est suyure sans raison les obiets par vn instinct auantureux où l'inclination pousse, parquoy il faut ioindre l'vn & l'autre entant qu'il se peut...(34)

and a little later defined philosophy itself,

...laquelle n'est autre chose que la consideration de tout ce qui tombe en l'intellect & en la practique(35).

In every aspect of Béroalde's thought this emphasis on the practical is constant. In the Recherches it leads to the definition of "sagesse" which we have already quoted(36). Wisdom is a desire to learn, but also a desire to demonstrate. The vindication of scientific activity for Béroalde is that it represents a practical understanding, and that it goes beyond the speculative. This is what separates it from the abuse of science, and its criterion is its usefulness(37). But the same standard may be applied to wisdom as ethical principle, and it is this that Béroalde does in his De la Sagesse -

Le discours de Sagesse n'est point vn air battu à la volée pour seulement frapper les oreilles hypocrites, & s'escouler en ses voyes, ains il est la demonstration d'vne substance veritable, dont la dignité est infinie(38).

Science, wisdom and philosophy are as one, subject to the same considerations. To explain how the world works, to apply that knowledge, and then to make it the basis of a code of conduct, are each part of a continuous process, and indeed there is no real distinction between them.

De l'Ame et de ses excellences shows the same ambivalence. Béroalde's commentary on the status of the "philosophe" relates to a concept of scientific activity. The "discours en nuee" would be the same as the language of the "perroquet" which the poem has already condemned, or of the "pie en cage" of the Recherches. The parallel to Béroalde's sentiment is again that of Peletier -

La Verite n'ét point, sinon dé quelqué fet...(39)

- with its development in the Louangé dé la Parolé;

Lé vertueus parlé peu, e fèt bien,
Lé beau Parleur dit prou, e n'an fèt rien(40).

At the same time the theme has another sort of echo in Montaigne, in the sentiment of "Il y a plus affaire à interpreter les interpretations qu'à interpreter les choses"(41) -

On eschange un mot pour un autre mot, et souvent plus incogneu(42).

Moral philosophy too must be wedded to action, and Béroalde like Montaigne is also reacting against empty eloquence in general;

> Quand on veut discourir, ce n'est pas tout de dire,
> Il faut qu'en premier lieu pour soy-mesmes on tire
> Du profit des discours, se monstrant tel qu'on dit:
> Cil qui parle beaucoup & n'a que la parole,
> Est vn fascheux causeur, dont le babil s'en vole,
> Celuy qui cause tant iamais si bien ne fit(43).

The point had already been made by Du Vair in La Philosophie Morale des Stoiques;

> Sçauoir se taire, est vn grand aduantage à bien parler: bien dire & beaucoup n'est pas le fait d'vn mesme ouurier: Le silence est le pere du discours, & la fontaine de la raison. Au contraire, le beaucoup parler fait beaucoup de fautes(44).

Béroalde presents philosophy as the application of an ethic based on knowledge, and as a concept which justifies the activity of the scientist. But through these things it is also a general guide to life;

> Pour demeurer en paix il faut qu'on s'entretienne
> De la philosophie, & que l'on se souuienne
> Que pour bien viure icy elle est l'vnique loy...(45)

Béroalde's philosophy, like that of the stoics, is an ars vivendi. It consists in the cultivation of certain values and in their application to life. It is the ideal of Cicero and Seneca on the one hand, Lipsius and Du Vair on the other. But it co-exists in De l'Ame with philosophy as spiritual essence. Béroalde, in common with other writers(46), maintains a dual concept. Philosophy too appears as gift of grace;

> D'vn liberal donneur de ses graces plus belles,
> Animant nostre coeur des viues estincelles,
> Qu'il prit de sa lumiere, y mit encores plus,
> Car afin d'animer de vie nostre vie,
> Susceptible il la fit de la philosophie,
> Par laquelle on vit bien & sçait on les vertus(47).

Philosophy, finally, serves both body and soul. Béroalde expressly puts it forward as universal principle, and as the unifying

link within experience. The traditional notion of the primacy of the soul over the body is one that Béroalde has already observed(48), but in this one respect he draws them together. "Ce n'est pas une ame, ce n'est pas un corps qu'on dresse, c'est un homme..." had been Montaigne's requirement for a programme of education(49), and it is similarly the educative value which Béroalde stresses in the following;

> Pour-autant que tout bien dessus elle elle fonde,
> On ne doit rien auoir qu'elle seule en ce monde
> Pour plaisir, art, sçauoir, contentement, soucy,
> Tous les arts qu'icy bas les maistres nous apprennent
> Par leurs inuentions, rien qu'aux corps ne subviennent,
> Mais elle sert aux corps & aux esprits aussi(50).

Béroalde's "philosophie", having started out by apparently opposing the active to the contemplative ideal, ends by combining them. A stress on the practical in one domain does not exclude the presence of the devotional in another. Both join in making philosophy indispensable ethic, the redemption of life in a double sense;

> Ceste philosophie est à tous necessaire,
> Sans elle on ne sçauroit penser bien, ny bien faire,
> Qui iamais ne la suit ne suit point la vertu:
> Celuy qui n'a desir d'auoir sa bonne grace,
> Sa vie toute triste inutilement passe
> Du vice surmonte sans l'auoir combatu(51).

The opposite is the discovery of a proper code of life, and a superiority to the whims of fortune; but it is also the way to a christian salvation -

> Celuy qui la cognoist de l'aduenir ordonne,
> Et comme petit Dieu la fortune destourne,
> Scait le parfait conseil, void ce qui fait besoin,
> Plaisant à l'Eternel il honore sa vie,
> Tels sont les fruicts heureux de la Philosophie,
> Et qui en scait vser de son salut a soin(52).

Knowledge for Béroalde is both the redemption of an "inutile vie" in the religious sense, and the means to the end of "le bien viure" in the ethical. In the earlier part of his poem, Béroalde has distinguished true knowledge from "opinion", and the same criteria apply to a conception of philosophy. What before is the modification to the commonplace of "scientia inflat" is here the justification of the concept of a philosophy. Man's highest activities explicitly become part of the divine scheme. The underlying sentiment, inevitably, is

that of Le Palais des Curieux;

> En saine conscience il faut confesser qu'il n'y a qu'vne science, qui est de sçauoir Iesus-Christ...(53)

But the values of Montaigne himself, ultimately, are not so very different;

> Les choses qui nous viennent du ciel ont seules droict et auctorité de persuasion; seules, marque de verité; laquelle aussi ne voyons nous pas de nos yeux, ny ne la recevons par nos moyens: cette sainte et grande image ne pourroit pas en un si chetif domicile, si Dieu pour cet usage ne le prepare...(54)

The commonplace, accepted by Béroalde and Montaigne alike, is that true knowledge cannot be attained in an imperfect world. Man is capable of knowledge by the grace of God alone. Montaigne's fideism leads him to see this as another, and separate, order of reality(55). For Béroalde it still actively governs the conditions of existence in the present. Like others, he accepts the rider that knowledge is in one sense properly devoted to meditation on the Divinity. A commentary on the nature of "la vraie sagesse" in the Dialogues of Louis le Caron is very like his own statement in Le Palais;

> Quand ie di la sagesse, ie n'enten vn certain art, qui enseigne quelque chose particuliere, ains (que ie die en brief sans plus repeter) céte vraie congnoissance, que Dieu est l'auteur, la cause, le comble & la perfection de toutes choses(56).

A continuing contemplative ethic weighs large in Béroalde's portrayal of knowledge, wisdom and philosophy in turn. But it would already be apparent from the writings of others that this does not of itself exclude the notion of the wise man who is both active and useful to the community, who practices his wisdom as an ars vivendi(57). Le Caron himself goes on to give this definition of the "philosophe";

> Tu vois donc quel doit estre le philosophe, non vn homme otieux & inutil à la Chosepublique, ains amateur d'elle, ne tendant à autre fin, qu'à l'vtilité commune, ne suiuant vne vie contraire, ains meilleure, que le vulgaire & ne donnant occasion de troubler l'ordre politic. Par amour naturelle il s'addonne aux choses dignes de la vertueuse noblesse, les autres i sont plus-souuent contraints par menaces, peines & semblables aflictions repugnantes au repos de nature(58).

For Béroalde too philosophy has the role of a social, civic virtue, and it is precisely through its status as part of a God-given pattern

that this role is vindicated. The active immediately has a further dimension, but it is nonetheless a stress on the active which remains. In this concept of philosophy the enthusiasms of Béroalde mathematician, alchemist and doctor equally have their place.

At the same time works such as De la Sagesse and L'Idee de la Republique show that Béroalde shares with a writer such as d'Aubigné a sensitivity for the political and religious problems of late sixteenth-century France. Béroalde does more than simply present an ethic based on knowledge - he is urging that it should be adopted. Like the De Constantia of Lipsius and the other works which derive from it, the De l'Ame is presented as a remedy against adversity and the blows of fortune. In this sense the link with the neo-stoic writings of the period is a direct one. The link is only confirmed by Béroalde's choice of Reason and Virtue as the two topics with the discussion of which his poem concludes.

*

Béroalde's ethic, like the stoic, takes self-knowledge as one of its principles, and from the beginning proposes "vertu" as its aim. Specifically, it is an ethical system based upon reason. In it, as in the stoic system, it is the passions which are the enemy. The concupiscibilis and the irascibilis are forces to be controlled -

> ...Et ne peut-on fuir qu'on n'en soit abbatu,
> Si braue on ne se iette au sein de la vertu(59).

For the stoic philosopher reason is to rule the passions. The passions themselves, delight, desire, distress and fear, are held to be disorders of the judgment, to be corrected by the higher principle of the rational faculty. Cicero, writing in the Tusculan Disputations, puts them all under the heading of "opinatio". This, he says, is the doctrine of the stoics;

> Sed omnes perturbationes iudicio censent fieri et opinione; itaque eas definiunt pressius, ut intelligatur non modo quam vitiosae, sed etiam quam in nostra sint potestate. Est ergo aegritudo opinio recens mali praesentis, in quo demitti contrahique animo rectum esse videatur; laetitia opinio recens boni praesentis, in quo efferri rectum esse videatur; metus opinio impendentis mali, quod intolerabile esse videatur, libido opinio venturi boni, quod sit ex usu iam prasens esse

atque adesse....Opinationem autem, quam in omnes definitiones superiores inclusimus, volunt esse imbecillam adsensionem(60).

Right reason is the means to virtus, and it is intemperantia, Cicero goes on to explain, the lack of all moderation and control, which is the source of these disorders;

Omnium autem perturbationum fontem esse dicunt intemperantiam, quae est a tota mente et a recta ratione defectio sic aversa a praescriptione rationis, ut nullo modo appetitiones animi nec regi nec contineri queant(61).

These ideas pass directly into the neo-stoic writing of the sixteenth century. They are the inspiration of Lipsius' ethic of moderation in the De Constantia;

Or la vertu prend le milieu du grand chemin & prend curieusement garde qu'en ces actions rien ne defaille ou excede. Car elle se conduict à la balance de l'vnique Raison, qui luy est pour l'esprouuer ainsi que regle & equerre. Et la vraye raison n'est autre qu'vn iugement vray & cognoissance des choses humaines & diuines entant qu'elles nous touchent. A laquelle contrarie l'opinion qui en est vn leger & trompeur iugement(62).

The distinction between opinion and true knowledge is not confined to stoicism, as we have pointed out(63), but it is in stoicism that it is coupled with reason become normative ideal. Knowledge of self in this context is a recognition of the right role of reason, and associated with such a recognition is a pattern of conduct. This is the implication of Béroalde's strictures on "l'opinion menteuse" earlier in the poem, and it is the commentary to his respect for reason now.

It is not surprising that reason should have a prominent part to play in De l'Ame et de ses excellences. It is more of a curiosity that Reason should be introduced in the allegorical style of the Roman de la Rose;

Ie voulois m'auancer & passer la carriere
Philosophant tousiours, me retirant arriere
Du chemin limité, Sans que voicy Raison
Qui me prenant la main asseura mon courage...(64)

The speech that Reason makes, on the other hand, brings us back to familiar ground;

Ie suis de l'intellect la lumiere esclairante,
Ie suis ceste vigueur, tousiours considerante
Qui luy fais discerner le bien d'auec le mal:
Il est par moy de Dieu l'immortelle semblance,

> Et de moy seule il tient toute sa cognoissance,
> Ie fay l'homme plus grand que tout autre animal(65).

Reason gives man his resemblance to God, the dignity of man is the dignity of knowledge. These are themes which Béroalde has already sufficiently elaborated. Further, the dual standard that we have already observed applies here also. Reason is in one sense a power external to man, to be identified with the Deity himself;

> ...Qui ne suit la Raison il fuit la sapience,
> Qui sapience fuit, n'a de Dieu cognoissance
> Sapience & Raison sont de la Deité(66).

But reason is also the ennobling faculty within man, the core of an ethical system which has as its aim the contentment of the individual. Reason sets man apart, but it also differentiates one individual from another. Here the emphasis is on a perfection to be sought rather than automatically granted;

> L'homme est homme imparfait, imparfaite, est son ame
> Si le rayon heureux de Raison ne l'enflame,
> Pour du souuerain bien rechercher la faueur,
> Raison est le fanal par qui elle rencontre
> Le bon port, & le bien qui de sagesse monstre
> Les secres eternels dont despend tout bon-heur(67).

This second aspect, the interest in reason as it may affect the lives of men, is the one that is paralleled in the debates of the time. It is the same current of ideas which makes Ronsard prefer the moral virtues to the intellectual in the Palace Academy of Henri III(68); specifically, it forges the link with the neo-stoic theme of indifference to whatever fortune may bring. In Les Cognoissances Béroalde had subjugated fortune to providence. In the context of the ethical concerns of De l'Ame et de ses excellences, the effects of fortune are shown to be secondary to the guiding role of reason. Man at the whim of fortune is no more than animal, but through reason he may rise above it and attain his proper status;

> C'est abus de penser que fortune à sa guise
> Icy bas des mortels les actions conduise,
> Et que sans la raison, du destin nous tenions:
> Fortune, fait que l'homme erre comme vne beste:
> Mais cil qui a raison & non au sort s'arreste,
> Ainsi qu'homme conduit homme ses actions(69).

This leads Béroalde to the consideration of a further commonplace.

Man is the only "animal raisonnable", and the notion forms part of almost any discussion on the nature of knowledge. A further speech which survives from the Palace Academy of Henri III is a Discours sur la cognoissance by Du Perron, in which Du Perron remembers Pliny's statement that man is the least well-endowed of the animals(70);

> (L'homme) a du courage: aussi ont les lions. Il a de la force: aussi ont les éléphans. Il a de la vitesse: aussi ont les cerfs, afin que je ne die point combien il est moindre qu'eux en tout cela. Il a la voix belle, mais combien ont les rossignols l'ont-ils plus desliée et plus admirable!(71)

The technique is that of the bestiaries, in which each animal symbolises a moral or physical attribute. The point being illustrated is the obvious one that man alone has the gift of reason. Little has changed in Béroalde's poem;

> Si l'homme se dit beau, du pan la queuë est belle,
> S'il se dit valeureux, la force naturelle
> Communique au Lion l'inuincible valeur:
> Si l'homme est mesnager, la mouche est preuoyante,
> Son ame de la leur pour estre differente,
> N'a de particulier que de Raison l'honneur(72).

These are standard images(73). But Du Perron's emphasis is on the practical;

> Faire un homme supérieur aux hommes en toutes choses, ce n'est que le rendre inférieur aux bestes; mais le faire exceller en l'usage de la raison, c'est le rendre supérieur aux hommes. Car par la raison different les hommes d'avec les bestes, mais par l'usage de la raison les hommes diffèrent d'avec les hommes(74).

Béroalde reaches a very similar conclusion;

> Ostons luy la raison, son humanité nuë
> Foiblette, en vn moment pauure sera vaincue
> Des animaux armez d'adresse & de vigueur,
> Mais ayant la raison, leur adresse il gourmande,
> Mesme par la raison l'homme à l'homme commande,
> Raison assujettit tous dessus sa grandeur(75).

This is reason as a faculty above all to be used, through the practice of which man may dominate animals and other men alike. Béroalde's picture of reason is an eclectic one, in which earlier ideas clearly survive. But it is the stress on a positive ethic which is its distinctive feature.

We can now turn to examine the fuller implications of Béroalde's use of the term. In La Sepmaine Du Bartas had similarly made reason

the compensating factor in man, and further made the point that reason must be put to use. It is a "subtil iugement"

> Qui se rouille, engourdi, si pour mettre en espreuue
> Sa constante valeur, quelquefois il ne treuue
> Suiet pour s'exercer: & si de toutes pars
> Il n'est comme assiegé d'aduersaires soudars(76).

However, the difference of emphasis is a considerable one. Du Bartas's interest is in the human spirit as a further producer of the marvellous, the source of the inventiveness that can fabricate a mechanical eagle or an artificial heaven(77). Reason in a broader context is something that he mistrusts;

> ...mainte nef, suiuant la raison pour son Ourse,
> A fait triste naufrage au milieu de sa course(78).

It is a matter of faith, according to Du Bartas, to see the workings of God in the universe, and it is the notion of following reason as one's guide which is identified with foolhardiness and disaster. Béroalde warns too of course against enquiry that presumes too much, but his is a frame of mind which will not allow him to do this at the expense of knowledge itself. In Les Cognoissances, despite the obvious similarity of theme with La Sepmaine, it is enquiry and not faith upon which the accent falls. It is quite in keeping with the spirit of his time that Béroalde should perceive creation as a design, and a design to be discovered. But when in Les Cognoissances he announces that he will speak of creation "selon la verité", "verité" means something more than faith alone. The simple opposition between reason and faith is not one that can be applied to Béroalde's outlook. On the contrary, as we have seen, the attributes of reason are given a defined role in the context of a divinely-created universe, and reason and faith themselves become complementary concepts.

Reason for Béroalde is of a more fundamental importance than it is for Du Bartas. Characteristically, reason is seen as the universal guarantor of order, and becomes confused with the very idea of order and harmony itself. Reason illumines the heart, guides the actions of men and preserves order within the state -

> Raison est vn flambeau qui le coeur illumine,
> Raison est ce qui fait que l'on ne se mutine,
> Quand on ne peut cheoir de ce que l'on cuidoit:
> Raison est ce qui fait que l'homme se commande,
> Raison est ce qui fait qu'à raison il se rende,
> Par raison chacun fait ce qui faire se doit(79).

Reason is of active importance, as the guarantee of right conduct. At one moment, even Montaigne had said as much - "la seule raison doit avoir la conduite de nos inclinations"(80). The link with the stoic is self-evident. But stoic ethics is associated with a physics, and Béroalde's poem insists upon the connection. Reason in De l'Ame is not only the dignity of the microcosm, but to be identified with the fabric of the universe itself;

> Tout cela qu'elle veut à son plaisir se forme,
> Selon sa iuste loy l'vniuers se conforme,
> Et comme elle ordonna tout fut fait comme il est:
> Le monde elle nomma, distingua toute chose,
> Et premiere de tout fut des principes cause:
> Matiere, forme, lieu, sont tels, car il luy plaist(81).

Reason is the binding force of the universe - the notion of its removal introduces the Renaissance commonplace of Ulysses' "degree" speech in Troilus and Cressida ("Take but degree away, untune that string, / And hark, what discord follows..."(82));

> Si luy venoit à gré des or' la destinee
> Ne se diroit plus telle, & fortune abaissee
> Auroit vn autre nom, & son nom autre effect,
> Le iour se diroit nuict, le ciel on diroit terre,
> La guerre on diroit paix, la paix on diroit guerre,
> La beauté la laideur, le parfait l'imparfait(83).

Ordered structure is rational structure, and right living in the individual is the mirror of the harmony in the universe at large. The ideas are stoic ones. The stoic sage too lives as a reasoning part of a reasoning whole, and attains his happiness in conformity with a universal law(84). But then stoic philosophy involves a definition of the world itself as a thinking being, the concept of nature as logos. Béroalde's reaction to that particular idea is one that we have already noted(85). The stoic concept of the Reason-principle, the intellectualization of pneuma, accords with Béroalde's already established stress on the positive role of knowledge as the manifestation of intellect. But it is assimilated within the christian structure.

Reason's cosmic role might appear to supplant that of God, but in the terms of the poem the problem does not exist. Béroalde's declared position is that in the workings of God are to be seen the workings of reason, as reason, wisdom and God fuse into one. There is in fact a double standard implied in the lines, which we have already quoted,

> ...Qui ne suit la Raison il fuit la sapience,
> Qui sapience fuit, n'a de Dieu cognoissance
> Sapience & Raison sont de la Deité(86).

Wisdom/Reason is of God, but it is also active principle in the way that God himself is active principle. The notion of God as the active maintainer of the universe he has created, the view presented from the beginning of Les Cognoissances, is now united with a stoic terminology, and in a way that has a direct bearing on the behaviour of the individual.

Reason, far from being opposed to a reverence for God, leads to it. A neo-platonic scale is given a purely intellectual value, in that knowledge of earthly truths may lead to the ultimate truth;

> Raisonner vrayement autant qu'il est possible,
> Estant dedans ce corps, est par l'intelligible
> Poursuyure par degrez ce qui est tout certain,
> Lors la progression des choses entendues
> Attire peu à peu les veritez cognues,
> Pour conduire au tres-vray l'entendement humain(87).

While the note of caution is an inevitable one, this is to place a very high priority on reason in the sense of intellectual activity. Béroalde conflates this idea with that of reason as absolute, and as object of aspiration. The two are aspects of a single reality, and the result is that reason itself, no longer circumscribed as a merely human endeavour, gains also a celestial status. Béroalde is able to consecrate to it a quite lyrical passage, in which a Petrarchan sea metaphor appears in an unfamiliar context;

> Ceux qui ceste Raison inuoquent pour conduite,
> Quoy que contr'eux des vents la puissance s'irrite,
> Asseurez dans leur nef, surgiront à bon port:
> Mais qui trop sensuel ne cherchera sa grace,
> Sur la mondaine mer, quoy qu'il vogue en bonnace,
> Eschoué tombera dans les gouffres de mort(88).

Like wisdom and philosophy, reason has both a proper and a false status, and the touchstone once again is the reference to God;

> Tout ce que bien souuent pour raison on ameine,
> Est autant esloigné de la raison certaine,
> Que la mort de la vie, & l'abysme des cieux:
> Et pourtant toutesfois que les hommes s'auancent,
> Sans regarder à Dieu, pour dire ce qu'ils pensent,
> Par sentiers incognus vont cheminant sans yeux(89).

Reason is to be perceived in the universe at large, directly identified with the action and presence of God. It is through his own reason that man aspires to God. The result is a double movement;

> Pere dont la bonté quelque raison nous donne,
> Afin que le mortel à t'honorer s'adonne,
> Toy seul qui tout Raison as formé l'vniuers...(90)

The traditional notion that wisdom is a gift conferred by God takes on a very stoic resonance, and the identification becomes yet more explicit;

> Rien que ce que Dieu fait, & veut, n'est raisonnable,
> Rien à Dieu que raison ne se trouue semblable,
> Elle est de sa grandeur pouuoir & action,
> Du grand Dieu tout puissant elle est la cognoissance,
> Participant de luy, est comme son essence,
> Mesme raison est Dieu: car Dieu seul est raison(91).

With this statement Béroalde appears to come to the brink of announcing a rationalist philosophy. We might compare Postel's argument in his Satisfactio pro suo in Aristotelem conatu, quoted in translation by Busson in his Le Rationalisme dans la littérature française de la Renaissance;

> ...ce qui est contraire à la raison est nécessairement contraire à Dieu. Dieu de toute eternité a décidé...que la droite raison serait pour nous loi éternelle(92).

But Postel is further prepared to see in reason an independent force governing the world, and to distinguish belief in reason from belief in God(93). Such a distinction is entirely foreign to Béroalde. Reason is the confirmation of a relationship between man and God, and the means to a specified end. Human reason has the same validity, and the same limitation, as had enquiry in Les Cognoissances;

> Ne nous guidons plus haut, Muse ma chere vie,
> Mais suyuant la raison d'vn coeur qui s'humilie,
> Prions ceste Raison nous vouloir secourir:
> Car nous entreprenons vn difficile ouurage,

Qui nous estonneroit tout soudain le courage,
Si nous n'auions raison pour nous le maintenir(94).

What we are brought back to is the role of reason in determining conduct. Reason is the justification of the activity of the scientist/poet, at once his inspiration and the means by which he is able to determine his inner cause;

De l'ame qui sans cesse à sçauoir se tourmente
Apres mille sujets, où son desir s'augmente
Pour le vray recueillir, elle est le mouuement:
Aussi de verité le faux elle separe,
Et des diuersitez où nostre sens s'esgare,
Afin de l'esclaircir elle fait iugement(95).

But it is also the cornerstone of a general ethic, the instrument of an ars vivendi;

La Raison est le droict de la reigle asseuree,
Par où faut que nostre ame incessamment dressee,
Aille pour rencontrer les vertus & le bien:
Sans elle la vertu ne nous seroit cognuë,
Sans elle nous n'aurions de bien aucun la veuë,
Et sans elle iamais l'heur ne nous seroit rien(96).

Béroalde shares with the stoics the aim of a happy life, in which happiness is based on virtue(97). It is because virtue is the aim, and reason the means of acquiring it, that man without reason sinks below contempt;

L'homme sans la raison est comme vne poupee
Qui plaine de ressorts sur la table est portee,
Car sans elle il ne sçait s'il est homme ou cheual,
Si Dieu par sa bonté ne la luy communique,
Tousiours au sensuel indignement s'applique,
Cil qui est sans raison est vn pauure animal(98).

The contempt is one that has been voiced before, the tone is that of the earlier condemnation of the man who makes a false use of knowledge. But it is in the context of an aspiration to "vertu" that it takes on its full meaning. Through reason the puppet springs into life, operated both by a mechanism within and strings from without; it is towards virtue that it makes its movements.

*

"Vertu" then is the culmination of De l'Ame et de ses excellences, the idea which embraces all the others. Having explored the concepts of knowledge, wisdom, philosophy and reason, Béroalde now relates

them all to the statement of soul he had made at the beginning;

> ...Le mortel en nostre ame est alors que complice
> Du corps abandonné elle embrasse le vice,
> Mais suyure la vertu soit ses faits immortels(99).

Like the stoic philosopher, Béroalde makes virtue the aim of his system, and as in the case of the stoic, the idea of virtue is closely bound up with the exercise of reason. The difference is that at the same time Béroalde's is clearly a religious ethic, and one that has a particular historical relevance. The context is the same as that in which d'Aubigné has "la Vertu" address her good advice to the young courtier, in the second book of Les Tragiques(100); both writers urge the adoption of a moral standard. In doing so, both reveal something of themselves. D'Aubigné is a soldier, and it is soldierly qualities which "Vertu" warns the courtier to adopt, and to oppose to the corruption of the court about him;

> Qu'ils prennent le duvet, toy la dure & la peine,
> Eux le nom de mignons, & toy de capitaine;
> Eux le musc, tu auras la meche de feu;
> Eux les jeux, tu auras la guerre pour ton jeu(101).

Béroalde's is not a devotion to a party, and satire is not his first aim. He is not the militant Protestant. But he is alchemist, mathematician, and doctor, and his picture of "vertu" follows on that of the powers of the intellect and their proper application. The route by which he arrives at the commonplace is as interesting as the commonplace itself.

Its first aspect is a familiar one. Virtue is difficult of access, demanding of great effort if it is to be attained. The image of Hesiod's Works and Days is the inspiration of Ronsard's Hymne de la Philosophie;

> Dans une plaine, est une haute Roche.
> D'où, nul vivant, sans grand travail, n'aproche:
> Car le sentier en est fascheux, & droit,
> Dur, rabboteux, espineux, & estroit...(102)

Similarly the travellers of Le Quart Livre find what Pantagruel affirms to be "le manoir de Areté (c'est vertus)" only after surmounting "la difficulté de l'entrée, à peine bien grande et non sans suer"(103).

Béroalde's presentation of virtue is similar;

> Il n'est pas raisonnable à tout homme de viure,
> S'il ne desire, veut & ne tasche de suyure
> Du souuerain bon-heur le chemin peu batu,
> Si conuoiteux d'honneur par l'honneur veritable
> Il ne prend le sentier estroit, non variable,
> Par où l'on doit passer suant sous la vertu(104).

But allied now to the traditional description is the idea of the "raisonnable" as standard, and of the "souuerain bon-heur" as aim. It would appear that Béroalde's virtue, like that of others, is to be achieved only through exertion; but specifically like that of the stoics, it is a continuation of Reason. Each of the qualities that Béroalde has so far praised is now demonstrated as playing its part in the conduct of the man of "vertu";

> L'esprit qui par raison gouuerne sa puissance,
> L'exerce constamment par sagesse & science,
> Recherchant de vertu la grace & la grandeur,
> Mesme aussi la vertu, est vne sienne force,
> Nature, ou qualité, par laquelle il s'efforce
> De se tenir au bien, par Raison & honneur(105).

Moderation, once more, is the keystone. As Cicero makes <u>intemperantia</u> the source of the false judgments which are the passions, and as Lipsius identifies virtue with avoidance of excess(106), so Béroalde proposes an ethic of control;

> Icy sont les desirs des ames curieuses,
> Icy les volontez des ames vertueuses,
> Aussi est-ce vertu que vertu rechercher,
> Et sans trop s'esleuer par gloire insupportable,
> Ny trop se desprimer se pensant incapable,
> Resolu de bien viure, au milieu se ranger(107).

These are ideas which, while not exclusively stoic in nature(108), have a peculiarly stoic association. We may see their echo in the speech which d'Aubigné gives to his "Vertu";

> Tiens pour crime l'excés, sobre & prudent eslogne
> Du manger le Gourmand, & du boire l'Ivrogne...
> Le prix de tes desirs soit commun & petit,
> Pour faire taire & non aiguiser l'appetit(109).

The notion is the specifically stoic one, that the impulses of the passions are to be controlled by the Reason. "Vertu" has already explained to her protégé that this is an ethic of self-discipline;

> Sois continent, mon fils, & circoncis pour l'estre
> Tout superflu de toi, sois de tes vouloirs maistre,

Serre les à l'estroit, regle au bien tes plaisirs...(110)

Outwardly, there is a similar statement of an ethic of moderation in the Essais of Montaigne;

La grandeur de l'ame n'est pas tant tirer à mont et tirer avant comme sçavoir se ranger et circonscrire(111).

Further, Montaigne identifies virtue with the regulation of the passions by reason;

La douleur, la volupté, l'amour, la haine sont les premieres choses que sent un enfant; si, la raison survenant, elles s'appliquent à elle, cela c'est vertu(112).

But it is Plato, not any stoic source, whom Montaigne is quoting(113), and reason in this account is not any exclusive moral norm. Emphatically, Montaigne's is an ethic which embraces the whole of life. It depends upon a recognition of self, but the recognition is that of man in whom there is no division - "Il n'est rien si beau et legitime que de faire bien l'homme et deuëment"(114). The stoic allows his actions to be guided by reason, and in the control of reason finds moderation. Montaigne's moderation is acceptance. The ethical rule is that there are no ethical rules.

Here it is d'Aubigné rather than Montaigne which Béroalde resembles. This is a prescriptive account of virtue, in which moderation is directly linked with reason, and made the means to the specific pattern of a "bene vivendi". It stands equally against the background of restraint in the domain of knowledge, the sentiment of "Qui pense s'esleuer se perd tout en vn coup". An attitude to knowledge becomes part of a general moral code, the terms of which are virtue and vice. The content is programmatic, and the parallel continues to be with the stoic. "Constantia" is the subject of Lipsius' treatise, and it is constancy with which Béroalde identifies virtue's effect;

Qu'on ait le vent en poupe, & fortune propice,
Qu'on soit comblé d'honneur, & que tandis le vice
Ronge secrettement le coeur de son venin,
On vit plain de desdains: mais quand vertu se range
Dedans l'esprit humain, quoy que le temps se change
On est tousiours constant tel que soit le destin(115).

The reward of virtue is "tranquillitas animi";

Si tost que la vertu dedans l'ame domine,
Le vice qui tout foible au senestre s'encline,
Ne trouue plus de lieu, mais perit tout soudain,
Alors tranquille au coeur, paisible en conscience,
En repos de pensee, en chemin d'innocence,
On est vn petit Dieu sous vn pourtrait humain(116).

These are considerations which bring us back to Béroalde's earlier portrait of the ideal philosopher, and indeed it is a marked characteristic of his "vertu" that it embraces the earlier ideals enshrined in the poem.

As he has already done for wisdom, philosophy and reason, Béroalde gives a primary emphasis to virtue as practical accomplishment, while retaining a conscious reference to a universe maintained by God. In this respect there is very little distinction with what has gone before, and "le vertueux" and "le sage" are no more than interchangeable terms;

Tousiours le vertueux suit de raison l'adresse,
Cil qui suit la raison au coeur a la sagesse,
Le sage en faits & dits euite & fuit le mal,
Qui se garde du mal, ou sage s'en retire,
Est bien-heureux en Dieu, le craint & le desire,
Le port des bien-heureux a vertu pour fanal(117).

Other aspects refer us to the commonplaces of virtue conceived as ethical code. The acquisition of "vertu" depends on the cultivation of the four cardinal virtues, and without either prudence or justice, temperance or fortitude, the fabric of "vertu" must fall. Béroalde's earlier prose dialogue <u>De la Vertu</u> had already emphasised this idea of interdependence;

Si cette grandeur d'esprit ne loge aux courages, ce qui est de l'excellence de vertu ne se tiendra en aucun, non plus que le reste, car elle est comme vne chesne qui se destruit par l'absence d'vn de ses chesnons, aussi elle est parfaite & ne peut endurer le defaut: parquoy elle est tout où elle se range, combien qu'elle ne paroisse pas(118).

Le Caron in his <u>Questions Diverses</u> had done the same;

...les vertus sont tellement conioinctes, que l'vne depend de l'autre: & nul ne peut estre prudent, qui ne soit iuste, modeste & temperant(119).

In his <u>Discours Philosophiques</u> Pierre de l'Hostal rather more picturesquely speaks of "la copulation des quatre vertus morales" and explains that

la moindre d'icelles retranchee du nombre des autres, retrancheroit

le lustre de leur perfection, ce qui est du tout impossible(120). This is Montaigne's "opinion des Stoïciens, qui disent le sage oeuvrer, quand il oeuvre, par toutes les vertus ensemble"(121), and it is in stoicism that we may find its source(122). It is a stoic doctrine that the virtues are inseparable, and that the wise man governs his conduct by them all. These ideas pass directly into Béroalde's poem;

> On n'est pas bien heureux pour ne l'estre qu'vne heure,
> L'homme n'est immortel s'il faut que tout il meure,
> Riche aussi n'est-on pas pour n'auoir qu'vn escu,
> Vn carquant n'est formé d'vne perle seulette,
> Vn Roy ne se dit Roy pour vne maisonnette,
> Et n'est-on vertueux n'ayant qu'vne vertu(123).

Similarly, Béroalde has already referred to the stoic doctrine of innate ideas, to the idea that conduct is to be based on rational principles already implanted within the mind(124). These are also the beginnings of virtue, as it is through wise actions that virtue is expressed. The capacity is one that lies within. As Le Caron explains,

> Les Stoïciens estiment que les commencemens des vertus sont nés en l'homme, en maniere que si par mauuaise nourriture & discipline ils n'estoient offusquez & peruertis, l'homme de sa propre nature paruiendroit à vne bonne & heureuse vie...(125)

Béroalde converts the same data into a moralising precept;

> Dés que nous existons, comme estans de l'essence
> Du pere suffisant, nous auons la semence
> Et les premiers iettons de vertu dans le coeur:
> Et puis quand nous croissons, nous luy aidons à croistre,
> Ou bien la suffoquant nous ruinons son estre,
> Selon que nous suyuons le desir ou l'erreur(126).

Béroalde's <u>vertu</u>, like that of the stoics, springs from a definition of <u>sagesse</u>, and the two are effectively identified. The statement of the third <u>chant</u> -

> Rien n'est icy tant fort qui en fin ne perisse,
> Fors la seule sagesse...(127)

- is barely modified in the final one;

> Tout, horsmis la vertu, au monde est perissable(128).

Both depend upon a vision of the active. Béroalde is insistent that virtue must be given positive expression, and he gives the practical ethic the same emphasis, through the same image, that Marot and Marguerite de Navarre, in the context of the ideas that interest

them, give to Scripture(129);

> Les actes vertueux sont de vertu la touche,
> Car comme sur la pierre vne monnoye on touche
> Pour la verifier, ou fauce ou de valeur,
> Par actes vertueux on donne cognoissance
> De raison, de bonté, de sagesse & science,
> Et fait on voir dehors quel est l'interieur(130).

The further dimension to "Ie recherche de tout la forme interieure" lies on the ethical plane, expressed in the concern that the outer should correspond to the inner man. We have already seen how Béroalde exploits the negative side of this equation, for its satirical possibilities(131), but it is also an absolute to be followed. The essential of virtue is that it is whole, and it is an ideal that rises above what is otherwise its conflict with vice;

> Celuy qui aux vertus applique son courage,
> Ia desia vertueux n'en destourne l'vsage,
> Car on ne peut changer de vertu la bonté,
> Vertu conçoit vertu, mais cil qui par malice
> La pense profaner, en supposant le vice,
> Abuse de son nom, non de la verité(132).

Béroalde's apology for virtue is also one for wisdom and philosophy, and it too is directed against specific dangers. Virtue, based on moderation, makes its stand against the destructive effects of the passions. Like the alchemists' fire, it purifies, precisely regulating the influence of the emotions. Fire uncontrolled, on the other hand, can only destroy, and this is the effect of the passions alone;

> Tout ainsi que le feu donne au verre naissance,
> Illumine son corps, nettoye sa substance,
> La vertu rend vn coeur clair, net, purifié,
> Mais si pour la vertu on n'attise la flame
> Du vice, tout surpris de ses feux il s'enflame,
> Et perit comme au feu le festu deslié(133).

Béroalde strives for a concept of virtue which may be both readily definable and adoptable. He is careful to distinguish it from any looser definitions of the term;

> Vertu n'est point vertu, ce que vertu on prise,
> Elle n'est par discours vne vaine surprise,
> Dont on se sçait ayder pour pallier ses faits:
> Vertu consiste au faict, respondant au courage,
> C'est vne integrité, c'est le parfait vsage,
> Du pouuoir de l'esprit qui ne trompe iamais(134).

This is a conviction of the nature of true virtue matched by an equal

condemnation of the false. It is identified with the search for truth itself;

> Nostre souuerain bien ne gist en l'apparence,
> Que par opinion le sot vulgaire pense,
> Il est en verité, & certain nous l'aurons,
> Mais nous n'en iouyrons si nous ne mettons peine
> A suyure la vertu, qui claire nous y meine,
> Vertu est le Soleil par qui l'heur nous voyons(135).

"Vertu" for d'Aubigné too is "un beau Soleil"(136), and the opposition between "apparence" and "verité" the major poetic theme of Les Tragiques. Truth is the literally resplendent ideal of its Preface(137), and the profanation of truth is one of the bitterest themes of satire in the rest-

> Moins vaut l'utile vrai que le faux agreable...
> Voilà comment de nous la verité bannie,
> Meurtrie & deschirée, est aux prisons, aux fers,
> Ou esgare ses pas parmi les lieux deserts(138).

The theme then is Béroalde's also, but the polemic is of a different type. The argument of De l'Ame continues the declaration made at the beginning of Les Cognoissances -

> Et aux opinions n'estant point arresté,
> De nature ie dis selon la verité(139).

This "verité", like d'Aubigné's, has its religious content, but its force is cosmic, not partisan. It is in the name of a universal principle, not in that of a party, that Béroalde condemns the false. D'Aubigné of course feels that he is speaking for God, but Béroalde bases himself on the broader ground of God's activity in the world, to be reflected in a human ethic. The latter grows from an approach to knowledge itself, where knowledge is equated with the dignity of life.

All this has a very precise aim. Virtue is a model, and an indispensable one -

> Viuons tant que pourrons, iouyssons de nostre aise,
> Et ne nous arrestons à rien qui ne nous plaise,
> Soyons braues, vanteurs, doctes, ambitieux,
> Si la vertu ne suit toute ceste excellence,
> Nous trainerons nos iours en toute desplaisance,
> En fin on ne fait cas que de gens vertueux(140).

"Vertu" is a practical quality, the means of securing respect at every

stage of life. The emphasis falls on the role of the "vertueux" in society, which is plainly very like that of the stoic sage. The stoic sage too translates knowledge into action, his knowledge being practical and devoted to the common good(141). Wisdom for the stoic is a civic virtue. There is a common thread from Cicero's Tusculan Disputations to Rabelais' portrayal of Pantagruel in the Tiers Livre(142), and to this depiction of the man of virtue in Béroalde's De l'Ame;

> Celuy qui la vertu a prise pour adresse
> Enfant est bien aymé, on l'estime en ieunesse,
> Et homme paruenu entre en opinion,
> Puis les ans s'amassans sur sa teste honorable
> Est cherché pour conseil, à tous est agreable,
> Par vertu l'on acquiert la reputation(143).

In this part of the poem too the principle of contrast obtains. After one picture, comes another, in which the note is that of scorn -

> Ceux qui scauent iuger souuentesfois se rient
> A bon droit escoutans, ces subtils qui manient
> Ainsi comme vn estoeuf la vertu en leur main,
> Honorent sa grandeur, vollent iusques à elle,
> Dautant qu'en ce faisant, aussi tost ce grand zelle
> S'estouffe, car plusieurs la prisent, mais en vain(144).

In the universe that Béroalde depicts this represents more than a deception, and the condemnation goes further than d'Aubigné's attacks on superficial outward appearance. A correspondence between outward and inward is a feature of cosmic organisation as a whole, and to make any sort of pretence is to transgress divine order itself;

> Qui se dit vertueux & fait tout le contraire,
> Peche contre le ciel, s'en demonstre aduersaire:
> Les effects & les dits sont de l'ame pourtraits,
> Souuant sans y songer quelques mots on auance,
> On effectue aussi, mais le vertueux pense
> Tousiours à la vertu, soit en dits soit en faits(145).

Béroalde insists upon the identity of virtue with action and fact, and such a stress on act accords very well with his declared attitude to the acquisition of knowledge. But as he defines the domain of knowledge in the shadow of the divine, so he makes wisdom/ virtue an immortal value, through the practice of which the individual may aspire to immortality himself;

> Bien heureux sont ceux là qui au bon-heur aspirent,
> Et qui par la vertu immortels se desirent:
> Le prix de la vertu est l'immortalité(146).

Stoicism in Béroalde, as with many other writers of his time, meets with christianity. The wisdom of the stoic is a self-sufficient wisdom, and there may even be the implication that the stoic uses the outside world as the reflection of his own virtue. In Béroalde's poem it is clear not only that the individual depends on "vertu", but that through "vertu" he is depending on God. A vocabulary with stoic associations - "bon-heur", virtus itself - is used alongside a christian one. Wisdom and virtue confer immortality insofar as they are associated with God. As the fear of God had been a theme in the earlier part of the poem, so now there is the reminder that in a transient world virtue, as an emanation of the divine, may bring a further dimension. The stoic virtue is a self-sufficient virtue, but Béroalde's is specifically more than human;

> Tout ce que nous faisons en ce monde se passe,
> Et si quelque vertu ne donnoit bonne grace
> A ce que nous faisons d'estimable & de bon,
> Mesmes nostre vertu, des hommes approuuee,
> Vaine s'enuoleroit, comme vaine fumee;
> Sans vertu l'on ne peut faire bonne action(147).

Virtue for the stoic is civic and social, and based on wise action. Virtue is made apparent through the outward actions of the individual. In Béroalde's scheme, on the other hand, virtue, while innate in man in the same way that it is for the stoics, and while sharing the stoic qualities, betokens something of the exterior. Its ultimate value is as a celestial virtue, over and above anything that may be found by man alone. It is essentially superior to any human quality, and is associated with the concept of grace. As such it goes beyond anything which could be found in a purely stoic system. It is the basis of an ethic which depends squarely on the divine;

> Cognoistre l'Eternel est de vie asseurance,
> Esperer en luy seul, est de vie l'essence,
> L'essence de la vie en vertu se maintient,
> Qui s'appuye en vertu, sur l'Eternel s'appuye,
> Vertu est l'arc boutant qui soustient nostre vie,
> Rien ne peut esbranler ce que vertu soustient(148).

Virtue in this view continues to have, furthermore, a relevance to salvation itself. Béroalde gives it terms of definition which

explicitly take it beyond this world. But at the same time the nostalgia is still one for order, stability and harmony. Piety is in itself the further guarantee of an ideally-functioning cosmos. "Par vertu le mortel sur le ciel est porté", but also

> Vertueux est celuy qui constant en pensee
> Ne va s'extrauagant apres l'instable idee
> De ce qui n'est reiglé selon la pieté,
> Ses pensers sont tousiours touchez d'obeissance...(149)

From universal harmony to civic obedience, the idea of order underlies the universe of Béroalde. It is the final justification of virtue itself, and through order as well virtue is associated with the divine.

In allowing virtue status as a transcendental force, Béroalde is going beyond the terms of reference of the stoic. But this is a view which complements rather than contradicts what the poem has already said of virtue as practical ethic. The aspect of virtue as worldly concept remains, and here it continues to be invested with an essentially stoic dignity. The stoic thinks in terms of exempla, and takes as his model of conduct the great deeds of the past. Béroalde's virtue has wider implications, but the respect for the figure of the sage is undiminished. Du Vair writes in La Philosophie Morale des Stoiques

> ...pour rendre les preceptes plus forts & plus difficiles à fausser, garnissons-les encore des beaux & loüables exemples de ceux qui se sont genereusement comportez en semblables occasions. Car l'exemple de la vertu des autres est vn gage à la nostre, & leur loüange nous est vne exhortation à leur ressembler(150).

For Béroalde too "Par vertu l'on acquiert la reputation", and he allows the suggestion that the immortality to be gained through virtue is not only celestial. The poem evokes the transience of life to show, not only that the exercise of virtue is the means of an escape from it, but also the means of a permanence within it;

> Le iour suit l'autre iour, & la vie est coulante,
> Icy bas chacun vit de façon differente,
> Et les seuls vertueux y viuent en honneur:
> Tousiours des vicieux la vie est diffamee,
> Mais de tous vertueux la sainte renommee
> Redit apres la mort la gloire & la grandeur(151).

Béroalde's christian stoic virtue is also designed for the needs

of this world, and it is also presented as an ideal which may be adopted. But this leads him to a certain difficulty. Virtue is the continuation of Reason and Wisdom, and the ethic of De l'Ame, by implication, is one that would be based simply on the proper use of the faculties granted by God to man. The poem has built up a pyramid with virtue at its peak, and the base of the pyramid is the simple axiom of the proper application of knowledge. Virtue would be a universal precept, open to all who make use of their intellect. Béroalde himself makes the point explicit;

> ...Il n'est rien tant aisé que vertu est aisée,
> Il n'y a chose icy de chacun tant prisee
> Que vertu, qui à tous offre tout son credit(152).

But then he has already spoken of virtue in its more traditional guise, in terms of

> ...le sentier estroit, non variable,
> Par où l'on doit passer suant sous la vertu(153).

The traditional image is tenacious, but it conflicts with a conscious emphasis on virtue as universally accessible ideal. Béroalde's vision of Wisdom, Reason and Virtue is that of a succession of means to contentment, and it is normally of fulfilment rather than effort that he speaks. The idea of course is not without parallel;

> La plus expresse marque de la sagesse, c'est une esjouïssance constante(154).

Montaigne's wisdom is moderation, where moderation is acceptance of humanity as it is. Béroalde's definition of moderation is more orthodox, and depends still on the imposition of a norm(155). But the enthusiasm for a positive ethic is the same. It is this which leads Montaigne for his part to react against the scholastic presentation of wisdom/virtue;

> (La sagesse) a pour son but la vertu, qui n'est pas, comme dit l'eschole, plantée à la teste d'un mont coupé, rabotteux et inaccessible. Ceux qui l'ont approchée, la tiennent, au rebours, logée dans une belle plaine fertile et fleurissante, d'où elle void bien souz soy toutes choses; mais si peut on y arriver, qui en sçait l'addresse, par des routtes ombrageuses, gazonnées et doux fleurantes, plaisamment et d'une pante facile et polie, comme est celle des voutes celestes...(156)

The fault, says Montaigne, is that of lack of acquaintance;

Pour n'avoir hanté cette vertu supreme, belle, triumfante, amoureuse, délicieuse pareillement et courageuse, ennemie professe et irreconciliable d'aigreur, de desplaisir, de crainte et de contrainte, ayant pour guide nature, fortune et volupté pour compaignes, ils sont allez, selon leur foiblesse, faindre cette sotte image, triste, querelleuse, despite, menaceuse, mineuse, et la placer sur un rocher, à l'escart, emmy des ronces, fantosme à estonner les gens(157).

Béroalde is not Montaigne, and he is not able to throw off the earlier image completely. But he somewhat uneasily tries to accommodate a new emphasis within it;

Il n'est contentement que vertu n'accomplisse,
Il n'est mal ne soucy que vertu n'adoucisse,
Dautant que le bon-heur de ses fontaines sourd,
Vray est qu'à l'approcher des espines on trouue,
Auecques la sueur, à la peine on s'esprouue,
Mais le chemin est bien le plus seur & plus court(158).

Béroalde wishes to identify virtue and "bon-heur", and in order to do so he makes the same points as Montaigne. If few people look to their salvation by observing a virtuous conduct, it is that the idea of virtue is misapprehended;

Bien peu sont vertueux, ou peu s'en rendent dignes,
Bien peu monstrent icy de la vertu les signes,
Aussi chacun n'a pas vn siege dans les cieux:
Pource qu'à la vertu on void vne apparence
De labeur, on la fuit, faute de cognoissance,
Que les fruits de vertu sont doux & gracieux(159).

The contrast is immediate with the more orthodox idea still presented by Du Bartas in La Sepmaine;

Le guerrier qui par trop seiourne en vne place,
Laisse atiedir l'ardeur de sa premiere audace.
La rouille va mangeant le glaiue au croc pendu.
Le ver ronge l'habit dans le cofre estendu.
L'eau qui ne court se rend & puante, & malsaine.
La vertu n'a vertu que quand elle est en peine(160).

Béroalde's virtue is unlike that of Montaigne in its other-worldly connotation, but like Montaigne he reacts against earlier interpretations. The image remains that of true virtue opposed to false,

Vertu n'est point vertu, ce que vertu on prise,
Elle n'est par discours vne vaine surprise...(161)

Montaigne too condemns virtue which is a mere verbal exercise, a concept readily on the lips but never put into effect;

Nous sçavons decliner vertu, si nous ne sçavons l'aymer; si nous ne sçavons que c'est que prudence par effect et par experience, nous le sçavons par jargon et par coeur(162).

The theme is an earlier one of satire, Juvenal's "Probitas laudatur et alget"(163). Béroalde himself had remembered it in the prose De la Vertu;

> Mon dieu, que le monde iouiroit d'vn grand heur, si ce beau nom de vertu auoit quelque force sur les coeurs, & que ce ne fut seulement vn son qui touche l'extremité des oreilles, sans aller plus outre aux secretes cachettes de l'ame...on la laisse morfondre, & sans la regarder que de loin, & par aquit, on ne la laisse maistriser...(164)

The corresponding image in the poem is even more direct -

> Mais quoy? l'on presche assez de vertu la loüange,
> Et si est-ce pourtant, par vn malheur estrange,
> Que l'on l'a laissé à l'huis se morfondre de froid:
> On appelle vertu, mais d'vne foible haleine,
> On la voudroit auoir, mais on n'y prend pas peine,
> On ne fait pas aussi ce que faire on deuroit(165).

D'Aubigné's "Vertu", waiting at the door, makes her own entrance, and speaks on her own behalf(166). Béroalde prefers a more traditional image of virtue neglected. But both poets react to what they present as the reality of a contemporary situation.

"Vertu" has a special importance in Béroalde's work, and the final role that he gives it in De l'Ame is that of a redeeming force. As the goal of the "philosophe", it is a practical guide to conduct, but it is also, and by the same token, the connection with the spiritual. The vertical division between the divine and the mortal which is such a consistent feature of Béroalde's poetry is finally bridged by the philosopher and his ideal of virtue. "Vertu" in De l'Ame et de ses facultes is the corrective to concupiscibilis and irascibilis, and the wise man controls his actions according to its promptings. But he knows also that it is conferred upon him by grace, and through the exercise of virtue he is at the same time approaching the divine. Further, it is as the application of knowledge that the exercise of virtue is defined. Had not Béroalde had this to say of the married couple in Les Cognoissances Necessaires? -

> Car quand on est compris d'vne belle vnité,
> On ne sent plus en soy son coeur inquieté,
> Si ce n'est pour iouir outre l'ordre commune,
> De toute la beauté qui est parfaite & vne,
> La cherchant és effaits du sçauoir bien heureux,
> Qui plus touche le coeur plus le rend desireux;
> Non pas d'vn vain desir, mortel & perissable,

Mais d'vn braue souhait qui le rend admirable(167).

From this concept of knowledge as the most dignified expression of the human condition to the statements of virtue of De l'Ame is only a short step. Knowledge and virtue alike relate to man's spiritual as well as to his mortal destiny.

These are the concepts with which De l'Ame et de ses excellences concludes. Knowledge, Béroalde has already made clear, is the redemption of an "inutile vie". Virtue likewise perfects the imperfect within man;

> Nous sommes imparfaits si vertu ne nous oste
> Cultiuant nostre coeur, ce qu'il retient de faute,
> Sans elle nous n'auons rien de perfection:
> Qui donc de la vertu se fait vne habitude,
> Par vn desir suiuy d'vne soigneuse estude,
> Se parfait en souhaits, en grace, ou action(168).

The assumption, however, cannot be any other than that of the created world's imperfection. As Béroalde has already explained in Les Cognoissances,

> ...nous disons parfait, ce qu'au corrompu,
> Existe plus par soy, & plus a de vertu...(169)

The final justification of virtue is necessarily other-worldly. Through virtue the individual approaches what is otherwise unattainable in this world, and virtue in its turn indicates an aspiration;

> Rien n'est icy parfait, bien que parfait s'appelle,
> Ce qui approche plus la forme essentielle
> De la perfection des bons desirs l'objet:
> Ceste perfection nostre defaut ruine,
> Qui donc vers la vertu heureusement chemine,
> Comme desia parfait s'approche du parfait(170).

Virtue is in the stoic canon a worldly concept, the excellence of human nature alone. Béroalde maintains its links with the divine. In the end it is the amalgam of those excellences of soul which have formed the subject of the poem, as knowledge, wisdom, philosophy and reason should each be the object of the sage, and behind each of these aspects lies the divinely controlled universe described in Les Cognoissances and the first De l'Ame. The ultimate tendency of this virtue, like the poet's own final aspiration in the two earlier poems, is heavenward, and it is for this that it must be followed;

C'est la perfection que vertu accomplie,
Pourtant qui vicieux n'a la vertu suyuie,
S'esloignant de vertu s'esloigne aussi de Dieu:
Perfection, Bonté, Raison, Dieu, Sapience,
Sont des esprits heureux l'amour & la science,
Et sans qui dans nos coeurs vertu n'a point de lieu(171).

* * *

The subject of soul is one that Béroalde returns to in two long poems. De l'Ame et de ses facultes, in both its presentation and its content, falls very much into the mould of its companion-piece Les Cognoissances Necessaires. Soul is the animating force of the creation described in Les Cognoissances, and the first De l'Ame is the scientific exposition of its every aspect. This is soul as universal presence, and reduced to the cosmic themes of order, harmony and providence. The emphasis is on the physical workings of the universe, of which man is part. The soul of De l'Ame et de ses excellences, on the other hand, is intellective soul alone, and the excellences of the title are accessible only to man. The evolution is from the physical to the ethical, and the poem, both in its form and in its content, stands apart from its predecessor. But its role is also a complementary one, and the moral philosophy it presents rests upon a theory of knowledge of which the two earlier poems are the practical expression.

The points of reference of this De l'Ame are no longer the scholastic categories of soul, but the concepts of knowledge, wisdom, reason, philosophy and virtue. The terms in themselves suggest the stoic. Distinct to this poem is the involvement of the role of the individual, and of his choice. The depiction is not of things as they are in the inexorable order of the universe, but as they should be according to a specific code of ethics. The aim of the poem is to portray such a code, and in portraying, to persuade. More overtly than that of its predecessors, its object is didactic. In this respect De l'Ame et de ses excellences takes its place beside the stoically-inspired treatises of Lipsius and Du Vair, and Béroalde's own De la Sagesse. A historical situation doubtless has some bearing on this evolution. Although in the poem itself there is little direct evidence

of a reaction to the realities of the Wars of Religion, it would be surprising if the sentiments that Béroalde had only just before expressed in the prose work had no part at all in the inspiration of the poem. It is only an additional argument that the period between Béroalde's two poems on soul is probably also the time of his own direct experience of the wars. Stoicism is the formula commonly adopted in these years to meet that experience, and the stoic associations of Béroalde's vocabulary would certainly not be unfamiliar at the time.

It is equally true that the terms of philosophy, wisdom and virtue are so generalised that it would be dangerous to attach to them any too specific label. Béroalde is in part working within a commonplace framework of which one illustration is the De Sapiente of Charles de Bouelles(172). But its extension into an ethic is one that has immediate relevance to the stoic. Béroalde's connection between virtue and knowledge is one that runs parallel to the stoic assumption that the criterion of proper behaviour is reason. The stoic admonition to follow nature is an admonition to follow reason, and it is reason for the stoic which controls the wayward influence of the passions and leads to virtue. Starting from the praise of the intellect, Béroalde reaches a similar conclusion.

Further, Béroalde's poem is a commentary on the ideas of wisdom and knowledge themselves at this time. It has been argued that the concept of wisdom is one that evolves in the course of the sixteenth century, that there is a broad movement from the Augustinian to the ideas of Charron, from the contemplative to the active(173). If this is so, Béroalde's poem is further evidence that this does not mean that the former is supplanted, and that on the contrary it remains the norm in any religious context. Wisdom as practical ethic is presented side by side with wisdom as contemplative ideal, the gift of grace. Béroalde evidently does not feel any contradiction between the two, and what he says for wisdom he says also for philosophy, reason and virtue. Traditional definitions of knowledge and wisdom are not lost,

and the biblical injunction to fear the Lord is a repeated motif. For Béroalde, on the contrary, the divine status of each of these concepts is the justification of its role in terms of human conduct.

Within the formula knowledge, as we might expect, remains a positive term. Béroalde presents it as the redemption of a life which he otherwise thinks of in the terms of the devotionalist;

> Mais qu'est-il de plus beau & qui mieux desennuye
> Auec toutes douceurs, nostre inutile vie,
> Que de sçauoir beaucoup, & apprendre tousiours...(174)

Like Montaigne, he puts forward a "sagesse", and like Montaigne he condemns both vain knowledge and the neglect of true virtue. But he does not do this at the expense of knowledge itself. Montaigne distinguishes between "sçavoir" and "sagesse", and Charron after him converts this into an opposition. For Béroalde the two are still organically connected. While the religious dimension is essential to Béroalde's poem, he is unable to follow Solomon in his condemnation of knowledge as vanity.

The ethic of De l'Ame et de ses excellences remains related to scientific values. The religious provides the framework through which its views are expressed, but within this the injunction to the pursuit of knowledge remains a constant. It is this which is the impulsion of the two earlier poems, and De l'Ame et de ses excellences locates it within a philosophy. If wisdom for Béroalde is decidedly more than contemplative ideal, then the personal is equally a factor in his presentation of the idea. His stress on wisdom as practical accomplishment continues in a broader sense to be the reflection of an evolution in its status from predominantly contemplative to predominantly active ethic, but it is also to be seen against the direct experiences related in Les Recherches de la Pierre Philosophale and Le Palais des Curieux.

The union of knowledge and virtue is for Béroalde an active one, and it is given fresh impetus by a man who is actively pursuing an ideal of knowledge in his own life. In Béroalde's case, as in that

of Peletier du Mans, the desire for knowledge is a value in its own right, and one that the poet will not relinquish. The enthusiasm is codified by the religious premiss, and consciously so, but enthusiasm it remains. The Calvinist element in Béroalde's interpretation of the cosmos and of the activity of the scientist within it represents an essential difference from the world of Peletier, but both writers have a direct interest in the scientific proper. Béroalde's interests embrace the alchemical, the mathematical and the medical, and each has its part to play in his poetry. Soul itself is the expression of the workings of the universe, and, through the life of each level of creation, is the living embodiment of the principle of order and hierarchy which underlies it all. It is the statement both of the physical and the spiritual. With De l'Ame et de ses excellences this statement of life becomes a prescription for life. Other works of the time are concerned to present an ethical formula, and the stoic element of De l'Ame in particular relates it to a trend of the moralising literature of the late sixteenth century. But its importance, and what makes its presentation of virtue distinct, is that the link with a separate tradition of scientific poetry is retained. Béroalde makes the attempt to adapt to the realities of life the cerebral intoxication of Peletier on the one hand and the attitude to creation of Du Bartas on the other.

* * *

GENERAL CONCLUSION

There are two introductory sonnets to the poem Les Cognoissances Necessaires as it is printed in the collection Les Apprehensions Spirituelles of 1583, and either would serve as an epitaph as well as an introduction to the poetry of Béroalde de Verville. Both stress the theme of youth and of promise to be fulfilled. The anonymous author of the first(1) is both flattering and encouraging in tone;

> Non ie n'enuie point l'heur qui en ta ieunesse
> T'acompagne desia, l'enuie qui me presse
> Est de voir d'auantage & t'inciter à mieux...(2)

This same hope becomes explicit in the piece that follows, by Béroalde's friend Nicholas Le Digne(3) -

> ...De rien iadis de tout fut faite la matiere,
> D'vn petit ruisselet se fait vne riuiere,
> Le chesne grand & fort se fait d'vn arbrisseau
>
> D'vn bien petit hameau se fait vne grande ville,
> Et cette espreuue icy de ta veine subtile
> Fera croistre en sa suite vn oeuure grand & beau(4).

It is precisely this which Béroalde is unable to attain. As a poet he is in the curious position of never really surpassing his early works. The "espreuues" of Les Apprehensions Spirituelles remain the final version, and the mixture of genres characterises his output as a whole. There is a basic instability about the circumstances of Béroalde's life, particularly up to 1593, and with its frequent changes of direction the writing too has an unsettled air. The Wars of Religion dominate the history of France in the closing years of the sixteenth century, and Béroalde's career is one illustration of their disruptive influence. The instability reflected in the writing is arguably related to a financial instability, to the search for a patron who is not forthcoming. With the Church Béroalde finally finds a haven of a sort, but the financial preoccupations do not cease. The suggestion has even been put forward that Le Moyen de Parvenir itself was written to compensate the commercial failure of Le Voyage des Princes Fortunes, the publication which preceded it(5).

However, these considerations remain speculative, and peripheral to the poetry itself. Béroalde's verse deserves to be considered more seriously than it has previously been. In a sense it is the very notoriety of Le Moyen de Parvenir which has obscured all that Béroalde had written before - Béroalde is remembered all too often as nothing more than the pale imitator of Rabelais, and the continuator into the seventeenth century of the popular tradition of the Middle Ages. We have attempted to show in the preceding pages that there is a Béroalde who is anything but popular in either style or intention, and who relates the loftiest themes of cosmology and creation to the theme of personal aspiration. The scientific poetry that results represents the joining of many themes, and is a microcosm in its own right of the intellectual ideas central to the sixteenth century. Aristoteleanism is still paramount, a fact which in itself gives the lie to the old theories which would identify Aristotle with the Middle Ages, Plato with the Renaissance. It is an Aristotelean principle, that of vivifying heat, which underlies Béroalde's interpretation of the working of the universe. Aristotle again is the ultimate source for the categories of soul discussed by Béroalde in De l'Ame et de ses facultes. If the references are general rather than specific, and representative of a common store of ideas, then this in itself only shows how pervasive, even at the end of the sixteenth century, the Aristotelean influence remains.

It is true of course that Platonism also leaves its mark on Béroalde's work, not only on the level of vocabulary, but also in the formulation of concepts. The episode of the androgyne in Les Cognoissances is an example of an obvious debt to the Platonic source, but at the same time there is a more general influence. The Platonic "Idees" make their appearance in Béroalde's account of creation, and although the mere occurrence of the term in a poem written in the 1580's would not be conclusive, it is doubled in this case by the repeated idea of the ascent and aspiration of the soul, and by a strongly marked vertical division between "ici-bas" and "la-haut", between terrestrial and

celestial reality. The echo becomes neo-Platonic when Béroalde speaks of the created world as the means to the appreciation of a higher reality, as he does in Les Cognoissances(6). There it is the outline of a neo-Platonic ascent which is restated, along with a general ennobling of the concept of love which recalls Ficino's commentary on the Symposium.

Stoicism provides a third essential element in the physical system of the world as Béroalde describes it. Béroalde's is an animated cosmos, and the residual influence here is the stoic notion of pneuma. Again, the idea of world-soul is a commonplace, and one which would ultimately refer us once more to Platonism, but it is stoic philosophy which identifies it with a graded hierarchy. In particular, the stoic doctrine that pneuma informs even the lowest level of existence, and the stoic category of the πνεῦμα ἕκτικόν as the force of cohesion in stones and inanimate life, are clear precedents for Béroalde's own concept of "ame solide". Both stoicism and Platonism have their influence on the cosmology which Béroalde develops in Les Cognoissances and De l'Ame et de ses facultes, but in each case Béroalde is careful to mark his distance from the original philosophy, and in each case he puts his own stamp on the ideas he is borrowing. The neo-Platonic ascent is specifically associated with the aspiration to knowledge, and an ennobling of love is directly linked with a praise of marriage and the preservation of harmony. Similarly, stoic concepts of fate and destiny are restated in terms of a christian doctrine of Providence, and the stoic rider to the doctrine of an animated cosmos, the idea of the world's divinity, is explicitly rejected.

In the stoic mould equally is Béroalde's presentation of an ethic in De l'Ame et de ses excellences. Béroalde is writing at a time when stoicism as moral philosophy is having an increasing influence, and there are direct links between his ideas and those of Lipsius and Du Vair. But stoic ethics is properly not dissociated from stoic physics, and in De l'Ame et de ses excellences Béroalde preserves such a connection. The ethical programme which he proposes

in this poem grows naturally from the cosmological poetry of Les Cognoissances and the first De l'Ame. Stoicism is a clear influence both on the synthesis of knowledge presented in the earlier poems and on the model of behaviour put forward in the De l'Ame of 1593.

But alongside the philosophical influence on Béroalde's work runs the hermetic. The doctrine of pneuma is also of direct interest to the alchemist, who associates the possibility of transmutation with the releasing of the vital principle inherent in matter. Béroalde is himself an "adepte", and from time to time he turns to a specifically alchemical illustration. In Les Cognoissances the processes of meteorology are compared to those of a celestial alembic, and the evocation of the Golden Age which closes the poem includes a detailed description of the process of transmutation itself. In De l'Ame et de ses facultes the role of alchemy is fundamental, in the interest that centres upon "l'ame solide". The terms used to describe its different states, calcination and vitrification, are alchemical terms. While the subject of De l'Ame et de ses excellences is no longer scientific in the same narrow sense, the alchemical illustrations do not cease. Béroalde's comparison for the status of soul in body is that of all-suffusing alchemical heat in silver, for the purification of the heart by virtue it is that of the alchemical process of the purification of glass by fire. But then alchemy for Béroalde is one part of the whole. Like his mathematics, it is a way of perceiving the world. Specifically, it offers him a method, and his interest in process and in the mechanical workings of the world offers a parallel to the alchemist's preoccupation with interior value, with the internal process by which base metal might become gold.

All this then is very different from the reputation of Béroalde taken as the author of Le Moyen de Parvenir alone. As we survey the range of Béroalde's writing as a whole, the immediate feature is its diversity, but within the diversity a repeated theme is the preoccupation with truth and with knowledge. The urge to know is of course a common-

place, but the episodes of Béroalde's career and the nature of his writings show a life peculiarly devoted to it. Béroalde the polymath never settles to any one science, but a single aspiration explains his enthusiasm for each. The accomplishment in the end may not be great, and in this respect Béroalde shares something of the fate of Peletier du Mans, whose friendship he claims(7). The apparently random nature of Béroalde's knowledge, which reaches its head in Le Palais des Curieux, has gained for him the reputation of "songe-creux"(8), but this irrepressible curiosity is itself the characteristic of his writing. This enthusiasm, plus his active involvement as alchemist, doctor and mathematician, gives Béroalde specific claim to the title of scientific writer, and it justifies our taking the scientific as the guiding theme to his work.

However, as we mentioned in our introduction, this is also scientific poetry, and we should summarise the poetic elements of the works we have examined. Béroalde's attitude would not appear to be that of the committed poet, from the evidence of the preface to Les Apprehensions Spirituelles. He explains to his patron Du Gast that to write in either prose or verse is indifferent to him;

> Voila en somme le theme de mon oeuure, dont ie dilate plusieurs axiomes issus de ceux-cy, vsant d'vn style que i'ay esleu pour delecter, diuersifiant mes discours, ores en prose, ores en vers, suyuant en cela la liberté que i'ay eu & ay auec vous & celle de mon esprit(9).

Poetry to Béroalde is secondary to something else, and as we have already remarked(10) it is to Peletier that we must turn for the parallel. As we mentioned at that point, Béroalde confirms his sentiment in Le Palais;

> ...graces à Dieu, la poësie Françoise ne me couste gueres, ie suis tousiours prest pour en faire eschaper quelque piece(11).

In the poet's own estimation the content of his verse is more important than the precise form in which it is expressed. The view is precisely the opposite one to that of Ronsard in the Hymnes, for whom the poetic takes precedence over the scientific, and an examination of the poems themselves corroborates this interpretation of their status.

The two long poems Les Cognoissances Necessaires and De l'Ame

et de ses facultes are remarkable for their lack of imagery, where imagery is normally thought of as precisely poetry's concern. In these two works the poet consistently prefers the abstract to the concrete, and the explanatory to the pictorial. Alongside this there is a conscious avoidance of the mythological, which leads to the poet's own disquiet at his inclusion of the myth of the Androgyne in Les Cognoissances(12). In his Brief advertissement sur la première et seconde Sepmaine of 1584 Du Bartas expresses a similar aversion to fable(13), but in practice there could be no greater difference between the style of the two writers. Du Bartas, at his own admission, has not ceased to employ mythological imagery, and his approach to the writing of his poem is pictorial in the extreme. Béroalde's reaction against the pagan is real enough, and coincides with a general preference for the analytic over the descriptive.

In itself this might be related to a Calvinist ethic. We have quoted the ruling of the Synode de Sainte Foy on the question of pagan fable(14). But in Béroalde's case a non-pictorial style is the accompaniment to a poetry which is itself concerned with explanation and inner form rather than description and outer appearance. What images there are tend themselves to be the explanation of process(15). Stylistic considerations are secondary to the general aim of enquiry. In Les Cognoissances and De l'Ame at least function is Béroalde's preoccupation, and the way he writes echoes this choice.

In De l'Ame et de ses excellences the emphasis has shifted from analysis and explanation to didacticism and polemic. With the change in content comes a noticeable change of style. The aversion to the mythological remains, and is specifically repeated(16), but the incidence of imagery is much more marked. In this poem it is very often through an image that Béroalde makes his point(17). But no more than in the earlier poems is the aim a pictorial one. Rather than this, Béroalde, like d'Aubigné, exploits the image for its satirical possibilities, and this De l'Ame resembles Les Tragiques in the way that it uses animal

images to translate scorn. For this poem as for its predecessors, our conclusion must be that Béroalde's is not primarily a poetic vision, and that on the contrary it is harnessed to practical values.

It is a synthesis personal to himself that Béroalde presents in these poems. In writing Les Cognoissances he is inevitably following in the steps of Du Bartas, and the opening lines to the poem show the debt clearly enough. Like La Sepmaine the poem sets out to be an account of creation, and like La Sepmaine it has the declared aim of praise of God through the world. Both Du Bartas and Béroalde write as Protestant poets, and both portray a Deity who is not only the Creator of the cosmos but its active maintainer. But in the case of Béroalde's poem there is more. While Les Cognoissances is in a real sense a religious and a Calvinist poem, it is at the same time the embodiment of its author's direct scientific enthusiasm, directly recalling the aspiration to knowledge which is that of Peletier du Mans. For Béroalde too an aspiration after knowledge is a reality, and scientific endeavour corresponds to the practical. The fact that the scientific descriptions of Les Cognoissances do not dwell on the external, developing instead the notion of inner cause, is the indication of a turn of mind very different from that of Du Bartas. The content of La Sepmaine is grandiloquent, culled from the encyclopaedic works of a Belon or a Rondelet or direct from the medieval summa which precede and inspire them, and it is correspondingly uncritical. The aim is to impress, and accumulation takes the place of exploration. Nowhere does the reader sense uncertainty or modesty. Béroalde, although the framework of his poem is inspired by the same hexaemeral tradition upon which Du Bartas had drawn, forsakes the overtly encyclopaedic element. What he puts in its place is an enquiry which, whatever its random appearance, is organised around a central theme, that of order and harmony, and which explains order in terms of function. It further involves an attitude to the question of knowledge, wherein knowledge itself is codified and made subject to a principle of control. The poem

represents a real attempt at an alliance between the claims of a scientific enthusiasm and that of a respectful faith.

Béroalde, like Calvin, accepts that knowledge up to a point may serve the glory of God, but that there is a point beyond which it becomes profanation. From Les Cognoissances to the Excellences Béroalde remembers the doctrine, and it is the basis of his attack on false astrologers in the first poem as it is of his criticism of those who are made vain by "fausse opinion" in the latter. But the emphasis he brings to the formula is that knowledge within its sphere has a positive value, and it is this which is the true motivation of Les Cognoissances and the poems that follow. The detail in the creation account of Les Cognoissances is not in the direction of the catalogue, of the marvellous and the superficial and that fascination with the paradox which has been identified with the "baroque", but in the direction of more probing analysis. Béroalde sees the process of creation and the operation of nature as a reduction to order. As a scientist he is concerned to imitate this process, and as a scientific writer he sets out to depict it. Where Du Bartas and others delight in the extravagant spectacle of the primaeval chaos, Béroalde reverses the emphasis and makes chaos nothing more than the prefiguration of order. Here it is concord that the "discordans accordz" embody. The theme of the microcosm is made to carry the same implication. Woman is introduced not for her own sake, but as the necessary component to the institution of marriage, where marriage is the further symbol of an ordered world. In this scheme love plays an important part, but on the lines of the distinction already proposed by Ficino, as a force that unites and reconciles, and specifically distinguished from the disruptive effects of passion. The Androgyne episode itself makes its appearance as an illustration of this force, and hence once more of the harmonious workings of the world. From the first appearance of the elements to the formulation of human laws order is a constant theme.

For Béroalde this is a scientific truth, relating to the operation

of the cosmos. At the same time it is a spiritual one - a further aspect of order is the stability of a relationship with God, and underlying the poem is a constant assumption of the imperfection of man in contrast to the omnipotence of the Deity. Les Cognoissances opens with an invocation to God on the model of La Sepmaine, but its tone is immediately more personal and supplicatory. By the end it has become a personal devotion, with something of the same fervour that marks the closing lines to Les Tragiques. Like La Sepmaine, Les Cognoissances is a poem concerned with the praise of God, but where Du Bartas is the vociferous apologist, cast in no other role than that of the straightforward intermediary between God and men, and capable even on occasion of adopting the declamatory attitude towards God himself, there is in Béroalde's poem a consistent note of tension in the division between "icy-bas" and "la-haut".

In the tradition in sixteenth-century French poetry represented by the Microcosme of Scève and the Sepmaine of Du Bartas, Béroalde's Cognoissances does then deserve a place of its own. The view of man that it presents could hardly be more different from that of Scève - this is not man triumphant, superior to the rest of creation and adding achievement upon achievement through the ages, but man created purely as adjunct to God, that God might be properly admired, and man permanently reminded of his imperfection. The Adam of Scève's Microcosme is the representative of homo faber(18), and at the beginning of a continuous tradition of unaided progress. Here man is resolutely the centre of the poem, and God's main function is to introduce him onto the stage. The mass of Scève's information comes from the medieval encyclopaedias, but his is still a humanist enthusiasm, and it is to the glory of man that the detailed scientific content of the poem is dedicated. The scientific in Béroalde's poem takes its place in a different perspective. The religious framework is maintained throughout, and the scientific is consciously presented in terms of a relationship with God. The themes of creation and microcosm are given an opposite

emphasis, and God becomes once more the final point of reference. The scientific explanation is brought to bear not on the progress of man, but on the stability of a continuing organisation, and on an all-embracing concept of cosmic harmony of which man is only part. Within that picture man's dependence on God and his subjection to the laws of Providence is for Béroalde a necessary emphasis, and one which, like d'Aubigné, he associates with the personal. The scientific synthesis is joined with the sentiment of "Nous causons nos maux par nostre seul malheur"(19).

Like other poets of his time, but unlike Scève, Béroalde sets out to justify the ways of God to men. In the Encyclie Lefèvre de la Boderie makes a similar attempt for a Catholic public(20). But his poetry is not a "Creation", and Du Bartas remains the closer parallel. Béroalde alone, however, insists on the positive value of "scientia", and produces in verse a Physica Christiana to match the one extracted by Lambert Daneau from Calvin's writings(21). While his aim is no less the praise of God, the accent remains with enquiry, and he does not follow Du Bartas in subjecting the claims of reason to faith. Les Cognoissances, in keeping with a scriptural tradition which is continuous from Augustine to Calvin(22), states the limitations on the scope of human knowledge in no uncertain terms. But the poem also preserves the validity of reason's role, and here again we have suggested that Calvin is the likely intermediary(23).

The overtly scientific element is more evident still in the sequel to Les Cognoissances, De l'Ame et de ses facultes. As in the earlier poem Béroalde had identified the animating force of the universe with soul, itself the expression of the Aristotelean force of vivifying heat, so in De l'Ame this becomes the subject of an entire poem. After the cosmic picture and note of caution in regard to the position of man, Béroalde is free to develop a subject which is amenable to scientific enquiry. Within the legitimate field of science soul is the universal topic, but again Béroalde rejects the approach of Du Bartas and the accumulation of illustration and example. Hierarchy instead is the

controlling idea, and Béroalde is careful to mark off and analyse each stage of an ascending order. There are two other attempts at descriptions in verse of the faculties of soul at this time, but one, a section of Du Bartas' Sepmaine, is no more than incidental in function, and couched in negative terms; the other, René Bretonnayau's Le Temple de l'Ame, is incomplete in the form that we have it, but it seems that the lost poem from which it comes was concerned with the inner workings of man alone(24). Béroalde's piece surpasses both in scope, being concerned not only with the medical and the physiological, but embracing every part of existence. It is more truly the encyclopaedic poem, but the encyclopaedic within the confines of a single theme.

The precedents for Béroalde's venture lie rather in the treatises of medieval and Renaissance writers on soul, from Avicenna to Vives. Like theirs, his discussion of soul follows a set framework. That framework has its origins in the De Anima of Aristotle, where the standard division between vegetative, sensitive and intellective soul is first established. In the medieval period the scheme built upon these categories becomes steadily more elaborate, and it is this that Béroalde inherits. De l'Ame et de ses facultes is a poem that is firmly medieval in conception. It nonetheless corresponds to Béroalde's own interests, and shows an individuality of approach. Where other treatises open with a review of the opinions of other writers, De l'Ame introduces its theme instead with an exploration of the defining power of words, and an explanation of soul as concept. As in a similar definition of the word "nature" in Les Cognoissances(25), Béroalde shows an awareness of the problems of meaning, and reveals the same orientation as before towards the notion of inner cause. It is as to an ultimate embodiment of inner cause, which had been the object of his first poem, that Béroalde turns to the topic of soul, and it is once more a mechanical aspect which holds his attention.

Béroalde is not the first to suggest that soul may be a presence even in the inanimate. There are references to such a principle in

Hermes Trismegistus and Plotinus(26). Closer in time to Béroalde, Cardan had insisted in the De Subtilitate that stones and minerals had a life, and that hence soul operated through them. Stoicism, finally, with a division of pneuma that embraces not only the animal and the vegetative, but also and explicitly the inanimate levels of existence, offers a specific model(27). But what gives the view vigour in Béroalde's case is an alchemical enthusiasm. Indeed, the connection between stoic pneuma and the vitalising principle of the alchemists is a real one(28). Within the scope of De l'Ame, however, it is part of a total explanation of the workings of the cosmos.

The poem explores the functioning of the ordered universe whose creation Les Cognoissances have described. Continuity is assured through the implicit theme of harmony. "Ame solide" supplies the most basic requirement of existence, stability and permanence, and through it the elements which make up the sub-lunar world come into being. With "l'ame vegetative" that same world springs into movement, where movement means life. Béroalde's universe becomes a dynamic universe, a world of flux like that of his contemporary Montaigne; but flux that is now part of an overall picture of order. Vegetative is defined as growth, including as such the functions of the body as well as the life of plants, and Béroalde's verse passes from the realm of alchemy to that of Galenic physiology. In the discussion of the nutritive, augmentative and expulsive faculties the view of the poem becomes properly microscopic, but the central concern with a process of ordering is not lost. The medical bias continues in the subsequent analysis of sensitive soul, limited to animals alone, but Béroalde also makes the connections with a practical reality(29). Function here means Aristotelean and Galenic, and it is Aristotle that Béroalde follows in allowing primacy among the senses to touch, and further in refusing to confine the location of the sensus communis to the brain(30).

With his discussion of the interior senses Béroalde marks a movement towards another order of reality, in which the processes

involved are less tangible. This is an area best and most recently discussed by E. Ruth Harvey in her book on The Inward Wits(31). In particular, Béroalde arrives at a theory of the passions. While continuing to follow the categories of the medieval compilers, Béroalde increasingly presents arguments which have an ethical significance. The concupiscibilis and irascibilis are represented as faculties to be mistrusted, and the positive quality to which they are opposed is that of "vertu". Here again we may detect a latent stoic influence. For the stoics too the passions are unruly, their power destructive, and they are to be checked by the controlling influence of reason. The idea may also be the Aristotelean and Platonic one, that the desires should work with reason. Its importance in Béroalde's poetry is that it introduces the themes of disguise and deceit, and the notion of "vertu" as active ideal. "Vertu" is presented as equilibrium, and the principle of order is shown to govern everything from the structure of the created world to the conduct of man within it.

In this first De l'Ame the transition is a natural one, as the account passes to the higher activities of the intellective soul of man, and to a commentary on human behaviour. Anima intellectiva, unlike other manifestations of soul, cannot be identified with any particular bodily organ, and the discussion necessarily becomes more abstract. But the concern with function remains. The status of man's soul is unique, raised above the rest by its participation in a divine "esprit", but Béroalde, having stated the issue, avoids it(32). It as the inner cause of the conduct of man that the intellective comes within the scope of the poem's enquiry, and the final section of De l'Ame concentrates on the traditional definitions of its operation.

The intellective, however, immediately raises for Béroalde the question of the status of knowledge. The aspiration which is the impulsion of Les Cognoissances is itself related to a scheme of soul. As Béroalde moves from the mechanistic to the moral philosophical, a stress on the value of scientia remains the common link. De l'Ame

et de ses excellences is composed in circumstances different from those pertaining to the earlier poems. In 1593 Béroalde is writing as a Catholic, and quite possibly after a period of direct involvement in the Religious Wars(33). The work which immediately precedes this second De l'Ame is the prose De la Sagesse, and this, like that other work which emerges from the same period, Les Tragiques of Agrippa d'Aubigné, is explicitly announced as a remedy against corruption and a decline in morals. De la Sagesse sets out to be a patriotic work, dedicated to "la France", and it joins a current of literature concerned with contemporary ills. In this atmosphere stoicism is an important element, and the link with stoicism in Béroalde's case, given his translation of Lipsius' De Constantia(34), is a direct one. De l'Ame for its part takes over a vocabulary which has an obvious stoic resonance. But "vertu" is also attached to a system of values which is Béroalde's own.

The seeds of the philosophy of De l'Ame et de ses excellences are already present in Les Cognoissances and the first De l'Ame, and behind the more obvious change of emphasis there is an important continuity of theme. It is an ethic with which the Excellences is concerned, and the purpose is more straightforwardly didactic. The tone passes from the descriptive to the prescriptive, and both in form and content the poem is more succinct. Taking its starting-point in the praise of intellect, the excellences with which it is concerned are uniquely those of man, and the new element is that by applying or misapplying them man may rise or fall. The warnings against presumptuous knowledge of the two earlier poems are echoed here, but to appear as an abuse of the gift of intellect itself. Each of these aspects, however, refers us back to the familiar, and it is from an assertion of the indispensable nature of knowledge that the ethic of the poem grows.

De l'Ame is built around a continuing obsession with knowledge as practical value, along with an increasing emphasis on its right application. The ultimate framework, on the other hand, remains the spiritual one,

and there is no more doubt in this poem than in the earlier ones as to where the ultimate reality lies. The Scriptural motif that wisdom begins in the fear of the Lord is the refrain of De la Sagesse, and the same assumption is explicitly repeated in De l'Ame. The devotional aura in the poem is more pronounced, insofar as Béroalde makes knowledge and wisdom an aspiration to the other-worldly, and refers to the commonplace of the vanity of life. He is careful to say that knowledge of God is the prerequisite to any form of knowledge on earth. But the ethic presented is far from being a merely contemplative one, and in his insistence that wisdom must be translated into practice Béroalde remains faithful to the active pursuit of knowledge which is the ideal of Les Cognoissances.

Béroalde's commentary on knowledge and wisdom and on their expression as "vertu" may be seen against a general evolution of the idea of wisdom itself. Eugene F. Rice's The Renaissance Idea of Wisdom proposes the hypothesis, albeit with qualifications, of a shift from contemplative ideal to practical ethic, from an Augustinian concept of wisdom to the active moral virtue of Charron(35). Others have argued that a continuing duality is the more important, and that while the Renaissance does place emphasis on wisdom as a readily acquirable human virtue, earlier ideas are far from being displaced(36). It is such a duality which is shown by Béroalde's poem. His wisdom, and the concepts associated with it, is still traditional in being in the gift of God's grace, but it is on a practical expression of knowledge that it rests.

The ethic of De l'Ame et de ses excellences is stated in terms of a relationship between man and God, but it equally insists on the workings of intellect as part of a practical programme. As the earlier Les Cognoissances had maintained a vertical division between God and man, so this division is now repeated within man himself, between those who acquire "scientia" and those who refuse it. Knowledge is granted by God, and through the proper use of knowledge man has the means of elevating himself from the terrestrial towards the divine. A Platonic

ascent is made intellectual, with knowledge rather than love as the guide. The concept is more, though, than a simply intellectualising one. It is made part of a polemic. If Béroalde's poetry is not partisan in the sense of d'Aubigné's, with a division between the elect and the damned according to a definition of faith, it has an equally forceful view of right and wrong. For the ascent towards the divine there is a corresponding descent, and it is to these that Béroalde attaches the terms of "Raison" and "Opinion" respectively. In the defence of the one as in the attack on the other the tone of Béroalde's poem is as vigorous as that of Les Tragiques.

With De l'Ame knowledge reaches its final status in Béroalde's work, as the very redemption of the vanity of life. Where Solomon in Ecclesiastes makes knowledge itself part of vanity, Béroalde cannot follow him. In his own concept of "bien vivre" knowledge is absolute value. Like Montaigne, and even through reference to the same scornful image(37), Béroalde rejects knowledge which is empty show. But the insistence on knowledge as interior value is one that springs from a philosophy of his own. Where Montaigne makes "sçavoir" and "sagesse" independent of each other, and where Montaigne's disciple Charron makes "science" a positive barrier to the acquisition of wisdom, Béroalde unites the two - wisdom is defined as the application of knowledge, and knowledge is indispensable to it. Knowledge becomes part of the concept of Christian charity itself.

This active part of the concept receives further definition as part of the "philosophie" which is to be the activity of the wise man. Philosophy too has the dual role of affording escape beyond the mortal on the one hand, and of assuring the proper functioning of society on the other. "Bien vivre" has for Béroalde both a spiritual and a practical meaning, and in both senses philosophy is the fulfilment of life. But Béroalde also thinks of the philosopher as an individual, and here again he is forthright in his separation of the true practitioner from the false. Like Montaigne and like d'Aubigné he condemns mere outward

show, and the condemnation revolves around those same themes of disguise and deception, and of the correspondence between internal and external, which form the backbone of the satire of Les Tragiques. Béroalde's "philosophe", like the stoic sage, may rise above the blows of fortune, and practise the virtue of constancy. But his is a firmness which has the double basis of confidence in God, and an attitude to life built around the concepts of knowledge and wisdom, where knowledge and wisdom are both active and contemplative ideals.

It is in the light of this ethic that the stoic themes of Reason and Virtue are reinterpreted. The primacy of Reason and Intellect in stoic ethical theory makes virtue attendant upon knowledge. In Béroalde's case a similar idea accompanies a broad enthusiasm for the accumulation of knowledge which is a characteristic of Renaissance thought in general, and also, more particularly, an active involvement in scientific enquiry to match that of Peletier. Reason becomes a model for conduct after the model of stoicism, but the emphasis on reason as active principle accords with a continuing concern for the practical. Moreover, reason is identified with the fabric of the universe itself, and it is this reason incarnated in the world at large which is the guarantee of reason in man. The idea is the stoic one. Reason in man operates in harmony with the whole, and hence the theme of reason is the restatement of the theme of order. Ordered structure is rational structure, and the removal of reason would bring about a "monde à l'envers", the collapse of the fabric of the universe at one level and the degradation of man at the other.– Reason may be assimilated to the Deity-himself(38). But Béroalde is careful to remain within the christian framework. Reason does not supplant God, but rather leads to him. Les Cognoissances had demolished the stoic doctrine of the divinity of the world(39), and De l'Ame et de ses excellences rejects the independence of the Reason-principle. In a formula which is that of a christian stoicism, reason is sanctified by its association with God, and God himself is manifested as the principle of Reason operating within the universe. By the same token

human intellect is confirmed in its status, as it is God who first imparts reason to man. Reason, God and intellect fuse into one in the scale of values presented by the poem, and by implication the role of knowledge is vindicated. This is a definition very different from the one understood by Du Bartas, and through it reason is no longer necessarily opposed to faith.

Virtue is Béroalde's aim, as it had been for the stoic sage. From the exercise of a scientific curiosity we arrive in the end at the aspiration to a happy life, but a happy life in which the pursuit of knowledge is the positive value. Like d'Aubigné, whose own "Vertu" encourages the young courtier of Les Tragiques, Béroalde urges the adoption of a moral standard. Béroalde produces his own neo-stoic moral philosophy, in which virtue the continuation of Reason grants the gifts of tranquillitas and constantia, its value being that of moderation. It is the guarantee of piety and obedience, and thus of the ordered conduct which is the reflection of the macrocosm. It is founded on the combination of the four cardinal virtues, and is to be related to an innate principle. Each of these attributes may be related to stoic values. But Béroalde's "vertu" goes beyond the stoic in being dependent on God; it is not self-sufficient, but an emanation of the divine. In other words, it is the mark of approval of proper conduct imposed from without, and from Les Cognoissances right through to this poem Béroalde continues to think in terms of a divine plan. The traditional image of virtue is that of the summit difficult of access, and Béroalde subscribes to this in his turn. However, he equally presents the opposite aspect, a virtue which is open to all. The image here is that of Montaigne, and like Montaigne he is concerned to make virtue an accessible ideal. Within this picture virtue's essential quality is as a practical guide to conduct, and virtue, like wisdom and reason, must link the inner and the outer man. Satire also plays its part, and like d'Aubigné, and also like Montaigne, Béroalde condemns virtue's neglect. Juvenal's "Probitas laudatur et alget" figures in Béroalde's

poem, and De l'Ame, like the De la Sagesse of the same year, has its links with a contemporary reality. But then this virtue is the culmination of an ethic which from the beginning is concerned with the exercise of knowledge, and the poem can be said to present a properly scientific philosophy. De l'Ame et de ses excellences is itself the justification of the endeavours of Les Cognoissances and that other more explicitly scientific De l'Ame.

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Béroalde's early upbringing is in the Protestant faith, while by the time he writes De l'Ame et de ses excellences he has joined the Catholic Church. He himself remarks with nonchalance on his change of religion(40), and in those poems we have studied, as indeed elsewhere(41), it is evidently not the outward forms of religion which interest him. Instead the religious offers the nature of an experience, and the framework of an attitude to reality. The broader ideas of the place of man in the world, the role of fate and destiny, the part of God as Creator and maintainer of the fabric of the universe, are those which hold Béroalde's attention. In the sixteenth-century context, these are also scientific ideas, and in interpreting a spiritual truth the poet is also interpreting a physical one. Béroalde's poetry represents an aspiration to both. As alchemist, mathematician and medical practitioner he is active as an enquirer after some observable truth, and the bias of a text such as the Recherches de la Pierre Philosophale is towards the experimental. But he also accepts without question a delimitation of the legitimate sphere of knowledge which has its origin in the Bible, and to which Calvin had given graphic statement. Both themes constantly recur in the three poems with which we have been concerned, and between them they constitute the twin poles around which Béroalde's notions of scientific enquiry revolve.

Béroalde's scientific poems demonstrate a double obsession with the mechanical aspect of reality and with a desire to celebrate this as the specific activity of God. They combine in a real sense the

values of Du Bartas with those of Peletier du Mans. With these as the governing themes, the scientific poetry of Béroalde becomes the receptacle for his ideas. These ideas are marked by their eclecticism and the variety of their sources. But in the poet's desire to establish and to illustrate the workings of the universe as a process of order and harmony there is a central idea which runs throughout. In Les Cognoissances the synthesis is directed to Creation, in De l'Ame et de ses facultes to the operation of soul which represents creation's continuous animation. With De l'Ame et de ses excellences man has his place in a physical world which operates in an ordered manner, and as part of a divine plan which is characterised by harmony. Both are the guarantee of an ethic, and the basis of a recommendation.

With this final De l'Ame Béroalde attempts to bring together moral philosophy and philosophy of knowledge. From first to last "Ie recherche de tout la forme interieure" is a motto. "De nature ie dis selon la verité" announces the beginning of Les Cognoissances, and the "souverain bien" of De l'Ame et de ses excellences in its turn lies in this same "verité". In either case it is to be found within - either through knowledge of the inner working of the world, or through knowledge of self. This approach, consistently maintained, does not make for a popularising poetry. Béroalde's own prediction in Le Palais des Curieux now reads as a misguidedly optimistic one;

> ...i'ose dire qu'il n'y aura iamais temps, que quelque Curieux n'ait mes ouurages en ialouse recommendation, & rien ne les empeschera de courir par le vulgaire des peuples, que la garde diligente qu'en feront les beaux esprits, de crainte que les raretez qu'ils comprenent ne soyent profanées...(42)

"Béroalde est un de nos plus grands poètes", Saulnier stated in his article published in 1944 (43). On the evidence of the poems which have formed the subject of this thesis, this assertion might be challenged as it stands. But in the history of scientific thinking in the sixteenth century Béroalde deserves a place of his own which he has not yet been given.

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NOTES

ABBREVIATIONS EMPLOYED IN NOTES

N.B. Abbreviations already explained in the body of the notes are not listed here.

BHR - Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance

BN - Bibliothèque Nationale

CFMA - Classiques français du Moyen Age

LCL - Loeb Classical Library

MPG - Migne, Patrologie grecque

MPL - Migne, Patrologie latine

PMLA - Publications of the Modern Language Association of America

PUF - Presses Universitaires de France

RSS - Revue du seizième siècle

STFM - Société des textes français modernes

TLF - Textes littéraires français

INTRODUCTION

1. Cf. most recently Gabriel-A.Pérouse, Nouvelles françaises du XVIe siècle - Images de la Vie du Temps, Geneva, Droz, 1977, pp.482-3. In the same vein is an article by the late R.M.Coupland of the University of Hull, "Les Images dans le Moyen de Parvenir"(unpublished). I am grateful to Professor C.E.Pickford and Dr.Pauline Smith for providing me with a photocopy of this article.

2. V.-L.Saulnier, "Etude sur Béroalde de Verville - Introduction à la lecture du Moyen de Parvenir", in BHR V (1944), pp.209-326.

3. Anthologie poétique de Béroalde de Verville,présentée par V.-L. Saulnier, Paris, J.Haumont, 1945.

4. Cf. Saulnier, "Etude...", p.252;
Béroalde est un de nos plus grands poètes. Qu'on ne s'en soit jamais aperçu, passe encore, mais qu'on ne lui ait jamais fait l'aumône de quatre pages d'anthologie, c'est à peu près un scandale. Il est très largement de l'envergure de d'Aubigné, de Desportes, de Bertaut, ses contemporains, et largement supérieur à l'ennuyeux du Bartas, à qui l'on a parfois fait des succès...
and Anthologie, pp.8-9;
...l'on s'étonne que les dettes de Béroalde, et ses créances aussi variées, n'aient jamais été reconnues. Béroalde est un carrefour ...C'est comme poète que ce petit volume a pour ambition de réhabiliter Béroalde...
...à ne point même considérer l'importance historique de l'oeuvre, et qui compte cependant, il lui reste, en poésie comme en prose, un bon et sûr talent.
Cf. also the same writer's La Littérature française de la Renaissance, Paris, PUF ("Que sais-je" series), 10e édition revue, 1973, p.116;
L'oeuvre de Beroalde de Verville...est plus variée qu'on ne pense... Des oeuvres aujourd'hui oubliées le montrent excellent poète, et moraliste appréciable.

5. Janis L. Pallister, "Béroalde de Verville's Stances de la Mort and Soupirs Amoureux : Specimens of Baroque Poetry", in Nottingham French Studies IX (1970), pp.57-70.

6. Janis L. Pallister, The World View of Béroalde de Verville (Expressed through satirical baroque style in Le moyen de parvenir), Paris, Vrin, 1971.

7. Cf. for instance A.J.Steele, Three Centuries of French Verse 1511-1819, Edinburgh, Edinburgh U.P., 1956, p.xix;
A vein of poetry truer to the fluctuation of thought and feeling, readily traceable in Béroalde de Verville, erudite and versatile... reminds us perhaps better than the anti-rationalism of Régnier that we are in the age of Montaigne...
I.D.McFarlane, Renaissance France 1470-1589 (in the series A Literary History of France, General editor P.E.Charvet), London/New York, Ernest Benn/Barnes & Noble, 1974, p.390;
...the early work of this extraordinary polymath, who dabbled in alchemy and astrology and abjured his Huguenot upbringing to become a Roman Catholic, compels our attention...
and Robert Sabatier, Histoire de la poésie française du XVIe siècle, Paris, Albin Michel, 1975, p.276;
On a tort d'oublier chez Béroalde de Verville le poète de transition, au carrefour de diverses tendances...

8. Already in 1955 Saulnier was able to remark (optimistically in the

case of Béroalde);

La réhabilitation de plusieurs poètes qui fleurirent à l'époque des guerres civiles (Sponde, Béroalde de Verville, Chassignet et autres) est l'un des faits importants, dans la récente production critique... (V.-L.Saulnier and Audrey Worthington, "Du nouveau sur Jean de la Ceppède - l'édition originale retrouvée de ses poésies", in BHR XVII (1955), p.415).

This interest continues - cf. Alan Boase, Vie de Jean de Sponde, Geneva, Droz, 1977; Jean de Sponde, Oeuvres littéraires, édition critique par Alan Boase, Geneva, Droz(TLF), (announced); and also Paul Chilton, The Poetry of Jean de la Ceppède, Oxford U.P., 1977.

9. Cf. notably François Secret, L'ésotérisme de Guy Lefèvre de la Boderie, Geneva, Droz, 1969; Dudley Wilson, "The quadrivium in the scientific poetry of Guy Lefèvre de la Boderie", in French Renaissance Studies 1540-70. Humanism and the Encyclopaedia, editor Peter Sharratt, Edinburgh, Edinburgh U.P., 1976, pp.95-108; and also Dudley Wilson, French Renaissance Scientific Poetry, London, Athlone, 1974.

10. Cf. Nicéron, Memoires pour servir à l'histoire des hommes illustres dans la Republique des Lettres, 43 vols., Paris, chez Briasson, Libraire, 1727-45, vol.XXXIV, pp.225-6;

Le caractere de Verville est d'être un discoureur Métaphysicien sur toutes sortes de sujets, d'affecter en toute occasion de paroître instruit des secrets les plus cachés de la nature, comme de la Pierre Philosophale, du Mouvement perpetuel, de la Quadrature du Cercle, des causes & des effets de la Sympathie, des Phénomenes les plus singuliers de la Physique, des secrets de la Médecine, de faire le Theologien, de moraliser à perte de vûë, de vouloir passer pour habile dans l'Architecture, en faisant dans la plûpart de ses Ouvrages des descriptions circonstanciées de Palais; & avec tout ce fatras & cet attirail d'érudition, de tâcher de paroître galant avec les Dames. C'est ce dernier point qui lui est le plus particulier...

...Son stile est affecté, surchargé de prétendus agrémens, & alambique par la Métaphysique qu'il y a répanduë, ce qui rend la lecture de ses livres ennuyeuse à la mort...

and Goujet, Bibliothèque françoise, ou Histoire de la littérature françoise, 18 vols., Paris, H.L.Guérin/P.G.Le Mercier, 1740-56, vol. XIV, pp.191-2 (on Béroalde's writings);

...Les Appréhensions spirituelles sont en prose: c'est un amas de réflexions métaphysiques & physiques, où l'Auteur babille beaucoup sans rien apprendre; rien n'y est approfondi, ni même suivi. Les Cognoissances nécessaires, seconde pièce de ce recueil, sont en vers...Ce Poëme est long & très-ennuyeux, Verville y parle de la Création du monde, de celle de l'homme & de la femme, des élémens, du tems, des passions, & de leurs especes; & de tout cela fort superficiellement, & en très-mauvais Métaphysicien...

...Le Poëme de l'Ame & de ses facultés est une suite du premier... C'est encore beaucoup de verbiage.

11. Cf. Henri Busson, Le Rationalisme dans la littérature française de la Renaissance (1533-1601), Paris, Vrin, nouvelle édition, revue et augmentée, 1957 (second tirage 1971), pp.594-5;

Nommerai-je ici Béroalde de Verville? l'auteur du Moyen de parvenir, quand il était sérieux, a essayé la poésie religieuse. On trouve dans ses Appréhensions spirituelles (1583) et les Ignorances nécessaires (sic!) des pages sur Dieu, sur la création, sur l'éternité du monde , sur l'âme...Le chant De l'Ame et de ses facultés traite de la nature de l'âme, des diverses sortes d'âmes, de leurs fonctions et facultés...Mais ces pages philosophiques sont entremêlées de développements sur la femme, le bruit, le sel, la lune morfondante, le vent, l'amour, l'androgyne, et autres questions de ce genre. L'ensemble fait un vaste coq-à-l'âne et si le choix de certains sujets montre la préoccupation des idées rationalistes, il faut

pourtant renoncer à y trouver d'une question précise un exposé sérieux ou même intelligible.

12. He prefaces with the mention "estant encore fort ieune d'ans" the list he gives of Béroalde's works as they stood in 1584 (La Bibliothèque du Sieur de la Croix du Maine..., Paris, Abel l'Angelier, 1584, pp.91-2). See further below, note 90.

13. Cf. Guillaume Colletet, La Vie de Béroalde de Verville, in F.Lachèvre, Bibliographie des Recueils Collectifs de Poésies publiés de 1597 à 1700, 4 vols., Paris, Champion, 1901-5, IV pp.59-69; especially pp.59-60 -

Tous les siècles n'ont produit que rarement de ces hommes universels, qui par la force de leur esprit, et par l'assiduité de leurs profondes méditations se sont acquis cette noble Encyclopédie, ou ce cercle lumineux et cet heureux comble de toutes les sciences humaines et divines...Les Italiens ont encore eu parmi eux le sçavant Pic de la Mirande, qui dès les plus tendres années de son âge... remporta le titre avantageux de Phoenix des sçavants de son siècle. On peut certes dire la mesme chose de celluy dont je parle, puisqu'il se vantoit arrogamment luy-mesme de sçavoir tout, et qu'en effet, il n'ignoroit presque rien. Il estoit profond Théologien, sçavant Philosophe, grand Mathématicien, sçavant Orateur, subtil Alchymiste et supportable Poète...

p.62 -

...pour passer de sa personne à ses ouvrages, il en composa plusieurs de différentes matières tant en prose qu'en vers, qui sont si non tous parfaits, du moins presque tous beaux et tous considérables en leur genre...

p.64 -

...Et le reste où les intelligences trouveront une infinité de bonnes choses à louer, et quelques-unes à reprendre...

and p.65;

Son livre De la Sagesse imprimé à Tours l'an 1593...est si profond et si beau que j'oserois dire qu'en (le) composant il avoit aussi bien que Salomon dans les siens, esté inspiré de l'esprit de Dieu.

14. Cf. Colletet, Vie, loc.cit., p.61;

...il mena toujours une vie aussi débordée et aussi libertine que pas un autre de son siècle...Il aymoit ces bons mots que l'on appelle mots de gueulle, jusques au point que pour en apprendre de nouveaux tous les jours, il ne feignoit point de fréquenter les brelans et les tavernes, avec toutes sortes de personnes pour rustiques et abjectes qu'elles fussent et c'estoit là qu'il enseignoit, ou qu'il apprenoit si bien, que soubs prétextes de s'instruire dans les propres termes des arts méchaniques, des meilleurs et des plus ingénieux artisans, après les études sérieuses, il se rendoit souvent compagnon de leurs débauches...

The contrast with Colletet's other remarks might seem surprising; but the sixteenth century appears to thrive on such oppositions. We need only think of the world created by Rabelais, or that of Marguerite de Navarre's L'Heptaméron, in order to remind ourselves of the point.

15. Jacques Peletier du Mans, L'Amour des Amours. Vers Lyriques, édition de Jean de Tournes, Lyon, 1555 Avec une notice de Ad. van Bever, Pour la Société des Médecins Bibliophiles, 1926, pp.61ff. (mis-paginated p.25).

On Peletier cf. especially André Boulanger, L'Art Poëtique de Jacques Peletier du Mans (1555), publiée d'après l'édition unique avec introduction et commentaire, Paris, Les Belles Lettres, 1930, pp.7-35; and Hans Staub, Le Curieux Désir. Scève et Peletier du Mans poètes de la connaissance, Geneva, Droz, 1967.

16. The two terms "Science et Poésie" are considered at length by Hélène Naïs in Chapter V of her study Les Animaux dans la poésie française

de la Renaissance (Paris, Didier, 1961, pp.267-319), but Mlle Naïs' final reflections are on the "échec de la poésie scientifique". Cf. her final conclusion, p.622;

C'est au XVIe siècle que s'est prononcé de manière définitive le divorce entre la connaissance poétique et la connaissance scientifique.

Mlle Naïs thereby echoes the earlier doubts of Jugé (Clément Jugé, Jacques Peletier du Mans (1517-1582). Essai sur sa Vie, son Oeuvre son Influence, Paris/Le Mans, Lemerre/Bienaimé-Leguicheux, 1907, p.221);

Il est permis de rechercher s'il peut exister une poésie scientifique. L'un de ces deux termes est synonyme de scrupuleuse exactitude, l'autre d'entier caprice.

Françoise Joukovsky-Micha, on the other hand (Poésie et Mythologie au XVIe siècle - quelques mythes de l'inspiration chez les poètes de la Renaissance, Paris, Nizet, 1969, p.119), makes a link between the "lyrisme moins savant" of Ronsard and the same poet's scientific verse;

Dans l'un et l'autre cas, la poésie naît d'un étonnement devant la vie universelle.

17. Albert-Marie Schmidt, La Poésie Scientifique en France au seizième siècle, Paris, Albin Michel, 1938; reprinted Lausanne, Editions Rencontre, 1970 (our references will be to this edition). Cf. also the same author's "Haute Science et Poésie française au XVIe siècle", in Etudes sur le XVIe siècle, Paris, Albin Michel, 1967, pp.125-71.

18. Cf. Schmidt, La Poésie Scientifique..., ed.cit., p.15;

Ainsi se constitua une nouvelle espèce de poésie aux sources antiques, néo-latines et marotiques; une poésie dont le propos primitif n'est jamais d'enseigner, puisqu'elle s'adresse aux habiles, à ceux qui sont sortis vainqueurs du combat contre l'ignorance; une poésie dont la fin dernière consiste à exposer sur le mode lyrique, épique ou gnomique, à quels principes de synthèse s'est soumis l'écrivain qui la cultive, pour ordonner en une cosmologie les résultats épars de la philosophie naturelle.

Cf., for the difficulties involved, note 19 below.

19. Cf. Dudley Wilson, French Renaissance Scientific Poetry, London, Athlone, 1974, p.1;

Definitions are difficult to establish in a century which is not greatly preoccupied with such things, and we have been unable to find any satisfactory definition of scientific poetry or indeed of science itself in the various writings we have studied. To say that science equals knowledge does not help us very much. Perhaps we should say straight away...that the science of this age is an amalgam of science, philosophy and magic and that the scientific poet is best seen as the Magus who interprets a personal vision of these aspects of the universe... The Renaissance scientist is not the man who evaluates by quantity and who attains his ends...by experiment. He is rather the visionary who comprehends the cosmos, deeming the whole to be more interesting than any of its separate details.

20. Cf. Wilson, Scientific Poetry..., p.151, note 3 (from Colletet, Traitté de la poésie morale, et sententieuse, Paris, Sommaville et Chamhoudry, 1658, p.38);

La Poësie naturelle est celle qui traitte à fonds des choses de la Nature, tant des Corps celestes, que des Corps sublunaires, & elementaires.

21. A Madamé Marguérité Seur vniqué du Roe, Odé, in L'Amour des Amours..., ed.cit., p.119.

22. Cf. Hans Staub, Le Curieux Desir, pp.11-30.

23. Cf. Jean de Meun, Le Roman de la Rose, ll.16755-67 (in Guillaume de Lorris et Jean de Meun, Le Roman de la Rose, publié par Felix Lecoy, 3 vols., Paris, Champion (CFMA), 1965-70, III p.3);

Si gart, tant m'a Dex honoree,
la bele chaene doree
qui les .IIII. elemanz enlace
tretouz anclins devant ma face;
et me bailla toutes les choses
qui sunt en la chaene ancloses,
et conmanda que ges gardasse
et leur fourmes continuasse,
et voust que toutes m'obeïssent
et que mes regles apreïssent
si que ja mes nes obliassent,
ainz les tenissent et gardassent
a tourjorz pardurablement...

For Nature's description of the cosmos, cf. ll.16771 ff.

24. Cf. Hymne du Ciel, ll.15-6, 21-2, in Pierre de Ronsard, Oeuvres Complètes, édition critique par Paul Laumonier, révisée et complétée par I.Silver et R.Lebègue (Vol.XVII onwards), 20 vols., Paris,Hachette, then Droz then Didier (STFM), 1914-75 (edition henceforward referred to as Laumonier), VIII pp.141-2;

O CIEL net, pur, & beau, haute maison de DIEU,
Qui prestes en ton sein à toutes choses lieu...
Seulement le penser de l'humaine sagesse,
Comme venant de toy egalle ta vitesse...

Related to this is the poet's insistence on presenting the unknown in terms of the human - cf. the comparisons of Hymne du Ciel, ll.41-58 (Laumonier VIII pp.143-5);

Ainsi guidant premier si grande compagnie,
Tu fais une si douce & plaisante harmonie,
Que noz lucz ne sont rien aux prix des moindres sons
Qui resonnent là haut de diverses façons.
D'un feu vif & subtil ta voute est composée,
Non feu materiel, dont la flamme exposée
Cà-bas en noz fouyers, ne se contenteroit
Saoule de mille bois, qui les luy donneroit,
Et pource tous les jours il faut qu'on le nourrisse,
Le repaissant, goulu, s'on ne veut qu'il perisse:
Mais celuy qui là haut en vigueur entretient
Toy, & tes yeux d'Argus, de luy seul se soustient
Sans mendier secours, car sa vive estincelle,
Sans aucun aliment, se nourrist de-par-elle,
Vivante elle reluist, comme faict le Soleil,
Temperant l'Univers d'un feu doux, & pareil
A celluy quise tient dans l'estomach de l'homme,
Qui son corps luy eschauffe & point ne la consomme.

On the cosmological aspects of Ronsard's Hymnes cf. Luzius Keller, Palingène,Ronsard,Du Bartas. Trois études sur la poésie cosmologique de la Renaissance, Berne, Editions Francke, 1974.

25. For a survey of this status in terms of classical literature, cf. Gordon Williams, Tradition and Originality in Roman Poetry, Oxford, at the Clarendon Press, 1968.

26. Poésies françaises et latines de Joachim du Bellay, avec notice et notes par E.Courbet, 2 vols., Paris, Garnier, 1918, I p.148.

27. Hymne de l'Automne, ll.17-8; Laumonier XII p.47.

28. Marcel Raymond, L'Influence de Ronsard sur la Poésie française (1550-1585), 2 vols., Paris, Champion, 1927, II pp.281-2;

...un tel dessein s'accorde non seulement avec la volonté de connaissance universelle de la Renaissance, mais plus particulièrement avec l'idée du Poète que s'est forgée la Pléiade...Le Poète, tel que le définit l'Hymne de l'Automne, doit vivre dans l'intimité de la

nature et des "secrets des cieux"...
For Du Bartas see below, note 39.

29. Georgics II 1.490. The commonplace itself passes into scientific poetry - cf. Jean-Antoine de Baïf, Le premier des météores, ll.670-1 (in Le premier livre des poèmes, texte établi et commenté par Guy Demerson, Grenoble, Presses Universitaires (Publications de la Faculté des lettres de Clermont-Ferrand), 1975, p.71);

...Heureux l'home qui sçait
Les segrets de Nature, & come tout se fait!

30. Joachim Du Bellay, La Deffence et Illustration de la Langue Francoyse, II v; édition critique publiée par Henri Chamard, Paris, Didier (STFM), 1948 (quatrième tirage 1970), pp.127, 132.

31. Preface sur la Franciade, 1587; Laumonier XVI p.336.

32. L'Art Poëtique, ed. Boulanger, pp.216-7.

33. Cf. Dudley Wilson, French Renaissance Scientific Poetry, p.1. Passage quoted above, note 19.

34. Cf. Du Bellay, La Lyre Chrestienne, ed.Courbet, II p.31;

Moy cestuy la qui tant de fois
Ay chanté la muse charnelle,
Maintenant je hausse ma vois
Pour sonner la muse eternelle...

35. Cf. Laumonier VIII p.206, Le Conte d'Alsinois, A Ronsard, sur son Hercule Chrestien, ll.5-8;

Tu es d'un vain Poëte, & d'Amant miserable,
Faict le Harpeur de DIEU, maintenant couronné
D'un laurier qui n'est point pour un temps ordonné,
Puis que tu as choisy un suget perdurable.

36. Cf. the prefatory A Caterine de Medicis Royne Mere du Roy, ll.37-44 (Le premier livre des poèmes, ed. Demerson, pp.53-4);

O TOY le Roy des Roys, la tressaincte pensée
Du Père souverain, par qui est dispensée
La Nature, et de qui elle a tout son avoir,
Son ordre limité, son estre, et son pouvoir:
Sans qui le foible esprit du mortel misérable
Se fourvoye en la nuit d'une erreur déplorable:
Aide moy de ta grace, et fay que de tes fets
Je puisse découvrir la cause et les effets.

37. Cf. Abbregé de l'Art poëtique françois, ll.48-51 (Laumonier XIV p.6);
Et si tu entreprens quelque grand oeuvre tu te montreras religieux & craignant Dieu, le commençant ou par son nom ou par un autre qui representera quelque effect de sa majesté...

38. For the Microcosme, cf. V.-L.Saulnier, Maurice Scève (ca.1500-1560), 2 vols., Paris, Klincksieck,1948-9,I pp.406-529; and Maurice Scève, Microcosme, texte établi et commenté par Enzo Giudici, Cassino/Paris, Garigliano/Vrin, 1976.

39. Our references will be to Die Schöpfungswoche des Du Bartas, ed. Kurt Reichenberger, 2 vols., Tübingen, Max Niemeyer, 1963; Vol. I Guillaume de Saluste Sieur Du Bartas, La Sepmaine ou Creation du Monde, Kritischer Text der Genfer Ausgabe von 1581 herausgegeben von Kurt Reichenberger; Vol. II Themen und Quellen der Sepmaine, von Kurt Reichenberger (edition henceforward referred to as Reichenberger).
On Du Bartas, cf. Bruno Braunrot, L'Imagination Poétique chez Du Bartas - Elements de Sensibilité Baroque dans la Création du Monde,

Chapel Hill, North Carolina Studies in the Romance Languages and Literatures, 1973; and Luzius Keller, op.cit.

40. Cf. Schmidt, La Poésie Scientifique..., ed.cit., pp.175 ff.; and Saulnier, Maurice Scève, I pp.444 ff.(Chapter XIX "Microcosme - les sources et les épisodes"). Saulnier's appraisal remains fundamental (op.cit., I pp.445-6);

Epopée certes, mais épopée didactique, Microcosme ne s'apparente pas moins aux encyclopédies médiévales, du goût du Trésor de Brunetto Latino, de l'Imago Mundi ou de Barthélemy l'Anglais. Il est, à priori, peu commode d'affirmer qu'il doive spécialement à telle ou telle: Scève a pu puiser directement aux mêmes sources antiques que ces devanciers, ou leur prendre à tous. En tout cas, il leur prit sûrement le cadre général de son inspiration.

Cf. further Microcosme, ed. Giudici, pp.73-4.

41. La Seconde Semaine, "Les Furies", ll.93-4; in The Works of Guillaume De Salluste Sieur Du Bartas, A Critical Edition with Introduction, Commentary, and Variants in Three Volumes by Urban Tigner Holmes, Jr., John Coriden Lyons, Robert White Linker, with the assistance of others, 3 vols., Chapel Hill, The University of North Carolina Press, 1935-40 (edition henceforward referred to as Holmes), III p.50.

42. Le Premier Iour de la Sepmaine (subsequent references are styled PS I, II, etc.), l.178; Reichenberger, I p.13.

43. Pierre du Val, De la Grandeur de Dieu, et de la Cognoissance qu'on peut auoir de luy par ses oeuures, Paris, Michel de Vascosan, 1553; and Psalme de la Puissance, Sapience et Bonte de Dieu, Paris, Michel de Vascosan, 1558. Du Bartas' statement is to be compared with the stanza which opens and closes Du Val's Psalme;

Seigneur vniuersel, souuerain Roy des roys,
Eternel, infiny, combien en tous endroictz
Est de ta maiesté l'excellence admirable,
Et de tes faictz parfaictz le scauoir desirable!

44. La Muse Chrestienne de G. De Saluste Seigneur Du Bartas, Bordeaux, Simon de Millanges, 1574. For La Judit, cf. G. Salluste Du Bartas, Oeuvres. La Judit, édition critique avec introduction et commentaire par André Baïche, Toulouse, Association des Publications de la Faculté des Lettres et Sciences Humaines de Toulouse, n.d.(1971).

45. L'Uranie, ll.189-92, 197-200; Holmes, II p.182.

46. Guy Lefèvre de la Boderie, L'Encyclie des Secrets de l'Eternité, Anvers, Cristofle Plantin, (1571).

47. Cf. Guy Lefèvre de la Boderie, Hymnes Ecclesiastiques. Cantiques spirituelz, & autres Meslanges Poëtiques, Paris, Robert le Mangnier, 1578. The poems following the Encyclie include a sonnet "Aus Poetes Fabuleus" suggesting the programme for an Israëliade(L'Encyclie, p.311), and four chants royaux "sur la pure & tres saincte Conception de la Vierge"(pp.335 ff.).

In the case of Lefèvre the religious value is reasserted as part of an apologetic - cf. the dedication to Henri III of the Hymnes Ecclesiastiques (a ii r°), in which the idea of a response to the Protestant is paramount;

Sire, tout ainsi que ceux qui sont piquez des Scorpions ont accoustumé de chercher leur garison & medecine en iceux mesmes, ainsi considerant que les Pseaumes de David traduits en nostre vulgaire, par la doulceur de la Musique & du chant melodieux que lon y a adiousté ont alleché & distrait non moins de vostre peuple que les assemblées & Presches des Ministres de la Religion pretendue reformée, Ie me suis auisé pour vn remede & contrepoison de traduire les Hymnes Ecclesiastiques, & autres Cantiques Spirituels composez par les Saints Docteurs & anciens

Peres colonnes & pilliers de nostre Religion vnique & veritable, à celle fin d'essayer par ce moyen de reduire & regaigner par la doulceur du vers & du chant ceux qui pour plaisir de l'oreille & de la Musique se seroyent débandez du giron de l'Eglise Catholique, de laquelle, Sire, vous estes le bras droit, & conseruateur principal.

In the Hymnes Lefèvre specifically aims to meet the challenge of Marot's psalms. What we would note is that the Encyclie for its part illustrates the growing association between the scientific poem proper and a similar presentation of a clearly defined religious truth.

48. L'Encyclie, p.248.

49. Loc.cit., p.121.

50. PS I ll.76-84; Reichenberger, I p.11.

51. PS II ll.1027-8; Reichenberger, I p.58.

52. Cf. Holmes, I pp.67 ff., "The Editions of Du Bartas"; and further comments in Reichenberger, I pp.1-4.

53. Le Grand Miroir du Monde, Par Ioseph du Chesne, Sieur de la Violette, D. Medecin, Lyon, Barthelemi Honorat, 1587.

54. Le Grand Miroir du Monde, p.40.

55. Cf. L'Vranologie, ou le Ciel de Ian Edouard Du Monin PP. contenant, outre l'ordinaire doctrine de la Sphaere, plusieurs beaus discours dignes de tout gentil esprit, Paris, Guilhaume Iulien, 1583, f.4r°;

Ainsi céte carriere en cent pars buissonnée
De nos haliers mondains, rend ma Muse etonnée:
N'estoit qu'ici la Foi par son saint sauf-conduit
Loin de moi donne fuite à cête obscure nuit...

and PS II ll.37-40 (Reichenberger, I p.31);

Desfriche ma carriere en cent parts buissonnee
De dangereux haliers: luy sur ceste iournee:
Afin que saintement par ton fanal conduit
Mon sacré rendez-vous ie gaigne auant la nuit.

56. Cf. Schmidt, La Poésie Scientifique..., ed.cit., pp.300-2. For Schmidt, the attempt is one that ends in failure;

Malheureusement, on ne sut pas toujours maintenir entre la science et la religion l'équilibre requis. On fit de celle-là la servante de celle-ci. On soutint le primat de la révélation sur l'expérience et de la prophétie sur le raisonnement...

Later, Schmidt denounces Béroalde's own Cognoissances Necessaires as an "inutile fatras spiritualiste", and considers Béroalde himself only within the limited definition of "alchimiste-poète"(op.cit., pp. 403-4). It will be our intention to replace Béroalde's poem within its wider context.

57. Cf. La Muse Coeleste, ou l'Amour diuin, in Les Apprehensions Spirituelles, Poemes & autres Oeuures Philosophiques: Avec Les Recherches de la pierre philosophale. Par F.B. De Verville, Paris, Timothee Iollan, 1583, at f.122r°; La Muse Celeste de Beroalde de Veruille, Tours, Iamet Mettayer, 1593 (a second edition of the former work); and Les Tenebres, Qui Sont les Lamentations de Ieremie. Par le Sieur de Veruille, Paris, Matthieu Guillemot, 1599 (bound in with Les Muses Francoises Ralliees de Diverses Pars, Paris, Matthieu Guillemot, 1599, at B.N. Rés. Ye 2738). Les Tenebres is followed by an Hymne sur la Nativité de Nostre Seigneur & Sauveur Iesus Christ (p.22).

58. Cf. in particular Les Souspirs Amoureux de F.B. de Veruille: Auec vn discours Satyrique de ceux qui escriuent d'Amour, par N. le

Digne, Paris, Timothee Iollan, 1583; further editions Rouen, Raphaël du Petit Val, 1598 (Arsenal 8° BL 8958 Rés.), and Rouen, Raphaël du Petit Val, 1606 (Arsenal 8° BL 8959 Rés.). These later editions are doubtless to be accounted for by the success of Béroalde's sentimental and pastoral novel, Les Avantures de Floride (Tours, Iamet Mettayer, 1592 - see further below, notes 94-7). The bulk of the collection Les Souspirs is incorporated into the text of this novel, alongside a great deal of new, but similar, material; both old and new combine in Les Amours de Minerve, which in the 1592 edition comprises 96 successive sonnets, each exploiting the same bland and précieux themes (ff.192v°-216v°). The same vein recurs in La Pucelle d'Orleans (Paris, Matthieu Guillemot, 1599 - see below, note 97). We should add that it is one which has been prepared by Béroalde's contributions to the 1592 edition of a translation of the Diane of Montemayor (Tours, Claude de Montr'oeil, & Iean Richer, 1592 - see further below, note 93). Overall, the amount of verse involved is considerable. An examination of it, on the other hand, helps us to understand rather better Nicéron's verdict of "ennuyeuse à la mort".

This is also an appropriate point at which to note that the verse element in the mixed prose and verse works which Béroalde continued to produce from 1592 onwards is not confined to the flirtations of shepherds and shepherdesses. Le Cabinet de Minerve (Tours, Sebastien Molin, 1596, and also Paris, Matthieu Guillemot - see further below, note 96) contains extracts taken from the earlier scientific poem Les Cognoissances Necessaires, with which we shall ourselves be concerned, and further poems which are calculated to incite to virtue. Le Voyage des Princes Fortunez (Paris, Pierre Chevalier, 1610, and also Claude de la Tour - see below, note 102), while greatly exploiting the familiar vein of the sentimental, also has important elements of the hermetic and the alchemical. There are connections here with the content-matter of the three long poems with which our thesis is concerned. But each of these works represents the later adaptation of the scientific theme to a different medium, and each does no more than repeat what Béroalde has already evolved within the context of the scientific poem proper. For these reasons we shall not mention them further.

59. Cf. E.-H. Clouzot, "La Date du Moyen de Parvenir", in Revue des Etudes Rabelaisiennes IX (1911), pp.141-3; and Saulnier, "Etude sur Béroalde", p.284.

60. Le Palais des Curieux. Auquel sont assemblées plusieurs diuersitez pour le plaisir des Doctes, & le bien de ceux qui desirent sçauoir, Paris, la veufue M. Guillemot, & S. Thiboust, 1612. In the Notice to his edition of Le Moyen de Parvenir (Le Moyen de Parvenir, Notice, Variantes, Glossaire et Index des Noms par Charles Royer, 2 vols., Paris, Lemerre, 1896, I p.liii) Charles Royer quotes the 1878 Dictionnaire d'Indre-et-Loire of Carré de Busserole in its reference to an earlier edition of 1602. We have been unable to trace such an edition. The privilège of the one that exists is dated 5 November, 1611.

61. What follows is not intended as a biography, but as an introduction to Béroalde's ideas as they are revealed in his writings, and especially in Le Palais. For further biographical details, cf. Saulnier, "Etude sur Béroalde", especially pp.210-39.

The most graphic account, by implication at least, of the world of Béroalde's childhood is that of d'Aubigné's Sa Vie à ses Enfants. Béroalde's father is the Matthieu Béroalde who from 1562 takes charge of the young d'Aubigné's education, the "Nostre grand Beroald" of Les Tragiques (Les Feux, l.977). The narrative of d'Aubigné's Sa Vie evokes the blend of humanist splendour and Calvinist austerity which must have formed the backdrop to the early years of François Béroalde as well (in Agrippa d'Aubigné, Oeuvres, Introduction, Tableau Chronologique et Historique par Henri Weber, Texte établi par Henri Weber et annoté par Henri Weber, Jacques Bailbé et Marguerite Soulié, Paris, Gallimard, 1969, p.386);

Cest escolier fut mis à Paris entre les mains de Matthieu Beroalde, nepveu de Vatable, trés grand personnage. Au mesme temps ou bien tost aprés, le Prince de Condé ayant saisi Orleans, les persequutions redoublees, les massacres et brulements qui se faisoyent à Paris ayant contrainct aprés de trés grands dangers Beroalde de s'enfuir avec sa famille, il fascha bien à ce petit garçon de quitter un cabinet de livres couverts somptueusement et autres meubles, par la beauté desquels on luy avoit osté le regret du païs; si bien qu'estant auprés de Villeneufve Sainct George, ses pensees tirerent des larmes de ses yeux, et Beroalde le prenant par la main luy dit, Mon ami, ne sentez vous point l'heur que ce vous est, de pouvoir dés l'aage où vous estes perdre quelque chose pour celuy qui vous a tout donné?

62. Cf. Matth. Beroaldi Chronicum, Scripturae Sacrae Autoritate Constitutum..., (Geneva), apud Anton Chuppinum, 1575; further editions Basle, 1577 (Chronologia Hoc Est Supputatio Temporum ab initio mundi ex Eclipsibus & obseruationibus Astronomicis & sacrae scripturae firmissimis testimonijs demonstrata. Gerardo Mercatore, & Matthaeo Beroaldo authoribus..., Basle, per Thomam Guarinum, 1577), and also Frankfurt, 1606. The scope of the work is a chronology of world events from the Garden of Eden to the present, and while for modern times Matthieu has to relax his principle, the dating of the ancient world it contains disregards any person or event not vouchsafed by the authority of the Bible.

On Matthieu, cf. Saulnier, "Etude sur Béroalde", pp.210-6; and Matthieu's own Livre de Raison (BN ms. Dupuy 630, ff.157-82). Further information in Eugène Haag, La France Protestante, 9 vols., Paris, 1846-59, III pp.2-10; and see also N.Weiss, "Une des premières écoles de théologie protestantes en France, Orléans 1561-1568", in Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme français LX (1911), pp. 218-24; and H.V.Aubert, "Mathieu Béroalde à Genève, 1574 (quatre lettres de Théodore de Bèze)", loc.cit., LXXI (1922), pp.219-27.

63. Theatre des Instrumens Mathematiques & Mechaniques de Iaques Besson Dauphinois, docte Mathematicien. Avec l'Interpretation des Figures d'iceluy, par François Beroald, Lyon, Barthelemy Vincent, 1578. On Besson, and the circumstances of the publication of his Théâtre, the indispensable study is now that of Eugénie Droz, Chemins de l'Hérésie. Textes et Documents, 4 vols., Geneva, Slatkine, 1970-6, IV pp.271-372, esp. pp.328 ff. However, Mlle Droz insists upon identifying the commentator of the Besson Théâtre with the humanist François Béraud, who was the son of the legal scholar and teacher Nicolas Béraud (on whom cf. L.Delaruelle, "Nicole Bérault. Notes biographiques suivies d'un appendice sur plusieurs de ses publications", in Le Musée Belge XIII (1909), pp.253-312). The similarity of name is obviously likely to lead to confusion, and we believe it has misled both Mlle Droz and also, at one point, Saulnier in his "Etude".

What makes the confusion more marked is that this François Béraud is at one stage the colleague and associate of Matthieu-Béroalde. Both taught in the newly-founded Faculty of Theology at Orléans (cf. N.Weiss, art.cit.), Matthieu from 1562 to 1568. In 1568 both signed an oath of loyalty to Charles IX (cf. Droz, op.cit., IV p.305), qualifying themselves "professeurs publics". Saulnier ("Etude sur Béroalde", p.214) sees in these signatures those of Béroalde father and son, but it is difficult to believe that our François Béroalde, born in 1556 (cf. Matthieu Béroalde, Livre de Raison, f.157r°), can have been "professeur public" at the age of twelve. On the other hand, Mlle Droz is surely wrong in attributing the Besson commentary of 1578 to Béraud, and this not only because she is, without mentioning the fact, departing from an attribution which had first been made by La Croix du Maine (cf. La Bibliotheque du Sieur De La Croix Du Maine..., Paris, Abel l'Angelier, 1584, p.91). Mlle Droz bases her argument on the friendship between Béraud and Besson, and on the fact that both were teachers at the Orléans Faculty of Theology.

Besson's signature too is on the document of 1568. But, as we have seen, this also constitutes a link with Matthieu Béroalde. Matthieu's son, we might recall, speaks of mathematics as his "premiere & plus aimée profession", and we may even speculate that it is with Besson as his teacher that the enthusiasm is first aroused.

We see no reason to deny Béroalde the authorship of the Théâtre commentary. Mlle Droz establishes the existence of two separate printings under the 1578 imprint, and draws attention to the liminary material of the second (cf. Droz, loc.cit., pp.354-8). We have consulted a copy dated 1579 in the British Library (press-mark C97 f.1). This liminary material seems to us to strengthen the traditional attribution. First, it includes a sonnet by Nicolas le Digne, whom we know to have been Béroalde's friend, and the contributor of a Discours Satyrique to Béroalde's Souspirs Amoureux of 1583 (see above, note 58; and also Fernand Fleuret and Louis Perceau, Les Satires françaises du XVIe siècle, 2 vols., Paris, Garnier, 1922, II pp.73-86). Second, an ode Aux Amateurs de ces sciences is signed with the legend Musa Foelicitas Altera, and a sonnet which precedes it with the same legend and the mention François Beroalde; but the legend is one that is used by François Béroalde de Verville in his authenticated works (cf. liminary sonnet in La Navigation du Capitaine Martin Forbisher (sic) Anglois..., (Geneva), Anthoine Chuppin, 1578, A viii v^{o}; ode in Hierosme de Bara, Le Blason des Armoiries, Auquel est monstree la maniere de laquelle les Anciens & Modernes ont vsé en icelles..., Lyon, Barthelemi Vincent, 1581, f.¶ v v^{o}; and quatrain in Les Apprehensions Spirituelles..., Paris, Iouan, 1583, a v v^{o}). Third, the terms of the dedicatory letter to Francis Hastings, son of the Earl of Huntingdon, seem to us to suggest rather more the young writer striving to make himself known than the "humaniste chevronné (qui) parle à un jeune étudiant riche" (Droz, loc.cit., p.354);

Monsieur, outre ce que ma petitesse peut me redarguer, voire convaincre d'vne hardiesse demesuree en ce que i'entrepren de mesler vostre illustre nom parmi aucune chose venue de moy...(Théâtre, 1579, A ii r^{o}; also in Droz, p.354)

...Et quant à ce qu'estant si petit, i'ose m'addresser à vous, Monsieur, deux choses me garentiront de ceste faute...(A ii v^{o}; Droz, p.355)

We might also compare a statement at A ii v^{o} (Droz, p.356) -

Cependant, afin que quelqu'vn ne pense que ie face mes monstres, et me pare des plumes d'autruy, ie vous presente auec les figures des machines qui sont de l'auteur, la declaration d'icelles...

- with Le Palais des Curieux, p.309;

Mes delectations ne sont point de me faire valoir par le labeur d'autruy...

64. Cf. Saulnier, "Etude sur Béroalde", pp.219, 314; and also Les Bibliothèques françaises de La Croix du Maine et Du Verdier...Nouvelle édition...augmentée...des remarques historiques, critiques et littéraires de M. de la Monnoye..., 6 vols., Paris, Saillant et Nyon, 1772-3, I p.209;

Etienne Clavier, en Latin Stephanus Claverius, pag. 131 de ses Annotations sur Perse, imprimées in-8° à Paris, 1607, parle de Verville en ces termes Franciscus Beroaldus, vir insignis, Doctor Medicus, meus olim Condiscipulus, & quatre ou cinq lignes plus bas le traite de vir doctissimus, lui faisant un grand honneur d'une folle vision de Chymiste sur les deux Enigmes de la troisième Eglogue de Virgile, Dic quibus in terris...

Béroalde styles himself "Beroalde de Verville Medecin" at the end of an introductory poem to Le Iardin, et Cabinet Poetique de Paul Contant Apoticaire de Poictiers, Poitiers, Anthoine Mesnier, 1609 (b ij v^{o}).

65. Recherches de la pierre philosophale, et du moyen qu'il y faut tenir, si elle existe ou peut exister: auec vne preface contre les soufleurs imposteurs & sophistes, & quelques sentances contenans tout l'art. Par F.B. De Verville, in Les Apprehensions Spirituelles..., Paris, Iouan, 1583, f.77r^{o}.

66. Cf. Microcosme III ll.867-93 (ed. Giudici, pp.238-9);

Ny marteau rebouché, ny enclume endurcie,
Ny la lyme rongeant, ny la forge noircie,
Ont à cest Homme caut l'esprit tant esveillé,
Que le charbon ardent jour, et nuict travaillé
En diverse fournaise à divers instrument,
Duquel il a tiré divers experiment
Par feu de l'air venteux des soufflets agité,
Et languissant par eux à vigueur excité
De sa vivacité operant maints effets
Pour transformation des metaux plus parfaits,
Et par diverse eaufort en usages frequens
Convertis en couleurs, en poudres, et onguens,
Et la plus part reduitte au besoin domestique
Par alteration de l'art Alchimistique
Lambiquant l'or potable, et plomb liquifié
En vive eau diafane, et diversifié
De teint, couleur, et forme en cereux oingnemens,
Comme du Caillou sec tirant quatre elemens,
De la terre Jayet, du Jayet eau, et huile,
Ce qu'aussi avoit fait de l'alteree tuile,
Esperant curieux de pouvoir reüssir
A son tant difficile, et cherché Elixir,
Poids, et tems reservé à esprit digne, et rare,
Et non jamais connu de l'empirique ignare,
Qui tant a neantmoins soufflé, prouvé, et quis
Tout experimentant, que par moyen exquis
A fixé le Mercure...

67. Cf. Saulnier, Maurice Scève, II p.216, note 298, quote from W.Ganzenmüller, L'Alchimie au Moyen Age, Paris, Aubier, Editions Montaigne, n.d.(1940), p.16 (translation of original edition, Paderborn, 1938);

L'alchimie, au moyen-âge, embrassait tout le domaine de la chimie théorique et pratique: non seulement l'art de faire de l'or, mais la fabrication de placages métalliques, la teinture des étoffes, le traitement du verre, des perles et des pierres précieuses, la distillation des parfums et des alcools, et, plus tard, celle des remèdes et des onguents de beauté, ainsi que la préparation de quantité de poudres, depuis la poudre dentifrice jusqu'à la poudre à canon.

68. Loc.cit., note 300;

Ce mot d'alchimie a prêté à bien des contresens. Le seul sens général qu'on puisse lui donner au XVIe siècle est celui de chimie théorique et pratique, et parfois seulement hermétique; quitte à définir ensuite le sens particulier que ce mot prend chez chaque auteur...

Saulnier himself takes Béroalde and Scève as illustrations of two opposing views.

69. Microcosme III l.890; ed. Giudici, p.239.

70. See below, p.xvi and quote, also note 83.

71. Cf. Béroalde's own Recherches de la pierre philosophale, chapter XII (f.113r^{o}); and Clovis Hesteau de Nuysement, Poeme Philosophic de la Verité de la Phisique Mineralle, ou sont refutees les obiections que peuuent faire les incredules & ennemis de cet Art..., Paris, Ieremie Perier & Abdias Buisard, 1620, p.23 -

Si toute la nature au Soleil est diffuse;
Si toute sa Nature il a dans l'or infuse;
L'or seul pourra donc estre vn remede à tous maux,
Guarissant la Nature en tous les animaux;
Pourueu qu'on le reduise en telle consistance

Qu'il se puisse conioindre à l'humaine substance...
- and p.26, on the preparation of the "or potable" which will meet this requirement;

Tu veux que nos docteurs ne soient point ignorans
De ce remede exquis, puisqu'en leurs restaurans
Ils font bouillir de l'or suiuant l'vsage antique.
Ils suiuent bien la lettre & non le sens mistique
De leurs diuins ayeulx qui n'ont pas entendu
Que l'or par tels bouillons soit potable rendu...
L'or substante Nature, & luy donne allegeance
Quand il luy communicque & adioint sa substance:
C'est pourquoy l'Alchimiste expert en son mestier
Remet ce corps solide en son estre premier:
Car toute medecine excellente & louable
Doit estre vn seul fusible, ou chose au sel semblable.

On Hesteau de Nuysement, and alchemy generally at this time, cf. Wallace Kirsop, Clovis Hesteau, sieur de Nuysement, et la littérature alchimique de la fin du XVIe et du début du XVIIe siècle, thèse pour le doctorat de l'Université présentée à la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Paris, 1960, consultable at the Bibliothèque de la Sorbonne (W.Univ. 1960 (21) 4°).

72. On Paracelsus, cf. Robert-Henri Blaser, Paracelse et sa conception de la nature, Geneva, Droz, 1950.

73. Iacobi Bessoni de Absoluta Ratione extrahendi olea, & aquas è medicamentis simplicibus..., Zurich, Andreas Gesner, 1559. Cf. Droz, Chemins de l'Hérésie, IV pp.274-80.

74. Le Palais des Curieux, p.290.

75. Cf. Hesteau, Poeme Philosophic, pp. 53-4;

O science diuine, ô surnaturel Art,
Que Dieu comme par grace à ses esleus depart;
Des mal'heurs de la vie vnique & prompt remede;
Qu'on peut bien dire heureux celuy qui te possede,
Et qu'il fut d'vn bon Astre aperceu en naissant...
S'il est sage & discret pour la cause cacher
De son contentement, rien ne le doit fascher,
Car il peut aller viure en tous les coins du monde
Portant comme Bias sa richesse feconde.
S'il trouue vn languissant au danger de mourir,
En passant charitable il peut le scourir.
S'il rencontre vne vefue auec sa triste bande
D'orfelins, qui l'aumosne à vn marbe (sic) demande,
(Car plusieurs ont vn coeur de marbre dans le sein)
Il leur peut rendre pleine l'vne & l'autre main...

76. Recherches de la pierre philosophale, f.81v^{o}.

77. Recherches, f.103r^{o}.

78. Recherches, f.118v^{o}.

79. Cf. Le Palais des Curieux, p.463 -

Des la sortie de mon enfance les Mathematiques ont esté le souuerain bien de mon esprit, & croy que si i'eusse eu en ce temps-là vn mecenas pour m'y aider i'eusse atteint vne grande perfection (quoted above, p.xii)
- and p.581;

...Ainsi sachant mes forces , ie n'ay iamais voulu presumer outre mon pouuoir, & cognoissant mon inclination ie l'ay suiuie galamment, ayant tant qu'il m'a esté possible, taché d'obtenir la tranquilité d'esprit, pour cela qui est des biens i'en ay attendu auec grand espoir,

mais sans affliction d'esprit, des grands qui m'en deuoyent, & qui toutesfois m'ont oublié, apres auoir eu de la liberalité de mon esprit, ce qu'ils en desiroyent. C'est ma faute, car ie n'ay pas sceu tirer de l'eau quand la corde estoit au puits, c'est tout vn, i'ay des amis qui en ont pour moy.

80. See above, note 57.

81. Les Apprehensions Spirituelles, f.55v°.

82. Recherches, f.120v°.

83. Cf. Recherches de la pierre philosophale, f.81v° -
Et l'Alchymie qui concerne le plus beau de la Medecine, & entretien de ceste vie mortelle & caduque, d'autant qu'elle ne laisse iamais auoir disette ceux qui la sçauent, ains leur presente le Souuerain remede contre toutes maladies, donnant la vraye conseruation de santé, ainsi que disent ceux qui ont cogneu les secrets que le tout puissant a voulu estre cachez sous si bel art. Mais pource que tout est descheu par le malheur qui agitte maintenant l'vniuers, ceste veritable science a esté gastee, & tellement renuersee, qu'on n'en a plus que le simple nom, dont auiourd'huy on se sert à couurir la plus grande & dommageable imposture du monde...
(quoted in part above, p.xiv)
- and f.83v°;
...beaucoup ont mis en tel rang la vanité cendriere de ceste Philosophie, qu'ils ont fait des sainctes escritures de nostre salut, comme si nostre vie, pour estre selon Dieu, & la Deité mesme, n'eust esté qu'vne soufflerie perpetuelle. O detestable impieté! O estrange folie! O temeraire erreur! O eshontee impudence! ...

84. Cf. Aristotle, Metaphysics 980 a 22; and Montaigne, Essais III xiii De l'Experience (Montaigne, Oeuvres Complètes, textes établis par Albert Thibaudet et Maurice Rat, Introduction et notes par Maurice Rat, Paris, Gallimard, 1962, p.1041);
Il n'est desir plus naturel que le desir de connoissance...
See further below, pp.276-8.

85. Cf. Saulnier, "Etude sur Béroalde", p.242;
Béroalde est un esprit scientifique, un authentique savant...

86. Dialogue de l'Honneste Amour (at f.50 r°); Dialogue de la Bonne Grace (at f.61r°); Du Bien de la Mort Commune, qui est la separation du corps & de l'ame (at f.68 v°). Of these the first two are separately published in 1602 (Deux dialogues l'vn de l'honneste amour l'autre de la bonne grace: Par F.B. de Verville, Paris, Galiot Corrozet, 1602; British Library 1075 h. 11 (3)).

87. La Muse Coeleste (see above, note 57). For Béroalde's psalm-paraphrases, cf. Michel Jeanneret, Poésie et Tradition Biblique au XVIe siècle. Recherches stylistiques sur les paraphrases des psaumes de Marot à Malherbe, Paris, José Corti, 1969.

88. See above, note 58. In the copies at Arsenal 8° B 11053 (Rés.) and B.N. Rés. R. 2716-8 Les Souspirs is dated 1583, at B.N. Z. 19829, Rés. Z. 2818 (1-2), and also Mazarine 22011, 1584. The copy in the British Library (press-mark 524 b. 8) does not include Les Souspirs.

89. Full title, L'Idee de la Republique de Francois de Beroalde Sieur De Verville. En ce poeme est discouru du deuoir de chasqu'vn, de ce qui conserue la police en son entier, parfait l'estat, & monstre à tous selon leur qualité & condition le moyen de bien & heureusement viure en la societé humaine, & se façonner aux bonnes meurs, Paris, Timothee Iollan, 1584. Also published in the same year is a Dialogue de la Vertu (Dialogue de la Vertu. Par Francois de Beroalde Sieur de Verville, Paris,

Iollan, 1584).

For L'Idee de la Republique, cf. E.Cougny, "Béroalde de Verville - L'idée de la République - Le moyen de parvenir", in Mémoires de la Société des sciences morales, des lettres et des arts de Seine-et-Oise, XII (1880), pp.185-234.

See further below, Part III chapter I, pp.263-7.

90. La Croix du Maine (Bibliothèque..., ed.cit., pp.91-2) mentions a number of works now no longer known, viz.

Les Elements Mecaniques non encores imprimez.

La duplication du Cube, imprimee...

Le second liure des recherches de la pierre Philosophale, où il fait vne description de la nature des metaux.

Abregez des oeuures de Hierosme Cardan medecin Milanois touchant la Subtilité & Varieté des choses, non encores imprimez...

Deux tragedies Françoises non encores imprimees.

Further, La Croix du Maine mentions alongside the Dialogue de la Vertu a dialogue "de la verité", at that time, along with the Dialogue de la Vertu, "non imprimez". The "second liure des recherches de la pierre Philosophale" may represent a confusion on his part, but for Les Elements Mecaniques, cf. Le Palais des Curieux, p.551, and for the two tragedies, Béroalde's dedication to his friend Le Digne of the Recherches de la pierre philosophale (Les Apprehensions Spirituelles, f.79v°);

Apres que i'eu recuilli ces diuersités d'entre mes premieres oeuures, ie m'auisé de vous donner deux tragedies: mais soudain ie changé de conseil, les reseruant au temps que vous ferés voir les vostres, qui conduiront les miennes...

91. Cf. Saulnier, "Etude sur Béroalde", pp.228-9.

92. Cf. Nicéron, Mémoires..., ed.cit., XXXIV p.225;

En 1593. il fut fait Chanoine de S.Gratien de Tours, & les Registres de cette Cathedrale datent sa réception du 3. Novembre de cette année.

93. La Diane de Georges de Montemaior. Diuisee en trois parties, & traduites d'Espagnol en François. Reueuë & corrigee outre les precedentes impressions, comme il est mentionné en l'Epistre Liminaire, Tours, Claude de Montr'oeil, & Iean Richer, 1592. Cf. Frédéric Lachèvre, "Une édition (1592) de la Diane de Montemayor, Traduite en français, Restituée à Béroalde de Verville", in Bulletin du Bibliophile (1925) 1er mai 1925, pp.233-7.

94. Les Avantures de Floride, Histoire Françoise. En laquelle on peut voir les differens evenements d'Amour, de Fortune & d'Honneur, & combien sont en fin agreables les fruicts de la VERTV, Tours , Iamet Mettayer, 1592 (British Library 245 d. 37). This edition was unknown to Saulnier, who mistakenly gives the date of the first edition as 1593 ("Etude sur Béroalde", p.316).

95. Cf. Colletet, La Vie de Béroalde de Verville, loc.cit., p.65;

Ce fut luy mesme qui composa encore ce fameux Roman des Avantures de Floride divisé en quatre Parties...beaux, chastes et florissants ouvrages qui furent receus de toute la France à bras ouverts, et spécialement des courtisans et des dames qui en firent toutes leurs délices, et peut-estre qu'ils seroient encore ordinairement entre nos mains, si la belle Astrée ne l'eust enfin emporté sur la belle Floride...

Colletet goes on to add "comme d'autres ensuite de nostre tems, dans la pensée de quelques-uns l'emportent aussy sur toutes les deux", but the place he gives Béroalde as a precursor of D'Urfé is one that has never received serious critical attention. Gustave Reynier (Le Roman Sentimental avant l'Astrée, Paris, Armand Colin, 1908) does no more than give the Floride a cursory mention.

96. These editions are numerous. We simply note here those represented in the collections of the British Library and the Bibliothèque Nationale.

1. Premiere Partie des Avantures de Floride. En ceste Histoire Françoise on peut voir les differens euenemens d'Amour, de Fortune & d'Honneur, & combien sont en fin agreables les fruits de la VERTV. Reueuë & augmentee, Tours, Iamet Mettayer, 1594 (B.N. Rés. Y^2 1640)

2. Seconde Partie des Avantures de Floride. En laquelle, outre la suitte de l'Histoire, se rencontrent diuers succez Vertueux. Reueuë & augmentee, Tours, Iamet Mettayer, 1594 (British Library 245 d. 38)

3. Seconde Partie des Avantures de Floride. En laquelle, outre la suitte de l'Histoire, se rencontrent diuers succez Vertueux. Reueuë & augmentee, Tours, George Drobet, 1594 (B.N. Rés. Y^2 1641)

4. Seconde Partie des Avantures de Floride. En laquelle, outre la suitte de l'Histoire, se rencontrent diuers succez Vertueux, Rouen, Thomas Mallard, 1594 (B.N. Y^2 75039)

5. Troisieme Partie des Avantures de Floride. En laquelle on recognoist par euenements diuers les punitions de ceux qui ont voulu contrevenir à L'HONNEUR, Tours, Iamet Mettayer, 1594 (British Library 245 d. 38)

6. Troisiesme Partie des Avantures de Floride. En laquelle on recognoist par euenements diuers les punitions de ceux qui ont voulu contreuenir à L'HONNEUR, Rouen, Thomas Mallard, 1594 (B.N. Y^2 75040)

7. Troisieme Partie des Avantures de Floride. En laquelle on recognoist par euenemens diuers les punitions de ceux qui ont voulu contrevenir à l'Honneur. De l'inuention de Beroalde de Veruille. Reueu, corrigé & augmenté par le mesme Autheur, Rouen, Raphaël du Petit Val, 1601 (B.N. Rés. Y^2 1642)

8. Quatriesme Partie des Avantures de Floride, Qui Est L'Infante Determinee. Où se voyent plusieurs trophees de la VERTV triomphante du Vice. De l'inuention de Beroalde de Veruille. Reueu, corrigé & augmenté Par le mesme Autheur, Rouen, Raphaël du Petit Val, 1601 (B.N. Rés. Y^2 1643)

9. Quatriesme Partie des Avantures de Floride, Qui Est L'Infante Determinee. Où se voyent plusieurs trophees de la VERTV triomphante du Vice. De l'inuention de Beroalde de Veruille. Reueu, corrigé & augmenté par le mesme Autheur, Rouen, Theodore Reinsart, 1601 (British Library 245 d. 39)

10. Cinquiesme Partie des Avantures de Floride, Qui Est le Cabinet de Minerve. Auquel sont plusieurs singularitez. Figures. Tableaux. Antiques. Recherches saintes. Remarques serieuses. Où se voyent plusieurs trophees de la VERTV triomphante du Vice. De l'inuention de Beroalde de Veruille. Reueu, corrigé & augmenté par le mesme Autheur, Rouen, Raphaël du Petit Val, 1601 (British Library 245 d. 39)

Le Cabinet de Minerve had first appeared in 1596 (Le Cabinet de Minerve. Auquel Sont Plusieurs Singularités. Figures. Tableaux. Antiques. Recherches saintes. Remarques serieuses. Obseruations amoureuses. Subtilités agreables. Rencontres joyeuses & quelques histoires meslees és auantures de la Sage Fenisse patron du DEVOIR. Par Beroalde de Verville, Tours, Sebastien Molin, 1596 (British Library 1080 c. 8); also Paris, Matthieu Guillemot, 1596 (B.N. Rés. Z. 2815)). There are further editions in 1597 (Rouen, Guillaume Vidal; B.N. Rés. Z. 2816), and 1601 (Rouen, Raphaël du Petit Val; B.N. Rés. Z. 2817).

97. Cf. Le Restablissement de Troye, Auec lequel parmy les hazards des armes, se voyent les Amours d'Aesionne; ses jalousies, desespoirs, esperances, changemens & passions que les succés balancent par la VERTV. De l'inuention de Beroalde de Veruille, Tours, Sebastien Molin, 1597 (Arsenal 8° B 17506) (nota: Les Amours D'Aesionne..., Paris, Matthieu Guillemot, 1597 (B.N. Rés. Y^2 1465) is a reimpression of the same work, and has the running title Le Restablissement de Troyes(sic); it is itself also printed with the imprint 1598 (Arsenal 8° B 17346));

La Pucelle d'Orleans Restituee par Beroalde de Verville. Sous le sujet de cette magnanime Pucelle est representée une FILLE vaillante, chaste, sçavante & BELLE, Paris, Matthieu Guillemot, 1599 (Arsenal 8°

B 17893); also Tours, Sebastien Molin, 1599 (B.N. Rothschild VI 8(bis). 63)
and L'Histoire d'Herodias, Tiree des Monumens de l'Antiquité. Icy se verront les effais de l'impudence effrenee apres le vice attirans les punitions diuines sur les esprits de rebellion, Tours, Sebastien Molin, 1600 (B.N. Y^{2} 42082).

98. Les deux Liures de la Constance de Iust. Lipsius: Esquels en forme de deuis familier est discouru des afflictions, & principalement des publiques, & comme il se faut resoudre à les supporter, Tours, Iamet Mettayer, 1592. See further below, Part III chapter I pp.268-9.

99. De la Sagesse, Livre Premier. Auquel il est traicté du Moyen de paruenir au parfaict estat de bien viure, remedier aux afflictions, embrasser la Constance, & trouuer l'entier contentement selon l'institution DIVINE. Par Beroalde de Verville, Tours, Iamet Mettayer, 1593. See further below, Part III chapter I pp.269-74.

100. La Muse Celeste de Beroalde de Veruille, Tours, Iamet Mettayer, 1593.

101. Les Tenebres, Qui Sont les Lamentations de Ieremie. Par le Sieur de Veruille, Paris, Matthieu Guillemot, 1599 (see above, note 57).

102. Le Tableau des Riches Inventions Couuertes du voile des feintes Amoureuses, qui sont representees dans le Songe de Poliphile Desvoilees des ombres du Songe, & subtilement exposees par Beroalde, Paris, Matthieu Guillemot, 1600; and L'Histoire Veritable, ou le Voyage des Princes Fortunez. Divisee en IIII. Entreprises. Par Beroalde de Verville, Paris, Pierre Chevalier, 1610 (also Paris, Claude de la Tour, 1610). "Oeuure steganographique", this too is announced as

"contenant sous le plaisant voile des discours d'Amour, tout ce qu'il y a de plus exquis és secrets recherchez par les curieux des bonnes sciences"(Le Voyage des Princes Fortunez, a iiij r^{o})

On Le Voyage, "chef d'oeuvre de la littérature hermétique", cf. Albert-Marie Schmidt, "Voyage de l'Alchimiste Béroalde", in Etudes sur le XVIe siècle, Paris, Albin Michel, 1967, pp.237-40.

103. L'Histoire des Vers qui filent la Soye. En cette Serodokimasie ou recherche de ces Vers est discouru de leur naturel, gouuernement, utilité, plaisir & profit qu'ils raportent, Tours, Michel Sifleau, 1600. Cf. Henri Clouzot, "La Sériculture dans Béroalde de Verville", in RSS III (1915), pp.281-6.

104. Cf. Albert-Marie Schmidt, introduction to Le Songe de Poliphile, Club des libraires de France, 1963, p.xvi, reference to

Béroalde de Verville, cet incurable songe-creux...

The formula recalls the same author's La Poésie Scientifique..., ed.cit., p.403;

Béroalde de Verville, cet étonnant polygraphe dont l'existence ne fut jamais qu'une longue impatience...

105. Cf. Le Palais des Curieux, p.22;

...graces à Dieu, la poësie Françoise ne me couste gueres, ie suis tousiours prest pour en faire eschaper quelque piece...

106. Cf. the terms of the preface to Les Apprehensions Spirituelles (addressed to René Crespin, Seigneur du Gast), a ij r^{o} - v^{o}; du Gast's support would appear to be crucial -

...me voyant destourné par les cruautez de ma fortune, qui me manioit auec tant de trauerses, au lieu d'vne braue resolution, ie mettois presque en mon courage vn lasche desespoir...tant qu'en fin, presage certain de ma felicité, regardant la balance de mes desseins, vous auez fait que mon auanture ait incliné du meilleur costé, me prestant aide & faueur, non seulement en mes recherches: mais aussi à ce qui est

de la commodité qui nous aide à passer en ce monde. Quoy voyant, & m'asseurant d'vne si heureuse conduite, vous ayant pour Moecene, i'ay tanté ce que les plus hardis oserent iamais, y estant excité par le desir de vertu, que vous auez mis en moy...

107. Cf. the same preface, a iij r°;
...i'ay arresté de vous offrir cette diuersité tiree de mes desseins, faisant icy comme vn peintre, qui ayant plusieurs tableaux, prend à l'aduanture quelques parties d'iceux, & suiuant sa libre fantasie en ordonne vn particulier...

108. Le Palais des Curieux, p.62.

109. Les Discours Philosophiques de Pontus de Tyard, Seigneur de Bissy, et depuis Euesque de Chalon, Paris, Abel l'Angelier, 1587, f.197 r°.

110. Dudley Wilson, French Renaissance Scientific Poetry, p.1.

111. Louange de la Sciance, in Euvres Poetiques de Iaques Peletier Du Mans, Intituléz Louanges. Aveq quelques autres Ecriz du méme Auteur, ancores non publiéz..., Paris, Robert Coulombel, 1581, f.58v°.

112. L'Aritmetique de Iacques Peletier du Mans, departie en 4 Liures, A Theodore De Besze. Reueuë & corrigee, Poitiers, J.H. de Marnef, 1552, ¶iiij v°. Cf. Paul Laumonier, "Un discours inconnu de Peletier du Mans" (Jacobi Peletarii Medici et Mathematici Oratio Pictavii habita, in praelectiones Mathematicas, 1579), in Revue de la Renaissance V (1904), pp.281-303, p.292;
In Numerorum et Figurarum ordine et collocatione omnis Naturae vultus, tanquam in speculo splendidissimo cernitur. Qua contemplatione quid potest fieri jucundius aut delectabilius? Neque enim in hominum mentibus unquam quicquam natum aut conceptum fuit, quod verè ac certò sciri posset, extra Mathematicarum notionem...

113. Cf. The Universe of Pontus de Tyard. A Critical Edition of L'Univers, with Introduction and Notes by John C. Lapp, Ithaca, Cornell U.P., 1950, p.28.

114. Euvres Poetiques..., f.46v°.

115. Cf. Jacques Peletier du Mans, Dialogue de l'Ortografe et Prononciation françoese (1555) suivi de la Réponse de Louis Meigret, édité par L.C. Porter, Geneva, Droz (TLF), 1966.

116. Cf. Le Palais des Curieux, p.280 - "ie me plais à la descouuerte des Etymologies"
Many of the "obiects" which make up the book reflect an interest in the mechanics of language;
e.g. Obiect Premier - Consideration sur ces dictions, Roy, Dauphin, Monsieur, Infante, Duc, &c. pour en vser proprement
Obiect VI - Que signifie Lestes, Contenance, Escroquer, Mattois
Obiect XII - De certaines façons de parler, qui ont esté belles autresfois...
Obiect XXVIII - Sur ce qu'on dit, Il n'y a point de comparaison. Il est retourné à son vomissement
Obiect XXXI - De plusieurs mots vsitez, comme Mieure. Il se chesme. Quel bien seroit s'il n'y auoit qu'vn langage
Obiect XXXVI - Du mot, signifiant les Ordonnances des femmes
Obiect XXXVII - De ce qu'on dict Resuer...
Obiect XLII - De quelques paroles mal dites, & toutesfois receuës
Obiect XLIII - De ces termes, I'ay esté, Suis esté
Obiect XLIIII - Quelque point d'orthographe, & maniere d'escrire
Obiect XLV - De ce mot la Loy Salique

Obiect XLVI - De certaines paroles qu'on ne dit pas bien, & qu'on escrit autrement qu'on ne profere

Obiect XLVII - Remarques de certaines improprietez de parler & escrire, indecentes au langage François...etc.

117. A Monsieur de Saint Gelais, in Jacques Peletier du Mans, Oeuvres Poétiques, publiées d'après l'édition originale de 1547 par Léon Séché. Avec une Notice biographique, un Commentaire et des Notes par Paul Laumonier, Geneva, Slatkine, 1970 (first printed Paris, Revue de la Renaissance, 1904), p.136.

118. Le Palais des Curieux, p.22 (quoted above, note 105).

119. Loc.cit., pp.343-4.

120. It is conceivable that Béroalde may have met Peletier in Paris before the latter's death in 1582. Saulnier thinks that Béroalde may have been in Paris from 1581 ("Etude sur Béroalde", p.222), and in mathematics the two have a common interest.

121. Jean Calvin, Institution de la Religion Chrestienne, I v 1; édition critique avec introduction, notes et variantes publiée par Jean-Daniel Benoît, 5 vols., Paris, Vrin, 1957-63 (edition henceforward referred to as Benoît), I p.68.

122. Cf. François Wendel, Calvin. The Origins and Development of his Religious Thought, translated by Philip Mairet, London, Collins (Fontana Library), 1965, pp.27-37; and Calvin's Commentary on Seneca's De Clementia, with introduction, translation and notes by Ford Lewis Battles and André Malan Hugo, Leiden, E.J.Brill, 1969.

123. Institution, II ii 15; Benoît, II p.40.

124. Institution, II ii 12; Benoît, II p.37.

125. See above, p.xix.

126. Le Palais des Curieux, p.62.

127. Institution, I v 2; Benoît, I p.69.

128. Le Palais des Curieux, p.62.

129. Physica Christiana, siue, de rerum creaturum cognitione & vsu, disputatio e sacrae Scripturae fontibus hausta, & decerpta, Per Lambertum Danaeum, Geneva, apud Petrum Santandreanum, 1576. For Daneau, see below Chapter I note 11.

130. Loc.cit., p.1.

131. Cf. Cicero, De Officiiis II ii 15;

Nec quicquam aliud est philosophia, si interpretari velis, praeter studium sapientiae. Sapientia autem est...rerum divinarum et humanarum causarumque, quibus eae res continentur, scientia.

132. Institution, III xxiii 8; Benoît, III p.443.

133. See below, Part III chapter I note 4.

134. Les Apprehensions Spirituelles, a iij v°. Cf. Montaigne, Essais III ii Du Repentir (ed. Rat, p.784);

...je parle enquerant et ignorant, me rapportant de la resolution, purement et simplement, aux creances communes et legitimes. Je n'enseigne poinct, je raconte.

135. As for instance that of Ronsard (Le Palais, p.375);

Car de rimer, nommer, & la mer ne seroit pas bon, non plus que fer, qui se prononce fair auec eschauffer, combien qu'vn grand poëte en ayt vsé, mais il estoit Vandosmois, le ramage l'y portoit

- or that of Marot (Le Palais, pp.360-1, 362);

...Ie veux venir à ma proposition qui est touchant les improprietez au langage, lesquelles on tolere. Pour estre entendu il faut prendre vn auteur celebre, partant Marot viendra en ieu, ie le choisis pour ce qu'il est és mains d'infinis, & que quelques sages mesmes voudroient iurer presques à ses paroles, ainsi ie batteray le chien deuant le lion: En vn Pseaume il escrit:

Là dedans prendray hardiesse
D'aller de Dieu iusqu'à l'autel, &c.

En François cette transposition n'a point de grace, & toutesfois il en a vsé en plusieurs endroits....

The passage continues, to conclude (p.362);

...Laissons en repos ce doux petit auteur, ie vous asseure que ce n'est pas à luy à qui i'en veux, c'est à d'autres qui me sont eschappez, ie les laisse courir...

For Béroalde's commentary on Du Bartas, see below, chapter I p.2.

136. Such as that of sorcery; cf. Le Palais, p.382;

Surquoy ie m'auise d'vne gentillesse que ie vis faire plusieurs fois à vn berger que le vulgaire ignare estimoit sorcier, à cause d'vne infinité de subtilitez qu'il sçauoit, ie me suis plains de cette folle opinion en la Pucelle d'Orleans...

137. A characteristic passage is the following analysis of the mania for writing (Le Palais, pp.525-6)

Si quelqu'vn est affligé d'vn loup à la iambe, auec infinis artifices, il en destournera la cognoissance: S'il a quelque autre mal ou deffaut, il le cachera de tout son pouuoir, & ce pendant nous faisons au rebours, car nous enrageons tous de faire voir aux yeux de tous nos deffectuositez & inepties, que plusieurs rendent manifestes par le tesmoignage de leurs escrits: Cette insolente inconsideration est cause de tant de brouilleries dont on profane le papier...

The essential, however, is to follow one's nature;

...Pour cela lairrons-nous d'escrire? Non, non, il faut que chaqu'vn iouë son rollet, & tel en iouë plusieurs sans y penser, ou expres, selon que l'esprit le pousse, & qu'il trace apres son contentement: Contentons nous donques ainsi, & si quelqu'vn ne prend plaisir à ce qui nous est agreable, qu'il en cherche ou face pour se delecter, & se retire d'icy, practiquant ailleurs, ou bien qu'il s'aille mirer pour s'admirer en sa beauté.

138. Le Palais, p.10. Cf. Montaigne, Essais II x Des Livres (ed. Rat, p.388);

A mesme que mes resveries se presentent, je les entasse...

139. Le Palais, pp.275-6;

...ie n'ay autre pensée en tout cecy que de contenter mon esprit, qui seme en ces diuersitez des grains, dont quelques vns tombans és fertiles conceptions de quelque bel entendement que i'éueilleray, produiront des fruicts d'admirable reuenu.

140. Le Palais, p.114;

I'en metteray en aduant selon que ma fantasie me le dictera

pp.293-4;

ie me donneray carriere de dire ce que ie remarque en tous sujects

Cf. Montaigne's "Entreprenant de parler indifferemment de tout ce qui se presente à ma fantasie" (Essais I xxvi De l'Institution des Enfants; ed. Rat, p.145), "Mon stile et mon esprit vont vagabondant de mesmes..." (Essais III ix, De la Vanité; ed. Rat, p.973)

Béroalde further borrows Montaigne's assumed indifference to his

subject-matter -

...ie me proumene parmy ces sujets pour la delectation de mon ame... (Le Palais, p.269)

Et bien si cela vous plaist, ayez-le agreable, sinon changeons de ieu(loc.cit., p.283)

...ie ne prends gueres ces matieres à coeur (loc.cit., p.367)

Cf. Montaigne's "fagotage de tant de diverses pieces" (Essais II xxxvii De la ressemblance des enfans aux peres; ed.Rat, p.736), "excremens d'un vieil esprit" (Essais III ix De la Vanité; ed.Rat, p.923), "cette fricassée que je barbouille icy" (Essais III xiii De l'Experience; ed. Rat, p.1056).

141. Essais I xxvi; ed.Rat, p.152.

142. Le Palais des Curieux, p.496.

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PART I - CHAPTER I

1. Albert-Marie Schmidt, "La Doctrine de la Science et la Théologie Calviniste au XVIe siècle", in Foi et Vie N°69 (April 1935), pp.270-85; p.285.

2. Les Cognoissances Necessaires, in Les Apprehensions Spirituelles..., Paris, Iollan, 1583, but with its own title-page, foliation and signatures (and as a separate volume in one copy held by the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal - press-mark 8° B 11054 (Rés.)), title Les Cognoissances Necessaires, poeme contenant plusieurs belles resolutions philosophiques: Avec Le liure de l'ame, & de ses facultez. In the case both of Les Cognoissances and of De l'Ame et de ses facultez which follows it, we shall refer first to the title of the poem (Les Cognoissances abbreviated Les C.N.) and then to the foliation in this sequence. Both our past and future references to the works included in the collection Les Apprehensions Spirituelles are to be understood in the same way, with the single exception of references to the discourse Les Apprehensions Spirituelles and to the preface which precedes it, since this part of the volume alone is foliated and signed separately from the rest.

3. PS I ll.1-4; Reichenberger, I p.9.

4. Le Palais des Curieux, p.501. The passage supplies a curious footnote to the discussion of Du Bartas' use of this type of metaphor in Henri Weber, La Création Poétique au XVIe siècle en France de Maurice Scève à Agrippa d'Aubigné, Paris, Nizet, 1955, p.541 (Chapter VII - "Poésie Cosmique et Philosophique").

5. Les Apprehensions Spirituelles, a iij v^{o}.

6. PS I ll.7-12; Reichenberger, I p.9.

7. Les C.N., f.1r^{o}.

8. Cf. Hymne de l'Eternité, ll.1-6 (Laumonier VIII p.246);

Remply d'un feu divin qui m'a l'ame eschauffée
Je veux mieux que jamais, suivant les pas d'Orphee,
Decouvrir les secretz de Nature & des Cieux,
Recherchez d'un esprit qui n'est point ocieux:
Je veux, s'il m'est possible, attaindre à la louange
De celle qui jamais pour les ans ne se change...

9. Institution, II iii 14; Benoît, II p.74.

10. Institution, I xvi 4; Benoît, I p.226.

11. See above, Introduction note 129. For Daneau cf. Albert-Marie Schmidt, art.cit., and Paul de Félice, Lambert Daneau (de Baugency-sur-Loire) Pasteur et Professeur en Théologie 1530-1595. Sa Vie, Ses Ouvrages, Ses Lettres Inédites, Paris, Fischbacher, 1882.

12. Physica Christiana, p.23.

13. Les C.N., f.1v^{o}. Cf. Seneca, Quaestiones Naturales I 7 - the mind that has turned to good and spurned evil
petit altum et in interiorem naturae sinum venit.

14. A Ceulx qui Blament les Mathematiques, in Jacques Peletier du Mans, Oeuvres Poétiques, ed. Laumonier, p.105.

15. Les C.N., f.1v^{o}.

16. PS I ll.25-30; Reichenberger, I p.9.

17. Hymne de l'Eternité, ll.127-34; Laumonier VIII p.254. Laumonier indicates the source in Marullus -

Ipsa eadem pars, totum eadem: sine fine, sine ortu,
Tota ortus, finisque aequè, discrimine nullo
Tota teres, nullaque tui non consona parte.

18. Cf. Microcosme I ll.7-12, 17-22 (ed. Giudici, pp.147-8);

Premier en son Rien clos se celoit en son Tout,
Commencement de soy sans principe, et sans bout,
Inconnu, fors à soy connoissant toute chose,
Comme toute de soy, par soy, en soy enclose:
Masse de Deïté en soymesme amassee,
Sans lieu, et sans espace en terme compassee...
Essence pleine en soy d'infinité latente,
Qui seule en soy se plaît, et seule se contente
Non agente, impassible, immuable, invisible
Dans son Eternité, comme incomprehensible,
Et qui de soy en soy estant sa jouïssance
Consistoit en Bonté, Sapience, et Puissance.

19. Cf. Guy Lefèvre de la Boderie, La Galliade, ou de la Revolution des Arts et Sciences, Paris, Guillaume Chaudiere, 1578, f.52r°;

Mais Dieu qui est par soy, en soy, de soy content,
Qui seul se sent, se voit, seul se meut, & s'entend,
Qui a tous biens en soy, & en soy se repose,
N'auoit point de besoin qu'en plein iour fust esclose
Du Monde la rondeur: il est son iour, son oeil,
Son Air, sa Terre & Mer, son Ciel & son Soleil...

20. Romans XI 36.

21. Cf. Augustine, De Trinitate I 6 (MPL XLII c.827); Aquinas, Summa Theologica I q.46 a.1.

22. Institution, II viii 2; Benoît, II p.136.

23. Institution, I xiv 3; Benoît, I p.187.

24. Cf. Les C.N., f.3r°;

Or le Dieu tout puissant cette infinie essence,
Qui par son seul vouloir nous donne cognoissance
De ce qu'est sa grandeur, perpetuellement,
Demeurant sans changer le mesme egalement,
Qu'il a tousiours esté en l'égalité belle,
Qui seule & simple estant est en estre eternelle,
Créa cet existant...

f.8r°;

Luy, qui est tout en tout, & des causes la cause,
Qui par sa volonté de nature dispose,
Qui a toute vertu, toute force & pouuoir,
Qui sans estre repris fait tout à son vouloir...

f.11v°;

...le grand suffisant cette essence sublime,
Qui soy-mesme de soy par soy mesme s'anime,
Trine vn non distingué...

f.14v°;

...d'autant qu'vn seul Dieu est le bien de soy mesme,
Et qu'il est seul assés, pour estre ce qu'il ayme...

In themselves of course these are further reflections of the commonplace. Cf. Du Monin, L'Uranologie, f.45r°-v°;

Ainsi donc que de DIEV la redoutable Essence,
Franche du point final, & du point de naissance,

Franche du clos des Tems, franche du bors du lieu
Innombrable, Inuisible, Infini, bref tout DIEV,
Seul en tout, tout en soi, tout seul sans tout, demeure
Bien que ce Tout du Tout sans lui n'est Tout, vne heure...

and Du Chesne, Le Grand Miroir du Monde, p.2;

LE PREMIER, le dernier, DIEV, de tousiours vn mesme,
Sans principe, sans fin, non cognu qu'à soy-mesme,
Qui est, estoit, sera apres, auant tout temps,
Tout estant dedans lui, L'ESTRE de tous estans.

25. Les C.N., f.2v°. Cf. Romans XI 33;

O altitudo divitiarum sapientiae, et scientiae Dei: quam incomprehensibilia sunt iudicia eius, et investigabiles viae eius!

This in its turn becomes part of a definition. Cf. Raymond Sebond, La Theologie Naturelle...en laquelle par l'ordre de Nature, est demonstrée la verité de la Foy Chrestienne & Catholique, traduicte nouuellement de Latin en François, Paris, Gilles Gourbin, 1569 (Montaigne's translation), f.18r°;

Somme Dieu est vne mer, vn gouffre & vn profond abysme d'essence, sans fons, sans bord & sans mesure, & qui n'est tenu de son estre à personne. Ainsi est-il premier, tres-simple, infiniment eloigné de non estre, & par mesme moien tres-actuel, tres-parfait, tres-immuable & tres-immortel

and also Le Premier Curieux of Pontus de Tyard (Les Discours Philosophiques, Paris, Abel l'Angelier, 1587, ff.200v°-201r°);

Infini (dit Hieromnime) n'est autre chose que Dieu eternel, en infinie prouidence, & infinie eternité, qui a creé & composé ce Monde, & qui le comprend, contient, & soustient en soy, outre l'apprehension de tout entendement humain. Car rien ne le peut comprendre ny contenir, d'autant qu'il comprent & contient tout & est soymesme, a soymesme son lieu: comme disoit le disert Chrysostome.

26. Les C.N., f.6r°.

27. Institution, III xxiii 8; Benoît, III p.443.

28. Les C.N., f.2r°.

29. Cf. Timaeus 29d-29e, in the translation by Louis le Roy (Le Timee de Platon Traittant de la Nature du Monde, & de l'Homme, & de ce qui concerne universelement tant l'ame que le corps des deux..., Paris, Michel de Vascosan, 1551, f.22r°);

Disons donc quele cause a meu l'autheur de tout cecy à chercher nouuelle generation, & establir le monde. Il estoit bon. Celuy qui est bon ne porte enuie à autruy: parquoy n'ayant point d'enuie, il a uoulu faire toutes choses à luy semblables. Quelconques prendra ceste cause pour la principale de la creation du monde, certainement il iugera tresbien...

Cf. also Dionysius the Areopagite, De divinis nominibus IV 1 (Les Oeuvres du divin St.Denys Areopagite..., Paris, Iean de Heuqueville, (1608), f.155v°);

Car tout ainsi que ce Soleil visible, non point par discours de raison ni de propos deliberé, mais par son estre mesme esclaire toutes les choses qui selon leurpropre nature peuuent participer de sa lumiere, de mesme aussi le Bien (qui est par dessus le Soleil tout autant que l'archetype est excellemment par dessus son craion barbouillé) par sa propre existence enuoye proportionément à toutes choses les rayons de sa Bonté vniuerselle. Par ces rayons vindrent en estre & subsisterent toutes intelligibles & intellectuelles essences puissances, & actions...

- and the schoolmen's distich on the causes of creation;

Efficiens causa Deus est, formalis idea,
Finalis bonitas, materialis hyle

(quoted in A.Vacant, Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique, 15 vols., Paris, 1899-1950, III c.2087).

Du Plessis Mornay takes up the theme in his De la Verité de la Religion Chrestienne, Anvers, Plantin, 1581, p.234;

Ains comme ce soing est vn rayon de Bonté; celuy qui est la Bonté mesmes, & source de tout ce qui est de bon en l'Vniuers, espandra ce soing par sa bonté sur l'Vniuers...

30. Institution, I v 6; Benoît, I p.74 .

31. Les C.N., f.2r°.

32. Cf. Augustine, De Genesi contra Manicheos I ii 4 (MPL XXXIV c.175) (reference given by Benoît, I p.185);

...Causas enim voluntatis Dei scire quaerunt, cum voluntas Dei omnium quae sunt, ipsa sit causa. Si enim habet causam voluntas Dei, est aliquid quod antecedat voluntatem Dei, quod nefas est credere. Qui ergo dicit, Quare fecit Deus coelum et terram? respondendum est ei, Quia voluit. Voluntas enim Dei causa est coeli et terrae, et ideo major est voluntas Dei quam coelum et terram. Qui autem dicit, Quare voluit facere coelum et terram? majus aliquid quaerit quam est voluntas Dei: nihil autem majus inveniri potest.

33. As for instance by Sebond (La Theologie Naturelle, ed.cit., f.23r° - Chapter XVII, "Que Dieu à crée le monde par sa simple volonté non par aucune necessité naturelle").

34. Institution, I xiv 1; Benoît, I p.185.

35. Les C.N., f.8r°.

36. Institution, III xxiii 8; Benoît, III p.442 .

37. Summa Theologica I q.8 a.1; as quoted in Vacant, Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique, III c.2091.

38. Institution, III xx 40; Benoît, III p.383.

39. PS VII ll.143-8; Reichenberger, I pp.170-1 .

40. Les C.N., f.6v°.

41. Cf. Arthur O. Lovejoy, The Great Chain of Being. A Study of the History of an Idea, Cambridge(Mass.), Harvard U.P., 1936; and E.M.W. Tillyard, The Elizabethan World Picture, Harmondsworth, Penguin Books, 1963 (first published London, Chatto & Windus, 1943), esp. chapters 4 and 5.

Other poets use the imagery, but without Béroalde's particular emphasis. Cf. Peletier du Mans, Le Parnase (L'Amour des Amours, ed. cit., p.71);

...Par la, des choses la grand' cheine
Etofee de dur metal,
S'antretient d'un ordre fatal
Antrenoue d'amour e heine

and Du Chesne, La Morocosmie, ou, De la Folie, Vanité, et Inconstance du Monde, Auec deux chants Doriques, de l'Amour celeste, & du Souuerain bien, Lyon, Jean de Tournes, 1583, p.44;

Cest accord mutuel les Elements enchaine,
(Diuers en qualités) d'une eternelle chaine...

42. Institution, I xvi 1; Benoît, I p.221. Cf. St.Matthew X 29-30;

Nonne duo passeres asse vaeneunt: et unus ex illis non cadet super terram sine Patre vestro?

Vestri autem capilli capitis omnes numerati sunt.

43. A Ceulx qui Blament les Mathematiques, in Jacques Peletier du Mans,

Oeuvres Poétiques, ed. Laumonier, p.105.

44. Jean de Meun, Le Roman de la Rose, ll.16745-54; ed. Lecoy, III pp.2-3.

45. Hymne de l'Eternité, ll.69-71; Laumonier VIII p.250.

46. PS I ll.335-8; Reichenberger, I p.17.

47. Recherches de la pierre philosophale, f.82v°.

48. Les C.N., f.2r°.

49. Institution, I v 5; Benoît, I pp.73-4.

50. Les C.N., f.7r°.

51. Cf. on this theme Weber, La Création poétique..., pp.609ff. For the link with d'Aubigné, see above, Introduction note 61.

52. Les C.N., f.7v°.

53. Cf. Hymne du Ciel, ll.15-8 (Laumonier VIII pp.141-2);

O CIEL net, pur, & beau, haute maison de DIEU,
Qui prestes en ton sein à toutes choses lieu,
Et qui roules si tost ta grand'boule esbranlée
Sur deux essieux fichez...

54. On the fortunes of the Copernican theory in sixteenth-century France, cf. Jean Plattard, "Le Système de Copernic dans la littérature française au XVIe siècle", in RSS I (1913), pp.220-37; but more especially Beverley S.Ridgely, "Mellin de Saint Gelais and the first vernacular references to the Copernican system in France", in Journal of the History of Ideas XXIII (1962), pp.107-16, by which Plattard's article is largely superseded. For the attitude of Pontus de Tyard, cf. J.C.Lapp, "Pontus de Tyard and the Science of his Age", in Romanic Review XXXVIII (1947), pp.16-22. Du Bartas' rejection of the theories of Copernicus is well-known (cf. PS IV ll.121-64; Reichenberger, I pp.92-3).

On Bruno, cf. Frances A.Yates, Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1964, especially pp.190ff. (the terms of reference of this study are sufficiently indicated by its title). There is a recapitulation of Bruno's cosmological ideas in Paul-Henri Michel, La Cosmologie de Giordano Bruno, Paris, Herrmann, 1962 (translated into English as The Cosmology of Giordano Bruno, London, Methuen, 1973). Cf. also Lovejoy, The Great Chain of Being..., Cambridge (Mass.), Harvard U.P., reissued 1964, pp.116-21.

55. See above, pp.ix-x.

56. Cf. Simon Goulart, Commentaires et annotations sur la Sepmaine de la Creation du Monde de Guillaume de Saluste Seigneur Du Bartas, Paris, Timothee Iouan, 1583, f.21v°;

NATVRE. Ce mot se prend en diuerses significations entre les Theologiens, Medecins & Philosophes. Par fois il se rapporte à la sagesse de Dieu, qui a donnné (sic) estre à toutes choses & les conserue ...Il signifie aussi vne substance incorporelle, comme la Nature Diuine & Angelique: ou corporelle, comme la Nature humaine. La qualité nee & emprainte en chasque chose. Item, le meslange & temperament des quatre elemens. Plus l'inclination & adresse d'esprit d'vn chacun...

For a further multiple definition, cf. Lemnius, Les occultes merveilles et secretz de nature, passage quoted in D.B.Wilson, Ronsard Poet of Nature, Manchester, Manchester U.P., 1961, p.59.

57. Les C.N., f.7v°.

58. Les C.N., ff.7v°-8r°.

59. Cf. Metamorphoses I ll.5-88; and De Rerum Natura V ll.416-508. For the influence of Lucretius in particular, cf. Simone Fraisse, Une conquête du rationalisme - l'influence de Lucrèce en France au seizième siècle, Paris, Nizet, 1962.

60. PS I ll.25-6; Reichenberger, I p.9.

61. Ambrose, Hexaemeron libri sex I ii; MPL XIV c.135.

62. Cf. Institution, I xiv 1 (Benoît, I p.184);
Que nous ne soyons point troublez en cest endroit de la moquerie des gaudisseurs, qui s'esmerveillent pourquoy Dieu ne s'est plustost advisé de créer le ciel et la terre, mais a laissé passer un terme infini qui pouvoit faire beaucoup de millions d'aages, demeurant cependant oisif, et qu'il a commencé à se mettre en oeuvre seulement depuis six mille ans...

63. PS I ll.31-40; Reichenberger, I p.10.

64. PS I ll.223-88; Reichenberger, I pp.14-6.

65. Cf. Staub, Le Curieux Désir, pp.85ff.

66. Microcosme I ll.39-42; ed. Giudici, p.148.

67. Les C.N., f.1v°.

68. Cf. Timaeus 31b sqq.

69. For the early impact of Platonism in France, the standard study remains Abel Lefranc, "Le Platonisme et la littérature en France à l'époque de la Renaissance (1500-1550)", in Grands Ecrivains français de la Renaissance, Paris, Champion, 1914 (reissued 1969), pp.63-137.

70. For a discussion of this theme in its application to the poetry of the Pléiade, cf. Robert Valentine Merrill with Robert J.Clements, Platonism in French Renaissance Poetry, New York, New York U.P., 1957.

71. Quoted above, note 29, q.v.

72. Les C.N., ff.1v°-2r°.

73. Ambrose, Hexaemeron I ii; MPL XIV c.135.

74. Ibid.

75. PS I ll.205-22; Reichenberger, I p.14.

76. Cf. St.John I 1-3;
In principio erat Verbum, et Verbum erat apud Deum, et Deus erat Verbum.
Hoc erat in principio apud Deum.
Omnia per ipsum facta sunt: et sine ipso factum est nihil, quod factum est.
Cf. also Calvin, Commentaries on the first book of Moses called Genesis, translated from the original Latin, and compared with the French edition, by the Rev. John King M.A., 2 vols., Edinburgh, For the Calvin Translation Society, 1847, I p.74;
3. And God said. Moses now, for the first time, introduces God in the act of speaking, as if he had created the mass of heaven and earth without the Word. Yet John testifies that "without him nothing was made of the things which were made", (John I 3). And it is certain

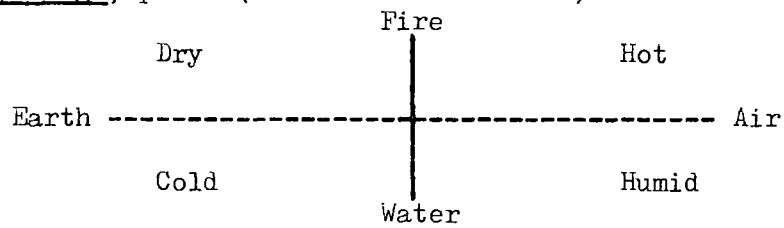
that the world had been begun by the same efficacy of the Word by which it was completed...

77. PS I ll.215-8, 223-6; Reichenberger, I pp.14-5.

78. Les C.N., f.2r°.

79. Cf. Plato, Timaeus 49b-49c; Aristotle, De Generatione et Corruptione II 4; Ovid, Metamorphoses XV ll.244-51. The idea is a topos of Renaissance science as it had been of that of antiquity, and the echoes in literature are numerous. Cf. Merrill and Clements, Platonism in French Renaissance Poetry, pp.4-10; and D.B.Wilson, "Contraries in sixteenth century scientific writing in France", in Essays presented to C.M. Girdlestone University of Durham King's College Newcastle upon Tyne, 1960, pp.351-68.

80. The four elements are thought of as sharing the four qualities of hot, dry, cold and humid. Earth is cold and dry, water cold and humid, air hot and humid, fire hot and dry. The elements are united and transformed one into another via their common qualities; there is at once an "accord" and a "discord" between them. The concept may be expressed diagrammatically as follows (after W.Ganzenmüller, L'Alchimie au Moyen Age, p.116 (as referred to above, Introduction note 67));



The quality in any one element allowing union with another is that element's primary quality, the remaining one the secondary. See further below (main text), pp.22-3.

81. PS II ll.41-6; Reichenberger, I p.31.

82. Les C.N., f.2r°.

83. Romans XI 33. Vulgate text cited above, note 25.

84. Les C.N., f.2v°.

85. PS II ll.47-50; Reichenberger, I p.31.

86. Microcosme I ll.55-62; ed. Giudici, pp.148-9.

87. Pierre Viret, Exposition de la Doctrine de la Foy Chrestienne..., Geneva, Jean Rivery, 1564, p.219.

88. Les C.N., f.2v°.

89. De la Nature des Dieux de Marc Tul. Ciceron...traduits en François, par Guy Le Fevre, De la Boderie..., Paris, Abel l'Angelier, 1581, f.57r°.

90. PS II ll.231-44; Reichenberger, I pp.36-7.

91. PS II ll.27-30; Reichenberger, I p.30.

92. Les C.N., f.2v°.

93. Recherches de la pierre philosophale, f.84v°.

94. Loc.cit., f.86r°.

95. Loc.cit., f.118v°. See further below, Part II chapter II note 74.

96. Metamorphoses I ll.18-20.

97. Bérenger de la Tour d'Albenas, Le Siecle d'Or. Et autres Vers diuers, Lyon, Jean de Tournes & Guillaume Gazeau, 1551, p.7. Cf. Schmidt, La Poésie Scientifique..., ed.cit., pp.51-2.

98. L'Amour des Amours, ed.cit., pp.73-4.

99. PS I ll.226-31; Reichenberger, I p.15.

100. Les C.N., ff.2v°-3r°.

101. Loc.cit., f.8r°.

102. Melanchthon, Doctrinae Physicae Elementa, sive Initia..., Lyon, Jean de Tournes, 1552, p.200. Melanchthon is quoting Plato (cf. Laws IV 709b).

103. Du Plessis Mornay, De la Verité de la Religion Chrestienne..., p.298.

104. Les C.N., f.8r°.

105. Les C.N., f.8r°-v°.

106. Cf. Hymne du Ciel, ll.87-8 (Laumonier VIII p.147);

Tu n'as en ta grandeur commencement, ne bout,
Tu es tout dedans toy, de toutes choses tout...

and Hymne de l'Eternité, ll.127-8 (Laumonier VIII p.254);

Tu es toute dans toy, ta partie, & ton tout,
Sans nul commencement, sans meillieu, ne sans bout...

107. Historia Naturalis II i.

108. Les C.N., f.8v°.

109. Cf. G.Verbeke, L'Evolution de la doctrine de pneuma du stoïcisme à S.Augustin, Louvain, 1945, p.153; references cited to Seneca, Quaestiones Naturales, VI 16 and VI 24. For the stoics the world is living being, and stoic philosophy fuses the notion of God with the notion of an animating principle within nature. Verbeke summarises Seneca's argument. The principle of life lies within the centre of the earth as it lies within the centre of the human being, and it is because they are nearer to this principle that the deep waters of the oceans are in perpetual movement. Plants, so long as they have their roots in the earth, thrive and grow, in communion with this same principle; but once pulled up, they wither and die.

110. PS I ll.339-52; Reichenberger, I pp.17-8.

111. De la Nature des Dieux, f.42r° (De Natura Deorum, II xi 30). Lucretius (De Rerum Natura, V ll.235-46) had used the same argument from part to whole, but to prove the mortality of the heavens.

112. Les C.N., ff.8v°-9r°.

113. De la Nature des Dieux, f.42v° (De Natura Deorum, II xii 32).

114. Les C.N., f.9r°.

115. Raymond Sebond, La Theologie Naturelle, ed.cit., f.98r°.

116. Les C.N., f.9r°.

117. PS VI ll.437-44; Reichenberger, I pp.149-50.

118. Microcosme I ll.91-4; ed. Giudici, p.150.

119. Cf. La Galliade, ff.51v°-52r°.

120. Loc.cit., f.52r°.

121. Les C.N., f.9r°.

122. Loc.cit., f.9r°-v°.

123. Loc.cit., f.9v°.

124. Loc.cit., ff.9v°-11r°.

125. Loc.cit., f.9v°.

126. See above, Introduction note 19.

127. Les C.N., f.9v°.

127a. Simon Goulart, Commentaires et annotations sur la Sepmaine..., Paris, Iodan, 1583, f.19v°.

128. Ibid.

129. Le Grand Miroir du Monde...Deuxiesme edition, reueuë, corrigee & augmentee en diuers endroits, & d'vn liure entier, par l'Auteur. A la fin de chasque liure sont de nouueau adioustees amples annotations & obseruations sur le texte...par S.G.S., Lyon, pour les heritiers d'Eustache Vignon, 1593, p.417.

130. Le Grand Miroir..., Lyon, Barthelemi Honorat, 1587, p.169.

131. PS I ll.260-1; Reichenberger, I p.15.

132. Cf. for instance the ninth century Islamic alchemist and doctor Rhazes, for whom the operation of the Philosophers' stone depends upon the separation of the elements;

Le travail de notre pierre ne consiste qu'en la séparation et conjonction des éléments; car dans notre sublimation l'élément aqueux froid et humide se change en élément terreux sec et chaud. Il s'ensuit que la séparation des éléments de notre pierre, n'est pas vulgaire, mais philosophique; notre seule sublimation très parfaite suffit en effet à séparer les éléments; dans notre pierre il n'y a que la forme de deux éléments, l'eau et la terre, qui contiennent virtuellement les deux autres. La Terre renferme virtuellement le Feu, à cause de sa sécheresse; l'Eau renferme virtuellement l'Air à cause de son humidité. Il est donc bien évident que si notre Pierre n'a en elle que la forme de deux éléments elle les renferme virtuellement tous les quatre...

(as quoted in Albert Poisson, Cinq traités d'Alchimie des plus grands philosophes - Paracelse, Albert le Grand, Roger Bacon, R.Lulle, Arn. de Villeneuve, Paris, 1890, pp.118-9).

On Rhazes cf. E.J.Holmyard, Alchemy, Harmondsworth, Penguin Books, 1957, pp.86-92; on the importance of Rhazes as doctor, cf. E.Ruth Harvey, The Inward Wits. Psychological Theory in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, London, The Warburg Institute, 1975, pp.9-13.

133. Cf. Ovid, Metamorphoses XV ll.239-41;

Quattor aeternus genitalia corpora mundus
Continet. ex illis duo sunt onerosa suoque

Pondere in inferius, tellus atque unda, feruntur...

and Lucretius, De Rerum Natura V ll.495-503;

Sic igitur terrae concreto corpore pondus
Constitit atque omnis mundi quasi limus in imum
Confluxit gravis et subsedit funditus ut faex;
Inde mare inde aer inde aether ignifer ipse
Corporibus liquidis sunt omnia pura relicta,
Et leviora aliis alia, et liquidissimus aether
Atque levissimus aerias super influit auras,
Nec liquidum corpus turbantibus aeris auris
Commiscet...

134. Les C.N., f.9v°.

135. Genesis I 6.

136. Les C.N., f.10r°.

137. PS II ll.1027-38; Reichenberger, I p.58. Cf. Luther, Lectures on Genesis I 6, in Luther's Works, [54] vols., Saint Louis/Philadelphia, Concordia Publishing House/Fortress Press, 1955 - (continuing); I (Lectures on Genesis Chapters 1-5, edited by Jaroslav Pelikan, Saint Louis, Concordia, 1958) p.26 -

...But what is most remarkable is that Moses already makes three divisions. He places the firmament in the middle, between the waters. I might readily imagine that the firmament is the uppermost mass of all and that the waters which are in suspension, not over but under the heaven, are the clouds which we observe, so that the waters separated from the waters would be understood as the clouds which are separated from our waters on the earth. But Moses says in plain words that the waters were above and below the firmament. Here I, therefore, take my reason captive and subscribe to the Word even though I do not understand it.

138. Les C.N., f.10v°.

139. Cf. Calvin, Commentaries on...Genesis, ed.cit., pp.78-81.

140. Les C.N., f.10v°.

141. Pliny, Historia Naturalis XXXVII ii;

Contraria huic causa crystallum facit, gelu vehementiore concreto. Non aliubi certe reperitur, quam ubi maxime hibernae nives rigent: glaciemque esse certum est: unde & nomen Graeci dedere.

Cf. also Goulart, Commentaires et annotations sur la Sepmaine..., f.145r°-v°;

CHRYSTAL, Il y a deux sortes de glace, selon que le froid, qui estraint les eaux est roide ou lasche. L'vne donc qui est la glace ordinaire, encores qu'elle soit dure, toutefois d'autant qu'elle est engendree d'vn froid qui ne dure pas, aussi se fond elle en peu de temps. Mais les eaux qui se congelent par vn froid vehement & fort long, comme par dix ou vingt ans continuels, s'appellent Chrystal. On en trouue quantité és Alpes & en d'autres montagnes...

142. Pierre Viret, Exposition de la doctrine de la Foy Chrestienne..., p.113.

143. Le Premier Curieux, in Les Discours Philosophiques..., f.244r°-v°.

144. Cf. a helpful note in Aristotle, De generatione animalium, with an English translation by A.L.Peck, London/Cambridge(Mass.), Heinemann/ Harvard U.P. (LCL), revised edition 1953, pp.lviii-lix.

145. ΠΛΑΤΩΝΟΣ ΑΠΑΝΤΑ ΤΑΣΩΖΟΜΕΝΑ. Platonis opera quae extant omnia. Ex nova Ioannis Serrani interpretatione..., Geneva, Henri Estienne, 1578, FFFF i v°.

146. De la Nature des Dieux, f.40r°-v° (De Natura Deorum II ix 23-5).

147. Cf. Ambrose, Hexaemeron I viii 29 (MPL XIV c.150); Basil, Homiliae IX in Hexaemeron II vi (MPG XXIX c.43). Further references in Reichenberger, II p.46.

148. PS I ll.293-4, 297-304; Reichenberger, I pp.16-7.

149. Commentaires et annotations sur la Sepmaine, f.20r°.

150. Les C.N., f.10r°. In much of this description the parallel with alchemy continues. The alchemist feels that his processes are imitating those of the world at large, and in his "feu doux" the ideas both of creation and of maintenance are implied. Cf. Béroalde's Recherches de la pierre philosophale, ff.95v°-96r°;

Quand au feu, il est au Soleil, qui le distribue sur tout, estant ne plus ne moins que la bouche du petit fourneau fisical, qui au trauers du vaisseau plain d'air, eschauffe doucement la matiere qu'il contient, aussi cette practique est comme imitation du grand monde sentendant l'vn par l'autre.

151. Le Grand Miroir du Monde, p.46, and also pp.46-7;

...Chaleur contraire au feu qui tout tue & deuore
Chaleur sans qui le chaud n'exerce sa chaleur,
Chaleur sans qui le froid est priué de froideur:
Car comme la chaleur ignee elementaire,
Ceste chaleur celeste au froid n'est point contraire,
Ains dedans soy contient, par outre-passement,
Toutes les qualités d'vn chacun element,
Comme contient tous corps la celeste nature,
Tous mouuemens celui que le ciel nous figure,
Toutes autres couleurs l'esclairante clarté,
Et que tous nombres sont comprins sous l'vnité.

Du Chesne, like Béroalde, distinguishes heat as cosmic principle from heat or fire in its earthly form. Cf. the explanation of "Le Curieux" in Pontus de Tyard's Mantice (Discours Philosophiques, f.146v°);

La chaleur enten ie non ignée, ou aërienne: mais premiere qualité pure, simple & non contraire aux qualitez Elementaires: voire, sans laquelle le froid ne pourroit refroidir, ou la chaleur eschauffer: Brief, contenant d'vne singuliere simplicité les qualitez de tous les Elemens, comme sa lumiere toutes les lumieres, & son mouuement circulaire tous autres mouuemens.

152. Ambrose, Hexaemeron I ix 33; MPL XIV c.153.

153. Cf. PS I ll.459-90; Reichenberger, I pp.21-2.

154. Cf. Pontus de Tyard, Mantice; heat and light are "les deux plus necessaires choses, qui soustiennent & accommodent nostre vie" (Discours Philosophiques, f.146r°-v°.

155. Physica Christiana, pp.205-6.

156. Les C.N., f.10r°-v°.

157. Quoted in W.P.D.Wightman, Science in a Renaissance Society, London, Hutchinson, 1972, p.121;

In the middle of all sits the Sun enthroned. In this most beautiful temple could we place this luminary in any better position from which he can illuminate the whole at once? He is rightly called the Lamp, the Mind, the Ruler, of the Universe; Hermes Trismegistus names him the Visible God, Sophocles' Electra calls him the All-Seeing. So the Sun sits upon a royal throne ruling his children the planets which circle round him...

158. Cf. Ronsard, Hymne de la Justice, ll.423-31 (Laumonier VIII p.67);

Si tost que la JUSTICE en terre fut venüe,
Dessus la Court du Roy longuement s'est tenüe,
Puis, ainsi qu'un rayon du Soleil qui descend
Contre un verre & le perce, & si point ne le fend,
Tant sa claire vertu subtilement est forte,
Comme venant du Ciel: en la semblable sorte
Justice tout d'un coup vivement s'eslança
Dedans ton corps, Prelat, & point ne l'offensa,
Comme chose celeste...

Cf. further Lebègue's note on these lines (Laumonier VIII, deuxième tirage revu et augmenté, 1966, p.365), reference to J.Dagens, "La Métaphore de la Verrière de l'Apocalypse à Rutebeuf et à l'Ecole française", in Revue d'Ascétique et de Mystique, 1949, pp.524-31.

159. PS I ll.483-7; Reichenberger, I p.22.

160. De la Nature des Dieux, f.40v°. Passage quoted above, p.37.

161. De la Nature des Dieux, f.42v° (De Natura Deorum II xii 32).

162. For a discussion of this in the context of the music/spirit theory of Ficino cf. D.P.Walker, Spiritual and Demonic Magic from Ficino to Campanella, London, The Warburg Institute, 1958 (Kraus Reprint, Liechtenstein, 1969), pp.6ff. On pneuma generally, cf. G.Verbeke, L'Evolution de la doctrine de pneuma du stoïcisme à S.Augustin, Louvain, 1945 (cited above, n.109).

163. Les C.N., f.11r°.

164. Ibid.

165. On meteorological poetry, cf. especially Jean-Antoine de Baïf, Le premier livre des poèmes, texte établi et commenté par Guy Demerson, Grenoble, Presses Universitaires (Publications de la Faculté des lettres de Clermont-Ferrand), 1975, pp.14ff.

166. Les C.N., f.11r°.

167. Cf. Aristotle, Meteorologica II iv.

168. In Du Bartas' Sepmaine the subject becomes one more pretext for an extended sequence of metaphor, in which it is once more the expression rather than the content which seizes the attention - cf. PS II ll.541-70; Reichenberger, I pp.45-6.

169. L'Hymne de la Philosophie de P.de Ronsard, Commenté par Pantaleon Thevenin..., Paris, Jean Febvrier, 1582, p.58.

170. Les C.N., f.11r°.

171. Seneca, Naturales Quaestiones V v.

172. Cf. Verbeke, op.cit., pp.23-4, 172.

173. De la Nature des Dieux, f.61v° (De Natura Deorum II xxxix 101).

174. Les C.N., f.11r°.

175. Cf. Genesis II 7, Job XXXIII 4, Acts XVII 25; Exodus XV 8, II Samuel XXII 16, Job IV 9, Job XXXVII 10, Isaiah XL 7; Psalm XVIII 15 (Vulgate XVII), Psalm CXXXV 7 (Vulgate CXXXIV), Psalm CXLVII 18 (Vulgate CXLVI). Cf. also F.Vigouroux, Dictionnaire de la Bible, 5 vols., Paris, 1895-1912, art. "vent".

Goulart (Commentaires...sur la Sepmaine, ff.73v°-74r°) makes a similar connection between the formation of the winds and divine "vertu", but the context within which he does so remains firmly that of Aristotelean science;

Le vent est vne abondance de chaude exhalaison esleuee de la terre par la vertu du Soleil & des autres feux celestes, laquelle attiree en l'air, pour monter en la haute region d'iceluy, & venant à rencontrer la moyenne region qui est froide, s'esmeut vn repoussement, entretenu de telle sorte par la repercussion inesgale des planettes, & les diuers cours de leurs rayons, que l'exhalaison qui tasche s'esleuer, est poussee çà & là, au moyen dequoy selon sa quantité elle se renforce, & tourne en rond autour de la terre, frappant & agitant l'air comme l'experience le demonstre. Cela monstre (à parler naturellement) que le commencement du mouuement des vents vient d'enhaut, & la matiere est tiree de la terre, qui est leur mere, & des cauernes de laquelle ils sortent. Les cieux & les mouuemens des astres les attirent de là par la secrette vertu qu'il a pleu au Createur leur departir, & duquel il est dit au Pseaume 135. Qu'il tire de ses thresors les vents. Leur demeure est entre deux, c'est à dire en l'air...

176. Les C.N., f.11r°-v°.

177. Cf. Hymne du Ciel, ll.45-58; Laumonier VIII pp.144-5 (passage quoted above, Introduction note 24). Also PS II ll.877-86 (Reichenberger, I p.54);

Autant que ces flambeaux, dont chez nous on alonge
Les iours que Capricorne en mer trop soudain plonge,
Cedent au clair Phoebus: autant en pureté
Nostre feu cede au feu de l'Vniuersité.
Car nostre feu n'est rien qu'vne espaisse lumiere
Pleine d'obscurité, de crasse, de fumiere,
Mais celuy de là haut, pour n'estre point souillé
Par le meslange espais d'vn aliment brouillé,
Pour estre loin de nous, pour ne sentir AEole
Voisin, voisine fort la nature du Pole.

See further above, note 151.

178. De la Nature des Dieux, f.44v° (De Natura Deorum II xv 41). Cf. Plato, Philebus 29c, and see further below, p.77.

179. Cf. Verbeke, op.cit., pp.167-8, 173.

180. Cf. Verbeke, op.cit., pp.349, 512-7.

181. Cf. Verbeke, op.cit., pp.535ff.

182. Les C.N., f.11v°.

183. For a description of the alembic and the evolution of the process of distillation, cf. F.Sherwood Taylor, The Alchemists, St.Albans, Paladin Books, 1976 (first published London, Heinemann, 1952), pp.39-46.

Cf. Ronsard's praise of the manufacture of glass in the Elegie du Verre, ll.105-8 (Laumonier VI p.170);

Ainsi le vent duquel tu es formé,
De l'artizan en la bouche enfermé,
Large, petit, creux, ou grand, te façonne
Selon l'esprit & le feu qu'il te donne...

184. PS III ll.117-26 (Reichenberger, I p.65);

Car comme en l'alambic la braise soufletee
Esleue vne vapeur, qui peu à peu montee
Au sommet du chapeau, & moite, ne pouuant
Sa flairante sueur faire aller plus auant,
Mollement s'espaissit: puis tombant goutte à goutte,
Claire comme chrystal dans le verre s'esgoute:

La plus subtile humeur qui flotte dans les mers,
Est des rais du Soleil portee par les airs,
Qui la refond en eau, & par routes diuerses
Dans le sein maternel se ioint aux ondes perses.

185. See note 165 above, and Isaac Habert, Les Trois Livres des Meteores auecques autres oeuures poëtiques, Paris, Jean Richer, 1585.

186. Cf. Verbeke, op.cit., pp.338-48, and for the place of the world-spirit in alchemical theory, F.Sherwood Taylor, op.cit., pp.15-23. See also below, Part II chapter II note 40.

187. In this connection cf. PS I ll.537-42 (Reichenberger, I p.23);

IA DESIA i'attendoy que l'horloge sonnast
Du iour la derniere heure, & que le soir donnast
Relasche à mes trauaux: mais à peine ai-ie encore
Dessus mon horizon veu paroistre l'Aurore.
Mon labeur croist tousiours: voici deuant mes yeux
Passer par escadrons l'exercite des cieux...

- and PS V ll.529-42 (Reichenberger, I pp.124-5);

MUSE, mon soin plus doux, sortons auec Ionas
Du flanc de la Balene: & pour ne floter pas
Tousiours au gré du vent, de l'onde, & de l'orage,
Sus, sus mon sainct amour, sus, gaignons le riuage.
Cependant qu'attentif ie chante les poissons,
Que ie fouille, courbé, les secrettes maisons
Des bourgeois de Tethys, voyez comme la gloire
Des oiseaux loin-volans vole de ma memoire:
Leurs cours fuyart me fuit, & mes vers sans pitié
Retranchent de ce iour la plus belle moitié.
Mais courage, Oiselets: vos ombres vagabondes,
Qui semblent voletter sur la face des ondes,
Par leurs tours & retours me contraignent de voir,
Et quelle est vostre adresse, & quel est mon deuoir.

However, Du Bartas himself seems to be aware that this is an approach that brings with it its own dangers;

Ie vous pri seulement (& ce pour recompense
Des trauuaux que i'ay pris à vous conduire en France)
Qu'il vous plaise esueiller par vos accents diuers
Ceux qui s'endormiront oyant lire ces vers...
(loc.cit., ll.543-6).

* * *

PART I - CHAPTER II

1. Cf. Verbeke, L'Evolution de la doctrine de pneuma..., p.87.

2. Cf. Romans III 23;
Omnes enim peccaverunt, et egent gloria Dei.

3. Cf. Pantagruel chapter VIII (François Rabelais, Pantagruel, nouvelle édition augmentée, par V.L.Saulnier, Geneva, Droz (TLF), 1965, p.42);
...car nous péchons tous, et continuellement requérons à Dieu qu'il efface noz péchez.

4. Institution, II v 19; Benoît, II p.106.

5. Institution, III iii 12; Benoît, III p.78.

6. Institution, III xxiii 8; Benoît, III p.443. Cf. Du Plessis Mornay, De la Verité de la Religion Chrestienne..., p.277;
Dieu donq crée l'homme bon, mais qui pouuoit empirer; libre, mais qui pouuoit mal choisir; droit, mais qui pouuoit fouruoyer: & cest homme se destournant de la source du Bien, vient à decheoir de sa bonté; & suyuant sa propre volonté au lieu de celle de Dieu, perd sa liberté, & deuient esclaue du mal. Tous ceux qui sont nez de ceste vicieuse semence là, tiennent le vice de ce premier là, & ne s'en peuuent prendre qu'à luy
and p.409;
Certes disons donq, Que ceste ame humaine s'est premierement corrompuë d'elle-mesmes, s'esuanoüissant comme le vin en vinaigre en soy-mesmes, & de soy-mesmes; au lieu que s'elle se fust tenuë close & couuerte, reposant, comme on dit, sur sa mere; c'est à dire, si elle fust demeurée fixe en la contemplation du createur, sans cercher son bien en elle-mesmes, elle pouuoit demeurer tout incorruptible.

7. Les C.N., f.4r°.

8. Institution, III xxiii 8; Benoît, III p.443.

9. PS I l.104; Reichenberger, I p.11.

10. PS I ll.345ff.; Reichenberger, I p.18.

11. Cf. Sebond, La Theologie Naturelle..., f.295v°;
Et d'autant que Dieu bastit le liberal arbitre bien autre qu'il n'est, & exempt de toute violence estrangere, il reste qu'il se soit ruyné & combatu soy mesme: cest nostre volonté que de soy & par sa franche liberté s'est desuoyée de la droicte carriere, & precipitée au gouffre de tout mal & de tout vice.
See also note 6 above, and cf. Grandgousier's commentary on the behaviour of Picrochole in Gargantua (François Rabelais, Gargantua, première édition critique faite sur l'Editio princeps, texte établi par R. Calder, avec introduction, commentaire, tables et glossaire par M.A.Screech, Geneva, Droz (TLF), 1970, p.181);
Dont j'ay cogneu que Dieu eternel l'a laissé au gouvernail de son franc arbitre et propre sens, qui ne peut estre que meschant sy par grace divine n'est continuellement guydé...

12. Institution, I xv 8 (Benoît, I p.218);
Ainsi Adam pouvoit demourer debout s'il eust voulu, veu qu'il n'est tresbuché que de sa volonté propre, mais pource que sa volonté estoit ployable au bien et au mal, et que la constance de persévérer ne luy estoit pas donnée, voilà pourquoy il est si tost et si légèrement tombée...

13. Cf. Institution, II ii - "Que l'Homme est maintenant despouillé de franc-arbitre et misérablement assuietty à tout mal" (Benoît, II p.21).

14. Cf. Benoît's note, loc.cit., and Erasmus-Luther Discourse on Free Will, translated and edited by Ernst F. Winter, New York, Ungar Publishing Co., 1961.

15. Cf. Institution, II ii 6 (Benoît, II p.29);
...c'est une chose résolue que l'homme n'a point libéral-arbitre à bien faire, sinon qu'il soit aidé de la grâce de Dieu, et de grâce spéciale qui est donnée aux esleus tant seulement, par régénération.

16. Les C.N., f.5r°.

17. Loc.cit., f.3r°.

18. Ibid.

19. Loc.cit., f.3r°-v°. Cf. f.9r°-v° (passage quoted above, p.31);
...Du monde il asseura l'assemblage fini,
L'entretenant tousiours d'vne vicissitude
Qui est par son vouloir l'entiere plenitude
De ce qu'il a cree, & qu'il fait auiourd'huy...

20. Loc.cit., f.3v°.

21. Cf. Le Roman de la Rose, ll.17071ff.; ed. Lecoy, III pp.12ff.

22. Loc.cit., ll.17071-6; ed. Lecoy, III p.12.

23. Loc.cit., ll.17137-42; ed. Lecoy, III p.14.

24. Loc.cit., ll.17155-6; ed. Lecoy, III p.15.

25. Cf. Le Roman de la Rose, ll.17469-696; ed. Lecoy, III pp.24-31.

26. The subject is a large one. For a recent discussion, comprehensive in scope, cf. Daniel Martin, Montaigne et la Fortune. Essai sur le hasard et le langage, Paris, Champion, 1977, première partie, "Sources et champ sémantique de la Fortune", pp.7ff.

27. Cf. the studies of H.R.Patch - "The tradition of the Goddess Fortuna in Roman literature and in the transitional period", in Smith College Studies in Modern Languages III No.3 (April, 1922), pp.130-77; "The tradition of the Goddess Fortuna in Medieval Philosophy and Literature", loc.cit., III No.4 (July, 1922), pp.178-235; "Fortuna in Old French Literature", loc.cit., IV No.4 (July, 1923), pp.1-45; The Goddess Fortuna in Medieval Literature, Cambridge(Mass.), Harvard U.P., 1927. Further references in Martin, op.cit., pp.216-7.

28. Cf. Boethius, The Consolation of Philosophy II i (translated with an introduction by V.E.Watts, Harmondsworth, Penguin Books, 1969, pp. 55-6 and note). Cf. also Martin, op.cit., pp.38-46.

29. Cf. Emile Mâle, L'art religieux du XIIIe siècle en France. Etude sur l'iconographie du Moyen Age et sur ses sources d'inspiration, 2 vols., Paris, Armand Colin, 1958 (first published Paris, 1898), I pp.184-5. The image of Fortune's wheel is reproduced in the Margarita Philosophica of Gregor Reisch, and also described in words (cf. Margarita Philosophica VIII xvi; in Gregor Reisch, Margarita Philosophica, Mit einem Vorwort, einer Einleitung und einem neuen Inhaltsverzeichnis von Lutz Geldsetzer, Düsseldorf, Janssen & Co., 1973 (reprint of Margarita Philosophica cum additionibus nouis: ab auctore suo studiosissima reuisione quarto super additis, Basle, Michael Furterius, 1517), p.341, illustration p.342. It

also figures in the marble pavement of Siena Cathedral, in a version attributed to Bernardino Betti (cf. Il Pavimento del Duomo di Siena, Siena, Tipografia La Galluzza di U.Periccioli, n.d.). For Fortune astride her globe, cf. Dürer's famous representation of Nemesis (in Maxime Préaud, Albert Dürer, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, 1971, p.81).

30. Cf. Jean de Meun, Le Roman de la Rose, ll.4807ff.; ed.Lecoy, I pp. 148ff.

31. Priere à la Fortune, ll.73-4, 80-3; Laumonier VIII p.106.

32. Complainte contre Fortune, ll.25-30; Laumonier X p.17.

33. Cf. Martin, op.cit., pp.13-4, where these references are cited.

34. Examples cited by Martin, op.cit., p.69.

35. Les C.N., f.3v°.

36. Augustine, The City of God, V i; in Saint Augustine, The City of God against the Pagans, with an English translation by William M. Green(for Vol. II) 7 vols., London/Cambridge(Mass.), Heinemann/Harvard U.P. (LCL), 1957-72, II (1963), p.134.

37. Cf. Boethius, The Consolation of Philosophy IV vi; ed.cit., pp.134ff.

38. Institution, I xvi 9; Benoît, I p.234.

39. PS VII ll.197-206; Reichenberger, I p.172.

40. Institution, I xvi 8; Benoît, I p.233. Before Calvin the theme is the patristic one; cf. note 36 above, and Basil, Homilia in Psalmum XXXII (MPG XXIX c.330) - reference cited by Benoît, loc.cit.;

Ne dixeris: Hoc temere factum, et illud casu evenit. Nihil inordinatum est, interminatum nihil, nihil frustra factum, neque quidquam rerum fortuito fertur. Neque dicas: Malus casus, aut Prava hora. Voces ipsae sunt ineruditorum.

41. Cf. Institution, I xvi 1; Benoît, I p.221 (see above, p.10 and note).

42. Institution, I xvi 2; Benoît, I p.222.

43. De la Verité de la Religion Chrestienne..., pp.290-1, 292-3. Cf. also Du Plessis Mornay, Excellent Discours de la Vie et de la Mort, without place or publisher, 1576, A i v° (in the Advertissement au Lecteur);

...Quant à ce mot Fortune, lequel se rencontre ici en quelques endroits, qu'il soit receu auec support de l'vsage ou plustost importunité de nostre langue, laquelle le retient encores par trop au lieu de s'en desfaire du tout, entant que les choses qui aduiennent communement sans sauoir pourquoy ni comment quant aux hommes, ont esté rapportees par nos ancestres selon le langage des payens à ce titre de Fortune.

44. See below, pp.357-9; and also pp.129-32.

45. Les C.N., f.3v°.

46. Institution, I xvii 9; Benoît, I p.247.

47. Institution, I xvi 8; Benoît, I p.232. Du Bartas applies the same observation to the actions of God himself (PS IV ll.471-4; Reichenberger, I p.101);

Non que par ce discours, Stoique, ie me pene
D'attacher l'Eternel à la dure cadene
De la necessité, d'vn noeu diamantin,

Pressant ses libres pieds dans les ceps du destin...

48. Institution, I xvii 3; Benoît, I pp.239-40.

49. On Calvin's Consistory, cf. François Wendel, Calvin. The Origins and Development of his Religious Thought, ed.cit., pp.72-4, 83-7. It appears that Béroalde himself would have had good reason to remember the institution, as he had been twice arraigned before it. This fact was established by Dr. Alex Keller of the University of Leicester in his unpublished Ph.D. thesis (A.G. Keller, Early Printed Books of Machines 1569-1629, Univ. of Cambridge, 1966), and I am grateful to him for allowing me to cite the relevant material. He was first summoned in July 1577 for making indecent proposals - "vilains propoz et profanes" - to young men bathing in the Rhône near the Porte de la Monnoye (cf. Keller, op.cit., p.195, and references in Geneva Archives Cantonales, Consistoire R.31, ff.77v°, 78r°) (for a similar, and better-known, case, cf. E. Droz, "Le premier séjour d'Agrippa d'Aubigné à Genève", in BHR XI (1947), pp.169-73). On 24 July of the following year he appeared again, this time for the writing of lewd verse, on which occasion the judge despaired of him as "fou et imbecile"(cf. Keller, loc. cit., and references in Geneva Archives Cantonales, Consistoire R.31, ff.180v°, 203v°, 207r°). Béroalde is perhaps a more complex character than he has sometimes been given account for.

50. Institution, I xvii 6; Benoît, I p.243.

51. Les C.N., f.4r°.

52. Institution, II viii 16; Benoît, II p.149.

53. Les C.N., f.4v°.

54. Cf. Terence Cave, Devotional Poetry in France c.1570-1613, Cambridge, Cambridge U.P., 1969, pp.24-57.

55. City of God V x; ed.cit., p.186. The editor points out that some manuscripts omit the "non", and this indeed would be the simpler reading. We cite at this point John Healey's translation (The City of God, John Healey's translation, edited by R.V.G.Tasker, 2 vols., London/New York, Dent/Dutton, 1967 (first published 1945), I p.156);

Nor does man sin because God foreknew that he would sin: nay it is doubtless he that sins when he does sin, because God, whose knowledge cannot be mistaken, foresaw that neither fate nor fortune, nor anything else, but the man himself would sin, who if he had not been willing, he had not sinned: but whether he should be unwilling to sin or no, that also did God foreknow.

56. De la Verité de la Religion Chrestienne..., p.406.

57. Les C.N., ff.4v°-5r°.

58. See above, chapter I note 29, passage quoted from Dionysius the Areopagite.

59. On the Augustinian metaphysic of light cf. David Knowles, The Evolution of Medieval Thought, London, Longmans, 1962, p.49.

60. Institution, I xvii 5; Benoît, I pp.242-3.On Calvin's uses of imagery, cf. Francis M. Higman, The Style of John Calvin in his French Polemical Treatises, Oxford, Oxford U.P., 1967, pp.123-52.

61. Les C.N., f.5r°.

62. Cf. The City of God V i (ed.cit., p.134);

Cur enim non hoc primum dicit, quod postea dicturus est, cum ab illo quisquam quaesierit quid dixerit fatum? Nam id homines quando audiunt, usitata loquendi consuetudine non intellegunt nisi vim positionis siderum, qualis est quando quis nascitur sive concipitur; quod aliqui alienant a Dei voluntate, aliqui ex illa etiam hoc pendere confirmant.

63. Cf. Giovanni Pico Della Mirandola, Disputationes adversus Astrologiam Divinatricem, 2 vols., a cura di Eugenio Garin, Florence, Vallecchi Editore, 1946-52.

64. Traité ou Avertissement contre l'Astrologie qu'on appelle judiciaire et autres curiosités qui règnent aujourd'hui au monde, 1549. We have utilised a modern edition of this work, viz. Avertissement contre l'Astrologie. Traité des Reliques. Suivis du Discours de Théodore de Bèze sur la vie et la mort de Maître Jean Calvin, Paris, Armand Colin, 1962 (text of Oeuvres françaises de Calvin, ed. P.L.Jacob, Paris, Gosselin, 1842).

65. Text as cited in A.Renaudet, Préréforme et Humanisme à Paris pendant les premières guerres d'Italie (1494-1517), deuxième édition, revue et corrigée, Paris, Librairie d'Argences, 1953, p.153.

66. To support his case Servet brings out a printed apology for astrology - Michaelus Villanovi in quendam medicum apologetica disceptatio pro Astrologia, Paris, 1538 (a nineteenth-century edition of this text in the British Library, at 8610 bb. 4). Cf. Charles Donald O'Malley, Michael Servetus. A translation of his geographical, medical and astrological writings..., Philadelphia, American Philosophical Society, 1953, and for the original text of the Disceptatio, a copy in University College Library, London (press-mark Hist. Science D4 Sev.). It is translated in F. Rude, "Michel Servet et l'Astrologie", in BHR XX (1958), pp.377-87. For a general study of Servet, cf. Roland H. Bainton, Michel Servet Hérétique et Martyr 1553-1953, Geneva, Droz, 1953; also J.Friedman, Michael Servetus: a Case Study in Total Heresy, Geneva, Droz, 1978.

67. Calvin, Traité..., ed.cit., pp.18-9.

68. Cf. Pico, Disputationes..., Liber IX;
"De incertudine natalis horae ac aliorum initiorum, et aliis erroribus astrologorum".

69. François Rabelais, Pantagrueline Prognostication pour l'an 1533..., Textes établis, avec introduction, commentaires, appendices et glossaires par M.A.Screech et al., Geneva, Droz (TLF), 1974, p.4.

70. Cf. Pantagrueline Prognostication, ed.cit., Introduction, pp.XII-XIV.

71. Cf. loc.cit., pp.XXII-XXIII.

72. Hieronymi Cardani Mediolanensis Medici De Rerum Varietate Libri XVII..., Basle, per Henrichum Petri, 1557, p.58. Cf. Henri Busson, "Sur la philosophie de Ronsard", in Revue des cours et conférences XXXI (1929), p.47; and by the same author, Le Rationalisme dans la littérature française de la Renaissance (1533-1601), Paris, Vrin, nouvelle édition, revue et augmentée, 1957 (second tirage 1971), p.376.

73. Cf. Louis Hautecoeur, Paris, 2 vols., Paris, Fernand Nathan, 1972, I p.186.

74. Aduertissement Sur les Iugemens d'Astrologie, A Vne Studieuse Damoyselle, Lyon, Jean de Tournes, 1546, p.8. Cf. Beverley S. Ridgely, "Mellin de Saint-Gelais and the first vernacular reference to the Copernican system in France", in Journal of the History of Ideas XXIII (1962), pp.107-16.

75. Louange de la Sciance, in Euvres Poetiques..., Paris, Coulombel, 1581, f.61v°.

76. See above, Introduction note 113.

77. Cf. François Rabelais, Pantagrueline Prognostication..., ed.cit., Introduction, p.XXIII, the words of which we borrow here. Cf. also the articles referred to by Screech in his note; V.L.Saulnier, "François Rabelais, patron des pronostiqueurs (Une pronostication retrouvée)", in BHR XVI (1954), pp.124-38; and P.Dorveaux, "Supplique adressée au Parlement en novembre 1534, par la Faculté de médecine de Paris, au sujet des 'Almanachs et Prognostications' ", in Revue des Etudes Rabelaisiennes IV (1906), pp.268-9.

78. Cf. Les Trois Livres de la Vie...le tout composé premierement en Latin par Marsille Ficin...& traduit en François. Par Guy Le Fevre de la Boderie..., Paris, Abel l'Angelier, 1581, f.118v°. Cf. the description at ff.120v°-121r°;

...A ceste cause il est necessaire de se souuenir que le mouton preside à la teste & à la face, le Thoreau au coul, les Gemeaux aux bras & epaules, le Cancre à la poitrine, aux poulmons, à l'estomach, à la souris du bras: le Lion au coeur, à l'estomach, au foye, au dos, & costes de derriere, la Vierge aux intestins & au fonds de l'estomach, la Liure aux reins, à la cuisse, & aux fesses, le Scorpion aux parties genitales, & à la matrice, le Sagittaire à la cuisse & souz les parties honteuses, le Cheurecorne aux genouls, le Verseau aux iambes, & les Poissons aux piez. Car vous souuenant de cest ordre vous vous garderez bien de toucher le membre de fer, de feu, ou de ventouses quand la Lune discourt souz son signe. Car alors la Lune augmente les humeurs au membre, desquelles l'affluence empesche la consideration, & aggraue la vertu du membre. Or sur quel membre preside en chascun signe vn chascun des Planetes encor que cela soit bien necessaire à sçauoir, toutesfois il est long à reciter...

The same medical application forms part of Scève's definition of astrology in the Microcosme (III ll.351-378; ed. Giudici, pp.222-3); each of the heavenly signs

...par divers accors
Maistrisent regardant chacun sa part du corps...

Cf. its illustration in Reisch, Margarita Philosophica, VII ii (ed.cit., p.294).

79. Calvin, Traité..., p.7.

80. Loc.cit., p.5.

81. Cf. Institution, I v 5 (Benoît, I p.72);

Ie vous prie, quelle correspondance y a-il des sens corporels avec ceste appréhension si haute et si noble de savoir mesurer le ciel, mettre les estoilles en conte et en nombre, déterminer de la grandeur de chacune, cognoistre quelle distance il y a de l'une à l'autre, combien chacune est hastive ou tardive à faire son cours, de combien de degrez elles declinent çà ou là? Ie confesse que l'astrologie est utile et sert à ceste vie caduque...

It would be difficult not to see in this definition that of modern astronomy.

82. Calvin, Traité..., p.15.

83. Cf. for one aspect of this Pantagrueline Prognostication..., ed.cit., pp.XV-XVI. See also below, note 84.

84. Cf. Calvin, Traité..., p.7;

...nos astrologues contrefaits prennent une maxime qui est vraie: que les corps terrestres et en général toutes créatures inférieures sont

sujettes à l'ordre du ciel pour en tirer quelques qualités...

p.8;

...je confesse bien, quant à la complexion des hommes et surtout aux affections qui participent aux qualités de leurs corps, qu'elles dépendent en partie des astres, ou pour le moins y ont quelque correspondance.

p.9;

Je confesse, suivant ce que j'ai touché, que les astres ont bien quelque concurrence pour former les complexions, et surtout celles qui concernent le corps...

p.11;

...tout au plus les astres pourront imprimer quelques qualités aux personnes...

p.15;

...il ne nous faut pas du tout nier qu'il n'y ait quelque correspondance aucunes fois entre une peste que nous verrons ici et la constallation qui se connoît au ciel par l'astrologie.

85. On this cf. D.P.Walker, Spiritual and Demonic Magic from Ficino to Campanella, pp.54-9. Walker shows how, starting from the distinction between a "good" and a "bad" astrology, a later writer such as the Dominican Tommaso Buoninsegni might interpret Pico's treatise as an actual defence of astrology.

86. Microcosme III ll.343-4; ed. Giudici, p.222. This in itself would cast doubt on Saulnier's assertion ("Etude sur Béroalde", p.273) that the Microcosme furnishes the inspiration of the astrological episode in Les Cognoissances. If this is so, we should have to say that Béroalde goes considerably beyond his model.

87. Microcosme III ll.408-10; ed. Giudici, p.224.

88. Cf. Kathleen M. Hall, Pontus de Tyard and his Discours Philosophiques, Oxford, Oxford U.P., 1963, pp.167-71.

89. J.C.Lapp, "Three Renaissance Attitudes towards Astrology - Rabelais, Montaigne and Pontus de Tyard", in PMLA LXIV (1949), p.548.

90. Pontus de Tyard, Les Discours Philosophiques, f.196v°.

91. Les C.N., f.5r°-v°.

92. Loc.cit., f.5v°.

93. Les Estoilles, ll.95-100; Laumonier XVII p.41.

94. PS I ll.105ff.; Reichenberger, I p.11.

95. Calvin, Traité..., pp.4-5.

96. Loc.cit., p.34.

97. Les C.N., f.5v°.

98. Institution, I xiii 21; Benoît, I p.170.

99. Les C.N., ff.5v°-6r°.

100. Institution, III xxiii 8; Benoît, III p.443 (quoted above, Introduction p.xxv).

101. Les C.N., f.6r°.

102. See above, note 84.

103. Cf. The City of God V ii-vi; ed.cit., pp.138-58.

104. Calvin, Traité..., pp.7-8.

105. Schmidt, La Poésie Scientifique..., ed.cit., p.375.

106. Agrippa d'Aubigné, La Creation, in Oeuvres Complètes de Théodore Agrippa d'Aubigné, publiées pour la première fois d'après les manuscrits originaux par Eugène Réaume et F. de Caussade, 6 vols., Paris, Lemerre, 1873-92, III p.373.

107. L'Uranologie, f.148r°.

108. Loc.cit., f.149r°.

109. Loc.cit., f.151r°.

110. See above, note 68.

111. L'Uranologie, f.150r°-v°.

112. The City of God V vi; ed.cit., p.156. See further below, note 115.

113. Cf. St. Thomas Aquinas, Tractatus fratris thome an liceat vti Judicijs astrorum (copy of the treatise De judiciis astrorum, at B.N. Rés. C. 1698);

Dicit enim augustinus .v. de ciuitate dei Non nusquam absurde dici potest ad solas corporum differencias afflatos quosdam sidereos peruenire et ideo si aliquis astrorum iudicijs vtatur ad prenoscendum corporales effectus puta serenitatem & tempestatem aeris infirmitatem corporum vbertatem et sterilitatem fructuum vel cetera huiusmodi quae ex naturalibus et corporalibus causis dependent nullum videtur esse peccatum.

On Thomas and astrology, cf. D.P.Walker, Spiritual and Demonic Magic..., pp.214-5.

114. Calvin, Traité..., p.7.

115. Cf. Jean-Antoine de Baïf, Le premier des meteores, ll.117-28, ed. Demerson, p.59; Peletier du Mans, La Lune, in L'Amour des Amours, ed. cit., p.93; Du Bartas PS IV ll.435-40, Reichenberger, I p.100; Du Chesne, Chant Dorique de l'Amour Celeste, in La Morocosmie..., p.41; Du Chesne, Le Grand Miroir du Monde, p.136; Isaac Habert, Les Trois Livres des Meteores, f.6v°. Habert's description of the influence of the moon is characteristic of the rest -

Ainsi comme elle croist, & decroist, tout ainsi
La mer enfle ses flots, croist & decroist aussi,
Sur les humides corps domine sa puissance,
Sur la Mer, sur les lacs, sur toute humide essence.
Lors qu'elle est en son plein tout se sent animer,
Les moules, les omars, les langoustes de mer
Esprouuent de ses rais l'influence secrete,
L'huistre prend accroissance en son ecaille nette,
La seue croist aus troncs, & s'espand aus rameaus
Des arbres verdoians où nichent les oyseaus.
Les animaus aussi tout son pouuoir ressentent,
Dedans leur test vouté leurs ceruelles s'augmentent,
Leurs mouëlles dedans leurs os qui sont creusez,
Leur sang bouillant qui court par rameaus diuisez
Aus membres de leurs corps enfle leurs grosses veines,
De ceste rouge humeur trop abondamment pleines...

Cf. Pliny, Historia Naturalis II ci; and also Cicero, De Divinatione II xiv 33; Lucilius, Gellius XX viii 4; Horace, Satires II iv 30; Apuleius, Metamorphoses XI i-ii.

116. Les C.N., f.6r°.

117. See note 115 above.

118. Les C.N., f.6r°-v°.

119. Cf. Augustine's criticism of this view in The City of God V ix; ed.cit., pp.168, 170.

120. The City of God V ix; ed.cit., p.172.

121. Cf. The City of God V x; ed.cit., pp.184, 186. We paraphrase the translation of this passage here.

122. Tractatus fratris thome an liceat vti Judicijs astrorum, B.N. Rés. C. 1698, v°.

123. Hymne des Astres, ll.97-8; Laumonier VIII p.154.

124. Les Estoilles, ll.61-4; Laumonier XVII p.40.

125. Les Prisons, Livre Second; in Les Dernières Poésies de Marguerite de Navarre, publiées par Abel Lefranc, Paris, Armand Colin, 1896, pp.146-7.

126. L'Uranologie, f.149r°-v°.

127. Cf. Aristotle, De Caelo II 7; Meteorologica, I 3.

128. See above, chapter I note 177.

129. Hymne du Ciel, ll.51-4; Laumonier VIII p.144.

130. PS IV ll.83-8; Reichenberger, I p.91.

131. Les C.N., f.6v°.

132. Calvin, Traité..., p.15 (quoted above, p.67).

133. PS IV ll.409, 413-6; Reichenberger, I p.100.

134. Calvin, Traité..., p.15.

135. Notably by Ronsard; cf. Hymne des Astres, ll.205-8 (Laumonier VIII p.159) -

Car vous estes de DIEU les sacrez caracteres,
Ainçois de ce grand DIEU fidelles secretaires,
Par qui sa volunté faict sçauoir aus humains,
Comme s'il nous marquoit un papier de ses mains...

and also the Elegie "Six ans estoient coulez & la septiesme annee...", ll. 43-52 (Laumonier XVIII pp.34-5);

Puis alors que Vesper vient embrunir nos yeux,
Attaché dans le ciel je contemple les cieux,
En qui Dieu nous escrit en notes non obscures
Les sorts & les destins de toutes creatures.
Car luy, en desdaignant (comme font les humains)
D'avoir encre & papier & plume entre les mains,
Par les astres du ciel qui sont ses characteres,
Les choses nous predit & bonnes & contraires:
Mais les hommes chargez de terre & du trespas
Mesprisent tel escrit, & ne le lisent pas.

Cf. equally d'Aubigné, La Creation (Oeuvres Complètes, ed. Réaume & Caussade, III p.373; quoted above, p.73);

Non que je veille dire aucun d'eux pouvoir rien
De soy causer à l'home aspect de mal ou bien,

Mays bien l'ouvrier d'iceux tout puissant & tout sage
Comme il luy semble bon il les met en usage...

136. PS IV ll.475-8; Reichenberger, I p.101. Cf. PS I ll.133-4 (Reichenberger, I p.12); God

...Parle à nous à toute heure, ayant pour truchemens
Des pauillons astrez les reglez mouuemens.

Cf. Ficino, Les Trois Livres de la Vie..., f.117r°, where God's control of the stars is part of a definition;

Quant à moy ie pense qu'il suffise si les corps celestes en quelque sorte comme par medecines soint interieures ou exterieures, seruent à la prospere santé, pourueu ce pendant que recherchans le salut du corps, nous ne facions aucune perte du salut de l'ame. Que du tout nous n'attentions rien deffendu de la saincte religion Catholique. D'auantage que pour faire tout ouurage nous esperions & implorions premierement le fruit de l'oeuure de celuy, qui a fait les corps celestes, & ce qui est contenu au Ciel, qui leur a donné la vertu, & tousiours les meut & conserue.

137. Les C.N., f.6v°.

138. De la Verité de la Religion Chrestienne..., p.27.

139. Les C.N., ff.6v°-7r°.

140. Loc.cit., f.7r°.

141. Ibid.

142. Ibid.

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PART I - CHAPTER III

1. Les C.N., f.11v°.

2. Cf. Bernardus Silvestris, De mundi universitate sive megacosmus et microcosmus, and Gordon Leff, Medieval Thought - St.Augustine to Ockham, Harmondsworth, Penguin Books, 1958, p.120. On microcosm as theme, cf. V.L.Saulnier, Maurice Scève (ca.1500-1560), 2 vols., Paris, Klincksieck, 1948, I pp.418-22.

3. PS VI ll.406-8; Reichenberger, I p.149.

4. Institution, I v 3; Benoît, I p.70. The idea is not of course Calvin's alone; cf. Luther, Lectures on Genesis, I 27 (Luther's Works, ed.cit., I p.68) -

...In the remaining creatures God is recognized as by His footprints; but in the human being, especially in Adam, He is truly recognized, because in him there is such wisdom, justice and knowledge of all things that he may rightly be called a world in miniature.

5. See above, p.30.

6. PS VI ll.427-44; Reichenberger, I pp.149-50 (see above, p.30).

7. PS VI l.454; Reichenberger, I p.150.

8. Microcosme I ll.91-102; ed. Giudici, p.150.

9. Les C.N., f.11v°.

10. Loc.cit., ff.11v°-12r°. For Béroalde's "trine vn non distingué" cf. Basil, Homiliae in Hexaemeron IX (MPG XXIX c.207);

Et fecit Deus hominem. Non, Fecerunt. Vitavit hoc loco personarum multitudinem. Postquam autem per illa erudivit Judaeum, per haec vero errorem gentilium exclusit, tuto recurrit ad unitatem, ut et Filium cum Patre intelligas, et periculum multitudinis deorum effugias.

11. Les C.N., f.12r°.

12. Ibid.

13. Genesis II 7.

14. Les C.N., f.12r°-v°.

15. Cf. V.L.Saulnier, Maurice Scève, I p.450, and note 56. For Béroalde's own use of these terms, see below pp.93ff., and Part II passim.

16. Microcosme I ll.103, 111-2, 125-46; ed. Giudici, pp.150-1.

17. Cf. Albert-Marie Schmidt, La Poésie Scientifique..., ed.cit., pp.139-52; V.L.Saulnier, Maurice Scève, I pp.427-9.

18. Cf. Ovid, Metamorphoses I ll.84-6;

Pronaque cum spectent animalia cetera terram,
Os homini sublime dedit caelumque tueri
Iussit et erectos ad sidera tollere vultus...

and Cicero, De Legibus I ix 26;

eadem natura...cum ceteras animantes abiecisset ad pastum, solum hominem erexit et ad caeli quasi cognationis domiciliique pristini conspectum excitavit...

Cf. also Timaeus 90a, 92a.

19. Cf. references and a discussion of this theme in Reichenberger, II pp.245-6; also Scève, Microcosme, ed. Giudici, pp.277-8.

20. PS VI ll.489-98; Reichenberger, I p.151. For a different view, cf. René Bretonnayau, La Generation de l'Homme, et le Temple de l'Ame: auec autres oeuures Poëtiques extraittes de l'Esculape..., Paris, Abel l'Angelier, 1583, f.61r°; if the skull were not composed of eight separate bones,

Comment exalé s'en fust la fumeuse vapeur
Du sang bouillant en nous à sa propre chaleur
Pour le clarifier? ainsi sort la fumee
De toute la maison par vne cheminee.
C'est pourquoy fut le chef dressé deuers les cieux,
Quoy qu'on ait asseuré que pour l'amour des yeux
Il est si haut monté...

For Bretonnayau, see further below, Part I chapter IV note 97.

21. Cf. Luther, Lectures on Genesis II 21 (Luther's Works, ed.cit., I pp.124-5);

Plato, Cicero, and other philosophers who belong to the better sort state in their discussions that man walks with his head erect, while the rest of the beings look at the earth with their heads bent down. To man they attribute reason or the ability to understand; and later they reach the conclusion that man is an extraordinary animal created for immortality. But how tenuous and almost useless this is! All this is based on a knowledge of man's form. But if you go on to give consideration to his substance, does not reason compel you to declare that this being must again be disintegrated and cannot be immortal?

22. Institution, I xv 3; Benoît, I pp.209-10. In his Latin text of 1559 Calvin had reproduced Ovid's phrase of "et erectos ad sydera tollere vultus" (loc.cit., p.209 note 3).

23. Cf. PS VI ll.499-708; Reichenberger, I pp.151-7.

24. Ambrose, Hexaemeron VI; MPL XIV c.277-8.

25. PS VI ll.709-14; Reichenberger, I p.157.

26. Cf. PS VI ll.731-924; Reichenberger, I pp.157-62.

27. Les C.N., f.12r°-v°.

28. Cf. Microcosme I l.126 (this and following references, ed. Giudici p.151);

Fut solidé en os vestus de chair, et peau

and Les C.N., f.12r°;

Fit de la poudre chair, sang, peau, veines & os

Microcosme I ll.127-8;

Forme qui tant luy plût, et tant il eut en grace
Que de son saint Esprit luy soufla en la face...

Les C.N., f.12v°;

Et respirant en luy d'vne propice grace,
Fit entrer son esprit dedans luy par sa face...

Microcosme I ll.133-4;

Et de passible actif luy ouvrirent les yeux
Tournoyans çà et là, et admirans les cieux...

Les C.N., f.12r°;

...il luy donna des yeux
Au plus haut de son chef pour regarder les cieux

Microcosme I l.137;

Dressé sur piés branchus...

Les C.N., f.12r°;

L'asseant sur deux pieds...

29. Cf. Weber, La Création poétique..., p.528;
...Comme par un coup de baguette magique l'homme jusqu'ici simple statue d'argile acquiert brusquement sa réalité de chair et d'os.

30. Les C.N., f.9v° (quoted above, p.34).

31. See above, pp.33-5.

32. Les C.N., f.10r° (quoted above, p.40).

33. Loc.cit., f.10v°.

34. Gregor Reisch, Margarita Philosophica X tractatus I ii; ed.cit., p.410.

35. Les C.N., f.12v°.

36. Aeneid VI l.727.

37. Louis le Roy, De la Vicissitude ou Variete des Choses en l'Vniuers..., Paris, Pierre l'Huilier, 1575, f.1v°. The idea is of course related to that of a world in constant movement, and of which the cyclic interchange of the elements is a part (see above, pp.21-3; and below, pp.193-4).

38. Le Chat, ll.19-34; Laumonier XV p.40. Cf. La Franciade IV 869-80 (and for the related idea of the interchange of the elements, ll.861-8); Laumonier XVI pp.284-5.

39. It is within this scale that Bouelles' wise man is to take his place; cf. Charles de Bouelles, Liber de sapiente, Paris, Ambianis, 1509, f.119r° -
...Insunt a Natura Substantia / Vita / Sensus & Ratio. Est etenim / viuit / sentit & intelligit omnis homo. Ast alii hominum duntaxat vt simplicis substantie: Alij vt substantie & vite / Alij vt substantie vite / & sensus: Alij denique substantie / vite / sensus & rationis actu atque operatione funguntur. Vnde fit vt cuncti homines natura & substantia sint similes / & speciei equalitate tantum vnus homo: Viuendi autem modo / functione & arte varij ac dissimillimi. Alij siquidem mineralibus aut simplicibus elementis comparantur. Vegetantibus alij: Alij brutis animantibus / Supremi soli merito hominum similes (rationis & habitu & functione) rationales / veri perfectique homines dictitentur.
See further below, pp.294-5, and notes 84-85a.

40. La Theologie Naturelle, f.6v°.

41. See below, Part II chapter II.

42. Cf. for a further indication of Béroalde's point of departure the introduction to the translation of the Timaeus made by Louis le Roy (Le Timee de Platon traittant de la Nature du Monde, & de l'Homme, & de ce qui concerne uniuerselement tant l'ame que le corps des deux..., Paris, Michel de Vascosan, 1551, B iij r°);
Veritablement il y a un esprit qui entretient perpetuelement les quatre elemens: & estant infuz en eux, agite le grand corps de l'uniuers, & le ciel, se mellant par tout: dont prennent uie & mouuement les animaux: qui nourrit les herbes & arbres: qui fait croitre & augmenter les pierres & metaux...
See also above, note 37.

43. See above, pp.37-40.

44. Recherches de la pierre philosophale, f.113r°.

45. Les C.N., f.12v°.

46. Aristotle, De Anima 412a 25; in Aristotle, On The Soul. Parva

Naturalia. On Breath, with an English translation by W.S.Hett, London/Cambridge(Mass.), Heinemann/Harvard U.P. (LCL), revised ed. 1957 (reprinted 1975), p.69.

47. Cf. De Anima 403b 25; ed.cit., p.19.

48. Les Apprehensions Spirituelles, f.7r°.

49. Les C.N., f.12v°.

50. Loc.cit., ff.12v°-13r°.

51. Loc.cit., f.13r°.

52. Cf. Busson, Le Rationalisme dans la littérature française de la Renaissance..., pp.383-4;

...il me paraît qu'à une date que je ne puis fixer, aux environs de 1560, Ronsard a changé d'opinion sur la nature de l'âme. Il s'est pénétré d'averroïsme, de panthéisme même. Quatre pièces au moins en témoignent....l'Excellence de l'esprit de l'homme(1560), le Chat(1569), le quatrième chant de la Franciade(1572), les Estoilles(1575).

53. See above, pp.27-9.

54. Aeneid VI ll.728-9.

55. Cf. Le Chat, ll.6-10 (Laumonier XV p.39);

Ja des longtemps les membres seroient morts
De ce grand Tout, si cette Ame divine
Ne se mesloit par toute la Machine,
Luy donnant vie & force & mouvement:
Car de tout estre elle est commencement

- and also La Franciade IV ll.874-80 (Laumonier XVI p.285);

Ainsi la grande universelle mace
Verroit par mort ses membres discordans,
S'elle n'avoit un esprit au dedans
Infus par tout qui l'agite et remuë,
Et dont sa course en vie est maintenuë,
Esprit actif meslé par ce grand Tout
Qui n'a milieu, commencement ny bout.

56. Le Chat, ll.1-5; Laumonier XV p.39.

57. Cf. Busson, Le Rationalisme..., p.385.

58. Le Chat, ll.14-8; Laumonier XV pp.39-40.

59. See above, p.28.

60. Cf. La Franciade IV ll.861-962 (Laumonier XVI pp.284-9), where this theory is expounded. It is one with which Ronsard had earlier disagreed - cf. Hymne de la Mort, ll.280-308 (Laumonier VIII pp.176-7).

61. Cf. Busson, Le Rationalisme..., p.385.

62. Cf. Peter Brown, Augustine of Hippo, a biography, London, Faber, 1969 (first published 1967), p.50.

63. Institution, I xv 5; Benoît, I p.213. On the heresy of Servet, to which Calvin refers, see references at chapter II note 66 above.

64. Institution, I v 5; Benoît, I p.73.

65. In Les Apprehensions Spirituelles..., f.69r°.

66. Institution, I xiii 14; Benoît, I p.163.

67. Les C.N., f.13r°.

68. I Corinthians XV 45.

69. Cf. Luther, Lectures on Genesis II 7, in Luther's Works, ed.cit., I p.86; and Calvin, Commentaries on...Genesis, ed.cit., p.112.

70. Cf. Luther, loc.cit.;

It is as if Moses said: Man was made a living soul, not simply in the same way the animals live, but as one which God would later bring to life even without the animal life

and Calvin, Commentaries..., pp.112-3;

Paul makes an antithesis between this living soul and the quickening spirit which Christ confers upon the faithful, (I Cor. xv. 45) for no other purpose than to teach us that the state of man was not perfected in the person of Adam; but it is a peculiar benefit conferred by Christ, that we may be renewed to a life which is celestial, whereas before the fall of Adam, man's life was only earthly, seeing it had no firm and settled constancy.

71. I Corinthians VI 19. Cf. Institution, III xxv 8; Benoît, III p.487.

72. Le Chat, ll.11-4; Laumonier XV p.39. Cf. La Franciade IV ll.881-92; Laumonier XVI p.285.

73. Les C.N., f.13v°. Cf. Pierre Viret, Exposition de la Doctrine de la Foy Chrestienne..., p.861;

...On pourroit bien dire de l'ame sensitiue & sensuelle, qu'elle dormiroit auec le corps, suyuant la commune opinion de ceux qui la font semblable à celle des bestes, & qui ne la prenent que pour l'esprit vital qui donne vie au corps, ou pour le temperament d'iceluy. Car si ainsi est, comme elle meurt auec le corps, ainsi elle dort auec iceluy, iusqu'au iour de la resurrection, auquel elle ressuscitera auec luy.

74. Cf. Jean de Vauzelles, Blason de la Mort (in Poètes du XVIe siècle, texte établi et présenté par Albert-Marie Schmidt, Paris, Gallimard, 1953, p.348);

...Dont tout cela, que mort nous disons estre,
N'est que pour vivre un veritable naistre,
Et ce qu'on dict mourir est la naissance
De lautre siecle en la divine essence

Sponde, Stances de la Mort (loc.cit., p.893);

O la plaisante Mort qui nous pousse à la vie,
Vie qui ne craint plus d'estre encore ravie!

and Chassignet, Le Mespris de la Vie et Consolation contre la Mort, sonnet VI (loc.cit., p.931);

Mesme la froide mort qui si fort nous estonne
Ne ravit point la vie, ains seulement nous donne
Tant soit peu de respit pour le temps avenir.

Béroalde returns to the theme in his own Stances de la Mort et de la Vie (Les Apprehensions Spirituelles, f.24r° (mis-foliated 23));

Foulons donq' sous les pieds ce que nous disons mort,
Car lors que nous tombons sous nostre extresme sort
Nous laissons seulement la matrice mortelle,
Nous laissons le malheur & le mesme trespas,
Et comme nous venons nous sortons d'icy bas,
Pour iouir bien heureux d'vne vie eternelle.

75. Cf. Georgics IV ll.219-27;

his quidam signis atque haec exempla secuti
esse apibus partem diuinae mentis et haustus
aetherios dixere; deum namque ire per omnis
terrasque tractusque maris caelumque profundum;

hinc pecudes, armenta, uiros, genus omne ferarum,
quemque sibi tenuis nascentem arcessere uitas;
scilicet huc reddi deinde ac resoluta referri
omnia, nec morti esse locum, sed uiua uolare
sideris in numerum atque alto succedere caelo

(as quoted in P. Vergili Maronis, Aeneidos Liber sextus, with a commentary by R.G.Austin, Oxford, at the Clarendon Press, 1977, p.222).

76. Institution, I v 5; Benoît, I p.73.

77. Cf. Republic X 617d sqq.; Phaedrus 248c sqq. Also Timaeus 41e sqq., 90e sqq.; Laws X 903d sqq., 904e; Meno 81b sqq.; Phaedo 70c sqq., 81a sqq., 113a.

78. Les Apprehensions Spirituelles, f.7r°.

79. See above, note 75.

80. Les C.N., f.13r°.

81. Loc.cit., f.13v°. For the standard interpretation of the twofold nature of soul, and the distinction between the physical and the spiritual life, cf. Luther, Lectures on Genesis I 26 (Luther's Works, ed.cit., I pp. 67-8);

...We are waiting for that life for which Adam also should have waited. And we duly marvel at this and thank God for it, that although we are si disfigured by sin, so dull, ignorant, and dead, as it were, nevertheless, through the merit of Christ, we wait for the same glory of the spiritual life for which Adam would have waited if he had remained in his physical life, which was endowed with the image of God.

82. See below, Part III.

83. Cf. Béroalde's statement in Le Palais des Curieux, p.62 (quoted above, Introduction, pp.xxiii-xxiv);

Il n'y a que la science qui nous distingue des autres animaux. Quoy tous animaux dorment, viuent, mangent, boiuent & suiuent leurs appetits, qu'ont dauantage les hommes? Rien, s'ils ne sont dressez à quelque industrie, voyez ceux qui ne sçauent rien, ils demeurent sans estre estimez, Hommes ils sont images animees, & rien plus...

84. Institution, I xv 6; Benoît, I p.215.

85. Loc.cit., p.216.

86. Les C.N., f.13r°. The data is traditional - cf. Calvin, Institution, loc.cit.;

Ie reçoy donc en premier lieu les cinq sens...et que par iceux, comme par canaux, tous obiets qui se présentent à la veue, au goust, ou au flair, ou à l'attouchement, distillent au sens commun, comme en une cisterne qui reçoit d'un costé et d'autre, en après la fantasie, laquelle discerne ce que le sens commun a conceu et appréhendé, puis que la raison fait son office en iugeant de tout; finalement, que par dessus la raison est l'intelligence, laquelle contemple d'un regard posé et arresté toutes choses que raison demeine par ses discours.

Béroalde's distinction is that, in De l'Ame et de ses facultes, he will make such data the subject of an epic parallel to Les Cognoissances.

87. Les C.N., f.13v°.

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PART I - CHAPTER IV

1. Les C.N., f.13v°.

2. Luther, Lectures on Genesis II 18; Luther's Works, ed.cit., I p.115.

3. Calvin, Commentaries on...Genesis, ed.cit., p.128.

4. PS VI ll.945-54; Reichenberger, I p.163.

5. François de Billon, Le Fort inexpugnable de l'honneur du sexe Femenin, Introduction par M.A.Screech, Paris/The Hague, Mouton, 1970 (reprint of Le Fort inexpugnable..., Paris, Ian d'Allyer, 1555), f.1r°.

6. Luther, Lectures on Genesis II 18; Luther's Works, ed.cit., I pp.115-6.

7. PS VI ll.955-60; Reichenberger, I p.163.

8. The analysis is that of Georges Poulet - cf. the passage quoted by Giudici in his edition (Microcosme, ed.cit., p.262).

9. Microcosme I ll.155-65; ed. Giudici, pp.151-2.

10. Les C.N., f.14r°.

11. Luther, Lectures on Genesis II 17; Luther's Works, ed.cit., I p.113.

12. Loc.cit., II 18; ed.cit., I p.115.

13. François Rabelais, Le Tiers Livre, édition critique commentée par M.A.Screech, Geneva, Droz (TLF), 1964, pp.226-7.

14. Cf. Nicéron, Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire des hommes illustres..., ed.cit., XXXIV pp.225-6;
Le caractère de Verville est d'être un discoureur Métaphysicien sur toutes sortes de suiets...& avec tout ce fatras & cet attirail d'érudition, de tâcher de paroître galant avec les Dames. C'est ce dernier point qui lui est le plus particulier.

15. Les Apprehensions Spirituelles, f.9r°-v°.

16. Calvin, Commentaries on...Genesis (II v.22), ed.cit., p.134.

17. Loc.cit., II v.18, ed.cit., p.129.

18. Luther, Lectures on Genesis II 18; Luther's Works, ed.cit., I p.118.

19. Les Apprehensions Spirituelles, f.10r°.

20. Les C.N., f.14r°.

21. Ibid.

22. Loc.cit., f.14r°-v°.

23. Cf. Calvin, Commentaries on....Genesis (II v.18), ed.cit., p.129;
...To these wicked suggestions of Satan let the faithful learn to oppose this declaration of God, by which he ordains the conjugal life for man, not to his destruction, but to his salvation.

24. Institution, II viii 41; Benoît, II p.171.

25. Luther, Lectures on Genesis II 18; Luther's Works, ed.cit., I p.116.

26. Ibid.

27. Loc.cit., p.119.

28. Loc.cit., pp.118-9.

29. PS VI ll.987-94; Reichenberger, I p.164.

30. Les C.N., f.14v°.

31. Les Apprehensions Spirituelles, f.9v°.

32. PS VI ll.1003-6; Reichenberger, I pp.164-5.

33. Les C.N., f.14v°.

34. Genesis II 21.

35. Microcosme I ll.167-9; ed. Giudici, p.152.

36. Les C.N., f.14v°.

37. Cf. PS VI ll.961-70 (Reichenberger, I p.163);

Comme le Medecin, qui desire trencher
Quelque membre incurable, auant que d'aprocher
Les glaiues impiteux de la part offensee,
Endort le patient d'vne boisson glacee,
Puis sans nulle douleur, guidé d'vsage & d'art,
Pour sauuer l'homme entier, il en coupe vne part:
Le Tout-puissant ternit de nostre ayeul la face,
Verse dedans ses os vne mortelle glace,
Sille ses yeux ardans d'vn froid bandeau de fer,
Guide presque ses pieds iusqu'au sueil de l'enfer.

38. PS VI ll.971-80; Reichenberger, I pp.163-4.

39. Microcosme I ll.170-87; ed. Giudici, pp.152-3.

40. Les C.N., ff.14v°-15r°.

41. Cf. the debate between Platonic and Galenic doctors on the origin of the sperm, reported in the different theories of Panurge and Rondibilis in the Tiers Livre; for which cf. Roland Antonioli, Rabelais et la Médecine, Geneva, Droz (Etudes Rabelaisiennes XII), 1976, pp.237-56.

42. Genesis II 23.

43. La Bible, Geneva, Robert Estienne, 1553 (copy consulted B.N. A.312, in which the title-page is missing).

44. PS VI ll.981-6; Reichenberger, I p.164.

45. Microcosme I ll.187-94; ed. Giudici, p.153.

46. Les C.N., f.15r°.

47. Cf. PS VI ll.1013-24 (Reichenberger, I p.165);

Cela fait, l'Eternel aux bien-heureux Amants
Commande de peupler par saints embrassements
Le desert Vniuers, & faire qu'en tous aages
Leur beau couple eust ça bas des suruiuans images.
Il auoit imposé n'aguere mesmes loix

Aux felons animaux qui logent dans les bois,
Aux troupeaux emplumez, au bandes qui fecondes,
Ont receu de sa main en partage les ondes.
Les ours depuis ce temps engendrerent des ours,
Les dauphins des dauphins, les vautours des vautours,
Les humains des humains, &, d'vn ordre immuable
Nature à ses parens rendit le fils semblable.

48. Cf. PS VI ll.1025-34 (loc.cit.);
Combien que tout ainsi que Vulcan meslangeant
L'or à la couleur blonde auec le blanc argent,
En fait vn tiers metal, qui retient quelque chose
De l'vn & l'autre corps, dont, riche, on le compose:
Souuent deux animaux, en espece diuers,
Contre l'ordre commun qui regne en l'Vniuers
Confondant, eschaufez, leurs semences ensemble,
Forment vn animal qui du tout ne ressemble
A l'vn de ses parents: ainçois son corps bastard
Retient beaucoup de traits de l'vne & l'autre part...

49. PS VI ll.1052-4; Reichenberger, I p.166.

50. Cf. Microcosme I l.452 (ed. Giudici, p.161);
Contre l'aversité se prouve l'homme fort.
It has been pointed out that this line could serve as a motto to the entire work.

51. Microcosme I ll.219-36; ed. Giudici, pp.153-4.

52. Genesis I 27.

53. Les C.N., f.15r°.

54. Loc.cit., f.15r°-v°.

55. Calvin, Commentaries on....Genesis (II v.18), ed.cit., p.128.

56. Les C.N., f.15v°.

57. Cf. I Corinthians VII 7-9;
Volo enim omnes vos esse sicut meipsum: sed unusquisque proprium donum habet ex Deo: alius quidem sic, alius vero sic.
Dico autem non nuptis, et viduis: bonum est illis si sic permaneant, sicut et ego.
Quod si non se continent, nubant. Melius est enim nubere, quam uri.

58. Les C.N., f.15v°.

59. Cf. Marsile Ficin, Commentaire sur le Banquet de Platon, Texte du manuscrit autographe présenté et traduit par Raymond Marcel, Paris, Les Belles Lettres, 1956. We shall refer to this and also to Discours de l'Honneste Amour Sur le Banquet de Platon: Par Marsile Ficin Philosophe, Medecin & Theologien tresexcellent...Traduits de Toscan en François par Guy Le Fevre de la Boderie..., Paris, Iean Macé, 1578.

60. Cf. Robert Valentine Merrill with Robert J. Clements, Platonism in French Renaissance Poetry, New York, New York U.P., 1957.

61. Cf. Commentaire sur le Banquet..., ed.cit., pp.167ff.

62. Cf. Abel Lefranc, "Le Platonisme et la littérature en France à l'époque de la Renaissance (1500-1550)", in Grands Ecrivains français de la Renaissance, Paris, Champion, 1969 (first published 1914), pp. 63-137; and Jean Festugière, La philosophie de l'amour de Marsile Ficin

et son influence sur la littérature française au XVIe siècle, Paris, Vrin, 1941, pp.63-140.

63. L'Androgyne de Platon, ll.309-13; in Antoine Héroët, Oeuvres Poétiques, édition critique publiée par Ferdinand Gohin, Paris, Droz (STFM), 1909 (deuxième tirage 1943), pp.85-6.

63a. Cf. Biblie iampridem renouate pars prima: complectens pentateuchum: vna cum glosa ordinaria: et litterali moralique expositione Nicolai de lyra..., Basle, J.Froben, J.Amerbach & J.Petri, 1502, f.28r^{o};
Masculum & feminam &c. Ex ista littera dixerunt aliqui hebrei que a prima formatione natura humana formata est in vtroque sexu...

64. Luther, Lectures on Genesis I 27; Luther's Works, ed.cit., I p.70.

65. Cf. Léon Hebrieu, De l'Amour. Tome Premier, Lyon, Jean de Tournes, 1551; Philosophie d'Amour de M.Leon Hebreu, Traduicte d'Italien en Françoys, par le Seigneur du Parc Champenois, Lyon, Guil. Rouille & Thibauld Payen, 1551. There is a modern edition in Léon Hébreu, Dialogues d'Amour, the French translation attributed to Pontus de Tyard and published in Lyon, 1551, by Jean de Tournes, Edited, with an introduction and notes, by T. Anthony Perry, Chapel Hill, The University of North Carolina Press, 1974.

66. Cf. Dialogues d'Amour, ed.cit., pp.246-8.

67. Cf. Bonaventure des Périers, Blason du Nombril (in Schmidt, Poètes du XVIe siècle, p.336);

O l'ancienne Cicatrice
De la rongneure doloreuse
Que Deité trop rigoreuse
Feit jadis au povre Homfenin,
Animal sans fiel, ne venin!
Lequel, contre toute pitié
Fut divisé par la mytié,
Et faict d'un Entier trop heureux
Deux demys Corps trop langoreux,
Qui depuis sont toujours errans,
Et l'un l'autre par tout querans
En grand desir d'eulx reünir...

68. Amours CXXVIII; Laumonier IV p.125.

69. Cf. Merrill and Clements, Platonism in French Renaissance Poetry, pp.99ff.

70. Les C.N., f.15v^{o}.

71. Loc.cit., ff.15v^{o}-16r^{o}.

72. L'Androgyne de Platon, ll.153-84; ed. Gohin, pp.79-80.

73. Loc.cit., ll.153-8.

74. Loc.cit., ll.165-72.

75. Loc.cit., ll.173-8.

76. Loc.cit., ll.179-84.

77. Le Banquet de Platon Traictant d'Amour & de beauté, auec argumens sur checune oraison, sommairement deduits. Les plus notables & meilleures Sentences recueilliès de toutes les oeuures dudit Platon. Le tout en François. Par M. Heret, Paris, Guillaume Guillard, 1556, p.39.

78. Cf. Hymne des Astres, ll.41ff (Laumonier VIII p.152); La Grenouille, ll.73ff. (Laumonier VI p.87). For Du Bellay, see below note 79.

79. Les Antiquitez XII; in Joachim Du Bellay, Les Regrets et autres oeuvres poëtiques, suivis des Antiquitez de Rome. Plus un Songe ou Vision sur le mesme subject, texte établi par J.Jolliffe introduit et commenté par M.A.Screech, Geneva, Droz (TLF), 1966, p.285. Cf. Les Antiquitez IV, ed.cit., p.276.

80. Cf. Discours de l'Honneste Amour Sur le Banquet de Platon..., pp. 113-4;

Nostre ame tombe au corps, lors que laissant la diuine lumiere, elle se retourne seulement à la lumiere sienne, & commence à vouloir estre contente de soy-mesme. Dieu seul, auquel rien ne deffault, sur lequel n'y a rien, reste content de soymesme, & est à soy suffisant. Parquoy l'ame se faict pareille à Dieu, lors qu'elle veult de soymesme estre contente, comme si non moins que Dieu elle suffisoit à soymesme.

(Cf. Commentaire sur le Banquet de Platon IV iv; ed. Marcel, pp.172-3).

81. Sebond, La Theologie Naturelle, f.149v°.

82. Le Banquet de Platon...Par M.Heret, p.39.

83. Cf. Psalm VI 4-5; Psalm LXXXVIII 10-2; Psalm CXV 17. The theme is reflected elsewhere; cf. the plea of Clemency in Ronsard's Hymne de la Justice, ll.329-30, 332-4 (Laumonier VIII p.63);

Et si tout est confus, qui adoncques dira
Les Hymnes de ta gloire, & ton nom benira?...
Qui devot chargera tes sainctz autels d'offrandes?
Qui la flamme immortelle aux temples gardera?
Qui d'encens Arabicq' ton trosne enfumera?

- and the opening speech of Le Prophète in Garnier's Les Juifves (Robert Garnier, Les Juifves. Tragédie, Introduction, Notes, Grammaire et Lexique par Marcel Hervier, Paris, Garnier, 1964, p.8 (Acte premier, ll. 18-20);

Qui t'invoqueroit plus? qui chanteroit ta gloire?
Qui te sacrifieroit? qui de tous les mortels
Se viendroit plus jetter au pié de tes autels?

Cf. also Agrippa d'Aubigné, Les Tragiques, Miseres ll.1329ff. (in Les Tragiques, édition critique avec introduction et commentaire par A. Garnier et J.Plattard, 4 vols., Paris, Droz (STFM), 1932-3(later reprinted by Didier), I p.135).

84. Les C.N., f.16r°-v°.

85. Calvin, Commentaries on...Genesis, ed.cit., pp.96-7.

86. We have grouped certain remarks on the aesthetic qualities of Béroalde's poetry as we have examined it in our conclusion (see below, pp.367-9).

87. For the Calvinist view of poetry cf. Marcel Raymond, L'Influence de Ronsard sur la poésie française, I pp.329ff; this and further references given by Francis M. Higman, "Ronsard's political and polemical poetry", in Ronsard the Poet, edited by Terence Cave, London, Methuen, 1973, p.258.

88. Cf. Higman, loc.cit.

89. As quoted in The Works of Guillaume De Salluste Sieur Du Bartas, ed. Holmes, I p.224.

90. As quoted in Higman, loc.cit., p.259.

91. Brief advertissement..., loc.cit., p.224.

92. Les C.N., f.16v°.

93. Ibid.

94. Loc.cit., f.17r°.

95. Les Apprehensions Spirituelles, f.10r°-v°.

96. Les C.N., f.17r°.

97. Cf. René Bretonnayau, La Generation de l'Homme, et le Temple de l'Ame..., f.3r°;

Mais, ô Dieu qu'est-ce cy! ah qu'est-ce que ie sens?
Qui rauiseur m'enleue & desrobbe à mes sens?
Qui embrase mon ame, et quelle vertu forte,
Mais quelle douce erreur! hors de moy me transporte?
Quelle est ceste fureur qui trouble mon repos?
Qui est ce feu qui vient me cendroyer les os?
Qui succe ma moüelle, & mes venes deseche?
Qui dedans le gosier mes parolles empesche?
Quelle poison me charme, & quel nouueau desir,
Me vient estrangement les entrailles saisir?
Tout beau, qui que tu sois, si rude ne me mene
Ie te suy de bon gré, i'ayme bien ceste pene.
Ah! ie me pasme d'aize, et mon ame qui sort
N'a plus n'a plus regret à son corps demy mort.
C'est c'est ie ne sçay quoy, c'est vne ioye extreme
Qui m'affolle et chatouille et rauist en moymesme...

For Bretonnayau, cf. Schmidt, La Poésie Scientifique..., ed.cit., pp. 345-9; D.B.Wilson, Descriptive Poetry in France from Blason to Baroque, Manchester, Manchester U.P., 1967, pp.97-8,221, and French Renaissance Scientific Poetry, pp.51-5, 181; and also Bouquet poëtique des médecins chirurgiens, dentistes et apothicaires, Poëmes recueillis et annotés par Pascal Pia..., Paris, Collection de l'Ecritoire, 1933, pp.99-101. There is an earlier article in Camille Ballu, "René Bretonnayau", in Revue de la Renaissance VII (1906), pp.153-64.

98. This poem is discussed in Part II below.

99. Cf. Symposium 180d-181d.

100. Cf. Commentaire sur le Banquet II vii; ed. Marcel, p.153.

101. Discours de l'Honneste Amour, pp.27-8 (cf. Commentaire I iv; ed.cit., p.143).

102. Les C.N., f.17r°-v°.

103. Institution, II viii 41; Benoît, II p.171. See above, p.112.

104. Les C.N., f.17v°.

105. Cf. Commentaire sur le Banquet VII xii (ed.cit., p.256);
Hoc itaque furore homo in bestie naturam devolvitur.

106. Les C.N., ff.17v°-18r°.

107. Discours de l'Honneste Amour, pp.83, 85 (cf. Commentaire III ii; ed. cit., p.162).

108. Cf. Commentaire VI ii; ed.cit., p.200.

109. Les C.N., f.18r°.

110. Discours sur l'Honneste Amour, pp.317-8 (cf. Commentaire VI xix; ed.cit., p.239).

111. Les C.N., f.18r°.

112. Loc.cit., f.18r°-v°.

113. PS VI ll.961-70; Reichenberger, I p.163. Quoted above, note 37.

114. Baldassare Castiglione, The Book of the Courtier, translated by Sir Thomas Hoby, introduction by W.H.D.Rouse, London/New York, Dent/Dutton, 1928 (reprinted 1966), pp.317-8.

115. Cf. in particular the love poetry of Ronsard, and the blend of the platonic and the personal in a sonnet such as the following (Amours CLXXIV; Laumonier IV p.164);

Comme on souloit si plus on ne me blasme
D'estre tousjours lentement otieux,
Je t'en ren grace, heureux trait de ces yeulx,
Qui m'ont parfait l'imparfait de mon ame.

Ore l'esclair de leur divine flamme,
Dressant en l'air mon vol audacieux
Pour voir le Tout, m'esleve jusqu'aux cieux,
Dont ici bas la partie m'enflamme.

Par le moins beau, qui mon penser aisla,
Au sein du beau mon penser s'en vola,
Epoinconné d'une manie extreme:

Là, du vray beau j'adore le parfait,
Là, d'otieux actif je me suis fait,
Là, je cogneu ma maistresse & moy-mesme.

Even more striking is the final tercet of Sonnet CXXXIX (Laumonier IV p.135);

...Nét, libre, & nud, je vole d'un plein sault,
Oultre le ciel, pour adorer là hault
L'aultre beauté dont la tienne est venue.

As Odette de Mourgues has pointed out ("Ronsard's later poetry", in Ronsard the Poet, ed. Cave, p.289),

Would another poet have translated so paradoxically the craving of the soul for a platonic heaven in terms of the muscular vertical movement of a young athlete's body leaping beyond the stars to land among the gods?

116. Les C.N., f.18v°.

117. Ibid.

118. Ibid.

119. Loc.cit., ff.18v°-19r°.

120. Loc.cit., f.19r°.

121. Louangé de la Sciancé, in Euvres Poetiques..., f.58v°. Quoted above, Introduction, p.xx.

122. Les C.N., f.19r°.

123. Ibid.

124. Loc.cit., f.19r°-v°.

125. Loc.cit., f.19v°.

126. Ibid.

127. Hymne de la Justice, ll.489-90; Laumonier VIII p.69.

128. Cf. Essais III xiii De l'Expérience (ed. Rat, p.1042);
Il y a peu de relation de nos actions, qui sont en perpetuelle mutation, avec les lois fixes et immobiles...

129. Les C.N., ff.19v°-20r°.

130. Cf. Hymne de la Justice, ll.461-4 (Laumonier VIII p.68);
Mais celuy qui nous feit immortelz les espritz
Comme à ses chers Enfans, & ses plus favoris,
Que trop plus que le Ciel ny que la Terre il ayme,
Nous a donné ses loix de sa propre main mesme.

131. Les Discours Philosophiques, f.157r°.

132. Cf. Hymne de la Justice, ll.445ff.; Laumonier VIII p.68.

133. See below, note 136.

134. Les C.N., f.20r°.

135. Ibid. Cf. L'Idee de la Republique, f.19v°, where Béroalde declares that the ideal citizen
...est libre en seruant la loy qui conseruee
Est vne liberté doucement ordonnee,
Laquelle est icy bas le pourtrait ombrageux
Des biens perpetuelz, qui sont promis a ceux,
Qui suiuront la iustice, & desquelz la memoire
Par elle fleurira d'vne eternelle gloire.
For L'Idee de la Republique, see further below, Part III chapter I.

136. Hymne de la Justice, ll.445-50; Laumonier VIII p.68.

137. Les C.N., f.20r°-v°.

138. Loc.cit., f.20v°.

139. For a version of the theme contemporary with Béroalde's, but to opposite effect, cf. d'Aubigné, L'Hecatombe à Diane II (Agrippa d'Aubigné, Le Printemps. L'Hecatombe à Diane et les Stances, édition commentée par Henri Weber, Paris, Presses Universitaires de France (Publications de la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Montpellier), n.d., p.56);
En un petit esquif esperdu, malheureux,
Exposé à l'horreur de la mer enragée,
Je disputoy' le sort de ma vie engagée
Avecq' les tourbillons des bises outrageux...
Cf. further Du Bellay, Olive XLI (ed. Courbet, I p.31); Ronsard, Amours XLV (Laumonier IV p.48), and XLIV (Laumonier IV p.47). These are merely three conspicuous examples of what is a common motif (cf. Petrarch, Il Canzoniere, Sestina IV).

140. Les C.N., f.20v°.

141. Cf. Discours de l'Honneste Amour, p.18;
...& l'vnissement & recueil de toutes les formes & idees, les Latins l'appellent Monde, & les Grecs Cosmos, qui signifie Ornement.
(cf. Commentaire I iii; ed.cit., p.140.

142. Cf. Hymne de la Justice, ll.459-60 (Laumonier VIII p.68);
Et pource, du nom Grec ce grand Monde s'appelle,
D'autant que l'ordonnance en est plaisante & belle...

143. Les C.N., f.20v°.

144. Metamorphoses I ll.89-90.

145. Cf. Elizabeth Armstrong, Ronsard and The Age of Gold, Cambridge, Cambridge U.P.,1968.

146. Les C.N., ff.20v°-21r°. Cf. Hymne de la Justice, ll.49-76; Laumonier VIII pp.50-1.

147. Cf. Elegie au Seigneur Baillon, ll.57-8, 65-74 (Laumonier XII pp.90-1);

O bien heureux le siecle où le peuple sauvage
Vivoit par les forests de gland & de fruitage!
...Les marchés n'estoient point, ny les peaux des ouailles
Ne servoyent aux contrats: les paisibles orailles
N'entendoient la trompette, ains la Tranquilité.
La Foy, la Preudhomie, Amour, & Charité
Regnoient aux cueurs humains, qui gardoient la loy saincte
De Nature & de Dieu, sans force ny contrainte.
L'ardante ambition ne les tormentoit pas:
Ils ne cognoissoient point, ny escus ny ducats,
Nobles, ny Angelots, ny les Portugaloises
Qui sement dans les cueurs des hommes tant de noises...

- and also the sentiment expressed by Navarrin in La Bergerie, ll.549-56 (Laumonier XIII pp.103-4);

O saison gratieuse! helas, que n'ay je esté
En un temps si heureux en ce monde aletté!
Meintenant on ne voit que Circes & Medées,
Que Cacus ehontez aux mains outrecuidées,
Que Busyrs, Geryons, que Protées nouveaux
Qui se changent en Tygre, en Serpens, en oyseaux,
Et coulent de la main tout ainsi qu'une Anguille
Et aux moissons d'autruy ont toujours la faucille.

148. La Galliade, f.35v°.

149. A Dieu pour la Famine (Le Bocage (1550), IX), ll.61-4; Laumonier II p.186. For further references, and a discussion of sources, cf. Armstrong, op.cit. The theme is also utilised by Du Chesne, in his Chant Dorique...Du Souverain Bien (La Morocosmie, p.84);

Heureux cent & cent fois le siecle Saturnin,
Où l'eau claire seruoit à l'homme au lieu du vin,
Où l'on ne s'accoustroit de si diuerse sorte:
Sur la molle verdure où on passoit la nuict,
Où l'on se nourrissoit tant seulement du fruict
De cest arbre sacré, le nom duquel ie porte.

150. Les C.N., f.21r°.

151. Cf. Ronsard, Elegie "De vous, & de fortune, & de moy je me deuls", ll.35-8 (Laumonier XII p.217);

Maudits soient les presens dont la boete feconde
De la belle Pandore a remply tout le monde!
Le peuple, qui avoit egalement vescu,
Se vit d'ambition & de gloire veincu...

- and Elegie des Armairies, ll.5-9 (Laumonier XII p.240);

Si est-ce, mon Sanzay, que sans faveur de race
Les hommes sont yssus d'une pareille masse.
Ils eurent sang pareil & pareil mouvement,
Et furent tous egaux des le commencement,
Sans point se soucier d'honneur ny de noblesse...

152. Les C.N., f.21r°.

153. Loc.cit., f.21r°-v°.

154. Loc.cit., f.21v°. Cf. Les Apprehensions Spirituelles, f.21r°; the "or des philosophes"

à la fin mis en vn vaisseau bouché sur leur feu, lent se vest d'vne couleur noire, puis il s'y entremesle de petits points blancs, comme yeux de poissons, apres quoy suruiennent infinies couleurs, puis la blanche qui est l'argent potable, puis la citrine, & rouge, qui est l'or potable...

The description is a standard one; cf. Dom Pernety, Dictionnaire Mytho-Hermetique, as quoted in Claude d'Ygé, Nouvelle Assemblée des Philosophes Chymiques..., Paris, Dervy-Livres, 1954, p.91;

Les Philosophes Hermétiques regardent les couleurs qui surviennent à la matière pendant l'opération du grand-oeuvre, comme les clefs de cet Art, et les indices certains de la vérité et bonté de la matière, et du bon régime du feu. Ils en comptent trois principales qui se succèdent, mais dont la succession est interrompue par quelques autres couleurs passagères et de peu de durée. La première principale est la couleur noire, qui doit se faire voir au quarante-deuxième jour au plus tard. Elle disparoît peu à peu, et fait place à la blanche. A celle-ci succède la citrine, qu'ils appellent leur Or. Enfin la couleur rouge se montre, et c'est la Fleur de leur or, leur Couronne royale, etc. "Les couleurs passageres" sont la verte, qui marque l'animation et la végétation de la matière; la grise, ou le règne de Jupiter, qui suit immédiatement la noire, ou le règne de Saturne; les couleurs de la queue de paon. La couleur Tyrienne, ou couleur de pourpre, indique la perfection de la pierre...

155. For a further association between alchemy and the Age of Gold, albeit in a more incidental way, cf. Hesteau de Nuysement, Poeme Philosophic, p.41. If the secret of transmutation were not expressed in hermetic language, Hesteau argues,

Chacun, nouueau Cresus, fermeroit sa boutique,
Aborrant le trafic de son Art mecanique.
Le chetif buscheron dédaignant ses fagots
Serpe & hache fondue estendroit en lingots.
Le pescheur diligent a ses fillets destruire
Arracheroit le plomb pour en or le reduire.
Le Mareschal fondroit enclumes & marteaux.
Le Laboureur voudroit defferrer ses cheuaux;
Desarmer sa charrue; & Ceres delaissee,
N'auroit plus d'épics blonds l'eschine herissee.
Bref le beau siecle d'or iadis tant admiré,
Renaistroit icy bas follement desiré:
Car le glan des forests, auec l'eau des fontaines,
Seroient de nos festins les douceurs souueraines;
Nous les seruant dans l'or, qui aux yeux plus riant
Ne rendroit au palais le morceau plus friant.
Il faudroit aller nuds: & comme les sauuages
Opposer des rouseaux aux celestes orages.

Apart from the fact that it furnishes what must be virtually the only instance of the Age of Gold theme appearing as a warning, this text does not otherwise depart from the model offered by Lucretius (De Rerum Natura V ll.925ff.), and after him by Ronsard. It is left to Béroalde to introduce a new element within the Golden Age itself. On this episode of the poem, cf. further Schmidt, La Poésie Scientifique..., ed.cit., pp.403-4.

156. Cf. Ovid, Metamorphoses I ll.101-2;

Ipsa quoque inmunis rastroque intacta nec ullis
Saucia vomeribus per se dabat omnia tellus...

and Ronsard, Bergerie, ll.528-30 (Laumonier XIII p.102);

Les champs n'estoient bornez, & la terre commune
Sans semer ny planter, bonne mere, aportoit
Le fruit qui de soymesme heureusement sortoit...

157. Les C.N., f.21v°.

158. Exhortation pour la Paix, l.153; Laumonier IX p.23.

159. Bergerie, ll.549-50; Laumonier XIII p.103 (quoted above, note 147).

160. La Morocosmie, p.7.

161. Les C.N., f.21v°.

162. Loc.cit., ff.21v°-22r°.

163. D'Aubigné, Les Tragiques, Jugement ll.1209-18; ed. Garnier & Plattard, IV p.197.

164. Cf. I Corinthians II 9;
Sed sicut scriptum est: Quod oculus non vidit, nec auris audivit, nec in cor hominis ascendit, quae praeparavit Deus iis qui diligunt illum.
(cf. also Isaiah LXIV 4).

165. Cf. Staub, Le Curieux Desir, p.15.

166. Les C.N., f.22r°.

* * *

PART II - CHAPTER I

1. De l'Ame et de ses facultes, f.26r°. For an explanation of the foliation reference, see above, Part I, chapter I, note 2. The title of the poem we shall henceforward abbreviate as De l'Ame.

2. As cited above, Introduction note 11.

3. Cf. Busson, op.cit., p.538 note 3, where the reference is to the Discours de l'Ame of Jacques Davy Du Perron;

C'est un résumé de psychologie scolastique qui expose le mécanisme des puissances de l'âme, mais ne s'occupe ni de sa nature ni de sa destinée, et est sans intérêt ici par conséquent.

4. Cf. De Anima 402b 1; ed. W.S.Hett (LCL), p.11.

5. De Anima 412a 25; ed.cit., p.69.

6. Cf. Busson, op.cit., p.54 note 3;

...pendant toute la Renaissance, en Italie comme en France, la question de l'immortalité préoccupe beaucoup plus les esprits que celle des miracles. Je n'ai pas relevé moins d'une soixantaine de traités spéciaux ou de dissertations sur l'immortalité au cours du siècle en France...

(quoted in Lucien Febvre, Le problème de l'incroyance au 16e siècle. La religion de Rabelais, Paris, Albin Michel, 1968 (first pub. 1942), p.451 (note)

7. Cf. A.Vacant, Etudes théologiques sur les constitutions du Concile du Vatican d'après les actes du concile, 2 vols., Paris/Lyon, Delhomme/Briguet, 1895, I p.236 and note, where this decree is cited;

Cum itaque (quod dolenter referimus) zizaniae seminator, antiquus humani generis hostis, nonnullos perniciosissimos errores, a fidelibus semper explosos, in agro Domini superseminare et augere sit ausus, de natura praesertim animae rationalis, quod videlicet mortalis sit, aut unica in cunctis hominibus; et nonnulli temere philosophantes secundum saltem philosophiam verum id esse asseverent; contra hujusmodi pestem opportuna remedia adhibere cupientes, hoc sacro approbante concilio, damnamus et reprobamus omnes asserentes animam intellectivam mortalem esse aut unicam in cunctis hominibus, et haec in dubium vertentes...

8. Cf. Marsile Ficin, Théologie Platonicienne de l'Immortalité des Ames, Texte critique établi et traduit par Raymond Marcel, 2 vols., Paris, Les Belles Lettres, 1964.

9. Cf. Ioannis Lodovici Vivis Valentini de Anima & vita Libri tres. Eiusdem argumenti Viti Amerbachii de Anima Libri IIII. Philippi Melanthonis Liber vnus. His accedit nunc primum Conradi Gesneri de Anima liber..., Zurich, apud Iacobum Gesnerum, 1563 (B.N. R.13119, and British Library 1133 b. 1). We have drawn all our references to these treatises from this compendium, which we shall henceforward refer to as Ioannis Lodovici Vivis Valentini de Anima...

10. For Melanchthon the question is subordinate to the claims of faith; cf. Melanchthon, De Anima liber, in Ioannis Lodovici Vivis Valentini de Anima..., p.717 -

Sed Philosophorum dubitationes relinquamus, & caliginem animarum nostrarum, que peccatum secuta est, deploremus, & maiore cura vocem diuinam de voluntate Dei, ac beneficijs Domini nostri Iesu Christi, et de restitutione vitae perpetuae concionantem audiamus, & ipsum filium Dei oremus, vt assensionem in mentibus nostris confirmet.

11. Cf. for instance Vives, De Anima & vita libri tres, loc.cit., p.132;

Animae nostrae an extinctae suis corporibus sint superstites, nec vlla vi fati perimantur, quaesitum est à veteribus sapientiae sectatoribus. Quae disputatio molestior est facta atque intricatior, ex hominum partim ignorantia, partim malicia & prauitate.

12. Cf. Saulnier, Maurice Scève, II pp.190-1.

13. Augustine, De Anima et ejus Origine libri IV (MPL XLIV c.475); Tertullian Liber de Anima (MPL II c.681); Cassiodorus, De Anima (MPL LXX c.1279); Rabanus Maurus, Tractatus de Anima (MPL CX c.1109).

14. Cf. Brunetto Latini, Li livres dou tresor II i VI, "Des trois puissances de l'ame" (Li Livres dou Tresor par Brunetto Latini, publié pour la première fois d'après les manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Impériale de la Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal et plusieurs manuscrits des départements et de l'étranger par P. Chabaille, Paris, Imprimerie Imperiale, 1863, p.260); Vincent de Beauvais, Miroir Hystorial, chapter xxxvii, "Des vertus de l'ame" (Le premier Volume de Vincent Miroir hystorial. Nouuellement imprime a Paris, Paris, Nicolas Couteau, 1531, D i v°); Gregor Reisch, Margarita Philosophica, Liber X, "De anima & potentijs eiusdem" (ed.cit., p.408); and also Bartholomew the Englishman, Le Grand Proprietaire de toutes choses..., Paris, Magdaleine Boursette, 1556, f.xi v°.

15. Tractatus de anima, editus a domino petro de Ailliaco, Paris, per Guidonem Mercatoris, 1494, A ii v° (British Library I.A. 39644). The arrangement is doubtless common to other printed editions of the work; it features also in a 1503 edition (Paris, Johannus Lambertus; B.N. Rés. p.R.335. Diagram equally at a. ii v°).

16. One indication of the continuing influence of the encyclopaedic tradition is the late date of some of these editions. Taking the collections of the Bibliothèque Nationale for our illustration, Reisch's Margarita Philosophica is still being published in the year that Béroalde's De l'Ame appears (Basle, per Sebastianum Henricpetri, 1583; B.N. R.1776); Bartholomew the Englishman's Le Proprietaire des Choses is still sufficiently popular in 1556 to warrant three separate issues (B.N. R.926, R.923, and Rés. R.220); and Vincent de Beauvais' Speculum majus is edited at Venice in 1591, and at Douai as late as 1624 (B.N. G.784-787, G.788-791 respectively).

17. Jacques Davy Du Perron, Discours de l'ame, prononcé devant le roy Henry III, in Les Diverses Oeuures de l'Illustrissime Cardinal Du Perron..., Paris, Antoine Estiene, 1622, p.831.

18. Cf. E. Ruth Harvey, The Inward Wits. Psychological Theory in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, London, The Warburg Institute, 1975, p.35.

19. Cf. Bartholomew the Englishman, Le Grand Proprietaire de toutes choses..., III x,"Du sens de dedans qui est appellé sens commun" (ed.cit., f.xiij v°);

Le sens de dedans qui est appellé sens commun est diuisé en trois parties selon les trois regions du cerueau, car il y à trois chambrettes au cerueau. La premiere est en la partie du deuant dessus le front, & la ouure la vertu ymaginatiue en composant & ordonnant ce que les sens de dehors comprennent. La seconde chambrette si est au meilleu du cerueau, & la est assise la maison sensible, qui autrement est appellée la vertu extimatiue. La tierce chambrette du cerueau est en la partie de derriere sur le hastereau & la est la vertu memoratiue, laquelle retient & garde en son tresor les choses qui sont comprinses par la vertu ymaginatiue & par la vertu extimatiue.

20. Cf. Andreas Vesalius, De Humani Corporis Fabrica libri septem..., Basle, ex officina Ioannis Oporini, 1543, p.623. Book VII of the Fabrica, in which this remark is made, has been translated by Charles Singer, and it is from this translation that we quote (Vesalius on the Human Brain,

Introduction, Translation of text, Translation of descriptions of figures, Notes to the translations, Figures, (by) Charles Singer, Oxford, Oxford U.P. (for The Wellcome Historical Medical Museum), 1952, p.5);

I well remember that when in the University of Louvain in the Pedagogium Castrense...I gave my efforts to philosophy. In those commentaries on Aristotle's De Anima, then read to us by our teacher... the brain was said to have been equipped with three ventricles. The first was in front, the second in the middle, the third behind, with names according to their position and other names derived from their functions.

The first or frontal, said to lie towards the forehead, was the ventricle of "Common Sense" since, as they believed, from it the nerves of the five senses pass to their instruments...

This ventricle was linked to the second ventricle by a certain passage through which these objects pass. Thus the second ventricle could imagine, meditate, and consider the objects in question; for to this ventricle Thought and Reason were ascribed.

The third ventricle was dedicated to Memory. The second ventricle would, according to its nature, pass to it all those things which it wished to be entrusted thereto, namely those objects upon which it had thoroughly meditated...

21. Loc.cit., p.6;

That we should follow up in more detail the items which we were thus taught, we were shown a figure from some Philosophic Pearl which presented to the eyes the ventricles so discussed...

Such are the inventions of those who never look into our Maker's ingenuity in the building of the human body! How such people err in describing the brain will be demonstrated in our subsequent discussion...

22. De Anima 414b 15ff.; ed.cit., pp.81, 83.

23. Cf. De Natura Deorum II lvi; and Reichenberger, II p.246.

24. Cf. PS VI ll.499-622; Reichenberger, I pp.151-4. The initial metaphor is a military one (loc.cit., ll.499-508; Reichenberger, I p.151);

Mais tu logeas encor l'humain entendement
En l'estage plus haut de ce beau bastiment:
Afin que tout ainsi que d'vne citadelle
Il domptast la fureur du corps qui se rebelle
Trop souuent contre luy, & que nostre raison,
Tenant dans vn tel fort iour & nuict garnison,
Foulast dessous ses pieds l'enuie, la colere,
L'auarice, l'orgueil, & tout ce populaire,
Qui veut, seditieux, tousiours donner la loy
A celuy qu'il te pleut leur ordonner pour Roy...

25. Cf. PS VI ll.623-40; Reichenberger, I pp.154-5. For the parallels in Ambrose' text cf. Reichenberger, II p.250. The same type of personification applies (loc.cit., ll.623-8);

Mains, qui du corps humain tracez la pourtraiture,
Oublirez-vous les mains, chambrieres de nature,
Singes de l'Eternel, instruments à tous arts,
Et pour sauuer nos corps non soudoyez soudars,
De nos conceptions diligentes greffieres,
Ministres de l'esprit, & du corps viuandieres?...

26. PS VI ll.641-6; Reichenberger, I p.155.

27. PS VI ll.699-704; Reichenberger, I p.157.

28. Ambrose, Hexaemeron VI ix 70; as quoted by Reichenberger, II p.253.

29. See above, Part I, chapter IV, note 97.

30. For the poem Des Hemorrhoides, & leur cure cf. Bouquet poëtique des medecins..., pp.101-5; and Wilson, French Renaissance Scientific Poetry, pp.51-5.

31. Le Temple de l'Ame, f.104v°; as quoted in Schmidt, La Poésie Scientifique..., ed.cit., p.352.

32. Le Temple de l'Ame, f.55r°.

33. Cf. Le Temple de l'Ame, f.56r°;

O grand Duc c'est à toy (encore que suiuie
Ton illustre vertu soit de la faulse enuie)
Que desormais i'adresse & mes vers & mes voeuz.
Soit doncq' leur cours de grace & facile et heureux:
Haut en est le subiect, & l'entreprise grande,
Aysee ell' me sera, si mon Duc le commande:
Si de son oeil benin il me fait le signal
Au Cigne Vendomois il me peut faire egal.
Et plein de la fureur qu'aux siens Phoebus inspire,
Du mortel desormais on ne m'orra rien dire...

We shall mention without further comment Schmidt's suggestion (La Poésie Scientifique..., p.352) that Bretonnayau's poem Des Hemorrhoides ("Comme l'on voit rougir sur son arbre la meure...") is a conscious parody of Ronsard's sonnet Sur la Mort de Marie ("Comme on voit sur la branche au mois de mai la rose...").

34. Cf. Bouquet poëtique des medecins..., p.100;

C'est au cours de sa carrière en Touraine que Bretonnayau entreprit de mettre la médecine en vers, dans un long ouvrage intitulé l'Esculape. Son manuscrit, aujourd'hui perdu, était terminé dès 1576. Mais l'auteur n'en détacha que quelques passages pour les publier en 1583...

35. De l'Ame, f.26r°-v°.

* * *

PART II - CHAPTER II

1. See above, pp.93ff.

2. Les C.N., f.12v° (passage quoted above, p.94).

3. See above, p.95 .

4. Cf. De Anima 403b 20ff.; ed.cit., p.19 .

5. Conradi Gesneri de Anima liber, sententiosa brevitate, veluti per tabulas et aphorismos vt plurimùm conscriptus, philosophiae & medecinae studiosis accommodatus. Nunc primùm editus, Zurich, apud Iacobum Gesnerum, 1563, in Ioannis Lodovici Vivis Valentini de Anima (title-page at Z i r°), p.724. Cf. Vitus Amerbachius, De anima libri IIII, loc.cit., pp.288-94; and Melanchthon, De anima liber, loc.cit., pp.478-91.

6. De l'Ame, ff.26v°-27r°.

7. Cf. Claude-Gilbert Dubois, Mythe et langage au seizième siècle, Bordeaux, Editions Ducros, 1970, pp.31ff.

8. Luther, Lectures on Genesis II 19; Luther's Works, ed.cit., I pp. 119-20 .

9. Microcosme I l.152; ed. Giudici, p.151.

10. PS VI ll.931-2; Reichenberger, I p.163 .

11. See above, Introduction p.xxi note 116 .

12. See above, pp.12-4 .

13. De l'Ame, f.27r°.

14. Cf. Timaeus 34c-36d .

15. Cf. Wilson, French Renaissance Scientific Poetry, pp.14ff.; and Boethius, De Institutione Musica I ii .

16. Boethius, The Consolation of Philosophy III ix; translated Watts, p.97.

17. De l'Ame, f.27r°.

18. Ibid.

19. Ibid.

20. Les Trois Livres de la Vie..., f.92r°.

21. De l'Ame, f.27r°.

22. Loc.cit., f.27v°.

23. Ibid.

24. Loc.cit., ff.27v°-28r°.

25. Loc.cit., f.28r°. Cf. Les C.N., f.1v°;
Ie recherche de tout la forme interieure,
La matiere du monde, & de ce qui demeure,

Dessous l'enclos du ciel, & les iustes accords,
Qui tiennent les espris arrestés à leurs corps...

26. Loc.cit., f.28r°.

27. Ioannis Lodovici Vivis Valentini de Anima & Vita libri tres..., pp. 8-9.

28. Plotinus, The Enneads VI vii 11; translated by Stephen MacKenna, second edition revised by B.S.Page, London, Faber, 1956, p.569.

29. Cf. Verbeke, L'Evolution de la doctrine de pneuma, p.340; and E. Vernon Arnold, Roman Stoicism Being Lectures on the History of the Stoic Philosophy with special reference to its development within the Roman Empire, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1958 (first published 1911), pp.242-3.

30. Cf. Conrad Gesner, De Anima liber, in Ioannis Lodovici Vivis Valentini de Anima, p.723;

Mercurius Trismegistus capite 2. Poemandri, lapides etiam viuere & animam habere scribit.

We have found no such reference in the Pimander itself, but cf. Corpus Hermeticum, Fragment III.9 (Hermes Trismegistus, Corpus Hermeticum, texte établi par A.D.Nock traduit par A.J.Festugière, 4 vols., Paris, Les Belles Lettres, 1945-54, III p.18);

Conçois enfin en quatrième lieu l'âme des êtres inanimés, qui, tout en se trouvant en dehors des corps, exerce son opération en les mouvant... - and Fragment IV.12 (ed.cit., III p.24);

Maintenant, les forces opèrent non seulement sur les corps animés, mais aussi sur les inanimés, les pièces de bois, les roches, et toutes les autres choses du même genre: elles les font croître, leur donnent fruit, les font mûrir, puis se corrompre, se décomposer, pourrir et tomber en poussière, bref elles opèrent en eux tous les changements de même sorte que les corps inanimés sont susceptibles de subir.

31. Cf. Gesner, De Anima liber, p.723;

Thales magneti quoque animam tribuit, vt qui mouendi et trahendi vim habeat, teste Aristotele. Et in eius vita Laertius, Inanimatis etiam, inquit, illum animas inesse putasse Aristoteles & Hippias autores sunt, conijcientem id ex magnete lapide & succino...

Cf. De Anima 405a 19; and Diogenes Laertius, Lives of Eminent Philosophers, I xxiv.

32. Loc.cit.

33. La Croix du Maine (Bibliothèque..., ed.cit., p.92) includes in his list of Béroalde's works an

Abregez des oeuures de Hierosme Cardan medecin Milanois touchant la Subtilité & Varieté des choses, non encores imprimez...

See above, Introduction, note 90.

34. Les Livres de Hierome Cardanus medecin milannois, intitules de la Subtilité, & subtiles inuentions, ensemble les causes occultes, & raisons d'icelles, Traduis de Latin en François, par Richard le Blanc, Paris, Charles l'Angelier, 1556, f.106r°.

35. Loc.cit., f.131v°.

36. La Nature au Decouvert, par le chevalier inconnu..., Aix, chez I. Bapt. & Estiene Roize, 1669, pp.145-6.

37. Cf. De la Subtilité, ed.cit., f.125v°;

Les Alcumistes donc peuuent muer la couleur, & le pois, mais ils ne peuuent muer la subtilité, & fermeté...

- and f.325v°;

L'art Chymistique, vulgairement dit alcmie, contient plusieurs choses admirables, plusieurs inutiles, plusieurs doubteuses, plusieurs belles, aucunes salutaires, aucunes d'efficace, aucuenes presque diuines, plusieurs de nulle consequence, aucunes de grande esperance, aucunes de grande iacture & peril, qui surmontent les autres en nombre...

38. Recherches de la pierre philosophale, f.82v°.

39. See above, pp.23-4, 34ff., 44-5 .

40. See above, p.45. Cf. further Hesteau de Nuysement, Poeme Philosophic..., pp.16ff., with its praise of

...L'esprit vniuersel du monde inferieur;
Qu'en blanche & fine fleur la Nature fait naistre,
Et qu'en cristal luysant l'Art nous fait apparoistre.

40a. Cf. Hesteau, Poeme Philosophic, pp.16-8;

En sa simplicité, cet esprit general,
Triple vn, est animal, vegetal, mineral,
Commencement & fin de tout corps corruptible,
Dont il est la substance & le baulme inuisible.
Mais s'il plaist à sa mere vn corps edifier,
Et qu'il s'aille glissant pour le viuifier,
Il reçoit la Nature, & le nom de la chose,
Ou par obeissance il se methamorphose.
Il anime tous corps; il les fait vegetter;
Et selon qu'il abonde, accroistre & augmenter.
C'est l'Apelle diuin, le Peintre de Nature;
Qui bigarre les fleurs de naïue peinture.
Qui sans couleur produit cent diuerses couleurs;
Et confit sans odeur cent diuerses odeurs.
C'est le Cameleon, c'est l'inconstant Prothee,
Qui reçoit toute forme & couleur presentee.
L'on auroit beau sans luy les herbes replanter;
Semer les grains en terre, & les arbres anter.
C'est luy seul qui la plante & l'arbre viuifie;
Qui la graine semee en terre putrifie;
Qui cause la naissance & la fecondité,
Selon la chaleur ioincte auec l'humidité.
En luy seul les vertus de tous les corps consistent;
Car ceux ou plus il est plus longuement persistent:
Et ceux où il est moins, comme moins animez,
Plus subiects à la mort sont plustost consommez.
La mort ne peut pourtant sa puissance destruire,
Car la vertu des corps en luy se vient reduire.
Il vit tres-salutaire ou tres pernicieux,
Suiuant l'instinct du corps bon ou malicieux.
Vn grain de cet esprit, de celeste origine,
Pris seul, fait plus d'effect qu'vn pot de medecine...

Hesteau's "esprit vniuersel" clearly performs the same function as Aristotle's vivifying heat (see above, p.37), but the alchemist believes that his principle may be isolated and its effects applied, to the transmutation of metals and the maintenance of health alike.

41. De l'Ame, f.28r°.

42. See above, p.44 .

43. De l'Ame, f.28r°.

44. Hymne de la Mort, l.50; Laumonier VIII p.164 .

45. De l'Ame, f.28r°-v°.

46. Loc.cit., f.28v°.

47. The passages in question are Adam's prophetic dream in Book II of the poem (Microcosme II ll.75ff.; ed. Giudici, pp.181ff.), and his explanation of his dream to Eve (Microcosme III ll.23ff.; ed.cit., pp.212ff.).

48. Saulnier, Maurice Scève, I p.480.

49. Cf. Odette de Mourgues, Metaphysical Baroque and Précieux Poetry, Oxford, at the Clarendon Press, 1953, pp.93-9; and Wilson's comment in Descriptive Poetry in France from Blason to Baroque, pp.235-6. What Mlle de Mourgues has termed the "myopic vision" of the baroque poet has its equivalent elsewhere in Béroalde's verse; cf. La Serodokimasie, the whole subject of which is the entomological, and A v r° -

Considerans ces Vers rampans sur la pasture,
Vous en orrez sortir vn son delicieux,
Ce paisible animal broutant cette verdure
Imite en son iargon l'harmonie des Cieux...

50. Cf. Blaise Pascal, Pensées et Opuscules, publiés avec une introduction, des notices et des notes par M. Léon Brunschvig, Paris, Hachette, nouvelle édition, (1959), p.349.

51. De l'Ame, f.28v°.

52. Ibid.

53. Hymne de l'Autonne, ll.81-2; Laumonier XII p.50.

54. De l'Ame, f.28v°.

55. Loc.cit., ff.28v°-29r°.

56. Loc.cit., f.29r°.

57. Ibid.

58. Cf. Baïf, Le Premier des Meteores, ll.317-20 (Le premier livre des poèmes, ed. Demerson, p.63);

Ou bien comme l'on voit une éteinte chandelle,
Si une autre allumée on approche sur elle,
Soudain se rallumer, tout ainsi la chaleur
Brulant le hault de l'air atise la vapeur...

59. Cf. Aristotle Meteorologica 342a 4-5. The reference is given by Demerson in his note on these lines (ed.cit., p.88).

60. De l'Ame, f.29r°.

61. Le Grand Miroir du Monde, p.172.

62. Margarita Philosophica X tractatus I iii; ed.cit., p.411.

63. De l'Ame, f.29r°.

64. Loc.cit., f.29v°.

65. Ibid.

66. Loc.cit., ff.29v°-30r°.

67. See above, pp.93ff.

68. Le Chat, ll.29-33; Laumonier XV p.40 (passage quoted above, p.95).

69. Les Discours Philosophiques, f.244r°-v° (quoted above, p.37).

70. See above, p.40.

71. Les C.N., f.12v° (passage quoted above, p.96).

72. De l'Ame, f.30r°.

73. Loc.cit., f.30r°-v°.

74. See above, p.24. The notion is a constant of alchemical theory; cf. Claude d'Ygé, Nouvelle Assemblée des Philosophes Chymiques, p.27 -
Certains curieux, ignorants et timorés, parcourant superficiellement notre modeste ouvrage, s'exclameront peut-être: "Santa Barbara! C'est un souffleur mescréant qui besongne nuictamment en Alquemie!" Peu nous importe, l'Alchimie n'est pas contraire aux ordres de Dieu: L'Art imite la nature dans ses principes
- and also Hesteau, Poeme Philosophic, p.33;

Le but vniuersel de la vraye Alchimie
Est d'oster aux Metaux vne impure cadmie,
Qui leur pure substance empesche en l'infectant
D'arriuer au sommet où la nature tend...

- and pp.34-5;

Car, comme l'air sur tout a force d'humecter,
Et le feu d'eschauffer; L'effect de vegeter
Est dans les vegetaux: & le pouuoir supresme
De faire or & argent, en l'or & l'argent mesme.
Or tout cela se trouue au naturel subiect,
Que l'expert Alchimiste a pour vnique obiect.

75. Dictionaire Hermetique, contenant l'explication des Termes, Fables, Enigmes, Emblemes, & manieres de parler des vrais Philosophes..., Paris, Laurent d'Houry, 1695.

76. Dictionaire..., pp.21-2.

77. De l'Ame, f.30v°.

78. Artis Chemicae Principes, Avicenna atque Geber..., Basle, per Petrum Pernam, 1572, p.579. On Geber, cf. Sherwood Taylor, The Alchemists, pp.79-81.

79. Dictionaire..., p.208.

80. De l'Ame, f.30v°.

81. Loc.cit., f.31r°. For a similar emphasis on the status of glass, cf. L'Idee de la Republique, ff.69v°-70r°. As human occupations were born on the earth, "le gentilhomme en pais en sa maison"

Oubliant le harnois, se mit à rechercher
Tout ce que la nature, en soy pouuoit cacher
Et maniant au feu les diuerses substances,
Les separant en soy distinguoit leurs essences,
Tant qu'en fin rehaussant la chaleur peu a peu,
Il imita quasi le grand degre du feu,
Sur ce qui abondant, en plus d'ame solide,
Est du tout sec en soy, & en soy tout liquide
En verre transmuant ce qui dessous sa chau,
Tient le clair de la terre, et le subtil de l'eau,
Ainsi vitrifiant des matieres certaines
Et tousiours adioustant, a ses premieres peines,

Trouua le fer creusé par lequel doucement,
Poussant l'air de sa bouche, il forma rondement
Le cristal eschaufé, image veritable
De ce rond transparant, qui nous est admirable...

There follows a "louange du verre" in its own right (loc.cit., f.70r°-v°);

...O belle inuention tresheureux fut celuy,
Qui premier tesclarcit, & benit auiourd'huy
Qui sans ambition eschaufé te manie,
Car au verre il ny a iamais de tromperie,
Sinon quand finement on mesle la couleur,
Imitant de lesmail maintenant la blancheur,
Ou quelque autre couleur, car le verre en soymesme
N'ayant point de couleur toutes les couleurs ayme,
Il est ainsi que leau subtil et transparant
Est par sa rarité sec conioint & rompant,
Mais qui pourroit en luy d'vne humeur abondante
Mettre le premier germe en sa forme constante,
Il seroit persistant, toutesfois plus obscur
lisse Et ce pendant lice malleable & tresdur,
Ce pendant tel qu'il est on le diuersifie,
Selon que le plaisir ou le bien nous conuie.
Vng oeuure grossiroit de ses effais diuers,
Et pourtant en passant i'en touche dans ces vers,
Attendant qu'vne fois si ma muse est plaisante
A ceux qui me liront sa nature ie chante...

Hesteau de Nuysement (Poeme Philosophic, p.30) draws the parallel between the activity of the alchemist and that of the glassmaker;

Si pour faire vn moyen deux extresmes se rangent;
Si les quatre elemens l'vn en l'autre se changent
Vnissant dans vn corps leurs contrarietez;
Les Metaux tous pareils en leurs natiuitez,
Bien que quelque accident les rende dissemblables;
Estant les accidens du subiect separables,
Leur deffault naturel par nostre Art reformé,
L'vn sera sans miracle en l'autre transformé.
Le Verrier fait bien plus, qui n'est ny Dieu ny Ange;
Lors que dans sa fournaise en luisant verre il change
La soulde, la fougere, & le sable menu,
Qui verre par Nature onc ne feust deuenu.

Cf. also Microcosme III ll.893-910 (ed. Giudici, p.239).

82. See above, pp.23-4, 34ff., 44-5.

83. Cf. F. Sherwood Taylor, The Alchemists, pp.114-5.

84. De l'Ame, f.31r°.

85. Les C.N., ff.9v°-11v°. See above, pp.32ff.

86. Les C.N., ff.9v°-10r° (passage quoted above, pp.34, 35).

87. Cf. PS I ll.353-70 (Reichenberger, I p.18); Les Tragiques, Jugement ll.903ff. (ed. Garnier & Plattard, IV pp.176ff.).

88. Cf. PS I ll.353-8 (loc.cit.);

Vn iour de comble en-fond les rochers crousleront:
Les monts plus sourcilleux de peur se dissoudront:
Le Ciel se creuera: les plus basses campagnes
Boursoufflees croistront en superbes montagnes:
Les fleuues tariront, & si dans quelque estang
Reste encor quelque flot, ce ne sera que sang...

and d'Aubigné, loc.cit., ll.913-7;

Voici la mort du ciel en l'effort douloureux
Qui lui noircit la bouche & fait saigner les yeux.

Le ciel gemit d'ahan, tous ses nerfs se retirent,
Ses poulmons prés à prés sans relasche respirent.
Le soleil vest de noir le bel or de ses feux,
Le bel oeil de ce monde est privé de ses yeux...

89. De l'Ame, f.31r°.

90. Loc.cit., f.31r°-v°.

90a. See above, p.45 .

91. Cf. Béroalde's own Recherches de la pierre philosophale, f.83v°;
...la verité de l'Alchymie, comme disent les sages, ne sera point donnee à telles gens, ains seulement aux preesleus qui honoreront Dieu, & l'aimeront.
Cf. also Sherwood Taylor, op.cit., p.180; and W.Ganzenmüller, L'Alchimie au Moyen-Age, p.192 -
...les alchimistes ne manquent jamais de mettre en avant le respect qu'ils portent à l'Eglise, leur soumission au Dogme.
We may cite as an example of this the conclusion to a seventeenth-century alchemical text in the Bibliothèque Nationale (Lux Obnubilata Suaptè Natura Refulgens. Vera de Lapide Philosophico Theorica, Metro Italico Descripta..., Venice, apud Alexandrum Zatta, 1666, p.216 (press-mark B.N. R.42398));
Protestamur etiam, vt si quid supra contra Catholicam, & Christianam religionem scriptum fuerit, aut obuelatum, pro nihilo, & non scripto haberi. Fidem nostram protestamur, & lumen nostrum pandimus. Punctus iste Niuei. Sed iste est punctus Philosophi, vt in Christi Redemptoris lege ambulet, & super omnia Deum Iudicem timeat.

92. Cf. Alan Boase, Vie de Jean de Sponde, Geneva, Droz, 1977, pp.19, 28-9 .

93. De l'Ame, f.31v°.

94. Ibid.

95. PS I ll.109-12; Reichenberger, I pp.11-2 .

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PART II - CHAPTER III

1. Margarita Philosophica X tractatus I iii; ed.cit., p.410.

2. De l'Ame, f.31v°.

3. Loc.cit., ff.31v°-32r°.

4. Pierre Viret, Exposition de la Doctrine de la Foy Chrestienne..., p.219. See above, p.22.

5. Elegie "Quiconque aura premier la main embesongnée", l.68; Laumonier XVIII p.147.

6. Cf. I.D. McFarlane, "Aspects of Ronsard's poetic vision", in Ronsard the Poet, ed. Cave, pp.26-34, 39-43.

7. See above, pp.18ff.

8. Recherches de la pierre philosophale, f.118r°.

9. Stances de la Mort et de la Vie, in Les Apprehensions Spirituelles, f.23r°. Cf. Wilson, "Contraries in sixteenth century scientific writing", pp.355-6.

10. Cf. De Anima 403b 25.

11. De l'Ame, f.32r°.

12. De la Nature des Dieux, f.57r°. See above, pp.22-3; and for the commonplace, cf. further Hesteau de Nuysement, Poeme Philosophic, pp. 59-60 -

Ainsi par le secours d'vn prest continuel
Chacun des elements se rend perpetuel,
En estre, en actions, en vertus, en puissance;
Donnant ce qu'il reçoit, riche en son indigence.
Autrement ce bel ordre à neant passeroit;
Et par tout la Nature inutile seroit.
Mais cette sage mere a par sa prouidence
Obstaclé ce desastre; ayant fait l'ordonnance
Que circulairement (par eux mesme excitez)
En se communiquant leurs propres qualitez,
Par leur muation (sic) proprement circulaire
Les transmutations en tout se pourroient faire,
Ainsi la terre prette au feu sa siccité;
Le feu, son chaut à l'air; L'air son humidité,
A l'eau, qui va prettant sa froideur à la terre;
Et tous viuent en paix en se faisant la guerre.
Voyla comme ces corps miraculeusement
Se changeant change (sic) tout, & vont tout reformant.

13. De l'Ame, f.32r°.

14. Ibid.

15. Loc.cit., f.32r°-v°.

16. Loc.cit., f.32v°.

17. See above, p.177 note 37.

18. De l'Ame, f.32v°.

19. Montaigne Essais III ii Du Repentir; ed. Rat, p.782.

20. De l'Ame, ff.32v°-33r°.

21. Loc.cit., f.33r°.

22. Ibid.

23. Margarita Philosophica X tractatus I iii; ed.cit., p.410.

24. Cf. Bartholomew the Englishman, Le Grand Proprietaire de toutes choses..., f.xiij r° (III viii - "Des puissances de l'ame croissant");

...A l'ame croissant quatre choses sont necessaires pour son seruice, c'est à sçauoir la vertu appetitiue qui prent ce qui est necessaire au nourrissement pour la croissance. La vertu digestiue qui est au nourrissement separe ce qui luy est nuysible. La vertu retentiue qui retient le nourrissement & l'enuoye à chascune partie de la beste & à chascune branche de l'arbre, selon ce qui est conuenant pour restaurer & recouurer ce qui est perdu & degasté, & la vertu naturelle tant es bestes comme es plantes, la vertu excessiue qui boute hors ce qui n'est pas conuenable: mais est nuysible au nourrissement de l'ame croissant.

For the detailed exposition of the later treatises, cf. Vitus Amerbachius, De Anima libri IIII, in Ioannis Lodovici Vivis Valentini de Anima, pp.323ff.; Melanchthon, De Anima liber, loc.cit., pp.592ff.; Gesner, De Anima liber, loc.cit., pp.750ff.

25. De l'Ame, f.33r°.

26. Loc.cit., f.33r°-v°.

27. Sizain "Je n'ayme point ces vers qui rampent sur la terre"; Laumonier XVIII p.359.

28. Cf. Marie Boas, The Scientific Renaissance 1450-1630, London, Fontana, 1970 (first published London, Collins, 1962), pp.124-8.

29. Cf. Boas, op.cit., pp.134-142.

30. De l'Ame, f.33v°.

31. Galen, On the Natural Faculties III vii; in Galen, On the Natural Faculties, with an English translation by Arthur John Brock, London/Cambridge(Mass.), Heinemann/Harvard U.P.(LCL), 1947 (first printed 1916), p.255.

32. For the distinction between Galen's view of pneuma and that of the stoics, cf. Verbeke, L'Evolution de la doctrine de pneuma..., pp.206ff.

33. De l'Ame, f.33v°.

34. Le Tiers Livre, ed.cit., p.50. As Screech has demonstrated in the notes to his edition, and as Antonioli has confirmed (Rabelais et la Médecine, pp.212ff.), much of the medical theory of the Tiers Livre is specifically anti-Galenic; but at the same time Rabelais' continuing debt to Galen is not to be under-estimated. Cf. Screech, loc.cit., p. XXIV;

Que Rabelais, comme tout médecin de son temps, emprunte beaucoup à Galien, cela va sans dire, et il n'essaye pas de le cacher...

and Antonioli, op.cit., p.221;

Il ne faut pas exagérer cependant la portée de cette réaction contre le galénisme. Ni Rabelais, ni aucun médecin (excepté Paracelse) ne songent encore à répudier toute allégeance envers Galien...

On the place of these lines in Panurge's exposition, cf. Antonioli,

op.cit., pp.225-6.

35. Cf. PS VI 11.677-86 (Reichenberger, I p.156);

Fendray-ie l'estomach, qui cuisinier parfait,
Cuit les viures si bien, qu'en peu d'heure il en fait
Vn chile nourricier: & fidele l'enuoye
Par la veine portiere es cauernes du foye?
Le foye en fait du sang, puis le iettant dehors,
Le depart iustement aux membres de ce corps
Par les conduits rameux d'vne plus grande veine,
Semblable, ou peu s'en faut, à la viue fontaine,
Qui diuisant son cours en cent petis ruisseaux,
Humecte vn beau iardin de ses esparses eaux.

36. Cf. Le Temple de l'Ame, f.106r°-v°;

Dame nature adoncq', ame vegetatiue,
Quinteuse, menagere, ingenieuse, actiue,
Sans peine, & sans repos, qui au corps faict la loy,
Tient quatre vertus soeurs seruantes pres de soy.
Chascune à tour de rolle, & par alternatiue
Va seruir son quartier à la vegetatiue.
Electice pouruoit, & fournist au gesier
L'humeur, qu'elle cognoist luy estre familier.
Cathectice reçoit & retient ce qu'apporte
Sa compagne & sa seur, tirant la veine porte:
Cuisiniere est Peptice, et le sang commancé
Assaisonne, et recuit pour estre dispensé:
Mais c'est confusément, car bien peu se soucie
De trier le meilleur, le pur d'auecq' la lie.
C'est à toy Eccitrice, auecque iugement,
Tu frelate le sang, & mets separément
L'vtil de l'inutil, ce qui est bon tu range,
Et l'estuyë en son lieu, dehors iette l'estrange...

37. De l'Ame, ff.33v°-34r°.

38. Cf. On the Natural Faculties III i (ed.cit., p.225);

...After this, considerable time is needed for the nutrition of the animal; whilst a thing may be even rapidly attracted, on the other hand to become adherent, altered, and entirely assimilated to the part which is being nourished and to become a part of it, cannot take place suddenly, but requires a considerable amount of time. But if the nutritive juice, so presented, does not remain in the part, but withdraws to another one, and keeps flowing away, and constantly changing and shifting its position, neither adhesion nor complete assimilation will take place in any of them. Here too, then, the (animal's) nature has need of some other faculty for ensuring a prolonged stay of the presented juice at the part, and this not a faculty which comes in from somewhere outside but one which is resident in the part which is to be nourished. This faculty, again, in view of its activity our predecessors were obliged to call retentive.

39. Le Tiers Livre, ed.cit., p.51. On the role of the heart in Galenic physiology, cf. Antonioli, op.cit., pp.227-30. Béroalde's account is more scrupulously Galenic than that of Rabelais in the measure of independence it allows to the action of the liver, through the agency of which the nutritive faculty

...passant va filant ses iournalieres peines
Par les diuers canaux des bouillonantes veines,
Par lesquelles l'humeur, se conduisant par tout,
En remplit le millieu, & l'vn & l'autre bout...
(quoted above, p.200).

Cf. Antonioli, loc.cit., p.228; while allowing an important place for the operations of the heart,

Galien n'en reste pas moins fidèle au principe de la séparation des

fonctions et le ventricule droit du coeur n'est nullement nécessaire à la nutrition de l'organisme entier. La plus grande partie du sang, à sa sortie du foie, est donc conduite directement, par la veine cave, soit dans les membres inférieurs, soit dans les membres supérieurs, à travers l'oreillette droite, qu'elle se contente de traverser.

On the place of the heart in the system of perception, see below, pp.222-4.

40. De l'Ame, f.34r°.

41. Ibid.

42. Cf. On the Natural Faculties I vii; ed.cit., pp.27-31. Aristotle too of course makes the capacity for growth part of life (Cf. De Anima 406a 14).

43. Vives, De Anima & vita Libri tres, p.8.

44. De l'Ame, f.34r°-v°.

45. Les Tragiques, Jugement 11.671-4; ed. Garnier & Plattard, IV p.159.

46. De l'Ame, f.34v°.

47. Ibid.

48. Les C.N., f.3r°.

49. De l'Ame, ff.34v°-35r°.

50. Loc.cit., f.35r°. Again, Béroalde is more nearly Galenic than Rabelais. While Rabelais has Panurge say "Sang est le siege de l'ame" (Tiers Livre, ed.cit., p.48), Béroalde preserves the distinction between the blood and the spirits transmitted by them (cf. Antonioli, op.cit., pp.230-4).

51. Ibid.

52. Margarita Philosophica IX xxvii; ed.cit., p.394.

53. De l'Ame, f.35r°-v°.

54. Loc.cit., f.35v°.

55. Ibid. Cf. Galen, De usu partium IV v; quoted by Antonioli, op.cit., p.226.

56. See above, p.164 note 30.

57. As quoted by Screech in his edition of the Tiers Livre, p.52. Cf. Melanchthon, De Anima liber, in Ioannis Lodovici Vivis Valentini de Anima, p.611;

Semen animalis est vtilis superfluitas, vltimi alimenti sanguinei, per totum corpus dispersi, post quartam digestionem decisa, quae attrahitur à vasis seminarijs, & perficitur ac conseruatur in testibus ad generationem...

57a. Cf. Vives, De Anima & vita Libri tres, p.14;

Quod est in uiuente corpore praecipuum, quasique anima proximum, ex semine patris suboritur: quod autem crassius, ex materia matris.

58. De l'Ame, f.35v°.

59. Cf. Tiers Livre IV, XXXI; and Antonioli, op.cit., pp.237ff.

60. Recherches de la pierre philosophale, f.86r° (passage quoted above, p.24).

61. De l'Ame, f.36r°.

62. Ibid.

63. Ibid.

64. François Rabelais, Pantagruel, ed.cit., p.41.

65. See above, pp.102-3.

66. De l'Ame, f.36r°.

67. Cf. Agrippa d'Aubigné, Oeuvres, ed. Weber, pp.xxvii-xxviii;
...La tension répétée peut être lassante, surtout lorsque la passion de convaincre accumule en trop longue série les récits des martyrs dans les Feux, les récits de châtiments célestes dans les Vengeances...Ce refus d'identifier une cause à un seul héros correspond très profondément à une tendance égalitaire de la Réforme. L'abîme est entre l'élu et le réprouvé, mais les différences sont infimes entre les élus. Il serait injuste d'en distinguer quelques-uns.

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PART II - CHAPTER IV

1. As quoted in E. Ruth Harvey, The Inward Wits, p.30.

2. Cf. Harvey, op.cit., p.30, where Vesalius' statement is translated;
...And so I do not fear to ascribe to the ventricles this function of generating the animal spirit, but I hold that nothing can be related about the seats of the faculties of the reigning soul in the brain...

3. See above, pp.162-3 notes 20-1.

4. De l'Ame, f.36v°.

5. Attic Nights V xvi; in The Attic Nights of Aulus Gellius, with an English translation by John C. Rolfe, 3 vols., London/Cambridge(Mass.), Heinemann/Harvard U.P. (LCL), 1946-52 (first published 1927), I pp.428-30.

6. Melanchthon, De Anima liber, in Ioannis Lodovici Vivis Valentini de Anima, pp.618-9.

7. Mellin de Saint-Gelais, L'Oeil, in Schmidt, Poètes du XVIe siècle, pp.312-3.

8. Amours CLXXIV; Laumonier, IV p.165.

9. Maurice Scève, Delie, Object de Plus Haulte Vertu, dizain XXX; édition critique avec une introduction et des notes par E.Parturier, Paris, Didier(STFM) 1961 (first published 1916), p.26. Cf. dizain I ll.1-6 (loc.cit., p.5)

L'Oeil trop ardent en mes jeunes erreurs
Girouettoit, mal cault, a l'impourveue:
Voicy (ô paour d'agreables terreurs)
Mon Basilisque avec sa poingnant' veue
Perçant Corps, Coeur, & Raison despourveue,
Vint penetrer en l'Ame de mon Ame...

10. De l'Ame, f.36v°.

11. Ibid.

12. PS VI l.524; Reichenberger, I p.152.

13. Cf. Dudley Wilson, "Maurice Scève's scientific love poetry in his Blasons and Délie", in French Renaissance Studies in Honor of Isidore Silver, edited by Frieda S. Brown, Kentucky Romance Quarterly XXI (1974), Supplement No.2, pp.331-49, especially pp.335-7.

14. De l'Ame, f.36v°. Béroalde's thought on the point is not consistent; cf. Le Palais des Curieux, obiect LIX - "Que les Obiects sont cognus par l'émission de la veuë à iceux, & non par la reception de leurs images és yeux" (p.423). We would scarcely disagree with Béroalde's opening statement;
Disputons à plein fons, il y a icy champ pour faire glene...

15. Discours de l'Honneste Amour, pp.363-4 (cf. Commentaire sur le Banquet VII x; ed. Marcel, p.254).

16. Discours de l'Honneste Amour, p.356 (cf. Commentaire VII vii; ed.cit., p.252).

17. De l'Ame, f.36v°.

18. Cf. D.P.Walker, Spiritual and Demonic Magic from Ficino to Campanella, p.7.

19. Cf. De Anima 425a 4; De Sensu 438b.

20. Cf. Les Trois Livres de la Vie, f.66r°;
...En somme la veue est vn certain rayon qui nous est allumé naturellement en l'humeur aqueuse des yeux, & qui en l'eau requiert vne lumiere temperée aucunement resistant.

21. Cf. Wilson, "Maurice Scève's scientific love poetry", p.335, and the reference to a fuller discussion in Rudolph E. Siegel, Galen on Sense Perception, Basle, S.Karger, 1970, pp.71ff.

22. Cf. De Anima 420a 3ff.

23. Cf. Verbeke, L'Evolution de la doctrine de pneuma..., pp.212-6.

24. Cf. Walker, Spiritual and Demonic Magic, pp.7-8.

25. De l'Ame, ff.36v°-37r°.

26. Loc.cit., f.37r°.

27. Vitus Amerbachius, De Anima Libri IIII, in Ioannis Lodovici Vivis Valentini de Anima, p.341. Cf. Vives, De Anima & vita libri tres, loc. cit., pp.20-3; Melanchthon, De Anima liber, loc.cit., pp.623-4; Gesner, De Anima liber, loc.cit., pp.880ff.

28. De l'Ame, f.37r°.

29. Ibid.

30. Eustorg de Beaulieu, Le Nez; in Schmidt, Poètes du XVIe siècle, p.316.

31. De l'Ame, f.37r°. Cf. Du Bellay's
Vieille, doncq' plus que toy vilaine,
Vieille, qui rends semblable halaine
A celle du stigieux Gouphre,
Ou d'une Miniere de Souphre...
(L'Anterotique de la Vieille et de la Jeune Amie, in Poésies françaises et latines, ed. Courbet, I pp.100-1).

32. Cf. Saint-Amant, Le Melon, ll.1-4 (Saint-Amant, Oeuvres, édition critique publiée par Jean Lagny (vol. I by Jacques Bailbé), 4 vols., Paris, Didier (STFM), 1967-71, II p.14);
Quelle odeur sens-je en cette Chambre?
Quel doux parfum de Musc et d'Ambre
Me vient le Cerveau resjouïr,
Et tout le Coeur espanouïr?

33. De l'Ame, f.37r°-v°.

34. See above, pp.168-71.

35. See below, pp.237-8.

36. De Anima 422a 18; ed.cit., p.125.

37. De l'Ame, f.37v°.

38. Cf. Phaedrus 250d; Phaedo 65b; Republic VI 507c ff.; Laws XII 961d. Cf. also Wilson, "Maurice Scève's scientific love poetry", p.339.

39. De Anima 435b 4; ed.cit., p.201.

40. De Anima 434b 19; ed.cit., p.197.

41. De Anima 423b; ed.cit., pp.133, 135.

42. De l'Ame, f.37v°.

43. See above, p.212 notes 8-9. For Ronsard love more than once evokes a concert of the senses, but in this both sight and hearing are prominent - cf. the chanson "Quand je devise assis aupres de vous", from the first book of the Sonets pour Helene (Laumonier XVII p.201);

Vostre beauté me fait en mesme temps
Souffrir cent passions:
Et toutesfois tous mes sens sont contents,
Divers d'affections.
L'oeil vous regarde, & autre part l'oreille
Oyt vostre voix, qui n'a point de pareille,
Du monde la merveille.

Cf. Amours CX (Laumonier IV p.108), to which these lines might serve as a commentary.

44. De l'Ame, f.37v°.

45. Loc.cit., ff.37v°-38r°.

46. Ibid.

47. See above, p.162 note 19, passage quoted from Le Proprietaire of Bartholomew the Englishman.

48. The precise number of the interior faculties is reckoned variously; Reisch makes them five (cf. Margarita Philosophica X tractatus II xxi; ed. cit., p.434) -

Sensus interiores numero quinque sunt: videlicet. Sensus communis: Imaginatiua: Estimatiua: Phantasia/que etiam imaginatiua dici solet: et Memoratiua.

These then are the ideas on which Béroalde's poem itself is based; see our subsequent discussion below, and, for their identification, Harvey, The Inward Wits. The physiological remains an essential element; cf. Fig. 1 above, and the continuation of Reisch's commentary -

Horum organa in substantia cerebri subtilissimis secernuntur pelliculis. que primum totum cerebrum tribus distinguunt ventriculis: quorum anterior et medius (quoniam maiores sunt) rursus bipartiuntur. Prima portio ventriculi anterioris/organum est sensus communis. Secunda imaginatiue. Prima autem ventriculi medij attribuitur estimatiue. secunda phantasie. Posterior vero ventriculus totus memoratiue deputatur.

49. The subject already comes within the orbit of the earlier treatises on soul; cf. Vives, De Anima & vita, Book III, and its introduction, p.153;

Sequitur pars animae de affectionibus, ad cognoscendum et difficillima propter varietatem, & necessaria, vt tantis malis adferamus remedium, morbisque tam saeuissimis medicinam. Estque tractatio haec non satis diligenter à veteribus sapientiae studiosis vel animaduersa, vel tradita...

50. See above, p.162 note 18.

51. Le Temple de l'Ame, f.70r°.

52. De l'Ame, f.38r°.

53. Loc.cit., f.38r°-v°.

54. Cf. Microcosme I ll.121-2 (ed. Giudici, p.151);

Teste en pié racineux, et maint endroit persé,
Qui devoit soustenir cest arbre renversé...

55. Cf. Vitus Amerbachius, De Anima Libri IIII, in Ioannis Lodovici Vivis Valentini de Anima, p.366;

...ita est sensus, qui multa & diuersa obiecta & sensibilia potest dijudicare, & inter se discernere: & quidem per se, non per accidens.

56. De l'Ame, f.38v°.

57. Cf. Maurice Scève, Délie dizain CCCXXXI (ed. Parturier, p.226);

L'humidité, Hydraule de mes yeulx,
Vuyde tousjours par l'impie en l'oblique,
L'y attrayant, pour air des vuydes lieux,
Ces miens souspirs, qu'a suyvre elle s'applique.
Ainsi tous temps descent, monte, & replique,
Pour abrever mes flammes appaisées.
Doncques me sont mes larmes si aisées
A tant pleurer, que sans cesser distillent?
Las du plus hault goutte a goutte elles filent,
Tombant aux sains, dont elles sont puysées.

This dizain is fully related to its scientific context (which is that of the passage from Béroalde's poem also) by Wilson ("Maurice Scève's scientific love poetry", pp.341-4).

58. Cf. De partibus animalium 647a 25, 665a 10; De Anima 432b 31; De Somnu 456a 4.

59. Cf. De partibus animalium 665b 10ff., 670a 20; also De Sensu 438b 25ff., De iuventute et senectute 469a 2ff., De partibus animalium 656a 25.

60. Cf. Harvey, The Inward Wits, p.6.

61. Cf. Harvey, op.cit., pp.34-5.

62. Cf. Harvey, op.cit., pp.22-3.

63. See above, p.213.

64. De l'Ame, f.38v°.

65. Ibid.

66. Ibid.

67. Loc.cit., ff.38v°-39r°.

68. Cf. Harvey, op.cit., p.44 (after Avicenna, De Anima I v).

69. De Anima 424a 19. The image is taken up by the stoic philosophers Zeno and Cleanthes (cf. Harvey, op.cit., p.5), and frequently repeated by later writers (cf. Melanchthon, De Anima liber, in Ioannis Lodovici Vivis Valentini de Anima, p.637).

70. De l'Ame, f.39r°.

71. Ibid.

72. Cf. Harvey, loc.cit., pp.44-5. A further commentary on this and what follows would be Vives, De Anima & vita libri tres, p.35;

...in animis & hominum & brutorum est functio, quae imagines sensibus impressas recipit, quae inde imaginatiua dicitur. est quae continet, haec memoria: quae conficit, phantasia: quae distribuit ad assensum aut dissensum, extimatrix...Imaginatiuae actio est in animo, quae oculi in corpore, recipere imagines intuendo: estque velut orificium quoddam vasis, quod est memoria. Phantasia verò coniungit & disiungit ea quae singula & simplicia imaginatio acceperat.

The nature of the problem is apparent from what Vives goes on to say -

Equidem haud sum nescius, confundi duo haec à plerisque, vt imaginationem phantasiam, & vice versa hanc imaginationem nominent, & eandem esse functionem quidam arbitrentur. Sed nobis tum ad rem aptius, tum ad docendum accommodatius visum est ita partiri: propterea quòd actiones videmus distinctas, vnde facultates censentur. tametsi nihil erit quandoque periculi, si istis vtamur promiscuè...

73. As quoted in Harvey, op.cit., p.45. Cf. Bartholomew the Englishman, Le proprietaire des choses III xi (ed.cit., f.xiij v°);

...La vertu estimatiue ou la raison sensitiue qui est tout vn est vne puissance par laquelle l'ame à sens de soy garder de ce qui luy est nuysible, & de ce qui luy est delectable, & ceste vertu est commune à nous & aux bestes, comme il appert aux chiens, aux loups, & aux autres bestes, qui par extimation fuyent leur contraire & ensuyuent ce qui leur est conuenable, combien qu'ilz n'ayent pas vsage de raison, ilz ont toutesfois vne forte extimation...

74. De l'Ame, f.39r°.

75. Cf. Timaeus 44d; cf. also Reichenberger, II p.246.

76. PS VI ll.499-501; Reichenberger, I p.151.

77. De l'Ame, f.39r°-v°.

78. Loc.cit., f.39v°.

79. Cf. Harvey, op.cit., p.46.

80. De l'Ame, f.39v°.

81. Le Temple de l'Ame, ff.84v°-85r°.

82. De l'Ame, ff.39v°-40r°.

83. Loc.cit., f.40r°.

84. Ibid.

85. For a statement of the concept which Béroalde's poem develops, cf. Vitus Amerbachius, De anima libri IIII, in Ioannis Lodovici Vivis Valentini de Anima, p.422, where the object of the "motiva" is described as follows;

Agendum, seu quod agi potest...vt sunt expetendum & fugiendum, aut bonum et malum, siue sint verè, siue tantum videantur talia. Et hoc sanè est primum appetiui, seu motiui principium...

86. Cf. Republic IV 439c ff., IX 580e.

87. Cf. De Anima 433a 10ff.

88. Cf. Harvey, op.cit., p.46, whose account we follow here.

89. Harvey, p.46.

90. De Anima 433a 20; ed.cit., p.189. Cf. Plato Republic IV 439e-440a.

91. See above, note 85. Amerbachius repeats Aristotle's view.

92. De l'Ame, f.40r°.

93. Ibid.

94. Loc.cit., f.40r°-v°.

95. Loc.cit., f.40v°.

96. Ibid.

97. Cf. Les Tragiques, Princes, passim (ed. Garnier & Plattard, II).

98. Princes l.227; ed.cit., II p.19.

99. Princes ll.949-52; ed.cit., II p.69.

100. De l'Ame, f.40v°.

101. Cf. Princes, ll.1107ff.; ed.cit., II pp.80ff.

102. See below, Part III chapter III.

103. The only threat to order is that posed by man. Béroalde's lines comment at another level the "nous causons nos maux par nostre seul malheur" of the earlier poem (see above, p.51).

104. De l'Ame, f.41r°.

105. Ibid.

106. Ibid.

107. Loc.cit., f.41r°-v°.

108. Cf. Castiglione, The Book of the Courtier, ed.cit., pp.43ff.

109. Essais II xvi De la Gloire; ed. Rat, p.602. For a discussion of the theme, cf. Anthony Levi, French Moralists. The Theory of the Passions 1585 to 1649, Oxford, at the Clarendon Press, 1964, pp.177ff.

110. Cf. Levi, op.cit., pp.178-9.

111. See below, Part III chapter III.

112. De l'Ame, f.41v°.

113. Ibid.

114. Cf. Frances A. Yates, The French Academies of the Sixteenth Century, London, The Warburg Institute, 1947, pp.152ff.

115. Cf. Pierre de l'Estoile, Journal...pour le règne de Henri III (1574-1589), texte intégral présenté et annoté par Louis-Raymond Lefèvre, Paris, Gallimard, 1943, pp.326-8.

116. De l'Ame, f.41v°.

117. Loc.cit., ff.41v°-42r°.

118. Loc.cit., f.42r°.

119. See above, p.103.

120. De l'Ame, f.42r°.

121. Loc.cit., f.42r°-v°.

122. For the equestrian image cf. Ronsard, Hymne du Treschrestien Roy

de France Henry II. de ce nom, ll.113ff. (Laumonier VIII pp.11-2).

123. Margarita Philosophica X tractatus II xxxi; ed.cit., p.441. Cf. Bartholomew the Englishman, Le proprietaire des choses III xii (ed.cit., f.xiij v°);

La vertu naturelle meult les humeurs dedans le corps de la beste ou de l'homme par les veines, & si à son siege principal au foye pource qu'elle y ouure principallement.

124. Margarita Philosophica, loc.cit.

125. Ibid.

126. Cf. Margarita Philosophica, loc.cit., pp.441-2;

Quedam enim pedibus gradiuntur: & sunt gressibilia: vt homo equus. Quedam alis feruntur: & sunt volatilia: vt aues quibus tamen sagax natura pedum vsum / propter alimenta que in terris venantur non negauit: que in superfluis non abundat / nec in necessarijs deficit. Quedam costis trahuntur et ventre reptant: & sunt reptilia: vt serpentes. Quedam pennulis aguntur natando: & sunt natatilia...

127. Margarita Philosophica, loc.cit., p.441.

128. Margarita Philosophica, loc.cit., p.442. These distinctions are nice ones; cf. Bartholomew the Englishman, Le proprietaire des choses III xii (ed.cit., f.xiiij r°) -

...quand ceste vertu meult les bras & les mains elle est appellée vertu operatiue, & quand elle meult les piedz pour aller elle est appellée vertu progressiue.

129. Margarita Philosophica, loc.cit.

130. De l'Ame, f.42v°.

131. See above, pp.168-71.

132. Cf. Peletier du Mans, Euvres poetiques...Intituléz Louanges, f.4v°.

133. Loc.cit.

134. De l'Ame, f.42v°.

135. See above, pp.168ff.

136. On this cf. Dudley Wilson, French Renaissance Scientific Poetry, pp.19ff.; and also F.Secret, L'ésotérisme de Guy Le Fèvre de la Boderie, Geneva, Droz, 1969.

137. De l'Ame, ff.42v°-43r°.

138. Cf. J.S. Spink, French Free-Thought from Gassendi to Voltaire, London, Athlone, 1960, pp.179-81.

139. Cf. the discussion in Spink, op.cit., p.179.

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PART II - CHAPTER V

1. Cf. the discussion in Harvey, op.cit., pp.33-4.

2. Cf. De Anima 429a 10ff.

3. Cf. Timaeus 34b-34c.

4. See above, pp.100ff.

5. De l'Ame, f.43r°.

6. Ibid. Cf. Reisch, Margarita Philosophica XI xxv (ed.cit., p.466);
Disci. Si igitur iuxta Platonicorum positionem immortales sunt anime etiam irrationales. arbore succisa: et bestia moriente / vbi manent illarum anime si non corrompuntur? Ma. In animam mundi inquiunt resoluuntur. nam vt aiunt / ab ipsa sunt.

7. De l'Ame, f.43r°-v°.

8. Loc.cit., f.43v°.

9. Ibid.

10. Loc.cit., ff.43v°-44r°.

11. See above, p.104.

12. Institution I xv 6; Benoît, I pp.215-6 (quoted in part above, p.104).

13. De l'Ame, f.44r°.

14. Cf. Harvey, op.cit., p.36.

15. Margarita Philosophica XI ii; ed.cit., p.443. Cf. Vitus Amerbachius, De anima libri IIII, in Ioannis Lodovici Vivis Valentini de Anima, p.387 (the reference is to Aristotle);
Nam sicut initio disputationis huius totius reliquas potentias interire dixit ideo, quòd non possint absque corpore esse: ita hic rectè putatur docere, aeternum esse intellectum propterea, quòd extra corpus queat esse, & separabilis, aut etiam separatus sit. Quanquam enim est additus corpori humano, sic tamen in eo non est, vt sit ei mixtus & adnexus, vt materiae
-Melanchthon, De anima liber, loc.cit., p.661;
Est igitur propria homini potentia rationalis, vt nominant, quae est summa vis humanae animae. Et hanc potentiam vsitatè nominant inorganicam. Etsi enim in hac vita sensus interiores ei seruient, & obiecta offerunt, tamen cum anima discedens à corpore suam quandam habeat actionem, & suos motus, dicitur inorganica
- and Bartholomew the Englishman, Le proprietaire des choses III xiii (ed. cit., f.xiiij r°);
L'ame raisonnable si est une substance perpetuelle incorruptible & immortelle, & de ce vient que son fait principal qui est entendre si n'est point despendant du corps, ainçois elle vit & entend parfaictement quand elle est separée du corps, & de tant qu'elle est plus plongée au corps de tant elle est pis entendant, & de tant qu'elle est plus substraicte de la chair, de tant entend elle plus clerement & plus legierement...

16. De l'Ame, f.44r°.

17. On this cf. Harvey, op.cit., pp.55-6.

18. De l'Ame, f.44r°-v°.

19. Cf. Harvey, op.cit., p.48. The subject is a confused one, even for the theoreticians of the time. However, Melanchthon is helpful (De anima liber, loc.cit., pp.673-4);

Etsi magnae sunt contentiones de Intellectu Agente & Patiente, tamen si sumimus ab actionibus discrimen, simplex & perspicua est haec explicatio... ...intellectus cum accepit obiecta, componit, diuidit, ratiocinatur, iudicat. In hac ratiocinatione aliud ex alio inuenit. Hic inuentor intellectus, & tanquam poëta dicitur Agens, seu rectiùs faciens.

Alterum officium est, postea inuenta intelligere agnoscere, et tanquam dictata accipere. Ac hoc officio nominatur intellectus Patiens.

20. De l'Ame, f.44v°.

21. Loc.cit., ff.44v°-45r°.

22. Cf. Phaedrus 246a ff.

23. See further below, Part III.

24. Harvey, op.cit., p.48.

25. De l'Ame, f.45r°. In the last line we have amended the reading given in the text, viz. "Se fait l'entendement de l'aquisition".

26. Harvey, loc.cit.

27. De l'Ame, f.45r°.

28. Cf. Harvey, op.cit., p.47.

29. Harvey, loc.cit.

30. De l'Ame, f.45r°.

31. Margarita Philosophica III tractatus I vi; ed.cit., p.126.

32. Abbregé de l'Art poëtique françois, ll.171-6; Laumonier XIV pp.12-3.

33. Cicero, Tusculan Disputations I xxv 61 (as quoted in Grahame Castor, Pléiade Poetics. A Study in Sixteenth-Century Thought and Terminology, Cambridge, Cambridge U.P., 1964, p.97).

34. Castor, loc.cit.

35. De l'Ame, f.45r°-v°.

36. Loc.cit., f.45v°.

37. Ibid.

38. Ibid.

39. Loc.cit., ff.45v°-46r°.

40. Reisch, Margarita Philosophica XI iii; ed.cit., p.444.

41. De l'Ame, f.46r°.

42. Melanchthon's remark (see note 19 above) may be taken as a commentary on that tradition.

43. De l'Ame, f.46r°-v°.

44. Cf. d'Ailly's scheme above, p.161.

45. De l'Ame, f.46v°.

46. Margarita Philosophica XI xii; ed.cit., p.453.

47. See above, pp.143-5.

48. De l'Ame, f.46v°.

49. Loc.cit., ff.46v°-47r°.

50. Loc.cit., f.47r°.

51. Loc.cit., f.47r°-v°.

52. Loc.cit., f.47v°.

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PART III - CHAPTER I

1. Cf. the commentary on "la parole" in De l'Ame et de ses facultes (f.42v°; passage quoted above, p.238);

La parole en ce lieu tant admirable & grande
Presque de la chanter en ces vers me commande.
Mais ie ne puis encor la dire en cet endroit:
Car pour en bien parler ce lieu est trop estroit,
Ie veux pour elle seule vn grand oeuure entreprendre,
Où ie puisse subtil tout entiere la prendre...

2. L'Idee de la Republique de Francois de Beroalde Sieur de Verville..., Paris, Timothée Iollan, 1584.

3. Roland Brisset, Le Premier Livre du Theatre Tragique, Tours, Claude de Montr'oeil, & Jean Richer, 1590 (Béroalde's sonnet at e iij r°). It should be pointed out that Saulnier ("Etude sur Béroalde", p.232) makes the same mistake as Lachèvre (Recueils de poésies libres et satiriques publiés de 1600 à 1626, Paris, Champion, 1914, p.109) in dating this work as 1589. Lachèvre produces no evidence for ignoring the evidence of the title-page.

4. The text of the sonnet in Brisset's Theatre is as follows;

Tant de sanglans effaits, tant de rage, d'enuie,
De morts, de desespoirs, de torts, de cruauté,
Ne nous sembleroyent vrays, si nostre impieté
De trop plus grands malheurs ne troubloit nostre vie.

Partant ne te falloit sous la poudre enuieillie
Des tristes monumens, de cette antiquité
Pour l'honneur de tes vers, cercher la verité,
Il ne te falloit rien que nostre tragedie;

Mais voila! tu voulois faire paroistre aux tiens
Que sachant accorder auec les anciens,
Tu sçaurois souspirer nostre piteuse histoire;

Ayant donq si bien fait retraçant apres eux,
Sus chante nos fureurs & faisant encor mieux,
Aquier sur ce theatre vne eternelle gloire.

Cf. also Le Palais des Curieux, p.88, where Béroalde makes the following rejoinder to a "glorieux riche";

...laissez, laissez vos grandes richesses qui ne sont qu'vn ombre, nous en auons, la guerre passee l'a faict paroistre: car nous y auons plus despencé en croppieres pour les asnes de mon bagage, que vous qui estiez de nostre compagnie ne fistes oncques au plus magnifique de vostre equipage.

For Béroalde's "war" cf. Saulnier, "Etude sur Béroalde", pp.229-30, where this passage is quoted.

5. Cf. Saulnier, "Etude sur Béroalde", pp.231ff.

6. The activity of provincial centres in the context of devotional poetry is discussed by Cave (Devotional Poetry in France, pp.13-4, 80-93), with particular reference to towns such as Douai and Aix. In the case of Tours we would rather emphasise the role of certain printers, who formed their own association there and with whom Béroalde was certainly connected (cf. Saulnier, loc.cit., and (as cited by Saulnier), Giraudet, Une association d'imprimeurs et de libraires de Paris réfugiés à Tours au XVIe siècle, Tours, 1877 (copy in the British Library at 11899 i. 4).

7. See above, Introduction, p.xviii note 92. The question of Béroalde's

change of religion is not one that we can properly discuss here, but we would cite Béroalde's own remark in Le Palais (p.113) -

Il y en a qui oyans dire, Tel a changé sa religion s'en esmerueillent ....De moy ie ne m'en esmeus point, car il n'y a rien si sujet au changement que l'esprit humain

- and Colletet's comment in his life of the poet (in Lachèvre, Bibliographie des Recueils Collectifs de Poésies, IV p.61);

Quoiqu'il se plût infiniment dans la méditation des lettres humaines et de la philosophie, si est-ce qu'il ne laissoit pas de pénétrer bien avant dans les divers livres de controverse pour la Relligion, et quoy que dans ses actions et dans sa conversation mesme, il ne temoignast que trop à ce qu'on m'a dit qu'il n'avoit aucun attachement pour aucune qu'elle fut, si est-ce qu'il estoit attaché aux erreurs de Calvin, et n'estoit pas fasché qu'on le soupçonnast un peu de ne pas tant déférer aux sacrez sentimens de l'Eglise romaine...

Colletet performs the unusual feat of making Béroalde both Calvinist and libertine in the space of the same paragraph; we would suggest that it is the latter reputation which has unjustifiably eclipsed the former. See also Saulnier, "Etude sur Béroalde", pp.249-50.

8. See above, Introduction note 100.

9. See above, Introduction, p.xviii notes 95-7.

10. See above, Introduction, p.xviii note 102.

11. See above, Introduction pp.xi ff.

12. Dialogue de la Vertu. Par Francois de Beroalde Sieur de Verville, Paris, Timothee Iouan, 1584.

13. Dialogue de la Vertu, f.10v°.

14. Loc.cit., f.17v°.

15. L'Idee de la Republique, f.3r°.

16. Cf. P.Archambault, "The analogy of the 'Body' in Renaissance political literature", in BHR XXIX (1967), pp.21-53; and Tillyard, The Elizabethan World Picture, pp.114-20.

17. L'Idee de la Republique, f.31v°.

18. Loc.cit., f.87v°.

19. Loc.cit., f.103r° (mis-foliated 102).

20. Loc.cit., f.2v°.

21. D'Aubigné, Les Tragiques, Miseres ll.197-8; ed. Garnier & Plattard, I p.55.

22. L'Idee de la Republique, ff.2v°-3r°.

23. Cf. L'Idee de la Republique, f.2v°;

Car la corruption est tellement entrée en nous qu'il ne se trouue que de la dissimulation, de maniere qu'au iourd'huy on ne cherche que le bel artifice, par lequel on pallie ses intentions de ce qui est beau, donq ne se faut pas esbahir s'il y a du desordre en nostre Republique, puis que le fondement d'iceluy y est au lieu, de ce qui deuroit maintenir l'estat.

24. Essais III ii Du Repentir; ed. Rat, pp.782-3.

25. Le Manuel d'Epictete, in Les Oevvres du S^r Du Vair Premier President au Parlement de Prouence. Comprises en cinq parties....Derniere Edition,

reueuë & corrigée, Rouen, Iean Osmont, 1614 (reprinted Hildesheim/New York, Georg Olms Verlag, 1973), p.777. Cf. Du Vair, La Philosophie Morale des Stoiques, loc.cit., p.739;

Quand doncques il se presentera à nous quelque obiect, afin que nous ne nous en troublions point comme d'vn bien ou d'vn mal qui nous suit, regardons si c'est chose qui soit en nostre puissance ou non. S'il est en nostre puissance, il nous peut estre bien ou mal. Mais en ce cas nous ne nous en deuons nullement passionner: car tenant nostre volonté droicte nous le rendons bien, & le conseruons tel. S'il est hors de nostre puissance, il ne nous est ni bien ni mal, & par consequent nous ne le deuons ni cercher ni fuir...

26. L'Idee de la Republique, f.14r°-v°.

27. Loc.cit., f.18r°.

28. See above, Introduction note 96.

29. Colletet, Vie de Béroalde de Verville, loc.cit., p.66.

30. Cf. Léontine Zanta, La Renaissance du Stoïcisme au XVIe siècle, Paris, Champion, 1914; and also Levi, French Moralists, pp.54-5.

31. Cf. Essais I xii De la Constance (ed. Rat, p.46);

La Loy de la resolution et de la constance ne porte pas que nous ne devions couvrir, autant qu'il est en nostre puissance, des maux et inconveniens qui nous menassent, ny par consequent d'avoir peur qu'ils nous surpreignent. Au rebours, tous moyens honnestes de se garentir des maux sont non seulement permis, mais loüables. Et le jeu de la constance se joüe principalement à porter patiemment les inconveniens, où il n'y a point de remede...

32. In Les Oevvres, ed.cit., p.807.

33. Loc.cit.

34. On this subject cf. René Radouant, Guillaume du Vair, l'homme et l'orateur, jusqu'à la fin des troubles de la Ligue (1556-1596), Paris, 1908, pp.234-65; we quote this reference after Levi, French Moralists, p.76.

35. Cf. F. Van Der Haeghen, Bibliographie Lipsienne, 3 vols., Ghent, C.Vyt, 1886-8, I pp.73-101, 147-54; II pp.606-7.

36. See above, Introduction note 98.

37. Le Palais des Curieux, p.309. Cf. the continuation of the passage quoted (pp.309-10);

...De mesme ie me suis delecté sur le Polifile, ce qui n'a esté que pour honorer ces beaux esprits, dont l'vn estoit encor viuant, & qui ne m'a pas faict l'honneur que i'ay desiré luy faire, car ainsi que ie l'ay dit dés le temps que son liure De Cruce, fut imprimé, au lieu de me gratifier, sans que ie le desirasse, il a parlé de mon obseruation comme par dedain, par ce qu'il ne l'auoit pas trouuée premier, & qu'il estoit Espagnol: Cette Obseruation est celle que i'ay deduite au Cabinet de Minerue discourant du Crucifix...

(Cf. Le Cabinet de Minerve, Tours, Molin, 1596, f.15r° ff.)

38. Cf. Excellent Discours de la Vie et de la Mort. Par Philippe de Mornay gentil-homme François..., no place or publisher, 1576 (Bibliothèque Nationale D^2 15550), p.71; and the Advertissement au Lecteur, A i v° -

Et pour la fin, entant que Seneque qu'on a appelé le Philosophe est introduit parlant apres ce Discours, que cela ne soit prins comme si nous auions faute de tesmoins authentiques, c'est à dire, des plus anciens Chrestiens mesmes sur ceste matiere: mais cela a semblé tant plus propre

pour nous resueiller à bon escient au cri de ce tesmoin estranger, lequel en tastonnant seulement auec son iugement naturel & quelque cognoissance & experience qu'il a peu auoir de la vanité de l'homme, semble nous conuier à vn meilleur port & retraite, que luy mesme ne la attainte pour soy, ne tesmoigné aux autres par son exemple.

For a modern edition of the Discours itself, cf. Mario Richter(ed.), Il "Discours de la Vie et de la Mort" di Philippe Du Plessis-Mornay, Milano, Società editrice vita e pensiero (Pubblicazioni dell'Università Cattolica del S.Cuore), 1964. The motto of the work already carries the stoic association - "Pour mourir bien-heureux, à viure faut apprendre. Pour viure bien-heureux, à mourir faut entendre".

39. De la Constance, ed.cit., f.45v°.

40. Cf. Eugene F. Rice Jr., The Renaissance Idea of Wisdom, Cambridge(Mass.), Harvard U.P., 1958.

41. De la Constance, f.64r°-v°.

42. See above, Introduction note 99.

43. De la Sagesse, Au Lecteur, (a iij r°).

44. Loc.cit., (a i r°).

45. Loc.cit., (a i r°-v°);

Desia voyant le commencement de ces maux, i'auois retracé vn petit* tableau ou ie faisois voir l'heur & le bien de la paix qui estoit dissipé par nos troubles, & me formant aux plus agreables accens de la langue qui a esté la premiere interprete de mes innocentes intentions, ie n'ay cessé de souspirer apres le but de mes desirs, tendant tousiours à ceste heureuse fin de paix, ce que i'ay veu ne succeder, au contraire le mal s'est aduantageusement accreu, & s'aduançant en la malice de sa pernicieuse force, est tellement multiplié que tout est guerre, de sorte qu'il semble que soyons malheureusement fascinez par l'esprit d'inconsideration...
*le discours de la guerre, & de ses effects.

46. See above, Introduction note 99.

47. Cf. Le Palais des Curieux, p.423 (passage quoted above, p.xvii);

...Quand ie voy vn sçauant, ie luy desire du bien, mais ie meurs presque d'ennuy & d'enuie: d'ennuy que ie ne sçay ce qu'il sçait, d'enuie que ie n'en sçay encor dauantage: Non point auoir gloire par dessus luy, mais pour luy distribuer de la science, comme ie desirerois qu'il m'en communiquast.

48. De la Sagesse, a i v° - a ij r°.

49. A further tradition against which Béroalde's De la Sagesse might be set is that of the developing devotional treatise (cf. Cave, Devotional Poetry in France, pp.59-62). Béroalde's use of the term "consideration" is an unusual one, but it would appear to be paralleled in the Introduction à la Vie dévote of St. François de Sales (cf. Introduction à la Vie dévote, Première partie, chapters IX-XVIII), where the term denotes a stage in the sequence of meditation. Indeed, there is an obvious link with what has been called the "composition section" of the devotional treatise (cf. Cave, op.cit., pp.24ff.)

50. De la Sagesse, (a iij r°).

51. Loc.cit., f.13v°. Cf. Proverbs I 7, II 5, III 7, IX 10; Job XXVIII 28. The refrain appears also in the Psalms (CXI 10).

52. Loc.cit., f.96v°.

53. Loc.cit., f.98r°-v°.

54. Loc.cit., f.11v°.

55. Essais III xiii De l'Experience; ed. Rat, p.1046.

56. De la Sagesse, f.25r°.

57. Cf. M.A.Screech, L'Evangélisme de Rabelais. Aspects de la Satire Religieuse au XVIe siècle, Geneva, Droz (Etudes Rabelaisiennes II), 1959, pp.31-2.

58. De la Sagesse, ff.6v°-7r°.

59. Loc.cit., f.36r°.

60. Loc.cit., f.6r°. Cf. Proverbs IX 1.

61. These are identified by Cicero; cf. Tusculan Disputations III xvii 36-7, De Finibus V xxiii 67. But cf. also Plato, Laws I 631c-631d, XII 965d; and Republic IV 427e sq., 433b.

62. Cf. Ambrose De Paradiso III iii(MPL XIV 296-7); Augustine, De civitate Dei IV xx (MPL XLI 127), De divinis quaestionibus LXXXIII q.xxxi n.1, q.lxi n.4 (MPL XL 20-1, 51), Enarrationes in Psalmos LXXXIII n.11 (MPL XXXVII 1065-6), De Genesi contra Manichaeos II x 13 (MPL XXXIV 203-4). These and further references in Vacant, Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique, XV c.2743-8; cf. also II c.1714-7.

63. De la Sagesse, f.6r°-v°.

64. Loc.cit., f.3v°.

65. Loc.cit., f.7r°.

66. Loc.cit., f.99r°.

67. Recherches de la pierre philosophale, f.92v°.

68. Cf. the title of the work; see above, Introduction note 99.

* * *

PART III - CHAPTER II

1. De l'Ame et de ses excellences I i; in La Muse Celeste de Beroalde de Verville, Tours, Iamet Mettayer, 1593, f.26r° (henceforward referred to as De l'Ame, followed by the number of the chant and our own numbering of the stanza).

2. De l'Ame II iv; loc.cit., f.28v°.

3. Essais III xiii De l'Experience; ed. Rat, p.1041 (quoted above, Introduction note 84).

4. Cf. L'Algebre de Iaques Peletier du Mans, departie en deus Liures, Lyon, Jean de Tournes, 1554, a 5v° (Proeme);
...E pourtant, le desir de l'homme et autant insaciable, comme les choses desirables sont infinies, e la connoessance vniuerselle impossible...

5. Cf. the continuation of the passage quoted;
...Cete variete d'objez meùt e incite les vertuz de l'ame inegalemant: laquele de degre an degre se hausse jusques a l'ebahissemant...

6. Louange de la Sciance, f.58v° (as quoted in Staub, Le Curieux Désir, p.22).

7. Cf. Staub, op.cit., p.21.

8. See above, Introduction pp.xxii ff.

9. Essais III viii De l'Art de Conferer; ed. Rat, p.906.

10. François Rabelais, Pantagrueline Prognostication pour l'an 1533..., ed. Screech, p.45.

11. Essais III xiii De l'Experience; ed. Rat, p.1045.

12. De l'Ame I iii; f.26r°.

13. De l'Ame I ii; f.26r°.

14. De l'Ame I iv; f.26r°.

15. De l'Ame I v; f.26r°-v°.

16. De l'Ame I vi; f.26v°.

17. Thomas à Kempis, The Imitation of Christ I ii; London/New York, Dent/Dutton, 1960 (first published 1910), p.3.

18. De l'Ame III xxviii; ff.32v°-33r°.

19. De l'Ame III xxx; f.33r°.

20. De l'Ame III xxxv; f.33v°.

21. De l'Ame III xxxvii; f.33v°.

22. De l'Ame IV viii; f.34v°.

23. De l'Ame I ii; f.26r°.

24. De l'Ame I viii; f.26v° (see also above, pp.129-32). Nor is this Béroalde's last statement on the theme; cf. La Serodokimasie, A ij r° -

Les impudens Payens traitoyent leur poësie
La tournant à leur gré par leurs inuentions,
Et le Chrestien peut mieux de la Theologie
Former les beaux dessins de ses intentions.

.....

De mensonge on ne peut rien tirer que mensonge,
Mais de la verité s'espend la verité:
Aussi ie ne dy pas vn fantastique songe,
De science & de vray mon dire est suporté.

We would also refer to an extended discussion of the subject, too long to be quoted here, in Le Cabinet de Minerve (ff.72v°-75r° in the Rouen edition of 1597 (B.N. Rés.Z 2816; and see above, Introduction note 96)). There the sentiments expressed by the curiously-named "l'Esprit de contradiction" are close to those we have already noted;

...la fable trouble l'esprit, l'enueloppe en des retours incommodes, & la verité le rend paisible, luy ouure les sentiers de plaisir, & la (sic) rassasie. Il y a moyen de trouuer de belles inuentions, & s'en aider sans vser de blasfemes & impudicitez, dont sont pleines les fables payennes, & trouue que les Chrestiens qui en ce temps ont coulouré leurs serieuses oeuures de telles folies, ont souillé leur gloire, & fait escouler la perfection de leurs escrits, entant mesmes que les noms de ces contes profanes ne doyuent point estre en nostre bouche...

On the other hand, the debate is further linked to the conflict between Good and Evil, and to the weakness of human nature;

...Il est bien vray qu'il n'y a rien qui alleche tant l'esprit & qui le desennuye plus que la fable, & cela vient par vn artifice de l'ennemy de Nature, qui en sçait si bien charmer les ames qu'aisément on s'y laisse aller, ce qu'il fait de tout son pouuoir afin de nous suborner, & distraire du vray voulant par le mensonge nous faire croupir en la mescognoissance de la verité. Il cognoist qu'il n'y a rien de parfaitement vray que l'Histoire saincte, dont la lecture est si douce à ceux qui l'ont veuë que tant plus on la lit plus on en est desireux, car elle coule d'vne grace si ample que l'esprit nageant en l'abondance de la felicité qu'il trouue en s'y delectant, ne se pense iamais ennuyé de la rencontrer, aussi elle a esté escrite sans passion humaine, elle est sans soupçon d'aucune fauceté, pource qu'elle est naïuement dictee par l'Esprit de Verité, & pourtant elle rassasie les ames, & le Malin voulant destourner les coeurs, leur presente des folies agreables & deceuantes, opposant à la vraye verité le mensonge tout mensonge, & nous qui sommes nez au monde & couuez en ceste fumee y prenons vn plaisir extresme.

In all this Béroalde is taking part in what is very much a contemporary debate; cf. Du Bartas' Brief advertissement of 1584 (quoted in part above, p.130), and Goulart's commentary on Le Grand Miroir du Monde of Joseph Du Chesne (Le Grand Miroir du Monde, Lyon, pour les heritiers d'Eustache Vignon, 1593), pp.479-80;

Ie desireroy (ie le di vne fois pour cent mille) qu'il prinst enuie aux poetes François, sur tout à ceux qui conoissent l'impieté de ces abominations des Payens de qui le diable s'est fait adorer sous les noms de Iupiter, Iunon, Vulcan & autres telles idoles, de purger entierement leurs liures de telles fictions desquelles nous nous pouuons bien passer, sans deroger pourtant au beau & haut stile d'vne docte poesie...

Ie m'en suis plaint au Poëte, qui m'a auoué s'estre laissé mener par le temps & la coustume: ie me confie qu'en vn autre edition il raclera de ses liures & de ceux qu'il delibere y adiouster, tout ce qui peut offenser les oreilles pures. Si en quelque endroit ie n'ay pas suffisamment condamné le paganisme, plaise au lecteur Chrestien croire que par tout i'ay la mesme pensee que ie representeici, & que tel aussi est le coeur de nostre Poete...

All these poets are concerned with the application of a Calvinist aesthetic (cf. above, pp.129-30), but both in Les Cognoissances and subsequently Béroalde's solution would appear to be more thorough-going than that of the others. He sees the pagan as ruining the biblical, while Du Bartas for his part sees the biblical as redeeming the pagan - cf. the

Brief advertissement (in Works, ed. Holmes, I p.224), where, having replied to his critics that mythological terms are only "clairsemez" in his poem, Du Bartas adds;

J'ay seulement cest avantage sur la plus part de ceus qui courent en mesme lice avecques moy, que je ne mets point en oeuvre des pierres fausses et contrefaictes...ains de vrais diamants, rubys, esméraudes, prises dans le sacré cabinet de l'Escriture...

As for Goulart, whatever his protestations to the contrary, his own religious verse shows anything but an aversion to the mythological; cf. Cave, Devotional Poetry, p.78, where Goulart is referred to as the poet "whose example caused a general breakaway from the early Calvinist austerity". Cave's footnote then refers us to the passage from Béroalde's Les Cognoissance: Cave's diagnosis that this text betrays a certain embarrassment is one with which we would agree, but, in the context of Béroalde's poetry generally, we would not accept the further conclusion that the question is left unanswered.

25. See above, pp.129-30.

26. De l'Ame I ix; f.26v°.

27. De l'Ame I x-xi; ff. 26v°-27r°.

28. See above, pp.27-9, 97-100.

29. De l'Ame I xiv; f.27r°.

30. De l'Ame I xv; f.27r°.

31. Les C.N., f.10r° (passage quoted above, p.38).

32. De l'Ame I xvi; f.27v°.

33. De l'Ame I xvii; f.27v°.

34. Cf. François Rabelais, Pantagruel, ed. Saulnier, p.42;

Parquoy, ainsi comme en toy demeure l'ymage de mon corps, si pareillement ne reluysoient les meurs de l'âme, lon ne te jugeroit pas estre garde et thrésor de l'immortalité de nostre nom; et le plaisir que prendroys, ce voyant, seroit petit, consydérant, que la moindre partie de moy, qui est le corps, demeureroit: et que la meilleure, qui est l'âme, et par laquelle demeure nostre nom en bénédiction entre les hommes, seroit dégénérante et abastardie...

As Screech has shown (The Rabelaisian Marriage. Aspects of Rabelais's Religion, Ethics & Comic Philosophy, London, Arnold, 1958, pp.20-2), this is a statement which is to be set against the scholastic concept of the persona, and in that sense against the unity of body and soul. But it is a unity of unequal parts, and it is to this idea of hierarchy that we refer here.

35. De l'Ame I xviii; f.27r°.

36. De l'Ame I xix; f.27v°.

37. Essais II xvii; ed. Rat, p.622. Cf. Essais I xxvi De l'Institution des Enfants (ed.cit., p.164);

Ce n'est pas une ame, ce n'est pas un corps qu'on dresse, c'est un homme; il n'en faut pas faire à deux.

38. De l'Ame I xx; f.27v°. Cf. Timaeus 35b sq.

39. Cf. Walker, Spiritual and Demonic Magic, pp.7-8.

40. De l'Ame I xxi; ff.27v°-28r°.

41. De l'Ame I xxii; f.28r°.

42. De l'Ame I xxiii; f.28r°. Cf. Phaedrus 246a sq.

43. Le Miroir de l'Ame pecheresse, in Marguerites de la Marguerite des Princesses, Tresillustre Royne de Navarre, Introduction aux volumes I et II par Ruth Thomas, 2 vols., Paris/The Hague, Mouton (Classiques de la Renaissance en France, série d'éditions publiées sous la direction de M.A.Screech), 1970, I p.16 (reprint of Marguerites de la Marguerite des Princesses..., Lyon, de Tournes, 1547).

44. De l'Ame II i; f.28r°.

45. De l'Ame II iii; f.28v°.

46. Cf. De Mourgues, Metaphysical Baroque & Précieux Poetry, pp.94-5; and also Wilson, Descriptive Poetry in France from Blason to Baroque, pp.203-7.

47. De l'Ame II iv; f.28v°.

48. De l'Ame II vi; f.28v°.

49. De l'Ame II vii; f.28v°.

50. De l'Ame II viii; ff.28v°-29r°.

51. De la Constance, ff.9v°-10r°.

52. Cf. Phaedo 72e-76d; Phaedrus 249e-250c; Meno 81c-86b.

53. De l'Ame I xvi; f.27v°.

54. De l'Ame II ix; f.29r°.

55. De l'Ame II x; f.29r°.

56. De l'Ame II xi; f.29r°.

57. Essais III xii; ed. Rat, p.1037.

58. See above, p.286.

59. De l'Ame II xiii; f.29r°-v°.

60. De l'Ame II xiv; f.29v°.

61. De l'Ame II xv; f.29v°.

62. Les Apprehensions Spirituelles, f.55v° (quoted above, Introduction p.xv).

63. De l'Ame II xvi; f.29v°.

64. For further references, cf. Busson, Le Rationalisme dans la Littérature française de la Renaissance (for Pomponazzi and Vicomercato in particular, pp.46-52, 195-9).

65. De l'Ame II xix; f.30r°. Cf. the expression of the same sentiment at IV xi, f.34v° (quoted below, p.317).

66. De l'Ame II xx; f.30r°.

67. De l'Ame II xxii; f.30r°.

68. Cf. PS I ll.105-18; Reichenberger, I pp.11-2.

69. See above, p.198.

70. See above, p.198.

71. Cf. François Rabelais, Le Quart Livre, édition critique commentée par Robert Marichal, Geneva/Lille, Droz/Giard (TLF), 1947, p.30.

72. Cf. Essais III ii Du Repentir (ed. Rat, p.782);
Les autres forment l'homme; je le recite et en represente un particulier bien mal formé...

73. Our quotations are taken from De la Sagesse Trois Livres. Par Pierre Charron...Suivant la vraye copie de Bourdeaux, Amsterdam, Louys & Daniel Elzevier, 1662 (Nottingham University Library s/BJ 1051. C4).
On Charron the most recent work is Renée Kogel, Pierre Charron, Geneva, Droz, 1972.

74. De la Sagesse Trois Livres, ed.cit., p.1.

75. See above, p.266.

76. See above, p.266 note 25.

77. De l'Ame III i; f.30r°-v°.

78. De l'Ame III ii; f.30v°.

79. Cf. Du Bellay, Deffence et Illustration de la Langue francoyse, II iv; ed. Chamard, p.113.

80. De l'Ame III iii; f.30v°.

81. De l'Ame III vi; f.30v°.

82. De l'Ame III v; f.30v°.

83. Cf. De l'Ame II x, f.29r° (quoted above, p.289);
Tout est en nostre esprit, car il est de ce monde
Le petit racourcy, & comme tout abonde
Au premier ainsi tout en l'autre est abondant...

84. See above, p.95 and note 39. On Bouelles' De Sapiente, cf. Ernst Cassirer, The Individual and the Cosmos in Renaissance Philosophy, Translated with an introduction by M. Domandi, Oxford, Blackwell, 1963, pp.88ff.

85. In Que hoc volumine continentur. Liber de intellectu. Liber de sensu. Liber de nichilo. Ars oppositorum. Liber de generatione. Liber de sapiente. Liber de duodecim numeris Epistole complures Insuper mathematicum opus quadripartitum De Numeris Perfectis De Mathematicis Rosis De Geometricis Corporibus De Geometricis Supplementis, Paris, Ambianis, 1510 (B.N. Rés.R.155); f.148r°, colophon to the De sapiente -
Libri de Sapiente Finis Anno Divine humanationis. 1509 Decimatertia nouembris. Diuine Increate & intemerate sapientie Innumere laudes: Angelice et humane sapientie conditrici.

85a. For a discussion of these ideas in Bouelles' work, and their sources, cf. Antonio V. Romuáldez, "Towards a History of the Renaissance Idea of Wisdom", in Studies in the Renaissance XI (1964), pp.133-50, especially pp.137-41.

86. De l'Ame III iv; f.30v°.

87. De l'Ame III vii; ff.30v°-31r°.

88. See above, pp.247-8.

89. Pontus de Tyard, Oeuvres. Solitaire Premier, édition critique par Silvio F. Baridon, Geneva, Droz (TLF), 1950, p.14.

90. Loc.cit.

91. De l'Ame II viii; f.31r°.

92. De l'Ame II ix; f.31r°.

93. See above, pp.230-1, 247-8.

94. De l'Ame II xi; f.31r°.

95. D'Aubigné, Les Tragiques, Princes, l.963; ed. Garnier & Plattard, II p.70.

96. De l'Ame III xii; f.31r°-v°.

97. De l'Ame II xiii; f.31v°.

98. Ecclesiastes I 18.

99. De l'Ame III xiv; f.31v°.

100. De l'Ame III xv; f.31v°. Whether directly or through an intermediary, Béroalde appears to remember the Vulgate text of the Ecclesiastes verse;

Eo quod in multa sapientia multa sit indignatio; Et qui addit scientiam addit et laborem.

101. See above, p.278.

102. De l'Ame III xvi; f.31v°.

103. De l'Ame III xvii; ff.31v°-32r°.

104. Euvres poetiques...Intituléz Louangés, f.71v°.

105. Essais III xiii De l'Experience; ed. Rat, p.1052.

106. De l'Ame III xviii; f.32r°. The warning is repeated from II xv, f.29v° (quoted above, p.290).

107. For a discussion of this theme in the context of Les Tragiques, cf. Weber, La Création Poétique, pp.665-6, 730. Weber points out that a predilection for animal imagery is "une tendance générale de toute poésie satirique et populaire, qui cherche à rabaisser les grandeurs sociales en les ramenant à la brutalité ou à la ruse animales". Béroalde's distinction is that the object of his satire is not social injustice, but a misapplied conception of "le sage". His is a poetry concerned not with political or religious differences, but with a proper definition of knowledge and its effects. This and other examples show that its language is not any the less vehement as a consequence.

108. De l'Ame III xix; f.32r°.

109. Cf. De l'Ame III xx (f.32r°);

Alors que l'intellect ou sa force s'abuse,
Et qu'au moins non au plus, impuissant il s'amuse,
Et qu'il dechet de soy l'opinion se fait,
Auec ce qui est faux, aisément il adhere,

Et s'opposant au vray, tousiours luy est contraire
Car iamais l'imparfait ne s'accorde au parfait.

110. I Corinthians VIII 1.

111. Le Palais des Curieux, p.55.

112. Loc.cit., pp.57-8 (quoted above, Introduction p.xxii). "Charité" remains the principle of Béroalde's philosophy, and the feature which distinguishes true knowledge from false. Cf. the continuation of this passage;

...ce n'est pas cette science qui enfle: La science mondaine non science mais apparence, pleine de vanitez & entre las difficiles, est celle qui fait deuenir Pharisiens ses sectateurs. Mais la science de charité, abaissent les coeurs dans les cendres de l'humilité, les eschauffe & enflamme de pieté, laquelle estant vtile à la vie presente a les asseurances de la vie à venir. C'est cette science dont il faut faire estat, des autres il s'en faut ayder pour seruir cette-là qui est leur Royne, car estans guidez par elle les autres seront bonnes, dautant qu'elle les purifie par sa presence.

It is this argument, interpreted as a justification of a programme of knowledge, which the poem now goes on to develop.

113. De la Sagesse Trois Livres, p.524.

114. Cf. the discussion in Hugo Friedrich, Montaigne, traduit de l'allemand par Robert Rovini, Paris, Gallimard, 1968, pp.316ff.

115. Cf. Friedrich, op.cit., p.11;

Les Essais de Michel de Montaigne sont de libres considérations d'un gentilhomme français dans l'esprit de l'humanisme finissant du XVIe siècle...

116. Cf. Essais II xii (ed. Rat, p.415);

C'est, à la vérité, une très-utile et grande partie que la science. Ceux qui la mesprisent, tesmoignent assez leur bestise; mais je n'estime pas pourtant sa valeur jusques à cette mesure extreme qu'aucuns luy attribuent...

117. See above, Part III chapter I note 40.

118. Cf. Rice, The Renaissance Idea of Wisdom, pp.2-3, 214-5.

119. Notably by Romuáldez, art.cit.

120. Cf. The Renaissance Idea of Wisdom, p.212;

Of course, innovating conceptions of wisdom did not supplant traditional varieties inherited from the Middle Ages. New and old coexisted...

p.213;

New and traditional definitions of wisdom were even advanced by the same man...

p.214;

The process which resulted in this ethical conception of wisdom was not a simple, continuous evolution...

121. Essais I xxvi De l'Institution des Enfants; ed. Rat, p.151.

122. De l'Ame III xxi; f.32r^{o}.

123. Essais I xxv; ed. Rat, p.135.

124. Essais III xiii; ed.cit., p.1091.

125. De l'Ame III xxii; f.32r^{o}.

126. In Les Oevvres du S^r Du Vair, ed.cit., p.731. The original "privilège" of this work is dated 1585 (cf. Levi, French Moralists, p.75).

127. See above, p.269.

128. La Philosophie Morale des Stoiques, pp.764-5.

129. De l'Ame III xxiii; f.32r°-v°.

130. Cf. La Philosophie Morale des Stoiques, p.765;
Le principal effect de la pieté, est de nous apprendre à cognoistre Dieu: car de la cognoissance des choses procede l'honneur que nous leur portons. Il faut doncques premierement que nous croyons qu'il est, qu'il a creé le monde par sa puissance, bonté & sagesse, que par elles mesmes il le gouuerne, que sa prouidence veille sur toutes choses, voire les plus petites. Que tout ce qu'il nous enuoye est pour nostre bien, & que nostre mal ne vient que de nous...

131. Loc.cit., p.766;
De l'honneur que nous deuons à Dieu, dépend l'opinion que nous deuons auoir qu'il est present à toutes nos actions, soit que nous soyons deuant luy, soit que nous soyons auec les hommes. Pour ce nous faut-il parler à luy comme les hommes nous oyans, & viure auec les hommes, comme Dieu nous voyant...

132. De l'Ame III xxiv; f.32v°.

133. De l'Ame III xxv; f.32v°.

134. Essais I xxv; ed. Rat, p.136.

135. Francisci Petrarchae poetae oratorisque clarissimi, de remediis vtriusque Fortunae ad Azonem libri duo..., Paris, apud Martinum Iuuenem, 1557, p.43.

136. Essais I xxvi De l'Institution des Enfants; ed. Rat, p.149.

137. Essais I xxv Du Pedantisme; ed.cit., p.135.

138. Loc.cit., p.137.

139. Loc.cit., p.139.

140. Loc.cit., p.139;
Il y a aucuns de nos Parlemens, quand ils ont à recevoir des officiers, qui les examinent seulement sur la science; les autres y adjoutent encores l'essay du sens, en leur presentant le jugement de quelque cause. Ceux cy me semblent avoir un beaucoup meilleur stile; et encore que ces deux pieces soient necessaires et qu'il faille qu'elles s'y trouvent toutes deux, si est-ce qu'à la verité celle du sçavoir est moins prisable que celle du jugement. Cette cy se peut passer de l'autre, et non l'autre de cette cy.

141. Loc.cit., p.143.

142. De la Sagesse Trois Livres, p.524.

143. Loc.cit., p.526.

144. Loc.cit., p.524.

145. Ibid.

146. Le Palais des Curieux, p.423 (quoted above, Introduction p.xv).

147. Recherches de la pierre philosophale, f.92v° (quoted above, p.274).

148. Louangé de la Sciancé, in Euvres poetiques...Intituléz Louangés, f.46v°.

149. See above, p.298.

150. De la Sagesse Trois Livres, p.522.

151. Galatians V 14.

152. De l'Ame III xxvi; f.32v°.

153. See above, p.272 and note 57.

154. See above, p.272.

155. Le Palais des Curieux, p.120 (quoted above, Introduction p.xiii).

156. Loc.cit., p.290 (quoted above, p.xiv).

157. Loc.cit., pp.209-10.

158. De l'Ame III xxxvi; f.33v°.

159. De l'Ame III xxvii; f.32v°.

160. De l'Ame III xxviii; ff.32v°-33r°.

161. De l'Ame III xxxiii; f.33r°-v°.

162. De l'Ame III xxxiv; f.33v°.

163. De l'Ame III xxxv; f.33v°.

164. De l'Ame III xxxi; f.33r°.

165. De l'Ame III xxxv; f.33v°.

166. See above, note 119.

167. De l'Ame III xxxviii; f.33v°.

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PART III - CHAPTER III

1. De l'Ame IV i; f.33v°.

2. De l'Ame IV ii; f.33v°.

3. De l'Ame IV iii-iv; f.33v°.

4. De l'Ame IV v; f.33v°.

5. De l'Ame IV vi; f.34r°.

6. Hymne de la Philosophie ll.19-20; Laumonier VIII p.86.

7. Loc.cit., ll.21-8; pp.86-7.

8. De l'Ame IV vii; f.34v°.

9. Les Fenêtres, in Mallarmé, Introduced and Edited by Anthony Hartley, Harmondsworth, Penguin Books, 1965, p.19.

10. De l'Ame IV viii; f.34v°.

11. Hymne de la Philosophie ll.29-30; Laumonier VIII p.87.

12. De l'Ame IV ix; f.34v°. See above, pp.278-80.

13. De l'Ame IV x; f.34v°.

14. De l'Ame IV xi; f.34v°. Cf. Plato, Protagoras 311d sq., Meno 90b sq.; in the Gargantua of 1542, both Thubal Holoferne and Janotus de Bragmardo become "sophistes" (cf. François Rabelais, Gargantua, ed. Screech, p.94 and note). Cf. also Montaigne, Essais I xxv Du Pedantisme (ed. Rat, pp.137-8);

Ces maistres icy, comme Platon dit des sophistes, leurs germains, sont de tous les hommes ceux qui promettent d'estre les plus utiles aux hommes, et, seuls entre tous les hommes, qui non seulement n'amendent point ce qu'on leur commet, comme fait un charpentier et un masson, mais l'empirent, et se font payer de l'avoir empiré.

15. De l'Ame IV xii; ff.34v°-35r°.

16. De l'Ame IV xiii; f.35r°. This is not, however, a point of view which is irreconcilable with the stoic; cf. Du Vair, La Philosophie Morale des Stoiques, p.771 -

La nature nous a donné le corps, comme instrument necessaire de la vie. Il faut en auoir soing: mais soing comme d'vne chose qui est en la tutelle de l'esprit: à laquelle il doit de la sollicitude, & non pas du seruice. Il le doit traicter de façon qu'il s'en monstre seigneur, & non pas tyran, qu'il le nourrisse sans l'engraisser, qu'il monstre qu'il ne vit pas pour luy, mais qu'il ne peut viure icy bas sans luy.

17. De l'Ame IV xiv; f.35r°.

18. De l'Ame IV xv; f.35r°.

19. De Officiis II ii 5. Cf. Rice, The Renaissance Idea of Wisdom, pp.4-5.

20. See above, Introduction notes 65 and 83.

21. Cf. Romuáldez, art.cit., p.140 and note 30.

22. Loc.cit., notes 31 and 32. Cf. also the colophon to the work (quoted

above, Part III chapter II note 85), in which divine wisdom is unequivocally presented as the founder of both angelic and human.

23. De l'Ame IV xvi; f.35r°.

24. De l'Ame IV xvii-xviii; f.35r°-v°.

25. See above, note 14, and p.304.

26. Cf. Essais I xxv (ed. Rat, p.138);
Mon vulgaire Perigordin appelle fort plaisamment "Lettreferits" ces sçavanteaux, comme si vous disiez "Lettre-ferus", ausquels les lettres ont donné un coup de marteau, comme on dict. De vray, le plus souvent ils semblent estre ravalez, mesmes du sens commun. Car le paisant et le cordonnier, vous leur voiez aller simplement et naïfvement leur train, parlant de ce qu'ils sçavent; ceux cy, pour se vouloir eslever et gendarmer de ce sçavoir qui nage en la superficie de leur cervelle, vont s'ambarrassant et enpestrant sans cesse...

27. Loc.cit.

28. De l'Ame IV xix; f.35v°.

29. Essais III xiii De l'Experience; ed. Rat, p.1088.

30. Cf. Essais I xxvi De l'Institution des Enfants (ed.cit., p.146);
Si je leur pouvoy tenir palot, je serois honneste homme...

31. De l'Ame IV xx; f.35v°.

32. De l'Ame IV xxi; f.35v°.

33. De l'Ame IV xxii; f.35v°.

34. Recherches de la pierre philosophale, f.92r°.

35. Loc.cit., f.92v°.

36. See above, p.274.

37. Cf. Recherches de la pierre philosophale, f.89r°-v°;
Et pourtant i'estime, comme fera tout sain iugement qui vouldra considerer sans passion, qu'il ne faut pas poser la seule speculation és sciences humaines, pour leur perfection, & seul but, d'autant que ce seroit en abuser: Car sans l'vsage sensible, & vrayement à elles propre & naturel, à quoy peut seruir la philosophie qui court tant par la bouche des hommes auec si beaux termes, si equitables raisons, si saintes causes, si iustes demonstrations intellectuelles, si braues discours, si les maistres n'en peuuent monstrer vn seul profit, autre que l'intelligence abstracte qui ne donne rien au corps, ne bastit les maisons, ne chasse le froid, ne subuient à nos necessités generalles, ains nous laisse pour tout vn fantasié contentement feint simplement en l'esprit...
La Philosophie donq' ainsi menee nuement est inutile, & ne peut estre complete que par la practique, la cognoissance de laquelle fut son vray commencement, comme elle en est la fin.

38. De la Sagesse, f.11v° (passage quoted above, p.271).

39. Louangé de la Sciancé, in Euvres poetiques...Intituléz Louangés, f.46v° (quoted above, p.306).

40. Euvres poetiques, f.9r°.

41. Essais III xiii De l'Experience; ed. Rat, p.1045.

42. Loc.cit., p.1046.

43. De l'Ame IV xxiii; f.36r°.

44. La Philosophie Morale des Stoiques, p.772.

45. De l'Ame IV xxiv; f.36r°.

46. Cf. Romuáldez, art.cit., pp.141-3, discussion of the De Sapientia of Cardan.

47. De l'Ame IV xxv; f.36r°.

48. See above, p.284.

49. Essais I xxvi De l'Institution des Enfants; ed. Rat, p.164 (quoted above, Part III chapter II note 37).

50. De l'Ame IV xxvii; f.36r°.

51. De l'Ame IV xxx; f.36v°.

52. De l'Ame IV xxxi; f.36v°.

53. Le Palais des Curieux, pp.57-8 (quoted above, pp.xxii and 300).

54. Essais II xii Apologie de Raimond Sebond; ed. Rat, p.546.

55. Cf. Apologie, ed.cit., pp.588-9;
...faire la poignée plus grande que le poing, la brassée plus grande que le bras, et d'esperer enjamber plus que l'estanduë de nos jambes, cela est impossible et monstrueux. Ny que l'homme se monte au dessus de soy et de l'humanité: car il ne peut voir que de ses yeux, ny saisir que de ses prises. Il s'eslevera si Dieu lui preste extraordinairement la main...
On Montaigne's fideism, cf. Friedrich, op.cit., pp.117ff.

56. Les Dialogues de Loys le Caron Parisien, Paris, Iean Longis, 1556, f.75v°.

57. Cf. Romuáldez, art.cit. Romuáldez has shown how for Bouelles, Cardan, Charron and Sadoleto alike the concept of divine continues to exist alongside that of human wisdom.

58. Les Dialogues, ff.77v°-78r°.

59. De l'Ame et de ses facultes, f.40v° (quoted above, p.231).

60. Tusculan Disputations IV vii 14-5.

61. Loc.cit. IV ix 22.

62. De la Constance, ed.cit., ff.8v°-9r°.

63. See above, pp.295-6.

64. De l'Ame V i; f.36v°.

65. De l'Ame V iii; f.37r°.

66. De l'Ame V iv; f.37r°.

67. De l'Ame V v; f.37r°.

68. Cf. Ronsard, Des Vertus Intellectuelles et Moralles. Discours prononcé

à l'Académie du Palais...en présence de Henri III, in Ronsard, Oeuvres Complètes, texte établi et annoté par Gustave Cohen, 2 vols., Paris, Gallimard, 1950, II p.1030.

69. De l'Ame V vi; f.37r°.

70. Cf. Historia Naturalis VII, Prooemium. For Renaissance illustrations of the theme cf. Rabelais, Le Tiers Livre chapter VIII (ed. Screech, pp. 70-1); Montaigne Essais II xii Apologie de Raimond Sebond, ed. Rat, p.433; and Du Bartas PS VI ll.197-204 (ed. Reichenberger, I p.143) -

De tant de corps viuans, qui par les airs se iouent,
Qui marchent par les champs, qui dans les ondes nouent,
Tu munis l'vn de dens, l'autre d'vn bec crochu,
L'autre d'vn noir venin, l'autre d'vn pié fourchu,
L'autre d'espais serancs, l'autre d'vne aspre escaille,
L'autre d'vne cuirasse, & l'autre d'vne maille.
Mais tu fis l'homme nud, lui donnant seulement,
Au lieu de ces harnois, vn subtil iugement...

71. Discours de la Cognoissance Prononcé à l'Académie du Palais en présence de Henri III, par Jacques Davy Du Perron, lecteur de la chambre de Sa Majesté, in Edouard Frémy, Origines de l'Académie française. L'Académie des Derniers Valois. Académie de Poésie et de Musique 1570-1576. Académie du Palais 1576-1585. D'après des Documents Nouveaux et Inédits, Geneva, Slatkine, 1969 (first published Paris, Leroux, 1887), pp.336-43; p.340.

72. De l'Ame V xxvi; f.39r°.

73. Cf. a further example, combining both Pliny's original commonplace and Du Perron's extension of it, in Jacques Doremet, Polymnie du Vray Amour, et de la Mort. Auec quelques Stances & Quatrains Spirituelz, Paris, Nicolas Gilles, 1596, pp.30-1;

L'Eternel a muni chacune creature
D'armes & de defence, aux vns il a donné
La vistesse des piedz, ou le front encorné:
Aux autres ongles, dents, griffes, plume, peau dure.

L'homme seul naist icy sans arme & couuerture:
A fin qu'il ait en Dieu son rempart assigné,
Sa force, & sa vertu: & qu'il soit amené
A cercher du Seigneur l'aide en toute auenture.

Le bien propre à l'homme est la parfaitte raison:
Tout le reste luy est commun auec la beste:
S'il est fort, le Lyon l'est sans comparaison:

Le cheual comme luy à vouloir corps & teste:
S'il est beau, le Paon l'est: a-il belle la voix?
Plus belle l'ont encor les Sereines des bois.

74. Discours de la Cognoissance, loc.cit.

75. De l'Ame V xxvii; f.39r°.

76. PS VI ll.205-8; ed. Reichenberger, I p.143.

77. Cf. PS VI ll.833ff.; ed. Reichenberger, I pp.160ff.

78. PS I ll.79-80; ed. Reichenberger, I p.11 (quoted above, Introduction p.ix).

79. De l'Ame V viii; f.37v°.

80. Essais II viii De l'Affection des Peres aux Enfans; ed. Rat, p.366.

The context, however, is that of "jugement" -

J'ay, de ma part, le goust estrangement mousse à ces propensions qui sont produites en nous sans l'ordonnance et entremise de nostre jugement

- and it is only fair to say that the stoic here is merging into something else. See further below, p.337.

81. De l'Ame V ix; f.37v°.

82. The speech is quoted in E.M.W.Tillyard, The Elizabethan World Picture, pp.18-9.

83. De l'Ame V x; f.37v°.

84. Cf. Arnold, Roman Stoicism, pp.95, 282-3. Cf. also Cicero, De Natura Deorum II xiv 37; Diogenes Laertius, Lives of Eminent Philosophers VII 87-9.

85. See above, pp.27-9.

86. De l'Ame V iv; f.37r°.

87. De l'Ame V xvi; f.38r°.

88. De l'Ame V xiv; f.38r°.

89. De l'Ame V xv; f.38r°.

90. De l'Ame V vii; f.37r°.

91. De l'Ame V xii; f.37v°.

92. Busson, Le Rationalisme dans la littérature française de la Renaissance, p.283.

93. For a discussion of the place of reason in Postel's work cf. Busson, op.cit., pp.273-84.

94. De l'Ame V xiii; f.38r°.

95. De l'Ame V xviii; f.38r°-v°.

96. De l'Ame V xix; f.38v°.

97. Cf. Arnold, Roman Stoicism pp.292-3. Cf. also Cicero, Tusculan Disputations II xii 29; Diogenes Laertius, Lives of the Eminent Philosophers VII 89. For Béroalde the christian writer, however, virtue cannot be a sufficient end in itself; see further below, pp.343-4.

98. De l'Ame V xxi; f.38v°.

99. De l'Ame I xxiii; f.28r° (quoted above, p.286).

100. Princes, ll.1329ff.; ed. Garnier & Plattard, II pp.94ff. Béroalde has already indicated the theme in De l'Ame et de ses facultes (see above, p.231).

101. Princes, ll.1451-4; ed.cit., II p.102.

102. Hymne de la Philosophie, ll.191-4; Laumonier VIII p.97. Cf. Hesiod, Works and Days, ll.289-92. For the career of the image cf. Henri Franchet, Le Poète et son oeuvre d'après Ronsard, Paris, Champion, 1923, pp.103ff.

103. Le Quart Livre chapter LVII; ed. Marichal, p.231.

104. De l'Ame VI i; f.39r°.

105. De l'Ame VI ii; f.39r°.

106. See above, p.327.

107. De l'Ame VI iii; f.39r°. Cf. II xxii (quoted above, p.291). These are statements which, as we have already shown, may be related to similar ones by Du Bartas and Ronsard, and to the "mediocrité" of Rabelais' Quart Livre (see above, Part III chapter II notes 68-71). To the further example from Béroalde's own work we might add the opening lines of L'Idee de la Republique, which otherwise, like the opening of Les Cognoissances Necessaires before, recall Ronsard's Hymne de l'Eternité;

D'vne ardeur bien heureuse eschaufant ma poitrine,
Ie sens entrer en moy ceste flame diuine,
Qui des poëtes saintz vient eschauffer le coeur,
Quand ils veulent chanter les faictz du Createur.
Plein du braue desir qui m'a l'ame eslancée
Ie tente le suiet qui couue en ma pensée,
Et reglant mon souhait soubs vn iuste compas,
Sans m'esleuer trop haut ou descendre trop bas,
Ie recherche les loix, pour trouuer la practique
De sagement regler la sainte Republique...
(L'Idee de la Republique, f.3v°)

The statement may refer to either style or content. In the case of Ronsard the former is the preoccupation. Béroalde, whether he is discussing the physical composition of the universe, the organisation of the state, or the conduct of the individual, is evidently more concerned with the latter aspect.

108. They are also Aristotelean; cf. Nichomachean Ethics 1106b 9ff.

109. Princes, ll.1355-6, 1365-6; ed. Garnier & Plattard, II p.97.

110. Princes, ll.1347-9; ed.cit., II p.96. For the influence of stoicism on d'Aubigné, cf. Jacques Bailbé, "Agrippa d'Aubigné et le stoïcisme", in Bulletin de l'Association Guillaume Budé 4me série N° 1 (1965), pp.97-111, and, for the points discussed here, pp.106-7 especially.

111. Essais III xiii De l'Experience; ed. Rat, p.1090.

112. Loc.cit., p.1091.

113. Cf. Laws II 653b. Plato's concern is education; for the stoic view of the normative role of reason cf. Cicero, Tusculan Disputations IV xxxviii 83-4.

114. Essais III xiii De l'Experience; ed. Rat, p.1091.

115. De l'Ame VI vi; ff.39v°-40r°.

116. De l'Ame VI v; f.39v°.

117. De l'Ame VI vii; f.40r°.

118. De la Vertu, f.21r°.

119. Questions Diverses et Discours de Loys Charondas le Caron Iurisconsulte Parisien. Livre Premier, Paris, Vincent Norment, 1579, f.66r°.

120. Les Discours Philosophiques de Pierre de Lostal..., Paris, I. Du Puy, 1579, p.208.

121. Essais II xi De la Cruauté; ed. Rat, p.408.

122. Cf. Cicero, Tusculan Disputations II xiv 32. The image is that of a "coniunctio confusioque virtutum" (De Finibus V xxiii 67). Cf. also Diogenes Laertius, Lives of the Eminent Philosophers VII 125-6.

123. De l'Ame VI xxv; f.41v°.

124. See above, p.288.

125. Questions Diverses, f.19r°.

126. De l'Ame VI xxi; f.41r°.

127. De l'Ame III xxxiv; f.33v° (quoted above, p.309).

128. De l'Ame VI xxiv; f.41v°.

129. Cf. Marot, Epistre au Roy, du temps de son exil à Ferrare, ll.151-2 (in Clément Marot, Les Epitres, édition critique par C.A.Mayer, London, Athlone Press, 1958, p.204);

...l'escripture est la touche où l'on treuve
Le plus hault or...

- and Marguerite de Navarre, L'Heptaméron, texte établi sur les manuscrits avec une introduction, des notes et un index des noms propres par Michel François, Paris, Garnier, 1967 (first published 1943), p.304; for Parlamente "la parolle de Dieu"

est la vraye touche pour sçavoir les parolles vraies ou mensongeres.

130. De l'Ame VI x; f.40r°.

131. See above, p.320.

132. De l'Ame VI viii; f.40r°.

133. De l'Ame VI ix; f.40r°.

134. De l'Ame VI xi; f.40r°.

135. De l'Ame VI xii; f.40r°-v°.

136. Princes, l.1325; ed. Garnier & Plattard, II p.95.

137. Cf. Les Tragiques, Préface. L'Autheur à son Livre, ll.133-8 (ed.cit., I p.23);

Je cerchois de mes tristes yeux
La verité aux aspres lieux,
Quand de cett' obscure tasniere
Je vis resplendir la clarté,
Sans qu'il y eust autre lumiere:
Sa lumiere estoit sa beauté.

138. Princes, ll.154, 162-4; ed.cit., II pp.14-5.

139. Les C.N., f.1v° (quoted above, p.4).

140. De l'Ame VI xiii; f.40v°.

141. The aim is a natural consequence of "virtus ad beate vivendum sit se ipsa contenta" - cf. Cicero, Tusculan Disputations V xxv 72; Diogenes Laertius, Lives of the Eminent Philosophers VII 121-3.

142. Cf. Le Tiers Livre chapter II ll.28-36 (ed. Screech, p.29);

Pantagruel, adverty de l'affaire, n'en feut en soy aulcunement indigné, fasché ne marry. Je vous ay ja dict et encores rediz que c'estoit le meilleur petit et grand bon hommet que oncques ceignelt espée. Toutes

choses prenoit en bonne partie, tout acte interpretoit à bien. Jamais ne se tourmentoit, jamais ne se scandalizoit. Aussi eust il esté bien forissu du Deificque manoir de raison, si aultrement se feust contristé ou alteré...

On Rabelais' stoicism cf. M.A.Screech, "Some Stoic Elements in Rabelais's Religious Thought (The Will - Destiny - Active Virtue)", in Etudes Rabelaisiennes I, Geneva, Droz, 1956, pp.73-97.

143. De l'Ame VI xiv; f.40v°. Béroalde equally presents a further aspect, of no less practical value than the first (VI xxix; f.42r°) -

...Mais l'homme vertueux que la pauureté mine,
Trouue encores tousiours quelqu'vn qui luy fait bien...

144. De l'Ame VI xv; f.40v°.

145. De l'Ame VI xvi; f.40v°.

146. De l'Ame VI xvii; f.41r°.

147. De l'Ame VI xx; f.41r°.

148. De l'Ame VI xviii; f.41r°.

149. De l'Ame VI xix; f.41r°.

150. Les Oevvres, ed.cit., p.741.

151. De l'Ame VI xxxi; f.42r°.

152. De l'Ame VI xxvi; f.41v°.

153. De l'Ame VI i; f.39r° (quoted above, p.336).

154. Montaigne, Essais I xxvi De l'Institution des Enfants; ed. Rat, p.160.

155. See above, p.337.

156. Essais, loc.cit., pp.160-1.

157. Loc.cit., p.161.

158. De l'Ame VI xxviii; f.42r°.

159. De l'Ame VI xxx; f.42r°.

160. PS VII ll.319-24; ed. Reichenberger, I p.175.

161. De l'Ame VI xi; f.40r°.

162. Essais II xvii De la Praesumption; ed. Rat, p.644.

163. Juvenal, Satire I l.74.

164. De la Vertu, f.5r°-v°.

165. De l'Ame VI xxvii; f.41v°.

166. Princes, ll.1319ff.; ed. Garnier & Plattard, II p.94.

167. Les C.N., f.19r°.

168. De l'Ame VI xxxii; f.42r°.

169. Les C.N., f.2v°.

170. De l'Ame VI xxxiii; f.42r°-v°.

171. De l'Ame VI xxxiv; f.42v°.

172. See above, p.294 and illustration.

173. See above, p.269 note 40, and pp.301-2.

174. De l'Ame III xvi; f.31v° (quoted above, p.300).

* * *

GENERAL CONCLUSION

1. The sonnet is signed with the initials N.P.S.D.CH.V.& E.

2. Les Apprehensions Spirituelles, prefatory material to Les Cognoissances Necessaires, (E xi r°).

3. On Le Digne, and his connections with Béroalde, cf. Fernand Fleuret & Louis Perceau, Les Satires françaises du XVIe siècle, 2 vols., Paris, Garnier, 1922, II pp.73-5.

4. Les Apprehensions Spirituelles, (E xi v°).

5. On the failure of Le Voyage des Princes Fortunes cf. Colletet, La Vie de Béroalde de Verville, in Lachèvre, Bibliographie des Recueils Collectifs de Poésies publiées de 1597 à 1700, pp.67-8;

Son Histoire véritable du voyage des Princes fortunez, divisé en quatre entreprises, et imprimé à Paris in-8 l'an 1610, est bien sans comparaison d'une autre trempe. Tout y est beau partout et tout y est bien imaginé, et quoy que sa réputation n'ait pas esté fort grande, si est-ce que ce fut moins par aucun déffaut qu'il eut, que par le malheur du tems auquel il parut au jour, car ce fut l'année mesme si funeste que la France perdit le roi Henry IV, son bon Maistre, par un attentat aussy horrible que détestable, de sorte que comme les anciens ne pouvoient approuver la coutume d'introduire la musique parmy le deuil, musica in luctu importuna narratio, aussy ne put-on se résoudre alors de lire un ouvrage qui venoit si à contre temps, et qui présentoit tant de belles narrations, des délices fabuleuses dans la conjoncture de tant de misères véritables...

6. Cf. Les C.N., f.19r°;

Et les beautés d'icy aux espris curieux,
Seruent d'aile & de vent pour les porter aux cieux
Remarquer la beauté, qui seule simple & bonne,
De tout cét vniuers egalement ordonne.

See further above, pp.141-2.

7. See above, Introduction p.xxi.

8. See above, Introduction note 104.

9. Les Apprehensions Spirituelles, a iiij v°.

10. See above, Introduction p.xxi.

11. Quoted above, loc.cit.

12. See above, pp.122ff.

13. See above, pp.129-30.

14. See above, p.130.

15. Cf. for instance the alchemical image which Béroalde chooses to illustrate the action of the wind in Les Cognoissances (see above, pp. 44-5); or, in De l'Ame et de ses facultes, the passage explaining the faculty of growth in vegetative soul (see above, pp.202-3). But such texts remain few in number.

16. See above, p.281.

17. Cf. stanzas quoted at pp.283, 285, 288, 289, 291, 294, 296, 297, 299,

304, 314, 317, 320, 327, 328, 329, 331, 332, 333, 334, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 346, 347.

18. Cf. Schmidt, La Poésie Scientifique..., ed.cit., p.144; and Saulnier, Maurice Scève, I pp.416-7, 427-8.

19. Les C.N., f.4r° (and see above, p.51).

20. See above, Introduction p.viii.

21. See above, Introduction p.xxiv.

22. On Augustine's concept of wisdom, cf. Rice, The Renaissance Idea of Wisdom, pp.4-13. Augustine operates a distinction between knowledge of things divine and knowledge of things human, which for the ancients had together denoted wisdom (see above p.319 for the stoic definition). The former alone is sapientia, defined as worship of God, and the latter mere scientia. Calvin likewise agrees that "la souveraine félicité et le but de nostre vie gist en la cognoissance de Dieu" (quoted above, Introduction p.xxii), and Béroalde that "Celuy qui sçait est vrayement homme, mais celuy qui sçait bien & faict que son sçauoir tend à edification, & à l'honneur de Dieu, cét homme-là demonstre qu'il est diuin..." (quoted above, Introduction p.xxiv). But Calvin is already prepared to allow that human knowledge may have a valid role to play in the appreciation of the divine, and in the case of Béroalde this becomes a fully worked-out philosophy.

23. See above, Introduction pp.xxii-xxv.

24. See above, p.164.

25. See above, p.13.

26. See above, pp.174-5.

27. See above, p.175.

28. See above, pp.45, 177-8.

29. See above, pp.211ff.

30. See above, pp.218, 222.

31. See above, p.220; also Part II chapter I note 18.

32. See above, pp.242ff.

33. See above, p.261 note 4.

34. See above, pp.268-9.

35. See above, p.301.

36. See above, p.301 note 119.

37. See above, p.304.

38. See above, p.333.

39. See above, pp.27-9.

40. See above, Part III chapter I note 7.

41. Béroalde calmly includes pieces which are clearly both Catholic and liturgical into the second edition of his Muse Celeste (see above, p.262),

while leaving the rest of the collection virtually unchanged. Cave's contention that there is little difference between Catholic and Calvinist in the devotional poetry of this period (Devotional Poetry in France, pp.18-23) is thereby neatly illustrated. But its further interest for us is that it suggests a mind more turned to the interior aspect of experience.

42. Le Palais des Curieux, p.578.

43. Saulnier, "Etude sur Béroalde de Verville", p.252.

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BIBLIOGRAPHY

N.B. It has seemed neither necessary nor desirable to cite in this Bibliography every work to which we have referred in the course of the thesis. We list here only those works of which we have made a fuller use. Further bibliographical references are contained in the notes, and may be located through the index. By the same token, we have made no attempt to reproduce nor even to update the comprehensive bibliography of works by and relating to Béroalde established by Saulnier in his study. In what follows we have adopted the following divisions:

I Works by Béroalde de Verville (as cited in the thesis)

II Other primary sources

III Secondary sources

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I - Works by Béroalde de Verville (as cited in the thesis)

1. Les Apprehensions Spirituelles, Poemes & autres Oeuures Philosophiques: Avec les Recherches de la pierre philosophale.
Paris, Timothee Iouan, 1583
(location: B.N. Z 19829)
includes
Les Cognoissances Necessaires, poeme contenant plusieurs belles resolutions philosophiques: Avec Le liure de l'ame, où est faite vne description entiere de l'ame, & de ses facultez.

2. Idem, with the imprint 1584
(locations: Arsenal 8° B 11053(Rés.), B.N. Rés.R 2716-2718, B.N. Rés. Z 2818(1-2), Mazarine 22011, British Library 524 b. 8)

3. Les Souspirs Amoureux de F.B. de Veruille: Auec vn discours Satyrique de ceux qui escriuent d'Amour, par N. le Digne.
Paris, Timothee Iouan, 1583
(locations: Arsenal 8° B 11053(Rés.), B.N. Rés. R 2716-2718)

4. Idem, with the imprint 1584
(locations: B.N. Z 19829, B.N. Rés. Z 2818(1-2), Mazarine 22011)

5. Les Cognoissances Necessaires, poeme contenant plusieurs belles resolutions philosophiques: Avec Le liure de l'ame, où est faite vne description entiere de l'ame, & de ses facultez.
Without place, printer or date
(location: Arsenal 8° B 11054(Rés.) - cf. No.1 above)

6. L'Idee de la Republique de Francois de Beroalde Sieur de Verville. En ce poeme est discouru du deuoir de chasqu'vn, de ce qui conserue la police en son entier, parfait l'estat, & monstre à tous selon leur qualité & condition le moyen de bien & heureusement viure en la société humaine, & se façonner aux bonnes meurs.
Paris, Thimothée Iouan, 1584
(locations: Arsenal 8° B 11033(Rés.), B.N. Rés. Ye 2044 (1), Mazarine 22010)

7. Dialogue de la Vertu.
Paris, Timothee Iouan, 1584
(locations: Arsenal 8° B 11033(Rés.), B.N. Rés. Ye 2044 (2), British Library 528 a. 48)

8. La Muse Celeste de Beroalde de Veruille.
Tours, Iamet Mettayer, 1593
(locations: Arsenal 8° B 10196(Rés.), Arsenal 8° B 10197, Mazarine 27991, B.N. Rothschild IV 6. 173)

9. De la Sagesse, Livre Premier. Auquel il est traicté du Moyen de paruenir au parfaict estat de bien viure, remedier aux afflictions, embrasser la Constance, & trouuer l'entier contentement selon l'institution Divine.
Tours, Iamet Mettayer, 1593
(locations: Mazarine 27991, Arsenal 8° S 2475, 8° S 2476)

10. Les Avantures de Floride, Histoire Françoise. En laquelle on peut voir les differens evenements d'Amour, de Fortune & d'Honneur, & combien sont en fin agreables les fruicts de la Vertu.
Tours, Iamet Mettayer, 1592
(location: British Library 245 d. 37)

11. Premiere Partie des Avantures de Floride. En ceste Histoire Françoise on peut voir les differens euenemens d'Amour, de Fortune & d'Honneur, & combien sont en fin agreables les fruits de la Vertu. Reueuë & augmentee.
Tours, Iamet Mettayer, 1594
(location: B.N. Rés. Y^2 1640)

12. Seconde Partie des Avantures de Floride. En laquelle, outre la suitte de l'Histoire, se rencontrent diuers succez Vertueux. Reueuë & augmentee.
Tours, Iamet Mettayer, 1594
(location: British Library 245 d. 38)

13. Idem
Tours, George Drobet, 1594
(location: B.N. Rés. Y^2 1641)

14. Seconde Partie des Avantures de Floride. En laquelle, outre la suitte de l'Histoire, se rencontrent diuers succez Vertueux.
Rouen, Thomas Mallard, 1594
(location: B.N. Y^2 75039)

15. Troisieme Partie des Avantures de Floride. En laquelle on recognoist par euenements diuers les punitions de ceux qui ont voulu contrevenir à l'Honneur.
Tours, Iamet Mettayer, 1594
(location: British Library 245 d. 38)

16. Idem
Rouen, Thomas Mallard, 1594
(location: B.N. Y^2 75040)

17. Troisieme Partie des Avantures de Floride. En laquelle on recognoist par euenemens diuers les punitions de ceux qui ont voulu contrevenir à l'Honneur. De l'inuention de Beroalde de Veruille. Reueu, corrigé & augmenté par le mesme Autheur.
Rouen, Raphaël du Petit Val, 1601
(location: B.N. Rés. Y^2 1642)

18. Quatriesme Partie des Avantures de Floride, Qui Est l'Infante Determinee. Où se voyent plusieurs trophees de la Vertu triomphante du Vice. De l'inuention de Beroalde de Veruille. Reueu, corrigé & augmenté Par le mesme Autheur.
Rouen, Raphaël du Petit Val, 1601
(location: B.N. Rés. Ye 1643)

19. Idem
Rouen, Theodore Reinsart, 1601
(location: British Library 245 d. 39)

20. Cinquiesme Partie des Avantures de Floride, Qui Est le Cabinet de Minerve. Auquel sont plusieurs singularitez. Figures. Tableaux. Antiques. Recherches saintes. Remarques serieuses. Où se voyent plusieurs trophees de la Vertu triomphante du Vice. De l'inuention de Beroalde de Veruille. Reueu, corrigé & augmenté par le mesme Autheur.
Rouen, Raphaël du Petit Val, 1601
(location: British Library 245 d. 39)

21. Le Cabinet de Minerve. Auquel Sont Plusieurs Singularités. Figures. Tableaux. Antiques. Recherches saintes. Remarques serieuses. Obseruations amoureuses. Subtilités agreables. Rencontres joyeuses & quelques histoires meslees és auantures de la sage Fenisse patron du Devoir.
Tours, Sebastien Molin, 1596
(location: British Library 1080 c. 8)

22. Idem

Paris, Matthieu Guillemot, 1596

(location: B.N. Rés. Z 2815)

23. Idem

Rouen, Guillaume Vidal, 1597

(location: B.N. Rés. Z 2816)

24. Idem

Rouen, Raphaël du Petit Val, 1601

(location: B.N. Rés. Z 2817)

25. Le Restablissement de Troye, Auec lequel parmy les hazards des armes, se voyent les Amours d'Aesionne; ses jalousies, desespoirs, esperances, changemens & passions que les succés balancent par la Vertu. De l'inuention de Beroalde de Veruille.

Tours, Sebastien Molin, 1597

(location: Arsenal 8° B 17506)

26. Les Amours d'Aesionne, Où se voyent les hazards des armes, les ialousies, desespoirs, esperances, changemens & passions, que les succez balancent par la vertu. De l'inuention de Beroalde de Verville.

Paris, Matthieu Guillemot, 1597

(location: B.N. Rés. Y² 1465 - this is the same work as the previous item)

27. Idem, with the imprint 1598
(location: Arsenal 8° B 17346)

28. La Pucelle d'Orleans Restituee par Beroalde de Verville. Sous le sujet de cette magnanime Pucelle est representée une Fille vaillante, chaste, sçavante & Belle.

Paris, Mathieu Guillemot, 1599

(locations: Arsenal 8° B 17893, Arsenal 8° B 17892 (this copy lacking title-page and first six ff.), British Library 12510 de. 4)

29. Idem

Tours, Sebastien Molin, 1599

(location: B.N. Rothschild VI 8(bis). 63)

30. L'Histoire d'Herodias, Tiree des Monumens de l'Antiquité. Icy se verront les effais de l'impudence effrenee apres le vice attirans les punitions diuines sur les esprits de rebellion.

Tours, Sebastien Molin, 1600

(locations: B.N. Y² 42082, Mazarine 22379)

31. Les Tenebres, Qui Sont les Lamentations de Ieremie. Par le Sieur de Verville.

Paris, Matthieu Guillemot, 1599

(location: B.N. Rés. Ye 2738; title of volume
Les Muses Francoises Ralliees de Diverses Pars. Dediées à Monsieur le Comte de Soissons.

Paris, Mathieu Guillemot, 1599)

32. Le Tableau des Riches Inventions Couuertes du voile des feintes Amoureuses, qui sont representees dans le Songe de Poliphile Desvoilees des ombres du Songe, & subtilement exposees par Beroalde.

Paris, Matthieu Guillemot, 1600

(locations: Arsenal 8° B 4452, Arsenal 4° B 4343(Rés.), B.N. Rés. Y² 816, B.N. Rés. Y² 817, British Library 634 k. 15, 86 g. 12)

33. L'Histoire des Vers Qui Filent la Soye. En cette Serodokimasie ou recherche de ces Vers est discouru de leur naturel, gouuernement, utilité, plaisir & profit qu'ils raportent.

Tours, Michel Sifleau, 1600

(locations: B.N. Rés. Ye 2045, British Library 1073 a. 5 (3) (this copy without title-page)

34. Les Souspirs Amoureux de F.B. de Veruille: Avec un discours Satyrique de ceux qui escriuent d'Amour, par N. le Digne. Plus un recueil de diuerses Poësies, non encor' Imprimees.
Rouen, Raphaël du Petit Val, 1598
(location: Arsenal 8° B 8958(Rés.) - cf. No.3 above)

35. Idem
Rouen, Raphael du Petit Val, 1606
(location: Arsenal 8° B 8959(Rés.))

36. Deux Dialogues L'Vn de l'Honneste Amour L'Autre de la Bonne Grace: Par F.B. de Verville.
Paris, Galiot Corrozet, 1602
(location: British Library 1075 h. 11 (3) - this is an extract from No.1 above)

37. L'Histoire Veritable, ou le Voyage des Princes Fortunez. Divisee en IIII. Entreprises.
Paris, Pierre Chevalier, 1610
(locations: Arsenal 8° B 22136, B.N. Rés. Y² 2072, Mazarine 45578, British Library 12510 bb. 7)

38. Idem
Paris, Claude de la Tour, 1610
(location: B.N. Rés. Y² 2070-2071)

39. Le Palais des Curieux. Auquel sont assemblées plusieurs diuersitez pour le plaisir des Doctes, & le bien de ceux qui desirent sçauoir.
Paris, la veufve M. Guillemot & S. Thiboust, 1612
(locations: B.N. Z 19832, B.N. Rés. Z 2819, B.N. Rothschild V 8. 69, British Library G. 10422)

40. Le Moyen de Parvenir. Notice, Variantes, Glossaire et Index des Noms par Charles Royer.
2 vols., Paris, Lemerre, 1896

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We have referred also to the following works, to each of which Béroalde makes some contribution:

41. BARA (Hierosme de) - Le Blason des Armoiries, Auquel est monstree la maniere de laquelle les Anciens & Modernes ont vsé en icelles...
(Lyons), Barthelemi Vincent, 1581
(copy consulted: British Library 605 f. 1)

42. BESSON (Jacques) - Theatre des Instrumens Mathematiques & Mechaniques ...Avec l'Interpretation des Figures d'iceluy, par François Beroald.
Lyons, Barthelemy Vincent, 1578
(B.N. Rés. V 440)

43. BRISSET (Roland) - Le Premier Livre du Theatre Tragique.
Tours, Claude de Montr'oeil, & Iean Richer, 1590
(B.N. Rés. Yf 129)

44. CONTANT (Paul) - Le Iardin, et Cabinet Poetique de Paul Contant Apoticaire de Poictiers.
Poitiers, Anthoine Mesnier, 1609
(B.N. Rés. Ye 593)

45. FROBISHER (Martin) - La Navigation du Capitaine Martin Forbisher (sic) Anglois, és regions de west & Nordwest, en l'année M.D. LXXVII...
Geneva, Anthoine Chuppin, 1578
(B.N. Rés. G 2298)

46. LIPSIUS (Justus) - Les deux Liures de la Constance de Iust. Lipsius: Esquels en forme de deuis familier est discouru des afflictions, & principalement des publiques, & comme il se faut resoudre à les supporter.
Tours, Iamet Mettayer, 1592
(B.N. Rés. R 2024)

47. MONTEMAYOR (Jorge de) - La Diane de Georges de Montemaior. Diuisee en trois parties, & traduites d'Espagnol en François. Reueuë & corrigee outre les precedentes impressions, comme il est mentionné en l'Epistre Liminaire.
Tours, Claude de Montr'oeil, & Iean Richer, 1592
(British Library 12490 a. 14)

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Exceptionally, we would also add the following work, on the grounds that it is omitted from Saulnier's bibliography:

48. LE GAGET (François) - Bergerie ou Deploration Pastorale, sur le Trespas de tres-illustre, et tres-vertueuse Princesse Madame Anthoinette de Bourbon, Doüairiere de Iointville...
Paris, Timothee Iouan, 1584
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49. AILLY (Pierre d') - Tractatus de anima, editus a dno petro de Ailliaco.
Paris, per Guidonem Mercatoris, 1494
(British Library I.A. 39644)

50. AMBROSE (Saint) - Hexaemeron libri sex.
in Jacques Paul Migne, Patrologiae cursus completus...Series Latina
221 vols., Paris, 1844-64, vol. XIV

51. AMERBACHIUS (Vitus) - De Anima Libri IIII.
See below, No.131

52. AQUINAS (St. Thomas) - Tractatus fratris thome an liceat vti Judicijs astrorum.
Cologne, without printer or date
(B.N. Rés. C 1698)

53. ARISTOTLE - De generatione animalium, with an English translation by A.L. Peck.
London/Cambridge(Mass.), Heinemann/ Harvard U.P. (Loeb Classical Library), revised edition 1953
- On The Soul. Parva Naturalia. On Breath, with an English translation by W.S. Hett.
London/Cambridge(Mass.), Heinemann/ Harvard U.P. (Loeb Classical Library), revised edition 1957

54. AUBIGNE (Théodore Agrippa d') - Oeuvres complètes...publiées pour la première fois d'après les manuscrits originaux par Eugène Réaume et F. de Caussade.

6 vols., Paris, Lemerre, 1873-92

- Oeuvres. Introduction, Tableau Chronologique et Historique par Henri Weber, Texte établi par Henri Weber et annoté par Henri Weber, Jacques Bailbé et Marguerite Soulié.

Paris, Gallimard, 1969

- Le Printemps - L'Hécatombe à Diane et les Stances, édition commentée par Henri Weber.

Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, without date (Publications de la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Montpellier XV)

- Les Tragiques, édition critique avec introduction et commentaire par A. Garnier et J. Plattard.

4 vols., Paris, Didier (Société des Textes français modernes), 1962-7 (first published Droz, 1932-3)

55. AUGUSTINE (Saint) - The City of God against the Pagans, with an English translation by William M. Green (for vol. II).

7 vols., London/Cambridge(Mass.), Heinemann/Harvard U.P. (Loeb Classical Library), 1957-72

56. AULUS GELLIUS - The Attic Nights, with an English translation by John C. Rolfe.

3 vols., London/Cambridge(Mass.), Heinemann/Harvard U.P. (Loeb Classical Library), 1946-52 (first published 1927)

57. BAIF (Jean-Antoine de) - Le premier livre des poèmes. Texte établi et commenté par Guy Demerson.

Presses Universitaires de Grenoble, 1975 (Publications de la Faculté des lettres de Clermont-Ferrand Ouvrage n° XXXV)

58. BARTHOLOMEW the Englishman - Le Grand Proprietaire de toutes choses. Tresutile et Profitable pour tenir le corps humain en santé. Contenant plusieurs diuerses maladies, & dont ilz procedent, & aussi les remedes preseruatifz. Auec les proprietez du Ciel, de la Terre, des Bestes, des Oyseaulx, des Pierres, & des Metaulx, & autre matiere moult bonne pour toute personne qui à volunté de sçauoir diuerses choses. Translaté de Latin en François, par maistre Iean Corbichon...

Paris, Magdaleine Boursette, 1556 (British Library 441 h. 7, B.N. R 923 (this copy with mutilated title-page))

59. BASIL (Saint) - Homiliae IX in Hexaemeron.

in Jacques Paul Migne, Patrologiae cursus completus...Series Graeca 162 vols., Paris, 1857-1912, vol.XXIX

60. BEROALDE (Matthieu) - Matth. Beroaldi Chronicum, Scripturae sacrae autoritate constitutum...

Geneva, apud Anton. Chuppinum, 1575 (B.N. G 1768)

- Chronologia Hoc Est Supputatio Temporum ab initio mundi ex Eclipsibus & obseruationibus Astronomicis & sacrae scripturae firmissimis testimonijs demonstrata. Gerardo Mercatore, & Matthaeo Beroaldo authoribus...

Basle, per Thomam Guarinum, 1577

(B.N. G 11545)

61. LA BIBLE - title-page missing. At end, "Imprimé par Robert Estienne L'An M.D. LIII, Le IX. Iuin".
(B.N. A 312)

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Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos,
Madrid, 1965

63. BILLON (François de) - Le Fort inexpugnable de l'honneur du sexe Femenin. Introduction par M.A. Screech, D.Litt.

Wakefield/New York/Paris-The Hague,
S.R.Publishers/Johnson/Mouton, 1970
(Classiques de la Renaissance en France, série d'éditions publiées sous la direction de M.A. Screech)

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64. BOETHIUS - The Consolation of Philosophy. Translated with an Introduction by V.E. Watts.

Harmondsworth, Penguin Books, 1969

- Anicii Manlii Torquati Severini Boetii De Institutione Arithmetica Libri Duo De Institutione Musica Libri Quinque...

Leipzig, in aedibus B.G. Teubneri, 1867

65. BOUELLES (Charles de) - Que hoc volumine continentur. Liber de intellectu Liber de sensu. Liber de nichilo. Ars oppositorum. Liber de generatione. Liber de sapiente. Liber de duodecim numeris. Epistole complures. Insuper mathematicum opus quadripartitum. De Numeris Perfectis De Mathematicis Rosis De Geometricis Corporibus De Geometricis Supplementis.

Paris, Ambianis, 1510

(B.N. Rés. R 155)

66. BRETONNAYAU (René) - La Generation de l'Homme, et le Temple de l'Ame: Avec Autres oeuures Poëtiques extraittes de l'Esculape de René Bretonnayau Medecin, natif de Vernantes en Anjou.

Paris, Abel l'Angelier, 1583

(B.N. Ye 2149)

67. CALVIN (Jean) - Avertissement contre l'Astrologie. Traité des Reliques. Suivis du Discours de Théodore de Bèze sur la vie et la mort de Maître Jean Calvin.

Paris, Armand Colin, 1962

- Commentaries on the First Book of Moses called Genesis. By John Calvin. Translated from the original Latin, and Compared with the French edition, by the Rev. John King, M.A.

2 vols., Edinburgh: Printed for the
Calvin Translation Society, 1847

(Nottingham University Library S/BS 1235.C2)

- Institution de la Religion Chrestienne. Edition critique avec introduction, notes et variantes publiée par Jean-Daniel Benoît.

5 vols., Paris, Vrin, 1957-63
(Bibliothèque des Textes Philosophiques)

68. CARDAN (Hierome) - Les Livres de Hierome Cardanus Medecin Milannois, Intitules de la Subtilité, & subtiles inuentions, ensemble les causes occultes, & raisons d'icelles, Traduis de Latin en Francois, par Richard le Blanc.

Paris, Guillaume le Noir, 1556

(B.N. 4° R 856; also Paris, Charles l'Angelier, 1556, British Library 461 c. 32

- Hieronymi Cardani Mediolanensis Medici De Rerum Varietate Libri XVII. Adiectus est capitum, rerum & sententiarum notatu dignissimarum Index.
Basle, per Henrichum Petri, 1557
(B.N. R 782)

69. CASTIGLIONE (Baldassare) - The Book of the Courtier. Translated by Sir Thomas Hoby. Introduction by W.H.D. Rouse, D.Litt.
London/New York, Dent/Dutton (Everyman's Library), 1928 (reprinted 1966)

70. CHARRON (Pierre) - De la Sagesse Trois Livres. Par Pierre Charron, Parisien, Docteur és Droicts. Suivant la vraye copie de Bourdeaux.
Amsterdam, Louys & Daniel Elzevier, 1662
(Nottingham University Library s/BJ 1051 C4)

71. CICERO - De la Nature des Dieux de Marc Tul. Ciceron Pere de l'Eloquence & Philosophie Romaine, traduits en François, Par Guy Le Fevre, de la Boderie...
Paris, Abel l'Angelier, 1581
(B.N. Rés. R 808)
- Tusculan Disputations. With an English translation by J.E. King.
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