Constructing the Sublime: The Discourse on Architecture and Louis XIV's Sublimity in Seventeenth-Century Paris

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PART I

FIRST ISSUE

An interplay of extremes: the unstable poetics of sublimity (1630-1670)

Elevating and subversive wonder: *Le merveilleux* and the artistic patronage of Richelieu and Mazarin

The reign of Louis XIV truly gained momentum after the end of the rule of Richelieu and Mazarin, a period which lasted until the late 1650s. But in order to be able to fully comprehend seventeenth-century discourse on the sublimity of the French monarch, we first need to consider the cultural and political climate during the administration of both cardinals. Their policies as ministers and patrons of the arts shaped the nature of the king's future rule, since the young king would adopt many new systems and ideas introduced by them. However, equally fundamental in shaping the king's reign was the troubling social upheaval that persisted in the country during this period. The nobility, whose power and influence Richelieu had already attempted to weaken, vigorously opposed his likeminded Italian successor during the civil wars of the Fronde (1648-53). But despite the many differences between these two opposing forces, they both shared the same instrument of architecture.

Buildings can be created in various ways: as structures and places in the third dimension, but also as literary constructs on paper that are conjured up in one's mind's eye. Once a building is created, it becomes part of a social dynamic of experience and appropriation. The importance here lies in the interplay that is established by contemporaries between real and fictional space, since the two mutually influenced their proper appearance and experience. And more intriguingly, the boundary between the real and the fictional is often not easily drawn in texts.

In this dynamic, as I will explain in this first chapter, the role of wonder is critical. First of all, because of the notion's association with the enchanted and the inexplicable, it had a particularly strong political potential to overwhelm or persuade a viewer or reader. Moreover, as I will argue, the wondrous or marvellous (*le merveilleux*) would become one of the most prominent notions in seventeenth-century French discourse on the sublimity of literature, art and, by extension, the king himself.

In order to be able to understand the close relationship between the king and the notion of sublimity, we first need to be aware of the following tripartite relationship: the union of sublimity, architecture, and human virtue in French literature – a relationship that would become increasingly strong during the course of the seventeenth century.

The bond between an architectural structure or space and a human being can hardly become more close than in the device of the metaphorical building, which became increasingly popular in French encomiastic poetry during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century. The image of the imaginary temple, disguised metaphorically as a magnificent structure, often functioned as an allegory of virtue, love, peace or glory that ultimately aimed at transcending the virtuous dedicatee or patron of the text. Because of this broad potential, the temple metaphor returns in various lyric and narrative poetic genres during this period, as well as emblematic texts and images. One of the most influential sources, in this respect, proved to be the temple described by Virgil in the third book of the *Georgics*.[1] At the beginning of the sixteenth century, the Waloon poet Jean Lemaire de Belges (1473-1524) used temples – because of their imperishable and eternal character – as multi-layered metaphoric vehicles to honour particular patrons, but also to reflect on his own literary talents and abilities.[2] Although Lemaire's *topos* of the complex metaphoric building would be further developed during the sixteenth century, in the 1550s, we can detect a change in approach to the treatment and readings of these metaphors. David Cowling's research on architecture as metaphor from 1998 demonstrates that writers like Pierre de Ronsard (1524-1585), François Habert (1510-1561) and François Rabelais (ca. 1483-1553) continued the use of many conventional metaphors, but rendered them less multi-layered. Instead of the linguistic and hermeneutic process of reading and re-reading in order to grasp the multiple meanings of the purely metaphorical building, the poetry of the second half of the sixteenth century testifies to an interest in the effect of visual description.[3] In Ronsard's *Temple des Chastillons*, Cowling argues, "the precision of the description privileges the surface of the object described at the expense of its potential metaphorical signification," and thus the architecture and other arts "carry their meaning in their plastic qualities, like a classical ekphrasis."[4]

1 Stéphanie Lecomte, "Temples of Virtue: Worshipping Virgil in Sixteenth-Century France," in *Virgilian Identities in the French Renaissance*, ed. Phillip John Usher and Isabelle Fernbach (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2012), 73.

2 See Jean Lemaire de Belges' *Temple d'Honneur et de Vertus* (1503) and *La Concorde des deux Langages* (1513).

3 David Cowling, *Building the Text: Architecture as Metaphor in Late Medieval and Early Modern France* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 213-14.

4 Ibid., 213.

At the beginning of the seventeenth century, writers began to invest even more in the powerful effect of the elaborate description of architecture and its encomiastic function. The main reason behind this development is the blossoming of the epic poem in early modern Italy and its enormous impact on French writers. Although the epic (or heroic) poem is much larger in design than the poems just mentioned, the genre shares with the ode its encomiastic character and its use of the elevated or "high style."[5] Moreover, the epic also attaches a fundamental value to the relation between space and wonder, which is mirrored in the genre's reliance on architectural devices such as magical palaces and gardens to structure the poem's narrative. Reinforced by the genre's elevated style, the use of wondrous spaces aimed at evoking an overwhelming effect in the reader. Together these ingredients – the genre's encomiastic aspect combined with the aspect of overwhelming effect of wonder – formed one of the pillars of seventeenth-century ideas on sublimity and its relation to art.

Other than the French notion of *le sublime*, *le merveilleux* has an older critical history within European poetic discourse, and was closely tied to the development and revival of the epic poem in sixteenth and seventeenth-century Italy and France.[6] As an adjective the word was used to describe something or someone as being inexplicable, admirable or supernatural. As a noun, it usually defined the effect of this wonder on the reader. Because of these two associations, *le merveilleux* remained a constant factor in the critical development of the notion of sublimity during the century. It was primarily the influence of Torquato Tasso's Italian epic poem *Gerusalemme Liberata* from 1581, as well as Tasso's critical discourse *Discorsi dell'arte poetica* from 1587 that led to a reconciliation of the genre of the epic poem and the notion of *le merveilleux* in France.[7] Even though Tasso understood the poetic sensation of *meraviglioso* as a combination of transport, surprise and elevation, he also asserted that the marvellous must be verisimilar.[8] When introducing an element of wonder in a text, the writer ought to combine it with an element of probability or believability. In this way, the wonder will strike the reader even more powerfully, since it invades the reader's sense of reality.

In early seventeenth-century French epic poetry, the joining of this notion of verisimilitude (*vraisemblance*) with an element of *le merveilleux* was deemed

5 Peter Burke, *The Fabrication of Louis XIV* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 25.

6 During the first half of the seventeenth century, *le merveilleux* was already an established critical term, one which was, as Cronk writes, "inherited from Italian criticism (*mirabile*, *meraviglioso*)." Moreover, Weinberg has pointed to a sixteenth-century critic, Patrizi, who linked the term *mirabile* with theory derived from Longinus. See Cronk, *The Classical Sublime*, 115.

7 Tasso's *Discorsi dell'arte poetica ed in particolare sopra il poema eroico*, published in Venice in 1587, has been republished and annotated in French as: Torquato Tasso, *Discours de l'art poétique. Discours du poème héroïque*, ed. and trans. Françoise Graziani (Paris: Aubier, 1997).

8 Doran, *The Theory of the Sublime*, 105.

necessary for the amazement (émerveillement) of the reader.[9] Tasso's discourses had an immediate and lasting impact in Italy, France and England, and as a result a considerable number of French epics were built on his thoughts.[10] One of the most prominent ways writers increased the verisimilitude of their text, was to place the struggle of their heroic protagonist in a real and familiar setting, such as the historical landscape of France or its capital. Real space and architecture here function as a vehicle for the *vraisemblable*. Next to this world the author may place a realm of wonder, which becomes the location of some sort of enchantment, or the home of sacred or supernatural beings such as angels and demons. Both realms are thus juxtaposed; they merge either by means of the deeds of the narrative's hero who roams through these two worlds, or by means of sacred or miraculous intervention. The majority of these poems are highly political Christian poems that can be grouped under the denominator of the *merveilleux chrétien,* for example *Saint Louis* (1653) by Pierre Le Moyne (1602-1672), *La Pucelle* (1656) by Jean Chapelain (1595-1674), and's *Clovis* (1657 and 1673) by Jean Desmarets de Saint-Sorlin (1595-1676). In the latter epic, the presence of the Holy Virgin and of Saint Severin and Saint Denis does not exclude the role of the pagan sorcerer Oberon, who, at the beginning of the poem, lures the Frankish king Clovis in his marvellous palace in the middle of the Vosges mountains:

> Le beau couple d'Amans sous des voutes se range.
> Ma Reyne, dit Clovis, quelle avanture estrange!
> Quel séjour admirable icy s'offre à nos yeux?
> Aurèle, suis-je en terre: ou suis-je dans les Cieux?[11]

By means of overlapping real and fictional space, the epic does not merely seek to teach (*docere*) or to please (*placere*), but rather to move and transport the soul of the reader.[12] And while these descriptions of grand spaces are reinforced with figures of speech such as amplification and hyperbole, the author needs to restrain the extravagance, in order to prevent lapsing into ridicule.[13] Georges and

9 Ibid., 104. See also Graziani, "Le miracle de l'art,"120.

10 See Irene Samuel, "Introduction to Tasso," in *The Discourses on the Heroic Poem*, ed. and trans. Mariella Cavalchini and Irene Samuel (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973), xx. Derived from Doran, *The Theory of the Sublime*, 104.

11 Jean Desmarets de Saint-Sorlin, *Clovis, ou La France chrestienne. Poème héroïque* (Paris: Augustin Courbé, 1657), 11 (Livre I). Translated to English, the verses read: "The beautiful couple of Lovers move below the vaults/ My Queen, said Clovis, what a strange adventure!/ What admirable residence presents itself before our eyes?/ Aurèle, am I on earth: or am I in Heaven?"

12 Judith Labarte, *L'épopée* (Paris: Armand Colin, 2006), 48. She writes: "Si la finalité de la poésie épique réside dans l'émerveillement, il faut recourir à un style magnifique ou sublime. Le but du texte consiste à émouvoir et à transporter l'âme, par le fait de traiter de grandes choses: autrement dit pas vraiment à *docere*, à enseigner […] ni à *placere*, plaire, du moins pas prioritairement."

13 Ibid., 48.

Madeleine de Scudéry (1607-1701) echoed this thought in the "Préface" to their epic poem *Ibrahim ou l'Illustre Bassa* (1642), writing that all excess is vicious, and that one should only use it moderately in order to preserve the *vraisemblable* and to touch the mind of the reader.[14]

The topic of imaginary architecture in early seventeenth-century French poetry has received some attention in an article by Richard Sayce from 1972. The description of the fictitious palace, he argues, "becomes an indispensable element of the epic that wants to be taken seriously, and not only the epic."[15] Perhaps equally indispensable is the exuberant and ecstatic character of these epic passages. Sayce recognises an incipient interest in the poetic potential of imaginary splendour in the poem *la Semaine* (1609) by Christophe de Gamon (1574-1621) "in which the convention was not yet formed, although the poet already aims at the richness of the materials and at magnificence."[16] Perhaps the most prominent examples, in this respect, are Desmarets' descriptions of imaginary magnificence, which are meant to appear as the result of some sort of "delirium of the mind," as Sayce describes it, but are of course carefully composed figures of speech. Another telling example is Scudéry's description of royal architecture in his epic poem *Alaric ou Rome Vaincuë*, which evokes an aesthetic effect of wonder mixed with stupefaction:

> Mais du grand Bastiment, la Façade Royale,
> Efface tout le reste, & n'a rien qui l'esgale:
> Elle charme les yeux; elle estonne l'esprit;
> Et fait mesme trembler la main qui la descrit.[17]

This sense of ecstatic admiration, characterised by Sayce as "la *meraviglia* de Marino," thus contributes to the transfer of the wonder to the reader.[18] Another aspect of Sayce's argument that makes his article particularly relevant for the study of early modern French architecture, are the parallels between the fictional

14 In their "Préface," the authors write the following: "Pour moy, je tiens que plus les avantures sont naturelles, plus elles donnent de satisfaction: & le cours ordinaire du Soleil me semble plus merveilleux, que les estranges & funestes rayons des Cometes. […] Mais comme tout exces est vicieux, je ne m'en suis servy que moderément, pour conserver le vray-semblable. […] [Des] actions incroyables dégenerent en contes ridicules, & ne touchent point l'esprit." Georges de Scudéry and Madeleine de Scudéry, *Ibrahim ou l'illustre Bassa*, vol. 1 (Paris: Antoine de Sommaville, [1641] 1644), xxii-xxiv.

15 Richard Sayce, "Littérature et architecture au XVIIe siècle," *Cahiers de l'Association Internationale des Études Françaises* 24 (May 1, 1972): 242. He writes: "La description du palais devient en effet un élément indispensable de toute épopée qui veut être prise au sérieux, et non seulement de l'épopée."

16 Sayce, "Littérature et architecture," 242.

17 Georges de Scudéry, *Alaric, ou Rome vaincuë. Poëme héroïque* (Paris: Augustin Courbé, 1654), 104. Translated to English, the verses read: "But of the grand Building, its Royal Façade,/ Overpowers all the rest, and has nothing that equals it:/ It captivates the eye; it astonishes the mind;/ And even makes the hand that describes it tremble."

18 Sayce, "Littérature et architecture," 242.

and the real that he discusses. For instance, the *château* of Valterre that Madeleine de Scudéry describes in *Clélie* (published between 1654 and 1660) largely corresponds with the appearance of the castle of Vaux-le-Vicomte, designed by Louis Le Vau (1612-1670).[19] These types of allusions to real, modern buildings allow the writer to play with the reader's sense of reality and fiction by joining the *vraisemblable* and the *merveilleux*.

One crucial aspect that Sayce ignores in his article, however, is the encomiastic potential of this wonder – an aspect that explains why many imaginary buildings were employed in contemporary texts in the first place. Instead of explaining descriptions of fictional architecture as part of the debate between classicist architectural theorists and baroque adherents, as Sayce does,[20] I would suggest that we should understand it as part of an encomiastic model that joins three elements: sublimity, space (or architecture), and human virtue. This is, of course, largely a political model; great power evokes great wonder, and in this practice of power, human beings and (their surrounding) spaces are inseparable actors. And whereas some authors used wondrous architecture to contemplate ancient virtuous heroes, such as Frankish kings, other writers turned to contemporary heroes.

CONTEMPORARY WONDER: ARCHITECTURE AND HUMAN VIRTUE

When inquiring into the nature of wondrous architecture or spaces in texts from the first half of the century, it is vital to examine another work by Georges de Scudéry. In 1633 he wrote the poem *Le Temple*, which is written as an epic poem and is dedicated to Richelieu. In the poem's "Advertissement," Scudéry not only explains the ensemble of *le merveilleux* and *la vraisemblance*, but also emphasises the use of architectural descriptions:

> Selon les Règles que nous tenons des Anciens, tout Poëme Epique, doit estre fondé sur deux Principes: le vray-semblable, & le merveilleux. Ainsi voit-on dans Homere, le Siege de Troye, & la Magie de Circé: dans Virgile, le voyage

19 Ibid., 246. In one of the chambers of Valterre, a ceiling painting depicting the palace of the sun is described, which, Sayce rightfully emphasises, adds an extra layer of imagination: "[T]he architecture in the painting in the architecture in the *roman*."

20 He points in particular at the contrast between, on the one hand, an emphasis on notions such as simplicity, symmetry, unity and harmony in contemporary architectural theory, and, on the other hand, an interest in baroque magnificence and its overwhelming and transcending effect when evoked in poetic descriptions. He explains the contrast between architectural theory and poetry as a fight, describing it as a "cunning dispute between theory and practice, between that which we can call the classical and the baroque, perhaps between the real and the imaginary" ("[une] lutte sournoise entre la théorie et la pratique, entre ce qu'on peut appeler le classique et le baroque, peut-être entre le réel et l'imaginaire"). See Sayce, "Littérature et architecture," 250.

> d'Italie, & celuy des Enfers: dans l'Arioste, la guerre de France, & les charmes d'Alcine: dans le Tasse, la prise de Hierusalem, & les Enchantements d'Armide: Et c'est sur ces fameux exemples que j'ay basty cét ouvrage; […] & qu'on voye le vray-semblable en mon voyage, & le merveilleux en mon Temple. Il est bien vray que j'ay un peu plus penché vers le dernier, que vers l'autre, comme plus propre aux descriptions, qui sont l'ame de la Poësie: au reste, comme l'Epopœe doit embrasser par Episodes toutes les sciences, & tous les Arts, ayant parlé de Geographie, d'Architecture, de Portraicture en toile, en Verre, en Marbre, en boix, & de la Navigation.[21]

Scudéry expresses here very distinctly that both *le vraisemblable* and *le merveilleux* are inextricably connected to space or architecture, whether it be a building, a city, or a landscape. The examples he provides are well-known examples from epics that all participate in a dynamic union between two worlds: Circé's mansion from Homer's *Odyssey*, the descent into the underworld from Virgil's *Aeneid*, and the enchanted palaces of Tasso's Armida and that of Alcina in the epic *Orlando furioso* (1516) by Ludovico Ariosto (1474-1533). The descriptions of these places and their interplay with both our realm and sense of reality are fundamental to all epic poetry. Therefore, he stresses, the epic should embrace the other arts, such as architecture.[22]

—— FICTIONAL STRUCTURES: THE TEMPLES OF LOUIS XIII AND HENRI II DE BOURBON

Just like the literary works that Scudéry mentions in the preface – epic poems in which the hero travels from a familiar landscape to a realm of enchantment or infernal wonder – his own poem *Le Temple* from 1633 features a voyage that brings the protagonist to a marvellous environment: a temple on a remote island off the coast of Marseille. But in contrast to poems such as Le Moyne's *Saint Louis*, Chapelain's *La Pucelle*, and Desmarets' *Clovis*, Scudéry's poem takes place

21 Georges de Scudéry, *Le Temple. Poeme à la gloire du Roy, et de Monseigneur le Cardinal Duc de Richelieu* (Paris: François Targa, 1633), III-IV: "According to the rules we have learned from the Ancients, every epic poem must be based on two principles: the verisimilar and the marvellous. So, we see in Homer the siege of Troy and the magic of Circe; in Virgil, the journey through Italy and through the Underworld; in Ariosto, the war of France and the charms of Alcina; in Tasso, the taking of Jerusalem and the enchantments of Armida. And it is on these famous examples that I have built this work; […] so that we see the verisimilar in my voyage, and the marvellous in my Temple. It is true that I have inclined a little more towards the latter than towards the first, which suits the description in general, being the soul of poetry; and besides, since the epic must embrace in its episodes all of the sciences, and all of the arts, having spoken of geography, architecture, portraiture."

22 His main requirement, however, is that a modern epic poem draws from profane Christian history and avoids both pagan and sacred history, since only profane Christian history "can provide us in our time with that marvellous and that verisimilitude, which are, so to speak, the soul of the Epic Subject." See the "Préface" in Scudéry, *Alaric*, XXI.

in contemporary France – for his temple is one dedicated to both Louis XIII and Richelieu. The author remains true to the requirements of the epic that he presented in his preface, since the greater part of the poem forms a highly visual description of the temple itself. Its interior is composed of a large number of precious materials, and its effect can hardly be comprehended. By means of several rhetorical figures of amplification such as *enumeratio* (enumeration) and *anaphora* (repetition), Scudéry attempts to convey the idea of overwhelming splendour:

> Mais à quelque grandeur, que ce beau Temple arrive;
> Et bien qu'on soit ravi de voir sa perspective;
> Ce n'est rien par dehors: & contraire aux Tombeaux,
> Ses objets par dedans sont mille fois plus beaux.
> Le pavé tout d'Esmail, en ses couleurs meslées,
> Feroit honte à l'Azur des Voutes estoilées,
> Je n'osois y marcher, tant il avoit d'apas,
> Et je croyois avoir, l'Arc en Ciel sous mes pas. […]
> Les Perles, les Rubis, les Zaphirs, les Opales,
> Confondant leurs couleurs, esclatantes, & pasles,
> Font un divin meslange; & par tout ce lambris,
> A peine voit-on l'or, sous les pierres de prix.[23]

Once inside, the traveller finds himself surrounded by rooms made of colourful stones and gems. By means of a series of descriptions, Scudéry enables the reader to gradually construct the dazzling space in his mind. Here, fictional space functions as a vehicle to merge the imaginary with the "reality" of the virtues and deeds of the French king and his minister. This connection, however, is not so much created by means of several layers of metaphors, but rather through the sensations evoked by many layers of visual splendour. In each of these layered descriptions of the visual arts, the fictional and the real merge together, and the emphasis is put on the marvellous effect this creates. First of all, the richness of the temple's fictional appearance and design invites a comparison with real, physical architectural works commissioned by the crown and the efforts of Richelieu. Moreover, Scudéry devotes great attention to describing the paintings that adorn the temple's interior, some of which resemble works of art that were actually created at the time, such as depictions of the siege and surrender of the cities of

23 Scudéry, *Le Temple*, 11-12: "To what level of grandeur this beautiful Temple reaches;/ And although we are ravished when seeing its prospect;/ It is not so much outside: since contrary to a tomb,/ Its objects inside are a thousand times more beautiful./ The pavement entirely made of enamel, and its mixed colours,/ Shame the blue of the starry vaults,/ I did not dare to walk there, for it was so alluring,/ And I thought I had the rainbow under my feet. […] The pearls, the rubies, the sapphires, the opals,/ Merging their colours, bright and pale,/Create a divine mixture, and in all of this panelling,/ One can hardly see the gold, underneath all the precious stones."

Montauban and La Rochelle. In one of these fictional paintings that feature in the poem, the painter has depicted the opposing Huguenot forces defending La Rochelle's *faubourg* of Tadon as an army of fictional creatures, which include armed ghosts and marching mummies. Remaining faithful to epic conventions, Scudéry thus creates a multi-layered sequence of descriptions of marvellous art and architecture, but retains a sense of *vraisemblance* by describing the effect of real political deeds. As he articulates it in the poem itself, the marvellous effect of art itself is crucial in conveying political power:

> Ce Temple a des Tableaux, où l'Art & la peinture,
> Peuvent decevoir l'homme, & vaincre la Nature […]
> O merveilleux effect de ce rare Pinceau,
> Qui rend le bruit visible, en ce divin Tableau.[24]

This parallel between fiction and reality becomes even more concrete when Scudéry, in the role of Apollo, glorifies the art patronage of Richelieu and Louis XIII, which equals that of Augustus and even rivals the radiating splendour of Apollo himself ("Il passe tout ce qu'on escrit;/ Et mon Char à moins de lumiere,/ Que ce rare & divin Esprit.").[25] Scudéry's *Temple* further develops Ronsard's emphasis on the visual effect of art and architecture in conveying meaning, instead of investing in layers of complex and obscure metaphors. Moreover, in addition to glorifying the virtuous military deeds of Louis XIII and Richelieu, Scudéry uses the visual magnificence of the temple and its paintings to reflect on the role of the king and his minister in commissioning – and thus creating – real magnificent art and architecture. The poem thus blends *merveilleux* and *vraisemblance*, in an attempt to render the various wonders of political power and virtue very real.

In a similar, but later poetic temple, this experience of political virtue through art and architecture becomes even more transcendental. Shortly after the death of Henri II de Bourbon-Condé (Prince de Condé) (1588-1646) in 1646, the anonymous poem *Le Temple de la Gloire. A monseigneur le Duc d'Anguyen* was published. The text glorifies the turbulent life of Henri, a *prince du sang* who was heir presumptive to the French throne until the birth of Louis XIII. After opposing Marie de' Medici (1575-1642), Henri sided with the crown and played an instrumental role in the king's military campaigns against the Protestants during the Huguenot rebellions. The poem appropriates yet again the characteristics of an epic. It opens with a description of a forest stroll at night-time, during which the narrator is suddenly dazzled and enchanted by the

24 Ibid., 12 and 17: "This Temple has pictures, its Art and Painting,/ Capable of deceiving man, and defeating Nature. […] Oh marvellous effect of this rare brush,/ Which makes the noise visible, in this divine painting."

25 Ibid., 22.

appearance of the figure of Fame (la Renommée), radiating an extremely bright light. The figure's vehement and thunderous announcement of the glory and death of the prince fills the narrator with an ineffable and contrasting sensation of fear and rapture, which mirrors the dangerous but marvellous deeds of Henri himself ("Dont le son tout ensemble agréable & terrible,/ Disoit je ne sçay quoy de pompeux, & d'horrible").[26] The narrator continues with a description of his sudden transport to the temple of glory.[27] But before providing the reader with a description of the building's structure, the anonymous poet explains that the temple simultaneously constitutes and accommodates the purpose of art itself. Like poetry, the industry of art is a task that is reserved only for a select group of people, who require a "noble fureur" in order to be able to immortalise the prince's glorious splendour in a single image:

> Il ne me reste plus que porter cette Histoire
> Dans le sejour sacré du TEMPLE DE LA GLOIRE,
> Où cent Peintres sçavans, *cent sublimes Esprits*,
> D'une noble fureur divinement espris
> Travaillent nuit & jour à l'immortelle Image
> De ce PRINCE, à qui mesme ALCIDE rend hommage.
> Toy, qui dés ta naissance eut au Ciel quelque ardeur;
> Quelques rayons du feu d'immortelle splendeur,
> Qui brille dans l'Esprit, & qui transporte l'Ame;
> Et dont l'Art d'APOLLON sçait conduire la flame;
> Si la GLOIRE te plaist, suy mon vol; & t'en vien
> Travailler avec eux, à l'Image d'ANGUYEN.[28]

Ultimately, the architecture that is evoked in both of the poems just discussed remains an imaginary daydream; the precious materials that are described do elevate the dedicatee and elicit a powerful effect in the reader, but in reality would prove too expensive, rare and inadequate to function as construction material.

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26 *Le Temple de la Gloire. A monseigneur le Duc d'Anguyen* (Paris: Augustin Courbé, 1646), 4. The poet writes: "Dont le son tout ensemble agreable, & terrible,/ Disoit je ne sçay quoy de pompeux & d'horrible/ Et ce grand cor, bruyant au defaut de sa voix,/ Réveilloit les échos endormis dans les bois. […] Qui pourroit exprimer les soins, la vigilance,/ La vehemente ardeur, l'incroyable vaillance,/ Et les faits merveilleux dont il s'est signalé/ Dans les sanglans dangers où son coeur l'a meslé?"

27 Ibid., 15: "Que de pompe & d'éclat! que de vives clartez/ Que de brillans tresors! que de rares beautez!/ Que de chants de triomphe, & de hautes merveilles/ Ravirent en ce lieu mes yeux, & mes oreilles!"

28 Ibid., 10-11. My emphasis. Translated to English, these verses read: "All that is left for me to do now, is to lead this story/ Towards the sacred dwelling of the Temple of Glory,/ Where a hundred learned painters, a hundred sublime minds,/ By a noble fervour divinely possessed/ Work night and day on the immortal image/ Of this Prince, to whom even Alcida pays homage./ You who, from your birth onwards, possess a heavenly ardour;/ A few fiery rays of immortal splendour,/ Which shine in the mind, and transport the soul;/ Flames which Apollo's art is able to control;/ If this Glory pleases you, follow my flight and come here/ To work with them on the image of Enghien."

They are primarily used for the sake of their encomiastic power. Certainly when the praise of a sublime subject is deemed almost impossible, the *topos* of equally impossible architecture forms perhaps the most appropriate instrument.[29] This issue is evoked in the plaintive self-referential cry of the enraptured poet:

> La GLOIRE me pressa d'ayder à cet Ouvrage,
> Mais un si haut Sujet estonna mon courage;
> Et me sentant trop foible en un si grand dessein,
> De crainte le Pinceau me tomba de la main.
> Alors dans le transport de mon Ame estonnée,
> Je m'escriay. DEESSE aux Honneurs destinée,
> Je n'oze desirer ny l'employ, ny le prix
> Que reçoivent icy ces *Sublimes Esprits*.[30]

Nevertheless, these purely fictional spaces do betray an interest in the potential of real art and architecture in glorifying marvellous virtue. The dimension of *le merveilleux*, and particularly the sort associated with epic fiction, will play a key role in the creation and experience of many Parisian buildings commissioned by Mazarin and the future King Louis XIV. In order to understand this relationship between wonder and physical architecture, we first need to explore the patronage of Richelieu.

REAL STRUCTURES: THE MERVEILLEUX OF RICHELIEU'S PARIS

The Edict of Nantes of 1598 made for a period of relative peace that lasted several decades, and Henry IV's urban planning resulted in the creation of grand squares and long vistas. Architects such as Salomon de Brosse began to reject the conventional tendency to fill large architectural surfaces with detailed Renaissance ornaments, in favour of a more sober and monumental approach. This fostered the ideas of architects such as Jacques Lemercier (1585-1654) and François Mansart (1598-1666) and boosted the creation and renovation of Parisian architecture, which was made possible by the generous and particularly comprehensive patronage of Richelieu. But in addition to architects such as Lemercier, many authors also worked under the direct protection of Richelieu – and

29 This issue would become more acute during the course of the century, and would eventually become the topic of several debates dedicated to the representation of royal sublimity. See chapter 4 of this thesis.

30 *Le Temple de la Gloire*, 20. My emphasis. Translated to English, these verses read: "Glory urged me to help with this work,/ But so elevated a subject astonishes my courage;/ And feeling too weak for such a grand project,/ Out of fear, the brush fell out of my hand./ So, in the transport of my astonished soul,/ I cried. Goddess dedicated to all hours,/ I dare not desire either the task or the reward/ That these sublime spirits receive here."

this atmosphere of culture prosperity stimulated those who formed part of it to poetically contemplate each other's work, thereby amplifying the grandeur of the overarching scheme even more. One of these participants, the tragedian Pierre Corneille (1606-1684), expressed the effect of the rapidly changing appearance of Richelieu's Paris through the characters of his play *Le Menteur* (*The Liar*) from 1644. The fifth scene of the second act opens with a conversation between three men: the quasi-villain Dorante, accompanied by his butler Cliton and his father Géronte. After a long promenade that started in the Tuileries, Géronte asks the fatigued company to stop and admire the beauty of the grand building's façades ("Que l'ordre est rare & beau de ces grands bastiments!")[31] Corneille continues with a remark made by Dorante, who states that Paris has been transformed into a land that could previously be found only in literature; a realm of fictional enchantment that has suddenly become a reality:

> Paris semble à mes yeux un pays de Romants,
> J'y croyois ce matin voir une Isle enchantée,
> Je la laissay deserte, & la trouve habitée,
> Quelque Amphion nouveau sans l'ayde des maçons
> En superbes Palais a changé ses buissons.[32]

Here, the playwright not only refers to the recent building activities on the Parisian islands of Île Saint-Louis and the Île Louviers. He also appropriates the *topos* of the enchanted island that had become popular in French encomiastic poems (such as those discussed above), and, by extension, in the earlier Italian epics of Tasso and Ariosto. To reinforce this thought, he compares the almost inexplicable sudden emergence of magnificent structures with the Greek myth of Amphion, who was able to build the walls of the city of Thebes solely by means of the chords of his harp. Although the fictional structure has here been replaced by real buildings, Corneille's play exhibits the same encomiastic character as the poems discussed above; Géronte's immediate reply reveals that the company is contemplating the façade of the Palais Cardinal, the palace commissioned by Richelieu and completed only four years before the premiere of Corneille's play. Through the character of the protagonist's father, the playwright is able to glorify the newly constructed residence of his own patron:

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31 Pierre Corneille, *Le menteur, comédie.* (Paris: Antoine de Sommaville, 1644), 39.

32 Ibid., 39-40. Translated to English, these verses read: "Paris seems to me a world from a novel,/ This morning I thought I saw an enchanted island,/ I left her deserted, and found her inhabited,/ Some new Amphion, without the aid of builders/ Has changed its bushes into beautiful palaces."

Paris voit tous les jours de ces métamorphoses:
Dans tout le Pré-aux-Clercs tu verras mêmes choses;
Et l'univers entier ne peut rien voir d'égal
A ce que tu verras vers le Palais Royal.[33]

Géronte continues by coinciding *le merveilleux* with *le vrai* instead of merely *le vraisemblable*; while describing the Parisian metamorphosis as a miracle, the character also states that an elevated building elevates its residents as well:

Toute une ville entière, avec pompe bâtie,
Semble d'un vieux fossé par miracle sortie,
Et nous fait présumer, à ses superbes toits,
Que tous ses habitants sont des Dieux ou des Rois.[34]

Another author who reflected on Richelieu's Paris in a similar manner was the French bishop and poet Antoine Godeau (1605-1672), whose flourishing career was largely made possible due to the cardinal's efforts. Godeau frequented the literary circles at the Hôtel de Rambouillet and the salon of Madeleine de Scudéry, and was particularly interested in employing the genre of poetry for religious purposes. Like Desmarets and Le Moyne, Godeau was one of the most prominent representatives of the *merveilleux chrétien*. Instead of a relying on imagery derived from classical mythology (such as the *merveilleux païen*), the *merveilleux chrétien* was the type of imagery used in religious epics, such as Tasso's *Gerusalemme Liberata* and the French epics of Tasso's numerous admirers published during the 1650s and 1660s. Like Tasso's work, Godeau's large-scale Christian epics such as his *Saint Paul* from 1654 are characterised by the dominant vision of the Catholic struggle against the dangers of heresy, and feature an abundance of supernatural figures, such as ancient demons. This type of marvellous imagery also returns in other poetic works such as his *Les fastes de l'Eglise pour les douze mois de l'année,* in which the city of Paris is described as a place of recurring miracles, such as those attributed to Sainte Geneviève.[35]

33 Ibid., 28. Translated to English, these verses read: "Every day, Paris sees these metamorphoses:/ In the Pré-aux-Clercs you will see the same things;/ And the whole universe has not seen anything equal/ To that which you will see at the Palais Royal." In later editions of *Le menteur*, the verse "A ce que tu verras vers le Palais Royal" is replaced with "Aux superbes dehors du Palais-Cardinal."

34 Pierre Corneille, *Le Menteur*, Œuvres complètes, ed. Georges Couton (Paris: Gallimard, [1644] 1984, II, 5, 561-64. Quoted from: Elizabeth Kugler, "Spectacular Sights: The Promenades of Seventeenth-Century Paris," *L'Esprit Créateur* 39, no. 3 (Fall 1999): 38. Translated to English, these verses read: "An entire city, built with pomp,/ Seems to have miraculously risen from an old ditch,/ And makes us assume, with its beautiful roofs,/ That all its inhabitants are either gods or kings."

35 Antoine Godeau, *Les fastes de l'Eglise pour les douze mois de l'année* (Paris: François Muguet, 1674), 6-7.

In the year 1636, Louis XIII granted him the bishopric of Grasse, and decisions such as these partly stem from the good relationship between Godeau and his patron; [36] Godeau regularly dedicated his poetic texts to Richelieu, and perhaps the most extensive ode, in this respect, is his poem *La Sorbonne* from 1653. Written almost ten years after Richelieu's death in 1642, Godeau's text reflects on the cardinal's efforts in redeveloping the architecture of the Sorbonne. Its chapel, the construction of which was begun by Lemercier in 1626, became the cardinal's mausoleum upon his death, and plays a central role in Godeau's ode. Against the background of the demonic troubles of the Fronde, Godeau describes the Sorbonne as a peaceful and eternal refuge, which protects the study of the Catholic faith as well as the patron himself against the forces of contemporary demons[37] – and here, Godeau is at pains to emphasise that this wonder of the building ultimately leads back to the virtuous cardinal Richelieu himself.[38] The poet further elaborates on Richelieu's patronage by explaining that the process of construction is crucial to the building's grandeur. He refers here to the Egyptian pyramids, as one of the ancient wonders of the world. Although these are marvels that evoke a superhuman magnificence, Godeau explains, these ancient structures were built by heavily mistreated slaves: "Every single brick is a single crime […] since it took more blood than water to lay them."[39] The Sorbonne, on the contrary, is not at all the result of injustice and oppression, he writes:

> Ouvrages merveilleux, dont la magnificence,
> Surpassoit des mortels la commune puissance,
> Desseins trop insolens de ces antiques Roys
> Dont l'Egypte feconde a reconnu les Loix,
> Miracles de vos temps, Pyramides superbes
> Vos sommets aujourd'huy sont plus bas que les herbes[40]

Whereas the marvellous imagery of hell aided Ancient and early modern authors of the epic to contrast the extremes of demonic vice with the elevated virtue of

36 Yves Giraud, *Antoine Godeau, 1605-1672: de la galanterie à la sainteté* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1975), 237.

37 Antoine Godeau, *La Sorbonne, Poeme* (Paris: Pierre le Petit, 1653), 4. He writes: "La fameuse Sorbonne, où depuis tant d'années,/ Par des prosperitez l'une à l'autre enchainées,/ On t'a veu triompher du Monde, & du Demon,/ Retenant son esprit, & conservant son nom,/ Prend l'éclat somptueux d'une face nouvelle,/ Aussi digne de toy, comme il est digne d'elle./ Un autre chantera les riches ornemens,/ Et l'ordre merveilleux de ses beaux bastimens."

38 Ibid., 8: "Cet homme merveilleux dont je fais la peinture,/ L'ayme avec une ardeur aussi vive que pure,/ Et pour en assembler des Docteurs renommez,/ Par qui, d'un sage soin, d'autres fussent formez,/ Il conçoit le dessein des bastimens celebres/ Qui defendent son nom de l'oubly des tenebres."

39 Ibid., 20: "Châque pierre est un crime, & pour en faire un rang/ On employa moins d'eau, qu'on n'employa de sang./ Mais, ô sainte Sorbonne, en ta structure auguste,/ On ne voit point l'effort d'une puissance injuste."

40 Ibid., 19. Translated to English, these verses read: "Wondrous works, with your magnificence/ Surpassing the common power of mortals,/ Too insolent projects of ancient kings/ Whose powerful Egypt recognised their laws,/ Miracles of your time, stunning pyramids/ Today, your tops are lower than the grass."

their heroic, triumphant protagonists, authors outside of the epic could also use the same imagery in a similar manner. Godeau's text positions the wonder of the Sorbonne as the noble antithesis of the wonder of demonic chaos and suppression, which alludes to the bloodshed of the Fronde. He makes use of the dynamic and overwhelming epic imagery of hellish wonder to be able to contemplate both virtue and vice. Ironically, this particular use of demonic wonder, Scudéry's *merveilleux* "des Enfers," also appealed to political opponents of Richelieu's successor, Cardinal Jules Mazarin, during the Fronde. Whereas Mazarin was a fan of epic imagery, so too were his enemies.

THE SUBVERSIVE WONDER OF VICE: THE PALACE OF MAZARIN

After a meeting with Richelieu in January 1630, Mazarin became an ardent admirer of the cardinal. In order to get closer to the powerful minister, he further reinforced the Franco-Italian relations at the Papal Court. Being appointed a papal nuncio, he often travelled to France. Already during his first trips in 1632 and from 1634 to 1636, Mazarin was bestowed the task of arranging gifts of artworks for members of the French court, while informing his Roman patrons – Antonio Barberini (1607-1671) in particular – of French works they might wish to bring to Italy.[41] When Mazarin finally left for Paris to work as Richelieu's client, Mazarin took with him thousands of écus worth of pearls and jewels. Then, gradually, from 1640 onwards, the rest of his collection of furniture, works of art, books and jewels moved to the French capital. Mazarin was able to surround himself with a vast social – his relatives of the Mancini family – and aesthetically rich environment, which had completely migrated within a few years and was aptly described by historian Pierre Goubert as "La Galaxie Mazarin."[42] As in Rome, the cardinal ensured that the extent of the splendour he had collected was able to grow substantially during the course of his Parisian career.

After the death of Richelieu in 1642, Mazarin inherited several of his former mentor's policies. These were both foreign, such as the Thirty Years' War against the Spanish and Austrian Habsburgs, as well as interior, such as Richelieu's policies of centralization. Moreover, Mazarin protected many writers who had earlier worked under Richelieu's patronage, such as Corneille, Desmarets, and Jean Chapelain.[43] But as far as the visual arts were concerned, Mazarin relied heavily on Italian talent. This had a significant impact on the appearance of his new Palais Mazarin, and on the further development of the arts in the capital.

41 Thomas P. Campbell, Pascal-François Bertrand, and Jeri Bapasola, eds., *Tapestry in the Baroque: Threads of Splendor* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 332.

42 Pierre Goubert, *Mazarin* (Paris: Fayard, 1990), 452.

43 Peter William Shoemaker, *Powerful Connections: The Poetics of Patronage in the Age of Louis XIII* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2007), 235.

The creation of this Parisian palace started in 1643, when Mazarin bought the hôtel Chevry-Tubeuf in the rue Neuve des Petits Champs in Paris (fig. 2).[44] He hired the talent of the Italian painter Giovanni Francesco Romanelli (1610-1662), a pupil of Pietro da Cortona (1596-1669).[45] The latter offered his patron to decorate the ceiling of the *Galerie haute* with scenes of Roman history, but this idea was deemed inconvenient since they underscored too much the foreign origins of the Cardinal.[46] Instead, Mazarin preferred the theme of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, since he considered them "plus gai et mieux adapté au goût du pays."[47] Under the direction of Romanelli, the *décor* was rapidly executed, and was completed in the autumn of 1647.[48] An engraving produced by Robert Nanteuil (1623-1678) depicts Mazarin in the centre of the completed space, and also includes the highlights of his sculpture collection (fig. 3). But as the wealth in his palace steadily grew, the country was faced with the high costs of recent wars. Mazarin's administration attempted to implement new revenue measures, which would also affect royal officials. In April 1648, tensions rised because the judicial *officiers* of the Parlement de Paris strongly opposed Mazarin's new tax edict, which they considered illegal and malicious for it excluded some colleagues, the *parlementaires*, "from the requirement to lose income."[49] Mazarin's sudden arrest of Pierre Broussel (1575-1654), a councillor in the Parlement de Paris led to a sudden popular uprising that started the first Fronde.[50] Only a year after the completion of the *Galerie haute*, the new civil war halted the development of the palace's construction. The strong opposition to the policies of Richelieu and Mazarin regarding the distribution of wealth, and the weakening position of nobles during the Fronde contributed to a flood of public criticism.

Some contemporaries translated their anger and disgust into prose and poetry, which led to the publication of approximately five thousand satirical pamphlets (*libelles*) or *mazarinades* during the course of the civil war.[51] The main goal of these *mazarinades* was to ridicule the Cardinal, and, rather cunningly, its authors made use of the same instruments as the encomiastic poet. The majority

44 Geoffrey Treasure, *Mazarin: The Crisis of Absolutism in France* (London: Routledge, 1995), 119.

45 After the death of Urban VIII, Romanelli had followed the Barberini nephews to Paris, who were sent in exile and were protected in France by Mazarin. See Richard E. Spear and Philip Lindsay Sohm, *Painting for Profit: The Economic Lives of Seventeenth-century Italian Painters* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), 78.

46 Madeleine Laurain-Portemer, "La Galerie Mazarine et sa restauration," *Bulletin d'informations - Association des bibliothécaires français* 104 (1979): 148.

47 Ibid., 148.

48 Ibid., 148.

49 David J. Sturdy, *Richelieu and Mazarin: A Study in Statesmanship* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 105.

50 Ibid., 110.

51 See Hubert Carrier, *La presse de la Fronde (1648-1653): Les mazarinades, vol. I, La conquête de l'opinion* (Geneva: Droz, 1989), 1-54.

of these *libellistes* used the effective and insulting effect of burlesque imitation, by subverting poetical forms, as well as by subverting its use of wonder, of *le merveilleux*. When introduced in an encomiastic poem, *le merveilleux* has the potential of elevating the subject or dedicatee. However, when the *merveille* itself is employed differently, the text can achieve the opposite effect.

This ambiguity of wonder can be best explained using the example of Phaeton. In *Peri hypsous*, Longinus applauded the dynamism that characterised well-written journeys, combats and flights between hell and heaven in Ancient epics. One example Longinus mentions is Phaeton's fatal chariot flight through the skies in the work of Euripides, whom Longinus praised for his ability to mount his soul "aboard the car" so that the author "takes wing to share the horses' peril."[52] Mazarin himself was a fervent admirer of this type of imagery evoked by Ovid: a painted scene of Ovid's Gigantomachy between Jupiter (Zeus) and the Giants (Titans), in which the supreme god smites down his enemies by means of a thunderbolt, formed the central panel of Romanelli's ceiling of the *Galerie haute* (*Jupiter foudroie les géants*) (fig. 4).[53] However, the ambiguous image of Phaeton and its effect can easily be exploited and turned into something negative. The strong desire of both Phaeton and Icarus to aim for great height and grandeur may seem commendable, but in their flight they fall prey to their own haughtiness. Likewise, Longinus argued that in order to reach greatness one needs to take a risk, but warns that great heights can also lead to great falls: "humble, mediocre natures," he states, "because they never run any risks and never aid at the heights, should remain to a large extent safe from error, while in great natures their very greatness spells danger."[54] With the example of Phaeton, Longinus plays with the ambiguity of greatness or height: while Phaeton's fall can be sublime because of the overwhelming effect of its dynamic imagery (high and low participate *together* in the sublime), its example of hubris also demonstrates the moral contrast between sublime greatness (high) and vicious lowliness (low), the place where those who fall end up. This ambiguity can be clarified by using the terms of spectrum and scale. On a poetic spectrum of epic wonder, both of its extreme ends of "hell" (or "low") and "heaven" ("high") can work together to evoke the effect of the sublime, especially when both extremes are dynamically juxtaposed

52 Longinus, *On the Sublime*, 15, 219. See also Etlin, "Architecture and the Sublime," 238.

53 The poet Scarron dedicated a burlesque poem to Mazarin, in which the poet mocked the epic imagery of the mythological Gigantomachy: Paul Scarron, *Typhon, ou La Gigantomachie. Poëme burlesque. Dedié a monseigneur l'eminentissime cardinal Mazarin* (Paris: Toussainct Quinet, 1644). It appears that Scarron's attitude towards Mazarin was not particularly negative at that time. However, Mazarin's dismissive stance towards Scarron in the following years nourished the latter's resentment against the cardinal, which Scarron expressed during the Fronde. See Alain Génetiot, "Paul Scarron (1610-1660)," in *La Poésie française du premier 17e siècle: textes et contextes*, ed. David Lee Rubin and Robert T. Corum (Charlottesville, VA: Rookwood Press, 2004), 374.

54 Longinus, *On the Sublime*, 33, 266-67. This metaphor of height also plays a key role in early seventeenth-century French texts on court life and rules of civility, most notably in Refuge's *Traité de la Cour* (1616).

(Porter's "*les extrèmes se touchent*"). But if we consider height as a metaphor of virtue, the spectrum flips and transforms into a scale of sublimity. Here, we only find the sublime, or true virtuous greatness, at its highest end in "heaven," while its other end represents the dangerous opposite of "hell": the demonic realm of vice as the antithesis of the sublime itself.

In fact, this scale of sublimity returned in many of the *mazarinades*. A great number of pamphlets invested in the ambiguity of marvellous extremes in the epic by exploiting its moral association with demonic vice. For instance, in several *mazarinades* the comparison is drawn between the persona of Mazarin and those of Phaeton and Icarus, such as in *La Nazarde à Jule Mazarin* (1649) and in *L'Icare sicilien ou la cheute de Mazarin, avec sa metamorphose* (1652) respectively (fig. 5).[55] Perhaps the most striking literary example of the use of ambiguous wonder during the Fronde is an anonymous text called *Inventaire des merveilles du monde rencontrées dans le palais du cardinal Mazarin* (1649). The narrator invites the reader to accompany him on a tour of the Parisian residence. Mazarin himself is characterised as some sort of enchanter, who has succeeded in summoning both art and nature in his palace ("Il n'y a que le seul Cardinal Mazarin qui semble avoir appelé dans sa maison l'Art & la Nature avec leurs ornemens; & les avoir contraint de loger dans son Palais.").[56] The text centres around the powerful sense of admiration and seduction that the objects evoke. Near the end of the text, however, the narrator senses the dangers of these effects, and realises that the only piety and charity in this palace are made of paint and stone.[57] "Although Ambition has built this rich Palace," the narrator states, "Fear has changed it to a very different place."[58] The final advice of the author is made very clear: instead of admiring its miserable and seductive riches, one should immediately escape this place. A place of enchanting wonder reveals itself as the seat on Fear:

> Fuyons de cette Maison, puisque le siege de la Crainte y est. Cette Passion estouffe en nos cœurs la curiosite; nous ne voulons plus considerer ces richesses que comme un thresor de miseres; car parmy ces raretez, le repos y est bien rare, & avec cet or on achete bien cher des soins & de la crainte.[59]

55 See *La Nazarde à Jule Mazarin* (Paris: Chez la veufue de l'Autheur, 1649) and *L'Icare sicilien ou la cheute de Mazarin, avec sa metamorphose, en vers burlesques* (Paris: unkown publisher, 1652).

56 *Inventaire des merveilles du monde rencontrées dans le palais du cardinal Mazarin* (Paris: Rolin de la Haye, 1649), 3.

57 Van Eck, *Art, Agency*, 94.

58 *Inventaire des merveilles*, 7: "L'Ambition a basty ce riche Palais, mais la Crainte s'en est fait un autre bien different." This relates to Scudéry remarks in his preface to *Le Temple*: *le merveilleux* does not only reside in the "charmes d'Alcine" or the "enchantements d'Armide"; *le merveilleux* is also found in the fires of hell ("celuy des Enfers").

59 Ibid., 7: "Let us flee from this house, since here lies the seat of Fear itself. This passion stifles the curiosity in our hearts; to us these riches are now nothing but a treasure of miseries. Because amidst such rarities one can hardly rest, and seeing this gold, one realises that those troubles and fear are bought at a high price."

Similarly, a large number of *mazarinades* employ the wonders of hell to reflect on the vanity and pride of Mazarin's false magnificence, which mirrors the Cardinal's own vices. While its authors alluded to the tradition of the epic, such as to the descent into the underworld in Virgil's *Aeneid* or to the use of demons in the contemporary Christian epic, their texts playfully and deliberately confuse the hero with the demon. These *mazarinades* appropriated the gravity and sublime imagery of the epic, but reversed their encomiastic effect, placing Mazarin at the lowest end of the scale of sublimity. In one of these satirical pamphlets, called *Les Entretiens de S. Maigrin et de Manzini, aux champs elisiens* […] *avec la description de l'appartement qu'on prepare à Mazarin dans les Enfers* (1652), Mazarin's residence itself, instead of the riches it contains, becomes the object of infernal wonder. The text opens with the aftermath of the death of the noblemen Jacques Stuer de Caussade (Marquis de Saint Maigrin) (ca. 1616-1652), Paolo Mancini (Mazarin's nephew) (1636-1652), and Charles-Amédée de Savoie (duc de Nemours) (1624-1652). All three did in fact succumb to their injuries they sustained on the Parisian battlefield of the Fronde in July 1652. In the satire, the first two men meet again in the Elysian Fields, and they are later joined by the third. The company arrives at a beautiful place that resembles the city of Paris, but they all agree that it cannot be the same place, since Mazarin has transformed the real city into a living hell:

> A cét objet, Manzini ne pût s'empescher de souspirer, Hé ! de grace, dit-il à saint Maigrin, faites-moy connoistre si Paris se trouve aussi dans les Champs Elisiens, ou si les Champs Elisiens sont a entour de Paris, à cela dit saint Maigrin, la response est fort facile: les Champs Elisiens ne sont point autour de Paris, parce que vostre Oncle en a fait veritablement un Enfer: mais l'image de Paris est dans les Champs Elisiens, & c'est pourquoy l'on en doit exclure vostre oncle, ainsi qu'on l'exclud du sejour de la ville de Paris.[60]

Turning away from the Elysian Fields, the company is guided towards the actual hell, where they are promised to visit the apartments that will eventually serve as Mazarin's eternal abode after his death. Traversing a fiery mountainous landscape, an "affreuse Cité des Enfers" resembling the besieged city of Troy, they arrive at the Cardinal's *post mortem* residence:

60 *Les Entretiens de S. Maigrin et de Manzini, aux champs elisiens. Et l'arrivée du Duc de Nemours au mesme lieu, Avec la description de l'appartement qu'on prepare à Mazarin dans les Enfers* (Paris: unknown publisher, 1652), 21-22: "At this view, Manzini could not help but sigh, 'Hey, what grace,' he said to saint Maigrin, 'please tell me whether Paris is located in the Elisian Fields, or whether the Elisian Fields are located around Paris,' to which Saint Maigrin replied: 'The answer is very easy: the Elisian Fields are not located around Paris, because your uncle has transformed it into a real Hell. But the image of Paris is found in the Elisian Fields, and that is why we must exclude your uncle from here, as he is excluded from his home in the city of Paris.' "

> Ils eussent demandé où estoit l'appartement de Mazarin: mais ils virent escrit sur la porte d'une Casematte, plus noire que toutes les autres, ces deux mots escrits en lettre italique, *Palais de Mazarin*. En mesme temps on les fit entrer dans cette Caverne, dont deux vilaines Furies gardoient l'entrée.[61]

At the fortress's entrance roam the "vertus cardinales du Mazarin," by which he means the vices of hate, envy and despair. The palace, the narrator continues, "was paved with sharp points of iron, and was vaulted with a black stone, where several corpses seemed to be attached to iron rings." These would present the future host of the dwelling "with a perpetual image of his crime."

While these pamphlets only refer to the figure of Mazarin, other writers employed the person of Mazarin himself as the main narrator, and produced fake letters that reveal a repentant Cardinal desperately begging for mercy. In *L'Amende honourable de Jules Mazarin, des crimes qu'il a commis contre Dieu, contre le Roy, & contre luy-mesme* from 1649, the figure of Mazarin reflects on his sinful behaviour, but still implores Christ to prevent him from being sent off from the Louvre to the fires of Hell ("je vous conjure *par vos graces sublimes* de me pardonner, & de ne permettre pas qu'un meschant homme de Cardinal que je suis, aille du Louvre loger dans l'enfer").[62]

FROM HELL TO HEAVEN: TEMPLES OF VIRTUE AND MAZARIN'S RE-ELEVATION

In 1652, the year in which the capital saw the publication of many of these pamphlets, Mazarin was still in exile. After a disastrous and brutal revolt led by Condé, during which the prince lost many followers, the French king was able to re-enter the city of Paris in October of that year. Louis XIV was officially proclaimed of age, and after Mazarin's return to the capital in 1653, the Fronde was replaced with an absolutist administration that left no space for noble rebellion. Mazarin's victory led to a slight increase in laudatory poems, the majority of which were, not surprisingly, written by several of his Italian confidants. Faced

61 Ibid., 31: "They had asked where Mazarin's apartment could be found, but then they saw written on the door of a fortress, darker than all the others, the following two words in italics: 'Palais de Mazarin.' At that moment they were brought into the cavern, the entrance of which was guarded by two ugly Furies."

62 *L'Amende honourable de Jules Mazarin, des crimes qu'il a commis contre Dieu, contre le Roy, & contre luy-mesme* (Paris: unknown publisher, 1649), 8. My emphasis. The same text was also published under another title three years later: *La declaration du cardinal Mazarin, envoyes a Son Altesse Royalle* (Paris, Louys du Sol, 1652), 8: "I can see, my Jesus, that the discord has animated the demons against me, in order to deliver me to the Devil. And having committed more crimes than I would admit, I am unworthy of Paradise. However, my Saviour, since your goodness surpasses all my crimes, I beg you, by your sublime graces, to forgive me, and to not allow the wicked man of a Cardinal that I am to leave the Louvre for a stay in hell. My soul is too precious, so please place it in Heaven."

with his gravely damaged reputation, partly as a result of the vast amounts of satirical texts during the Fronde, several poets attempted to re-elevate Mazarin to unprecedented heights. Most importantly, in order to achieve this goal, their poems merged the *merveilleux* of the fictional architecture with the patronage of real architecture – in a manner very similar to the anti-Mazarin satire, but with a completely opposite purpose.

Perhaps the earliest of these later poems on the glory of Mazarin was written by the Italian ducal agent Girolamo Graziani (1604-1675). Graziani worked as a diplomat in the service of the Este family from 1628 until his death. He played an important role in establishing diplomatic ties with the French court, and was eventually awarded a pension by Louis XIV in 1666.[63] In France, he came into contact with Frenchmen who were responsible for building a system of royal propaganda in the prosperous post-civil-war period, such as Chapelain. We know that Chapelain reserved an instrumental role for foreign authors such as Graziani, since the Frenchman wrote in a letter addressed to the Italian poet that "it is important for His Majesty's honour that his praise should appear voluntarily and, to appear voluntary, it should be printed outside of his kingdom."[64] After having won the friendship of Mazarin, Graziani wrote the panegyric *Il Colosso Sacro* (The Sacred Colossus), which was published in Modena in 1656. The poem attempts to glorify the Cardinal by describing the creation of a gigantic statue in his honour. Graziani's poetic imagery is not entirely fictional, since he mentions a real sculptor, Gian Lorenzo Bernini (1598-1680), as the ideal candidate to execute this task. Ideally, the combined efforts of his own pen and Bernini's chisel would successfully perpetuate the likeness and virtues of Mazarin for posterity.[65] Through his poem, Graziani expresses the wish for a new era of poetry and architecture under the cardinal's ministry, led by the miraculous sculptural talent of figures such as Bernini.[66]

The example of *Il Colosso Sacro* shows particularly well how this type of imagery permeated into the political domain, and became disseminated from there. The French man of letters Pierre Costar (1603-1660), a friend of Jean-Louis Guez de Balzac (1597-1654) and Gilles Ménage (1613-1692) and an enemy of Chapelain, received a copy of Graziani's panegyric from the future Minister of

63 Nathalie Hester, "Baroque Italian Epic from Granada to the New World," in *The New World in Early Modern Italy, 1492-1750*, ed. Elizabeth Horodowich and Lia Markey (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 276.

64 Jean-Christian Petitfils, *Louis XIV* (Paris: Perrin, 2014), 283: "[I]l importait pour l'honneur de Sa Majesté que son éloge parût fait volontairement et, pour paraître volontaire, il fallait qu'il fût imprimé hors de ses États."

65 Girolamo Graziani, *Il Colosso Sacro alle glorie dell'em.mo e rev.mo sig.re Cardinale Mazarino* (Modena: Bartolomeo Soliani, 1656), 6: "Di lui pregio del Tebro, e de la Senna,/ Inclico [inclito] Mazarino, honor de l'Ostro,/ Il tuo ferro, o Bernino, e la mia penna,/ Deve à prova nel marmo, e ne l'inchiostro/ Con gemino lavoro in doppi studi/ Eternar le sembianze, e le virtudi."

66 Ibid., 31: "Orna di sì bei pregi il tuo lavoro/ Saggio Bernino, e con mirabile arte/ Aggiungi ancor quando frà nembi d'oro/ Influenze benigne egli comparte/ À la virtù, da cui più degni frutti/ Sacri à l'eternità sono produtti."

Finance, Jean-Baptiste Colbert (1619-1683). Around the time of the publication of the poem, Colbert worked for Mazarin as his personal financial administrator and managed his vast fortune until the cardinal's death in 1661.[67] In a letter written by Costar to Colbert, the first writes that he was astonished by the work and had reread it three times. He opens his letter by praising the "sublime character" ("caractere sublime") of the poem's first two stanzas, which evoke the idea of both artistic and poetic inspiration by means of dynamic images of vast, untouched marble mountains and heavenly flights:

> J'ay relû trois fois le beau Panegyrique que vous [FK: Colbert] m'avez envoyé, & ç'a esté avec un plaisir extraordinaire. Ce dessein d'un Colosse a quelque chose de nouveau & de surprenant de la sorte qu'il est pris & qu'il est conduit. Le commencement est tout à fait du caractere sublime: *Montagnes ouvrez-vous à l'envy, & témoignez une noble jalousie, à qui fournira le marbre le plus precieux & le plus exquis, où le sage Bernino puisse imprimer avec le cizeau ce que je tascheray d'exprimer avec la plume. Et vous, Clio, qui inspirez les autres Poëtes demeurez là. Le vol que je veux prendre est trop haut pour vous. Une Muse terrestre n'a pas l'aisle assez forte pour s'élever jusqu'aux Cieux.*[68]

Graziani was one of many Italian poets who were active in France and who worked under the protection of Mazarin. A particularly notable figure was the Friulian knight Ascanio Amalteo (born ca. 1630), who entered the cardinal's service as an « *eximius vates et eques* » in August 1646.[69] He played an important role in the fusion of the Italian and French culture, by teaching the Italian language to the young king and acting as an interpreter at important occasions, such as the baptism of Louis de France, Grand Dauphin (1661-1711) in 1662 and Bernini's voyage to Paris in 1665.[70] In 1660, Amalteo published the poem

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67 Jacob Soll, *The Reckoning. Financial Accountability and the Rise and Fall of Nations* (New York, NY: Basic Books, 2014), 76.

68 See Pierre Costar to Jean-Baptiste Colbert, n.d., in *Lettres de Monsieur Costar* (Paris: Augustin Courbé, 1658), 1:151: "I have reread the beautiful Panegyric that you have sent me three times, and with extraordinary pleasure. The design of a Colossus has something new and surprising, the manner in which it is undertaken and carried out. The beginning has an absolutely sublime character: 'Mountains, open at will, and show a noble envy to who will provide the most precious and exquisite marble, in which the wise Bernini, with his chisel, will imprint that which I try to express with my pen. And you, Clio, who inspires the other poets, stay there. The flight I want to take is too high for you. A terrestrial Muse does not have wings strong enough to rise to the Heavens.' " The first two stanzas of Graziani's original read: "Monti apritevi à gara, e tu che puoi,/ Dare con ferro vitale il senso a i marmi,/Prendi, ò saggio Bernino, à i pregi tuoi/ Nuovo oggetto maggior da i nostri carmi:/ Sia comune lo studio, equale il vanto,/ Imprima lo scarpello, esprima il canto./ Tu resta, ò Clio, ch'è troppo eccelso il volo,/ Non hà Musa terrena ali celesti,/ Lungi da me scorta profana, e solo/ Guida sicura aura del Ciel mi presti,/ Mentre hoggi innalzo à le sublimi glorie/ Di celeste virtù degne memorie." See Graziani, *Il Colosso Sacro*, 5.

69 Pascale Mormiche, *Devenir prince: L'école du pouvoir en France. XVIIe-XVIIIe siècles* (Paris: CNRS Éditions, 2009), 300.

70 Ibid., 300.

Il tempio della Pace edificato dalla virtù dell' eminentissimo Cardinale Mazarino, a laudatory poem written on the occasion of the Treaty of the Pyrenees in 1659, which ended the Franco-Spanish War.[71] Amalteo opted for an approach similar to Graziani's poem, employing an imaginary structure to glorify the figure of Mazarin: a metaphorical temple of peace built by the virtue of the cardinal himself (fig. 6). The poem's preface, which the poet addresses to the figure of "Peace," introduces this structure as "the Building of your lofty Temple [and] the industry of a sublime Architect" ("Edifizio del tuo eccelso Tempio. L'industria dell Architetto sublime"). And like Graziani, in addition to metaphorical descriptions of this temple's form and beauty, the poem extends its scope to the creation of real art, by establishing a parallel between the talent of Bernini and that of French painter Pierre Mignard (1612-1695), who produced a "breathing" portrait of Mazarin between 1658 and 1660.[72]

In addition to these Italian examples, this period also saw the publication of a great number of French "Temples" in support of Mazarin, which included René Rapin's *Templum Famae* (1657), P. du Fayot's *Le portrait de son Eminence fait par la Paix* (1660), and *Le temple de la Paix* (1660) by Marc-Antoine Deroys de Ledignan.[73] The latter demonstrates particularly clearly how poetic images that were used subversively during the Fronde, could again be used in Mazarin's advantage. Whereas the satirical *mazarinades* used the idea of deceptive wonder (the case of the terrorising wonder of Palais Mazarin) to Mazarin's disgrace, Ledignan employed the same idea in such a way that it achieved the opposite effect. In the poem, the goddess of Peace laments the fact that the enchanting buildings of Paris were ultimately not deceptive enough to enchant the goddess of war, Bellona. Instead of terrorising buildings, Ledignan's Paris was the victim of the terror of war:

> Tout ce que Paris mesme enfermoit de charmant,
> N'avoit rien d'assez doux pour flater son tourment;
> Elle [FK: Bellona] ne voyoit plus ses structures pompeuses,
> Que comme un feint portrait de figures trompeuses,
> Qu'un charme décevant auroit representé
> Dans les illusions d'un Palais enchanté;

71 Yvan Loskoutoff, "Fascis cum sideribus III Le symbolisme armorial dans les éloges du cardinal Mazarin, ses prolongements dans les mazarinades, chez Corneille, Racine et La Fontaine," *XVIIe siècle* 214, no. 1 (2002): 71.

72 Ascanio Amalteo, *Il tempio della Pace edificato dalla virtú dell'eminentissimo Cardinale Mazarino* (Paris: Claude Cramoisy, 1660), 20: "Bernin, tu, che inuitato à l'alta impresa/ Sculto hauer deui omai l'alto sembiante,/ Mignardi tu, che in dotta tela hai resa/ L'eccelsa effigie sua come spirante;/ Distinguetemi quante/ Dal suo volto seren grazie traheste,/ Quai presagi scorgeste/ In' ampia fronte, e in maestoso ciglio,/ Per fedeli sostegni al Franco Giglio."

73 For a discussion of the first two texts, see also Loskoutoff, "Fascis cum sideribus III."

Ses Idoles d'honneur, ses monumens sublimes,
Estoient de son mépris les illustres victimes;[74]

In other words, the wondrous architecture in Paris may be sublime, but not enchanting enough to stop the belligerent camps from destroying it, let alone avert a war in the first place. During war, Ledignan poetically and metaphorically suggests, the only building blocks that can answer to and prevent these troubles are that of peace and virtue. His poetic temple, a richly decorated building rebuilt in order to welcome back the figure of Peace, symbolises the diplomatic and virtious efforts of Mazarin, which would lay the foundation for the royal wedding that took place in June of the same year.[75]

Poems such as these blurred the boundaries between fiction and reality by exploiting the broad scope of architectural invention, which transcends the sphere of the material and enters into a playful relationship with the imaginary. But most importantly, architecture can mirror human virtue. Nowhere is this dual capacity more evident than in a poem written a few years after Mazarin's death on March 9, 1661. In 1664, the cardinal's principal heir Armand-Charles de La Porte de La Meilleraye (1632-1713), who had married the cardinal's niece Hortense Mancini (1646-1699) and was named duc de Mazarin by the cardinal himself, published the book *La pompe funebre, ou les eloges de Jule Mazarini* by Vincent du Val. [76] Even though the work was written and presented as an epic poem ("Poëme Heroïque"), the publication ultimately functioned as a pamphlet to a funerary ceremony – but one that had never taken place, and existed only visually on the poem's frontispiece (fig. 7).[77] In fact, Paris had never seen a funeral ceremony for Mazarin, and for obvious reasons. Cunningly, the text and image make it deliberately unclear whether the event is commemorated or fabricated by the book. One thing that is clear, however, is that the clothing and objects of the depicted group of people, as well as the procession in which they participate, remind one of Ancient Roman funerary rites. The ceremony on the frontispiece,

74 Marc Antoine Deroys de Ledignan, *Le temple de la Paix, à son éminence* (Paris: Charles de Sercy, 1660), 5: "All the charms that Paris itself held,/ Had nothing gentle enough to flatter her torment;/ She only saw the city's pompous structures,/ As a pretending portrait of deceptive figures,/ As a disappointing charm, represented as the illusion of an enchanted Palace;/ Its Idols of honour, its sublime monuments,/ Were the illustrious victims of her contempt."

75 Ledignan was further able to contemplate the elevated virtues of Mazarin in his "Poëme, à Monseigneur l'Eminentissime Cardinal Mazarin," which is bound in the same publication as his *Temple* (see the copy held in the Bibliothèque nationale de France). In this work, he poetically describes the sublime effect of Mazarin's actions on his defeated enemies: "Vostre cœur genereux, de son ressentiment,/ A fait un sacrifice à ce grand changement;/ Leur fureur a ployé sous cet effort sublime,/ Et leur haine est éteinte au pardon de leur crime;/ Quelque aveugle transport qui les eust animez,/ Ils suivent un vainqueur qui les a tous charmez." Ledignan, *Le temple de la paix*, 2:26.

76 On their marriage, see Hortense Mancini and Marie Mancini, *Memoirs*, ed. and trans. Sarah Nelson (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2008), 4.

77 Vincent du Val, *La pompe funebre, ou les eloges de Jule Mazarini, cardinal, duc, et premier minister* (Paris: Sebastien Martin, 1664), v.

Yvan Loskoutoff argues, is reminiscent of the pyre ceremonies described by Herodian in the fourth book of his *History of the Roman emperors*.[78] Nevertheless, the monument appears very contemporary; while its caryatids seem to recall those used by Jacques Lemercier in his façade of the Pavillon de l'Horloge roughly ten years earlier, the pyramidal design of the monument itself recalls the ephemeral arch built on the Place Dauphine on the occasion of the royal wedding in 1660.

Du Val's French poem and its frontispiece by François Chauveau (1613-1676) thus aimed to fill a gap. Only a simple and solemn service was held after Mazarin's death at Notre-Dame in Paris in April 1661, which paled in comparison to the pomp and splendour of the funeral ceremony à machine in Rome, which Mazarin's agent Elpidio Benedetti (ca. 1609-ca. 1690) had organised in his memory the very same month.[79] For this occasion, both the interior and exterior of the Roman church of Santi Vincenzo e Anastasio a Trevi were decorated with symbols and personifications of virtue and death, the designs of which were published in a volume entitled *Pompa funebre nell' esequie celebrate in Roma al Cardinal Mazarini* (1661).[80] The funerary ode that was pronounced that day by French Carmelite priest Léon de Saint-Jean (1600-1671) further contemplated on these virtues, and in a manner completely opposite to the harmful satire that had been published in Paris.[81] Whereas the *mazarinades* stressed the vertical gap between opposite extremes – between admiration and fear, between heavenly architecture and Mazarin's vicious residence in hell at the lowest point on the line – this Roman oration sought to gloriously reunite the contradictory opposites that characterised the cardinal's career, thereby attempting to return to a spectrum of sublimity.[82] Mazarin's life, the orator argues, is a "mysterious enigma which, like the most accomplished painting, is composed of opposite contradictions" ("un mysterieux Enigme, composé comme les Tableaux les plus achevez, de contrarietez opposées"). As a person, Mazarin joined opposites such as captive and ruler, friend and enemy, French and Italian, which had made him into "an illustrious Persecuted, a glorious outrage" ("Un illustre Persecuté, des outrages glorieus") and thereby "a phoenix rising from the ashes, a sun returning after the obscurity of night" ("Un Phenix qui renait de ses cendres. Un soleil que le retour après le tenebres d'une epoisse nuict"). "Oh God!," the orator cried out, "What clarity and what obscurity, what light and what shadows are enhancing the beauty of this picture?"

78 Loskoutoff, "Fascis cum sideribus III," 78.

79 Dietrich Erben, *Paris und Rom: Die staatlich gelenkten Kunstbeziehungen unter Ludwig XIV* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2004), 258.

80 See Elpidio Benedetti, *Pompa funebre nell'esequie celebrate in Roma al cardinal Mazarini nella chiesa de SS. Vincenzo & Anastasio* (Rome: Stamparia della Reu.Cam.Apost., 1661).

81 The eulogy was also translated into French, and was published in the same book as *L'Eloge funebre de l'eminentissime cardinal Jules Mazarin*, together with a dedication to the king. See page 5-22.

82 [De Saint-Jean], *L'Eloge funebre*, 7.

In addition to the use of this spectrum of sublimity in this Roman *Pompa*, in which both opposites participate in the aim of sublimity, Du Val's fictional Parisian *pompe funèbre* had to rely on the scale of sublimity in his elevation of Mazarin. His poem tried to push him heavenwards, thus pulling him away from its infernal opposite, the lowest point of the line where the *mazarinades* had placed him roughly ten years earlier. In this endeavour, text and image work together. At the top of the monument depicted in the frontispiece, above its reliefs of Mazarin's heroic deeds, the structure is crowned by a sculpture group representing his apotheosis. Here, the figure of the cardinal is seated on a chariot and is lifted from a bed of billowing clouds by a pair of giant eagles. The final destination of this ascension is revealed in the poem itself; a heavenly retreat surrounded by a landscape of sharp rocks, which can only be passed by those that are blessed with a sublime virtue:

> De mille affreux rochers l'abord inaccessible
> En a rendu la route & fascheuse & penible:
> Par ces aspres penchants un cœur ambitieux
> Qui presume arriver au sommet de ces lieux;
> Est du sort inconstant la honteuse victime
> S'il n'est pas soustenu d'une vertu sublime.[83]

Once past this vicious landscape, and amidst a forest of fragrant cedars, the cardinal would find his entire field of vision filled with the hundred Doric columns of the "glorious Temple of the Ministers of State":

> Au fond d'une forest de cedres odorants
> Qui bravent les hyvers & triomphent des ans:
> L'œil tout charmé découvre un royal edifice,
> Qui porte en lettres d'or sur un haut frontispice,
> Ce tiltre qui decore & marque avec esclat
> LE TEMPLE GLORIEUX DES MINISTRES D'ESTAT.
> Cent colomnes de marbre, ordonnance dorique,
> Eslevent sa façade où triomphe l'optique,
> Sur des portes d'argent superbes en festons
> Sont gravez de nos Roys les chiffres & les noms:[84]

83 Du Val, *La pompe funebre*, 9: "The inaccessible surroundings of a thousand frightful rocks/ Have made the road unwelcoming and troublesome:/ In this rugged landscape, an ambitious heart/ That presumes to arrive at the summit of this place;/ Will be the victim of unstable fate/ When it is not supported by a sublime virtue."

84 Ibid., 9-10: "Deep in a forest of fragrant cedars/ Which brave the winters and triumph the years:/ The charmed eye discovers a royal edifice,/ Which bears on its high frontispiece the golden letters,/ Of the title that decorates and brilliantly marks / the glorious temple of the ministers of state./ One hundred marble columns, of the Doric order,/ Elevate its façade where the optics triumph,/ On silver doors rich in festoons/ The initials and names of our Kings are engraved."

Through the poem and its frontispiece, one building refers to the other, and it ultimately depended on the knowledge and beliefs of the seventeenth-century reader whether he or she considered these building to exist, or to have existed. In any case, the poem demonstrates the contemporary appeal of architecture on paper, which, through the mind of the recipient, can shape public views and experiences of real buildings and the people who inhabit them.

As many examples from the 1650s and 1660s have shown, the mode *par excéllence* to achieve this goal was the epic. The potential of the genre's sublimity of style, in its use of a variety of rhetorical figures of speech, can be recognized in Du Val's use of repetition in his description of the heavenly temple ("Ce ne sont que faisseaux, que cornes d'abondance"),[85] which appears as a reference to George de Scudéry's use of *anaphora* in the description of the enchanted palace in his epic *Alaric* from 1654 ("Ce ne sont que Festons, ce ne sont que Couronnes").[86] But in addition to style, a more important actor in the contemporary appeal of architecture on paper was the other main feature of an epic: the poetic imagery of wonder, of *le merveilleux*. As cases from opposing political camps and from contrasting poetical genres have reminded us, spaces and structures, as agents of wonder, are frames of mind, in every sense of the word.

During the era of Richelieu and Mazarin, French writing on architecture was often as much concerned with the idea of human virtue as it was with buildings. In the sphere of politics, real, physical buildings ideally worked as manifestations of their patron's power, virtue, ideology or pedigree – which could persuasively be communicated through architectural orders, composition, proportion, emblems and inscriptions. Moreover, fictional buildings also had the capacity to express these same ideas, without having to account for all sorts of realistic limitations. The broad patronage of both cardinals created a cultural and political climate that stimulated the interchange of poetry and architecture, and with it, the intersection of real and fictional architecture. The revival of the epic poem further stimulated the importance of this development, and provided a wealth of poetic imagery for both poets and architects to draw from. In addition to the epic's sublimity of style, this poetic imagery defined the epic's elevated character. Its broad range of wonder – which translates to a spectrum of sublimity – provided a dynamic of contrasts, which evoked the imagery of awe-inspiring buildings, journeys, figures and transformations that elicited a sense of *le merveilleux*. Nevertheless, contrasts and extremes are dangerous notions, for they can just as well provoke anger, shock and disgust as a result of their exaggerated or vicious character.

85 Ibid., 10.

86 Scudéry, *Alaric*, 105.