

TRISTAN L'HERMITE: LA MARIANE.

A CRITICAL ANALYSIS.

TRISTAN L'HERMITE: LA MARIANE

A

CRITICAL ANALYSIS.

By

DAVID EDWARD WESTGATE, B.A.

A Thesis

Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies

in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements

for the Degree

Master of Arts

McMaster University

October 1963

ii

CLERK PERSONAL
LIBRARY
MCMCMASTER UNIVERSITY

MASTER OF ARTS (1963)
(Romance Languages)

McMASTER UNIVERSITY
Hamilton, Ontario.

TITLE: Tristan L'Hermite: La Mariane. A Critical
Analysis

AUTHOR: David Edward Westgate, B.A. (Nottingham University, England)

SUPERVISOR: Professor M.L. Stock

NUMBER OF PAGES: vi, 143

SCOPE AND CONTENTS: This study gives an appraisal of Tristan L'Her-
mite's dramatic technique with special reference to La
Mariane. It seeks to link the play with the dramatic tend-
encies of 1636 and shows that the tragedy played an im-
portant role in the popularization and implementation of
trends which were to form the basis of the classical system.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to extend grateful thanks to Professor M.L. Stock, Chairman of the Department of Romance Languages, McMaster University, for guiding and assisting me in the writing of this thesis, to Dr. P.M.Conlon, Department of Romance Languages, and to Dean A.W.Patrick, McMaster University, for their advice and helpful suggestions.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
INTRODUCTION	1
I. A BIOGRAPHY OF TRISTAN L'HERMITE	8
II. PLOT AND SOURCES OF <u>LA MARIANE</u>	20
III. CHARACTERS	34
Minor Characters	34
Mariane	47
The Character	47
A Baroque Heroine	51
A "Cornelian" Heroine	53
Herode	56
The Character	56
An Aristotelian Tragic Hero	65
A "Racinian" Tragic Hero	66
IV. <u>LA MARIANE</u> AS A RENAISSANCE TRAGEDY	69
V. <u>LA MARIANE</u> AS A CLASSICAL TRAGEDY	81
Structural Dramatic Technique	81
Tragic Dramatic Technique	91
VI. STYLE	96
Versification	96
Sixteenth & Early Seventeenth Century	
Characteristics	100
Poetry	106
VII. PERFORMANCES OF <u>LA MARIANE</u>	114
The Staging of the Play in 1636	114
The Premiere: The Role of Montdory	116
Subsequent Representations	119

	Page
VIII. <u>LA MARIANE</u> IN FRENCH LITERATURE, 1636-1731	122
GENERAL CONCLUSION	129
APPENDICES	131
Appendix A	131
Appendix B	132
Appendix C	135
Appendix D	137
BIBLIOGRAPHY	140

INTRODUCTION

When the period of French preclassical tragedy is considered, one name tends to stand out alone: Corneille. To a certain extent, this is just. Corneille, by his rapid succession of masterpieces in the years 1636-1642, completely overshadowed the authors of lesser genius who, nevertheless, played a considerable part in creating French classical tragedy.¹ Full recognition is not always granted to the tragedies written in the preclassical era. One such underestimated work is La Mariane of Tristan L'Hermitte, written in 1636. This introduction will serve to situate La Mariane in its historical context and will show its importance within that context.

From 1627 to 1630, tragedy was almost non-existent. During that time, only five tragedies were printed and these were minor works of relatively little importance.² Tragi-comedy was the genre which had gained popularity. This genre was essentially "irregular" in all respects; the action was largely romanesque. If the rules were not respected at this time, it was because they were still unknown to the writers. Corneille bears witness to this in his "Examen de

¹H. C. Lancaster, A History of French Dramatic Literature in the Seventeenth Century (Baltimore, 1929-1942), II, 771.

²A. Adam, Histoire de la littérature française au XVII^e siècle (Paris, 1948), I, 425.

Mélite", written in 1660, long after the play's actual production in 1629: "Cette pièce fut mon coup d'essai et elle n'a garde d'être dans les règles, puisque je ne savais pas alors qu'il y en eut."³ Tragi-comedy was the popular genre of the day and the reasons for its popularity are found in the literary taste of the time. As Antoine Adam points out: "Elle [la tragi-comédie] s'adresse à un public que les règles laissent indifférent, qui aime au contraire la variété des coups de théâtre et des intrigues surchargées, qui vient au théâtre pour son plaisir et qui exige des auteurs qu'ils se mettent au service de leurs goûts."⁴

Running contrary to, and as a reaction against this movement in favour of irregularity in drama was the movement for order which characterized French intellectual thought in the first half of the seventeenth century. R. Mousnier explains this movement: "L'Etat, le corps, la classe sociale, l'individu luttent sans cesse pour rétablir l'ordre et l'unité."⁵ This rational movement, quite naturally, began to influence those interested in drama with the result that in 1629 Mairet was persuaded by the Comte de Cramail and the Cardinal de la Vallette to write a pastoral in accordance with the rules established in the Italian pastoral. Mairet's pastoral, La

³P. Corneille, Oeuvres de F. Corneille, ed. M. Ch. Marty-Laveaux (Paris, 1862), I, 137.

⁴Adam, I, 425.

⁵R. Mousnier, Histoire générale des civilisations, Vol. IV: Les XVIe et XVIIe siècles (Paris, 1956), p. 143.

Sylvanire, gave the cause for regularity in drama its first expression in France and its effect was quite immediate: "A partir de 1630, les adaptations de pastorales italiennes s'appliquent à observer les règles".⁶

In conjunction with this movement on the part of a group of dramatists led by Mairet, the cause of the règles was taken up by Chapelain. In a letter to Godeau in 1630, Chapelain writes of the superiority and necessity of the rules in dramatic art.⁷ Mairet's practice and Chapelain's theory were supported by the learned in the literary circles and a strong party supporting regularity in drama was formed. This is not to say that all writers were in favour of the rules. Opposition from Godeau, Ogier and their followers was quite strong. But Chapelain soon won Richelieu to his cause. As Richelieu patronized many of the authors of the period, including Rotrou, Boisrobert and Desmarets, and also the actors of the newly constituted Marais Theatre,⁸ his support for Chapelain's ideas had considerable influence.

Even though a strong party in favour of the rules now existed, this did not mean that tragedy would immediately burgeon forth. On the contrary, tragi-comedy, following the example of the pastoral,

⁶ Adam, I, 438.

⁷ R. Bray, La Formation de la doctrine classique en France (Lausanne, 1931), p. 266.

⁸ Adam, I, 467.

adapted itself to the rules. Once again it was Mairet who showed the way with Virginie in 1633. The success of the play led to another great flourishing of tragi-comedy, in the face of which tragedy had all but disappeared. Mabelot's list of the plays produced at the Hôtel de Bourgogne, compiled in 1634, counts only two tragedies out of a total of seventy-one plays.⁹

If tragedy was held in low esteem during the years 1629-1633, these years were nevertheless important for the tragedy of 1634-1636. Dramatists like Mairet, Rotrou and Corneille were gaining experience in manipulating characters and plots, and in introducing scènes à faire within the scope afforded them by the rules. Such experience was to prove of capital importance in the evolution of tragedy away from the irregular tragedies of Hardy to those of the preclassical period.

The date 1634 announces a new epoch of French tragedy after its relative disappearance from the Parisian stage for ten years. R. Lebègue says of this period: "La plus glorieuse et la plus féconde époque de la tragédie française est celle que jalonnent les représentations d'Hercule mourant et de Sophonisbe (1634), de Marc Antoine, de Médée et de la Mort de César (1635), de Marianne et du Cid (1636)."¹⁰

First of these tragedies was Rotrou's play, Hercule mourant.

⁹Lancaster, I, 668.

¹⁰R. Lebègue, "la Tragédie française au XVIIe siècle: Robert Garnier", Revue des Cours et Conférences, XV (15 Juillet, 1932), p. 658.

written in the early part of 1634. Rotrou, at this time, was protected by Richelieu and was working in close contact with Chapelain. His play is the first tragedy of this period in which the rules are applied.¹¹ In spite of its success, it did not determine a general return to tragedy. Such a distinction was again reserved for Mairet, who produced La Sophonisbe later in the same year.

In La Sophonisbe, all the rules are observed; the action results from a clash of wills; the subject is taken from Roman history. P. Kohler sums up the tendencies in La Sophonisbe and gives an estimate of its value: "Comparant la tragédie de Mairet, d'une part aux chefs-d'oeuvre qui l'ont suivie de près, on voit quel service Mairet a rendu au théâtre français en adoptant les unités et quelle fermeté son talent a su donner au genre encore hésitant de la tragédie proprement dite."¹² It was this play which brought tragedy back into favour and which was of prime importance in its renewal. An index of the popularity it instigated for the genre is seen in the fact that, whereas from 1630 to 1633 there were only two new tragedies, from 1634 to 1636 there were as many new tragedies as tragi-comedies.¹³

None of the tragedies written in the years 1634-1646 is purely classical in composition. Each indicates its time by including either

¹¹Lancaster, I, 689.

¹²P. Kohler, "Sur La Sophonisbe de Mairet et les débuts de la tragédie classique", Revue d'Histoire littéraire de la France, XLVI (1939), pp. 58-59.

¹³Adam, I, 457.

elements of tragi-comedy, elements of Renaissance tragedy or elements of preclassical tragedy.

It was in such an atmosphere of enthusiasm and uncertainty that La Mariane of Tristan L'Hermitte was written and produced in 1636. This period of immense activity on the part of the writers of tragedy closes with La Mariane, which, according to Lanson, would be its masterpiece.¹⁴ J. Schérier resumes the tendencies of the brief period concerning this study: "La tragédie, qui avait été assez négligée les années précédentes, prend un grand essor à la suite de deux succès retentissants, ceux de la Sophonisbe de Mairet et de la Mariane de Tristan, qui donnent au genre un prestige nouveau et suscitent de nombreux imitateurs."¹⁵ It was in the following year that Le Cid was produced.

This brief outline of the dramatic activities of the years 1630 to 1636 illustrates the important position occupied by La Mariane in the evolution of the tragedy of these years.

The following pages of this study will make a complete analysis of La Mariane. The analysis will estimate Tristan's powers as a psychologist and as a dramatic poet. More important, it will show to what extent Tristan's dramatic technique resembles that of Renaissance tragedy; it will indicate how much Tristan, as a dramatist, is

¹⁴G. Lanson. Esquisse d'une histoire de la tragédie française (Paris, 1954), p. 57.

¹⁵J. Schérier, La Dramaturgie classique en France (Paris, 1950). p. 137.

influenced by his time; it will demonstrate how great a contribution Tristan makes to the formulation of classical tragedy. A final chapter will be a history of the play.

But first, Tristan L'Hermite himself should be discussed.

I

A BIOGRAPHY OF TRISTAN L'HERMITE

Although this biography will include the major occurrences of Tristan's life, it does not set out to give an exhaustive account of this life. This is already amply treated elsewhere.¹ Its intention is to discuss those events which throw light on Tristan, the man, and his literary formation, to relate the experiences through which he passed before writing La Mariane, and finally to explain how he came to write La Mariane. All of these elements will lead to a fuller understanding of his tragedy.

François L'Hermite - it was only later in life that he adopted the name of Tristan - was born the first of three sons in the Château de Soliers in the Haute-Marche to Pierre L'Hermite and his wife, Elisabeth Miron. There are no documents relating to the birth or baptism of Tristan. Tradition places it in 1601. When he was still quite young, he was sent to Paris. He was subsequently presented before the King, Henri IV, who made him page to the son he had had by Henriette d'Entragues, Henri de Bourbon.

¹N. Bernardin, Un Précurseur de Racine: Tristan L'Hermite, Sieur du Solier (Paris, 1895), pp. 43-313.
A. CARRIAT, Tristan ou l'éloge d'un poète (Limoges, 1955), pp. 19-50.
Tristan L'Hermite, La Mariane, ed. J. Madeleine (Paris, 1917), pp. v-x.

It is at this point that Tristan's autobiographical novel, Le Page disgracié,² begins, recounting the first twenty years of his life. Doubt has been cast on the authenticity of some of the more extraordinary adventures in the novel.³ The book remains, nevertheless, very informative about the interests Tristan cultivated and the milieu in which he lived.

At court, his education, like that of the prince, was assured by the austere Claude DuPont. Even at this early stage (Tristan was about ten years old), he revealed a keen interest in the theatre - an interest which soon won him friends:

En mes heures de loisir, j'apprenais par coeur quelque pièce entière des plus beaux vers dont on fit estime en ce temps-là, et j'en savais plus de dix mille, que je récitais avec autant d'action que si j'eusse été tout rempli des passions qu'ils représentaient. Cette gentillesse m'acquies l'amitié de beaucoup de gens, et entre autres d'une troupe de comédiens qui venaient représenter trois ou quatre fois la semaine devant toute cette cour. (Le Page disgracié, 71-72.)

This friendship with the actors was often of a salutary nature to Tristan. He had soon shown himself to be quite independent of mind and rebellious against authority. This often led to differences of opinion between himself and his tutor, and to avoid the consequences Tristan would seek hiding with these actors:

J'aimais fort ces comédiens et me sauvais quelquefois chez eux, lorsque j'avais quelque secrète terreur et que notre précepteur m'avait fait quelque mauvais signe. Ils faisaient grande estime de moi à cause de mon esprit et de ma mémoire, qui n'étaient pas des choses communes. (Le Page disgracié, p. 72)

²Tristan L'Hermite, Le Page disgracié, ed, M. Arland (Paris, 1946).

³Bernardin, p. 44.
Carriat, p. 22.
Adam, II, 135.

Such a spirit of independence and rebellion was to curtail Tristan's stay at the Court of Louis XIII. He quarrelled with a guard and fled, after fatally wounding him. According to Le Page disgracié, Tristan then travelled to England, where he twice fell foul of amorous intrigues, to Scotland and Norway before returning to France via England. Carriat wonders whether this is true, since only six months separate the time of his departure from Paris and that of his arrival in Poitiers in 1616, when he became secretary to Nicolas de Sainte-Marthe. He proposes the more specious theory: "Tristan, n'aurait-il pas simplement mené pendant ce temps cette vie des picares, vagabondant à travers la province?"⁴

Nicolas de Sainte-Marthe took a deep interest in Tristan and helped to further his education and intellectual development. Tristan himself bears witness to this:

Je veux honorer cet honnête gentilhomme toute ma vie, tant à cause de son mérite qui me parut grand, que pour les faveurs que j'en reçus, qui ne furent pas petites. Sitôt que je fus chez lui et qu'il se fut aperçu que j'avais quelques brillants d'esprit et quelque inclination à la poésie, il me fit faire une clef pour entrer quand bon me semblerait dans un cabinet plein de beaux livres. (Le Page disgracié, pp. 237-238.)

Tristan then fell ill and was sent to Loudon to stay with the famous Scévole de Sainte-Marthe. If Tristan's stay with Nicolas had proved a useful initiation into the serious study of literature, that with Scévole was to provide this initiation with a solid foundation.

"Arrivé à Loudon écolier intelligent et curieux, il en partira poète."⁵

⁴Carriat, p. 29.

⁵Bernardin, p. 70.

Tristan was allowed free access to Scévole's immense library. He gives an account of his duties and tells how useful his stay was to him:

Ainsi je me vis installé chez ce célèbre personnage, à qui je ne rendais autre service que celui de lire devant lui deux ou trois heures tous les jours. Tantôt c'était quelque chose de l'histoire ou de la poésie des anciens; tantôt nous revisitions ses propres ouvrages latins et français, où l'on voit de fort belles choses, mais qui semblent avoir gagné plus de bruit en la première langue qu'en l'autre. J'eus le soin de sa bibliothèque, et sans mentir, cela servit beaucoup à mon avancement aux lettres. Je passais les jours et les nuits sur ses livres, que je ne croyais jamais pouvoir posséder assez longtemps pour faire des collections à ma fantaisie. Ce bon sage et maître était bien aise que je me donnasse de la sorte à cette honnête occupation. (Le Page disgracié, p. 240.)

It was, no doubt, in Scévole's library that Tristan became conversant with Renaissance tragedy.

It is probably because of his youth and character that Tristan remained only sixteen to eighteen months in Loudon. He needed more amusement than he could find in Scévole's service. Significantly, after leaving he journeyed for a time with a troupe of travelling actors.

He entered the service of several protectors during the following two years, until he became secretary to the Marquis de Villars-Montpezat. Under this protector, Tristan's already suggested propensity for the theatre becomes more evident:

J'employais quelquefois deux ou trois pages, et autant de jeunes officiers de sa maison, pour représenter les soirs devant lui quelque espèce de comédie dont j'avais ajusté les paroles selon la force de mon esprit. (Le Page disgracié, p. 257.)

In the service of the Marquis, as Le Page disgracié attests, Tristan turned to the more agreeable pursuit of cultivating his pleasure.

The Marquis de Villars-Montpezat went to Bordeaux in 1620,

taking with him all his company. Once in Bordeaux, Tristan passed into the service of the Duc du Maine, for whom he had written some verses. Louis XIII came to Bordeaux in October, 1620. Tristan was presented to him and his escapade, the cause of his original flight from Paris, the page's disgrace, was pardoned. He became gentilhomme du Roi and returned to Paris with the King shortly afterwards. He subsequently entered the household of Monsieur, Gaston d'Orléans, in 1621.

The year 1621 proved a fateful one for Tristan. Many of his friends and former protectors met their deaths. His younger brother Séverin and his friend Humières were killed at Royan; Termes, the commander of his regiment, was killed at Clairac; Villars-Montpezat and the Duc de Mayence were killed at Montauban; Luynea and M. de Caumartin died in Paris. The quick succession of these disasters initiated Tristan into the more serious aspects of life. "Le rideau s'abaisse lentement sur cette suite de farces que fut sa jeunesse."⁶

Once in Paris, he developed his literary tastes by consolidating friendship with Théophile de Viau, Alexandre Hardy and Saint-Amant. Bernardin comments: "Toute sa vie, peu exact à remplir les devoirs de sa charge, il devait, surtout alors, vivre dans un autre monde, où l'attiraient ses goûts, le monde des poètes et des comédiens."⁷ His interest in the theatre is again seen in the fact that he wrote a dedicatory poem for Hardy to insert in the first volume of his

⁶ Carriat, p. 33.

⁷ Bernardin, p. 103.

plays, published in 1624.⁸

During this period of five to six years, Tristan frequented the libertine circle of Saint-Amant and Cyrano de Bergerac and, no doubt, at this time, experienced the unhappy love affairs which were to be reflected in his poetry. P. Wadsworth writes: "Souvent amoureux, ses affaires de coeur furent généralement suivies de crises de remords."⁹ An illustration of this melancholy is seen in the poem "A des cimetières", which appears in the collection of poems Tristan published in 1633. It concludes:

Tombeaux, pâles témoins de la rigueur du sort
Où je viens en secret entretenir la mort
D'une amour que je vois si mal récompensée.

Vous donnez de la crainte et de l'honneur à tous;
Mais le plus doux objet qui s'offre à ma pensée
Est beaucoup plus funeste et plus triste que vous.

(Poésies choisies et annotées, p. 33.)

Tristan's financial situation in the service of Gaston was not good, since Gaston was very dilatory about paying his dependents. Tristan nevertheless remained faithful to him during the more difficult years which lay ahead. He followed his protector in his ill-fated struggle against Cardinal Richelieu and was subsequently proscribed in 1627 with Gaston and the remainder of his company. It is possible that he took part in Gaston's unsuccessful campaign in the South to help Montmorency. The King's brother, however, soon made a swift retreat to Flanders, leaving Montmorency to face the consequences of the

⁸ Infra, Appendix A, p. 131.

⁹ Tristan L'Hermite, Poésies choisies et annotées, ed. P. Wadsworth (Paris, 1962), p. 10.

rebellion. The rapidity of this flight did not allow Tristan time to intervene in the lawsuit which was to deprive him of his patrimony. Concerning this, Tristan wrote a letter to Ragueneau, a lawyer in the Parlement de Paris, part of which is reproduced here:

Cela me tient fort au coeur de me voir ainsi dépouillé de mon patrimoine et l'on me frustre, par une si noire méchanceté d'un bien qui m'estoit acquis par ma naissance. Je sais que c'est injustement qu'on s'empare de ma maison; encore que l'on fasse voir que c'est par le moyen d'un contrat: et toute une province connoist bien qu'on m'a fait une extreme violence, sous quelques formes de justice (...). Celui qui découvre du ciel les plus secrets mouvements des coeurs, et dont la divine clarté pénètre toutes sortes d'ombrages, voit bien le tort qui m'est fait, et m'en rendra quelque jour justice.¹⁰

This letter sheds light on Tristan in two respects. Firstly, it indicates that, materially, his distress was great, since he was then wholly dependent on a by no means liberal Gaston. Secondly, it shows a progression away from free-thinking, towards a full embracing of the Christian view of life. Tristan's sincere belief in Christianity and his unhappiness in love, will both be reflected to some extent in La Mariane.

Once in Brussels, the city to which Gaston fled, Tristan published Les Plaintes d'Acante in 1633, his first volume of poetry. Gaston's ingratitude, Tristan's unhappiness in love and his belief in Christianity are all reflected in these poems. For instance, "La Sage Considération" concludes:

Aimons l'auteur du monde, il est sans inconstance,
Sa bonté pour nos vœux n'a point de résistance,
Nous pouvons en secret lui parler nuit et jour.

Il connaît notre ardeur et notre inquiétude
Et ne reçoit jamais de traits de notre amour

¹⁰Quoted by Carriat, p. 36.

Pour les récompenser de traits d'ingratitude.
 (Poésies choisies et annotées, p. 36.)

Gaston suddenly left Brussels and regained Paris, where he received an amnesty. Tristan, who had not received any financial recompense from Gaston, was obliged to return to Paris at his own expense. Back in the capital city, he made overtures to the prominent people of the time to obtain their protection, meeting with varying degrees of temporary success.

More important from the point of view of this study, Tristan began to frequent assiduously the Parisian theatres. Shortly after, in 1636, he wrote La Mariane, which was an immediate success. Why did he write the tragedy? Tristan's interest in the theatre had been ever present from an early age. Furthermore, Bernardin speculates: "Il est possible que Montdory, grandement importuné par les jeunes auteurs qui venaient lui apporter des pastorales tirées de l'Astrée, demandât une pièce à Tristan."¹¹ Why did he choose this particular subject? Firstly, Tristan was a good friend of Hardy and was, doubtless, conversant with his theatre. The eulogistic, dedicatory poem he published in the first volume of Hardy's plays infers as much.¹² Secondly, as Madeleine reasonably suggests: "Tristan fut sans doute frappé de la beauté de cette histoire tragique où le vieux maître avait hâtivement, d'une main rude, taillé son drame, qu'en suite, avec non moins de hâte et de rudesse, il avait habillé de sa grandiloquence redondante, depuis si démondée.(...) Tristan résolut de l'y remettre sur la scène en

¹¹Bernardin, p. 189.

¹²Infra, Appendix A, p. 131.

refaisant l'oeuvre avec un art plus digne d'elle.¹³ La Mariane was the first of a line of five tragedies which culminated in Osman, published posthumously in 1656.

In 1638, Tristan published a second volume of poetry: Les Amours. It is, in fact, an enlarged and corrected edition of Les Plaintes d'Acante. One poem, "La Misère de l'homme du monde", is of particular interest to the biographer. It illustrates Tristan's feelings, his depressions and his unsuccessful search for the ideal protector in the years which precede and follow the composition of La Mariane:

Venir à la clarté sans force et sans adresse,
Et n'ayant fait longtemps que dormir et manger,
Souffrir mille rigueurs d'un secours étranger
Pour quitter l'ignorance en quittant la faiblesse:

Après, servir longtemps une ingrate maîtresse
Qu'on ne peut acquérir, qu'on ne peut obliger,
Ou qui d'un naturel inconstant et léger
Donne fort peu de joie et beaucoup de tristesse:

Cabaler dans la cour, puis devenu grison,
Se retirant du bruit, attendre en sa maison
Ce qu'ont nos derniers ans de maux inévitables;

C'est l'heureux sort de l'homme. O misérable sort!
Tous ces attachements sont-ils considérables
Pour aimer tant la vie, et craindre tant la mort.

(Poésies choisies et annotées, p. 63.)

This completes the first part of Tristan's life, the section more relative to this thesis. It explains the factors which led Tristan to write La Mariane; it emphasizes the evolution of Tristan's outlook, a movement away from free thought towards Christianity; it

¹³Tristan L'Hermite, La Mariane, p. xi.

finally depicts the more important of his experiences. All of these trends have a certain bearing on the composition of La Mariane, especially as regards Herode's position and the views propounded by the eponymous heroine.

Tristan fell seriously ill with consumption in 1638. This weakened his health considerably and he never fully recovered. Tristan's illness also led to a greater preoccupation with religion. His attitude became one of long-suffering and resignation.

In spite of the wretched treatment he had received from Gaston, Tristan had dedicated La Mariane to him, a gesture that brought a tardy recompense when he entered Gaston's service again in 1640. He was subsequently dismissed in 1642. "Le prince qui ne pratiquait guère la loyauté, se moquait des doléances de ses gens, et Tristan, lorsqu'il sera congédié, vers 1642, ne comprendra que trop amèrement qu'il a misé depuis vingt ans sur une mauvaise carte."¹⁴

He went to other protectors, but never stayed long in their service. "Il avait l'humeur trop indépendante," states Bernardin,¹⁵ explaining Tristan's departure from the Duchesse de Chaulnes' employ. This independent attitude accounts, no doubt, for Tristan's difficulty in finding his ideal protector. He was not prepared to renounce his independence wholly in return for board and lodging. His inability to find material security resulted in a deep pessimism and a stoic attitude of resignation, illustrated in the poem "La Servitude":

Donc les cruelles destinées

¹⁴Carriat, p. 41.

¹⁵Bernardin, p. 248.

Veulent que mes années
 En pénibles travaux se consomment sans fruit!
 Et c'est, ô mon esprit, en vain que tu murmures
 Contre ces tristes aventures;
 Il faut aller où le sort nous conduit.

(Poésies choisies et annotées, p. 121.)

He entered, in 1646, the household of Henri de Lorraine, Duc de Guise. His future seemed assured for the remaining years of his life. But Henri, after having captured Naples in 1647, was captured himself by the Spaniards. Once again, misfortune had befallen Tristan. His moral austerity and literary genius, however, received public recognition when he was elected to the Académie Française in 1649. In his address to the Academy, Tristan reflects upon his situation:

Je vous remercie donc très humblement, Messieurs, d'une faveur qui pourrait pleinement contenter une ambition plus grande que la mienne et vous proteste que je me trouve aujourd'hui vengé par les propres mains de la Vertu de tous les mauvais traitements que j'ai reçus de la Fortune.¹⁶

Reduced to straitened circumstances, Tristan was forced to abandon his pride and re-enter Gaston's service. He still lacked the money to enable him to live decently. His health declined steadily. He remained in this unfortunate situation until the liberation of Henri de Lorraine in 1652. Upon Henri's return to Paris, Tristan was accepted once more into his household and there remained in comparative comfort until his death, caused by tuberculosis, eventually came on September 7, 1655. A fitting epitaph is found in his poem, "Prosopopée de F. T. L.":

Elevé dans la cour dès ma tendre jeunesse

¹⁶ Quoted by Bernardin, p. 603.

J'abordai la Fortune et n'en eus jamais rien;
Car j'aimai la Vertu, cette altière Maîtresse,
Qui fait braver la peine et mépriser le bien.

(Poésies choisies et annotées, p. 134.)

II

PLOT AND SOURCES OF LA MARIANE

The first act begins with Herod¹ awakening, startled, from a dream. Aristobulus, Mariamne's brother, whom Herod had had assassinated, has appeared to him in a horrific vision. Herod's brother, Pherore, tries to minimize the importance of this dream, but Herod feels that, on the contrary, it is a portent of adversity. Pherore gives a quasi-scientific explanation of the causes of dreams, but Herod remains unconvinced and, on Salome's arrival, decides to relate his dream. None of them can fathom its meaning. Herod, however, gradually recovers his self-possession. He will fear nothing. He is militarily secure. But, though successful in battle, he is unsuccessful in love. At the centre of his existence is his love for Mariamne, his wife. This love is not reciprocated. Both Pherore and Salome counsel that Mariamne is deserving of reproach and state that Mariamne says evil things about him. Herod loves Mariamne too much to be influenced by their advice. He will, nevertheless, speak to her and if she receives him well, he will forgive all. Salome becomes angry at

¹ As I am referring to different works in this chapter, some of which are in English, I am standardizing throughout the orthography of proper nouns, using in all cases the anglicized versions. In the following chapters, the orthography of La Mariane will be retained.

Herod's complete subservience to Mariamne. She is jealous of the hold Mariamne exercises over him and decides to attempt to bring about a change in this situation.

The second act opens with a discussion between Mariamne and Dina, her confidant. Dina advises Mariamne to be more pleasant to Herod, to feign love for him, if only for her own safety. Mariamne's attitude is, however, one of intransigence. Even though it would be wiser for her to simulate love for Herod, she will not compromise her fair name and virtue by doing so. Herod is the assassin of her family: she would rather die than give way to him. She will see Herod, as he has summoned her, but this will be to tell how much she detests him. Salome overhears her. Mariamne confronts Salome and, after haughtily contemning her, leaves to see Herod. Salome cannot bear this scorn. She will have her revenge with the help of the King's cup-bearer. She interviews the cup-bearer, telling him to inform Herod that Mariamne is plotting to poison him. Herod's frame of mind is exactly right for such an accusation, since Mariamne has rebuffed him. When the cup-bearer tells him of Mariamne's intention to poison him, his rage increases and he orders Mariamne's arrest and trial.

The third act is largely concerned with the trial of Mariamne. Herod accuses her of the attempt to poison him. Mariamne refuses to defend herself and is content to pour contempt on Herod, whom she believes to have invented the accusation. This only serves to increase Herod's rage and he forces the judges to pass the death sentence. Mariamne is, at first, pleased. She weeps, however, when she thinks

of the children she will leave behind. At the sight of these tears, Herod's love for her stirs once again. He pardons her, knowing his life to be dependent upon hers. Mariamne believes that this is only artifice on Herod's behalf. She replies that he cannot love her, else, before leaving for Rhodes, he would not have left orders for her death in the event of his being condemned by the justice of Augustus. The revelation that she knows of the order he gave to Sohemus strikes Herod a bitter blow. How does she know of it if not by Sohemus? His feverish mind concludes that Mariamne must have seduced Sohemus to obtain this information. In an access of jealousy he again has Mariamne arrested and summons Sohemus. Sohemus confesses that he disclosed Herod's order to Mariamne, but refutes the charge that he did so for the reasons that Herod alleges. Herod, in a blind, jealous rage, sends him to his death. The eunuch also attests the innocence of the Queen and Sohemus. But Herod is too much a prey to jealousy to listen. He sends the eunuch to his death.

The inception of the fourth act finds Herod in a more reflective mood. He sincerely believes Mariamne had intended to poison him, but he begins to doubt the adultery charge. He hesitates to have her executed, since he knows how much he will subsequently suffer by her loss. He suggests commuting the death sentence to one of imprisonment. Salome and Pherore both react strongly against Herod's suggestion and advise him to retain the death sentence. Herod, in a state of mental fatigue, gives in to them. Mariamne, awaiting her execution, commends herself and her children to God. As she is led to

the scaffold, her mother, Alexandra, accosts her. So that suspicion will not fall on her, she insults Marianne and declares that she merits her punishment. Marianne forgives her and goes nobly to her death. Alexandra then repents her ill-conceived action.

The fifth act portrays the affect of Marianne's death on Herod. In the first scene, he is awaiting notification of her death. He begins to think that perhaps she is guiltless and decides to stay her execution. At that very moment, Narbal reports her death. The shock of this news strikes Herod unconscious. When he regains consciousness he becomes incoherent and is unable to believe the news. He is taken with remorse and attempts to kill himself, but is restrained by Narbal. Narbal informs Salome and Pherore of Herod's condition. Herod loses his reason and asks for Marianne to be brought before him. He realizes her death was brought about by his counsellors and dismisses them from his presence. He has a vision of Marianne ascending into heaven, begs her forgiveness and finally falls unconscious, completely exhausted by his emotional turmoil.

Tristan states his sources in his "Advertissement": "Iosephe, Zonare, Egesippe, & (...) le Politique Mal-heureux (...) par le Reuerend Pere Caussin."² But about thirty years before Tristan composed his La Mariane, Alexandre Hardy wrote a Marianne.³ Hardy's primary (and only) source was Josephus' Antiquities of the Jews.⁴

² Tristan L'Hermite, La Mariane, p. 9.

³ Alexandre Hardy, Théâtre, Vol. II, ed. E. Stengel (Paris, 1884).

⁴ Josephus, The Works of Josephus, Trans, W. Whitson (Philadelphia, n. d.).

Tristan was quite conversant with Hardy's theatre and, although he does not mention Hardy's tragedy in his "Advertissement", it is apparent that he did in fact use it - but to what extent? E. Rigal, commenting on the measure of Tristan's debt to Hardy, declares: "Une fortune aussi durable ne s'explique que par de réels mérites, et presque tous ces mérites - au point de vue dramatique, s'entend - c'était la Marianne de Hardy qui les avait transmis à celle de Tristan L'Hermite".⁵ This statement merits an examination. The true extent of Tristan's debt to Hardy will be evident from a comparison between the two tragedies.

Hardy's tragedy opens with the ghost of Aristobulus forewarning Herod of his future execution of Marianne. This, doubtless, gave Tristan the idea for the beginning of his tragedy. Hardy's pedestrian beginning, however, bears no comparison with the intense drama of the situation described in La Mariane, when Herod awakens from his dream. The immediate effect of this apparition on Hardy's Herod is to make him curse Marianne:

Ah! perverse nature! ah! courage rebours!
 Les yeux clos furieux à ta perte tu cours.
 (ll. 223-224)

Thus Herod is evilly disposed towards Marianne from the onset. Tristan's Herod is more sympathetic. He is first depicted as having genuine love for Marianne and becomes enraged against her only when humiliated by the way in which she rebuffs him. In Hardy, Salome slanders Marianne before Herod, When Herod disregards her accusation

⁵E. Rigal, Alexandre Hardy et le théâtre français, (Paris, 1889), p. 357.

she tells of her plot with the cup-bearer. This scene is better motivated in *Tristan*, since Salome makes her decision only after she has been insulted by Mariamne.

Act two finds Mariamne lamenting her fate. As in *Tristan*, she declares that death is all that she hopes for. She volubly curses Herod. Her nourrice tells her to beware in case Herod's spies hear her. In *Tristan* Salome does, in fact, overhear Mariamne and a highly dramatic confrontation follows. Perhaps *Tristan's* inspiration for this scene came from this reference in Hardy. In both tragedies Salome suborns the King's cup-bearer to help her in her plot against Mariamne, after Mariamne has been summoned to Herod's chamber.

Act three sees the enraged Herod dismissing Mariamne from his presence after she has rebuffed him. There is here a certain parallel⁶ between the verse of the two tragedies:

Toutes ces actions suspectes cy apres,
(Hardy, Mariamne, l. 717)

Desormais de ta part tout me sera suspect.
(*Tristan*, La Mariane, l. 647)

Both dramatists now follow this avowal on Herod's part with the scene in which the cup-bearer tells Herod of Mariamne's attempt to poison him. In Hardy, Herod calls for Mariamne's arrest and orders her trial. Mariamne, faced with the cup-bearer's accusation, replies with the accusation that Herod had left orders for her death in the event of his not returning from his mission to Augustus. Herod, overwhelmed by

⁶For other verbal similarities, see Rigal, p. 356.
Lancaster, II, 51.

an acute access of jealousy, peremptorily sends Schemus and the eunuch to their deaths. He sends Mariamne to await execution in prison. Tristan, on the other hand, develops this situation much more. He humanizes the characters to a greater degree. Mariamne, in his tragedy, confronted with the accusation of the cup-bearer, refuses to defend herself and accepts the possibility of death. She weeps when she thinks of her children, whereupon Herod forgives her. Mariamne then reveals that she knows of the order Herod had left Schemus and she is subsequently condemned by his jealousy.

Act four in Hardy is repetitious. It opens with Mariamne in prison, praying to God. Whereas in Tristan she leaves the prison to go to her death, in Hardy she leaves it to reappear before the tribunal and the cup-bearer. Herod wants to be doubly sure he is not making a mistake. Mariamne, who in Tristan lets her fair name alone defend her, here states in Hardy's tragedy:

Destinée à mourir nonobstant ma deffence
I'ayme autant confesser que denier l'offence.
(ll. 1319-1320)

Even when Herod mentions her children, her resolution is unaffected. Herod then sends her to her execution. In Hardy's play it is Herod himself who sends Mariamne to her death. In Tristan's play, Herod, still sorely afflicted by his emotions, has Mariamne executed only after Salome and Pherore have persuaded him to do so.

Both dramatists place Mariamne's death in the interval separating the fourth and fifth acts. In Hardy, a messenger reports her death to Herod and immediately he is seized with remorse. In Tristan, Herod also has remorse, but it is much better motivated. For, at the

beginning of the act, Herod decides to stay the order for Mariamne's execution. It is only after he has decided to forgive her that he is told of her death. In Hardy, there then follows a long récit, describing Mariamne's death and the episode with Alexandra. Both Pherore and Salome try to comfort him, but are sent away by a wrathful Herod. Unlike Tristan's Herod, Hardy's Herod does not faint nor lose his reason. He declares he will commit suicide:

Dessur l'heure content ie la vay retrouver,
 Heure qui ne scaurait assez tost arriver.
 (ll. 1713-1714)

This, no doubt, gave Tristan the idea of making Herod attempt to commit suicide on two occasions when he is being told of Mariamne's death.

This comparison suffices to show the principal similarities and differences between the two tragedies. Tristan's motivation of the plot, his characterization and dramatic technique are quite superior to those of Hardy. For instance, in Hardy Salome's jealousy of the power Mariamne exercises over Herod is of an equal force throughout the play. Her plot with the cup-bearer is a concrete expression of this envious hatred. In Tristan, Salome's plot is motivated more particularly by the lofty manner in which Mariamne disdains her. Similarly, Hardy's Herod would seem to condemn Mariamne on two accounts: her supposed attempt on his life and her supposed adultery with Sohemus. The emphasis is placed on the first accusation, since Herod, in a comparatively calm state of mind, finally condemns her after her second appearance before the tribunal. In his

depiction of Herod, Hardy thus creates a villain. In *Tristan*, Herod precipitates the tragedy primarily out of intense jealousy. The poisoning was originally forgiven. He condemns her eventually only after the skilful persuasion of Salome and Pherore has prevailed over his state of mental exhaustion. He is thus depicted as a weak human in a situation he is unable to dominate. Madeleine rightly states of *Tristan*: "Il marque un progrès indéniable sur son prédécesseur au théâtre."⁷

If *Tristan's* La Mariane bears a marked resemblance to Hardy's Marianne, this is not only because *Tristan* had access to Hardy's tragedy, but also because both dramatists used the same primary source, Josephus' Antiquities of the Jews. The details surrounding *Marianne's* death are related in Book XV in such a manner as to be suited for transposition onto the stage almost in toto. However, Josephus relates two very nearly identical incidents, both of which pertain to Herod's jealousy. To have retained both of these incidents would have been repetitious and dramatically bad.

The first of these incidents recounts how Herod, summoned to Laodicea before Antony,⁸ left Joseph, Salome's husband, in charge of state affairs. Herod gave him the order to have *Marianne* executed if he should be executed by Antony. During Herod's absence, Joseph

⁷Tristan L'Hermite, La Mariane, p. xiii.

⁸Antony had summoned Herod to inquire into the death of Aristobulus. Alexandra had written to Cleopatra, branding Herod as the assassin and Cleopatra had brought this to Antony's notice. Antony, not wishing to displease Cleopatra, had said he would look into the matter.

revealed this order to Mariamne, in an attempt to prove Herod's love for her. When Herod returned safely to Jerusalem, Mariamne, who had received him coolly, told him what Joseph had said. Herod, suspecting adultery, gave orders for Joseph's execution. Whilst in this rage, he almost had Mariamne herself executed, but his immense love for her restrained him.⁹

The second of these incidents takes place after Antony's defeat at Actium. Herod was forced to seek the favour of Augustus since he had been an excellent friend of Antony. He determined to meet Augustus in Egypt. Again, uncertain of the outcome of this mission, he left Sohemus, his secretary, to assure state affairs and gave him an injunction concerning Mariamne similar to the one he had given to Joseph. Sohemus did not think that Herod's mission would be successful. He therefore sought the protection of Mariamne. This explains why he told her of Herod's order. Upon Herod's return, Mariamne told him what Sohemus had said, thus setting in motion the succession of events which were to culminate in her death.¹⁰

Hardy, being a perceptive dramatist, saw fit to exclude one of these incidents from his tragedy, and chose to retain the second. To have retained the first would have made poor drama. "C'eût été doubler la jalousie d'Hérode par la jalousie de Salomé; et surtout il ne fallait pas que Salomé fût excitée contre Mariamne par un autre

⁹Josephus, pp. 456-457.

¹⁰Ibid., pp. 467-469.

sentiment que la plus basse envie."¹¹ Tristan, in so far as he also was a competent dramatist, was unable to make a different choice.

Apart from this minor adaptation, both Tristan and Hardy follow Josephus closely. A brief comparison between the two tragedies and the events related in Josephus will show, however, that Tristan follows Josephus the more closely of the two.¹²

When Herod returned from his interview with Augustus, he and Mariamne were virtually estranged. This was not only because Mariamne knew of Herod's injunction to Sohemus, but also because, knowing Herod was so fond of her, she took too great a liberty with him.¹³ Matters continued in this fashion until Herod called Mariamne to his chamber. Mariamne, after rebuffing him, showed contempt for him and a dispute developed between them. At this juncture, upon Salome's instigation, the cup-bearer told the King of Mariamne's intent to poison him. Thus far, both Hardy and Tristan follow Josephus very closely. Herod's indignation grew more violent and he ordered Mariamne's eunuch to be questioned. Under duress the eunuch confessed that Mariamne had had talks with Sohemus. Herod immediately believed Sohemus to be Mariamne's lover and ordered his execution and Mariamne's trial. Thus the trial is ordered for two reasons: adultery and intent to poison. In both Hardy and Tristan, the trial is ordered on

¹¹Tristan L'Hermite, La Mariane, p. xiii.

¹²For a very detailed juxtaposition of the tests of Tristan and Josephus see Madeleine's notes to the test in his edition of La Mariane.

¹³Josephus, p. 467.

the second charge alone and the first charge comes to light during the trial itself.

The source for this idea is still, however, found in Josephus. A brief study has shown the similarity between the Herod/Antony/Joseph incident and the Herod/Augustus/Sohemus incident.¹⁴ Whereas both Hardy and Tristan elected to incorporate only the second incident in their respective tragedies, they nevertheless used details from the first. Josephus relates that when Herod returned from Laodicea, Salome came to him and slandered Mariamne. Herod subsequently interviewed Mariamne, but she defended herself so well that Herod dropped the action and forgave her. It was then that Mariamne reproached Herod for leaving the order with Joseph for her possible execution. Herod feared Mariamne had seduced Joseph to obtain this information and had Joseph executed. He became very suspicious of Mariamne's actions.¹⁵ Thus both Hardy and Tristan form an amalgam of these separate incidents and this constitutes the basis of their respective trial scenes. As is evident from the analysis of their trial scenes, Tristan's version remains the closer of the two to Josephus' narrative.

When the judges saw that Herod was so disposed, they passed the sentence of death upon Mariamne. Herod, upon reflection, thought to change the verdict to imprisonment, but Salome persuaded him to agree to the death sentence. This detail appears in Tristan, though

¹⁴Supra, pp. 28-30.

¹⁶Supra, p. 26.

¹⁵Josephus, p. 457.

not in Hardy. While Mariamne was being led to her execution, Alexandra, fearful of the King's anger, openly reproached her for her supposed crime; but Mariamne went nobly to her death. Both dramatists reproduce this episode.

Josephus concludes his narrative by describing Herod's remorse and eventual madness. Here again, Tristan (as in the whole narrative of his play) remains more faithful to Josephus than Hardy.

Tristan's remaining source was La Cour sainte¹⁷ of Caussin, written in 1624. As far as the main relation of events is concerned, Caussin is faithful to Josephus' account. He differs only in minor details, of which the following are found in La Mariane: the repentance of Alexandra;¹⁸ the mention of Rhodes;¹⁹ the terse phrase which condemns Mariamne: "Bien, qu'on l'oste, qu'on l'oste."²⁰

Tristan also states that he used works of the historians Zonaras and Hegesippus. But Madeleine corrects: "Ce n'est que pour l'étalage d'érudition."²¹

It becomes evident from these analyses that, although both

¹⁷ Tristan L'Hermite, La Mariane, Appendice, pp. 129-157.

¹⁸ Ibid., cf. ll. 1395-1402 and p. 157.

¹⁹ Ibid., cf. l. 453 and p. 147.

²⁰ Ibid., cf. l. 1232 and p. 155.

²¹ Ibid., p. xxi.

Hardy and Tristan used the same major source and although Tristan remains closer to it than Hardy, this is insufficient in itself to explain some of the similarities which exist between the two tragedies. There can be no doubt that Tristan used Hardy's tragedy, at least as a guide. Bernardin concurs with this judgment.²² The differences and improvements which Tristan introduced in his La Mariane stem from a more faithful rendition of the narrative in Josephus, from his use of La Cour sainte and finally, from his own creative genius.

Tristan's tragedy may, indeed, be considered without undue reference to that of Hardy, for the nature of La Mariane is fundamentally different from that of Marianne. Whereas Hardy's tragedy is a purely descriptive drama. Tristan's La Mariane is essentially psychological.²³

²² Bernardin, p. 324.

²³ Lancaster, II, 51.

III

CHARACTERS

"Tristan, un des premiers, avant Corneille lui-même, a conçu l'idée de cette belle et simple forme de la tragédie, (...) la tragédie de caractère."¹ Indeed, if La Mariane is remarkable for its period, it is because Tristan focusses the central interest of the play on the characters alone - and, more especially, on Mariane and Herode. Firstly, however, Salome and the minor characters merit discussion.

Minor Characters

Several of the minor characters have very little to say and consequently are no more than two-dimensional. Tharé and the Grand Prevost fall into this category. They are no more than shadows, but both serve the mechanism of the plot in a minor way. Tharé arrests Mariane, leads her to her death and, with Narbal, describes the effect of the news of Mariane's death on Herode. The Grand Prevost's rôle is of a similar nature. He is called upon to arrest Soesme and the eunuch. Neither is studied in depth though Tharé does show compassion for Mariane and distaste for his duty when he leads her to

¹Bernardin, p. 339.

the scaffold:

Madame, à contre coeur ie sers à cét office,
 Je vous rends à regret ce funeste service. (ll. 1311-1312)

Narbal, who is described as the "Gentil-homme, qui raconte la mort de Mariane",² does that and little more. It is he who provides the play with what could be described as its moral:

Tu sçais donner des loix à tant de Nations,
 Et ne sçais pas regner dessus tes passions. (ll. 1809-1810)

The moral might serve just as well for the tragic theatre of Racine.

The concierge appears only once in the play, His rôle is not indispensable. Nevertheless, he has a function similar to that of Tharé, namely, to contribute to the aura of pathos surrounding Mariane's death. He weeps, as he briefly describes the crowd awaiting Mariane around the scaffold.

Tristan distinguishes between the two judges who appear in Mariane's trial. Phaleg openly agrees with Herode that Mariane's crime necessitates death. Sadoc, however, suggests that the case brought against her has not been very well proved and that imprisonment would be a more suitable sentence. This trait of individuality, which is suggested in Josephus,³ serves to illustrate the extent of Herode's anger, since he immediately refutes Sadoc's implication with much vehemence.

The brief sketches of Soesme and the eunuch also serve the

²Tristan L'Hermite, La Mariane, p. 11.

³Josephus, p. 468.

purpose of throwing light on the characters of Mariane and Herode- as individuals in themselves they have no personality. For instance, when questioned after Herodés jealousy has been fired, Soesme extols the virtue and innocence of Mariane:

Mais vne Reine encore, & si chaste & si sage
Qu'elle sert de miroir à celles de cét Age. (ll. 1055-1056)

He thus gives a full image of her personality. Similarly, the way in which Herode has both Soesme and the eunuch summarily arrested, tortured and executed points out the blind and ruthless nature of his jealousy.

Dina is Mariane's confidant and, as such, has no true individuality of her own. But, by her commentary and questions on Mariane's conduct, she helps to give a fuller picture of Mariane and, at the same time, gives Mariane the opportunity to tell the audience about herself, her relationship with Herode and her future actions. It is Dina who explains the situation in which Mariane is obliged to live:

le Palais est tout plein d'espions
Qui veillent iour & nuit dessus vos actions. (ll. 369-370)

She helps to throw Mariane's character into greater relief. For instance, when Mariane first appears,⁴ Dina asks her whether it would not be better for her and her children if she were to feign love for Herode. Mariane replies proudly:

Je croirois ton conseil, s'il estoit raisonnable:
Mais quoy? veux-tu que i'aime vn Monstre abominable?
(ll. 347-348)

From the outset, then, Mariane's position with respect to Herode is

⁴ Act II, scene i.

quite definite. Without the use of the confidant, Tristan could not have achieved this result so effortlessly.

Bernardin finds the sketch of Alexandra quite aesthetically pleasing: "L'ébauche d'Alexandra est d'une puissance qui fait songer à certaines ébauches de Shakespeare."⁵ Though this is an overstatement, Alexandra is incontestably a living creation. She laments the fate of Mariane, but is not brave enough to commiserate publicly with her, since she fears Herode's rage:

il faut aujourd'huy pour euter l'orage
Trahir ses sentiments, & cacher son courage. (ll. 1309-1310)

When Mariane passes by, Alexandra reproaches her for her crimes: "Cette mort pour ton crime est trop peu rigoureuse."⁶ However, when Mariane has passed her, Alexandra's maternal instinct immediately forces her to regret her action:

Pour euter la mort falloit-il recourir,
A ce fascheux secret qui me fera mourir? (ll. 1397-1398)

Remorse for her action will cause her death. She is not the repugnant personage Bernardin would have her be.⁷ She is simply a timorous woman whose weakness obliges her to give way to expediency. She has not the strength of purpose, nor the moral courage of her daughter. The fearful nature of her character contrasts sharply with Mariane's complete intransigence in the face of compromise.

The cup-bearer has an interesting personality - too interesting to merit the casual dismissal with which he meets in Bernardin's

⁵Bernardin, p. 340.

⁷Bernardin, p. 340.

⁶l. 1380.

study.⁸ He is not inveterately evil, a mere henchman of Salome, as a first impression would lead to believe. Won over by Salome's skilful persuasion, he believes her implicitly. Though he acknowledges the risk he is running by aiding her, he is quite prepared to help, since he believes that, by doing so, he is performing a signal service to his country:

Et puis vous m'asseurez que par cette industrie,
Je m'expose à la mort pour sauuer ma patrie. (ll. 567-568)

Being a man of no subtlety, he is somewhat intimidated by the thought of giving false information to Herode. He asks for Salome's advice:

Adioustez à mon ordre vn peu d'enseignement,
Afin que mon effort succede heureusement. (ll. 609-610)

Once primed, he is ready to face all dangers. When the occasion presents itself, he successfully carries out his task. Confronted by Mariane at her trial, he coolly tells her that her impeachment stems from "le poison dont vous m'auez parlé."⁹ Essentially then, he is a well-meaning man who knows how to perform his task well, when adequately instructed. Unknowingly led astray by the machiavellian Salome, his task is, unfortunately, an evil one. He does not realize this and so completes his mission with his customary competence. He, like Herode, is the tool and the victim of Salome.

The most important of the minor characters are undoubtedly Pherore and Salome. It is on their advice that Herode eventually has Mariane executed.

⁸ Bernardin, p. 339.

⁹ l. 794.

Bernardin sees Pherore as being "pâle et effacé".¹⁰ Such a statement, however, shows a misunderstanding of Pherore's rôle. Primarily, he is Herode's confidant and adviser. His approach to Herode's problems is, throughout the play, a rational one. Hence, when Herode is sorely troubled by his dream, Pherore insists that reason should dismiss it:

Pour moy i'ay mille fois des songes obserué
 Sans que de leur presage il soit rien arriué;
 Et selon qu'vn Rabin me fit vn iour entendre;
 C'est les prendre fort bien, que de n'en rien attendre.
 (ll. 41-44)

Pherore has seen Herode as a noble and courageous warrior:

Vos belles actions se treuent sans pareilles,

 Vous auez surmonté mille fascheux obstacles,
 Et toute vostre vie est pleine de miracles.
 (ll. 199, 203-204)

This is the image he cherishes of Herode. He is opposed to Mariane, not out of envy, as is Salome, but because of Raison d'Etat. Mariane has enslaved Herode and made him weak. Pherore would, therefore, prefer Herode to discard her and regain his former glory. He sententiously declares:

La beauté toutefois doit estre desdaignée,
 Qui de bon naturel n'est point accompagnée.
 (ll. 279-280)

There is no evidence that he is part of, or knows anything of, Salome's plot. After Salome has told Herode of Mariane's insults and Herode has decided that Mariane, with a kiss, will allay all suspicions;

¹⁰Bernardin, p. 339.

Pherore reasonably tries to persuade Herode to be more wary of Mariane.¹¹ His advice is rejected and he concludes:

Nos auis aujourd'huy ne sont pas de saison.
Ce mal enuenimé resiste à la raison.
(ll. 341-342)

When the cup-bearer has told Herode of Mariane's intent to poison him, Herode immediately bursts into anger. Pherore indicates his complete ignorance of Salome's plot by asking her what has caused Herode's anger.¹² Since he knows nothing of this plot, it is not surprising that he should believe Mariane to be guilty of lèse-majesté and that he should, therefore, advocate her execution at the trial.¹³ Similarly, when Herode thinks of commuting the death sentence to imprisonment, Pherore advises against this:

Croyez-vous qu'à iamais les desseins qu'elle fait,
Pour vous priuer du iour demeurent sans effet?
(ll. 1185-1186)

Thus it is in the interests of Herode's safety that Pherore advocates Mariane's death. Futhermore, seeing that there is an opportunity to rid Herode of Mariane, he is loath to let it pass. Herode, plied on the one side by his faithful adviser, Pherore, and on the other, by Salome, gives in to them.

Thus Pherore's rôle is quite important. His motives were continually based on Herode's better interests and were completely devoid of the overtones present in those of Salome. He hoped, by

¹¹ll. 329-330.

¹³l. 837.

¹²l. 731.

adopting a rational approach, to make Herode the noble king he once had been. But, though his intentions were laudable, Pherore fell into error. He failed to recognize the extent and profundity of Herode's love for Mariane. He realizes his mistake too late. When Narbal tells him that the cause of Herode's distress is Mariane's death, Pherore declares: "Ah! ie l'ay bien iugé."¹⁴ But, in fact, Pherore did not appraise the situation well. He had, no doubt, considered the possibility that Herode would be terribly wounded by Mariane's death. But he had judged that reason would prevail. Hence, he had advised Herode:

Oubliez cette perte, elle est irreparable,
 Et si vous employant à la considerer
 Vous ne la voudriez pas vous mesme reparer.
 (ll. 1704-1706)

However, when passions and reason are in conflict, reason gains short shrift. Pherore's error of judgment causes his dismissal.

Finally, and certainly the most important of the minor characters, is Salome. Josephus, and especially Hardy and Caussin all paint her in very dark colours. For instance, Caussin writes of her: "Envieuse sur Mariane iusques à la rage, trempant sa langue serpentine dans le fiel d'une noire médisance (...)."¹⁵ The character of Tristan's Salome is much more subtly devised. As the play progresses, Tristan provides motivation for Salome's hatred for, and envy of, Mariane - a motivation which was totally lacking in Hardy and Caussin.

¹⁴1. 1658.

¹⁵Tristan L'Hermite, La Mariane, p. 147.

Her opposition to Mariane stems originally from three sources. Firstly, Salome traces the beginning of the dissension in the royal household to the time when Herode married Mariane:

Depuis qu'en vostre lit Mariane est entrée,

 Vostre Maison sans cesse est ouuerte aux douleurs;
 On n'observe en vous deux que plaintes et que pleurs.
 (ll. 227, 229-230)

She is not a little dismayed to see the once noble Herode so frequently humbled by the woman he cherishes. Secondly, Salome understandably resents the disdainful manner in which Mariane treats her: "Elle parle de nous comme de ses valets."¹⁶ Thirdly, she feels that Mariane, by her very entry into the Palace and by the affection in which Herode holds her, has usurped her own position beside the King. These three fundamental sources explain her unfavourable disposition towards Mariane at the play's onset.

She tries, at first, to persuade Herode of the risk he runs in keeping Mariane by him:

Elle parle de vous avec vne insolence,

 Vous nomme à tous propos l'autheur de ses miseres,
 Le tyran de l'Etat, le meurtrier de ses peres.
 (ll. 312, 315-316)

Bernardin refers to this as "perfidie".¹⁷ But is it, in point of fact? On the contrary, Salome is doing no more than giving a faithful account of Mariane's utterances. Does not Mariane say as

¹⁶l. 298.

¹⁷Bernardin, p. 341.

18

much of Herode herself? When Herode refutes such suggestions, Salome says:

Mais il faut s'employer à faire adroitement
Dissiper la vertu de cét enchantement.
(ll. 337-338)

This is the first indication Salome gives that she will attempt to break Mariane's hold on Herode. She will no longer be an idle bystander. Her extreme dislike for Mariane, increased by Herode's blind admiration for her, will now cause her to think of plotting her downfall.

Salome next appears in the scene in which Mariane confronts her. This scene, above all, indicates the extent of original thought that Tristan bestowed on his creation of Salome. This confrontation will be the final factor which will decide Salome not simply to think of destroying Mariane, but will cause her to act towards the accomplishment of that end.

She cannot conceal her feelings towards Mariane. Her sarcasm is open:

Vous estes fort à plaindre en l'estat où vous estes,
Mais toutes les Beutes ne sont pas satisfaites.
(ll. 483-484)

Salome then appears to commiserate with Mariane:

Si vous auez pourtant quelque diuision,
Je m'offrirais à vous à cette occasion,
Et vous presenterois mes tres-humbles seruices.
(ll. 513-515)

What are her motives? Is she making one final attempt at reconcil-

iation? Given the fact that Salome is already predisposed against Mariane, this could hardly be the case. The most likely explanation would be that she is simply toying with her future prey. When Mariane taunts her about her humble origin and expresses her contempt for Herode, she leaves a Salome, humiliated, consumed with hatred, vowing vengeance:

Non, non, ie ne suis pas de ces lasches esprits,
 Qui peuuent aisément suporter vn mépris,
 Souuien-toy que le mien ne reçoit point d'iniure,
 Qu'il ne rende aussi tost avec beaucoup d'vsure.
 (ll. 529-533)

She is now thoroughly steeped in hatred for Mariane. It is not gratuitous hatred. Tristan has carefully motivated it from the play's inception, until it achieves this climax in Mariane's confrontation of Salome. This hatred becomes the one passion which gives reason to Salome's existence. She has one thought alone: Mariane's destruction and she will use all her talents to achieve this end. She states, with reference to Mariane:

Nostre sexe est fort vindicatif,
 Et dans ses trahisons se rend bien inuentif:
 La tigresse qui voit enleuer sa portée
 Est moins à redouter qu'une femme irritée.
 (ll. 691-694)

This provides an excellent picture of herself. Now that she has suffered the final indignity at the hands of Mariane, she sets her machinations into motion.

Salome shows how great a Machiaevel she is. Not only does she persuade the cup-bearer to bear false witness against Mariane, but she

also convinces him that such an action is in the country's best interest. She carefully primes him for his interview with Herode; but, leaving nothing to chance, she also prepares Herode for this interview. When Herode states that Mariane has insulted him for the last time, Salome warns him:

Si la faueur du Ciel ne destourne ses coups
 Sa malice à la fin se deffera de vous.
 (ll. 687-688)

It is just then that the cup-bearer is interviewed by Herode. Salome's warning that an attempt might be made on his life, being followed almost immediately by the avowal that Mariane has tried to make such an attempt, makes this avowal credible to Herode's fevered brain. Had the seed of doubt not been planted in preparation by Salome, the cup-bearer's accusation might have appeared preposterous. As it is, Herode believes it and thus, thanks to her clever planning, Salome's intrigue takes a major step forward.

After Herode has accused Mariane of adultery, Salome's desire to see Mariane destroyed seems about to be fulfilled. But when Herode thinks to change this death sentence to imprisonment, once again Salome is obliged to bring her evil genius into play. Herode writhes in agony at the thought that Mariane has tried to kill him and has, perhaps, been unfaithful to him. Salome, taking no compassion on her brother, cleverly adds to his suffering by making Mariane appear as black as Herode's darkest thoughts see her:

Ce vif ressentiment d'une amour véritable,
 Agrave son offence & la rend plus coupable,
 Et son ingratitude est vne lascheté,

Pire que l'homicide et l'impudicité.
(ll. 1143-1146)

When Herode still shows unwillingness to consent to Mariane's death, Salome's cunning attacks him from a different level and attempts to gain him to her opinion through compassion for herself:

(Elle fait semblant de pleurer.)
Vous voulez que sa haine enfin se satisface,
Et qu'elle vous détruise, & toute vostre race.
(ll. 1167-1168)

Herode tries to reason with her. In his present state, however, he is no match for her agile mind. She finally forces Herode to give in to her by evoking the picture of a rebellion against him, led by Mariane.

It is true that Pherore, for different reasons, also argues in favour of Mariane's death. But Salome's contribution in this end is by far the greater.

When she has seen the effect Mariane's death has on Herode, she has no sympathy for him: "Il conçoit trop d'ennuy d'vn sujet d'alegresse."¹⁹ Now that she has achieved her aim, nothing else is important. Her hatred for Mariane has left her destitute of all human feelings. Like the tigress to which she refers, she cares little for her personal safety. When Herode calls out for Mariane, she callously replies: "C'est vn corps sans chaleur qui se réduit en cendre."²⁰ When dismissed by Herode, she shows no remorse for her actions. What she has done, she has done wilfully, using her immense resources of artifice and ingenuity.

¹⁹l. 1659.

²⁰l. 1680.

Salome manifestly remains the evil genius of the play. But since her action was inspired by her hatred for Mariane, and since this hatred was not without motivation, she is not the Iago Bernardin would have her be.²¹ Though her act is highly reprehensible, nevertheless, in so far as she was led to commit it through hatred, a passion, Salome is, to a certain extent, a tragic figure. It is a measure of Tristan's greatness that, confronted with two figures as gratuitously evil as the Salomes of Hardy and Caussin, he could rethink them and create one who, in spite of her evil act, can inspire a degree of pity.

Mariane

Mariane: the Character

Josephus writes of Mariane as having faults. Hardy, intent on making Herode appear as evil as possible, depicts Mariane as an innocent victim. Caussin describes her as being the epitome of virtue and nobility. "C'estoit vne petite fille de ces grands Machabées, bien versée en la Loy de Dieu, discrete, accorte, deferante, respectueuse, debonnaire, chaste (...), mais surtout courageuse et patiente."²² Tristan's Mariane is different from all of these, though parallels may be drawn between his creation and that of Caussin.

Mariane is of royal blood and takes great pride in her noble

²¹Bernardin, p. 343.

²²Tristan L'Hermite, La Mariane, p. 136.

heritage. All her actions reflect her nobility of rank. Caussin refers to a patiente Mariane. Tristan's creation is the direct contrary. Though forced to live with Herode, the murderer of her family, she will not allow herself to love him, neither does she consider the possibility of his loving her. In the interests of her own safety, she should feign love for him. But she haughtily refutes such a suggestion as being unworthy of a noble person:

Si mon corps est captif, mon ame ne l'est pas:
 Je laisse la contrainte aux serviles personnes,

 Qu'Herode m'importune, ou d'amour, ou de haine,
 On me verra tousiours viure & mourir en Reine.
 (ll. 362-364, 367-368)

She is fully conscious of her worth and position.

Her legitimately conceived pride rebels against her situation. She will endure compromise no longer. When she is summoned to see Herode, she goes courageously, in an inflexible, uncompromising attitude of refusal:

I'iray: mais ce sera pour luy faire paroistre
 Qu'il est vn parricide, vn scelerat, vn traistre,
 Et que ie ne scay point de loy, ny de devoir
 Qui me puisse obliger desormais à le voir.
 (ll. 467-470)

Her lofty moral code of conduct is not assimilated into her personality from an external source. It has its roots deep down in her existence and completely governs her actions instinctively. It is this "éthique aristocratique de la gloire",²³ which defines her whole

²³The Phrase is found in: O. Nadal, Le Sentiment de l'amour dans l'oeuvre de Pierre Corneille(Paris, 1948), p. 170.

being and outlook. This is the code of ethics which has ultimately caused her to revolt against Herode's domination.

When she is accused by the cup-bearer, she, wholly virtuous, forgives him. She knows he is the instrument of others more powerful. As she states later, she believes Herode has invented the accusation.²⁴ Similarly, during the trial, when Herode forgives her for her supposed crime she fails to recognize his sincerity and thinks this movement towards clemency is only artifice on his part. This is not a blind refusal to see reality. For had not Herode left orders for her death with Soesme? When Herode calls upon her to defend herself, she refuses to do so, allowing only her fair name to defend her:

ie suis assez bien née
 Pour n'apprehender pas d'en estre soupçonnée:
 Mon esprit que le Sort afflige au dernier point,
 Souffre les trahisons, mais il n'en commet point.
 (11. 811-814)

Her éthique will not allow her to debase herself by attempting to prove her innocence of such an outrageous charge. Thus she nobly stands aloof, while those who would plot her downfall pettily conspire.

When Herode subsequently accuses her of adultery she again refuses to assume her defence and simply says: "Tu peux m'oster la vie, & non pas l'innocence."²⁵ When the death sentence is passed on her, she is content to accept it. For death is, in fact, what her éthique demands of her, as it is the only means by which she may take

²⁴11. 1248-1250.

²⁵1. 983.

leave of Herode and still remain faithful to her principles.

As she awaits death, her resolution does not weaken. Death will not only bring her release from Herode, but will also be the threshold to a better life:

Au milieu des espines,
Seigneur, fay-moy bien-tost marcher dessus des fleurs.
(ll. 1267-1268)

Mariane's otherwise humanistic éthique thus tends to assume a religious connotation.

Before going to her execution, Mariane, fully aware of her innocence, knows that time will eventually prove this innocence to all:

Le temps qui met au iour la verité cachée,
Fera voir ma vertu qui ne s'est point tachée.
(ll. 1347-1348)

Even when Alexandra rebukes her, she still remains consistent with her innate virtue and forgives her magnanimously. Her last words spoken from the scaffold seek their final inspiration from the éthique. She resumes her situation. She will be remembered as:

vne grande Princesse
Qui dans le mauuais sort sçeut constamment souffrir,
Qui vescu sans reproche, & sçeut fort bien mourir.
(ll. 1545-1546)

Thus Tristan creates a Mariane entirely faultless, above reproach, of exemplary courage and careful never to belie her gloire. Had he left her as such and no more, Mariane would have inspired pity because of her unfortunate situation, though very little for herself. Since, from the play's inception, she openly asks for death, the play would, in one respect, only show how her wish was granted. In such

circumstances, she could inspire little sympathy.

To counteract this, Tristan endows her with very human feelings. During her trial, she cannot refrain from weeping at the thought of leaving her children unprotected:

Ces petites orphelins sont dignes de pitié,
 Ces aimables objects de ma tendre amitié,
 Qu'vne rude Marastre ainsi qu'il est croyable
 Maltraitera bien tost d'vn air impitoyable.
 (ll. 873-876)

This does not, however, affect her resolution. At no stage during the momentary effusion of sentiment is she willing to compromise. Her attitude towards Herode remains quite unbending. Even when on the scaffold, she does not forget her children, enjoining Herode to look to their better interests. Similarly, when she sees her mother as she is being led to her death, she takes pity on her. She has no thought for the fate awaiting herself. Her love for Alexandra reveals itself most tenderly:

Je voudrais que son coeur peust borner sa tristesse,
 Et que pour mon sujet elle eust moins de tendresse,
 Souffre que ie luy donne en l'allant apaiser,
 Et la derniere larme & le dernier baiser.
 (ll. 1359-1362)

These two examples demonstrate that Mariane is quite capable of human feelings. She is both nobly courageous and eminently human. Compassion for her fate is, therefore, considerably increased.

Mariane: A Baroque Heroine

During the course of this study, reference has been made to Mariane's moral code, her "éthique aristocratique de la gloire". This éthique is defined as a code of conduct which governs actions in such

a way as to constitute one vast refusal to compromise. Mariane refuses to act outside the bounds which the éthique prescribes. She follows it because it is the only code compatible with her nobility. Why does Tristan have her ruled by this code? Whence is it derived? The answer to both questions is found in the spirit of the time in which Tristan lived.

Whereas in the reign of Louis XIII there existed an outstanding movement towards the establishment of order in all aspects of life, contradictory tendencies, running in direct opposition to this movement, were also strongly evident.²⁶ One of the aims of these forces, defined as baroque, was to assert the individual above this movement which called for uniformity and self-abnegation. The individual, the moi, became idealized, heroified, sublimated.

This particular movement of the baroque finds its origin, mainly, in two sources: the courtly and feudal traditions of the Middle Ages and the neo-stoic movement of the Renaissance. The scholastic theologians of the Middle Ages had worshipped the one God. This was the God which the neo-stoic thinkers of the Renaissance deposed and replaced by the reason and will-power of man. Man was wholly self-sufficient. "L'homme, individu, appuyé sur sa raison et sa volonté, apprit à connaître et à surmonter ses passions."²⁷ In the sixteenth century, the courtly and feudal traditions of the Middle Ages were enriched respectively by contact with the platonic movement and the

²⁶Mousnier, p. 143.

²⁷Nadal, p. 30.

heroes of the Ancients and passed on into the seventeenth century, "où des circonstances favorables, renouveau de la conscience et du prestige nobles, poussée d'agitation politique chez les grands, leur donne l'occasion de jeter un suprême éclat."²⁸

Of this trend is born the hero, "celui qui s'est fait à soi-même le serment de ne jamais manquer de courage dans la recherche de la gloire, jusqu'à se sacrifier pour elle."²⁹ It is only too evident how closely this estimate of the baroque hero defines Mariane. She herself states:

Moi? que ie me contraigne? estant d'une naissance,
 Qui peut impunément prendre toute licence,
 Et qui sans abuser de ceste autorité,
 Ne reigle mes desirs que par l'honesteté.
 (ll. 355-358)

Her "honesteté" alone directs her conduct all through the play. Her courage never fails her when she is forced to brave Herode in order to conserve her gloire. It is finally in the name of her gloire that she goes to her death.

Mariane: A "Cornelian" Heroine

This image of the heroine, completely mistress of her fate, is found not only in La Mariane, but also in the theatre of Corneille. Both dramatists found their inspiration in the intellectual temper of the age.

Mairet had, in 1634, suggested a hero whose conduct was regulated by a superior moral code. It is for reasons of gloire that

²⁸ P. Bénichou, Morales du grand siècle, (Paris, 1948), p. 17.

²⁹ Mousnier, p. 182.

Massinisse commits suicide, to remain faithful to Sophonisbe. It was left for Corneille and Tristan to give this hero its fullest dramatic expression.

How close a relationship exists between Mariane and the Cornelian heroines?³⁰ Chimène, in Le Cid, though she loves Rodrigue and is loved by him, is obliged to attempt to master her passion since Rodrigue has killed her father. Her code of conduct, regulated by her gloire, would have her seek his death. But, though she may pursue his death, she tells him:

Mais, malgré la rigueur d'un si cruel devoir,
Mon unique souhait est de rien pouvoir.
(ll. 983-984)

When she speaks to Rodrigue before his duel with Don Sanche, she extorts him:

Et si tu sens pour moi ton coeur encore épris,
Sors encore d'un combat dont Chimène est le prix.
(ll. 1555-1556)

Her attitude is directed by her love for Rodrigue. The lines quoted show how powerful this emotion is. Her aristocratic code demands death for Rodrigue, but her emotions are too strong to allow her to do so. Her ethique is, thus, set aside.

Camille, in Horace, also dismisses any consideration for her gloire and follows the path of her emotions. The position of Emilie in Cinna is quite similar to that of Mariane. Just as Mariane's father was killed by Herode, so was Emilie's father killed by Auguste.

³⁰ Bernardin, whilst commenting on the way in which Mariane talks of her children at the trial, says that "Mariane s'éloigne un moment des héroïnes de Corneille pour se rapprocher des héroïnes de Racine." (p. 346) This is the only reference he makes to the existence

The gloire of both heroines demands total opposition to the assassin. Emilie is eventually conciliated by Auguste; Mariane's attitude remains inflexible. Pauline, in Polyeucte, is won over to Polyeucte by her love for him, after he has been executed by the State. Her conduct, once regulated by the éthique, thus, in the final analysis, refutes it. Adam's assertion that "la plus cornélienne de ces héroïnes, au sens que l'on donne d'habitude à ce mot, c'est Mariane",³¹ is well justified. Of all the heroines, Mariane alone remains completely faithful to her principles.

If any close similarities are to be noted between Mariane and the dramatic creations of Corneille, then comparison must be made between Mariane and the Cornelian heroes, such as Horace and Nicomède. Mariane's éthique demands total opposition to Herode; she abides by it inflexibly. Horace's éthique demands that he do combat with Curiace, his brother-in-law. He does so unflinchingly:

Rome a choisi mon bras, je n'examine rien.
 Avec une allégresse aussi pleine et sincère
 Que j'épousai la sœur, je combattrai le frère.

 Albe vous a nommé, je ne vous connais plus.
 (Horace, ll. 498-500, 502)

When Camille pours contempt on his victory and on Rome, Horace will not bear this "mortel déshonneur".³² He takes her life in the name of his gloire. Like Mariane, all his actions are governed by his aristocratic ethic.

of a relationship between Mariane and the Cornelian heroines. The claim is unsubstantiated.

³¹Adam, I, 546.

³²l. 1297.

The extent of originality present in Tristan's creation of Mariane is, thus, truly great. Inspired by the currents of thought prevalent at the time in which he was writing, Tristan created a heroine who is a great dramatic representation of these intellectual trends. She towers above all by her greatness of soul, by her complete confidence in herself, by her constant adherence to her instinctive aristocratic code of conduct. It is in this respect that Mariane may rightly be called a baroque heroine.

Tristan's originality may also be observed from the fact that his portrait of Mariane preceded the long line of Cornelian heroes and heroines, the greater examples of which were to give the baroque hero a lasting expression. In some respects Mariane is even superior to them. Horace is often reproached for being too inhuman, Nicomède for being so perfect as to be devoid of human weakness. Mariane, on the contrary, indicates that she has a common bond with humanity, having pity for both her children and her mother.

Herode

Herode: The Character

Josephus leaves the unmistakable impression that Herode was a noble king of great courage, and an astute politician. His account of Herode's treatment of Mariane is largely sympathetic. He saw that Mariane was not so faultless as later writers were to describe her. Hardy, in order to draw the picture of Mariane as an innocent victim,

gives Herode a character unmitigatedly evil. Caussin writes of Herode in a similar vein: "Herodes (...) n'avoit quasy rien d'humain que la peau et la figure."³³

Tristan realized that the character of Herode in Hardy's tragedy prevented the existence of true tragic emotion, since the depiction of virtue suffering at the hands of evil could only result in a feeling of indignation. Tristan, therefore, decided to depict a Herode of noble dimensions.

Given two noble protagonists, however, Tristan had then to discover the motive force which would produce the tragedy. Tristan solved this dilemma by developing Salome's hatred for Mariane and, more important, by endowing Herode with a fatal passion for Mariane. Herode, caught in the snare of his emotions and Salome's machinations, goes headlong to his spiritual destruction. He is a character of exceptional psychological truth, as a close analysis of his actions will demonstrate.

When Herode first appears, he has just awakened from a dream. Aristobule had appeared to him and had plied him with imprecations. Herode soon recovers his self-possession. He shows himself to be a noble warrior:

Je n'avois pas quinze ans lors que ie pris les armes,
Lors que i'allay chercher la mort dans les alarmes,
Et si dés ce temps-là mon bras par mille exploits
Domptoit les Nations, & soumettoit les Roys.

.....

³³Tristan L'Hermite, La Mariane, p. 136.

Que i'ay veu contre moy de picques herissées,
 Qui voloient en esclats par tout où ie donnois,
 Dans la bruslante ardeur dont ie les moissonois.
 (ll. 187-190, 196-198)

Tristan goes to great lengths to give a vivid picture of this noble figure of Herode, a figure which commends admiration. This is of capital importance. It provides a picture of Herode as he was before the elements which bring the tragedy to its crisis assert themselves. The play will show how Herode loses this self-mastery and becomes the instrument of his passions and the external forces to which he is subject.

He would be happy but for one factor: Mariane does not love him. However, his love for her finds an excuse for her conduct: "Toute ceste rigueur vient de sa chasteté."³⁴ His love is too powerful to find any faults in her. For instance, when Salome tells him of the way in which Mariane speaks of him, Herode refuses to believe her. Even if Mariane has done wrong:

Sa bouche pourtant, avec vn seul baiser,
 Quand elle auroit tout dit, pourra tout appaiser.
 (ll. 333-334)

Herode's love is, therefore, deep and sincere.

When Mariane rebuffs him, he is deeply humiliated. His love, realistically, changes into rage. His sorely-injured pride seeks revenge. He will find excuses for her conduct towards him no longer:

Desormais de ta part tout me sera suspect,
 Ie n'auray plus pour toy ny bonté ny respect.
 (ll. 647-648)

In such a frame of mind, Herode constitutes an easy prey for

³⁴
 1. 281.

Salome, who increases his unfavourable attitude towards Mariane by firmly suggesting that Mariane will take his life unless he takes action against her. Taking into consideration his humiliation by Mariane and his consequent listening to Salome's advice, there is little wonder that he believes the accusation the cup-bearer brings against Mariane, little wonder that he falls into great rage against her:

O noire perfidie! ô trahison damnable!
 O femme dangereuse! ô peste abominable!
 Elle t'a pratiqué pour me faire perir,
 Moy qui voulois tout perdre afin de l'acquérir.
 (ll. 717-720)

In this emotional disarray he orders Mariane's trial.

When, at her trial, instead of defending herself, Mariane brands Herode the assassin of her family, Herode receives another painful blow to his pride. Mariane shows to all how much she despises him. His rage, consequently, becomes more and more violent. Furthermore her animosity towards him convinces him she is guilty of the charge brought against her:

Ce reproche insolent choque la vérité,
 Et fait voir clairement ton animosité;
 Par là ta perfidie est assez descouverte,
 Cette confession suffira pour ta perte.
 (ll. 829-832)

In the circumstances, such a conclusion is an entirely human one to draw. Why, indeed, should he not believe her guilty? He had no cause to doubt the faith of the cup-bearer. Does he not say of him:

Le tesmoin qui l'accuse est homme irréprochable,

C'est vn vieux officier qui me sert à la table.
(ll. 847-848)

As the tragedy will show, Herode is as much the victim of his advisers as of his own emotions.

Mariane weeps; the potency of Herode's love for her again reveals itself. He loses all resolution when confronted by such a piteous sight:

Au point que mon courroux estoit le plus aigry,
Par le cours de ses pleurs mon coeur s'est attendry.
.....
Tu demandes sa grace, Amour, ie te l'accorde.
(ll. 877-878, 884)

The sudden change from outright condemnation to tender forgiveness is intensely human. It denotes the extent to which Tristan's psychological insight faithfully interprets human reaction.

Herode pleads with Mariane to be more tractable towards him. He realizes that his life is dependent upon hers. When Mariane, in spite of Herode's obvious sincerity, continues to oppose him, his anger begins to rise:

Mauuaise, tu crois donc que ie suis vn trompeur,
Et toute cest audace est l'effet de ta peur.
(ll. 921-922)

As proof of his feigned love Mariane reveals that she knows of the order he had left with Soesme before leaving to see Auguste and Herode's anger flares up into jealous rage. He immediately suspects Soesme of adultery with Mariane:

Ah! perfide Soesme, auoir trompé ton Maistre.
(l. 951)

Why does he suspect adultery? When Mariane shows herself so utterly

set against him, his injured pride and heart first seek an explanation for this conduct in her chastity. But when this opposition becomes so extreme as to make Mariane wish for death, Herode realizes that such an explanation of her conduct is inadequate. Her continued opposition begins to make his thoughts more emotional than rational. In this state, desperately seeking an explanation for Mariane's conduct and then hearing that Soesme has disobeyed him so as to obey Mariane, he can only explain Soesme's action in the light of his being seduced by Mariane. Soesme was too faithful a servant to divulge such information lightly:

Il estoit dans ma cour en fort bonne posture,
 Il n'a pas mis pour rien sa vie à l'avanture.
 (ll. 971-172)

Furthermore, Herode finds that his conclusion that Soesme is Mariane's lover not only accounts for Soesme's telling Mariane of his order, but also, and this is of prime importance to him, it accounts for Mariane's opposition to him. If Mariane has a lover, then her opposition to him is quite natural. Now that he suspects a rival, a rival who has, apparently, gained the favour of the woman he loves, he is caught up in a violent access of jealousy. Since Mariane has given her love to another, he will send her to prison to await execution.

When Soesme appears before him, Herode's complete humiliation at the hands of Mariane leads him to become odious:

Trouvas-tu dans son ame vn peu de resistance?
 Et quels progresz fis-tu deuant la iouissance?
 (ll. 1035-1036)

He thus forces himself to realize the hopelessness of his position and the measure of Mariane's infidelity. This realization helps increase the agony of his situation, which will, in turn, enable him to act towards Mariane with greater firmness of purpose. When Soesme attests Mariane's innocence he increases Herode's rage. He peremptorily sends him to torture and to death.

He summons the eunuch and his bitterness of mind is reflected in the way in which he refers to him:

Horreur de la Nature & mespris des Cieux!
 Monstre sans iugement, Dragon pernicieux.
 (ll. 1069-1070)

Herode has a complete and utter revulsion for everything about him. It is from this that his cruelty stems. The eunuch is also sent summarily to his death.

It is in a calmer, though by no means calm, mood that Herode draws within himself to reflect upon his situation. He firmly believes Mariane guilty of adultery and of an attempt on his life. But his love still remains. He knows how much he will suffer by her death: "Mon ame en tous endroits portera son suplice."³⁵ He pities his situation and seeks an escape in the past, when such problems did not exist:

Je voudrois que mon nom fust encore inconnu
 Ne me voir point au rang où ie suis parvenu,
 Estre encore à monter au Temple de la Gloire,

³⁵1. 1128.

Estre encore à gagner la première victoire;
 Me trouver en l'estat où i'estois en naissant.
 (ll. 1137-1141)

But such nostalgia for the past is soon dispelled by Salome and Pherore, who both solidly oppose Mariane, the former out of hatred, the latter because of Raison d'Etat. Herode shows reluctance to agree with them. He has come to believe that the adultery charge was not too well proved:

L'adultere n'est pas trop bien vérifié,
 Soesme en expirant s'en est justifié.
 (ll. 1161-1162)

Is he beginning to believe Soesme's story, or is he trying to find excuses to save Mariane? The latter would seem more plausible.

Knowing how unbearable life would be without her, his love suggest a manner in which he may save her:

En luy donnant la mort ie finis sa misere;
 Vne longue prison luy seroit plus severe.
 (ll. 1175-1176)

Even though spurned, his love for Mariane still hopes for conciliation.

Salome and Pherore, seeing Herode's resolution weaken, redouble their arguments against Mariane. Their insistence eventually forces Herode to a breaking-point, and he gives in to them. Overwhelmed by events, physically exhausted by his emotional turmoil, deeply entrenched in a moral depression, he has no energy to resist them. Mariane is, in fact, more the victim, at this stage, of Salome and Pherore than of Herode.

Left alone, Herode falls into sombre meditation. Now that there is nobody to influence him, his love asserts itself over his dilemma. He will pardon Mariane:

Changeons par vn effet d'vne bonté celebre,
En triomphe d'honneur ceste pompe funebre.
(ll. 1431-1432)

At this moment, when Herode has decided to save her, Narbal reports Mariane's death. The shock of this news immediately strikes him unconscious. This is indication enough of the fatality of his passion.

When he regains consciousness, he is seized with violent remorse for his action. He intuitively realizes Mariane's innocence:

Je vais faire iustice à son sang innocent.
(l. 1586)

His inherent nobility reveals itself as he attempts to expiate his crime by killing himself, but Narbal restrains him from such an action. He pitifully pleads for death:

O mort! en mes ennuis, i'implore ta pitié
Viens enleuer le tout dont tu pris la moitié.
(ll. 1649-1650)

He realizes, again intuitively, that he was led into error by Salome and Pherore and dismisses them threateningly. Under the influence of this tremendous emotional upheaval, he loses consciousness once more, completely exhausted, mentally and physically.

Tristan's creation is thus of exceptional truth. Herode is a living character with true emotions. All his actions can be explained in the light of the influences to which he was subject at a given time. His conduct was, at first, regulated by his nobility of mind. But when his emotions assumed control over his actions, his

nobility gradually disappeared. It was in such a situation that he condemned Mariane, thus bringing about his own downfall.

Herode: An Aristotelian Tragic Hero

Herode constitutes a remarkable hero in the Aristotelian tradition. From the light the play throws on his personality, he is a man of mediocre goodness, who by virtue of an error of judgment, brings about his own destruction. Her error of judgment is to suspect Mariane of adultery. The emotional circumstances in which he found himself and the external forces working against him lead him into this error. In some respects, then, he, like Oedipus, is not wholly responsible for his error. However, like Oedipus, he recognizes his error and, accepting full responsibility for it, seeks to expiate it. His catastrophe inspires both the pity and fear described by Aristotle. The pity originates from his final, sorrowful condition and the fear from the fact that his tragedy is precipitated largely by those emotions which are constant to all humanity.

Some authorities have contested the premise that Herode does, in fact, conform to the Aristotelian conception of the tragic hero. Lancaster believes Herode "is too much the villain to fit Aristotle's definition."³⁶ Bernardin would seem to agree with this estimate. "Ce courage, ces talents politiques, cette vivacité d'esprit que Tristan a cherché si curieusement à rendre, toutes ces qualités qui

³⁶Lancaster, II, 52.

concilieraient à une autre personnage notre estime, atténuent dans une certaine mesure l'aversion que nous causent les vices d'Hérode."³⁷

Adam, in his analysis of the play, fails even to mention the rôle of Herode.³⁸

Yet, within the scope of the play, and one should judge by this alone, Herode is not depicted as a great villain, nor as having great vices. He is shown as a noble king who falls foul of his emotions and of his faithless attendants. Like Lear, he is more sinned against than sinning. He is only partially responsible for Mariane's death. Salome's rôle in Mariane's condemnation is very considerable. The deaths of Soesme and the eunuch were ordered when Herode was the victim of an all-consuming jealous rage. It would, therefore, be unfair and even in-correct to accuse Herode of calculated, gratuitous cruelty and purely villainous behaviour. All his regrettable actions are instigated by his emotions and are actions which a more rational Herode would never have committed. It is in this that his tragedy lies.

Herode: A "Racinian" Tragic Hero

It has become evident that Mariane, as a character, is far more representative of her age than Herode. Tristan's creation of a character so completely dominated by his passions runs counter to the whole temper of his age, an age which tended rather to idealize the

³⁷ Bernardin, p. 347.

³⁸ Adam, I, 546.

individual than point to his weakness.

If parallels are to be drawn between Herode and heroes of a similar nature, then, as Bernardin points out,³⁹ Racine's theatre is the place in which to find them. Like Pyrrhus, Herode is at the whim of his emotions. Like Oreste, Herode falls into unreason when he realizes the full extent of his action. Like Hermoine and Phèdre, Herode, incensed with jealousy, has the one he loves destroyed. Both Hermoine and Phèdre recognize their crime and seek expiation in death. Herode, in a way, is more tragic than they. After he has recognized his crime, he is so powerless that he is unable to take his own life, though his wish to do so is clearly stated. Herode is, accordingly, not only a distinctly Aristotelian, but also a distinctly Racinian tragic hero.

This close study of the characters in La Mariane shows how skilful a psychologist Tristan was. Apart from the few minor characters whose presence is necessary for the purely mechanical side of the tragedy, all his more important characters are living creations, endowed with a highly individualized personality. Tristan's psychological insight into human behaviour, as exemplified in La Mariane, constitutes a major advance over that of the tragic drama which preceded it.

Above all the other characters tower his two splendid

³⁹ Bernardin, p. 346.

creations: Herode and Mariane. With Mariane, Tristan gave the first expression of importance to a type of hero who was to achieve permanent fame in the works of Corneille. With Herode, he gave the first major dramatic expression of a type of hero who was to bring lasting glory to Racine.

IV

LA MARIANE AS A RENAISSANCE TRAGEDY

Lanson states that the tragedy of the years 1634 to 1636 is characterized by a hesitation between "la conception de la Renaissance et la tragédie active, enchaînée, employant les préparations et le ressort psychologique."¹ This study will show how many of the tendencies of Renaissance tragedy subsist in La Mariane. It is true that Renaissance tragedy and the new tragedy were separated by nearly fifty years (1585-1630) in which time, "irregular" tragedy enjoyed a great vogue. But since this irregular tragedy continued largely in the tradition of Renaissance tragedy and introduced no new elements which live on in Tristan's play, it may be disregarded for the sake of clarity.

The writers of sixteenth century tragedy found their principal models in the tragedies of Seneca,² and thus tragedy, from its onset in France, was headed in an unfortunate direction. Since Seneca never intended his tragedies to be acted, he did not treat his plots

¹G. Lanson, Esquisse d'une histoire de la tragédie française, (Paris, 1954), p. 56.

²R. Lebègue, La Tragédie française de la Renaissance, (Paris, 1954), p. 17.

from the point of view of their dramatic possibilities.³ His tragedies were in fact moral discourses adapted to the technique of drama to facilitate a more pleasurable reading and an easier understanding. In order to illustrate his stoic philosophy, Seneca placed the catastrophe very early in the drama and concentrated thereafter on the manner in which this catastrophe affected his characters. Briefly, Seneca's tragedies are characterized by the following factors: a tragic hero who does not struggle against his fate but who accepts it stoically; much violence and bloodshed; dreams and portents, foretelling disaster; lamentations; finally, moral instruction.

Such was the concept of tragedy which the Renaissance dramatists faithfully reproduced and which is typified in the tragedies of Garnier and Montchrestien. An analysis of one tragedy of each dramatist will serve to illustrate this Renaissance technique of tragedy.

Garnier's Porcie⁴ describes the fate of the eponymous heroine in a very slowly-moving action. The first act is taken up entirely by the monologue of Megere. This monologue is one great lament over the evil of the time. It tells very little about the plot. The sec-

³B. Marti, "Seneca's Tragedies, a New Interpretation", Transactions & Proceedings of the American Philological Association, LXXVI (1945), p. 219.

⁴R. Garnier, Oeuvres complètes, ed. L. Pinvert (Paris, 1923), I.

ond act shows Porcie lamenting over her situation and asking for death. The third act depicts Octave exulting in his victory over Brute, Porcie's husband. In the fourth act, a messenger relates the death of Brute, whereupon Porcie commits suicide. In the fifth act, the nourrice laments Porcie's death and commits suicide.

Montchrestien's La Reine d'Escosse⁵ follows a similar pattern. In acts one and two, the Queen of England debates whether to have the Queen of Scotland executed. She eventually decides to do so. Act three finds the Queen of Scotland lamenting over her situation and unhappy life. She hears of her condemnation and rejoices, for, after death, she will go to Heaven. In act four, she prays. In act five, a messenger reports her death and concludes with the exhortation that death means everlasting life. The choir agrees, but laments her passing.

Both tragedies are fundamentally descriptive. There is little action, no dramatic conflict, no soul struggle. Each tragedy is scarcely more than an elegiac depiction of the death of the heroine. Both tragic heroines accept their fate unconditionally and are wholly pathetic figures. There is great emphasis on lamentation. In both tragedies there is violence and bloodshed, especially in Garnier's play. Garnier, justifying this violence, writes in the "Argument" to Porcie that he invented the death of the nourrice "pour l'en-

⁵A. de Monchrestien, La Reine d'Escosse, éd. l'Ecole normale, (Paris, 1905).

sanglanter [la pièce] d'avantage en choses funèbres et lamentables, et en ensanglanter la catastrophe."⁶ He thus betrays how much he has alienated tragedy from its true nature, how much he is a disciple of Seneca. Finally, just as Seneca laid much stress on moral instruction in his tragedies, so did Garnier and Monchrestien. La Reine d'Escoce, in fact, finds its very meaning in the moral lesson it states, namely, the Christian viewpoint of earthly life. Renaissance tragedy was thus wholly cast in the mould of the Senecan.

Now that the principal elements of Renaissance tragedy and their derivation have been shown it remains to be seen which of these elements are present in Tristan's La Mariane.

The first striking characteristic of Renaissance and Senecan tragedy found in La Mariane is Tristan's use of dreams and portents. The play opens with Herode awakening from the dream in which Aristobule appeared to him:

Mais quoy? le front me suë, & ie suis hors d'haleine;
 Mon ame en ce repos a trouué tant de peine
 A se desabuser d'vne fascheuse erreur,
 Que i'en suis tout émeu de colere & d'horreur.
 (ll. 11-14)

Herode, at first, takes this as an "auant-coureur de quelque aduersité",⁷ but subsequently recovers his self-mastery and mentions it no more. Whereas in Renaissance drama, dreams were normally reported during the course of a colloquy between two or more char-

⁶Garnier, I, 16.

⁷1. 29.

acters,⁸ or took the form of an apparition on the stage,⁹ in La Mariane, before relating the dream, Tristan first gives a highly dramatic picture of the effect the dream produces on Herode. Tristan thus engages interest immediately; the audience, equally as much as Salome and Pherore, after having seen the way in which the dream has distressed him, eagerly waits for Herode to recount it.

Herode's second vision is also enacted and not reported. He sees Mariane ascending into Heaven:

Mais i'apperçoy la Reine, elle est dans cette nuë,
 On void vn tour de sang dessus sa gorge nuë,
 Elle s'esleue au Ciel pleine de Maïesté,
 Sa grace est augmentée ainsi que sa beauté.
 (ll. 1763-1766)

Rigal writes: "Cette apothéose d'opéra ne convient guère à ce sujet tragique non plus que les vers, d'une douceur affectée, au caractère du tyran."¹⁰ Such a judgment indicates not only the extent to which Rigal misinterprets the rôle of Herode, but also the measure of his prejudice against Tristan's play. On the contrary, by enacting Herode's vision, Tristan places emphasis on Herode's repentance and great love for Mariane. He also provides Mariane herself with a glorious epitaph.

Tristan thus gives greater emphasis and vividness to his play

⁸ See Garnier, Cornélie, Act III, scene i.

⁹ See Garnier, Hippolyte, Act I, scene i.

¹⁰ Rigal, p. 355.

than could have been achieved, had he been content to give a simple récit of the vision by means of a messenger. In both cases under discussion, by enacting both the dream and the vision, Tristan establishes a close link between play and audience - a link which would have been lost, had he been content to reproduce unchanged the Renaissance practice.

Tragedy, by its very nature, demands a certain amount of violence. But it is of prime importance to make a definite distinction between gratuitous violence and violence occasioned by the characters themselves to achieve the péripétie, which is, within the context of tragedy, inevitable. Garnier, following in Seneca's footsteps - and followed in turn by a host of dramatists who thought as he did - considered that the more violence there was, the better was the tragedy. The result is hardly that which pure tragedy would require. In Tristan's tragedy, there is a certain amount of violence: Soesme and the eunuch are tortured and are executed; Mariane herself is executed. Ostensibly, Tristan is following in the tradition of Renaissance tragedy. In point of fact, he is not. All three deaths are brought about by a Herode completely overwhelmed by his emotions. Blind jealousy causes him to have Soesme and the eunuch executed. Emotional turmoil followed by utter physical exhaustion makes him fall into the error of agreeing to Mariane's death. The violence in La Mariane is occasioned directly by Herode's emotions. It is not violence for the sake of violence. It is that violence fundamental

to tragedy, that violence upon which classical tragedy is based.

Tragedy, for the dramatists of the sixteenth century, was based on the depiction of an illustrious misfortune. In Porcie, the heroine commits suicide; in La Reine d'Escosse, the heroine is executed. Both are wholly victims of the circumstances in which they find themselves. The Queen of Scotland has no control whatever over her destiny. Porcie's suicide is induced by the fact that she has nothing further for which to live. In each case, the catastrophe occurs between the fourth and fifth acts.

Mariane, at first sight, would seem to fit into this category of tragic heroines. If one momentarily ignores the emphasis Tristan lays on Mariane's character, one could say that La Mariane, like La Reine d'Escosse, depicts the downfall and execution of the eponymous heroine. A closer analysis of Mariane's position, however, shows that she is not the helpless, completely pathetic heroine of the Renaissance tradition. Unlike Porcie, Mariane has children and consequently everything to live for. Unlike the Queen of Scotland, Mariane is completely mistress of her destiny. She had only to feign love for Herode and disaster would have been averted. But, for reasons already discussed,¹¹ she chose, of her own volition, to revolt against Herode. A conflict of wills was produced, which resulted in Mariane's death. She, as much as Herode, brings about her own disaster.

Tragic emotion in Renaissance tragedy resided in pathos. This is self-evident in Porcie and in La Reine d'Escosse. In both

¹¹Supra, pp. 48-49.

tragedies, it is produced by the heroine's death. The fifth act of each play is devoted to extensive lamentation, which tends to increase the pathos already produced by the heroine's catastrophe. Although Mariane herself is basically different from the Renaissance pathetic heroine, Tristan nevertheless follows the Renaissance practice in attempting to surround Mariane's death with as much pathos as possible.

To achieve this end, Tristan first depicts Mariane in prison alone, praying. He follows this scene with Mariane's colloquy with the concierge, who weeps for her as he tells her of the crowd awaiting her. The intention behind the incident with Alexandra is to increase the pathos already created. Hence Alexandra firstly emphasizes Mariane's innocence:

On te meine esgorger, innocente victime,
Tu vas donc au suplice & n'as point fait de crime.
(ll. 1285-1286)

When Mariane becomes subjected to Alexandra's imprecations, she remains submissive, again inspiring pity. Tharé, in his brief conversation with Mariane as he leads her to the scaffold, is respectful and apologetic, again emphasizing Mariane's unfortunate plight. The pathos is brought to a climax when Narbal records the noble manner in which Mariane went to her death. Herode himself, full of remorse states:

Ah! ie suis tout percé des traits de la pitié,
Mon coeur à ce discours se fend par la moitié.
(ll. 1525-1526)

Tristan thus goes to great lengths to arouse compassion for Mariane.

He nevertheless does not forget that his play is based on a double tragedy, that of Herode as well as that of Mariane. Consequently, he devotes the fifth act to Herode, whereas the Renaissance dramatists normally devoted this fifth act to the lamenting of the death of the heroine. Tristan therefore modifies the Renaissance practice to suit his own purpose.

The importance the Renaissance dramatists attached to moral instruction has been noted above. La Mariane stands out as remarkable for its period in that it retains this element of moral instruction. Mariane finds strength for her revolt against Herode not only from her "éthique aristocratique de la gloire", but also from the fact that she knows that death will mean her entry into Heaven:

Car ie vay de la mort à l'immortalité,
Ma teste bondissant du coup que tu luy donnes,
S'en va dedans le Ciel se charger de Couronnes.
(ll. 862-864)

Mention has been made of the similarity between La Reine d'Escosse and La Mariane. It is interesting to note that the Queen of Scotland also places her faith in God, that she also states:

Vne seule couronne en la terre ie pers
Pour en posseder deux en l'Eternel Empire,
La Couronne de la vie, et celle du Martyre.
(La Reine d'Escosse, ll. 1474-1476)

Before dying, Mariane commends herself to God. Alexandra states that God will avenge her death:

Vn Dieu qui de là haut void les secrets des coeurs,
Te punira bien tost de ces grandes rigueurs.
(ll. 1295-1296)

Tristan thus tends to place part of his tragedy - the section

relative to Mariane - within the scope of Christian ethics. Why does he involve his tragedy with Christianity? In the first place it is not surprising, in view of the fact that he is dealing with Jewish history. Furthermore, the sources Tristan used depict Mariane as a God-fearing woman. These reasons, however, are in themselves insufficient. The true reason is found in the fact that Tristan himself believed what Mariane states. This is evident from his personal papers and poetry.¹² Tristan is, in fact, using his tragedy to give his personal outlook on life on earth.

But it would not appear that this involvement with Christianity is the prime purpose of La Mariane - as it was with La Reine d'Escoce. If it were, Tristan would have given it greater emphasis. As it is, he devotes the whole of the fifth act to illustrate the extent of Herode's repentance, despair and mental disarray. The major emphasis of the tragedy lies rather on the characters themselves than on any ethical element Tristan would wish to develop.

Adam states, speaking of Tristan's tragedies: "Son idéal se situe plus haut encore dans le passé, et l'on n'exagérerait pas si l'on disait qu'il se rattache à Garnier."¹³ Such a generalization is found lacking when applied to La Mariane. This analysis shows that, although Tristan may have used themes common to Renaissance tragedy, each of them, save for one exception, is adapted to the technique of the new tragedy of 1636.

¹²Supra, p. 14, his letter to Ragneneau and his poem, "La Sage Consideration".

¹³Adam, II, 344.

Tristan uses dreams and visions in such a way as to produce a highly dramatic situation or to increase our knowledge of the characters. He was, furthermore, not the only dramatist of the seventeenth century to use the dream. It remained a popular dramatic device throughout the century.¹⁴ Tristan used violence to a greater degree than is normally found in classical tragedy. But it is not gratuitous violence, as is, on the contrary, the case with Garnier. Each act of violence in La Mariane is explained fully in the light of the situation in which Herode found himself. Mariane, if considered as a passive heroine, is in the tradition of Renaissance tragedy. She, however, is highly active, mistress of her fate. She it is who produces her own downfall by her intransigent attitude to Herode. It is true that Tristan lays emphasis on the creation of pathos around the death of the heroine, as had Garnier and Montchrestien. The situation, however, demands that he create this pathos. Moreover, had not La Mesnardière stated that the "tragedy would be excellent if it made the audience 'mourir de pitié'"¹⁵ But, in conjunction with this pity he induces for Mariane, he also achieves Aristotelian tragic emotion on Herode's disaster. Thus the tragic emotion in La Mariane is founded on the mingling of these two sources. The pathos for Mariane is modified in a way completely foreign to Renaissance tragedy.

¹⁴ There were 71 dreams in French tragedies published between 1610 and 1691, fourteen of which appeared in Hardy: J. Morel, "La présentation scénique du songe dans les tragédies françaises au XVIIe siècle", Revue d'Histoire du Théâtre, II (1951), p. 157.

¹⁵ F. Dawson, "La Mesnardière's Theory of Tragedy", French Studies, VIII (1954), p. 133.

In one respect only can Tristan be said to be reproducing an element of Renaissance tragic technique without renovating it: he places part of his tragedy with the realm of Christian ethics. But if one allows that tragedy should be used by the writer to explain his view of the universe - and this is what tragedy meant for the Greeks, for Corneille and for Racine - then Tristan is justified in doing as he did. If this is not justification in itself, then Tristan finds exoneration on the second account that he greatly subordinates this ethical side of his tragedy to the purely aesthetic spectacle of characters producing the tragic act, by virtue of their conflicting desires. The characters, and Herode above all, command the central interest of the tragedy.

Thus Tristan uses elements of Renaissance tragedy, but he blends them with elements of the new tragedy in such a way as to render his debt quite small, almost negligible.

LA MARIANE AS A CLASSICAL TRAGEDY

In the earlier chapters concerning the characters and the elements of Renaissance tragedy present in La Mariane, it has become evident that, in many respects, La Mariane possesses several of the characteristics which define classical tragedy. This chapter will offer a methodical study of these elements in La Mariane and will estimate how far it is correct to name the play a classical tragedy.

Structural Dramatic Technique

The most effective way, perhaps, of analyzing Tristan's play in the light of classical tragedy is to examine it beside the principles upon which classical tragedy is based.

One of the first laws of classical tragedy was that the plot should be taken from classical mythology or from Ancient History.¹ By choosing his plot from the latter source, Tristan gave further emphasis to a movement already established by Mairet in his La Sophonisbe and, no doubt, helped to determine the trend which was to make such a practice the law it later became.

Classical dramaturgy demanded five acts in a tragedy and a certain system to be followed within these acts. This system is

¹Bray, p. 310.

divided into four movements: the exposition, the noeud, the péripétie and the dénouement.² In La Mariane this system is reproduced. The first act poses the problem of the play: Herode violently loves Mariane, but this love is not reciprocated. The second act introduces the complication of the problem: Mariane has decided to revolt against Herode. The play thus begins at the moment when the crisis is about to develop. The third act increases the complication and indicates Herode's indecision. The fate of the heroine remains undecided. With the fourth act begins the péripétie. Mariane is led to her execution. But, even so, in the fifth act, the audience is still uncertain as to whether Mariane has been executed, since Herode decides to forgive her. Narbal then reports Mariane's death and the remainder of the tragedy depicts the dénouement, the way in which the péripétie affects the remaining characters.³

Classical dramaturgy also demanded that the hero and the heroine be introduced early in the tragedy. "Non seulement on veut voir les héros tout le temps, mais on veut les voir tout de suite. (...) C'est pourquoi de si nombreuses pièces nous montrent leurs héros dès la toute première scène."⁴ This is the case with Herode, who opens the tragedy with his highly dramatic réveil en sursaut. To avoid unnecessary concentration, classical dramatists normally introduced the second hero or heroine at the beginning of the second act.⁵ This is the

² Bray, pp. 322-323.

⁴ Schérer, p. 25.

³ Schérer, p. 84.
Bray, p. 323.

⁵ Ibid., p. 26.

case with Mariane, who sets the tragic machinery into motion by deciding to revolt against Herode.

The movement of the plot is well conducted. In keeping with the practice of classical tragedy, all the actions of the characters are motivated and are explained through the influences to which the characters are subject. Mariane's revolt against Herode is motivated by her "éthique aristocratique de la gloire"; Salome's actions are motivated by her hatred for Mariane and by the disdain with which Mariane treats her; Herode's jealousy is explained by the violence of his love for Mariane.

In La Mariane, the péripétie begins in the fourth act, whereas in the majority of classical tragedies, it is reserved wholly for the final act. Corneille poses this principle:

Il faut s'il se peut lui [au 5e acte] réserver toute la catastrophe, et même la reculer vers la fin, autant qu'il est possible. Plus on la diffère, plus les esprits demeurent suspendus, et l'impatience qu'ils ont de savoir de quel côté elle tournera est cause qu'ils la reçoivent avec plus de plaisir. (...) L'auditoire qui la sait trop tôt n'a plus de curiosité: et son attention languit durant tout le reste.

But, nevertheless, Corneille sees the virtue of Tristan's péripétie:

Le contraire s'est vu dans La Mariane, dont la mort bien qu'arrivée dans l'intervalle qui sépare le quatrième act du cinquième, n'a pas empêché que les déplaisirs d'Herode, qui occupent tout ce dernier, n'ayent plu extraordinairement.⁶

This particular structural characteristic of La Mariane is reproduced in Racine's Britannicus. Tristan could have justified his play's structure by stating, as did Racine:

⁶P. Corneille, "Discours du poème dramatique" Oeuvres de P. Corneille, ed. M. Ch. Marty-Laveaux (Paris, 1862), I, 48.

Pour moi, j'ai toujours compris que la tragédie étant l'imitation d'une action complète, où plusieurs concourent, cette action n'est point finie que l'on ne sache en quelle situation elle laisse ses mêmes personnes.⁷

It is in the fifth act of La Mariane that Salome and Pherore receive their recompense. Furthermore, the effect Mariane's death produces on Herode is of prime importance to the tragedy. In sending Mariane to her death, Herode has estranged the audience's sympathy from himself. Tristan has, therefore, to make Herode regain this sympathy. He achieves this by dwelling on Herode's extreme remorse. "Sombrera-t-il dans la folie? Se tuera-t-il? Tristan ne nous le dit pas. Il lui suffit de terminer son spectacle par cette violent émotion, qui est à elle seule le dénouement et après lequel on ne désire plus rien savoir."⁸ Herode's disaster is thus as intrinsic to the tragedy as Mariane's death. This aspect of the structure of La Mariane, though contrary to the general practice of classical tragedy, is vindicated by itself and by the theory and practice of Racinian tragedy.

Of all the rules of classical tragedy, the most general, the most important is the rule of vraisemblance.⁹ The intention behind the application of this rule to classical tragedy was to achieve a play in which nothing could happen which might shock reason. All such events are therefore prepared in advance. Tristan adopts this principle in La Mariane.

⁷J. Racine, "Préface de Britannicus" Théâtre complet, ed. M. Rat (Paris, 1953), p. 234.

⁸Schérer, p. 132.

⁹Bray, p. 191.

The dream at the play's inception prepares for the eventual catastrophe. The dream, says Herode:

[Il] ne doit m'auertir que de quelque infortune:
C'est vn auant-coureur de quelque aduersité.
(ll. 28-29)

Nothing specific is said about a catastrophe, but ensuing disaster is suggested. Herode's actions in the later stages of the tragedy may appear unreasonable if the extent of his love for Mariane is not adequately conveyed earlier. Consequently, Tristan makes Herode himself describe his love, when in a state of comparative tranquillity:

Dans ma condition, ie serais trop heureux,
Si ie n'estois pressé d'vn tourment amoureux;
D'vn feu continuel, d'vne ardeur sans mesure,
Qui tient incessamment mon ame à la torture.
(ll. 205-208)

If Herode, when calm, can state that his love is like painful torture, we should not be surprised at the actions this love forces him to commit when he is in a state of emotional turmoil.

Similarly, Tristan prepares us for Mariane's revolt, firstly by Herode's confession that she does not love him, and, secondly, by Salome's report that Mariane brands herode the "meurtrier de ses pères".¹⁰

Herode's belief in the cup-bearer's accusation may seem unreasonable in view of Herode's love for Mariane. Tristan, therefore, prepares for it by making Herode say after his unfortunate experience with Mariane:

¹⁰l. 316.

Desormais de ta part tout me sera suspect,
 Je n'auray plus pour toy ny bonté ny respect.
 (ll. 647-648)

When he does hear of the plot against him, Herode's belief in it is, thus, quite natural.

Finally, the extent of Herode's remorse might seem excessive and unwarranted. To avoid this, Tristan impresses upon the audience, by frequent repetitions,¹¹ the fact that Herode knows he will suffer greatly if Mariane dies.

In La Mariane, only the incident concerning Alexandra could be described as invraisemblable, but the reasons for this incident will be discussed below.¹²

As regards the unity of time, La Mariane follows the practice of classical tragedy. All the events take place within a few hours. This is achieved quite effortlessly since Tristan places the tragedy within the human heart at a time when the crisis is about to develop. It is only left for the passions of the characters to bring about the catastrophe. Tristan did not feel the need to impress upon the audience through his play that he was adhering to this rule, as was, on the contrary, the case with the majority of authors writing before 1640.¹³

The problems discussed above show that the play, from a structural point of view, is written in accordance with what was to become the classical system. The following aspects of the play's structure, however, illustrate that it was composed when the classical

¹¹ll. 1124, 1128, 1422, 1424.

¹³Schérer, p. 114.

¹²Infra, p. 87.

system was still in the process of formation.

There are three major flaws in the play's construction, all of which have a detrimental effect on the smooth flow of the action.

Although Herode's dream itself is successfully enacted, Pherore's dissertation on the meaning of dreams is definitely out of place. As both Adam and Bernardin point out,¹⁴ it slows the action of the play immediately.

Tristan uses the lyrical monologue, or stances, as the vehicle for Mariane's expression in the scene which depicts her in prison.¹⁵ This practice, which was very popular in the early years of the new tragedy, virtually disappeared by 1660, and is found in no Racinian tragedies after La Thébaïde.¹⁶ 1663. The lyrical monologue, which is thus more a characteristic of preclassical rather than of classical tragedy, detracts from the dramatic flow of the action.

In the fourth act, Tristan introduces Alexandra into the main theme. Placed so late in the tragedy, she also slows the action considerably and adds a certain amount of confusion to it.

The flaw in construction concerning Alexandra leads to a consideration of the unity of action in La Mariane. From the point of view of the classical conception of the unity of action, Tristan's introduction of Alexandra is dramatically bad. But, from the point of view of the preclassical conception, it is justified. Whereas the

¹⁴ Adam, I, 547; Bernardin, p. 328.

¹⁶ Schéerer, p. 297.

¹⁵ Act IV, scene ii.

former demanded an action completely free of incidents which did influence the main theme, the latter permitted this practice, provided that the incident bore some relation to the main theme.¹⁷ Alexandra is a good example of this convention. Whereas she is dependent on the main theme, the main theme is not dependent upon her. Tristan, thus, remains consistent with the preclassical though not with the classical conception of the unity of action.

The preclassical conception of the unity of place was considered "comme excluant la représentation de lieux trop éloignés les uns des autres, mais comme comprenant celle de lieux assez voisins qu'on puisse passer rapidement et sans faire un véritable voyage de l'un à l'autre. Ainsi divers lieux situés dans une même ville."¹⁸ The unity of place in La Mariane fits this definition well. Tristan states that "la scene est en Ierusalem."¹⁹ In the play there are five different locations, all of which are very close to one another: the throne room, where the major part of the action takes place; Herode's chamber; Mariane's chamber; the prison; a street. It was not until the later years of classical tragedy that the unity of place was observed in the full rigour of the term. But even then it was more apparent than real.²⁰

A further unity, which classical tragedy required, was the unity of tone. The tragedies of Racine are characterized by a constant

¹⁷Schérer, p. 103.

¹⁹Tristan L'Hermite, La Mariane, p. 11.

¹⁸Ibid., p. 185.

²⁰Schérer, pp. 194-195.

majestic tone. Tristan, however, does not fully observe this convention. Though his tragedy, generally speaking, maintains a noble tone, there are, nevertheless, platitudes and conversational remarks in La Mariane which detract from this unity. For instance:

On me disoit icy que vous dormiez encore.
(1. 16)

Nous le sçaurons tantost, il ne m'en a rien dit.
(1. 732)

There are metaphors taken from popular usage which are inconsistent with the dignity of tragedy:

Il mordra l'ameçon sans s'en appercevoir.
(1. 586)

Tout rit à nos desseins, tout respond à nos voeux,
L'occasion paroist, pren-la par les cheveux.
(11. 597-598)

Finally, there are improprieties which offend not only the unity of tone, but also the laws of good taste:

Tu n'as pû l'esblouir par l'esclat des tresors,
Tu n'as pû le tenter que par ceux de ton corps.
(11. 973-974)

Il estoit du complot, cét Animal infame,
Qui ne sçaurait passer pour homme, ny pour femme.
(11. 1067-1068)

Tristan should not, however, be heavily censured for these infringements of the unity of tone and of the bienséances. The evidence of these infringements simply attests that Tristan was writing at a time when the conventions were yet to be properly established.

In classical tragedy, there is very little accent on physical action - at least on the stage. This is natural since the central

interest in classical tragedy is focussed on the emotions and psychology of the characters. This is true, to a point, of La Mariane. Nevertheless, the play is too close to the period in which tragedy adopted the technique of tragi-comedy not to be somewhat influenced by the latter. Some of the more physical aspects of tragi-comedy are found in La Mariane. For example, Herode drives Mariane out of his chamber;²¹ at her trial, Mariane weeps and dries her eyes with her handkerchief;²² Salome pretends to weep;²³ Herode faints twice.²⁴

Three minor technical details in the structural form of La Mariane situate the play in the preclassical, as opposed to the classical, era of tragedy. In the first place, Tristan's liaison de scènes is imperfect. The theorists of classical dramaturgy maintained that the stage should not be left vacant within the space of each act. On four occasions in La Mariane, this rule is not observed.²⁵ Such a fault was not, however, uncommon in the years preceding the definitive adoption of the rule of liaison de scènes in 1650.²⁶ It appears in La Sophonisbe four times²⁷ and in Le Cid no fewer than eight

²¹ Act II, scene iv.

²² Act III, scene ii.

²³ Act IV, scene i.

²⁴ Act V, scenes ii & iii.

²⁵ II, iii & iv; IV, i & ii; IV, iii & iv; IV, iv & v.

²⁶ Schéerer, p. 437.

²⁷ I, ii & iii; IV, i & ii; V, iii & iv; V, iv & v.

times.²⁸

Secondly, classical theorists held that no more than three or four characters should be present on the stage at the one time.²⁹ Tristan infringes this rule three times.³⁰

Thirdly, Schéerer notes that it is a characteristic of pre-classical tragedy to have a large number of secondary characters.³¹ In La Mariane, out of a total of fourteen characters, ten are secondary characters and of these eight say very little indeed.

A final technical point will complete this particular study. The classical system required that an act should contain no fewer than four and no more than seven scenes.³² Tristan is also found at fault in this respect.³³

Tragic Dramatic Technique

Aristotle distinguishes two kinds of tragic action: the simple and the intricate.³⁴ Corneille was to prefer the intricate, Racine, the

²⁸I, i & ii; I, ii & iii; II, ii & iii; II, v & vi; III, iv & v; IV, ii & iii; V, i & ii; V, iii & iv.

²⁹Bray, p. 325.

³⁰In II, vi, there are five persons; III, ii, nine; V, iii, five.

³¹Schéerer, p. 34.

³²Bray, p. 325.

³³I has 3; II, 7; III, 4; IV, 6; V, 3.

³⁴Aristotle, Aristotle on the art of Fiction, ed. L. Potts, (Cambridge, 1953), p. 31.

simple. In La Mariane is found one of the first examples in France of the tragédie simple. Herode loves Mariane, He suspects her of adultery. In a moment of weakness, he orders her execution. Her execution is the péripétie which brings misfortune to all. There are no external events to influence the action. In La Sophonisbe, Rome is the tragic force which produces the catastrophe. The same is true of Bérénice. In La Mariane, the tragic force which produces the tragedy lies within the characters themselves. Indicating the simplicity of Racinian tragedy, Lanson writes: "La tragédie de Racine est une tragédie à trois personnages. Deux hommes, une femme. Deux femmes, un homme."³⁵ In Britannicus, it is the former case, with Néron, Britannicus and Junie. In Bajazet, it is the latter, with Roxane, Atalide and Bajazet. Tristan's tragedy is produced by two persons alone, Herode and Mariane. No simpler form of tragedy is conceivable.

La Mariane is a tragédie d'amour. It is Herode's love for Mariane which forms the basis of the intrigue. The fact that this love is not returned poses the tragic obstacle and leads to the exasperation and the jealousy which will provide the violence necessary to the tragedy. A drama based on such a formula is "le plus cruel et le plus constant que propose le théâtre classique."³⁶ It is the formula which Racine was to adopt for the greatest of his tragedies. The respective situations of Herdone, Roxane and Phèdre are basically identical with that of Herode. All meet with the same

³⁵Lanson, p. 105.

³⁶Schéerer, p. 66.

obstacle. All destroy the loved one and are destroyed themselves. Tristan was one of the first dramatists to give a successful expression to this dramatic formula which was to produce the finest classical tragedies of the seventeenth century.

La Mariane is a tragédie de caractère. At a time when tragedy, under the aegis of Corneille, was about to embark upon a course which laid equal stress on action, events and persons, Tristan centred the interest of his play on characters alone. Mairet's La Sophonisbe was the first example of the new tragedy to lay emphasis on characters. However, when compared with Tristan's creations in La Mariane, those of Mairet are found wanting in depth and in definition; they are not sufficient in themselves to bring about the catastrophe. By placing the tragedy entirely within the human heart, Tristan gives the prominence to the characters, thus showing the way for Racine and classical tragedy.

La Mariane is a tragedy in which the perpetrator of the crime is the most tragic character in the play. As the extensive study of Herode's character has shown,³⁷ Herode is the victim of his emotions and of his followers. He is led by both to give the order for Mariane's death. His remorse for his action is so great that it temporarily destroys him, spiritually. Tristan thus gives high literary expression to a dramatic formula which was to become the formula par excellence of classical tragedy. As in Phèdre and Bajazet, the agent

³⁷Supra, pp. 56-65.

of the crime in La Mariane is the principal character and the most tragic.

Such a formula enables Tristan to achieve the purely Aristotelian emotion that classical tragedy required. Just as there is pathos surrounding the death of Hippolyte, Bajazet and Mariane, so there is pity and fear surrounding the final condition of Phèdre, Roxane and Herode. The pathos for the victim needs no explanation. The pity for the tragic hero and heroines derives firstly from the fact that they produce their own disaster and secondly from their final situation. The fear derives from their being led to their destruction by their own emotions. Humanity, carries its own fate within its breast. Tristan successfully blends the pathos and the pity and fear, both of which combine to produce the aesthetic purging effect which Aristotle and classical tragedy required. Tristan's tragedy, then, concurs with Aristotle's definition of tragedy:

Tragedy is an imitation of an action of high importance, complete and of some amplitude; in language enhanced by distinct and varying beauties; acted, not narrated; by means of pity and fear effecting its purgation of these emotions.³⁸

It is this definition which forms the basis for classical tragedy.

This study of the classical elements present in La Mariane illustrates that, from the point of view of structural technique, the tragedy is more of the preclassical than of the classical period of tragedy. Though Tristan follows the principles of classical dramaturgy in the structural outline of his play and in his adherence to the

³⁸ Aristotle, p. 24.

rules of vraisemblance and unity of time, nevertheless, in other respects, his technique remains preclassical. His unities of action, place and tone are all imperfect when viewed in the light of the classical system. The facts that he uses devices of tragi-comedy and that the play has minor technical flaws also situate the play in a period when the classical system was being formulated.

On the other hand, from the point of view of internal structure, of tragic technique, La Mariane is shown to be consistent with the practices of classical tragedy. It is a measure of Tristan's genius that, with scarcely a model at his disposal, he could write a tragedy considerably different from those of his time - a tragedy of a simple intrigue, in which the emphasis lies on characters who produce the catastrophe by their own emotions, a tragedy which portrays the general principles upon which classical tragedy itself was to be founded.

La Mariane, then, is not a pure classical tragedy, but it is not far from being one. By its emphasis on many aspects found in classical tragedy it no doubt contributed greatly towards the formation of that tragedy.

VI

STYLE

Versification

The alexandrine had long been established as the required metre for French tragedy. During the course of the latter part of the sixteenth and the early years of the seventeenth centuries, various rules had been established for the alexandrine. Does Tristan implement these rules?

The rule of the alternation of masculine and feminine rhymes, proposed by Ronsard, was solidly established by 1597.¹ Tristan retains this alternation all through his tragedy. One example will suffice:

Fantôme injurieux qui troubles mon repos,
Ne renouvelle plus tes insolens propos;
Va dans l'ombre éternelle, ombre pleine d'enuie,
Et ne te mesle pas de censurer ma vie.
(ll. 1-4)

In this example, as in the majority of alexandrines in the play, Tristan rhymes only the final syllable of each line. On occasions, however, he rhymes the two final syllables to form a rime riche:

Je suis assez aqauant en l'art de bien regner,
Sans que ton vain courroux me le vienne enseigner.
(ll. 5-6)

¹R. Lebègue, La Poésie française de 1560 à 1630 (Paris, 1951), p. 193.

VI

STYLE

Versification

The alexandrine had long been established as the required metre for French tragedy. During the course of the latter part of the sixteenth and the early years of the seventeenth centuries, various rules had been established for the alexandrine. Does Tristan implement these rules?

The rule of the alternation of masculine and feminine rhymes, proposed by Ronsard, was solidly established by 1597.¹ Tristan retains this alternation all through his tragedy. One example will suffice:

Fantôme injurieux qui troubles mon repos,
Ne renouvelle plus tes insolens propos;
Va dans l'ombre éternelle, ombre pleine d'enuie,
Et ne te mesle pas de censurer ma vie.
(ll. 1-4)

In this example, as in the majority of alexandrines in the play, Tristan rhymes only the final syllable of each line. On occasions, however, he rhymes the two final syllables to form a rime riche:

Je suis assez aqauant en l'art de bien regner,
Sans que ton vain courroux me le vienne enseigner.
(ll. 5-6)

¹R. Lebègue, La Poésie française de 1560 à 1630 (Paris, 1951), p. 193.

Malherbe, who codified the rules for the alexandrine, demanded that it should be divided into two equal hémistiches of six feet.

Tristan usually conforms to this principle:

Mais qui me peut choquer?/ & qu'ay-je plus à craindre
 Au faiste du bonheur/ où l'on me voit atteindre?
 (ll. 155-156)

On te meine esgorger,/ innocente victime,
 Tu vas donc au suplice/ & n'as point fait de crime.
 (ll. 1285-1286)

He does not, however, remain enslaved to this division of the line, which would too easily result in monotony. He remembers that his alexandrine should be, above all, dramatic. He, therefore, moves the position of the cesura quite often to add movement and variation to the rhythm of the alexandrine:

Insolente,/ oses-tu me dire ces paroles?
 (l. 767)

D'AUGUSTE?/ Ah! par ce mot ie suis assez instruit.
 (l. 945)

In the second example, the early cesura, followed by a succession of monosyllables, implies the mental agitation of Herode.

Sometimes Tristan divides the alexandrine into two or more sections, distributing the alternating parts between two or more speakers:

Dina: On prend beaucoup de soin/ pour vous en consoler.
 Mariane: Comment!
 Dina: Le Roy vous aime,/ Il m'aime? Ô l'innocente!
 Mariane: (ll. 442-443)

The alexandrine, because of this technique, stands out in relief, in great contrast to the preceding alexandrines, and, thus, gains con-

siderable emphasis.

On occasions, Tristan relieves the alexandrine from possible monotony by a purely mechanical device:

Mais quoy?/ vostre raison est vraiment endormie.
(l. 263)

Mais quoy?/ veux-tu que i'aime vn Monstre abominable?
(l. 348)

Mais quoy,/ vous trouuant hors de ce peril extremes,
(l. 459)

Though this device, if used too much, could itself produce monotony, Tristan employs it with restraint and avoids any detrimental effect to his verse.

Inversions were used quite consistently by playwrights all through the seventeenth century. R. Lebègue writes: "Malherbe attachait une grande importance à l'ordre des mots, et il condamnait toutes les fortes inversions."² Two examples will show how Tristan uses this poetic inversion:

Ainsi de violence & d'horreur trauaillé,
Auec vn cry fort haut ie me suis esveillé.
(ll. 137-138)

A peine en cét endroit ie retiens ma colere.
(l. 820)

Both of these examples demonstrate a reasonable use of this literary device. His practice does not infringe this rule of good usage.

In addition to prescribing the limits within which inversion is

²R. Lebègue, "Malherbe correcteur de tragedie", RHLF, XLI (1934), p. 344.

permissible, Malherbe proscribed the use of chevilles, or expletives.

In this aspect, Tristan is found at fault. Several examples are present in La Mariane:³

Vous plaist-il que i'entende aussi cette auanture,
Qui n'est à bien parler qu'vne vaine peinture.
(ll. 83-84)

Ces aimables obiects de ma tendre amitié,
Qu'vne rude Marastre ainsi qu'il est croyable
Maltraitera bien tost d'vn air impitoyable.
(ll. 874-876)

Tristan also makes use of a technique frequently used in the sixteenth century, but less so in his own. This technique consists in adding the suffix que to a conjunction or preposition. This serves to make up the twelfth foot of an alexandrine and should, therefore, be classed a cheville:⁴

Madame, faites tréfue avecque ces pensées.
(l. 435)

En fin ie l'ay chassée avecque violence.
(l. 678)

This use of these expletives is not widespread in La Mariane. Nevertheless, their evidence in the play constitutes a flaw in Tristan's technique of versification.

Finally, Malherbe forbade the use of hiatuses within the

³In each quotation, the underlined words constitute the cheville.

⁴Tristan only uses the suffix que with avec. It is evident that this suffix constitutes a cheville, since Tristan also uses avec without the suffix very frequently. For instance, see ll. 138, 177, 221, 301, 665, 905, etc.

alexandrine, since they interrupt the smooth flow of the poetry. Here, also, Tristan is somewhat at fault. Three examples are selected from several:⁵

Tu m'as bien entendu quand i'ay parlé tout* haut.
(1. 17)

Mais quoy? le front me sue, & ie suis* hors d'haleine.
(1. 11)

I'en ay la rage au coeur comme la* honte au front.
(1. 1118)

These flaws are, however, of minor importance. By their very existence, they show that Tristan did not allow Malherbe's restrictive doctrine to dominate his dramatic creation. This is also indicated by the way in which Tristan varies the position of the cesura in the alexandrine, allowing dramatic emphasis precedence over theoretical doctrine. Tristan's manipulation of the alexandrine is far more skilful than that of the writers of Renaissance tragedy and his technique of versification looks forward to the more supple alexandrine of later seventeenth century tragedy.

Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Century Characteristics

Tristan retains several of the stylistic devices of Renaissance tragedy, inherited from Seneca. There are maxims or sentences, general principles of a moral or political nature:

⁵In each case, the hiatus is denoted by an asterisk.

En cas de ces auis, pour se gouverner bien,
Il ne faut pas tout croire, & ne negliger rien.
(ll. 329-330)

Lors que l'on veut choquer vn puissant ennemy,
Il ne faut pas penser le destruire à demy.
(ll. 1197-1198)

Tristan also uses antitheses to good effect:

L'ardente amour se change en courroux esclatant.
(l. 542)

Ce qui fut mon Soleil n'est donc plus rien qu'une ombre?
(l. 1448)

The personification of abstract qualities was widely practised by sixteenth century dramatists. Such a practice is also manifest in Tristan:⁶

I'ay couru vers le lieu d'où le bruit s'espandoit,
Suiuant dans ce transport l'Amour qui me guidoit,
Et qui sembloit encor m'auoir presté ses aisles.
(ll. 97-99)

De crainte que l'Enuie, avec ses artifices,
Me rende près de luy quelques mauuais offices.
(ll. 1235-1236)

In neither case is the poetic image of a high standard. In the first example, the image is quite commonplace. In so far as this device was to be rejected by later classical usage, Tristan's inclusion of it in La Mariane is to be deprecated.

Anaphora was another device popular with Renaissance dramatists. Tristan uses it with reserve and with considerable success:

⁶In each case, the abstract quality is underlined.

Qu'ils vivent dans la honte et parmy les douleurs;
 Qu'ils se treuvent tousiours couverts d'ignominie,
 Qu'on les traite par tout avecque tyrannie,
 Que sans fin par le monde ils errent dispercez,
 Qu'ils soient en tous endroits, & maudits & chassez.
 (ll. 1634-1638)

The repetition and emphatic position of the conjunction que gives increasing force and vehemence to Herode's curse as it progresses, until it reaches a climactic conclusion, in which the que clauses become very short, indicating the more rapid movement of Herode's emotional impulsion:

De tout Ierusalem ne faites rien qu'vn gouffre,
 Qu'vn abisme infernal, qu'vn paluds plein d'horreur,
 Dont le nom seulement donne de la terreur.
 (ll. 1644-1646)

A rhetorical device extensively employed in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was stichomythia. Tristan uses this quite frequently, in fact throughout an entire scene. In this scene, a colloquy between Mariane and Salome, this form of dialogue well suits the situation. Since there is a mutual dislike between the two women, the staccato line of stichomythia translates their terse, oblique remarks, full of innuendoes, in an excellent manner:

Mariane: Vne iuste colere animoit mon discours.
 Salome: C'est vne passion qui vous émeut tousiours.
 Mariane: Je souffre aussi tousiours vne rigueur insigne.
 Salome: Vous avez des malheurs dont vous n'estes pas digne.
 (ll. 477-480)

As the scene progresses, this mutual dislike becomes less concealed:

Salome: Si vous avez pourtant quelque diuision,
 Je m'offrirois à vous à cette occasion,
 Et vous presenterois mes tres-humbles seruices.
 Mariane: Vous me rendez tousiours assez de bons offices.
 Salome: Je vous en rens bien moins que vous n'en meritez.

Mariane: Le Ciel reconnoistra toutes ces charitez.
(ll. 513-518)

Both of these extracts illustrate how skilfully Tristan uses stichomythia and show how this device, by the very nature of its fixed form, heightens the effect of the remarks which each character directs to the other. The barb, thus, is doubly sharp before reaching its target.

The style of sixteenth century tragedy was impregnated with rhetoric. Vehemence and magniloquence were considered as essential part of tragic art.⁷ This is reflected to some extent in La Mariane. Herode, when he hears of Mariane's plot, cries out:

O noire perfidie! ô trahison damnable!
O femme dangereuse! ô peste abominable!
(ll. 717-718)

Alexandra, speaking of Mariane's condemnation, explains:

O sentence cruelle! ô iugement inique!
O dure violence! ô pouuoir tyrannique!
(ll. 1289-1290)

This device, with its rigid coupe at the hémistiche, with its very rigid formulistic expression, amounting to a simple prescription for indicating great passion infringes the classical principle of manner being subordinated to matter. It leads to conventionalism in expression. Tristan's use of it is thus to be deplored.

Of these devices found in sixteenth century tragedy and reproduced by Tristan in La Mariane, the maxims, antitheses, anaphora

⁷R. Lebègue, La Tragédie française de la Renaissance, p. 56.

and stichomythia are all used with success. The two last mentioned add to the dramatic intensity of the play considerably. The same may not be said of the personification of abstract qualities and the rhetoric, both of which detract from the poetic expression in La Mariane.

By the time of the play's composition, the literary cult of preciosity had won many adherents, including Tristan himself. Tristan, however, states in the "Advertissement" of La Mariane:

Je ne me suis pas proposé de remplir cét ouvrage d'imitations Italiennes, & de pointes recherchées; (...) I'ay dépeint tout (...) de la maniere que i'ay creu mieux pouvoir reüssir dans la perspective du Theatre; sans m'attacher mal à propos à des finesses trop estudiées; & qui font paroistre vne trop grande affectation. (p. 10)

In spite of the good intentions that Tristan professes, several illustrations of this literary vogue still persist in this tragedy. Herode, in Tristan's estimation, passes as "spirituel".⁸ This characteristic is adequately demonstrated; Salome asks: "Quel plaisir prenez vous de cherir vne roche?"⁹ Herode, elaborating on this image, replies:

Si le diuin objet dont ie suis idolatre
Passe pour vn rocher, c'est vn rocher d'albastre.
(ll. 271-272)

After this initial pointe, Herode gives free rein to poetic imagination and a series of pointes results:

Vn escueil agreable, où l'on voit esclater
Tout ce que la Nature a fait pour me tenter.

⁸ Tristan L'Hermite, La Mariane, p. 10.

⁹ l. 268.

Il n'est point de rubis vermeils comme sa bouche,
 Qui mesle vn esprit d'ambre à tout cé qu'elle touche,
 Et l'esclat de ses yeux veut que mes sentiments
 Les mettent pour le moins au rang des diamans.
 (ll. 273-278)

When Herode has heard that Mariane has been executed, his grief is translated through an imagination which finds its inspiration in the flowery periphrases of preciosity:

Auroit-on renfermé dans les moindres espaces,
 La retraite d'Amour, & le sejour des Graces,
 Les Astres de ses yeux seroient-ils eclipsez
 Et les lis de son teint seroient-ils effacez?
 (ll. 1471-1474)

Allusions are made to Mariane in a manner equally as affected and equally as dear to the esprit précieux. Tristan writes: "chaste moitié",¹⁰ "ceste belle indiscrette"¹¹ and "cet Astre de beauté".¹²

He imitates the affected style of L'Astrée:

En vain ie l'ay traictée avec toute l'adresse
 Dont vn parfait Amant oblige vne Maistresse.
 (ll. 669-670)

Sometimes this poetic predilection results in a pedestrian inspiration, and consequently poor poetry:

Ses cheueux tous mouillez luy toboient sur la veüe,
 Les flots auoient esteint la clarté de ses yeux.
 (ll. 120-121)

Such mental agilities, the success of which is doubtful in some cases, may have been most pleasing to an audience in 1636, but, for the taste of subsequent years and for that of today, their affectation

¹⁰₁. 1292.

¹²₁. 1449.

¹¹₁. 331.

is only too evident.

Poetry

Tristan's poetry in La Mariane passes through a variety of inspirations, emotional and dramatic. It is not, however, without faults. There are complicated constructions which result in an obscure meaning:

Voila quel est mon songe: & bien que vous en semble,
Salome, qu'en dis-tu?

(ll. 139-140)

There are banal solemnities:

Quoy? pour me faire entendre ay-ie parlé trop bas?
(l. 1746)

There is meaningless hyperbole:

O Cieux! ie serois morte estant en vostre place;
Le sang à ce recit dans mes vaines se glace.

(ll. 107-108)

In some cases, Tristan is guilty of purely bad verse:

Il estoit de mon poil, il auoit mon visage,
Il estoit ma peinture, ou i'estois son image.

(ll. 407-408)

Although these faults are only isolated lapses, they emphasize the fact that the dramatic poets of this time were not yet masters of their art.

It has already been shown that Tristan did not consider the alexandrine to be a rigid formula divided into two equal portions. He allows the dramatic situation precedence over its poetic expression. He realizes, for instance, that a succession of complete alexandrines would be wholly inappropriate to express Herode's

agitation when he awakens from his dream. Consequently, he uses a broken alexandrine to translate Herode's mental progression from a state of disturbance to a state of relief at the sight of Pherore:

Herode: I'en suis tout émeu de colere et d'horreur.

Hola!

Tharé: Que vous plaist-il, Sire?

Herode: Ah! voicy Pherore.
(ll. 14-15)

Another example of dramatic poetry is found in the transition between the first two scenes of Act II. Mariane has declared to Dina that she will revolt against Herode:

Mariane: Et que ie ne sçay point de loy, ny de devoir
Qui me puisse obliger desormais à le voir.
Le conseil en est pris.

Dina: O Cieux! ie tremble toute.

Mariane: Pourquoi?

Dina: Tout est perdu, Salome nous escoute.
(ll. 469-472)

This manipulation of the dialogue thus provides a dramatic overture to the scene in which Mariane confronts Salome.

The play is dominated by Herode's jealousy, Salome's plotting and Mariane's refusal to compromise herself. Through this heavy atmosphere of impending misfortune, however, shine brief, lyrical shafts which provide a momentary contrast with the darkness of the tragic action:

Auegles Deitez, esgalez mieux les choses,
Meslez moins de lauriers avecque plus de roses.
(ll. 219-220)

Vostre teint composé des plus aimables fleurs,
Sert trop long-temps de lit à des ruisseaux de pleurs.
(ll. 437-438)

Au milieu des espines,

Seigneur, fay-moy bien tost marcher dessus des fleurs.
(ll. 1267-1268)

It is interesting to note the frequency with which Tristan uses a colourful, floral image from nature.

Imagery finds a wide application in La Mariane. Similes and metaphors are fully developed:

L'homme à qui la Fortune a fait des auantages,
Est comme le vaisseau sauué de cent orages;
Qui subiet toutefois aux caprices du sort,
Peut se perdre à la rade, ou perir dans le port.
(ll. 151-154)

Such examples as these, the products of Tristan's lyrical imagination, form a pictorial illustration of a particular situation in a manner which is not very common in classical tragedy, and which is, perhaps, more similar to that found in Shakespeare.

Strikingly different from Tristan's lyricism is his poetry of epic inspiration, which evokes martial scenes and which vividly describes majestic events. For instance, Herode, reminiscing about his former glories, relates:

Que i'ay fait de combats, & gagné de batailles,
Que i'ay surpris de Forts & forcé de murailles,
Dans vn champ spacieux, quand le fruit de Cérés
De ses tuyaux dorez enrichist les guerés,
On ne voit gueres plus de iauelles pressées,
Que i'ay veu contre moi de picques herissées,
Qui voloient en esclats par tout où ie donnois,
Dans la bruslante ardeur dont ie les moissonnois.
(ll. 191-198)

Such glimpses as this of a majestic Herode help gain him sympathy since they show him in a light different from that in which the action of the play depicts him. The fixed measure of the alexandrine, with its four stressed beats in each line, maintains a dignity consistent

with the nobility of the exploit related.

Similarly, the récit in which Narbal relates Mariane's death assumes epic proportions:

La dessus vn grand cry tout autour s'entendit,
 Qui penetra les airs que son ame fendit.
 On veid sourdre aussi-tost mille chaudes fontaines
 Des yeux de tout le peuple ainsi que de ses veines.
 (ll. 1553-1556)

The parallelism which Tristan establishes in each couplet gains impact by its very concision.

These brief word-pictures are an illustration of Tristan's poetic versatility. The first example sheds a new light on Herode, the récit which relates Mariane's death provides the heroine with a fitting, dignified epitaph.

Herode's plight, in so far as his love for Mariane is not reciprocated, is pathetic. Mariane's situation, in that she is put to death unjustly, is also pathetic. Tristan's poetry expresses this pathos most descriptively. Herode beseeches the Gods:

Faites qu'avec plus d'heur, ie sois moins renommé,
 Et n'estant pas si craint, que ie sois plus aimé.
 (ll. 221-222)

Mariane, going to her execution, stops to speak to Alexandra:

Ie voudrois que son coeur peust borner sa tristesse,
 Et que pour mon sujet elle eust moins de tendresse,
 Souffre que ie luy donne en l'allant apaiser,
 Et la derniere larme & le dernier baiser.
 (ll. 1359-1362)

There is no attempt at literary embellishment, no imagery. The naturalness of the vocabulary tends to emphasize the depth of feeling expressed in the two quotations. The emotion concealed behind this simplicity,

therefore, reveals itself the more deeply conceived.

Above all, La Mariane is a play of conflicting passions.

The poetry passes through the whole gamut of emotions, from violent love to violent hatred. In a passionate tirade, Herode avows his love for Mariane:

Tu m'as mis dans les fers, tu m'as mis dans la flame,
 Tu m'as percé le coeur, tu m'as arraché l'ame.
 (ll. 978-988)

The repetition of the "tu m'as" at the beginning of each hémistiche produces an incantatory effect, which rises to a crescendo as progression is made through the tortures this love causes, each one more violent than the one it follows, until a climax is reached in the fourth hémistiche.

The extent of Mariane's hatred for Herode is expressed through violent epithets:

Et toy monstre cruel, Ame dénaturée,
 Que de sang innocent és tousiours altérée,
 Je m'en vay te donner de quoy te rafraischir:

 Boy le, Tigre inhumain.
 (ll. 1335-1341)

Mariane's language and the image it depicts are very strong. Tristan reproduces this hatred in its most realistic and forceful form.

After Mariane's death has been reported to him, Herode realizes her innocence and is seized with passionate remorse:

Quel fleuve, ou quelle mer sera iamais capable
 D'effacer la noirceur de ce crime execrable?
 Quelle affreuse montagne, & quel antre escarté
 Pourront servir d'azile a mon impieté?
 (ll. 1563-1566)

In this example, the device of repetition is used and an increasing intensity, which admirably translates Herode's great remorse, results. "Execrable" and "affreuse" both show to what extent Herode feels this remorse. "Affreuse" is a most unexpected epithet for "montagne" and seems, by inference, to convey a moral judgment of Herode on himself.

This remorse is consummated in the violent curse which Herode commands the destinies to inflict upon the world, a curse which assumes cosmic proportions:

Cruels dans cette perte, à nulle autre seconde,
 Vous deviez faire entrer celle de tout le monde,
 Enlever l'Univers hors de ses fondemens,
 Et confondre les Cieux avec les Elemens,
 Rompre le frein des Mers, esteindre la lumiere,
 Et remettre ce Tout en sa masse premiere.

(ll. 1691-1696)

The massiveness of the curse is reproduced in the massiveness of the alexandrine. Tristan achieves this effect by using a succession of nasal vowel sounds in conjunction with a series of long pure vowel and consonant sounds, all of which combine to give the alexandrine a heavy, measured beat.

Tristan, thus, artistically adapts his poetic style to suit the differing situations which the play depicts, thereby providing a constant source of variety and contrast. This stimulates and retains interest and endows the tragic action with an expression commensurate with its dignity and emotional basis.

La Mariane is built on the single foundation of Herode's jealous passion. Just as Tristan uses elements of Renaissance tragedy

in the play's structure, modifying them and blending them with the principles of the new tragedy, even so he retains several of the stylistic devices of sixteenth century tragedy in the play's expression, the majority of which he uses with success. Others, however, such as the device of rhetoric, detract from the value of his poetic expression, which they endow, in parts, with a somewhat oratorical style. But, if this is true, it is nevertheless difficult to agree with Adam's estimate of Tristan's style. He states that Tristan's tragedies "sont écrites dans le style sentencieux de l'ancienne génération, formée par l'exemple de Sénèque. (...) Elles se développent avec la raideur et la noblesse un peu guindée des oeuvres tragiques du XVIIe siècle finissant, même si elles y joignent le sens de l'action que la génération de 1630 avait acquis."¹³

On the contrary, as this study has shown, with Tristan, the alexandrine ceases to be as rigid as it was with the writers of sixteenth century tragedy, in spite of intermittent lapses. With Tristan's manipulation, it becomes more subservient to the action and, consequently, is more at liberty to portray the various situations through which the tragedy passes as it progresses to its conclusion. It has a dramatic force which was totally lacking in the essentially elegiac style of the sixteenth century tragedy. One has only to compare the printed pages of La Mariane with those of any tragedy of

¹³Adam, II, 344.

Garnier or Montchrestien. The difference is striking.

Furthermore, his poetic style embraces a diversity of inspirations, which, again, contrasts with the largely uniform style of Renaissance tragedy.

Tristan's imagery is very vivid and this would seem to place Tristan in the tradition of Shakespeare, rather than that of the great French writers who were to succeed him. Reservations, however, should be made concerning Tristan's precious poetry, which is too refined for modern literary taste. Apart from this, Tristan's art of versification and his poetic expression anticipate, in the main, the general principles of classical dramatic poetry.

VII

PERFORMANCES OF LA MARIANE

The Staging of the Play in 1636

There has been a considerable divergence of opinion over the actual staging of La Mariane. Bernardin puts forward the theory that La Mariane was staged in a décor à compartiments:

Pour nous, en 1636, le décor de la Mariane de Tristan comprenait cinq compartiments, tout comme celui de la Marianne de Hardy: au fond, la salle du trône; sur un des côtés, les chambres d'Herode et de Mariane; sur l'autre côté, la prison; le cinquième compartiment seul diffère dans les deux décorations: dans la Marianne de Hardy, il représentait la chambre de Salome, dans celle de Tristan, l'arcade auprès de laquelle avait lieu l'entrevue de Mariane et sa mère.¹

Madeleine finds Bernardin's theory very doubtful, since it allows for no evolution in the staging of plays within the period which separates the two tragedies. His theory, though only a tentative suggestion, would amount to "de vagues décors successifs, un pour chaque acte."² This theory is based on Michel Laurent's stage décor directions, written in 1673:

Mariane. Théâtre est un palais. Au premier acte, il faut un lit de repos, un fauteuil, deux chaises; au deuxième acte, c'est une chambre; au troisième, il faut un trône, un fauteuil, un tapis sur le trône, deux bancs; au quatrième acte, il faut la prison; au

¹Bernardin, p. 323.

²Tristan L'Hermite, La Mariane, p. xxii.

cinq, le palais & un fauteuil, & abaisser le rideau pour la fin.³

Lancaster reverts to Bernardin's theory, stating that since there was no large curtain in 1636, Laurent's decoration directions can hardly be applied to that period.⁴ S. W. Deierkauf-Holsboer supports this latter statement when she relates that "le Palais Cardinal et les deux théâtres à Paris ont été munis d'un grand rideau entre 1641 et 1649."⁵

Before the introduction of this large curtain, however, she attests the existence of little curtains:

Ils servaient à masquer une partie du décor jusqu'à ce que l'action s'y porte au cours de la représentation.(...) Les changements de décor étaient donc réalisés par l'enlèvement de petits rideaux qui n'avaient pas de place fixe sur la scène et pouvaient couvrir n'importe quel compartiment.(...) L'emploi des petits rideaux s'explique dans une période où les salles n'avaient pas encore de grands rideaux, c'est-à-dire, avant 1640.⁵

She does not go on to state any theory concerning the production of La Mariane to supersede that of Bernardin.

It was left to Jacques Morel⁶ to draw the conclusions from the certain knowledge of the use of these small curtains in 1636. Morel first draws a parallel between a scene in Scudery's La Mort de César, produced in 1635, and the opening scene of Tristan's La Mariane. Both

³Ibid., p. xxii.

⁴Lancaster, II, 52.

⁵S. W. Deierkauf-Holsboer, Histoire de la mise en scène dans le théâtre français à Paris de 1600 à 1673 (Paris, 1960), p. 79.

⁶J. Morel, pp. 153-163.

scenes depict a startled awakening from a dream. In La Mort de César, the first scene of the second act recounts a dialogue between César and Calpurnie. The first line of the scene is accompanied by the following note: "La chambre de César s'ouvre, sa femme est sur son lit endormie, il achève de s'habiller." Calpurnie awakens and tells César of her dream. The final line of the scene is followed by a second note: "La chambre se referme." Morel postulates that a similar technique could have been used by Tristan, and concludes:

La scène du réveil d'Hérode aurait donc été jouée non pas proprement dans un décor à compartiments, ni dans un décor changeant à chaque acte, mais dans un décor intermédiaire, représentant diverses parties d'un palais qu'une série de rideaux cachaient et découvraient tour à tour.⁷

This type of setting, which Morel calls "le décor synthétique",⁷ seems to be the most plausible for the staging of La Mariane in 1636. Of the remaining theories, those of Bernardin and Lancaster would seem too conservative, that of Madeleine would appear too much in advance of the stage decoration technique of the preclassical era.

The Première of La Mariane; The Rôle of Montdory

La Mariane was staged in the spring of 1636 by the troupe of the Marais Theatre. This troupe acquired an immense reputation for their production. Although the names of the actors and actresses who formed the company in 1636 are known⁸ there is no record of the

⁷ Ibid., p. 157.

⁸ Guillaume des Gilberts, dit Montdory
 Claude Deschamps, sieur de Villiers
 Marguerite Beguin, femme de Claude Deschamps
 François Chastelet, dit Beauchasteau
 Madeleine du Pouget, la femme de François Chastelet

exact distribution of the rôles save for the fact that Montdory interpreted the rôle of Herode. As Maguerite Beguin was the best actress of the troupe - she interpreted the rôle of Chimène in 1637 - it may be assumed that the rôle of Mariane was confided to her.

The play was a great success, not only because of its own intrinsic qualities, but also because of the outstanding performance of Montdory, "le plus grand comédien du temps, le premier grand comédien français."⁹ Two contemporary writers testify to the early success of La Mariane. Le Père Rapin, reminiscing over these years, states:

Quand Montdory jouait la Mariane de Tristan au Marais, le peuple n'en sortait jamais que reveur et pensif, faisant réflexion à ce qu'il venait de voir et pénétré à même temps d'un grand plaisir.¹⁰

Tallemant des Réaux gives a brief portrait of Montdory in his comment on La Mariane:

Il n'était grand ni bien fait; cependant il se mettait bien, il voulait sortir de tout à son honneur, et pour faire voir jusqu'où allait son art, il pria les gens de bon sens, et qui s'y connois-

Pierre Regnault Petit Jehan, dit Laroque

André Boiron, dit Baron

Pierre Marcoureau, dit Beaulieu

Philibert Robin, dit le Gaulcher

Bellemore

Madeleine Lemoine, dit la Beaupré

see S. W. Deierkauf-Holsboer, Le Théâtre du Marais (Paris, 1954), I, 54.

⁹ Adam, I, 462.

¹⁰ Le R. P. Rapin, Réflexions sur la poétique, IIe partie, chap. xix. Quoted by Marty-Laveaux in Corneille, Oeuvres, I, 49.

soient, de voir quatre fois de suite la Mariane. Ils remarquèrent toujours quelque chose de nouveau; aussi pour le vrai, c'était son chef-d'oeuvre, et il était plus propre à faire un héros qu'un amoureux.¹¹

Tristan himself gives just praise and due credit to Montdory in his "Avertissement" to Panthée:

Cet illustre acteur ne tient point sa gloire du hasard, ou de l'aveuglement des hommes; c'est par de merveilleuses qualitez qu'il a forcé toute la France de rendre iustice à son mérite.(...) Jamais homme ne parut avec plus d'honneur sur la scène.¹²

However, this rôle of Herode was to have unfortunate consequences for Montdory as an actor. Georges Mongrédien explains that an actor of this period was appreciated above all by the strength of his voice: "il fallait bouleverser le parterre par des cris effrayants et une déclamation empoulée. Rien d'étonnant à ce que, la fatigue aidant, les acteurs ne pussent résister à un tel effort physique."¹³ In the autumn of 1637, on the occasion of a presentation of La Mariane, Montdory suffered an attack of apoplexy whilst declaiming his lines on the stage. As a consequence, his tongue and right arm remained partially paralysed for the remainder of his life. Tallemant relates:

Ce personnage [d'Hérode] luy cousta bon; car comme il avoit l'imagination forte, dans le moment, il croyoit quasy estre ce qu'il representoit, et il luy tomba, en jouant ce role, une apoplexie sur la langue, qui l'a empêché de jouer depuis.¹⁴

¹¹ Tallemant des Réaux, Historiettes, VII, 174. Quoted by Marty-Laveaux in Corneille, Oeuvres, I, 49.

¹² Quoted by Madeleine in Tristan L'Hermitte, La Mariane, p. xxiv.

¹³ G. Mongrédien, Les Grands Comédiens du XVIIe siècle, (Paris, 1927), p. 55.

¹⁴ Tallemant des Réaux, Historiettes, VII, 174-175. Quoted by S. W. Deierkauf-Holsboer, in Le Théâtre du Marais, I, 55.

Subsequent Representations of La Mariane

La Mariane was played by the troupe of the Marais Theatre, by that of the Hôtel de Bourgogne, by Molière's company. Later, after the disbanding of the troupe of the Marais and the amalgamation of the Hôtel de Bourgogne and Molière's company, it was played at the Comédie Française.

Save for those records pertaining to the first appearance of La Mariane in 1636, there have been no records discovered, relating to the subsequent representations of La Mariane, prior to 1659. According to La Grange's Registre Molière's troupe played La Mariane thirty-four times between 1659 and 1680.¹⁵

During this period, the play was also produced at the Hôtel de Bourgogne. This is inferred from the stage décor directions of Michel Laurent, written for that company, to which reference has been made.¹⁶

After the amalgamation operated between the Hôtel de Bourgogne and Molière's company, the play was played fourteen times at the newly constituted Comédie Française from 1680 to 1685.¹⁷ It is at this point that La Grange's register stops. Bernardin, however, has carried out research into subsequent registers and notes that the play was produced twenty times at the Comédie Française and once at Versailles from 1685 to 1695.¹⁷

¹⁵Infra, Appendix B pp. 132-135. ¹⁷Infra, Appendix B, pp. 132-135.

¹⁶Supra, p. 114.

As far as can be ascertained, these were the final performances of the play in the seventeenth century. There were three performances of the play at the Comédie Française in the eighteenth century, in 1703.¹⁷ This year marks the disappearance of La Mariane from the repertory of the Comédie Française.

Two productions of the play in comparatively recent times are recorded. These were the presentations of La Mariane at the Odéon in Paris on the 4th and 11th February, 1897,¹⁸ under the direction of Paul Ginisty and N. M. Bernardin.¹⁹

These continuous productions of La Mariane show that the play enjoyed considerable popularity all through the seventeenth century. This lasting popularity becomes even more evident when it is noted that during the period of time covered by La Grange's register, 1659-1685, there was not one performance of Mairet's La Sophonisbe. Similarly, the forty-eight productions of La Mariane, during this same period, compare very favourably with the forty productions of Le Cid. This demonstrates a purely statistical measure of the success of La Mariane in the seventeenth century, a success which is also attested by the frequent editions through which the play passed. There were thirteen editions of La Mariane in the seven-

¹⁷Infra, Appendix B, pp. 132-135.

¹⁸Madeleine (p. xxii.) states only one performance on the 6th February, 1897. Lancaster (II, 52) states only one performance on the 16th February, 1897. Both these statements are thus invalidated.

¹⁹Infra, Appendix C, pp. 135-137.

teenth century, followed by eleven editions in the eighteenth century.²⁰

²⁰Infra, Appendix D, pp. 137-140.

VIII

LA MARIANE IN FRENCH LITERATURE, 1636-1731

Reference has already been made to two writers contemporary with Tristan, who made mention of La Mariane. They are only two of many. "Le XVIIe siècle n'a pas vu jouer de tragédie dont les contemporains ont parlé davantage, dont ils ont plus chanté sans réserve les louanges que la Marianne [sic] de Tristan."¹ This brief study will inquire into some of these allusions to Tristan's masterpiece.

Georges de Scudéry, himself a successful playwright of the preclassical era, wrote a successful tragedy: La Mort de César. This play was produced in 1635 and published in 1636. In the "Au lecteur", Scudéry states:

Aussi jamais les doctes mains
Soits [sic] des Grecs, ou soit des Romains,
N'ont tracé du bien dire, une si haute idée:
Et jamais Euripide en voulant l'esgaler
N'eust fait si bien parler
HERODES, SOPHONISBE et la docte MEDEE.²

These are references to La Mariane of Tristan, La Sophonisbe of Mairet and Médée of Corneille.

Scudéry makes a second reference to La Mariane in his

¹Deierkauf-Holsboer, I, 52.

²Quoted by H. C. Lancaster, "Leading French Tragedies just before Le Cid", Modern Philology, XXII (1925), p. 375.

Observations sur le Cid, published during the "Querelle du Cid".

During the course of these observations, Scudéry lists the five leading tragedies of the day. In this selection, it is noticeable that "la docte Médée" no longer finds a place. These five leading tragedies are Mairet's La Sophonisbe, his own La Mort de César, Benserade's Cléopâtre, Rotrou's Hercule Mourant and, finally, Tristan's La Mariane.³

Paul Scarron, in his Roman Comique, written between 1649 and 1657, recounts an amusing incident which is centred around a burlesque production of La Mariane, the dénouement of which is somewhat unusual. The early part of the story revolves around a company of travelling actors: le Destin, la Rancune and la Caverne. The company arrives in Le Mans. They are asked to present a play. Although the company comprises only two actors and one actress, it agrees to present La Mariane. Each will take several rôles. The episode continues:

Et l'assemblée, qui s'était grossie, ayant pris place en une chambre haute, on vit derrière un drap salle [sic] que l'on leva, le comédien Destin, couché sur un matelas, un corbillon dans la tête, qui luy servoit de couronne, se frottant un peu les yeux comme un homme qui se réveille, et récitant du ton de Montdory le rôle d'Hérode, qui commence par:

Fantosme injurieux qui troubles mon repos...

L'emplastre qui luy couvroit la moitié du visage ne l'empescha point de faire voir qu'il estoit excellent comédien. Mademoiselle de la Caverne fit des merveilles dans les rôles de Mariane [sic] et de Salomé; La Rancune satisfit tout le monde dans les autres rôles de la pièce, et elle allait estre conduite à bonne fin quand le diable, qui ne dort jamais, s'en mesla, et

³Lancaster, I, 486.

fit finir la tragédie non pas par la mort de Mariane et par les désespoirs d'Hérode, mais par mille coups de pieds, autant de soufflets, un nombre effroyable de coups de pieds, des juremens qui ne se peuvent compter.⁴

This episode, written some twenty years after the presentation and publication of La Mariane would seem a certain indication of the play's continued popularity.

In addition to being a great dramatist, Corneille also took a profound interest in literary criticism. In his "Discours du poème tragique", while posing the principle of reserving the catastrophe for the final act, he refers to Tristan's tragedy as being a worthy exception to this rule.⁵ Literary considerations being set aside, the fact that Corneille can speak of La Mariane, in 1660, as being a work with which all are conversant, illustrates the point that the play was highly considered in the seventeenth century.

The final production of La Mariane at the Comédie Française was in the autumn of 1703. The play was not without influence, however in the eighteenth century. Just as Tristan borrowed the subject of his play, to some extent, from Hardy, so Voltaire and Nadal borrowed the matter for their plays from Tristan.

Voltaire's Marianne⁶ was produced in 1724. He brought several

⁴P. Scarron, Le Roman comique, ed. P. Bourget (Paris, 1926), p. 11.

⁵Supra, p. 83.

⁶Voltaire, Marianne in Oeuvres, ed. L. Moland, (Paris, 1877) I, 157-240.

alterations to the plot as related in Josephus and Tristan. The most important of these changes is that he introduces a lover for Mariamne. Mariamne herself does not die on the scaffold, as in Tristan, but by poisoning herself. As the play was not very successful, Voltaire withdrew it and rewrote it, calling the new play Hérode et Mariamne. The lover for Mariamne is still retained, and Voltaire, thus, alters the very nature of Tristan's tragedy and the account in Josephus.

Whereas in Tristan's play, Herode's emotions bring about the catastrophe, in Hérode and Mariamne, it is brought about largely by the rebellion raised by Varus, Mariamne's lover. Furthermore during the rebellion, he attempts to persuade Mariamne to elope with him. Mariamne refuses to do so.

These details of Voltaire's play are sufficient in themselves to point out the play's basic difference from La Mariane. Tristan strives for concentration of the action and a minimum of external physical action. His tragedy is, essentially, psychological. In Voltaire's tragedy the accent is laid on physical action and amorous intrigue. Voltaire's play, thus, lacks the depth of Tristan's masterpiece.

Nadal's play, Mariamne, written in 1725, merits no more than a mention. "The situations are not fully developed. There is much plotting, narration and comment, but Nadal fails to take advantage in his dialogue of the opportunities he has himself created."⁷

⁷H. C. Lancaster, French Tragedy in the time of Louis XV and Voltaire (Baltimore, 1950), I, 68.

Even if these two tragedies differ in their respective values, it may be assumed with some certainty that the original inspiration behind both was Tristan's La Mariane.

In the face of these "renewals" of his major work, Tristan found an apologist in Jean-Baptiste Rousseau. In order to prove La Mariane superior to Voltaire's Hérode et Mariamne, Rousseau modernized the style of La Mariane and prepared it for publication. The literary taste had changed and what was permitted in 1636 was proscribed by the more refined taste of the early eighteenth century. Rousseau, however, claims that his task of correcting was not very arduous. He states in the "Avertissement":

Le travail n'a pas été fort pénible, puisqu'il ne consistait que dans le retranchement, la correction, ou le supplément de cent cinquante ou soixante vers, tout au plus.⁸

Madeleine corrects this. "La réalité, c'est que le total des "retranchements", à lui seul, monte à deux cent trente vers et il y a bien cent trente vers défigurés ou entièrement supplantés ou ajoutés."⁹

Although J.-B. Rousseau saw fit to correct so many lines of La Mariane, this did not blind him to the many qualities of the play. He writes in the "Avertissement":

Depuis plus de cent ans que cette tragédie a été mise sur le théâtre, on n'en a point encore vu où les ressorts qui remuent le coeur humain soient employés avec plus d'art, ni où toutes les différentes faces que peut recevoir une passion démesurée soient mises dans un plus grand jour, et exprimées d'une manière

⁸ Quoted by Madeleine in La Mariane, p. xli.

⁹ Ibid., p. xli.

plus propre à inspirer la terreur et la pitié.¹⁰

This eulogy of La Mariane, to whatever extent it may please, remains somewhat uncritical. It wholly discounts the masterpieces of Racine, the finest expressions of this genre. However, if Tristan's tragedy is not the finest of its type, it is one of the finest of its kind which precedes Racine. This reservation made, the statement of J.-B. Rousseau may serve as a fitting conclusion to this particular chapter.

In the course of this study the outstanding reception and original impart the play received have been shown and substantiated by the testimony of contemporary writers.

If the play was so popular during this period, why was it discarded from the repertory of the Comédie Française? Reasons for this may be found, firstly, in the refined taste of literary circles in the eighteenth century. The play was written at a time in which the règles were still in the formative period of their development. It has been shown, for instance, how Tristan infringes the rule of good taste.¹¹ Secondly, many of the grammatical constructions used in the play soon became archaic. Both of these reasons are borne out by the fact that J.-B. Rousseau saw fit to correct the play in these respects. Bernardin states: "Il [Tristan] n'a pas pu se dégager

¹⁰Quoted by Bernardin, p. 347. (This edition of La Mariane appeared in 1731.)

¹¹Supra, p. 89.

complètement des goûts et de la mode de son temps; puis les goûts se sont modifiés et la mode a changé; il a parlé la langue de son époque, et cette langue a vieilli."¹² Such circumstances as these inevitably caused the play's eventual disappearance from repertory.

¹²Bernardin, p. 577.

GENERAL CONCLUSION

During the course of this study, all the various aspects of La Mariane have been analyzed and discussed. The results of the investigations in each chapter have shown that the play is the work of a very skilful dramatist.

To what extent, then, is La Mariane a classical tragedy? From the point of view of internal tragic technique, it is wholly classical. The plot is simple. The emphasis of the tragedy is centred on a tragic hero whose passions lead him to produce his own misfortune and that of those about him. The motive force of the tragedy is aroused passion, which is the central motif of Racinian tragedy.

However, since Tristan's play was written at a time when the rules of classical tragedy were in the process of their formation, La Mariane, inevitably, does not fully respect them. Consequently, some aspects of his structural technique, which were quite legitimate in 1636, were later rejected by the classical system. This is true of Tristan's unity of action and his unity of place. Nevertheless, if La Mariane is not a purely classical tragedy, it is certainly more classical than it is preclassical.

What, then, was the influence of the play? Schérer would

seem to insist that the play had little influence. "Des chefs-d'oeuvre isolés, comme la Mariane, doivent intéresser l'histoire littéraire, mais non la dramaturgie qui n'y trouve guère que ce qu'elle a déjà trouvé ailleurs."¹ On the contrary, the many elements which made La Mariane the celebrated play it became had not been found in other plays before 1636. For instance, Tristan's conception of a tragic hero who causes his own catastrophe was an innovation for his time. When one takes into account, on the one hand, the enormous popularity the play enjoyed when it was first produced - a popularity which continued throughout the seventeenth century - and, on the other, the innovations and classical tendencies present in La Mariane, it is difficult to understand how Tristan's play could not but influence the evolution of tragedy, could not but contribute to the formation of the classical system.

Whereas Schérer minimizes Tristan's rôle, Bernardin exaggerates it by saying that "peut-être, sans Tristan, Racine n'aurait pas été Racine."² The true extent of Tristan's contribution to the classical system, by virtue of his La Mariane, would seem to lie within the two limits established by Schérer and Bernardin.

It is, then, reasonable to conclude by stating that La Mariane brought popularity to a type of tragedy to which Racine was to give a more lasting expression, and, in so doing, made a significant contribution to the formation of classical tragedy.

¹Schérer, p. 428.

²Bernardin, p. 578.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

"Sur les tragédies de M. Hardy, Stances"¹

L'esprit le plus hardi qui soit dessus la terre,
D'un art que les humains ne sauraient égaler,
Nous fait en ses beaux vers divinement parler
Le démon de l'amour et celui de la guerre.

Le nombre des écrits de sa veine excellente
Fait confesser à tous, d'un aveu solennel,
Que celle d'un ruisseau, qui serait éternel
Aurait moins d'abondance, et serait moins coulante.

C'est trop d'ingratitude, à cet âge où nous sommes
Qu'on n'ait point élevé l'image en mille lieux
D'un, qui, parlant si bien le langage des dieux
Le vint communiquer à la race des hommes.

Toi, qui portes les yeux sur ce sacré mystère,
Contemple avec respect un si saint monument,
Et sache, atteint d'envie ou bien d'étonnement
Qu'il faut à son aspect, adorer et se taire.

Tristan

¹Quoted by Bernardin, p. 583.

APPENDIX B

Representations of La Mariane

The dates of the various performances of La Mariane are tabulated below as they appear in La Grange's register.¹ The receipts (in pistoles) for each performance and the lever de rideau (if any) are also added.

1659	jeud. 9 mai	Mariane	120
1659	mard. 30 sept.	Mariane	50
1662	vend. 1 sept.	Mariane & L'Ecole des maris	240
1662	diman. 3 sept.	Mariane & L'Ecole des maris	292
1662	mard. 5 sept.	Mariane & L'Ecole des maris	130
1663	vend. 6 avr.	Mariane & L'Ecole des maris	365
1663	diman. 8 avr.	Mariane & L'Ecole des maris	387
1663	diman. 22 avr.	Mariane & Les Fâcheux	545
1663	mard. 24 avr.	Mariane & Les Fâcheux	215
1663	vend. 14 sept.	Mariane & Le Cocu imaginaire	445
1663	diman. 16 sept.	Mariane & Le Cocu imaginaire	177
1663	vend. 16 nov.	Mariane & L'Impromptu de Versailles	657
1663	diman. 18 nov.	Mariane & L'Impromptu de Versailles	822
1663	vend. 23 nov.	Mariane & L'Impromptu de Versailles	478
1665	mard. 2 juin	Mariane	119
1665	vend. 5 juin	Mariane	249
1665	mard. 25 août	Mariane	111
1665	vend. 4 sept.	Mariane	200
1665	vend. 16 oct.	Mariane & L'Amour médecin	463
1665	diman. 18 oct.	Mariane & L'Amour médecin	470
1666	mard. 14 sept.	Mariane & Le Misanthrope	325
1666	vend. 17 sept.	Mariane & Sertorius	288
1666	diman. 19 sept.	Mariane & Sertorius	354
1667	vend. 25 fév.	Mariane & Le Médecin malgré lui	274
1667	diman. 27 fév.	Mariane & Le Médecin malgré lui	407
1677	vend. 20 août	Mariane & Le Semblable à soi-même	153
1677	diman. 22 août	Mariane & Le Semblable à soi-même	364
1677	mard. 24 août	Mariane & Le Semblable à soi-même	358
1677	vend. 27 août	Mariane	332
1677	diman. 29 août	Mariane	506

¹La Grange, Le Registre de La Grange, ed. B. E. & G. P. Young, (Paris, 1947). [The spelling has been modernized.]

1678	vend. 2	sept.	Mariane & Le mariage de rien	206
1678	diman. 4	sept.	Mariane & Le Mariage de rien	238
1679	jeud. 21	sept.	Mariane & Le Semblable à soi-même	795
1680	sam. 29	juin	Mariane & L'Amour médecin	885

On the 8th August, 1680, Molière's troupe was joined to that of the Hôtel de Bourgogne. La Grange continues to list the performances of La Mariane at the Comédie Française until 1685.

1680	merc. 9	oct.	Mariane & Les Carrosses d'Orléans	1346
1680	sam. 21	déc.	Mariane & Le Cocu imaginaire	822
1681	diman. 9	mars	Mariane & Escarbagnas	834
1681	jeud. 12	juin	Mariane & Le Mariage forcé	366
1681	jeud. 31	juil.	Mariane & Le Mariage forcé	304
1682	vend. 1	mai	Mariane & Crispin bel esprit	901
1682	sam. 27	juin	Mariane	à Versailles
1682	lund. 19	oct.	Mariane & Le Mariage forcé	314
1683	sam. 10	avr.	Mariane	420
1683	diman. 30	mai	Mariane & Les Precieuses ridicules	333
1683	merc. 3	nov.	Mariane & Les Plaideurs	624
1684	sam. 20	mai	Mariane & Le Deuil	227
1684	diman. 1	oct.	Mariane & L'Amour médecin	216
1685	sam. 7	avr.	Mariane & Crispin médecin	365

The register stops at this date. Bernardin notes the following productions from 1685 to 1695:²

1685	:	10 th Sept. & 7 th Dec.
1686	:	20 th Mar. & 14 th Aug. & 28 th Nov.
1686	:	23 rd Nov. at Versailles
1687	:	18 th Oct.
1688	:	14 th Mar.
1689	:	2 nd Jun. & 13 th Oct.
1690	:	17 th Sept. & 9 th Oct.
1691	:	2 nd Jun. & 2 nd Aug. & 4 th Nov.
1692	:	25 th Feb.
1693	:	11 th May & 25 th Aug.
1694	:	16 th May
1695	:	24 th Jun. & 1 st Sept.

²Bernardin, p. 362.

These were the final performances of La Mariane at the Comédie Française in the seventeenth century. Three performances of the play are noted at the Comédie Française in the eighteenth century:³

1703	19 th	Sept.	Mariane & Le Mariage forcé	342(spectators)
1703	21 st	Sept.	Mariane & Le Médecin malgré lui	242(spectators)
1703	23 rd	Sept.	Mariane & Georges Dandin	298(spectators)

Finally, two modern performances of the play took place at the Odéon, in Paris.

1897	4 th	Feb.	Mariane
1897	11 th	Feb.	Mariane

³H. C. Lancaster, "The Comédie Française, 1701-1774", Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, XLI part iv (1951), 606.

APPENDIX C

An Account of the two Performances of La Mariane in 1897

La Mariane was produced at the Odéon on the 4th and 11th February, 1897. Bernardin, who gave a short explanatory talk before both performances, writes how the play was produced, notes the distribution and remarks that the play was well received by the audience on both occasions, in spite of two unfortunate incidents during the second performance:⁴

D'après les croquis du décorateur de l'Hôtel de Bourgogne, Laurent Mahelot, (...) d'après l'estampe d'Abraham Bosse, qui orne la première édition de la Mariane, d'après le frontispice que Duret a gravé pour l'édition de 1645, on avait restitué la mise en scène de l'époque.

(.....)
 Durant les deux représentations, je notai soigneusement l'effet produit sur le public par cette tragédie absolument inconnue de lui. Les deux jeudis, le premier acte, tout en discours, fut écouté avec une politesse respectueuse, et la scène des deux belles-sœurs, au second acte, très bien jouée, ne porta point comme on s'y attendait aux répétitions. Mais le premier jeudi, à partir du troisième acte, le public fut conquis: la scène du tribunal, déjà si racinienne de dessin, laissa une profonde impression; la belle Mademoiselle Page, qui portait à ravir le jolicostume prêté à Mariane par Abraham Bosse, émut les spectateurs avec les stances énergiques et touchantes de la prison; l'entrevue de la mère et de la fille au quatrième acte fit un grand effet, et, au dénouement, le récit de Narbal et les fureurs d'Hérode enlevèrent la salle. Les acteurs furent rappelés, ce premier jeudi, après chacun des quatre derniers actes.

A la seconde représentation, les spectateurs furent d'abord plus froids. Deux incidents, il est vrai, s'étaient produits, qui, changeant les dispositions du public, menaçaient de compromettre le succès final: à la dernière scène du second acte,

⁴N.M. Bernardin, "Postface aux œuvres dramatiques de Tristan L'Hermite", in *Les Cahiers d'un bibliophile*, VII & VIII ed. E. Girard (Paris, 1904-1907) pp. III-vi. [For an examination of Bernardin's theory on the staging of the play, see pp. 115-117.]

les rideaux, lâchés par un machiniste, s'étaient brusquement refermés, bousculant Pherore et coupant les dix derniers vers de l'acte, vainement réclamés par la salle mécontente; et dans la scène du tribunal, au troisième acte, l'infortunée Mademoiselle Page, dont la sandale s'était défaite, avait failli s'étaler tout de son long. La tragédie aurait pu tomber avec elle, et je le craignis un moment; mais il n'en fut rien, ce qui prouve que la pièce intéressait très réellement les spectateurs. Les deux derniers actes portèrent même plus encore que le jeudi précédent: la prière de Mariane souleva de longs bravos, et les fameuses imprécations d'Hérode un tonnerre d'applaudissements, montrant bien que, malgré ses deux cent soixante et un ans, la vieille tragédie était encore vivante, et bien vivante.

The distribution for these two performances was as follows:

M. M. Daltour	Hérode	Mlles. Valentine Page	Mariane
Henri Monteux	Narbal	Odette de Fehl	Salomé
Céalis	Pherore	Chapelas	Dina
Paul Franck	Soesme	Cora Laparcerie	Alexandra
Montigny	L'Eschanson		
Taldy	Capitaine des Gardes		
Breteau	Le Grand Prévôt		
Leroux	Phaleg		
Georges	Sadoc		
Henri	Le Gouverneur		

APPENDIX D

Editions of La Mariane

No study of La Mariane would be complete without a bibliography of the editions through which it passed:⁵

- 1637: LA / MARIANE / Tragédie / Du Sr. de Tristan / L'Hermite.//
Paris, Augustin Courbé. In-4.
- 1637: LA / MARIANE / Tragédie / Seconde Edition reveve et corrigée//
Paris, Augustin Courbé. In-4.
[This edition is considered to be Tristan's final edition,
and is the edition followed in this study.]
- 1639: LA / MARIANE / Tragédie / Troisième Edition, reveve et corrigée//
Paris, Augustin Courbé. In-4.
- 1644: LA / MARIANE / Tragédie / Quatrième Edition / reveve et corrigée//
Paris, Augustin Courbé. In-4.
- 1644: LA / MARIANE / Tragédie / Du Sr. de Tristan / L'Hermite//
Paris, Augustin Courbé. In-12.
- 1645: LA// MARIANE / Tragédie// Imprimé à Rouen, & se vend / A Paris/
Augustin Courbé. In-12.
- 1648: LA / MARIANE / ... Id.// -In: THEATRE / FRANÇOIS / des Sieurs /
de Scudery / Tristan / Desmarets / et autres//
Paris, Augustin Courbé. In-12.
- n.d. LA MARIANE
n.p. Pet. in-12.
- 1652: LA / MARIANE / Tragédie / Troisième Edition / Reveve & corrigée//
Tolose, Arnaud Colomiez et Jean Brocour.
In-12.
- 1655: LA MARIAMNE / Tragédie/ Du Sr. de Tristan L'Hermite//
Paris, Augustin Courbé. Pet. in-12.

⁵This bibliography is taken from:
A. Carriat, Bibliographie des oeuvres de Tristan L'Hermite, (Limoges,
1955), pp. 22-27.

- 1656: LA MARIANE: Tragédie en cinq actes par Tristan L'Hermite.
Troyes, Nicolas Oudot. Pet. in-12.
- n.d. LA / MARIANE / Tragédie//
Paris, Antoine Rafflé. In-12.
- 1676: LA MARIANE, Tragédie. Suivant la copie imprimée à Paris.
La Haye, Jean et Daniel Steucker. In-12.
- 1705: LA MARIANE /... In: Theatre / François / ou / Recueil des
meilleures Pièces du / Theatre des Anciens Auteurs //
Paris, Pierre Ribou. In-12.
- n.d. MARIANE / Tragédie //
n.p. In-12.
- 1724: MARIANE / Tragédie / Par le Sieur / Tristan L'Hermite /
Nouvelle édition / Augmentée de la Vie de l'Auteur //
Paris, François Flahaut. In-8.
- 1724: MARIANE / Tragédie / Par / Tristan L'Hermite //
Troyes, la veuve de Jacques Oudot. In-12.
- 1718: MARIANE / Tragédie / Par Tristan L'Hermite //
[1738] Troyes, la veuve de Jacques Oudot. In-12.
- 1730: HERODES EN MARIAMNE, Treurspel door Kataryne Lescaillje,
t'Amsteldam, by David Ruarus.
[A Dutch translation, re-issued in 1757, Amsterdam, Izaak Duim.]
- 1731: MARIANE / Tragédie / du sieur / Tristan L'Hermite /
Remise au Theatre //
Paris, Didot. In-12.
[This is the edition in which J.-B. Rousseau "corrects"
Tristan's tragedy.]
- 1737: MARIANE... In: Theatre / François / ou / Recueil / des meilleures
pièces / de theatre / Tome II.
Paris, P. Gandouin, Nyon Pere, Nyon Fils,
Clousier. In-12.
- 1733: MARIANE... In: Pièces Dramatiques choisies et restituées
par M***//
Amsterdam, François Chaugnion. In-12.
[Re-issued in 1734.]

- 1780: MARIAMNE / Tragédie / de Tristan // In: Recueil / des meilleures pièces dramatiques / faites en France / depuis Rotrou jusqu'à nos jours. / ou / Théâtre François / Tome IV /
Lyon, Joseph-Sulpice Grabit In-8.
- 1784: MARIAMNE / Tragédie de Tristan L'Hermite // In: Petite / Bibliothèque / Des / Théâtres / Contenant un Recueil des meilleures / Pièces du Théâtre François Tragique / Comique, Lyrique & Bouffon, depuis / l'origine des Spectacles en France, jus- / qu'à nos jours.//
Paris, Valade. Pet. in-12.
- 1803: MARIANNA / Tragedia/ Di Francesco Tristan L'Eremita // Traduzione / Dell'Ab. Guiseppe Compagnoni, e ridotta / dal Direttore di una Compagnia Comica per uso del Teatro Italiano.
Roma, Gioacchino Puccinelli. In-8.
- 1901: LA MARIANE, tragédie, par Tristan L'Hermite. Nouvelle édition. Texte collationé sur les meilleures éditions publiées du vivant de l'Auteur, par Edmond Girard. In: Cahiers d'un bibliophile, II.
Paris, La Maison des Poètes. Pet. in-4.
- 1917: TRISTAN / LA MARIANE / Tragédie / édition critique / publiée par / Jacques Madeleine //
Paris, Hachette.
[Reprinted by photomechanical method in 1939.]

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Texts

- Aristotle. Aristotle on the Art of Fiction. Edited by L. J. Potts. Cambridge: University Press, 1953.
- Corneille, Pierre. Oeuvres de P. Corneille. Edited by P. Ch. Marty-Laveaux. 12 vols. Paris: Hachette, 1862-1868.
- Garnier, Robert. Oeuvres complètes. Edited by Lucien Pinvert. Vol. 1. Paris: Garnier Frères, 1923.
- . Les Juifves. Edited by Raymond Lebègue. Paris: Société des Belles Lettres, 1949.
- Hardy, Alexandre. Marianne. Tome II of Le Théâtre d'Alexandre Hardy. Edited by E. Stengel. Marburg: Elwert, 1884.
- Josephus, Flavius. The Works of Josephus. Translated by W. Whitson. Philadelphia: McKay, n.d.
- La Grange. Le Registre de La Grange. Edited by B. E. & G. P. Young. Paris: Droz, 1947.
- Mairet, Jean. La Sophonisbe. Edited by Ch. Dédéyan. Paris: Droz, 1945.
- Montchrestien, Antoine de. La Reine d'Escosse. Texte critique par les élèves de 2^e année de l'École Normale. Paris: Albert Frontemoigne, 1905.
- Racine, Jean. Théâtre complet. Edited by M. Rat. Paris: Garnier, 1953.
- Scarron, Paul. Le Roman comique. Edited by P. Bourget. Paris: Flammarion, 1926.
- Tristan L'Hermitte. Le Page disgracié. Edited by M. Arland. Paris: Stock, 1946.

- . Poésies choisies et annotées. Edited by P. A. Wadsworth. Paris: Seghers, 1962.
- . La Marianne. Edited by Jacques Madeleine. Paris: Hachette, 1917.
- . Les Cahiers d'un bibliophile. Le Théâtre de Tristan L'Hermitte. Edited by E. Girard. 8 vols. Paris: La Maison des Poètes, 1901-1907.
- Voltaire, François Marie Arouet de. Oeuvres. Vol. I. Edited by L. Moland. Paris: 1877.

Critical Works

- Adam, Antoine. Histoire de la littérature française au XVIIe siècle. 5 vols. Paris: Domat, 1948-1956.
- Bénichou, Paul. Morales du Grand Siècle. Paris: Gallimard, 1948.
- Bernardin, N. M. Un Précurseur de Racine: Tristan L'Hermitte, Sieur du Solier. Paris: Picard, 1895.
- Bray, René. La Formation de la doctrine classique en France. Lausanne: Payot, 1931.
- Carriat, Amédée. Bibliographie des oeuvres de Tristan L'Hermitte. Limoges: Rougerie, n.d. [1955]
- . Tristan ou l'éloge d'un poète. Limoges: Rougerie, 1955.
- Deierkauf-Holsboer, Sophie W. L'Histoire de la mise en scène dans le théâtre français à Paris de 1600 à 1673. Paris: Nizet, 1960.
- . Le Théâtre du Marais. Vol. I. Paris: Nizet, 1954.
- Kern, Edith G. The Influence of Heinsius and Vossius on French Dramatic Theory. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1949.
- Lancaster, H. Carrington. A History of French Dramatic Literature in the Seventeenth Century. 9 vols. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1929-1942.
- . French Tragedy in the time of Louis XV and Voltaire. Vol. I. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1950.

- Lanson, Gustave. Esquisse d'une histoire de la tragédie française. Paris: Champion, 1954.
- Lebègue, Raymond. La Tragédie française de la Renaissance. Paris: Société d'Édition d'Enseignement Supérieur, 1954.
- , La Poésie française de 1560 à 1630. Paris: Société d'Édition d'Enseignement Supérieur, 1951.
- Mongrédien, Georges. Les Grands Comédiens du XVIIe siècle. Paris: Société d'Édition "Le Livre", 1927.
- Mousnier, Roland. Les XVIe et XVIIe siècles. Vol. IV of L'Histoire générale des civilisations. Paris: Presses universitaires, 1956.
- Nadal, Octave. Le Sentiment de l'amour dans l'oeuvre de Pierre Corneille. Paris: Gallimard, 1948.
- Rigal, Eugène. Alexandre Hardy et le théâtre français. Paris: Hachette, 1889.
- Schérer, Jacques. La Dramaturgie classique. Paris: Nizet, 1950.

Articles

- Bernardin, N. M. "Postface aux oeuvres dramatiques de Tristan L'Hermitte", in Les Cahiers d'un bibliophile, VII & VIII (Paris, 1904-1907), pp. i-xlv.
- Dawson, Frank, K. "La Mesnardière's Theory of Tragedy", French Studies, VIII (1954), 132-139.
- Kohler, Pierre. "Sur la Sophonisbe de Mairet et les débuts de la tragédie classique", Revue d'Histoire littéraire de la France, XLVI (1939), 56-70.
- Lancaster, H. Carrington. "Leading French Tragedies just before Le Cid", Modern Philology, XXII-XXIII (1924-1926), 375-378.
- , "The Origin of the Lyric Monologue in French Classical Tragedy", Publications of the Modern Language Association of America, XLII (1927), 782-787.
- Lebègue, Raymond. "La Tragédie française au XVIe siècle: Robert Garnier", Revue des Cours et Conférences, XXXIII (15 juillet, 1932) 648-672.

- Marti, Berthe. "Seneca's Tragedies, A New Interpretation", Transactions & Proceedings of the American Philological Association, LXXVI (1945), 216-245.
- Martinon, Philippe. "Etudes sur le vers français: la genèse des règles de Jean Lemaire à Malherbe", Revue d'Histoire littéraire de la France, XVI (1909), 62-87.
- Morel, Jacques. "La Présentation scénique du songe dans les tragédies françaises au XVIIe siècle", Revue d'Histoire du Théâtre, 1951, pp. 153-163.
- Lebègue, Raymond. "Malherbe correcteur de tragédie", Revue d'Histoire littéraire de la France, XLI (1934), 161-184, 344-361, 481-496.
- Wadsworth, Philip A. "Artifice and Sincerity in the Poetry of Tristan L'Hermite", Modern Language Notes, LXXIV (1959), 422-430.

799541

THESE
PQ
79954
cop. 2

PDC 5205

DATE, D. E. IRISTAN LHERMITO02
OR FILE COPY

BOOK CARD

- THIS CARD MUST BE KEPT IN THE BOOK POCKET.
- THE BORROWER WILL BE RESPONSIBLE IF CARD IS MISSING OR DAMAGED.

0 47 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70 71 72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80