

FABRE'S TIMON D'ATHÈNES

Sources and Relation to Shakespeare's Timon of Athens

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INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

Ever since the days when Timon of Athens lived in Greece during the Peloponnesian war, he has appeared now and again in literature. Time and imaginative writers have built up a legend concerning his personality and life. Plutarch describes his character and manner of living, and Lucian bases a dialogue upon his life (real and alleged). For the most part, literature dealing with the legend of Timon of Athens has been dramatic. Even his contemporaries made him the hero of Greek Comedies, and fifteenth century Italian writers, such as Boiardo and Coretto, have created plays upon this subject.

In England, Timon was the stock exponent of misanthropy; Shakespeare was inspired to write a tragedy: "Timon of Athens" c. 1606. French writers have imitated and translated this play as well as written original dramas about Timon. At the very close of the nineteenth century appeared "Timon d'Athènes" by a young Frenchman, Émile Fabre. (For a brief account of Fabre's life see appendix B).

It is the purpose of this thesis to examine the possible sources of Fabre's play; to determine to what extent he imitated the Shakespearean play, or is indebted to it; and to discover any original additions or interpretations he may have made to the character of Timon. Since Fabre's play deals also with the history of Athens during

the lifetime of Timon, the play will be studied to find with what degree of accuracy the author has treated the historical events and details which appear in his drama.

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CHAPTER I

THE TIMON LEGEND

Part One

Sources and Development

A few lines in any classical dictionary tell all that is known or guessed of the historical Timon of Athens. In the course of time, fact and fable, both scant, have become mixed, until finally what fact there is disappears in the legend gathered around his name.

The historical facts that we know of Timon are that he was an Athenian of the demus of Colyttus, whose father's name was Echekratides. Larousse gives c. 440 B.C.¹ as his birthdate and critics agree that he lived during the Peloponnesian war, and hated all men so much that he refused to call a doctor when he had broken his leg, and thus died of gangrene.²

This Timon, often confused with Timon Phlius, who lived a century and a half later, and was a writer, a philosopher and a politician,³ was well known to his countrymen especially for his manner of living, as is shown in references to him by comic writers of his time. In 415 B.C. Phrynichus has the hero of his comedy "The Misanthrope" say: "I live like Timon. I have no wife, no servant, I am irritable and hard to get on with, I never laugh, I never talk, and my opinions are all my own."⁴ The same year Prometheus in the "Birds" of Aristophanes claims to be the Timon of the Gods- hating divinities as Timon⁵ hates humanity. Three years later, 412 B.C., Aristophanes

points to Timon again as a typical man hater, incidentally informing us that his is now dead.

Other Greek writers who have used Timon's life are: Libanius, Plato, Diogenes and Hermippus, while nearly half a century after the first mention of his name, Antiphanes wrote a play of which Timon was the hero. There remains only a fragment of this comedy, too small to indicate the nature of the play, but the fact of its existence, with the other references to him, proves that Timon was a distinct figure in old and middle Greek comedy. Lucian's "Sale of Philosophers" rounds out the figure of Apemantus whom Aristoxenus had supplied as Timon's companion.

More than a century later Alexandrian epigrammatists composed epitaphs on Timon; these are interesting because they show the endurance of his fame and add some slight details to the legend, especially two epitaphs, repeated by Plutarch and his translator, North, which were joined in the double epitaph found on Timon's tomb in the Shakespearean play.

Historical and philosophic writers of later periods, added to the Timon story: Cicero and Seneca saw him as a cynic philosopher, the elder Pliny classed him with Heraclitus, the weeping philosopher or Pyrrhus the sceptic. (This idea of Timon as a philosopher arose from confusing him with Timon Phlius.) Then, Cicero tells us that even a recluse like Timon must have some companion.

Evidently Apemantus is meant.

Strabo contributed another point to the legend. He tells us that Marc Antony, having lost everything, retired after the battle of Actium, and seeing all his friends desert him, began to think of himself as a second
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Timon. This is the first reference to the loss of position and wealth, and consequently of friends, as the cause of Timon's misanthropy. Perhaps this reason had been attributed Timon long before and may have been historical, but it is with Strabo that we first hear of this motive which is included in the legend from this time.

Plutarch, repeating the story about Marc Antony, goes more into detail concerning the life and character of Timon, summing up all that has been said of him previously
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and adding further details. Antony, he says, forsook Alexandria and built himself a solitary house by the sea that he might live a life like Timon's. This Timon was an Athenian in the time of the Peloponnesian wars. He shunned all company save that of Alcibiades but feasted and made much of him because he knew that one day Alcibiades would do harm to Athens. He was sometimes found in the company of churlish Apemantus. Once as they ate together, Apemantus said: "O, here is a trimme banquet, Timon", and Timon replied: "Yea, so thou wert not here". On another day, Timon spoke to the people in the market place; he said: "My Lordes of Athens, I have a litle yard in my house where groweth a figge tree, on the which many citizens have

hanged themselves, and because I mean to make some building upon the place, I thought good to let you all understand it, that before the figge tree be cut downe, if any of you be desparate, you may there in time go hang your selves." ¹⁵

When Timon died he was buried by the sea and the waters came in around his tomb and hid it. Plutarch then quotes ¹⁶ the two epitaphs mentioned previously. Again, he speaks of Timon in his "Life of Alcibiades" as the latter's friend and also gives the name of Timandra as Alcibiades's companion.

With the passing of more years, the Timon legend is not forgotten but grows stronger. A century after Plutarch we find the first full expansion of the Timon story that has come down to us from antiquity. It is Lucian's imaginative, comic dialogue of "Timon, the Misanthrope". Timon describes his days of prosperity in the opening soliloquy and complains that he now has to dig in the earth for four half pence a day while those whom he has aided ignore him as they pass by: "Myself have set so many Athenians afloat, of miserable beggars have made wealthy men, and succoured all that craved assistance at my hand, nay poured out my riches in heaps to do my friends good, yet when by that means I grew poor.... I could never be acknowledged by them... These indignities have made me betake myself to this solitary place, to cloath myself in this pelt and labour in the earth for four half pence a day, here practising Philosophy with solitariness and my Mattock." ¹⁷

Then, Timon makes a mock heroic appeal to Zeus for help in revenging himself. The Gods remembering his former offerings to them, advise him where to dig and he finds gold. With new wealth his, Timon wishes to build himself a small castle away from men, but news of his good fortune has spread and his former friends come fawning upon him.

These include Gnathonides, a poet, who has previously refused to aid Timon; Philiades, a singer to whom Timon had given a farm and a marriage portion for his daughter, but from whom he had received only blows; Demeas, a young rhetorician whom Timon had redeemed from prison, and Thrasycles, the orator. Soon the crowd becomes too great around Timon, he ascends a little hill and by throwing stones drives them away. The dialogue ends as they leave.

The discovery of gold, Timon's apostrophe to it, the renewed flattery of friends, and Timon's resentment of them, are Lucian's main contributions to the Timon story. These episodes have stuck to the legend save that the finding of gold occurs without the intervention of the Gods. That Timon's pretended friends were artists, poets, and orators presents him as a Mæcenas, a view which succeeding writers have followed; and that Timon had outfitted Athenian boats suggests a patriot, as Fabre has pictured him.

This dialogue practically closes the tradition of the ancient world, since the few references to Timon before the silence of the middle ages add little to his

story.

With the Renaissance Timon reappears and has the distinction of inspiring what is usually called the first modern comedy: Boiardo's "Il Timone" (written before 1494)¹⁸. Although it is interesting as showing revived interest in the misanthrope, it contributed little to the actual growth of the legend. It follows the Lucian dialogue, with the exception of an added sub-plot, in the fourth and fifth acts only, in which the rightful owners of the gold Timon has found appear and regain their money. This added feature did not stick to the legend which remained as it had stood in Plutarch and Lucian. Nor was it changed in a second Italian "Timone" (after 1497) by Galleotto del Coretto, who imitated Boiardo in following Lucian.

In Elizabethan England the Timon story was well known. "The Strange and Beastly Nature of Timon of Athens" is the title of the 28th novel in the first tome of Painter's "Palace of Pleasure" first published in 1575. The story is based on Plutarch and is almost as faithful a translation as that which North made about thirteen years later. From then on Timon was a familiar figure in all kinds of writing, not in the role of a person, but as a name to describe any hateful man. Shakespeare speaks of him in "Love's Labour's Lost": "And critic Timon laughs at idle toys"¹⁹. Thus at this period Timon was a stock exponent of misanthropy and any dramatist taking him for a hero might have found some hints for his character in cur-

rent tradition.

So far North and Painter have given the only long accounts of Timon in English. But about 1600 appeared an anonymous comedy "Timon of Athens" which was first edited by Rev. A. Dyce in 1842. ²⁰ The author knew his Lucian well and followed him carefully in the main plot of the play. Such changes as he made were, in so far as can be judged, of his own invention; and as some of these appear again in Shakespeare's Timon the question arises whether Shakespeare knew this play or not.

This version departs from those of all former writers by devoting the first half of the comedy to Timon in prosperity; it shows him reveling among his friends, enriching his favorites, discharging his steward for protesting against his lavishness, receiving him again in the disguise of a soldier, paying the debts of Eutrapelus, rescuing Demeas (Lucian's orator) from prison, even falling in love with the daughter of Philagurus who accepts him because he asks no dowry. Timon is about to be married when his fortune is lost by the wreck of all his ships at sea. He is penniless. Immediately his friends turn from him; when he seeks aid of them one offers him a groat, another a halter; some bid him cloth himself with virtue, others fail to recognize him. Only his steward remains faithful to him. Through him Timon announces that he has only been testing his friends, that he yet has money and will give one last banquet for them. When they gather a-

round the table they find nothing but stones painted like artichokes. This mock banquet is first heard of in this comedy; in the Shakespearean play it forms the climax. Timon then leaves the city to dig in the fields, followed by the faithful steward. He hates all men, and the finding of gold only adds to his vexation. He seeks to bury the gold again or sink it in the ocean; even when dissuaded from this by the steward, he wishes to take it to some desert place where he can live alone with it. "Thee also will I fly", he tells the steward, "thy love doth vex me." But before he can hide, his false friends come seeking his new wealth. He repels them with his spade. At the last moment he begins to "feel a sudden change" and to make a happy ending, "Timon doffs Timon" and goes home to Athens. The end is not out of keeping, for in spite of a few heavy scenes the spirit of the piece is comic, as is that of all preceding treatments of the legend. A strong underplot, negligible to the legend though it takes up half of the play, is pure farce.

Part Two

Shakespeare's "Timon of Athens"

Less than a decade after the writing of the Dyce comedy, the Timon story found its supreme expression in one of the bitterest of tragedies - "Timon of Athens" by Shakespeare. A summary of the play by acts will show the use which the author has made of the legend and his contributions to it.

Act I Friends of Timon: merchants, lords, artists, senators and the professed man-hater Apemantus, are gathered in a hall of Timon's house for dinner. Timon, who has shown his generosity to each of them in the past, gives new proof of it upon this occasion. While he feasts his friends and lavishes gifts upon them, Flavius, his valet, tries to warn him that his coffers are almost empty; but Timon puts him off and does not learn the true state of his fortunes. Each friend attests that were Timon poor, he would be the first to aid him.

Act II A senator who has lent Timon money, fearing Timon's wealth will soon all be gone, sends a servant to demand payment. Other creditors do likewise. Flavius manages to send them away. Timon learns that his fortune is spent, but, confident that he is still rich in his friends, sends servants to each one asking for aid, or at least for the return of that which he

has loaned them.

Act III On every hand, Timon's request is refused. At last, enraged by the hypocrisy of his former friends, he invites them to a last dinner. They come, thinking he is yet wealthy and was only pretending poverty to try their friendship. Each one makes transparent excuses for having failed him. After thanking the Gods most cynically, Timon cries: "Uncover, Dogges, and lappe". But when the dishes are uncovered at the table, they show only lukewarm water, which he throws into their faces, and with bitter reproaches drives them from his house.

In the meantime, Alcibiades, a former guest in Timon's house, has applied to the Senate for the pardon of a soldier whose offence was committed in anger. This is refused and Alcibiades is banished from Athens because of his comments upon a government which lauds unhuman treatment on the part of soldiers in time of war, but condemns it in time of peace.

Act IV Timon, hating all men and forsaken by all save Flavius, lives as a hermit in a cave in the woods outside the city of Athens. While digging for roots to eat, he finds gold. News of this fortune soon reaches Athens; the false friends seek him again, only to be driven away with stones. Alcibiades, heading a band of rebels against Athens, passes by and offers his sympathy. Timon spurns his friendship but gives him

gold with which to pay his soldiers that Athens may be destroyed. Timon softens only toward his faithful steward; he gives him his freedom, and gold that he may live independently.

Act V A poet and a painter, formerly patronized by Timon, seek him, pretending ignorance of the new found gold. Senators of Athens come to him offering him power and fame in return for his gold to aid them against Alcibiades. All are repulsed.

Athens surrenders to Alcibiades who is before the gates, on condition that only his and Timon's enemies shall die. A soldier finds the tomb by the sea which Timon has been buried in after having hanged himself. Unable to read the inscription, the soldier carries a wax impression of it to Alcibiades, who enters Athens as its master, prepared to avenge both Timon and himself.

It is easily seen that Shakespeare made use of almost all of the facts of the legend as it had come down to him: Lucian's dialogue, the comedies of Boiardo and Coretto closely imitating it; the English comedy enlarging its theme; Plutarch's brief description and Painter's repetition of Plutarch. The Italian comedies did not affect his play. Anything used by Shakespeare which they contain, appears first in Lucian and where they depart from him, Shakespeare did not follow. Of the preceding Timon literature, Shakespeare followed Plutarch and

Painter's transcript on the one hand, and on the other, Lucian or the English comedy, or both.

Critics do not agree as to this source for Shakespeare's play. Some contend he could not have known Lucian, but used that material as he found it in the old play edited by Rev. A. Dyce; others that this play was never seen by Shakespeare and, consequently, he must have borrowed directly from Lucian. There are, also, two conflicting theories regarding the drama: the one, that Shakespeare revised a manuscript written earlier by some unknown author; the second that Shakespeare's unfinished play was completed by another. This thesis will make no attempt to throw light upon these disputes, but rather to compare the Shakespearean play with all the Timon literature before it.

Shakespeare used and enlarged all that Plutarch says of Timon. Plutarch buried his Timon by the seashore; Shakespeare also "Taught him to make vast Neptune weep for eye on his low grave."²² Plutarch told how Timon offered the Athenians a tree on which to hang themselves - a climactic incident in the play.²³ The two epitaphs given by Plutarch are combined as one by Shakespeare,²⁴ and two characters come from this source: Apemantus and Alcibiades. These Shakespeare developed into important contrasting personalities, having as a basis only small hints in a few sentences about each one. All that Plutarch says of Apemantus is that he was like unto Timon, and that Timon once protested that he enjoyed eating more in Apemantus's ab-

szence. This protest is repeated in the play, and the suggestion of his character developed into a personage much like that of Diogenes in Lily's "Campaspe"; his bickering cynicism contrasting effectively with Timon's misanthropy. Alcibiades in Plutarch's sketch is merely mentioned as the only man tolerated by Timon - because Timon feels that one day Alcibiades will bring harm to Athens. This cause for affection appears in the play while his general character is that found in Plutarch's "Life of Alcibiades". It is an invention of Shakespeare's to have Alcibiades avenge his own not too clearly explained wrongs as well as those of Timon.

For the details of Timon's life: his early affluence, his kindness to flatterers, their desertion of him, his change of nature, his mock banquet, his departure from Athens, his digging in the fields and discovery of gold, Shakespeare followed the legend as it had been developed in the earlier English play and, perhaps, by Lucian. Some incidents are used as found in these sources, others altered slightly. The chief points of resemblance may be noticed.

Half of the Shakespearean play is devoted to Timon in luxury. This phase of Timon's life was first presented in the old play, being only implied by Lucian. About the middle of both plays, Timon becomes bankrupt, his friends fall off, he turns misanthrope and leaves Athens.

In the first scene Timon redeems Ventidius from

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a debtor's prison with five talents. In the beginning of the old play, Eutrapelus, chased by a usurer, asks Timon for four talents to pay off his debt; and Timon answers "Yea, take five"³⁰. The nearest parallel in Lucian - which is also repeated in the old play - is the narrated rescue³¹ of Demeas where the sum is sixteen talents.

After rescuing Ventidius, Timon bestows a dowry on a servant in order that the latter may wed the daughter of a certain frugal old Athenian. In the earlier play, a miser, Philargurus, is seeking to marry off his daughter to a wealthy husband, In Lucian, it is said that Timon gave a dowry to the daughter of a baldhead, Philiades, for a song the latter sang. Shakespeare may have used either legend.

In the Shakespearean play, Timon is digging for roots when he discovers gold; in the old play, he seems to dig for no express purpose; in Lucian, he hires out to dig for sixpence a day. When he finds the gold, in the Shakespearean play, he starts straightway to bury it; so in the old play, but not in Lucian.

In the crowd that flocks to Timon's new-found wealth as in both the Dyce play and in Lucian, the poet is the only specific character of great similarity in the three; he is as much like the Hermogenes of the old play, whose only claim to being a poet is that he can sing, and play the fiddle, as he is like the Gnathonides of Lucian, whose poetic activity consists solely in bringing Timon

a copy of the latest song from Athens. The senators in the drama are not greatly different from the senator with his congratulations in Lucian; the blows and stones to the flatterers are the same in both the old and new play.

Shakespeare repeats two points of the legend as found only in the earlier English comedy: the faithful steward and the mock-banquet scene. In both plays, the steward alone is faithful to his master, and, also, when he comes to Timon in the fields, Timon at first repels him. In both plays the steward is rewarded for his faithfulness when the gold is found.

The circumstances of the two banquets are the same: false friends are invited for a last time to the home of Timon. In the Shakespearean play, when seated at the banquet table, they find only luke-warm water in place of food. The fact that one of the guests cried out: "One day he gives us diamonds, the next day stones"³², reminds us that, in the old play, Timon actually serves stones painted like artichokes.

Thus we see that Shakespeare used and enlarged upon every scrap of information previously written about Timon of Athens. His contribution to the legend was to centralize it in highly dramatic form. But chiefly, the valuable thing which he did was to create out of the legendary Timon a real character. His is not the Timon of the popular stories of his day. According to them Timon "was a man but by shape only", he lived "a beastly, churlish

life". The story of Painter further tells us, "At the same time, there was in Athens another of like quality called Apemantus of the very same nature, different from the natural kind of man." Neither was the Timon of Plutarch, who described him as the ordinary cynic, the Timon of Shakespeare, who rather made of him a dreamer, who first idealized philanthropy until it so completely failed him that he turned to misanthropy, idealizing it equally.

Part Three

Timon in France before the XIX Century

The Timon legend seems not to have aroused any interest in French Literature until after Shakespeare's tragedy, "Timon of Athens" appeared in English c. 1606.³³

Guillaume Brécourt, an excellent player in the troupe of Molière, and composer of comedies now forgotten, produced a one act play in verse on August 13, 1684, entitled "Timon".³⁴

Again in 1722, a comedy, "Timon, le Misanthrope"³⁵ by Louis François Delisle, appeared. Much later on January 2, 1752, it was played in the Théâtre de l'Hôtel de Bourgogne. This play, in prose, was inspired by Lucian. In the prologue Timon, already become a misanthrope, retires to Mount Hymettus and prays Jupiter to punish the men who have been ungrateful to him. Mercury and Plutus give him riches. These Timon at first refuses, but later accepts upon the gratification of his wish that his donkey may be given a voice by the Gods, who change the donkey into a man and give him the name Arlequin.³⁶

The rest of the play is divided into three acts. Timon returns to Athens. In order to make him less severe toward mankind, Jupiter employs Arlequin and a young girl called Eucharis to aid him. For the same purpose Mercury comes to earth in the form of a woman, Aspasia. Timon falls in love with Eucharis, but is robbed by Arlequin who is in

turn robbed by Aspasia. He is cured, however, of his misanthropy and marries Eucharis, so all ends well.

The similarities of the story to the Lucian dialogue are the misanthropy of Timon with ingratitude of friends hinted as the cause, his prayer to the Gods, their gift of riches and the use of the name Aspasia. This play, for the most part mere fancy, and adding nothing to the development of the legend, is of interest because in it we again find Timon the hero of a comedy, as when he first became a dramatic figure.

The next appearance of Timon in French literature was in 1793 in "Timon d'Athènes", a tragedy in five acts, written in prose by Louis-Sébastien Mercier. ³⁷ Mercier revolted against the literary ideas of Boileau and Racine, especially against classic drama. Because Shakespeare was such an excellent example of the opposite to this classic theater, he admired him greatly and wrote plays based upon Shakespearean tragedies. These were semi-translations with bloody incidents interpolated at will. Such a play is his "Timon d'Athènes" and, as such, does not affect the legendary Timon of literature.

Thus, up to the twentieth century, no really meritorious work, arising from the legend and history of Timon of Athens, had appeared in French literature.

CHAPTER II

TIMON d'ATHÈNES BY ÉMILE FABRE

Part One

"Timon d'Athènes", Two Versions, 1899, 1907

The Timon legend appealed to a French dramatist of the twentieth century: Émile Fabre; and formed the basis of his drama, "Timon d'Athènes", written in 1899.^{38,39} This was presented in Marseilles, October 20th, 1899, during the celebration of the twenty fifth centenary of the foundation of that city.⁴⁰ Much later, after a revision by the author, the play appeared in Paris, April 12th, 1907,⁴¹ at the Théâtre Antoine.

With Fabre, the character of Timon and the incidents of the legend are included as but a part and background for a larger plot in which Timon is depicted as a statesman as well as a misanthropist; and his misanthropy arising at first from his personal grievances is increased by his disillusionment in religion and develops almost to madness because of the unjust manner in which his fellow-men are ruled. Since Fabre makes Timon a statesman (a characteristic only implied by Shakespeare's Timon), necessarily the history of the state, Athens, enters largely into the drama.

A summary of the play will show the new features introduced by Fabre, as well as the use he has made of the legendary material.

Act I Guests of Timon are banqueting in his house.

Each one is indebted to him for past favors and

seeks new ones. When churlish Apemantus, professed hater of Gods and man, accuses these friends of loving not Timon but his wealth, they declare that should ill fortune come to Timon, he should share all that they have. War with Lacedæmonia threatens Athens. Aristokles especially, and others of the aristocracy, wishing peace that they may keep their riches intact, place the blame for the foreign animosity against the state on Perikles, who is the leader of the army and the idol of the people, and his mistress Aspasia. Alcibiades, whose life Timon has saved in battle at Potidiæ, defends Perikles, pointing to the fame and power that he has built up for Athens, and the beauty which he has bestowed upon her.

The group awaits the return of a messenger, who has been sent to make peace with Lacedæmonia. They learn that he has been treacherously killed and that the enemy makes crushing demands the price of peace. Timon is willing to lose all his fortune rather than that Athens should be so humiliated. The "Combattant of Salamis", a venerable hero of Athens' history and a kinsman of Timon, comes urging the young men to attend the assembly, which must decide for war and honor, or peace and submission. By recalling to their minds the glory of Athens' past history, he imbues them with a spirit of pat-

riotism, and they promise to vote for war at the council.

Act II War has devastated Athenian territory. Peasants have thronged to the city bringing the plague. Expecting death on the morrow, the people think only of today's pleasures. They are tired of war: the rich wish to save whatever remains of their fortunes; the poor desire food and bodily comforts. Alcibiades gives food and clothing to the suffering people.

Kleon, a member of the peace party, exhorts the worn-out populace to accept any terms, that Athens may have relief. He accuses Perikles of building up a private fortune at the expense of the state, of continuing the war for personal reasons. Aspasia defends Perikles and by her eloquence prevails upon them to continue fighting for the glory of this Athens which Perikles has established. Again the war goes on.

Timon has lost his entire fortune: his fields have been burned, his slaves have fled. His father, wife and one of his two sons have died of the plague. He begins to doubt the justice of the Gods, who allow the wicked to prosper and the faithful to suffer. Desiring to go to Eleusis that he may ascertain something of the future, he needs money, but is confident that his friends will repay him what he has loaned to them. However when he asks them,

each one refuses; Evagorus alone consoles and counsels him.

His last son, Chariolus dies. Overcome by this tragedy, Timon resolves to be like all other men: cruel and selfish.

Act III First tableau.

A truce has been made with Lacedemonia. Perikles is dead and Aspasia has taken Lysikles for a lover. Timon, who has sought comfort for his sorrows at Eleusis, returns completely disillusioned in his Gods and in religion.

He wishes to regain his wealth that he may give to the people of Athens a just government which the present regime has not done. Alcibiades offers him the city of Melos to be seized and its temples robbed of their treasures. Timon accepts that he may become wealthy enough to carry out his high ideals of bringing happiness to every Athenian.

Second tableau.

Athens has besieged the unoffending city of Melos for more than twelve months. Although on the verge of starvation, the people refuse to surrender, hoping that their ally, Lacedemonia, will come to their aid. Through the influence of Alcibiades, Timon comes to end the siege and take the city. This he succeeds in doing by shameful strategy, violating even the Athenian code of war. The life of

no man in the city is spared; the women and children are taken as captives. Timon empties the temples of their treasures and goes, wealthy again, to Athens.

Act IV After having returned from Melos, Timon with other aristocrats had overturned the Democracy and had established an oligarchy called the "Rule of the Four Hundred". Timon is led to believe that five thousand of the common citizens, each unknown to the other, have been given the right to vote on public matters, but, in reality, none has ever been named.

Timon's friends fawn upon him as before, but his dream of justice and happiness for every Athenian is not realized because each of the Four Hundred, save Timon, thinks of his personal gain, not of the welfare of the people.

War with Lacedemonia threatens again. Timon wishes to recall Alcibiades, who has been exiled, but his associates refuse. Evagorus warns Timon that the common people are weary of the rule of the Four Hundred and threaten revolt. Messengers sent to sign a peace with Lacedemonia, return with an agreement whereby Athens is to yield to her enemy.

At last, seeing the failure and selfish treachery of the Oligarchy and aided by Aspasia and Evagorus, Timon reveals the Four Hundred, who are banqueting in his house, as traitors to the enraged

people. Thereby he restores liberty and democracy to the Athenians.

Act V These soon become drunk with their own power. They accuse six generals, one of whom is the son of Perikles and Aspasia, of sacrilege, because, having won a naval battle, they failed to recover the bodies of drowned sailors and carry them back to Athens for a religious burial. In the Pnyx at a public meeting, they condemn these generals to death without first giving them a legal hearing. Timon mounts the tribune and pleads for justice and lawful procedure. He is hissed by the crowd and the still unheard generals are condemned to death. Democracy has failed to bring justice to Athens. Timon upbraids the people and swears to live no more among men.

Act VI Timon, a recluse, living as an animal in the woods near Athens, finds gold when he is digging for roots to eat. His slave, who alone has followed him, refuses gold and freedom when Timon offers them. Throngs of people pass by, fleeing from Athens which has at last been taken by the Lacedemonians. Because he so hates the Athenians, Timon congratulates Aristokles, who selfishly has never favored war and consequently has been appointed one of the thirty tyrants governing the city. Aristokles manifests his authority by ordering Timon away from Athens. Timon pledges himself to be gone by nightfall, and with a

final cry wishing all things evil upon the city, he hangs himself by a rope attached to a fig-tree.

After "Timon d'Athènes" had been played in Marseilles in 1899, Émile Fabre presented it to various Parisian theaters hoping to have it produced in Paris. "Mais," says Gaston Sorbets, "il était encore peu connu et les directeurs, effrayés au seul annoncé des tableaux et à la lecture des indications de mise en scène, le repoussaient l'un après l'autre."⁴² Maurice Demaison writes of "Timon d'Athènes" in 1899, "C'est un ouvrage d'une longueur excessive qui gagnerait à être abrégé. Un acte, celui de la prise de Mélos pourrait, sans grand dommage, être remplacé par un récit. Plusieurs scènes pleines d'idées pourraient être allégées de certains développements".

Probably following the suggestions of such critics, Émile Fabre produced a new version of his play at the Théâtre Antoine on April 12, 1907, having made such alterations as to shorten the drama without greatly disturbing the action,⁴³ thus the 6 acts of the original play are condensed into 5 in the revised edition. Throughout the play, the dialogue is shortened. Most of the speeches which tended to create atmosphere more than to further the plot, are now omitted. In some cases as in the trial of the six generals at the Pnyx, fewer speaking parts are introduced and the more lengthy exhortations are shortened. From act V (1899) two of Evagorus's

speeches, urging the people of Athens to give the generals a legal trial, are reduced respectively from 39 to 18 and from 18 to 11 lines in act IV (1907).

Phraseology is altered sometimes for the sake of brevity, and again for no apparent reason. Aristokles speaking of Timon's having saved the life of Alcibiades says:

(I, i, 1899) "Par les Dieux, ce ne fut point sa meilleure action. Devail-il aventurer sa vie pour sauver celle d'Alcibiade?"

(I, i, 1907) "Sauver la vie de cet enfant turbulent, quelle sottise!"

Timon speaking to Aristokles who has become one of the tyrants of Athens under Lacedemonia, exclaims:

(VI, ii, 1899) "Nous ne pouvons habiter la même cité tous les deux."

(V, ii, 1907) "Deux hommes comme nous ne peuvent vivre sous le même ciel."

During the plague Lichas and Demos compare their food:

(II, v, 1899) Lichas - "J'ai mangé des sauterelles rôties ce matin."

Demos - "Moi, des racines."

(II, i, 1907) Lichas - "Hier, je n'ai eu que deux rats pour mon dîner."

Draces - "Moi, des racines."

A speech of one person in the 1899 edition is sometimes given to another in the 1907:

(I,1, 1899) Aristoklès - "Personne n'use de sa fortune plus généreusement que lui. Naguère, il me donna une épée à la poignée d'or fin; hier, il m'envoya un cheval."

(I,1, 1907) Antiphon - "Naguère, il me donna une épée à la poignée d'or fin; hier il m'a fait présent d'un cheval."

Act I The reduction from 6 to 5 acts forced Fabre to rearrange or redistribute the scenes sometimes combining the action of several into one: scenes i and ii correspond in both plays while iii, iv, v and vi (1899) form scenes iii (1907), and vii (1899) is iv (1907).⁴⁴

There are, however, minor differences in the material and in the manner in which it is presented, for instance the opening of the play. The old piece plunges directly into the intricacies of Athenian diplomacy, while the new one starts with a colorful scene of aristocrats and courtesans which is taken from act III, scene i (1899), thus bringing the spectator better and sooner into contact with the character and disposition of the aristocracy to which Timon belonged.

Whole scenes, in themselves dramatic but adding little to the plot of the play, have been shortened, merely narrated, or even left out entirely. Two in act I disappear: scene iii in which Chereas requests

money from Timon that he may have the necessary dowry to marry the daughter of Aristocrates; scene iv in which Timon, knowing that war will come and fearing for his illegitimate son, Iaos, gives Kallias, the high priest, two talents of gold to hold in trust for the boy, though abridged to a few lines, contains the entire argument, and precedes scene iii instead of following it as before.

The omission of the song "Kypris d'Or" of scenes v and vii (1899) shortens iii and iv (1907).

Act II Here the arrangement of the action of the two plays begins to diverge. Fabre leaves act III (1899) entirely out of the revision and continues the sequence of the plot by placing certain necessary incidents in the new act II, omitting the superfluous details.

Scenes i, ii, and iii (1899) combine in i (1907). Hymnis's song to Paphos is changed to the shorter "Kypris d'Or" formerly sung in act I; the incidents where the Combattant of Salamis bemoans the shamelessness and iniquity of the people of Athens and again exhorts them to fight for the glory of their city (scene i, 1899); where Kallias plots the arrest of Melitta on a charge of impiety that he may have her fortune (scene ii, 1899) are not included in the 1907 play. The touching tableau of fear-maddened women crowding the streets that they may come near

the doctor to find some remedy for the plague which attacks their loved ones (scene ii) is lacking. The meeting of Timon and Evagorus (scene iii) is likewise omitted and the role of the latter shortened throughout the play. It was in this scene that Evagorus advised Timon, who has lost his whole family, save one son and his fortune, to begin again as he has, to recover his money loaned to friends and to go to Eleusis seeking enlightenment as to the future.

Scenes iv (1899) and ii (1907) conform with each other. The events of iv and the first half of vi (1899) take place in iii (1907). Part of the dialogue relating to the arrest of Melitta, the power of the Gods and the outcome of the war (scene v, 1899) is cut.

Scene iv (1907) has no counterpart in act II, (1899). The argument comes from act III (1899) which is not included in the 1907 play. As narrated in this version (1907), Timon has been to Eleusis and has witnessed the insincerity of the supposedly most sacred of mysteries. His wish now is for money that he may establish a state in which there shall be justice for Athenians. Alcibiades offers to restore his fortune by making him a chief of the army about to leave for Melos. There, when the inhabitants are enslaved or killed, Timon may enrich himself with the gold of the temples. Even though in great need of money,

Timon refuses, but seeks Kallias to ask the return of the two golden talents since Iaos is now dead. Now, the last part of scene vi and scene vii (1899) are combined in v (1907). Kallias denies ever having received money from him, and pretending that Timon is insane, finally, swears before an altar in a temple that never has Timon given him the talents. Mad with grief at the death of his lost son, Chariolus and disillusioned with religion, Timon determines to find Alcibiades that he may accept his offer.

Act III Act III (1899) which is sacrificed in the 1907 play, is made up of two tableaux: first at the home of Aspasia. It is here, and under different circumstances to those previously cited, that Timon accepts Alcibiades's offer to restore his wealth. This is the chief change in the plots of the two plays. The opening dialogue of this tableau, as before mentioned, is used as a beginning for act I scene 1 (1907). The second division of the act shows the taking of Melos. This action Timon relates to his friends in act III, scene ii (1907).

The remaining acts of the two versions are quite similar. Act IV (1899) bears the title "L'Oligarchie" and Act III (1907), "L'Aristocratie". Scenes i, ii, iii (1899) are combined in ii (1907). The chief omission is the coming of Evagorus to warn Timon that the people of Athens plan to revolt against the Rule

of the Four Hundred (scene ii). This warning is mentioned in scene ii (1907). Scene iv (1899) differs from ii (1907) by the exclusion of the incident in which Aspasia aids Timon in overthrowing the Aristocracy and in recalling Alcibiades. Again the role of Evagorus loses in the revision. His two visits to Timon (scenes ii and iv, 1899) are combined into one (ii, 1907), but because of the lack of the first visit one does not see so clearly his purpose in coming. This is logical and well arranged in the old play. Although scene v (1899) is divided into iv and v (1907), it is not lengthened.

Act IV Act V (1899) and Act IV (1907), each made up of only one scene, have the same action. The 1907 is greatly abridged. Characters are left out and speeches omitted or shortened; but without any serious damage to the effectiveness of the presentation.

Act V Fabre entitled the last act of each play "La Mort de Timon". To the 1907 edition he adds: "La Chute d'Athènes". The two scenes of these acts correspond, with some re-arrangement of detail. Scene i (1899) deals only with the finding of the gold and the story of the faithful slave. The other events take place in scene ii. Scene i (1907) contains the same detail as scene i (1899) except the farewell dialogue between Timon and Aristokles which makes scene ii. The fate of Alcibiades is not disclosed

in the latter play. The final speeches of Timon (1899 and 1907), full of hatred for Athens and the Athenians, even for all mankind, express the same sentiment but are phrased differently.

While the 1907 edition is more suitable for presentation of the stage, the 1899 "Timon d'Athènes" has a better developed plot. With more length, more time, and more dialogue, the portrayal of the characters is more minute. Evagorus has a much more important role in the former than the latter version. His influence is the same in each, but for the lack of a few scenes we fail to see the full extent of his friendship for Timon.

The 1907 play gains in dramatic intensity in the scenes where Alcibiades first offers to restore Timon's fortune; Timon refuses. Then convinced by circumstances (the perjury of Kallias and the death of Charolus) that all men are wicked, that the just are unrewarded and the evil unpunished, he accepts this criminal opportunity to enrich himself, however wrong the means. This arrangement of action and motives contains an element of suspense not found in the 1899 play, where Alcibiades makes his proposition after Timon has been completely disillusioned and has already lost all his family.

While the two plays, 1899 and 1907, remain essentially the same, it is in atmosphere that the 1907 version loses, being weakened by the enforced shortening of speeches, which gave detailed allusions to the Gods, the

mysteries, and the lives of Athenian courtesans.

The division of the material into the acts and the scenes of the two plays is shown in the following table. Only major changes and differences of argument are indicated.

1899	1907
I. Le Banquet.	I. Le Banquet.
i.	i.
ii.	ii.
iii.	iii. Scene iii cut, placed
iv.	after Kallias episode;
v.	iv, summarized; v, song
vi.	omitted.
vii.	iv. Song omitted.
II. La Peste d'Athènes.	II. La Peste d'Athènes.
i.	i. "Hymnis d'Or" supplants
ii.	song to Paphos. Le Com-
iii.	battant omitted; accu-
	sals of Melitta, Evago-
	rus' visit both left
	out.
iv.	ii.
v.	iii. Dialogue concerning Gods,
vi. (half of)	war, Melitta's trial, o-
	mitted. Change in order
	of Nisoea and Kallias
	episodes.
	iv. Timon returns from Eleu-
	sis. Alcibiade's offer
	to Timon, his refusal.
vi. (half of)	v. Timon's acceptance of
vii.	Alcibiades' offer.

1899	1907
<p>III. Tableau I. Chez Aspasia.</p> <p>Tableau II. La Prise de Melos.</p>	<p>Omitted save: opening dialogue transferred to I,i. Alcibiades' offer transferred to II,iv.</p> <p>Omitted but recounted by Timon,III,iii.</p>
<p>IV. L'Oligarchie.</p> <p>i. ii. iii.</p> <p>iv.</p> <p>v.</p>	<p>III. L'Aristocratie.</p> <p>i. Evagorus' warning of the uprising of the people omitted here but put in ii.</p> <p>ii. Aspasia's warning omitted. Two visits of Evagorus from ii and iv combined here.</p> <p>iii. iv.</p>
<p>V. La Démocratie.</p> <p>i.</p>	<p>IV. La Démocratie.</p> <p>i. Greatly shortened.</p>
<p>VI. La Mort de Timon.</p> <p>i.</p> <p>ii.</p>	<p>V. La Chute d'Athènes; La Mort de Timon.</p> <p>i. Le Combattant de Salamis and others changed from ii to i. Fate of Alcibiades omitted.</p> <p>ii.</p>

Part Two

Comparison with Legend and Shakespeare

1. Plot.

Shakespeare most fully developed the legendary facts concerning Timon into a complete whole in his "Timon of Athens". As has been seen he used in his drama all that had been written previously of the character and life of Timon. He remained true to the incidents as he found them. If he enlarged upon an idea, it was but to make it more impressive, more dramatic, not to change it. Émile Fabre knew Shakespeare as well as the classics and drew from these two sources ideas for his drama. To what degree he was influenced by the English tragedy and how much he borrowed from it may be seen by a comparison of the two plays; and since Shakespeare's contains all the Timon material created and handed down by legend, one may note also to what extent and in what manner Fabre has used this legendary material.

Since both Fabre and Shakespeare base their dramas upon Timon of Athens, there is a great similarity of plot. All of Shakespeare's plot is to be found in Fabre's play, but not all of Fabre's plot may be found in Shakespeare's. One might say the complete Shakespearean play forms the skeleton for the Fabre drama. In their largest outline they are alike: Timon, once wealthy, changes to a misanthrope at the loss of his fortune. In the reasons for the loss of money and the causes for

misanthropy lie the chief differences of the plays. Also Fabre depicts Timon against a screen of Athenian history, whereas Shakespeare shows only Timon. One critic says of Shakespeare's play: "Que celui-ci est plus purement humain et qu'il est plutôt Timon qu'il n'est d'Athènes, tandis que celui de M. Fabre est plus d'Athènes qu'il n'est Timon, en ce sens qu'il se mêle à la vie politique de la cité et qu'il devient misanthrope, non seulement par déception sentimentale mais par découragement politique, d'où une évolution double. C'est bien en réalité ce qui fait la différence caractéristique de ces deux oeuvres."⁴⁷

The two plays open alike. The scene is a hall⁴⁸ in Timon's house. Each author prepares for the entrance of Timon - who does not appear until late in scene i - by a delineation of his character through the dialogue of the guests who are gathered there. In the Shakespearean play, Timon appears as a wealthy man, much liked by many friends but more for what he gives than for himself.⁴⁹ He has no family (at least none is mentioned) but his steward looks after his affairs and worries more over his extravagance than he does himself. Fabre's Timon is likewise loved for his generosity. His circumstances are described in a toast by Aristokles: "Timon, tu es riche, tu as un père respecté, une femme soumise et diligente, des amis qui t'aiment, des fils qui entretiendront sur l'autel domestique le feu sacré que tes ancêtres allumèrent. Pour Timon, le plus heureux des Athéniens."⁵⁰

When, finally, Timon comes on the stage, we are prepared for the gentle, generous man he is, a man loving his friends and finding his happiness in making gifts to them with no desire for any repayment save their love.

He says:

Shakespeare, Timon:

"...More welcome are ye to my fortunes,
Then my fortunes to me."⁵¹

"... 'Tis not enough to give
Methinks, I would deale kingdoms to my friends
And nere be wearie."⁵²

Fabre, Timon:

"Les Dieux ne firent rien de plus beau que
l'amitié, mes amis."⁵³

"Ne me remercie pas, aime-moi davantage."⁵⁴

"Puissez, puissez à pleines mains dans mes
coffres, vous n'en trouverez pas le fond."⁵⁵

There are two incidents, showing Timon's character and kindness, which occur in each of the plays and came originally from the Lucian Dialogue. First, Timon pays the debts of a young man (Ventidius in Shakespeare, Kephisodorus in Fabre), saves him from prison and helps him to start life again.⁵⁶ This is enacted in Shakespeare.

A messenger comes seeking Timon's aid for Ventidius;

Timon says: "Imprison'd is he, say you?"

Messenger: "I, my good Lord, five talents is his debt,

His meanes most short, his creditors most straitte,

Your honorable letter he desires
 To those have shut him up, which failing,
 Periods his comfort."

Timon: "Noble Ventidius well:

I am not of that feather, to shake off
 My friend when he must needs me. I do know him
 A gentleman, that well deserves a helpe,
 Which he shall have. Ile pay his debt, and free him."

Messenger: "Your Lordship ever binds him."

Timon: "Commend me to him, I will send his ransome,
 And being enfranchized bid him come to me;
 'Tis not enough to helpe the feeble up,
 But to support him after. Fare you well."⁵⁷

In Fabre the similar incident is recounted by
 Kephisodorus as having occurred: "Je dois tout à Timon.
 Chassé de Lycie avec mon épouse et mon fils,
 J'accourus vers l'hospitalière Athènes.
 J'étais si pauvre alors que je ne pouvais même
 acquitter ma taxe de metœque. On m'aurait
 vendu comme esclave. Je m'adressai à Timon,
 qui m'acquitta la taxe et me prêta quelques
 talents pour commencer."⁵⁸

Timon had also paid debts of Chereas: "Mon père m'avait
 chassé pour quelques fautes de jeunesse; Timon
 me recueillit et me débarrassa d'une meute de
 créanciers hurlant à mes talons."⁵⁹

The second incident is that of Timon's giving

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money to young men that they may be married. In the English version, an old Athenian complains because Lucullus, a penniless servant in Timon's house, is courting his only daughter, whose dowry, if mated with an equal, will be three talents for the present and all her father's wealth later. Timon says: "This gentleman of mine

Hath serv'd me long:

To build his fortune, I will straine a little,
 For 'tis a bond in men. Give him thy daughter,
 What you bestow, in him, I'll counterpoize
 And make him weigh with her."⁶¹

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It is Chereas whom Timon again aids in Fabre's play. He desires to be married, but Aristocrates, the father of the girl, will consent to her marriage only if the suitor possesses "quinze cents mines". Since Chereas's uncle refuses to grant him this sum, he asks it of Timon, who replies: "Par Zeus, il ne sera pas dit que, pouvant si aisé-

ment faire le bonheur d'un ami, je ne l'aurai pas fait. Mon intendant te remettra la somme."⁶³

Fabre makes use of this scene later by having Timon ask Chereas for the return of the loan. Shakespeare's benefactor is not specifically mentioned in this respect.

The guests praise Timon's generosity, and in each case he expresses his idea of the honor it would be, in case of need, to receive money from his friends as an expression of their love:

Timon: "What need we have any Friends; if we should nere have need of 'em? They were the most needless creatures living, should we nere have use for 'em.... Why I have often wisht my selfe poorer that I might come nearer to you: we are borne to do benefits."⁶⁴

Timon: "La pauvreté serait la bienvenue qui me ferait le créancier de votre affection."⁶⁵

Upon the expression of this sentiment, those indebted to Timon immediately make promises of returning his favors if ever he should have need of them:

Lucullus: "...Never may
That state or fortune fall into my keeping,
Which is not owed to you."⁶⁶

Aristokles: "Je ne veux point former de vœux impies, mais si la jalouse Némésis t'arrachait un jour ta fortune, il nous serait doux de partager la nôtre avec toi."⁶⁷

Chereas: "Si jamais le malheur te frappe, viens t'asseoir à mon foyer, Timon, et tu seras chez toi."⁶⁸

The whole first act of Shakespeare's play is made up of these incidents; it pictures not merely the extravagant generosity of Timon, his noble conception of friendship, but discloses the fact that his fortune is almost gone. Fabre's first act presents a Timon similar in character. Since, however, the loss of his fortune is not due to his giving to his friends as was the case in

Shakespeare and in the legend, but to the plague which comes to Athens, that loss is not introduced here; but the history of Athens, which plays so large a part in the play, has its beginning in this act with the announcement of the breaking of the peace and the decision of the Athenians to vote for war.

Act II of each play deals with Timon's loss of
69 wealth. The exposition of this situation (which was suggested in Shakespeare's act I) is made, in the first play, by the steward, who at last succeeds in getting Timon's attention and tells him: "The greatest of your having, lacks a halfe, to pay your present debts." ⁷⁰ Whereas this Timon is poor solely through having squandered his money, Fabre's Timon has lost everything because of the war and the epidemic in Athens. No suggestion is made by the author that this misfortune has come upon Timon through any fault of his own; although Athenians of the peace party blame him for the war, the consequent devastation of fields; and the crowding of Athens which brought about the plague. We first learn through a street conversation, that Timon is ruined; that his fortune is completely swept away; that his slaves have fled; that the Lacedemonians have ravaged
71 his fields and vineyards. But this loss of material wealth is not all. Timon tells Evagoras, his friend:

"J'avais un père, plein de vertu et de piété: il est mort! J'avais une épouse qui était sage et qui craignait les dieux: elle est morte. Puis,

son premier-né, le tendre Pharès, a dû la suivre chez Plouton. Hier, enfin, j'ai appris que le fils que j'avais eu de l'étrangère est mort à Eleusis. De toute ma famille, il me reste un petit enfant, Charileos."⁷²

Thus, in addition to the loss of his wealth, Timon suffers a personal bereavement. As each Timon has given so bountifully to his friends, he nobly thinks they will do likewise by him. Shakespeare's Timon says to his steward:

"If I would broach the vessels of hearts by borrowing,
Men and men's fortunes could I frankly use."⁷³

"...You shall perceive
How you mistake my fortunes:
I am wealthie in my Friends."⁷⁴

He, then, sends various servants to borrow or ask repayment of loans made. In Fabre's play we learn of this action and its result in retrospect. Timon has already sent out his servants to ask money of his debtors; he complains to Evagoras of the result:

Timon: "D'ailleurs, puisqu'il le faut, je réclamerai à ceux que j'obligeai jadis l'or et l'argent qu'ils m'empruntèrent."⁷⁵

"Tous ceux à qui j'ai adressé mon intendant l'ont renvoyé les mains vides, et quelques-uns en le chargeant d'injures."⁷⁶

It is in act III of Shakespeare's play that the scenes where servants demand money for Timon are introduced.

These occur in act II of the Fabre work. A contrast may be noticed here. Shakespeare's Timon makes requests upon his friends only, through his servants; Fabre's, his servants having been refused, goes himself to men who owe him money. Three scenes are given in Shakespeare. When Lucullus is asked, he gives the servant a tip and a wink and bids him say he did not see him; ⁷⁷ Servilius swears he has spent all his ready capital and was just going to borrow from Timon; ⁷⁸ Sempronius pretends to be hurt because Timon did not ask him first, and thus, being sought last, cannot help him. ⁷⁹

Fabre's Timon goes himself to Chereas to whom he gave a dowry of "quinze cents mines" and asks its repayment. Chereas pretends to have received but "cinq cents mines". When Timon protests that it was more, Chereas refuses to pay so long as they do not agree on the amount. ⁸⁰ Next Timon seeks Kallias, a high priest, in whose piety he trusted so much that he had given him two talents to hold for his illegitimate son Iaos, now dead. Kallias denies having ever received any money from Timon and pretends Timon must be ill and in delirium. Even when, at Timon's request, he goes into the temple before the altar of Demeter and Persephone, (Gods whom he serves especially) he still swears that Timon has given him no talents. ⁸¹

As Shakespeare's Timon lost only his fortune, while Fabre's Timon his fortune and all his family, save one son, Chariolus, so, too, the former is disappointed

this time only by the ingratitude of men, whereas the latter not only loses his confidence in his friends but his religious faith, shaken by the perjury of Kallias. Timon had once said to Apemantus: "...quoi qu'il puisse arriver, je sais que Chéréas restera honnête homme, Kallias prêtre respectable, Nisœa épouse vertueuse", and now in a short time his loss of fortune and family (save one son) is followed by the dishonesty of Chereas and the perjury of Kallias. The Nisœa episode has no counterpart in Shakespeare's play. Fabre introduces it probably that Timon might be disillusioned by both sexes as well as by all classes of society. Certainly the failure one by one of the three people in whom he had expressed such absolute trust is enough to warrant his change of character, but Fabre adds more.

The immediate reaction of the two Timons is different, the ultimate the same: they both renounce humanity. The ingratitude of his friends alone is enough to cause Shakespeare's Timon to become a misanthrope, but he must avenge himself before he retires to live as a hermit. He sends his steward to invite his former friends to one more feast as if he were yet wealthy. When they are at table, they find the dishes contain only luke-warm water. Timon mocks and upbraids them and finally drives them from his house, saying: "...Henceforth be no feast,

Whereat a villaine's not a welcome guest.

Burne house, sinke Athens, henceforth hated be
 Of Timon, man, and all humanity",

and retires to a lonely cave, in the woods by the sea shore.

Fabre's Timon must suffer further disappointments before his final renunciation of society. The changes in his attitude come not all at once as with the other Timon, but gradually, as his disillusionment in men becomes more complete. Upon hearing that Charolus has died he rushes out into the street, grieving and cursing against the Gods. Evagoras reminds him of his duty toward the dead. Timon replies: "Je cesse d'être probe, honnête, vertueux. Je vais être pareil à tous les hommes: méchant, cruel, ingrat, ⁸⁵ comme ils le sont." Next, his religious faith is entirely swept away when he goes to the Mysteries of Eleusis and ⁸⁶ finds Kallias there, wearing the mask of Zeus.

At this point in the play, Timon's grievance ceases to be personal and becomes universal in that he could have forgiven those who had mistreated him, if they were ruling Athens wisely and honestly, but since they are not, when his fortune has been restored by the siege of Melos and he has gained control of the government, he tries to establish an oligarchy "où régnerait une justice tout humaine, ⁸⁷ puisqu'il ne faut pas attendre de justice des dieux!" The 'Four Hundred' making up the oligarchy prove no better than the former government. Seeking to make safe their own wealth, they agree to deliver Athens to the enemy, but Timon by intrigue exposes their plans to the war party. ⁸⁸ Thus Timon's confidence in the integrity of the upper ruling class is destroyed.

Next he turns to the common people, but finds they are as incapable of justice as the others have been.⁸⁹ Disappointed and disillusioned in all men, he, as did Shakespeare's Timon, retires to an uncultivated field between the walls of Athens and the sea, saying:

"Continuez à commettre vos illégalités, vos injustices.

Timon se retire loin de vous... Il ne vivra plus
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parmi les hommes."

Also, his bitterness is shown in this speech to the Athenians: "Athéniens, il y a un figuier devant ma maison... Que ceux d'entre vous qui seront las de la vie viennent s'y pendre... Et puissé-je chaque matin faire une abondante récolte de
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cadavres."

Plutarch had originally credited the statement to Timon and Shakespeare used it in his play when the Senators come to Timon begging him to save the state; he replies:

"I have a tree which grows here in my close,
That mine own use invites me to cut downe,
And shortly must I fell it. Tell my Friends,
Tell Athens, in the sequence of degree,
From high to low through-out, that who so please
To stop affliction, let him take his haste;
Come hither ere my tree hath felt the axe,
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And hang himselfe."

Parallel situations in the two plays continue again after each Timon's change to misanthropy. They both

live in lonely places, near the sea and outside the walls of Athens. Their lives are alike, of the utmost poverty and sordidness. Their attitudes however are different: Shakespeare's Timon is full of hatred for Athens; he heaps all kinds of maledictions upon the city and the people. Fabre's Timon is concerned only with the uselessness of life without the belief in a heaven. While digging in the earth for food they each find gold. Their exclamations show a difference in their characters:

"...What is heare?

Gold? Yellow, glittering, precious gold?

No Gods, I am no idle Votarist,

...Thus, much of this will make

Blacke, white; fowle, faire; wrong, right;

Base, noble; old, young; coward, valiant."⁹³

"Qu'est-ce que cela? De l'or?...Oui, de l'or!

...Une fortune! Une fortune!...Je puis donc rentrer

à Athènes, y reprendre mon rang, rejouer un rôle,

redevenir...A quoi bon? Vais-je entreprendre de

mettre quelque ordre dans le monde et d'y faire

régner la justice?...Qu'importe!"⁹⁴

The steward who joins the English Timon in his hermitage, is the counterpart of the slave who goes with the French Timon. The steward is the same who looked after the accounts of Timon in his days of prosperity. He has come out of love for his master. At first Timon refuses to believe that there is an unselfish man, but

finally is convinced of his servant's true affection by his tears. He proclaims him the "one honest man" and gives him much gold; then, bids him go and never be seen of him again. His last words are addressed to the steward: "Come not to me again, but say to Athens,

Timon hath made his everlasting mansion
 Upon the beached verge of the salt flood,
 Who once a day with his embossed froth
 The turbulent surge shall cover; thither come,
 And let my grave stone be your oracle:
 Lip^{pes}, let sour words go by, and language end:
 What is amisse, plague and infection mend.
 Graves onely be mens workes, and death thine gaine;
 Sunne, hide thy beames, Timon hath done his raigne."

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The slave, in the other play, refuses gold when offered it by Timon. He relates that he was once a wealthy king but was dethroned by his brother and sold as a slave. He neither desires the gold nor his freedom which Timon offers him; he is satisfied because his spirit is free. Timon accuses him of false pride, and of suffering his hardships that someday he may tell of them to some one and be praised for his hardihood. The outcome of this incident is uncertain for, at this point, the conversation is interrupted by fugitives passing by Timon's hovel in their flight from Athens, which has been captured.

In the preceding scenes, news of Timon's gold reached Athens in the Shakespearean play. Again Timon

rose in favor and was sought by his former friends, even the senators (as in Lucian) came offering him the captaincy of the government. Alcibiades passed by on his way to besiege Athens. To him Timon gave gold that the city might be taken; the others he stoned away. Also he buried most of the gold. The discovery of gold by Fabre's Timon does not cause people to seek him out, nor does Fabre say what was done with the treasure.

Both plays close with two like incidents. The fall of Athens and the death of Timon. But Fabre's play reverses the order employed by Shakespeare. The death of Shakespeare's Timon does not take place on the stage but is recounted by a soldier of Alcibiades's who came seeking Timon, but found only his tomb with an epitaph upon it.⁹⁶ The last scene is devoted to the surrender of Athens to Alcibiades, who proclaims that he is avenging both himself and Timon. Shakespeare does not show very clearly why Alcibiades should avenge the wrongs of Timon, but he probably had in mind the friendship between the two as described by Plutarch.⁹⁷

In Fabre's play, the fall of Athens is placed before - or rather continues through - Timon's death. In this case, it is the army of Lacedaemonia which is the conqueror as was historically the case. We do not see the surrender of the city, but hear of it from those fleeing before the enemy. Their path from Athens leads past Timon's novel. Aristokles, one of the thirty

tyrants appointed by Sparta, orders Timon away from the walls of the city. Timon says he will go. (A comparison between Shakespeare's Timon's aiding of Alcibiades may be made with this Timon's encouraging Aristokles to rule Athens as harshly as possible.) Then, as Lacedemonian women dance on the ruins of Athens, Timon takes a cord and goes up into the fig-tree, and while delivering his last imprecations upon Athens, he unrolls the cord and the curtain goes down.

Fabre employs much of the legendary story of Timon, following the original as closely as Shakespeare. He does not, however, use all - but that which he incorporates into his drama is very nearly the same as in Shakespeare's - at times almost a translation. The differences lie in the manner in which the incidents are introduced - whether they are narrated or acted, and in their location in the plays.

The following table will show the points of likeness between the Fabre and Shakespearean dramas as well as their original sources: Plutarch and Lucian.

Incident	Fabre	Shakespeare	Painter Plutarch	Lucian
1. Timon's benevolence.	I, II, III	I, II, III	Implied	Narrated
2. Gifts to flatterers.	"	"		"
3. Desertion of friends, loss of fortune.	"	"	Implied	"
4. Change to misanthropy.	"	"	"	"
5. False friends offer wealth.	"	"		"
6. Redemption of friend.	Kephisodoros I, iii	Ventidius I, i		Demeas
7. Question of dowry.	Chéréas I, iii; VI, i	Lucullus I, i		Philiades
8. Discovery of gold.	VI, i	IV, iii	do	do
9. Faithful steward.	VI, i	IV, iii		
10. Timon encourages ene- mies of Athens.	VI, i	IV, iii	do	
11. Offers tree for hang- ing of Athenians.	V, i	V, i	do	
12. Fall of Athens.	VI; ii, iii	IV, V		
13. Hanging of Timon.	VI, iii	V, iii	do	

Legendary incidents with sources used by Shakespeare and not by Fabre:

Incident	Play	Plutarch Painter	Lucian
1. Apostrophe to gold.	IV, 111		do
2. Crowd of flatterers come to new found treasure.	IV, 111 V, 1 poet		poet
3. Timandra.	IV, 111	do	
4. Timon prefers to eat in Apemantus' absence.	IV, 111	do	
5. Buried on sea shore	V, 1v	do	
6. Senators offer Captaincy of State.	V, 1		do

The legendary incidents found late in the Shakespearean play are the ones not included in the Fabre play. Perhaps Fabre was more interested in working out the drama of his own political ideas than in adding more of the traditional to his play; and the use of the sixth would have been contrary to the theories he develops.

2. Time, Structure, Form, Production.

Time analysis of the two plays.

Shakespeare's "Timon of Athens".

Day 1 - I, i and ii.

Day 2 - II, i and ii; III, i, ii, and iii.

Day 3 - III, iv, v, and vi; IV, i and ii.

Interval of at least two days.

Day 4 - IV, iii.

Day 5 - V, i and ii.

Day 6 - V, iii and iv.

The period of the action, considered as historical in its record by Plutarch, is that of the Peloponnesian war.

Fabre's "Timon d'Athènes" 1899.

Each act represents only the duration of its own action. The time is that of the Peloponnesian war 432 - 404 B.C. The following table gives the dates in which the incidents of the acts took place.

Act I - 432 B.C.

Act II - 430 B.C.

Act III - Tableau I, 415 B.C.

Tableau II, early winter, 416 B.C.

Act IV - Boedromion, 411 B.C.

Act V - 406 B.C.

Act VI - Munychion, 404 B.C.

The entire action of Shakespeare's play takes place in six days, or eight if we include the two days' interval between scenes ii and iii of act IV; Fabre's drama

extends over a period of twenty-eight years.

Structurally the two plays are unlike. The Shakespearean piece is divided into five acts with the climax in the third, and is written, for the most part, in verse; Fabre's, entirely in prose, consists of six acts, having the climax in act V. In each case the climax is the same: the renunciation of the world by Timon. These differences of structure are due, chiefly, to the influences of the two periods in which the plays were written, Shakespeare writes in the approved classical form of five acts with the climax in the third, and Fabre, profiting by the freedom won for drama in the romantic era, divides his play into as many acts as his plot demands and allows the climax to come where it naturally falls. There is a double climax in this play: the secondary, in act II, occurs when Timon is personally disappointed, the primary one in act V comes when Timon, the statesman, loses faith in his countrymen.

Fabre maintains each of the three unities throughout his play. The unity of place is kept in that the city of Athens, or just outside the city walls, is the location of each act, excepting the second tableau of act III, which shows the siege of Melos. The time required is for each act, just that necessitated by the action; however, the plot of the play extends over a stretch of twenty-eight years,

the unity of time being maintained by the fact that this was the period of the Peloponnesian war during which Timon lived. The unity of action appears broken in that the play might have ended at the close of act II where Timon turns from mankind, resolving to be no longer just and kind, but cruel and selfish like other men. But since the succeeding acts serve to intensify and enlarge his disappointment and disillusionment until it becomes no longer personal but universal, this unity is preserved.

In Shakespeare's play all of the acts take place in Athens or near the walls of the city, thus maintaining a unity of place throughout the acts. Within these, however, this unity is broken. The location is changed from place to place with almost each scene of an act. The time runs continuously in some scenes, but in others several hours have elapsed between scenes. The entire action of the play, including the lapse of two days between scenes ii and iii of act IV, is about eight days. The only unity kept by Shakespeare is that of action, which is uniform unless the banishment and return of Alcibiades be considered as an underplot. This incident, however, born of the main plot, to further its design, is not sufficiently developed to destroy the continuity of the main action of the play.

There is no record that Shakespeare's play

was ever produced on the stage. However Brinsley Nicholson puts forth the following reasons as proof that Timon as we now have it was an acted play: "In the old plays the entrance directions are sometimes in advance of the real entrances, having been thus placed in the theater copy, that the performers or bringers-in of stage properties might be warned to be in readiness to enter on their cue. In act I, scene 1, is 'Enter Ape-mantus' opposite 'well mocked', though he is only seen as in the distance by Timon after the merchants next words and does not enter till after 'Hee'll spare none'. So in the banquet scene, there is 'Sound Locket; enter the maskers' etc., before Timon's 'What means that trump?' and 'Enter cupid with the mask of ladies' before cupid's forerunning speech. It may also be doubted whether the editors of the folio would have included in their volume a play never put before the public". Rolfe, who holds also that the play was staged, writes:

"It could never become popular as an acting play and was probably soon withdrawn."⁹⁸

- We have record of two performances of Fabre's play: in Marseilles October 20th, 1899, and in Paris, April 12th, 1907. That it should ever be a popular play is doubtful for it involves too many characters and too much staging, and it is not the type of drama which appeals to the public. The role of Timon, in itself, is an obstacle to its production, being of such length and requiring

such sustained action that few actors would wish to attempt it.

3. Comparison of Characters.

Of the 66 speaking roles in Émile Fabre's "Timon d'Athènes", 16 are women's parts, while of the 25 characters in Shakespeare's "Timon of Athens" only two are women. In each play there appear groups of supernumeraries. Fabre's play has more of these as a list of the "Figuration" in the two plays will show.

Shakespeare: Cupid and Amazons in mask. Other Lords, Senators, Officers, Soldiers, Banditti, and Attendants.

Fabre: les cinquante Prytanes, les neuf Proèdres, les cinq Stratèges vainqueurs aux Arginusæ, Lysandros, Esclaves, Hoplites athéniens, Hoplites lacédémoniens, Méliens, des Enfants, un Grand-Prêtre.

Of the principal personages, three appear in the Shakespearean and the Fabre plays: Timon, Apemantus, and Alcibiades. While both Shakespeare and Fabre drew their title role Timon, from the legend surrounding that Athenian, each has developed an entirely new character. Both plays are, however, primarily studies of the development in the personality of Timon from a philanthropist to a misanthrope. Their differences lie in how and why this change takes place. Shakespeare has used only the legend in working out his ideas, Fabre much more.

Timon - Timon, in the Shakespearean play, is presented

as a wealthy man, most generous to his many friends, loving them and idealizing friendship. He entertains lavishly that his guests may have pleasure. "His offices have been oppressed by riotous feeders"... "His vaults have wept with drunken spilth of wine", and every room "hath blazd with lights and bay'd with minstrelsy."

But he has nothing selfish in the enjoyment of this prodigality, which finally wrecks his fortune. He expresses the weakness as well as the beauty of his own character when he says he has often wished himself poorer that he might come closer to his friends and that his fortune is theirs to command. He is essentially high minded and generous; when he learns of his monetary loss, he says:

"No villainous bounty yet hath passed my heart.

Unwisely, not ignobly, have I given"

Timon's fault is the entire lack of discrimination in his generosity. (Lucian also mentioned this). Shakespeare has seized upon this point and held firmly to it. Timon releases Ventidius from prison, bestows an estate upon his servant, and he lavishes jewels upon all the dependents who crowd his board.

"That universal philanthropy, of which the most selfish men sometimes talk, is in Timon an active principle: but let it be observed that Timon has no preferences. It appears a most remarkable example of the profound sagacity of Shakespeare, to exhibit Timon

without any especial affections. It is thus that his philanthropy passes without any violence into an extreme hatred of mankind. Had he loved a single human being with the intensity which constitutes affection in the relation of the sexes, and friendship in relation of man to man, he would have been exempt from that unjudging lavishness which was necessary to satisfy his morbid craving for human sympathy. Shakespeare has kept this most steadily in view. Timon's surprise at the fidelity of his steward is exhibited, as if the love for any human being in preference to another, came upon him as an entirely new sensation."

With this key to the character of Timon, his abrupt change to fervid misanthropy may be understood. The only relations in which he stood to mankind being utterly destroyed, he had nowhere to turn for consolation. In lavishing his wealth as if it were common property, he had believed that the same common property would flow back to him in his hour of adversity. And ordinarily such would have been the case. He could not have been beggared of all he had unless he was placed alone, noble and unworldly, among the ignoble and altogether crafty. Shakespeare reveals the nobility of a Timon frustrated of his ideal social tendencies because he is surrounded and cheated by dishonest men with whom such a society as he desired and believed in was impossible.

Timon's confidence in his friends is at once

and irreparably destroyed by their ingratitude and their indifference to him when he is needy. If he had possessed one friend with whom he could have exchanged confidences upon equal terms, he would have been saved from his fall, and certainly from misanthropy. But lacking this, his nature sustains a complete revulsion and all social life becomes an object of abomination to him.

"But as the idealized philanthropy was the joy of Timon's life, the equally idealized misanthropy was a choke-damp in which he could not long breathe; his consuming rage against himself and all human kind, of course, must first destroy himself."¹⁰⁰

While Shakespeare deals almost entirely with the intimate side of Timon's life, there is a suggestion of his having some connection with the state. In the first scene, Shakespeare introduces the senators among the flatterers. Then, when Timon is in need of money, he bids his steward go to the senators:

"Of whom even to the state's best health I have
Deserved this hearing, bid 'em send o' the instant
A thousand talents to me."

This is twenty times the amount he had asked of any single friend. The lines seem to indicate that he is only asking repayment for some service he has done the state. Strengthening this same idea is his cry when he learns that his request has not been granted: "These old fellows have their ingratitude in them hereditarily."

More mention of Timon's services to the state are made in a scene where Alcibiades says to him:

"...I have heard and grieved
 How cursed Athens, mindless of thy worth,
 Forgetting thy great deeds when neighbor states
 But for thy sword and fortune, trod upon them."

Final proof that Shakespeare conceived Timon as some kind of statesman comes after the discovery of the gold. Athens is in danger of the army of Alcibiades. The senators seek the return of Timon to Athens:

"Therefore so please thee to return with us,
 And of our Athens, thine and ours, to take
 The Captainship, thou shalt be met with thanks,
 Allow'd with absolute power, and thy good name
 Live with authority..."

This side of Timon's character is not stressed or even well worked out. But the idea is there. Probably Shakespeare derived this conception from Lucian, especially the scene of the invitation to return to Athens. In the Dialogue, after Timon finds the gold, "one comes from the senate to hail him as the safeguard of the Athenians."

At the outset of the Fabre play, Timon is presented as a man of the same character as in Shakespeare's, but contrary to the latter and to the legend, he is surrounded by his family: father, wife, two sons and yet another son, (illegitimate) being brought up in the temple

of Eleusis. Timon is lovable, honorable, generous to a fault, and values friendship highly. He is ever considerate of his friends, granting them any request. "Puissez, puissez dans mes coffres" he says. He is thoughtful of his family. Even when he fears war, he places two talents in Kallias's keeping for the illegitimate son. He is faithful to his Gods, a useful citizen and honored by his friends. Since he is wealthy, his life is so comfortable and well ordered that he deserves the toast made him by Aristokles: "Pour Timon, le plus heureux des Athéniens".

Fabre uses these characteristics of Timon as a background for that side of his character most fully developed in the play: Timon, a true statesman, seeking the happiness of the people of Athens. This is in decided contrast to both the legend and to Shakespeare where such a Timon was merely suggested.

In scene 1 of the play, Chereas tells us that Timon has fought for Athens: "L'an dernier, au siège de Potidée...il sauva la vie du jeune Alcibiade". Then, with the announcement of war, it is Timon who is unwilling to ask peace at the price of Athenian independence, even though he knows that war will imperil his fortune.

In act II, Timon's wealth is gone; this has been brought about much more logically than in the legend and in Shakespeare. His riches consisted of lands, orchards and slaves. War and the plague have swept these

away, leaving him poor. Timon, as in the English play, asks his friends for aid -not for gifts but for the repayment of money he has lent them. By their refusals, he loses faith, one by one, in the three who have personified virtues to him. The disappointment of Shakespeare's Timon arose solely from the ingratitude of supposed friends; with Fabre, each case of ingratitude reveals a more serious defect of character in Timon's friends: Chereas, dishonesty; Kallias, a priest guilty of perjury; Nisoea, faithlessness. Thus Timon feels not only the sting of ungratefulness of friends but loses all confidence in men as such.

His religious faith, an element not entering into the character of Shakespeare's Timon, is shaken by the impiety of a priest. Also, Timon questions the justice of the Gods, who take from him not only his wealth but, by death, all of his family. And while he, who has lived a pious life sustains such griefs, around him wicked men continue to prosper. Finally, all confidence and belief in divinities and of a future life are taken from him when he goes to the most sacred Mysteries of Eleusis only to find Kallias, the false priest, masking as the highest God of the temple.

Because of these things the character of Timon changes. He resolves to be no longer just or good but wicked as other men. It is to be noted, however, that while the change to misanthropy was sudden and complete

in Shakespeare, it is gradual in Fabre, and while Shakespeare's Timon lost confidence in his friends through his own indiscriminate generosity, Fabre's Timon learned the true character of his associates through no fault of his own but through the exigencies of war.

Even now Timon is not a misanthrope. He simply no longer has faith in the members of his class, nor in the Gods. But he does not hate the whole world; he desires to regain his wealth, "revoir à mes pieds tous ces misérables flatteurs que le malheur a fait fuir! Les punir de leur lâcheté! Puis, avoir une action sur la foule athénienne, la diriger, et fonder avec elle un état où régnerait une justice tout humaine, puisqu'il ne faut pas attendre de justice des dieux!" His desire for money to carry out his wishes is so great that he accepts Alcibiades's plan of ravaging the "innocente" city of Melos: "Puisque les hommes sont injustes et pervers, je veux être plus pervers qu'eux; puisqu'ils n'adorent que la fortune, je l'acquerrai sans scrupules sur les moyens; mais je me vengerai sur eux de l'avilissement où ils m'auront réduit. Et si je deviens puissant un jour... je combattrai les scélérats, les criminels, les méchants, et je ferai régner la justice". Having been the victim of injustice and ingratitude, Fabre's Timon seeks to avenge himself and punish the wicked rather than lapsing into a spiteful melancholy vented only by a mock banquet.

When the Oligarchy, which Timon has established,

fails because he alone of the Four Hundred has the dream of a perfect state instead of personal advancement, the second step towards his misanthropy is taken, and his disillusionment becomes broader. On the eve of the betrayal of the Four Hundred, Timon, speaking to Evagorus, definitely relinquishes all his original grievances as a cause for his later hatred of mankind: "J'en jure par notre amitié, quoqu'ils m'eussent trahi autrefois, si leur gouvernement eût assuré la grandeur de la ville et le bonheur de Athéniens, j'eusse oublié mes injures." 107

Whereas his disappointment had been personal in regard to individuals, it now becomes universal and in regard to a group - the upper class of Athens. He no longer seeks revenge upon his personal enemies, but again overthrows the government of Athens for the safety of the state. This time, he gives the rule to the common people; but not with the same confidence as before. When Evagorus congratulates him: "Tu as rendu la liberté au peuple", he rather sceptically replies: "Nous verrons comment le peuple en usera". 106

Then, he sees the Democracy about to sentence six generals to death without granting them the trial the law allows. He makes a last fight for the principle of justice for all, even braving physical danger from the angered mob in the Pnyx to no avail; they will not listen.

With this failure of the Democracy, the change

to misanthropy is complete. Timon has tried men, individually and in groups, and found none worthy to carry out his ideals.

Shakespeare's Timon became a misanthrope overnight and because of purely personal grievances. He made no effort to punish those who had mistreated him other than spiting them with his mock banquet, and tried in no way to better the world because of his experience. The change in Fabre's Timon, from beneficent cheerfulness to fierce hatred of all men, was the result of years; the slow and gradual breaking down of everything in which he trusted. Both Timons lost their faith in humanity because their ideals were too high for the society in which they moved. Their difference lies in the breadth and scope of these ideals. Shakespeare's Timon, on the one hand, expected too much of friendship and friends; Fabre's Timon, on the other hand, hoped for perfection of all men in all classes.

As hermits the two Timons are much alike. They react in the same manner at the discovery of gold. It is natural for Shakespeare's Timon to think of all that gold will do, because we know that his wealth is all gone and it is partially through necessity that he lives as he does; but Fabre's Timon has recovered his riches. Of course, he must have spent much of them in twice overthrowing the government, but no mention has been made of a second complete loss of fortune. Therefore, we are sur-

prised when he exclaims: "Une fortune...Je puis donc rentrer à Athènes, y reprendre mon rang, rejouer un rôle, redevenir...A quoi bon? Vais-je entreprendre de mettre quelque ordre dans le monde et d'y faire régner la justice? Où j'ai échoué une première fois, réussirai-je une seconde? ...Qu'importe!"¹⁰⁸ This is the first implication we have that he is living like a hermit from necessity and this is the only place where it is mentioned.

The two Timons are very similar as misanthropes excepting in the scenes with their faithful valets. The Timon of Shakespeare at first doubts that any man would come to him purely because of love, but becomes convinced that such is the case of his steward. Fabre's Timon, however, refuses to believe that his slave is not seeking praise and thanks by remaining true to him. From this incident the depth of the disillusionment of the two may be seen: the former can recognize genuine affection when he sees it; the latter cannot bring himself to believe there is any virtue in any man. Fabre has also given Timon a real friend, Evagorus, who remains true to him throughout the play. This constancy, however, seems unappreciated or overlooked by Timon.

Another side of Timon's character, not found in the Shakespearean play, is that of the statesman whose motives are for the welfare of the Athenians. At the siege of Melos, Timon's desire to give a just rule to Athens, and to preserve the state, has become a passion that will

stop at nothing: "Si la démocratie est injuste, si par sa versatilité et par sa turbulence, elle met en péril l'État, nous la renverserons", and "Je n'hésiterais pas à établir l'oligarchie ou une tyrannie dans Athènes, si je pensais qu'elle dût donner plus de puissance à notre ville, et si je croyais qu'Athènes userait de cette puissance pour imposer au monde entier des lois équitables".

Timon, with his high ideals of justice, cannot approve of his part in attacking an innocent city, but to reach the goal of his ambitions - he is now quite drunk with the thought of the power he will wield over Athens for the good of the people - he must have money. He considers that he is doing no worse than other men, and that the good he will accomplish justifies the manner in which he acquires his wealth. His action on another occasion, he accounts for in this same way: after the overthrow of the original Athenian government, Evagorus confronts him with the laws he has broken and the crimes he has committed in the establishing of the Four Hundred. Timon answers that all of these were necessary and that a few crimes may be forgiven a government which will bring happiness and justice to all Athenians.

At Melos, Timon discloses an excellent understanding of the relation of the city states to Athens. He does not consider the customs right or just, but they are thus, he says, and explains to Melos why she must surrender to Athens : " Pour rendre une alliance

solide et durable, la sympathie, la fidélité, et même la communauté de race ne sont rien. Il faut une communauté d'intérêts et une égalité de forces. Les Lacédémoniens n'ont pas besoin de vous. Aussi, j'admire votre innocence et je plains votre crédulité, si vous vous imaginez qu'ils vont vous secourir par devoir. Il n'est pas d'hommes, qui confondent plus habilement l'agréable et l'honnête, l'utile et juste. Et, c'est là, d'ailleurs, le secret de leur force..." ¹¹⁰ "...La domination que nous voulons exercer sur les îles et sur Mélos, ni par vos offenses envers nous, ni par nos triomphes sur les Mèdes, ne se justifie. Mais cette domination est utile à notre grandeur. Chios, Lesbos, Corcyre paient tribut à Athènes. Vous seuls paraissez nous braver. Il importe que nous vous abattions. En prenant votre ville, non seulement nous augmentons le nombre de nos sujets, mais nous prouvons encore à tous que nous sommes les seuls maîtres de la mer." ¹¹¹

"Il ne saurait être question de justice entre nous; je ne veux considérer que notre seul intérêt." ¹¹²

In these speeches, Timon, who seems to be the mouthpiece of Fabre, shows that he has been forced to act upon the existing principles of government; and again one may find him arguing to himself and to the Melian delegates that Athens needs Melos to add to her security and glory, therefore, Melos must be taken, no matter what her own interests may be.

From this comparison of the two Timons, the

different intention of each author may be seen: Shakespeare picturing a misanthrope developed from personal ingratitude, the cause of which was his indiscriminate generosity; Fabre showing a man, turned misanthrope because of the ingratitude of society (individually and in classes) for the just government which he strove to give it.

Apemantus.

Apemantus also appears in both plays with a like character: that of a bickering cynic taken from Lucian's "Sale of Philosophers" and Plutarch's "Life of Marc Antony". Both authors have drawn Apemantus as a contrast to Timon. In the days of prosperity, his complaining hatefulness magnifies Timon's generous nature, and when Timon has become a misanthrope, the reader senses a comparison between his real hatred of mankind with a cause, and the pretended animosity of Apemantus, who has no real grievance.

In the Shakespearean play the story would still be complete if Apemantus did not appear. Generally he speaks with Timon. "Their conversation, for the most part, is tomfoolery from the most scathing fulminations to the cheapest frippery of vaudeville; each trumping up questions on which the other may hang witticisms; each fretting and fuming or amusing the other - for they are friends one minute and foes the next - with nothings that concern neither them nor us. we do not care 'where

Timon lies o' nights', 'where Apemantus feeds o' days', what either would do if poison 'were obedient' or for any of the other posers"¹¹³. The nobility of Timon, however, is brought out by his being placed on the scene with a man so opposite him in character. Even after he himself becomes a misanthrope, and really hates the world as Apemantus pretends to, the difference between the two may be felt.

In scene iii, act IV, Shakespeare has used a legendary incident given by Plutarch: "...They two (Timon and Apemantus) feasted together by them-selves, Apemantus said unto the other: 'O, here is a trimme banquet, Timon'. Timon answered: 'Yea', said he, 'so thou wert not here'"¹¹⁴. Shakespeare has repeated the incident like this:

Apemantus - "Heere, I will mend thy feast".

Timon - "First mend thy company, take away thy selfe!"¹¹⁵

Apemantus appears at intervals throughout the play from the opening banquet scene, in which he warns Timon that his friends are really his enemies, until the discovery of gold. It is Apemantus who provokes some of Timon's finest lines on friendship and later, his vilest imprecations on Athens. His character remains the same throughout the drama.

In Fabre's play, Apemantus has the same role as in Shakespeare's: he forms a contrast with Timon. Here the conversation between the two bears more directly

upon the action of the play. Apemantus professes not to believe in the existence of the Gods, the justice of men or the virtue of women; Timon upholds all of these and thus expresses his ideals and beliefs. As in the other play, Apemantus, in this one, warns Timon that his friends are false. His speeches are more logical and more sensible; the petulant dialogue with Timon does not occur, nor does Fabre use the incident from Plutarch.

Apemantus appears only in the first two acts of this play; and whereas in the Shakespearean drama, we feel that he is only posing as a man-hater and a cynic, Fabre proves him to be a pretender. He, who has spoken so much against the powers and existence of the Gods and of the valuelessness of life, when suddenly stricken with the plague, cries out: "Zeus, Zeus, je suis atteint par le fléau !...C'est impossible... un médecin, je ne veux pas descendre chez Aidès ... à moi, Zeus, la vie ... Je te promets un sacrifice ... Zeus, je t'implore... Zeus , entends-moi ... J'irai dans ton temple ... Je proclamerai ta grandeur ... mais ne me frappe pas." Then, Evagorus reminds him, "Tu as bravé les dieux, Apemantus, les dieux se vengent", and he shrieks:"... Je ne les ai pas offensés! Je les honore, s'ils veulent montrer leur puissance, ils doivent me laisser le jour. Je vivrai... Je suis prêt... O dieux, éteignez mes yeux ... paralysez mes membres ... mais laissez-moi la vie. O... vivre ... vivre ... vivre."¹¹⁶

Thus most dramatically Apemantus, with his abject terror

of death, passes from the Fabre play.

Alcibiades.

Alcibiades appears in both plays, but his role is different. In Shakespeare's piece we have but one side of his character: that of an impetuous soldier. His entrance in scene i, the last of Timon's friends to come to his hall, furnishes the climax of the exposition; he is with Timon again during the dunning scene. So far, he has spoken but two lines, yet we feel that he is, as Plutarch has painted him, Timon's boon companion and the only friend who has not played him false. In act III, scene v, he is banished from Athens for taking the part of a soldier against the senate, but returns in act IV, accompanied by his mistresses, Phrynia and Timandra. He receives gold from Timon, because he is leading an army against Athens; and in act V conquers the city, avenging both Timon's grievances and his own. The importance of Alcibiades to the action of the play is in contrast to the paucity of his lines and entrances. His is the heroic role of the play - making Athens atone for her ill-treatment of Timon, but it is not well worked out nor sufficiently explained. The Alcibiades of the play is not historically accurate: Shakespeare needed a character to play such a part for the sake of the argument of his drama; he called this person Alcibiades probably because of the mention made of him in the legend of Timon of Athens.

In Fabre's play, Alcibiades appears in but two acts, but he is important to the action of the entire piece. Act I finds him one of Timon's guests; we feel that he is a close friend of Timon's, who also favors war for the glory of Athens. Here his characteristics as a brave and loyal soldier are brought out. The first tableau of act III presents an Alcibiades quite true to history: impious, rash, impervious to the opinions of others and fond of women. It is curious that Timandra does not appear as his mistress instead of Myrtion, since she was named by Plutarch and also by Shakespeare.

In this act, Alcibiades makes Timon the offer by which the latter can regain his wealth and Timon, goaded by his misfortunes, decides to accept it.

Throughout the rest of the play, although we do not see Alcibiades, we know where he is and what he is doing by the speeches of those on the stage. He has been banished from Athens (not for defending a soldier as in the Shakespearean play, but for mutilating the Hermæ), but has been recalled just in time to help to overthrow the Four Hundred, then exiled a second time; he has won naval victories for the Athenians, betrayed them to the enemy, and led rival cities in revolt. (The relation of these events to the actual history of the time will be discussed in the next chapter.) His chief importance in the play lies in the making possible the restoration of Timon's wealth and aiding in the over-

throw of the Four Hundred. In the scenes with his mistresses, the life of Athenian courtesans is shown, and his indifference to the sacred secrets of his religion are indicative of this period in Athens.

Faithful Servants.

Besides the three men already discussed, who are in both plays, there are similar characters, not bearing like names. Such is the case of Flavius, the faithful steward of Shakespeare's drama and the slave who remains nameless in Fabre's. Each author probably took his idea from the legend, Shakespeare following it closely. Flavius, we see with Timon in his days of grandeur worrying over his master's extravagance. He weeps when Timon's fortune is gone and goes to the cave to offer his services because he loves Timon. He is repaid for this affection by gold and his freedom.

The slave in Fabre's play is more complex, and differs from the legendary one. He seems only to wait upon Timon's guests until scene i of act VI. Then when Timon offers him gold and liberty, which he refuses, we learn that he is a dethroned king, sold into slavery, but who is happy because his spirit is free. Timon accuses him of not being what he pretends to be, of enduring what he has that some day he may tell of it and be praised for having acted as he did; and stones him out of his sight.

This departure from the legend by developing

the character of a slave who has been of no importance to the play up to this point, nor is after this scene, seems disconcerting save as it offers another contrast to the character of Timon: that of a man who has suffered much more than he has, yet has reached a philosophical height which he can never attain.

Groups of people who appear in both plays and have about the same part in each are the senators, the false friends and flatterers of the two Timons: the poet, the jeweller, etc. The women's roles in the Shakespearean play are of no consequence. They are Phrynia and Timandra, both mistresses of Alcibiades. They are on the stage but once, in act IV, scene iii. Quite in contrast to these we find the Aspasia of the Fabre play. In her, not only is a woman portrayed, but a woman with influence, exercising her powers upon the people of the state. Whereas one does not feel that Phrynia and Timandra are in the least feminine, Melitta, Myrtion, Niscea, Hymnis and Praxagora are distinctly so and very natural; though adding little to the action of the play, save Niscea, whose faithlessness to her marriage vows exemplifies infidelity in all women to Timon, they lighten the drama and would add immeasurably to its actual production.

Fabre's play is made up of many more major characters than Shakespeare's. Such parts as those of Kleon, Aristokles, Draces, Kallias and others were neces-

sary for the working out of his plot. Some of these drawn from history will be discussed in the following chapter.

The character of Evagorus is especially interesting. He has no counterpart in the Shakespearean play, yet his introduction is a very happy addition to the French tragedy. He is the exact opposite of Timon. When Timon has lost his family and fortune by the plague, and demands:

"Pourquoi tant de malheurs sur une seule tête,
pourquoi, dieux, répondez?"

Evagorus replies:

"Moi-même, dès le début de cette peste affreuse,
j'ai perdu une épouse adorée et j'ai perdu mon
unique enfant. En songeant à mon foyer désert, à
mon tombeau sans libations, j'ai gémi sur mon
sort, et puis j'ai fait asseoir à mon foyer une
nouvelle épouse qui bientôt me donnera un fils." ¹¹⁸

In the last act when Timon learns that the fortifications of Athens are to be destroyed and the city ruled by thirty tyrants, he cries out that it is monstrous, abominable. Then Evagorus sums up his philosophy of life:

"Sans doute. Nous vivons en des temps encore
rudes où les hommes ont pour raison la force et
méprisent le droit. Des jours meilleurs luiront
dans doute. Attendons-les avec confiance. Mais à
quoi nous servirait-il de nous révolter contre le

sort? Il faut composer avec la vie." ¹¹⁹ But this Timon cannot do. He sees the wrongs of society and wants them corrected at once. When he fails in this, his life is ended. Evagorus, seeing all attempts to improve Athens have failed, suggests:

"Peut-être, un jour, dans le nord, dans le sud, sur les rives de quelque fleuve inconnu ou sur les bords de quelque mer inexplorée, une autre Athènes s'élèvera-t-elle, qui deviendra puissante, riche, célèbre, comme la nôtre. Suis-moi, Timon! Une trière m'attend à Anaplystos. Partons à l'aventure. Voguons jusqu'à l'endroit où nous arrêtera l'ordre des dieux. Là, fondons une ville et tâchons..."

But Timon is not the type to live on hopes of the future:

"Non, non...je ne t'y suivrai pas...Ta ville ne renfermera bientôt que des scélérats et des criminels. J'en ai vu assez dans Athènes." ¹²⁰

4. Local Color.

Shakespeare, writing in the first part of the 17th century, does not trouble to give any atmosphere or background to the action of his play. It might as well have been anywhere else as in Athens. "Except for a brief allusion to the 'great towers, trophies, schools' which Alcibiades is begged to spare, there is not a hint to show that the dramatist had any conception of the artistic and intellectual glories of Athens in its prime. He is evidently as unfamiliar with the conditions of Periclean Greece as of Homeric. We are introduced, it is true, into a cultural and wealthy society, but its features are in no way distinctive, and it might have belonged to any age or nation which had advanced to a certain stage of material refinement. The representatives of its art are not sculptors or dramatists, but a painter, and a poet who has allegorized for Timon's benefit the commonplace moral of the fickleness of fortune. The philosopher Apemantus is not a product of the Hellenic schools, but is a specimen of the ubiquitous curmudgeon type that from native perversity delights to snarl at the heels of humanity. The young lords who are Timon's associates, with their presents of milk-white horses and two brace of greyhounds remind us, like Theseus in 'A Midsummer-Night's Dream', of Tudor nobles rather than genuine Athenian aristocrats."

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The turbulent history of Athens at this period

does not enter into the play. Shakespeare implies that Timon has done some service to the state for which he expects aid of the senators (he does not say what), and in the last act he is begged by the same senators to return to Athens to assume the captaincy with absolute power, as the only man who can save Athens. Except for that, the Shakespearean play is merely the personal history of Timon. In only one act is anything Athenian introduced: the fall of Athens, 404 B.C. Alcibiades is the leader of the army to which Athens surrenders. This, however, is erroneous, since in 404 B.C. Alcibiades was in Phrygia where he was treacherously killed that same year; although previously he had aided in turn all the rivals of Athens. Some of Shakespeare's characters do not even bear Greek names as Lucius and Lucullus.

One scene depicts something of society at the time of the play. The soldier sent by Alcibiades to find Timon discovers that he is dead and sees the epitaphs on his tomb. Being unable to read, he takes wax impressions of them to Alcibiades. This use of wax tablets for conveying messages fixes the time of the play in far remote ages, before writing was common among soldiers, but does not limit the place of action.

Émile Fabre, writing his "Timon d'Athènes" in 1899, gives a true picture of Athens in the years which his play covers, 432 - 404 B.C. This contrast between the two plays is not merely a personal one between the

two authors, but a difference in the periods in which they wrote. Between the writing of the two plays had come the romantic movement. Because of this development which had introduced the works of Shakespeare into France, where they greatly influenced the drama, the two plays are much more akin than they could have been had Fabre written his "Timon d'Athènes" at the same time as Shakespeare produced his "Timon of Athens". One can hardly imagine the Timon legend developed in the form of a seventeenth century, classical French drama.

At the same time that the influence of romanticism allows the two plays a greater similarity of feeling and plot, it causes a difference in their development, and in their presentation.

Victor Hugo, in 1827, in his "Preface de Cromwell" had set forth new dramatic theories and had used them in his plays. "Il réclamait la liberté dans l'art, insistait sur la nécessité de la couleur locale, c'est-à-dire, du décor et du costumes exacts..."¹²⁷ Attention to detail, to the setting of plays, to the history of the period portrayed, had all become important. Thus, when Fabre wrote a play concerning Timon, who lived in Athens during the Peloponnesian war, the place must definitely be Athens; the people, Athenians; and the events, the history of Greece. Fabre, however, coming so long after the romantics, based his plot upon incidents as they happened rather than interpreting history to suit his story.

The Fabre play belongs entirely to Athens. In fact it has been justly said that its basis is first, Athenian history and secondly, the Timon legend. Fabre brings to the mind of his reader the glory of Athens: "Parcours la splendide Athènes... Vois les Propylées élèves, le Parthénon reconstruit, le Pirée bâti à nouveau, son port creusé; vois les Longs-Murs protecteurs achevés, notre flotte augmentée, les mers purgées des pirates, nos ennemis humiliés, les Perses tremblant devant nous"¹²⁸. Timon encourages art, chiefly sculpture.

¹²⁹
We see Athens in war-time, there is talk of arming "trirèmes", of "impôts", of burned arbors and of olive groves cut down, and of the peace and war parties. Then the plague in Athens with its death toll. Many directions are given for the stage setting as well as for the action. Lines such as these add to the picture of the plague: une femme - "O chère tête de mon fils bien-aimé! Tu es perdu pour moi. Le fléau n'a point eu pitié de ton jeune âge. Tu m'abandonnes, infortunée que je suis, avant d'avoir goûté les douceurs du mariage, sans laisser de postérité, sans avoir porté les armes, ni cultivé les champs"¹³⁰.

Chéréas - "Ne pourraient-ils brûler leurs morts plus loin? Cette graisse répand une odeur infecte"¹³¹.

Amyntas finds a small girl on the street in the early morning: Amyntas - "Que fais-tu là?"

Fille - "Je me suis couchée hier au soir, j'y ai dormi!"

Amyntas - "Qui sont ces petits?"

Fille - "Mes deux frères".

Amyntas - "Où est ton père? Où est ta mère?"

Fille - "On les a portés sur le bûcher."

Amyntas - "N'as-tu point un oncle? un aïeul?"

Fille - "Ils ont descendus chez Plouton."¹³²

He tricks the little girl away from her brothers seeking only his own pleasure as did most of the wealthy people.

"Le Combattant de Salamis", speaking of the dwelling of Mélitta, says it is a place "où se tient quelque réunion de débauchés au teint livide et de dictériades couronnées de myrtes. Là se trouvent aussi, sans doute, des femmes qui furent honnêtes, des citoyens qui furent vertueux."¹³³ "Depuis que la guerre et la peste ont éclaté,¹³⁴ Athènes est devenu un mauvais lieu."

A crowd follows a doctor on the street, clamoring for a remedy against the plague, he replies: "Gardez-vous de boire, malgré votre soif. Gardez-vous de vous découvrir. Suspendez à vos portes des couronnes de fleurs. Allumez de grands feux devant vos demeures et jetez-y des huiles odorantes. Évitez surtout le contact des malades."¹³⁵

The position of women in Athenian society is shown: Aristoklès - "Pourquoi ces femmes sont-elles ici?

Depuis quand est-il permis à ces effrontées de courir les rues?"

Un homme - "Elles doivent rester enfermées dans leurs

demeures."

Aristoklès - "Supporterons-nous qu'elles violent
ainsi les lois et outragent les mœurs?"¹³⁶

Fabre was also aware of the marriage customs of Athens. The most virtuous Nisœa, whose husband has died, offers her love to Timon, but he replies: "Comment pourrais-tu m'appartenir? Ton époux, en mourant, t'a léguée à son frère Doros."¹³⁷

Each act of the play introduces the deities of Athens, not merely as local color but having a definite influence upon the action. Timon orders statues carved for the temples of his favorite Gods. He entrusts the care of his son, Iaos, to Kallias, the high priest of Demeter and Persephone; he, like others relies completely upon the Mysteries of Eleusis for comfort and aid in time of trouble. As in Athens with the thronging of strangers into the city, came new religions and new Gods; Fabre introduces Melitta, the Hétaïre, and Aspasia, both of whom are accused of impiety because they believe in the Gods of their own countries rather than in those of Athens. Alcibiades is sent into exile for having revealed some of the mysteries. Disillusionment in his Gods turns Timon from all men and makes him accept the offer of Alcibiades to regain his wealth by ravaging the temples of Melos. Religion enters into the trial of the generals; the enormity of their offense consists not in losing¹³⁸
¹³⁹
¹⁴⁰
¹⁴¹
¹⁴²
¹⁴³

the battle, but in not having brought back for burial the bodies of the sailors who had been drowned:

Dracès - "Mais ne disais-tu pas tantôt que les stratèges allaient être condamnés à mort?"

Démos - "Oui... Car ils ont négligé de secourir certains matelots qui ont coulé avec les trières éventrées. Crime plus abominable encore, ils n'ont pas recueilli les cadavres qu'ils ont laissés sans sépulture."¹⁴⁴

Oracles are consulted and believed in and obeyed. Timon tells us that "notre roi, Kodros, pour obéir à l'oracle et sauver son pays, se fit volontairement tuer par les Doriens." Again, when war has been declared, Amynias says: "Le roi, Archidamos, partisan de la paix, a, pour gagner du temps, demandé qu'on consultât d'abord l'oracle d'Apollon Delphien."¹⁴⁶

Fabre also shows the political dissatisfaction of the time. The rule of the Four Hundred with their selfishness bringing about their over-throw is dramatically pictured. The scene in the Pnyx, at the trial of the generals, gives an excellent view of the Athenian Democracy. Its credulity, its eagerness to show its power regardless of justice are totally in keeping with the mob spirit in Athens at that time.

Thus, just the opposite of Shakespeare's play, which may have occurred anywhere at any time, is Fabre's, which is definitely placed in Athens, 432 - 404 B.C.

This is done, as has been shown, by stage directions and costuming, by the introduction of customs, manners and superstitions of that period in Greece, by a minute attention to minor details in the lines of the characters. Even the speeches which further the plot but by suggestion add something to the Grecian atmosphere of the play. Most important of all to the effect of reality of the drama is Fabre's use of actual events as a basis for his plot.

Part Three

Historical Background

Since Fabre has so faithfully followed the legend in developing Shakespeare's conception of Timon, the man, as a misanthrope, into Timon, the man and statesman, as a misanthrope, it is interesting to inquire whether he has treated history as scrupulously as he did the legend. The play is based upon six historical events: act I, the breaking of the truce with the Lacedaemonians; act II, Athens in war time, the plague; act III, the siege of Melos; act IV, the rule of the Four Hundred; act V, the democracy; act VI, the fall of Athens.

All of these events occurred, as Fabre says, between 432 and 404 B.C.¹⁴⁷ For several years, Athens, under the guiding hand of Perikles, had been contending for supremacy with the allied Peloponnesians of which Corinth was the leader and Sparta a half hearted follower. At last in 445 B.C., a thirty years peace had been concluded. The Persian menace had been checked by the victory of Salamis. With this danger over, some of the island states wished to withdraw from their allegiance to Athens, but she would not allow it. Much discontent resulted among her allies and more than one of them sent secret messages to Sparta, with the purpose of

throwing off Athenian domination and going over to Sparta. Outside the Empire, Sparta was jealous of Athens' splendor, her commercial prosperity, her not very conciliatory attitude toward her rivals, her visible growth in power and the example she offered of the seeming success of triumphant democracy. Corinth found Athenian commercial competition a continuous vexation. When Athenian possessions in the north Aegean revolted and received support from Corinth and Sparta, the fact that only thirteen years of the Thirty Years Peace had expired did not prevent the outbreak of war.

It is this moment of the ending of the truce which Fabre takes for the opening act of his play. Perikles is at the height of his power, the unofficial ruler of Athens, hated by those desiring peace and worshipped by the war party. Since Athens is maritime and her enemies continental, it is his policy to concentrate all the energy of Athens upon her naval power: "Let us give up lands and houses", he said, "but keep a watch over the city and the sea."¹⁴⁸ Athens is made up of three classes of people: the country people whose fields and vineyards would suffer by war; the well-to-do classes and aristocrats who must bear the expense of battles in outfitting triremes and in paying war taxes; and the Dêmos "who know quite well that the enemy will burn nothing that belongs to it, nor cut down any tree of its owning, so it lives free from fear."¹⁴⁹ They had

neither money nor property and so could not suffer by war. It is of this class that a contemporary malcontent wrote: "I forgive Democracy to the Démos; anybody may be forgiven for doing well by himself." ¹⁵⁰ Thus the protagonists of war are found in this last group.

When, in the opening of the play, a messenger who has been sent to Lacedemonia, returns announcing the declaration of war to the group of aristocrats assembled ¹⁵¹ in the house of Timon, only those aristocrats who are true patriots and lovers of Athens are unwilling to submit to the enemy; among them is Timon, who says:

"Je suis prêt à tout sacrifier à l'État, si l'État doit s'armer pour une cause juste."

"J'armerai à mes frais dix trières." ¹⁵²

The others resent the outbreak of war. Aristokles says:

"Pas de guerre, on nous frapperait d'un nouvel impôt, on nous nommerait triérarques."

They seek to lay the blame for the renewal of hostilities upon Perikles, some alleging that it is to secure his own position that he renews the war, others saying that it is because of his mistress Aspasia:

"Pour conserver son poste de stratège, il nous a suscité de nouveaux ennemis," says Chereas.

Aristokles - "Pour se rendre indispensable, voici qu'il médite de rompre la paix." ¹⁵³

Chereas to Aspasia - "Jadis il alla combattre Samos qui avait outragé Milet, ta patrie. Des

jeunes gens ivres de Mégare ont dernièrement enlevé deux pallaques qui t'appartiennent. En représailles, tu as fait fermer notre marché aux Mégariens, qui ont été à Sparte demander raison de cette offense."¹⁵⁴

It is the common opinion that Perikles is the cause of the revolt of the Athenian allies: "Si Periklès ne les pressurait pas, nos colonies seraient fidèles."¹⁵⁵

History shows us the upper classes grumbling in just this way at the renewal of war, putting the blame upon Perikles and attributing it to the same motives given him in the play. He was too powerful not to have enemies, yet he was too valuable to the state, too well beloved by part of the people, to be attacked openly. Consequently, those against him sought to discredit him through his friends. First Phidias, who had planned many of the beautiful buildings erected by Perikles, and the long walls which protected the city, was tried for misappropriation of funds and fined; Perikles's friend, Anaxagorus, the philosopher, was found guilty of heresy and imprisoned;¹⁵⁶ and finally his mistress, Aspasia, was tried for impiety and only the tears and entreaties of Perikles himself obtained her release.¹⁵⁷ "Alarmed by these indirect attacks and in fear of being tried himself, he (Perikles) availed himself of the war which was lingering and smouldering

and blew it into a blaze in hopes that in this way that he would settle the charges brought against him and dissipate his unpopularity; for when the city came to be involved in great changes, she would trust herself to him alone, because of his reputation and his ability." ¹⁵⁸ A further record is the speech of Hermes in Aristophanes', "Peace:"

"Phidias began the mischief, having come to grief
 and shame,
 Perikles was next in order fearing he might get
 the blame,
 Dreading much your hasty temper and your savage
 bull-dog ways,
 So before misfortune reached him he contrived
 a flame to raise
 By his Megara enactment setting all the world
 ablaze...
 There was none to stay the tumult, Peace in
 silence disappeared." ¹⁵⁹

The Megara enactment referred to was the closing of the Athenian market to Megara, which had violated the truce by her border warfare with Melitta. Perikles was censured for this decree and accused of making it to please Aspasia, who was a Milesian. Legend has it that:

"To Megara some of our madcaps ran,
 And stole Simeætha thence, their courtesan.
 Which exploit the Megarians to out-do
 Came to Aspasia's house, and took off two." ¹⁶⁰

Aspasia told Perikles and he closed the market to Megara. Whether this was the true story remains unknown. But "it was Perikles who egged the people to their quarrel with Megara, so he alone had the blame of the war...He seems to have had some secret private grievance against the Megarians." ¹⁶¹ "In reality it was probably a custom house

quarrel, a decree was passed excluding Megara for something, then war, and vines cut down."¹⁶²

That any ally, becoming offended with Athens, should turn to Lacedaemonia for aid was insupportable to the patriots. Fabre makes use of this attitude in a speech of Alcibiades: "De quel droit Lacédémone prétend-elle intervenir comme arbitre entre nos ennemis et nous?" And again Arynias: "Les Corinthiens, les Éginètes et les Mégariens y ont pris part; chaque peuple a exposé ses griefs contre nous. Les Mégariens l'ont fait avec le plus d'aigreur." Chéréas: "Sans doute; nous leur avons fermé notre marché." Aristoklès, (designant Aspasia)¹⁶³
"A cause de cette femelle."

The underlying source of the trouble was the jealousy of Sparta and Corinth for their formidable rival, Athens. They wished war that they might break her strength. Also they desired to be rid of Perikles whom they rightly felt to be the cause of Athenian greatness. Fabre introduces this real cause for the war in Aspasia's speeches when she urges the people to vote for war that Athens may remain great and powerful as Perikles has made her.¹⁶⁴ War was voted on by the allies¹⁶⁵ in the autumn of 432 B.C. Military operations could not be begun before spring, so "The winter was spent in diplomacy, not to secure peace but to discredit Athens with the Greek world at large, and Perikles with the Athenians."¹⁶⁶ Fabre makes us aware of this pretense

of seeking peace. Kephisodorus says: "On affirme, en effet, que les envoyés de Lacédémone vont par des propositions inacceptables, obliger les Athéniens à prendre les armes."¹⁶⁷ "These propositions related to Potidée, Aegina, the maternal connections of Perikles and above all the Megarian decree."¹⁶⁸ Fabre very dramatically inserts these demands, repeated by Arynias the messenger:

Arynias: "Ils demandent que notre marché soit rouvert aux Mégariens... Que nous levions le siège de Potidée... que l'on chasse d'Athènes les Alcéméonides."

Tous: "Chasser les Alcéméonides - Periklès est leur seul descendant."^{169,170}

As recorded in history, when the demands were submitted to the popular assembly in the play, they were not granted, but war was declared. Thus we see that the chief action of the plot of act I: the threat of war, the causes, the demands of the Lacedemonians, the final declaration for combat, is historically true.

We find Athenians known to history playing the same roles in the play as they actually did in life. The influence of Perikles is felt throughout the first act, although he never appears. When he is attacked by Aristokles, Aspasia defends him. She expresses his ambition as unselfish; his motive for

the war patriotic, not personal: "Athènes est sa seule pensée. Il la veut riche, puissante, redoutée. Il veut qu'elle soit le modèle de tous les États helléniques." ¹⁷¹ In truth the real Perikles had done much for Athens. He sought to make Athens so beautiful that each man should be her lover and city states should feel it an honor to serve such a mistress. ¹⁷² Also, he felt strongly that it was the duty of Athens to lead Greece. He said: "I would say that our state is an education of Greece, the enormous rule of the many made for one." ¹⁷³

The accusation Aristokles makes against him: "Periklès espère profiter de nos ruines pour voler impunément le Trésor public," ¹⁷⁴ Fabre has taken from history. Perikles was accused of robbing the people. But Plutarch, as does Aspasia in the play, says it is doubtful if Perikles ever profited from his office; he lived most frugally, was honest, and had provided a sum of money to defray the expense of war. This Aspasia mentions in the drama: "Periklès, prévoyant la guerre, a fait mettre en réserve près de douze cents talents." ¹⁷⁵ Perikles died of the plague in 429 B.C. While Fabre does not tell how he died, we learn of his death in act III, which occurs after the plague.

Aspasia also is a real character from the records of history. Plutarch writes that Perikles, lawfully divorced from the mother of his two sons, would have married Aspasia but for a decree he had helped to

pass that forbade marriage with one who was not a "a nat-
 ural born Athenian". Aspasia was a Milesian. Her-
 mippus accused her of an offence against religion and
 of corrupting Athenian women to gratify the passions of
 Perikles. She was a very brilliant woman much interest-
 ed in politics. Her "private circles, with a bold neg-
 lect of established usage, were composed not only of
 the most intelligent and accomplished men to be found in
 Athens, but also of matrons, who, it is said, were
 brought by their husbands to listen to her conversation."¹⁷⁷
 Plato described her as the preceptress of Socrates and
 asserted that she both formed the rhetoric of Perikles
 and composed one of his most admired harangues, the
 celebrated funeral oration. There is no record, however,
 that she played so large a part in the history of Athens
 as is given to her by Fabre, although the success of
 Perikles is attributed to her guidance.

Act II pictures the demoralization of Athens
 by the plague, and the dissatisfaction of the people
 with the government of the peace party. An interval of
 two years has elapsed between this act and the close
 of act I, making it 430 B.C. "Le Combattant de Salamis"
 gives us this information: "Depuis que la guerre et la
 peste ont éclaté, depuis deux ans," Glover gives the
 same date as is implied by Fabre: "When the plague came
 to Athens in 430 B.C."¹⁷⁸ Bury mentions the old prophecy
 by an oracle: "A Dorian war will come and a plague there-

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with" , which Fabre has an old man recall; "Les prédictions s'accomplissent! Un oracle avait dit: 'La guerre doriennne viendra et la peste avec elle'." ¹⁸⁰

Bury gives the following details concerning the plague. ¹⁸¹ The country people moved to the city and lived where they could. They seized temples and shrines. Thucydides, stricken with the plague, describes its ravages and the demoralizing condition which it produced. The art of medicine was in its infancy; doctors did not know how to treat this virulent, unknown disease, which was aggravated by overcrowding and the summer heat. Dying wretches lay about every fountain seeking to relieve their unquenchable thirst. Nearly all of these details are included in the play. At the beginning of the war Kephisodorus had prophesied what would take place: "Si l'ennemi envahit l'Attique, vos paysans se réfugieront à Athènes. Comment nourrir un tel concours de peuple? Où les loger? Sans compter qu'un pareil entassement de gens dans la ville peut engendrer quelque terrible épidémie". ¹⁸² "Le Combattant de Salamis" describes the house of Melitta, a courtesan, as a place where "se tient quelque réunion de débauchés au teint livide et de dictériades couronnées de myrtes. Là se trouvent aussi, sans doute, des femmes qui furent honnêtes, des citoyens qui furent vertueux"; ¹⁸³ and expresses the feeling of most of the Athenians that "avant de mourir, il faut goûter du moins la volupté". ¹⁸⁴

The difficulty of disposing of the dead is shown by the prefects carrying away corpses all night. Chereas says: "Ne pourraient-ils brûler leurs morts plus loin? Cette graisse répand une odeur infecte"¹⁸⁵. Funeral customs were disregarded. Timon reproves Demos: "Toi, Démos, ne t'ai-je pas vu jeter le cadavre d'un parent sur un bûcher ne t'appartenant pas?"¹⁸⁶ The great thirst, and other symptoms, which came upon those attacked by the plague are apparent in Apemantus: "Pourquoi ma tête est-elle lourde? Pourquoi mes yeux s'obscurcissent-ils?... Des frissons courent le long de mes membres! ...Ma gorge est sèche et je sens un feu ardent circuler dans mes veines..."¹⁸⁷

With the great influx of people into the city of Athens, came worshippers of other Gods. "Besides the old ancestral Gods of Delos and Olympus, new Gods altogether begin, in this period, to be conspicuous in Athens. All sorts of strangers were settling there and bringing with them their cults"¹⁸⁸. Fabre has shown this situation in the trial of Melitta.¹⁸⁹ Aspasia also is accused of impiety. Demos says to her: "On dit que tu ne crois pas aux divinités d'Athènes"¹⁹⁰, and later in act III Aspasia adds: "Moi-même, un jour, ils m'accusèrent d'impieété, et sans Periklès..."¹⁹¹ This allusion is historically accurate. The comic poet, Hermippus, charged her with impiety and represented her abode as a house of recreation¹⁹² in the worst sense. To gain her acquittal, it was

necessary for Perikles to appear before the tribunal, where, with tears in his eyes, he pleaded for her life.

Also, the struggle which Fabre shows between Cleon, of the war party, and Perikles, of the peace party, is true save that we have no record of Aspasia's having so greatly influenced the people. "Athens had made overtures of peace with Sparta because of the plague. These rejected, they turned against Perikles (July 30, 430 B.C.), who had returned unsuccessful from Epidaurus"¹⁹³ "Cleon, a self-made young leather merchant, whom we now meet holding the unofficial position of leader of the assembly, and other statesmen of this type are especially interesting as the politicians whom the advanced Democracy produced and educated"^{194, 195}. It is such a Cleon that Fabre introduces; a Cleon who suggests that the blame for the misery of the people lies on the "misérable Periklès, qui nous a jetés dans cette guerre pour pouvoir à son aise voler le Trésor public..." "Il a fui, fui avec une partie de notre flotte, sous prétexte d'aller ravager la Laconie!"¹⁹⁶ "...Exigez qu'il justifie ses dépenses." Bury states that upon Perikles's return from an unsuccessful attack on Laconia, he was suspended as strategos, his accounts were called for and examined by a council of one thousand five hundred and one judges. He was found guilty of misappropriating the small sum of five talents, fined ten times that amount and presently re-elected to his former position.

Aspasia, in the play, accuses Cleon: "Tu parles quelque-
 fois de l'ambition de Periklès, et la tienne? N'as-tu
 pas demandé à être mis à la tête des troupes? ¹⁹⁷ History
 records that Cleon also was anxious to rule the state. ¹⁹⁸
 Perikles, knowing that Athens's land force was weak, re-
 fused to let the troops go forth against King Archidamos,
 who was just outside the walls. ¹⁹⁹ Cleon, in the play,
 points this out: "C'est lui qui vous a empêchés de livrer
 bataille aux Lacédémoniens". ²⁰⁰

Thus, we see act II presenting a true picture
 of the plague in Athens and developing the actual strug-
 gle between the war and peace parties in Athens.

An interval of about fourteen years elapses be-
 tween acts II and III. The peace of Nicias was signed in
 421 B.C. to endure for fifty years; strictly speaking how-
 ever the truce was not kept. ²⁰¹ The first tableau of this
 act occurs during this peace. Lysikles says: "Délivrés de
 la guerre et de la peste, nous pourrons enfin respirer." ²⁰²
 Probably it is the summer or fall of 415 B.C. since Alci-
 biades tells Timon that: "...une expédition va partir pour
 Mélos," and later in tableau II a soldier at Melos complains
 of having been there twelve months, and speaks of the fall-
 ing of the leaves. ²⁰⁴ Since the date given for the conquest
 of Melos is the winter of 416 B.C., ²⁰⁵ and this tableau oc-
 curs about a year earlier, it must be 417 B.C. The date
 416 B.C. is also that of the Sicilian expedition for which
 Alcibiades (in the play) seeks the aid of Timon: "Aidez-moi

à pousser le peuple dans une expédition que je projette
 contre la Sicile..."²⁰⁶

The first tableau of act III takes place in the home of Aspasia. After the death of Perikles (429 B.C.), she had "attached herself to Lysikles, a young cattle merchant, who rose, through her influence in moulding his character, to some of the highest employments of the republic"^{207,208}. Fabre has followed these details of Aspasia's life, revealing some through a speech of Alcibiades: to Lysikles: "Cher marchand de cochons, je te compare à un dieu. Et tu es un dieu en effet puisque tu succèdes à un autre dieu dans les bras de cette déesse, puisque tu y as pris la place que l'Olympien Periklès y occupait de son vivant". Lysikles adds: "Je ne le remplacerai pas seulement dans les bras d'Aspasie". When Alcibiades asks him: "Tu veux lui succéder dans la faveur du peuple?", Aspasia replies: "Suis mes leçons, Lysiklès, et tu deviendras maître de la foule comme le fut mon premier ami, Periklès"²⁰⁹.

Another historical feature entering into this tableau is the discussion of the Eleusian Mysteries. "Perhaps the most real religions of Greece were Orphism and the Eleusian Mysteries, both cults of initiation and purification, secret and awful, in which a hidden knowledge of another life, a life of woe or of happiness, was imparted and the clue given by which the better path might be found. What happened was that men and women

were put into certain frames of mind and had emotions"²¹⁰.
 Fabre has Timon twice advised to go to Éleusis; first,
 by Aristokles: "...va à Eleusis, et tu seras rassuré
 sur le sort de ton âme"²¹¹; then, by Evagorus: "Mais si
 tu veux qu'un coin du voile qui cache ces mystères soit
 soulevé pour toi, va à Éleusis. Là, tes doutes seront
 éclaircis"²¹². In act III, Myrtion tells us: "La pro-
 cession sacrée est partie hier d'Athènes pour Eleusis"²¹³.
 Fabre also uses the historical incident of Alcibiades's
 being accused of revealing the secrets of the mysteries
 in scene 1 of this tableau. Just as he is about to re-
 produce the ceremony for Myrtion, Timon enters, re-
 turning from Éleusis, a disillusioned man.

The second tableau of this act occurs at Melos
 during the siege, several months after Alcibiades has
 planned the expedition for Timon in tableau I. (We learn
 from Plutarch that Alcibiades was largely responsible
 for the affair with Melos"²¹⁴). The siege has lasted sev-
 eral months already. A Hoplite complains: "Voilà plus
 que douze mois passés devant Mélos"²¹⁵. Fabre then follows
 history closely in presenting the circumstances of the
 conquest and the conference between the Athenian and
 Melian leaders. "The island of Melos had hitherto re-
 mained outside the sea-lordship of the Athenians, and
 Athens, under the influence of Alcibiades, now attack-
 ed her. She surrendered in the winter of 416²¹⁶ B.C..
 Thucydides gives this account of the siege: "The place

was closely invested and there was treachery among the citizens themselves. So the Melians were induced to surrender at discretion. The Athenians thereupon put to death all who were of military age and made slaves of the women and children...²¹⁷ "The conquest of Melos is remarkable for the unprovoked aggression of Athens without any tolerable pretext. By the curious device of an imaginary colloquy between Athenian envoys and the Melian government, Thucydides has brought the episode into drama relief: 'Of the Gods we believe and of men we know, that by a necessary law of their nature, they rule wherever they can, and it is not as if we were the first to make this law or to act upon it when made... so, as far as the Gods are concerned we have no fear and no reason to fear the worse' "^{218,219}

Fabre has placed such a dialogue in his play: Timon explains that Melos is innocent, and almost translates Thucydides in explaining the law of Nature that the stronger should rule over the weaker: "Cette loi, ce n'est pas moi qui l'ai faite, ni appliquée le premier. Je l'ai trouvée établie parmi les hommes et après nous, elle subsistera à tout jamais."²²⁰ In reality the Melians surrendered to Athens; in the play they do not yield but are taken by a treacherous subterfuge. Fabre is accurate however, in showing the cruelty with which the conquered people were treated.

Act IV centers about the overthrow of the Four Hundred, Broedomion, 411 B.C., five years after act III.

Fabre gives this number of years through Evagorus: "...les crimes que tu commets depuis cinq ans." ²²¹ A poet summarizes the intervening events: "Il y a quelques années tu (Timon) as pris Melos, et tu viens avec tes amis de renverser la démocratie a Athenes." ²²³ Actually, in Athens, all during the era of the Democracy, there had been an active Oligarchial party. These united with the moderates, led by Theramenes who desired only a modification of the constitution, to upset the Democracy. Antiphon, an eloquent orator and advocate of Cleon, was the soul of the plot, which was also favored by most of the officers of the fleet. The moment for overthrowing the existing government was favorable because the Athenians' fear of the Persians was so great that they were willing, if it would save the city, to sacrifice their constitution. Alcibiades, who had been exiled after the Sicilian expedition in 416 B.C., did not favor the Oligarchy, but was willing to aid it in overthrowing the Democracy which he knew would never recall him. He promised to secure an alliance with Tissaphernes, the Persian Satrap, but represented the abolition of the Democracy as a necessary condition to this alliance. Thus the revolution was brought about. ²²³ "The conspirators did not hesitate to use violence and menace, and in April 411 B.C. the change was peaceably effected through the co-operation of 10 Probuli with most punctilious regard for legal forms." ²²⁴

The new government consisted of the Probuli and

twenty others chosen by the people, forming a commission of thirty who should devise proposals for the safety of the state and lay them before the assembly on a fixed day. There a radical change was made. The sovereign assembly was to consist not of the whole people but of a body of five thousand. This group of five thousand was to meet only when summoned by another council of four hundred, in which each of the tribes should have forty members. The Four Hundred entered office, Thargelion 411 B.C.

Fabre recounts this establishing of the Oligarchy very briefly, but accurately. Evagorus upbraids Timon first for the way in which the revolution has been accomplished: "Vous avez commence par les terrifier en frappant les chefs de la democratie". Then, "Enfin, vous avez arraché au peuple son droit de vote. Vous avez déclaré n'accorder ce droit qu'à cinq mille citoyens que vous deviez désigner et que d'ailleurs vous n'avez pas désignés encore". Aristotle ²²⁵ says the five thousand were really constituted before the fall of the Four Hundred; Thucydides that they were chosen in word but not in deed. ²²⁶ This appears in the play when Timon wants the five thousand assembled: Antiphon - "Nous ne les assemblerons pas. C'est qu'ainsi nous avons fait croire au peuple que les cinq mille d'entre eux étaient nos complices. Chacun a pu croire que son ami, son voisin, faisait partie de ces cinq mille, et de peur d'être dénoncé par lui, n'a pas osé murmurer contre nous!" Evagorus ²²⁷ speaks also against the plan to recall Alcibiades: "...Ils

verront le misérable Alcibiades, jadis chassé par le peuple, rentrer triomphant à Athènes, après avoir profané les mystères et dirigé contre nous les coups les plus rudes des Lacédémoniens."²²⁸

The rule of the Four Hundred lasted from June until September 411 B.C.²²⁹ Thrasybulus and Thrayllus persuaded the soldiers and sailors to proclaim formally their adhesion to the Democracy and hostility to the Oligarchs. The Persian alliance which Alcibiades had tried to establish, fell through and he went over to the side of the Democracy, which formally voted his recall in Samos where it had its stronghold. The Four Hundred had dissensions among themselves. Thucydides explains the downfall of their government thus: " It succeeded just so long as nobody quite knew what it was or whether he was safe with his neighbor; but it fell as soon as men saw it would use the sword on the citizens and make a surrender to the Nation's enemies."²³⁰ The extremists' party looked to the enemy for support against the moderates who had the army behind them. They sent envoys to Sparta for the purpose of concluding a peace. In the meantime they fortified Eetionea. The object was to command the entrance to the Lacedemonians, or exclude the fleet from Samos. History says that when the envoys returned from Sparta without terms, the soldiers who were employed in building the fort at Eetionea were instigated by Theramenes to declare against the city, and after a great tumult at the Pireus,

the walls of the fort were pulled down to the cry of "Whoever wishes the five thousand and not the four hundred to rule, let him come and help."²³¹

The action of Fabre's play includes all this. We learn through Evagorus that : "Le bruit se répand que vous (the Oligarchs) avez envoyé Antiphon en ambassade à Lacédémone, que le fort d'Etioneia n'a été élevé par vous que pour vous assurer de la ville, et pour la livrer au besoin aux ennemis." and "Dans la ville même, des jeunes gens se sont liés par un grand serment: ils ont juré de rétablir notre ancienne constitution."²³²

In the play when Antiphon returns from treating with the Lacedemonians, he discloses the plan of the Oligarchs to surrender the city to the enemy: "Les éphores ont refusé de traiter avec nous.... Ils en demandent une preuve. Leur flotte nous suit. Elle croise devant Salamine. Qu'on lui fasse un signal, et elle accourt se ranger dans le port."²³³

Timon, in the play, succeeds in causing the Democracy to recall Alcibiades giving as the reason, his influence with Tissaphernes. Then, Aspasia warns Timon of the revolt planned against the Oligarchs: "La flotte s'est déclarée contre vous. Un matelot m'a porté une lettre d'Alcibiade,...qui me dit ce qu'il attend de toi. L'armée l'a élu stratège. C'est le vertueux Thrasyboulos qui l'a présenté aux marins comme le seul

capable de renverser nos tyrans et de rétablir le gouver-
nement populaire."²³⁴

Up to this point the play and history are very closely allied. For the actual overthrow of the Four Hundred Fabre departs from the facts, introducing the dramatic scene in which Timon tricks the tyrants into proving themselves traitors.

In act V of the play occurs the trial of the eight generals after the naval battle of Arginsæ in 406 B.C. Athens had sent out a fleet of fifty triremes to relieve the blockade at the harbor of Mytilene. They were met by the enemy at Arginsæ, south of Lesbos. The result was an Athenian victory, but an untimely north wind hindered the victors from sailing on to Mytilene to destroy the blockade as well as preventing the rescue of the crews from their wrecked ships. It was believed that many of the men left floating on the wreckage might have been saved if the officers had taken proper measures. The commanders of the fleet were blamed and the matter taken up by politicians in Athens. The generals were suspended from their posts and summoned to account for their conduct. They shifted the blame to the trierarchs and these, one of whom was Theramenes, in order to shield themselves, accused the generals of not having issued orders for a rescue until the high winds made it impossible. The question was judged by the assembly, not by the ordinary courts. Two

sittings were held and the eight generals who had been at Arginsæ were condemned to death. Six of them, including Perikles, the son of Perikles and Aspasia, were executed; the other two had prudently kept away.

The penalty was unduly severe, but the worst feature of the proceedings was that the assembly violated a recognized usage of the city by judging all of the accused together, instead of separately as the law demanded. Formally illegal it was not, for the supporters of the generals had not the courage to apply the "Graphe Paran-²⁶³omon". Protests had no effect upon the excited multi-²³⁵tude, thirsty for vengeance.

Fabre discloses this story by having an Athenian explain, to a stranger in the Pnyx, the trial of the generals: "Ceux-ci ont dernièrement livré aux Lacédémoniens, près des îles Arginusæ, une bataille, qui a été la plus terrible de la guerre, et où ils ont été complètement victorieux."

Draces: "Mais ne disais-tu pas tantôt que les stratèges allaient être condamnés à mort?"

Demos: "Oui... Car ils ont négligé de secourir certains matelots qui ont coulé avec les trières éventrées. Crime plus abominable encore, ils n'ont pas recueilli les cadavres qu'ils ont laissés sans²³⁶ sépulture."

The historical accounts accuse the generals only of neglecting the living.

Demos tells of the first assembly: "A la dernière assemblée, ils (the generals) ont prétendu qu'une tempête les avait empêchés d'accomplir ce devoir sacré."²³⁷ Fabre mentions that the son of Perikles was one of the generals: Euryptolemus "avait offert caution pour l'un des stratèges, le fils de Periklès, son parent," and Demos indignately exclaims: "Les laisser en liberté! Pourquoi? Parce que l'un d'entre eux est le fils de l'illustre Periklès et d'Aspasie?"²³⁸ Fabre also is faithful to the story of not allowing the generals to speak for themselves: "Si on leur donne le temps de s'expliquer, ils démontreront, - votre impatience ne leur a pas permis de le faire à la dernière assemblée, - que c'est bien réellement la tempête qui les empêcha de secourir les naufragés et de recueillir les cadavres."²³⁹ The shifting of the blame from the trierarchs to the generals with the same accusations is brought out. Theramenes was actually one of the trierarchs. In the play Demos says: "Théraménès affirme qu'ils pouvaient agir avant que la tempête se fût déchaînée..."²⁴⁰ "C'est sa propre défense qu'il présente. Théraménès avait été chargé de tous ces soins par les stratèges. Il n'a pas rempli sa mission. En prétendant qu'on lui a donné des ordres trop tardivement, il se décharge de la faute qu'il met sur le compte de ses chefs."

"The generals are tried all together." When Evagorus wishes to give them a hearing: "Il faudra fixer

le jour où ils devront présenter leur défense. La loi le veut;" ²⁴¹ he is met with hisses: "On connaît leur défense" ²⁴². Timon tries to obtain a separate trial for them: "On veut que vous rendiez contre tous les stratèges une même sentence, ce qui est monstrueux, car leur degré de culpabilité n'est pas le même," ²⁴³ but the people will not listen. Socrates, as history has recorded, ²⁴⁴ refuses to put the vote: "La proposition étant illégale, je refuse de la mettre aux voix." ²⁴⁵ but another calls for it and the generals are condemned to death. Fabre has carefully followed every historic detail of this trial and save for the part which Timon plays in it is accurate. He has even mentioned the escape of two of the generals: Demos - "Quand nous les avons rappelés, deux d'entre eux, persuadés que nous les condamnerions, se sont enfuis." ²⁴⁶

In this act Demos adds more detail to the checkered career of Alcibiades: "...Sache seulement qu'Alcibiade ayant été destitué...nous apprîmes qu'il avait profané les mystères et ainsi insulté nos dieux... Nous envoyâmes une trière pour le ramener de Sicile à Athènes ou il aurait répondu de son crime. Mais il s'échappa et alla à Sparte, où il donna des conseils contre nous aux Lacédémoniens. Puis il fit révolter Chios, Lesbos, l'Eubée...enfin Alcibiade nous ayant donné la victoire à Cyzique..nous l'avions rappelé: il nous avait promis l'appui de Tissaphernès et il nous

avait débarrassés de quatre cents tyrans...Puis Alcibiade ayant été destitué, il a abandonné la flotte à un de ses lieutenants, qui s'est fait surprendre et battre par les ennemis...Immédiatement nous l'avons cassé de son grade et à sa place nous avons nommé dix stratèges." ²⁴⁷

This is almost all that we hear about Alcibiades in the play. Short as is the summary, in it Fabre has followed the real career of Alcibiades. He was recalled from the Sicilian expedition to suffer trial ²⁴⁸ for the mutilation of the Hemæ about 415 B.C. and because it was said that a profane mockery of the Eleusian Mysteries had taken place in his house; but he escaped, ²⁴⁹ going to the court of the Satrap Tissaphernes where he intrigued first with the Oligarchs and then the Democrats for his recall to Athens. ²⁵⁰ Upon his return about 407 B.C., after an exile of eight years - Fabre has ²⁵² him return with the overthrow of the Oligarchs in 406 B.C.- he was elected strategos and given full power to conduct the war. He lost his prestige again at the naval battle of Notium in the very year of his return. ²⁵³ He was not present at the battle although he should have been and thus received all the blame. Feeling himself distrusted not only in Athens, but in all the city states, he retired to a castle on the Hellespont where he was killed ²⁵⁴ in 404 B.C.

Fabre has presented the character of Alcibiades exactly as history has described him: courageous,

selfish and vacillating. In the "Frogs", Aristophanes sets forth the attitude of Athens toward him whom "She loves and hates, yet longs to possess."²⁵⁵ Aspasia expresses this same feeling in the play: "Le peuple hait Alcibiade, le charge de ses maledictions et en secret l'adore et desire son retour."²⁵⁶

Act VI is the scene of the fall of Athens which occurred in April, 404 B.C., two years after act V. In 405 B.C., Athens, besieged and attacked on all sides sought peace. The terms of the peace were: 1. the long walls and fortifications of the Pireus to be destroyed; 2. the Athenians to lose all foreign possessions; 3. the fleet to be forfeited; 4. all exiles to be allowed to return; 5. Athens to become the ally of Sparta and pledged to follow her leadership. This treaty was ratified in April, 404 B.C. Lysander, the leader of Sparta, sailed to Athens and the demolition of the long walls began. "Athenians and conquerors together pulled them down to the music of flute players." A new constitution was established by Lysander providing a temporary rule by a body of thirty.²⁵⁷

Fabre's last act deals more with Timon than with the fall of Athens, but he explains the true particulars of this event. "Le Combattant de Salamis" reports to Timon that: "Athènes est prise...Athènes, assiégée par les Lacédémoniens, sans argent, sans armée, sans pain, a dû ouvrir ses portes aux ennemis."²⁵⁸

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Glover states that "Sparta did not andrapodize Athens."

Fabre describes the scene as viewed by spectators outside the city: "Non... C'est notre flotte qu'on brûle"... "Écoutez le son de ces flûtes."... "J'aperçois des femmes qui dansent."...
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Evagorus states the terms of the peace in the play: "Les Phocéens sont intervenus en notre faveur, et les Spartiates ont compris qu'il était de leur intérêt de sauver Athènes pour l'opposer à leurs rivaux. Mais il faut détruire de nos mains les Longs-Murs et les fortifications du Pirée, abandonner nos possessions étrangères, livrer toutes nos trières, devenir les alliés de Lacédémone à qui nous devons obéir tant sur mer que sur terre; il faut enfin nous courber sous le joug de trente tyrans que Lysandros va établir dans notre ville."
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These are exactly the terms of the peace as given in Bury's history of Greece.

A last mention of Alcibiades is made in this act: "Alcibiade, fugitif, erre en Asie. Ayant trahi tour à tour Sparte, Athènes, Tissaphernès, le Grand-Roi, il a été abandonné par tous."
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This refers to the period just after his failure as leader of the fleet and just before he went to live on the Hellespont.

It is evident from this comparison of Fabre's "Timon d'Athènes" with the historical incidents upon which it is based, that he is accurate to a fine degree and thoroughly acquainted with the history of Greece

during the Peloponnesian war. The sureness with which he seizes the most dramatic of many stirring episodes and the skill with which he weaves the story of Timon into this background is remarkable. It is interesting to note that in a play so historically accurate, the one inaccuracy is the role of the hero, Timon. There is no record of Timon's having been a statesman. Furthermore his birth date is recorded as circa 440 B.C. so he could not have attained the age which Fabre ascribes to him in 432 B.C.

CONCLUSION

CONCLUSION

From this study of "Timon d'Athènes", it is quite evident that the play grew out of Émile Fabre's love of the classics and his admiration for Shakespeare. The appeal of the character of the legendary Timon of Athens was strengthened by Shakespeare's dramatization. With his natural inclination for the study of political problems, Fabre discovered the possibility of presenting his ideas through the dramatic events of Peloponnesian history. He saw, moreover, a relationship between a Timon, become a misanthrope through personal disappointment (found in the legend and in Shakespeare's play) and a Timon disillusioned in all men because of their selfish abuse of the powers entrusted them by the state. Thus Fabre took the legendary Timon and made of him a statesman, giving us that mingling of historical fact, legend and imagination which is his "Timon d'Athènes."

As to Fabre's sources, one cannot be sure whether he took this legend material directly from the Greek sources: Plutarch, Lucian and the writers of comedies, from the old English sources: Painter and the Dyce comedy, or from Shakespeare. All the details of the legend which he uses appeared first in the Shakespearean play, but he has not used all the mater-

erial given there. Since Fabre knew the classics thoroughly, it is likely that he was acquainted with all that the Greeks have handed down concerning Timon of Athens. Probably he chose from the classical versions the legendary details which he wished to use, aided in his selection by the dramatic form they had been given by Shakespeare.

Fabre's chief contribution to the story is the broadening of the character of Timon. From the earliest mention of him, up to and including Shakespeare's play, Timon is presented as becoming a misanthrope because he has found his own friends to be ungrateful. To this personal disappointment Fabre added a disillusionment in all mankind. His Timon is willing to forgive the ill-treatment he has suffered, but is unable to bear the thought that all men, individually and in groups, are selfish, ungrateful and incapable of justice. Also, Fabre has created Timon as an honest statesman, truly seeking to establish a government which should bring justice and happiness to all people; and his failure to realize this ideal makes of him a misanthrope. In thus painting scenes in which there is no ray of sunshine, Fabre is true to his outlook, prevalent in most of his dramas.

The author has placed Timon in the midst of the stirring episodes of the Peloponnesian war in Athens. His accuracy in reproducing the history of

that period is remarkable. Not only has he used a true historical event for the basis of each act of his play, but every word in the play suggests some place, some picture, some episode of Athenian history which if elaborated would form a complete story of that period. Especially may the scene in the Pnyx at the trial of the generals be noted for its careful attention to authentic detail. Fabre has introduced sixty-six speaking roles, and with his usual dexterity created impressive group scenes. In the one at the Pnyx one feels that the crowd has one of the chief roles in the play. The major characters; Cleon, Aspasia, Aristokles, Alcibiades and Apemantus are all drawn faithfully from history. Timon, alone, plays a role which history does not accord him.

APPENDICES

A. "Le Dissipateur" by Destouches.

Another play, similar in plot and in the major character, Timon, was presented at the "Comédie Française", March 23, 1753, "le Dissipateur", a comedy of five acts in verse, written by Philippe Néricault Destouches. Petit de Julleville, comparing the play with Shakespeare's Timon, says: "Le Dissipateur, la dernière pièce qu'il fait jouer, rappelle plus d'une scène de 'Timon d'Athènes' de Shakespeare et emprunte au théâtre anglais le mélange hardi du pathétique le plus émouvant avec le comique le plus gai." ²⁶⁴ But Destouches himself says of this play: "Je n'ai travaillé sur aucun modèle. J'ai fait choix de mon sujet, j'en ai formé le plan, et c'est la nature qui me l'a fourni; mais j'ai trouvé dans l'exécution des difficultés ²⁶⁵ presque insurmontables..." He adds that his play was written as a contrast to "l'Avare" of Molière.

Nevertheless, the play has a strong resemblance to that of Shakespeare, not so much in the character of the "Dissipateur" as in the incidents making up the action. Cleon, the "Dissipateur", having come into his wealth after a very rigid up-bringing, spends his money too liberally, and thus, has hosts of hangers-on as false friends. Julie, fiancé of Cleon, knowing his ex-

travagance, foresightedly, on one pretext or another, gets from him as much of his wealth and property as she can. Then, at last, when he is ruined and only a faithful servant remains true to him; when the friends, who have offered to aid him should he ever be in need, have vanished, Julie comes and restores his fortune to him just in time to prevent his suicide.

B. "Timon d'Athènes" by Mercier.

Jusserand gives the date for this play as ²⁶⁶ 1782, but Louis Béclard states that the piece was written while Mercier was imprisoned during the Reign of Terror. ²⁶⁷ The preface of the book is a diatribe against Robespierre.

Also from the "Archives de la Comédie Française", we have, "Le même registre nous apprend en revanche l'admission de 'Jean Hennuyer', 22 novembre, 1789, et de 'Timon, le Misanthrope', 20 juin, 1793, mais le jour ne vint pour aucun de ces ouvrages de paraître devant la rampe". ²⁶⁸

C. Émile Fabre, life and dramatic works.

1. Émile Fabre was born of a Provençal father at Metz in 1870, but moved at an early age to Marseilles. ²⁶⁹ Here, he received most of his education. "Tout jeune, quand enfant il s'échappe aux heures libres des vacances à la Bibliothèque de la mairie, il lit tout, nourrit sa

curiosité de conceptions shakespeariennes et balzaciennes. Il connaît les meilleurs écrivains de la Grèce".²⁷⁰ When he reached young manhood, he was "attaché d'un avocat de la ville". He began early to write plays. Antoine, in his memoirs of 1890 mentions "le Devoir conjugal"²⁷¹ and in 1892, speaks of having accepted one of Fabre's plays for the Théâtre Libre.²⁷² This was probably "l'Argent", for Antoine produced both "l'Argent" and "le Bien d'autrui" in the Théâtre Libre.

For the celebration of the twenty-fifth centenary of the founding of Marseilles, Fabre wrote a play "Timon d'Athènes", which was presented on the twentieth of October, 1899, in the Théâtre des Variétés at Marseilles. Parisian critics were kind to his new production. Lemaître, after the representation of "l'Argent", had declared "qu'il fallait retenir le nom de Fabre, qu'on le retrouverait un jour au tout premier rang des écrivains dramatiques"²⁷³ and the veteran Sarcey "s'est plu à reconnaître à l'auteur le don du théâtre, la maturité de sa pensée, la vigueur de son dialogue".

This early promise of dramatic ability was fulfilled when Fabre, having moved to Paris,²⁷⁴ brought out plays in such rapid succession that he has become "un des principaux représentants du théâtre réaliste"²⁷⁵. Today, he is "administrateur general" of the Comédie Française, a position which in itself bespeaks his success.

2. E. Sorel, after a meeting with Fabre wrote this portrait of him: "Il était grave et ironique, une barbe noire, effilée, tombait sur une figure maigre au teint vaguement mat, un lorgnon s'arc-boutait sur un petit nez droit et net. Les cheveux, un peu rares sur le front, glissaient derrière les oreilles. Il marchait lentement, il parlait d'une voix un peu gutturale avec l'accent du midi"²⁷⁶.

3. Other plays of Emile Fabre are:

Comme ils sont tous - 1894

L'Argent - 1895

Le Bien d'autrui - 1897

L'Impérissable - 1898

Timon d'Athènes - 1899

La Vie publique - 1902

La Rabouilleuse (from Balzac) - 1904

Ventres dorés - 1905

La Maison d'argile - 1907

Les Vainqueurs - 1908

César Birotteau (from Balzac) - 1910

Les Sauterelles - 1911

Un grand Bourgeois - 1914

La Maison sous l'orage - 1920²⁷⁷

4. As a dramatist, Fabre is of the realistic school, "nourri des Grecs et de Shakespeare, gagné par l'âpre maîtrise de Becque"²⁷⁵. "Il affectionne les

sujets d'observation amère et les situations violentes.
 Le regard qu'il jette sur la vie est un regard triste".²⁷⁹
 Georges Pellissier says of this pessimism: "Il a de vigou-
 reuses qualités d'observateur et de peintre. Et,
 d'ailleurs, s'il se plaît à peindre de préférence les vi-
 lainies humaines, son pessimisme comporte et implique une
 âpre moralité".²⁸⁰

Fabre greatly admired Balzac. This he evinced
 in his two plays: "La Rabouilleuse" and "César Birotteau".
 "It has been suggested that in the range of his dramas,
 he attempted some such survey of contemporary life as was
 achieved in "La Comédie Humaine".²⁸¹

Certainly his dramas cover a wide variety of
 subject matter, the problem play interesting him most, "la
 lutte d'un individu contre la foule, l'éternel problème
 d'argent, la cupidité aux prises avec la séduction de la
 richesse et l'ivresse de la fortune".²⁸² "L'Argent", "Le
 Bien d'autrui" deal with money and morals. "In 'La Vie
 publique', 'Les Vainqueurs' and 'Un grand Bourgeois',
 Fabre directs his efforts to a criticism of the political
 rather than the financial world".²⁸³ The treatment of these
 plays is entirely modern. "Timon d'Athènes" also deals
 more with the political than the financial world although
 the play shows his interest in the two problems.

It is in this play that Fabre for the first time
 shows the largeness of manner which marks his mature works.
 That which he contributed to contemporary French drama is

a "fresh attention to details of staging and costuming, an interest in movement on the stage, and a perception of the romance of business and politics, and above all, a recognition that a crowd may figure in a play, if not as the hero, at least as an important accessory."²⁸⁴

"A criticism may be made of Fabre that he has a tendency to fill scenes too full, to warp them out of their right line of development"²⁸⁵, as in "le Bien d'autrui" where the question of the play changes suddenly between acts II and III, and in "Timon d'Athènes", between acts III and IV. Sometimes, also, he subordinates character development to the background and to the action of the play. While he handles large groups on the stage remarkably, too much of this detracts at times from the main characters of the play.

D. "Timon d'Athènes" - 1907.

Émile Fabre's opportunity to produce "Timon d'Athènes" in Paris came eight years after its appearance in Marseilles. M. Gémier, director of the Théâtre Antoine, having just completed a series of very successful modern plays, sought a piece of high inspiration, the staging of which would present a magnificent spectacle. Arène, speaking of this ambition of Gémier's says: "Non pas, certes, que l'heureux directeur du Théâtre Antoine songe à faire concurrence à son éminent prédécesseur, mais peut-être a-t-il mis une certaine coquetterie,

comme Antoine lui-même quand il nous donnait "le Roi Lear," à prouver que le gentil théâtre du boulevard de Strasbourg est aussi capable que le vaste Odéon d'offrir aux auteurs une confortable hospitalité."

Gémier knew Fabre's "Timon d'Athènes". It was the type of play he wanted but too long for an evening's performance. Fabre re-arranged his work, cutting it so it could be produced in the customary length of time. On April 12th, 1907, this new version of "Timon d'Athènes" was acted in the Théâtre Antoine. The spectacle was all that Gémier could wish. Press notices were lavish in their praise:

"Grâce à la stupéfiante mise en scène de M. Gémier et à son intuition théâtrale, qui, en l'espèce, n'a jamais été égalee, même en Angleterre... ce spectacle contient assez de beautés en lui-même pour conquérir la faveur de tous".

"Une logique scénique impressionnante par sa simplicité et un souffle souvent grandiose caractérisent la pièce de Fabre. Le directeur du théâtre Antoine a fait des merveilles pour la mise en scène et grâce à lui devant les yeux des spectateurs se déroule un merveilleux tableau de la vie de l'antique Grèce"

"La mise en scène constitue un tableau d'une fidélité historique absolue au point de vue de la civilisation, de la vie de l'ancienne Grèce."²⁸⁸

Fabre recognized his indebtedness to

Gémier by dedicating the play to him:

A Gémier-

Mon cher Gémier,

En vous dédiant cette pièce, je vous rends ce qui vous appartient: Timon est à vous autant qu'à moi. C'est comme une vie nouvelle que vous lui avez donnée par votre mise en scène ingénieuse et pittoresque. Le public vous doit la plus belle vision d'antiquité qu'il ait jamais vue.

Aux éloges qui vous furent unanimement décernés, laissez-moi joindre mon remerciement pour la joie que j'ai eue en voyant enfin, grâce à vous, au théâtre celle de mes pièces que je préfère.

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Votre ami,

Émile Fabre

NOTES

Notes

1. Larousse, Le Grand Dictionnaire Universel du XIX^e siècle, Paris, 1866, p. 9280.
2. Harper, Dictionary of Classical Literature and Antiquities, New York, 1896, Vol. II, p. 1585.
3. Ibid.
4. Knight, C., Studies in Shakespeare, London, 1849, p. 185.
5. Aristophanes, Birds, London, 1903, l. 1547.
6. Smith, William, Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology, London, 1880, Vol. III, p. 1145.
7. Athenæus, Vol. VII, 309d.
8. Diogenes Laertius, Vol. I, p. 107.
9. The inscriptions found upon Timon's tomb, as repeated by Plutarch are:

"Here am I laid, my life and misery done.
Ask not my name, I curse you every one".

"Timon, the Misanthrope, am I below.
Go, and revile me, traveller, only go".
10. Seneca, Tusc., London, 1908, Vol. IV, p. 2.
Cicero, Epistle, Boston, 1917, Vol. II, iv, p. 7.
11. Pliny, Natural History, London, 1896, Vol. XII, p. 19.
12. Cicero, De Amicitia, Boston, 1917, Vol. XXIII, p. 87.
13. Strabo, Geography, London, 1903-06, XVII, p. 9.

14. Plutarch's Lives, New York, 1909, Vol. V, pp. 224-225.
15. Ibid., p. 225.
16. See note 9.
17. Lucian, Dialogues, London, 1905, pp. 142-146.
18. Wright, E. H., The Authorship of Timon of Athens, New York, 1910, p. 12.
19. Shakespeare, W., Love's Labour's Lost, New York, 1903, IV, iii, l. 169.
20. Shakespeare Society Transactions, London, 1842.
21. The inscriptions found upon the tomb were:

"Here lies a wretched coarse, of wretched
soul bereft,
Seeke not my name: a plague consume you,
wretched caitifs left".

"Here lye I, Timon, who alive, all living
men did hate,
Passe bye, and curse thy fill, but passe
and stay not here thy gate".
22. Shakespeare, W., Timon of Athens, London, 1913, V, iv, l. 94-5. All following quotations cited from Shakespeare are from this play.
23. Ibid., V, i, l. 258-65.
24. Ibid., V, iv, l. 85-90.
25. Ibid., IV, iii, l. 312.
26. Ibid., IV, iii, l. 135-41.
27. I shall not enter into the controversy as to whether Shakespeare actually knew Lucian or the English Comedy.
28. Deighton, K., Timon of Athens, London, 1905,

suggests that it is not only the incidents which are very similar in both Shakespeare and Lucian, but there is a marked resemblance (indicating almost a translation) in the language of the two works .

29. Shakespeare, op. cit., I, i, l. 31-137.
30. Dyce, A., Timon of Athens, London, 1842, I, ii, l. 60.
31. Lucian, op. cit., p. 147.
32. Shakespeare, op. cit., III, vi, l. 119.
33. We find "Timon, Comédia, un acte en vers de Jean Gruel, sans date", listed in "la Bibliothèque du Théâtre Français depuis son origine à Pierre Corneille", edited by Barthélemy Mercier, abbé de Saint-Léger, 1734-1799. Whether this Timon deals with the legendary one is uncertain.
34. Guillaume Brécourt entered Molière's troupe in 1658. He was obliged to go into exile for a few years, but returned to Paris in 1663. In 1664 he joined the players of l'Hôtel de Bourgogne. He played comic roles and superiorly that of Harpagon. Louis XIV said of him "qu'il ferait rire des pierres". He burst a blood vessel playing the Timon of his own comedy in 1685. La grande Encyclopédie, Vol. VI, p. 1048.
35. In Larousse, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 1220, Brécourt's comedy, Timon, is given as one act in

- prose.
35. Larousse, op. cit., Vol. VI, p. 360.
 36. See appendix A.
 37. Béclard, Léon, Sébastien Mercier, sa Vie, son Œuvre, son Temps, Paris, 1903, pp. 322-323.
See appendix B.
 38. See appendix C.
 39. See appendix C.
 40. Of this presentation of "Timon d'Athènes in 1899, Maurice Demaison, in "l'Illustration Théâtrale" Paris, 18 mai, 1907, says: "Le public de Marseille lui a fait bon accueil. La pièce était jouée d'une façon remarquable. M. Silvain, de la Comédie Française, a obtenu et a mérité le plus éclatant succès dans un rôle écrasant. Je ne crois pas qu'il existe au théâtre un rôle comparable à celui de Timon. Du premier au sixième acte il occupe constamment la scène. Il est lui seul le drame. Mlle. Hartman comme Aspasia n'a guère que deux scènes. Elle a déployé un talent dramatique et une beauté qu'on a justement applaudis...On a beaucoup admiré la mise en scène si animée et si vivante de l'acte du Pnyx".
 41. See appendix D.
 42. L'Illustration Théâtrale, Paris, 18 mai, 1907.
 43. See appendix D.
 44. Refer to graphic comparison of the two plays p. 33 of thesis.

45. p. 11.
46. See appendix B.
47. "L'illustration Théâtrale", l. cit., cover.
48. The same setting which was used in the comedy published by Rev. A. Dyce.
49. This was implied by Plutarch and narrated by Lucian.
50. Fabre, Émile, Timon d'Athènes, Paris, 1899, I, iii, p. 19. All other citations are to this edition of the play unless otherwise indicated.
51. Shakespeare, op. cit., I, ii, l. 18-19.
52. Ibid., I, ii, l. 243-245.
53. Fabre, op. cit., I, iii, p. 19.
54. Ibid., I, iii, p. 24.
55. Fabre, (1907 version), I, iii, p. 5. This last line appears in the 1907 version but not in that of 1899.
56. This is Demeas in Lucian's Dialogue.
57. Shakespeare, op. cit., I, i, l. 120-135.
58. Fabre, op. cit., I, i, pp. 6-7.
59. Ibid., I, i, p. 8.
60. In the Lucian Dialogue, it was Philiades to whom a dowry was given.
61. Shakespeare, op. cit., I, i, l. 176-182.
62. Fabre, op. cit., I, iii, p. 23.
63. Ibid.
64. Shakespeare, op. cit., I, ii, l. 99-102.
65. Fabre, (1907), I, iii, p. 5.

66. Shakespeare, op. cit., I, 1, l. 87-89.
67. Fabre, op. cit., I, iii, p. 18.
68. Ibid.
69. Timon's loss of wealth is implied in Plutarch's Lives, narrated in Lucian's Dialogue, and becomes part of the drama in the Dyce comedy.
70. Shakespeare, op. cit., III, ii, l. 161-162.
71. Fabre, op. cit., II, 1, pp. 58-59.
72. Ibid., II, iii, p. 67.
73. Shakespeare, op. cit., II, ii, l. 198-201.
74. Ibid., II, ii, l. 206-220.
75. Fabre, op. cit., II, iii, p. 69.
76. Ibid., II, iii, p. 70.
77. Shakespeare, op. cit., III, 1.
78. Ibid., III, ii.
79. Ibid., III, iii.
80. Fabre, op. cit., II, iii, pp. 71-77.
81. Ibid., II, vi, pp. 92-96.
82. Ibid., I, v, p. 31.
83. That any relation which Timon had to the State or with the Senators is not clear, is regarded by critics like Ernest Wright, as proof that Shakespeare began a play which was later finished by an inferior writer. They contend that Shakespeare had in mind some scenes showing why Athens was indebted to Timon. Also, in the case of Alcibiade's avenging Timon's wrongs, they think that Shakespeare

intended to introduce a real cause for this action.

84. Shakespeare, *op. cit.*, III, vi, l. 100-104.
85. Fabre, *op. cit.*, II, vii, p. 109.
86. *Ibid.*, III, ii, p. 122..
87. *Ibid.*, III, ii, p. 127.
88. *Ibid.*, IV.
89. *Ibid.*, V.
90. *Ibid.*, V, i, p. 249.
91. *Ibid.*
92. Shakespeare, *op. cit.*, V. i, l. 258-265.
93. *Ibid.*, IV, iii, l. 26-31.
94. Fabre, *op. cit.*, VI, i, p. 251.
95. Shakespeare, *op. cit.*, V, i, l. 268-279.
96. See note 21.
97. Plutarch, *Life of Alcibiades*, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 18.
98. *Transactions of the New Shakespeare Society for 1843*, p. 252.
99. Knight, *op. cit.*, pp. 79-80.
100. *Ibid.*, p. 80.
101. Shakespeare, *op. cit.*, V, i, l. 141-169.
102. See note 83.
103. Fabre, *op. cit.*, I, iii, p. 19.
104. *Ibid.*, III, ii, p. 127.
105. *Ibid.*, III, ii, p. 132.
106. Fabre, (1907), *op. cit.*, IV, v, p. 200.

107. Fabre, (1907), III, ii, p. 20.
108. Ibid., VI, i, p. 251.
109. Ibid., III, i, p. 140, tableau 1.
110. Ibid., III, ii, p. 143, tableau 2.
111. Ibid., p. 145.
112. Ibid., p. 148.
113. Wright, E. H., op. cit., pp. 47-48.
114. Plutarch, Life of Mark Antony, Vol. 5, p. 224.
115. Shakespeare, op. cit., IV, iii, l. 94-96.
116. Fabre, op. cit., II, vi, pp. 110-111.
117. See note 83.
118. Fabre, op. cit., II, iii, p. 68.
119. Ibid., VI, iii, p. 264.
120. Ibid., VI, iii, p. 265.
121. Boas, F. S., Shakespere and his Predecessors,
N. Y., 1896, p. 496.
122. Shakespeare, op. cit., II, ii, l. 220-223.
123. Ibid., I, i, l. 208-210.
124. The Encyclopædia Britannica, N. Y., 1910,
Vol. I, p. 522.
125. Gildon, C. G., Plays of Shakespeare, p. 1710.
126. Shakespeare, op. cit., V, iii, l. 1-10.
127. Doumic, René, Histoire de la Littérature Fran-
çaise, Paris, N.d., p. 572.
128. Fabre, op. cit., I, ii.
129. Ibid., I, i.
130. Ibid., II, ii, p. 52.

131. Ibid., II, i, p. 57.
132. Ibid., II, i, p. 60.
133. Ibid., II, i, p. 53.
134. Ibid.
135. Ibid., II, ii, p. 65.
136. Ibid., II, ii, p. 66.
137. Ibid., II, vi, p. 89.
138. Ibid., I, iv, p. 24.
139. Ibid., II, ii, p. 63.
140. Ibid.
141. Ibid., III, i, p. 118.
142. Ibid., III, i, pp. 117-118.
143. Ibid., III, ii, pp. 130-132.
144. Ibid., V, i, p. 207.
145. Ibid., I, v, p. 32.
146. Ibid., I, vi, p. 37.
147. Fabre, *op. cit.*, p. viii.
148. Bury, J. B., *A History of Greece to the Death of Alexander the Great*, London, 1902, Vol. I, p. 435.
149. *The Athenian Republic*, Vol. 2, pp. 14-20.
150. Glover, T. R., *From Perikles to Philip*, London, 1918, p. 54.
151. Fabre *op. cit.*, I, vi, p. 35.
152. Ibid., I, vi, p. 46.
153. Ibid., I, i, p. 9.
154. Ibid., I, ii, p. 10.

155. Ibid., I, ii, p. 13.
156. Glover, op. cit., p. 49.
157. Ibid., p. 50.
158. Plutarch, Perikles, New York, 1909, p. 71.
159. Aristophanes, Peace, l. 608-618.
160. Glover, op. cit., p. 81, quoting from The Acharnians.
161. Plutarch, op. cit., p. 69.
162. Glover, op. cit., p. 100 .
163. Fabre, op. cit., I, vi, p. 63.
164. Ibid., I, vi, pp. 42-43.
165. Glover, op. cit., p. 103.
166. Ibid.
167. Fabre, op. cit., I, i, p. 5.
168. Glover, op. cit., p. 103.
169. The mother of Perikles was of the tribe of Alcméon. By asking that all the descendants of this family be exiled, they thought to be rid of Perikles.
170. Fabre , op. cit., I, vi, p. 38.
171. Ibid., I, iii, p. 18.
172. Bury, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 435.
173. Glover, op. cit., p. 103.
174. Fabre, op. cit., I, vi, p. 40.
175. Ibid., I, vi, 46.
176. Glover, op. cit., p. 106.
177. Anthon, C., A Classical Dictionary, New

- York, 1858, p. 217.
178. Glover , op. cit., p. 62.
 179. Bury, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 443.
 180. Fabre, op. cit., II, iv, p. 79.
 181. Bury, op. cit., p. 443.
 182. Fabre, op. cit., I, vii, p . 47.
 183. Ibid., II, i, p. 53.
 184. Ibid., II, i, p. 54.
 185. Ibid., II, i, p. 57.
 186. Ibid., II, v, p. 85.
 187. Ibid., II, vii, pp. 109-110.
 188. Glover, op. cit., p. 126.
 189. Fabre, op. cit., II, ii.
 190. Ibid., II, vii, p. 102.
 191. Ibid., III, i, p. 118.
 192. Bury, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 445.
 193. Ibid., Vol. I, p. 443.
 194. Ibid., Vol. I, p. 454.
 195. Glover, op. cit., p. 115, says: "Cleon first did away with the decorum of the bēma and in speaking to the people would shout and pull off his mantle and slap his thigh as he paced up and down as he talked; it was he who taught politicians that cheapness and contempt for decency that soon after ruined everything!" His voice was that of a cataract--"the Mother of discontent".

p. 116. He had force and character; spoke with a fine, strong Jingo accent. There were no impossibilities with him; "he was unpardonably vulgar...More serious still was his insistence on war, which made him a danger to his country!"

196. Fabre, op. cit., II, vii, pp. 97-99.
197. Ibid., II, vii, p. 103.
198. Bury, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 469.
199. Ibid., Vol. I, p. 439.
200. Fabre, op. cit., II, vii, p. 98.
201. Bury, op. cit., p. 450 .
202. Fabre, op. cit., III, 1, p. 116, Tableau I.
203. Ibid., III, 1, p. 128, Tableau I.
204. Ibid., III, 1, p. 134, Tableau II.
205. Bury, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 13.
206. Fabre, op. cit., III, 1, p. 130, Tableau I.
207. Anthon, op. cit., p. 217.
208. This, however, is legendary since Lysikles is reported to have died in 428 B. C., one year after the death of Perikles.
209. Fabre, op. cit., III, 1, pp. 175-176, Tableau I.
210. Glover, op. cit., pp. 49-50.
211. Fabre, op. cit., I, iii, p. 21.
212. Ibid., II, iii, p. 69.
213. Ibid., III, 1, 117, Tableau I.

214. Glover, op. cit., p. 56.
215. Fabre, op. cit., III, 1, p. 135, Tableau II.
216. Bury, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 56.
217. Thucydides, Works, Oxford, 1881, Vol. V,
p. 105.
218. Glover, op. cit., p. 2.
219. Thucydides, op. cit., Vol. V, p. 105.
220. Fabre, op. cit., III, 11, p. 148, Tableau II.
221. Ibid., IV, 11, p. 164.
222. Ibid., IV, 1, p. 160.
223. Bury, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 41-42.
224. Ibid., Vol. II, p. 43.
225. Fabre, op. cit., IV, 11, pp. 165-166.
226. Bury, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 44.
227. Fabre, op. cit., IV, 11, p. 175.
228. Ibid., II, 11, p. 168.
229. Bury, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 46.
230. Glover, op. cit., p. 47.
231. Bury, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 47-48.
232. Fabre, op. cit., IV, 11, p. 169.
233. Ibid., IV, 11, p. 172.
234. Ibid., IV, 11, p. 180.
235. Bury, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 54.
236. Fabre, op. cit., V, 1, p. 207.
237. Ibid., op. cit., V, 1, p. 208.
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239. Ibid., V, 1, p. 210.

240. Ibid.
241. Ibid., V, 1, p. 213.
242. Ibid., V, i, p. 229.
243. Ibid., V, i, p. 232.
244. Bury, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 45.
245. Fabre, op. cit., V, i, p. 239.
246. Ibid., V, i, p. 223.
247. Ibid., V, i, pp. 205-206.
248. Bury, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 36-40.
249. Ibid., p. 14.
250. Ibid., pp. 37-40.
251. Ibid., pp. 53-54.
252. Bury, op. cit., p. 227, gives the date of Alcibiades's return to Athens as May 408 B. C. after an absence of seven years .
253. Bury, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 53.
254. See note 124.
255. Glover, op. cit., p. 119.
256. Fabre, op. cit., IV, iv, p. 185.
257. Bury, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 57-60.
258. Fabre, op. cit., VI, ii, pp. 258-259.
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260. Fabre, op. cit., VI, ii, p. 261.
261. Ibid., VI, ii, p. 263.
262. Ibid.
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indictment brought against any person who proposed or carried out an unconstitutional law, whether its unconstitutionality consisted in its form or contents, or both together."

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