

ESTIENNE JODELLE'S CLEOPATRE CAPTIVE AND

SAMUEL DANIEL'S CLEOPATRA:

A COMPARISON

by

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Introduction

This study, which has for its purpose the comparison of two early tragedies on Cleopatra, one in French, and one in English, both modeled on the Senecan tragedy, will, after sketching the characteristics, influence and development of this type of tragedy in Italy, France, and England, examine its relation to these two plays, and their position in the dramatic history of their respective countries.

Chapter I

Influence and Development of Senecan Tragedy
in Italy, France, and England.

The great cultural movement called the Renaissance, of which the exciting causes were the discovery of Greek literature and the renewed study of the Latin classics, after exercising its influence in Italy for one century, came to France in the sixteenth century, as a result of the Italian campaigns of Charles VIII and Louis XII, and even later enlisted England, farther removed from the seat of the "rebirth", in this triumphant advance of humanism, in this mighty march of mind.

Perhaps one of the most important results of the humanistic interest in the revived study of the classics was the return of tragedy which had completely disappeared during the Middle Ages.

Between the last great tragedy of Euripides and the rebirth of tragedy during the Renaissance we see but a few dimly-glowing sparks. "Light began to break with the increasing knowledge of the classics, for Seneca was one of the first authors to be studied in the classical revival with which we associate the earlier Renaissance."⁽¹⁾ "Seneca, who pillaged all the great masters of Greek tragedy, may be compared to a damp and crackling torch which gave off more smoke and sputter than warmth and

brightness, but he still served as a conveyor of the sacred fire. Born in Cordova about 4 B.C., the son of a famous orator, he was himself rather a rhetorician than a dramatist, and the age in which he lived was in no way favourable to dramatic production. One does not see how the ten tragedies which pass under his name could have been acted, for they are singularly ill-suited to stage representation, but their hard metallic verse, brilliant antithetical dialogue, sententious commonplaces, and highly polished lyrics no doubt commended them to the decadent literary circles to which they were originally recited, no less than their sensational situations, keen psychological character-analysis, and sceptical philosophy allured the critics of the Renaissance.⁽²⁾ However deficient these tragedies may be, their importance in the development of French, English, and all Continental tragic drama is unquestioned. "The place of the tragedies of Seneca in literature is unique. They stand with the exception of a few fragments, as the sole surviving representations of an extensive Roman product in the tragic drama. They therefore serve as the only connecting levels between the ancient and modern tragedy."⁽³⁾

The first signs of an intelligent interest in these plays appeared almost simultaneously at the beginning of the fourteenth century in the commentary of the English Dominican, Nicholas Treveth, and in the study of the

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 circle gathered about Lovato di Lovati at Padua. On December 3, 1315, Albertino Mussato (Lovati's friend) was crowned with laurel before the University and citizens of Padua for his Senecan Latin play, "Ecerinis," a work recited, not acted, which dealt with the fiendish Ezzelino III, lord of Padua. It is the fountain-head of modern drama. This first of the Latin tragedies of modern times aroused the admiration of scholars, and was followed by many other neo-Latin imitations of Seneca.

In 1387, followed the Achilleis of Antonio de Boschi of Veroni, and in 1485 Pomponius Laetus revived the acting of classical Tragedies and Comedies at Rome. In the same year Seneca's tragedies were first printed in Paris. The year 1515 is important as the date of Trissino's Sofonisba, in the vernacular, and modeled on the Greek rather than on Seneca, whose five act structure it ignores. But by 1662 Italian tragedy had taken a different direction under the guidance of Giambattista Giraldi Cinthio, who had at Ferrara an advantage over all his contemporaries in the patronage of a dynasty interested in the drama and willing to contribute on the material side towards its development. (5) Giraldi was encouraged and aided by Hercules II, duke of Ferrara, who took a keen interest in his Orbecche (1543), written in the vernacular, and who even suggested the subject of his Cleopatra.

Lastly comes Lodovico Dolce (1508-1568), who translated, amongst other classics Seneca and the Phoenissae of Euripides, his version of which was in turn rendered into English by Gascoigne and performed at Gray's Inn in 1566.

Such was the history of the Senecan revival in Italy. It was never more than a flickering spark, but it lasted long enough to communicate the dramatic impulse to France and England, where the conditions for dramatic production were more favorable.

The Italian imitators were, to quote Faguet, "des exercices de littérature dramatique en langue latine," and "en toutes choses littéraires, la France suivait l'Italie, ce qui s'explique par toutes les relations générales, qui existaient entre les deux pays; mais principalement par le caractère un peu hasardeux et volontiers voyageur des savants et lettrés de cette époque."⁽⁶⁾

Thus Senecan tragedy soon spread to France, where it was, from the first, "the product of a small exclusive group, appealing to a narrow circle of scholars, without the safeguards of public will or traditional experience to hold it from the extremes of Academic taste."⁽⁷⁾ "La tragédie française classique est née dans les universités comme la tragédie classique italienne. Les premiers

ouvriers de la renaissance dramatique en France ont été les professeurs et les écoliers.⁽⁸⁾"

About 1540-45, the exiled Scotch humanist and Latin poet, George Buchanan, while teaching at Bordeaux translated and had performed by his students the Medea and Alcestis of Euripides. Besides these translations, Buchanan left two original Latin Biblical tragedies in the Senecan Manner--Jephtes and Baptistes. "C'est vers 1545, d'après ses propres indications que Montaigne jouait les premiers rôles dans les tragédies latines de Buchanan, de Guérente, et de Muret, au collège de Guyenne avec dignité.⁽⁹⁾" Faguet says of the Jephtes: "Les qualités, bien françaises, de clarté et de décision, se marquent fortement dans cette oeuvre d'un étranger écrivant en France pour des Français. Le Jephté était très digne de servir de modèle aux tragiques du XVI⁽¹⁰⁾ siècle.

Claude Rouillet, "un régent du collège de Bourgogne," has left three Latin Senecan dramas (1556): Philanvia, Petrus, and Aman. Rouillet was a less distinguished writer than Buchanan, but his work, because of certain qualities of composition, merits notice. The same is true of the Julius Caesar of Muret, which Faguet considers too important to be omitted for, "il n'y a guère de tragédie plus conforme aux règles, tournée en meilleur style, et plus froide que Julius Caesar."⁽¹¹⁾

As the Latin tragedies of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were succeeded in the first half of the sixteenth century by Trissino's Sofonisba and Giraldi's Orbecche in the vernacular, so Buchanan's Latin tragedies were succeeded by Jodelle's Cléopâtre Captive in 1552-3. Greek tragedy also was accessible in the original at this time, and in translations into either Latin or French, the Latin versions of the Hecuba and Iphigenia at Aulis by Erasmus were printed at Paris in 1506, and French translations of the Electra of Sophocles and the Hecuba by Lazare de Baif appeared in 1537 and 1544 respectively. Seneca's tragedies were first printed at Paris in 1485, and numerous editions were published during the first half of the sixteenth century.

There is little doubt that Jodelle's first attempt was prompted by Italian example, since social, political, and literary relations with Italy were exceedingly close. Francis I himself, had been taught by an Italian humanist, Quinziano Stoa, and he chose an Italian as a tutor for his children. With the aid of his sister, Margaret of Navarre, he introduced Italian culture at the French court, and even brought four Italians to Paris as professors in the newly established Collège de France. Furthermore, several Italian theatrical companies visited Paris, Lyons,

and other French cities, and it is evident that they offered formidable competition to the French actors. Although the plays acted by these companies were for the most part comedies and farces, Italian tragedy did not remain wholly unknown. Trissino's Sofonisba must have exerted some influence, for it was twice translated into French, by Mellin de Saint-Gelais (1559), in prose, and by Claude Mermet in verse (1585). Tragedies on the same subject were written by Montchrestien (1600), Nicolas de Montreux (1601), and Jean de Mairet (1634).

Estienne Jodelle and Robert Garnier are perhaps two of the most important among the early French Senecans, Garnier especially, because of the influence he exerted on subsequent French drama, and also on the English coterie presided ^{over} by the Countess of Pembroke.

The Cléopâtre captive (1552) of Jodelle marked a new step in the development of the French theatre. The importance of this performance as a literary event of national importance will be discussed later in this introduction. Jodelle's first French tragedy was loyal to classical lines, but was no translation nor adaptation of an pre-existing classical drama. He was evidently acquainted with the Greek tragedy, but he also borrowed much from Seneca, both in principles of construction and in particular passages.

In the hands of Jodelle's successors, French tragedy passed more and more under the influence of Seneca. Dr. Böhm has subjected to very careful examination, four other early French tragedies in addition to Jodelle's Cléopâtre and Didon. Of these, two—La Péruse's Médée (1555) and Grévin's Jules César (1561), are largely translations, the first from Seneca, the second from the Latin tragedy of Muretus; both are entirely in the Senecan manner. Bounin's La Soltane (1561), a more original attempt, and Rivaudeau's Aman (acted 1561, published 1566), are copies of the Senecan tragedies.

The predominating influence of Seneca upon the beginnings of French tragedy had an abiding effect upon its subsequent development. Garnier, whose tragedies went through thirty editions and were held equal to the masterpieces of the Greek drama, handed on the Senecan tradition to his successors.⁽¹²⁾ "L'imitation de Sénèque, en France, n'est pas un fait obscur d'érudition; ce n'est pas seulement un point de départ; c'est un fait capital, dont presque toute notre littérature dramatique se ressent, et que les qualités déployées par Garnier, dans les aspects divers dont il l' a revêtu, ont fait entrer pour une part considérable dans les habitudes de l'esprit français."⁽¹³⁾

The immediate consequence was that the French tragic writers of the sixteenth century, copying a model not meant for the stage, produced imitations which, recited rather than acted, satisfied the critics, but did not please popular audiences. In England and Spain the dramatist yielded, not without reluctance, to the popular demand.

Considering that the tastes and behaviour of a sixteenth century audience seem to have been much the same on both sides of the channel, it is strange to note that in England the drama followed an entirely different trend; but no doubt the different lines of development taken by the drama in England and France rest upon deep seated national peculiarities. Perhaps it is due to the nature of the respective peoples themselves. Brunetière puts it almost paradoxically: "les différences qui séparent la conception générale du drame anglais de celle de la tragédie française ne viennent pas d'une différence de culture ou d'éducation littéraire. Si le drame anglais est ce qu'il est en dépit de Sénèque, il y a lieu de croire que, sans Sénèque, la tragédie française n'en serait pas moins ce qu'elle est. Il faut creuser plus profondément."⁽¹⁴⁾

Each nation experimented with various types of tragedy, and adopted the one best suited to its genius. Further-

more the dramatic theorists in France and Italy during the sixteenth century were numerous indeed. In England they were few. England has no list of critics like Minturno, Trissino, Castelvetro, Sibilet, Scaliger, Grévin, and others. Sir Philip Sidney advanced the classical theory in his "Apology for Poetry", but his voice is only a cry in the wilderness. Whatever disadvantage there was in the weakness of English criticism, it had one great advantage--the unbroken continuance of mediæval tradition.⁽¹⁶⁾

The movement of the Renaissance, beginning as it did, at a later period in England, was subject to the influences which had affected the development of the sixteenth century tragedy on the Continent. Greek tragedy was, of course, accessible in the original and in translations. Seneca influenced England through both Italian and French literature. "The first influence of Seneca in England was naturally felt in the schools and universities, and the first imitations of his work, as in Italy and in France, were composed in Latin. In 1532 the Tragedy of Dido was acted by the boys of St. Paul's, while, in 1550, the Cambridge records became very Senecan: his Troades and Medea are twice acted, his Oedipus once at Trinity. The year 1561 marks a literary

event of supreme importance, for at this time was performed, at the Christmas Revels of the Inner Temple at Westminster, the first English play in Senecan form; the first regular English tragedy; the first drama in blank verse--Gorboduc, by Norton and Sackville. George Gascoigne's Jocasta followed in 1566, and the Phoenissae, cast into the form of Seneca, and taken from Lodovico Dolce, the Italian translator of Seneca. Schelling assures us that "if proof were needed that the first outburst of the Senecan craze in England was due to Italian, rather than French stimulus, we need only consider the parallel case of Gascoigne's Jocasta, performed, as written, under conditions precisely those of Gorboduc, and an acknowledged translation of Dolce's ⁽¹⁷⁾ Giocasta."

Since Gorboduc was written under the exclusive influence of Seneca, it seemed natural that England might adopt classical forms and evolve a classical tragedy, but here exactly the reverse proved true, for "in its wholesale defiance of classical canons the construction of early popular tragedy in Elizabethan England went in all directions beyond continental limits. The law of unity vanished altogether; the chorus dwindled to the dimensions of prologue or epilogue of an act; choric debates

within the play disappeared, and their place was often filled by digressions into farce."

"Two policies of reformation were initiated very soon after Shakespeare's professional career opened about the year 1587. One policy sought to counteract the current sensational extravagance and brutalities by infusion of poetic dignity and romantic glamour. The other policy aimed at a return to the laws of classical simplicity. The active champions of both remedial policies turned to France for aid and support. The effort to enforce the classical ideal proved a failure; the effort to fuse tragedy with poetry and romance won lasting triumphs. France more actively encouraged the classical movement than the poetic and romantic endeavor; but French influences were at work in
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both."

Seneca's influence becomes more and more diffused, but it maintains itself still very distinctly in an academical succession of minor playwrights. It was the work of Robert Garnier, the successor of Jodelle and Grévin, that introduced a new wave of Senecanism chiefly in its greater refinement of taste, its improved literary quality and in a tendency to follow the French preference for rhyming verse. It is familiar to all students

that in England, as elsewhere in sixteenth century Europe, literature was fostered by noble and titled people in select little circles, devoted to the cultivation of poetry and much talk about it. Such a circle was the Areopagus Club with its experiments in classical metres, presided over by Sidney, who, it will be remembered, was the Countess of Pembroke's brother.⁽¹⁹⁾ A considerable portion of the literary output of the last two decades of the sixteenth century and first decade of the seventeenth was produced by this small group of literati. "At the beginning the friends thus associated appear to have been Gabriel Harvey, Philip Sidney, Edmund Spenser, Edward Dyer, and probably Fulke Greville. A little later Samuel Daniel and Abraham Fraunce were admitted. Then came the romantic death of Sidney; and his sister, the Countess of Pembroke, who felt the obligation of completing his literary undertakings, seems also to have recognized a responsibility to these associates of his, to whom she was already no stranger."⁽²⁰⁾

This group sought to establish the supremacy of pure classical forms in tragedy, and to rid the English tongue of the barbarisms that were fast taking root. Concerning this movement, Lee says that "when Marlowe was preaching his new creed of

dramatic freedom and poetic dignity, an endeavor was made to elevate English tragedy by a different process, by a revival of the classical dispensation which frowned on romantic experiment. Although the attempt failed, it was slow to acknowledge defeat. Its history bears interesting testimony, not only to the current state of critical opinion in England but to the inveterate reliance of cultural sentiment on French taste."⁽²¹⁾

The three most important of this group, who, by the example of their writings opposed the progress of the romantic drama, and adhered to the forms, at least, of the classic stage of Greece and Rome, were Samuel Daniel, the Countess of Pembroke, and Samuel Brandon. French Senecanism flourished in this coterie during the years 1563 to 1590. "The Countess of Pembroke herself translated Garnier's Antoine in 1590; a little later she succeeded in bringing under her wing, Kyd, whose melodramatic Spanish Tragedy of 1585-87, had first really established tragedy on the popular stage. He now produced a version of Garnier's Cornélie (1592)."⁽²²⁾

"Samuel Daniel's two tragedies in the same style, Cleopatra (1594) and Philotas (1600-04) are finer stuff. They are brought nearer to their French models by a return from blank verse to rhyme."⁽²³⁾

Chapter II

The Lives of Jodelle and Daniel.

Complete biographies of Jodelle and Daniel are yet to be written, and concerning the life of each dramatist, only a few facts are obtainable. Details of Jodelle's life are for the most part taken from Charles de la Mathe's preface to his edition of the French playwright's works (1574), from Pasquier's Recherches de la France, and a few poems by members of the Pleiade, referring to his dramatic innovations. Dr. Grosart, in the introduction to his edition of the collected works of Daniel has made an accurate and careful study of the life of the author, and the information cited in this thesis concerning the English poet is taken from that commentary.

Estienne Jodelle, sieur de Lymodin, was born in Paris in 1532. Of his early life little is known. During his youth he displayed a marked preference for poetry and literature, allying himself with the newly-founded Pléiade, of which Ronsard was the leader. In 1549 appeared Du Bellay's manifesto, the "Défense et illustration de la langue françoise," which preached study and imitation of the ancients. Jodelle, being a staunch follower of the new school, proceeded to apply the principles of the reformers to dramatic composition. He aimed at creating a classical drama that

should be in every respect different from the moralities and satires then on the French stage. In 1552, scarcely twenty years of age, Jodelle presented the first modern French tragedy, Cléopâtre captive, and the first modern French comedy, Eugène, at the hôtel de Reims in the presence of King Henry II and his court. Jodelle himself took the part of Cléopâtre, while the other roles were played by his poet friends, Remy Belleau, Juan de la Péruse, and others.

The performance of the Cléopâtre was recognized at the time as a literary event of national importance. Charles de la Mothe, in his preface to Jodelle's collected works, published in 1574, says that in 1552 Jodelle "mit en avant, le premier de tons les François donna en sa langue la Tragedie, la Comedie en la forme ancienne." Estienne Pasquier, who was present at one of the first performances, attests the importance of this literary event: "Quant à la Comedie et Tragedie, dit-il, nous en devons le premier plan à Estienne Jodelle. Il fit deux Tragedies, la Cleopatre, la Didon, et deux Comedies, la Rencontre et l'Eugene. Ceste comedie et la Cleopatre furent representees devant le Roy Henry, en l'Hostel de Reims, avec un grand applaudissement de toute la compagnie. Et depuis encore au college de Boncourt, où toutes les fenestres estoient tapissés d'une infinite de personnages d'honneur, et la cour si pleine d'escoliers

que les portes du college en regorgeoient. Je le dis comme deluy qui y estois present, avec le grand Tornebus, en une mesme chambre. Et les entreparleurs estoient tous hommes de nom; car mesme Remy Belleau et Jean de la Peruse jouoient les principaux roullets. Tant estoit lors en reputation Jodelle envers eux . . . " ⁽²⁴⁾

Charles de la Mothe gives the date as 1552, but the poet Baif has it 1553. "Le désaccord n'est sans doute qu'apparent: il ne faut pas oublier en effet que jusqu'en 1564 l'année commence à Pâques, et dès lors les trois premiers mois de l'année 1553, nouveau style, appartiennent à l'année 1552, ce qui laisse une certaine latitude dans l'interprétation des dates indiquées." ⁽²⁵⁾ King Henry II was highly pleased with the performance, and, to show his appreciation, gave Jodelle "cinq cens escus a son epargne et outre lui fit tout plein d'autres graces, d'autant que c'estoit chose nouvelle et tres belle et rare." ⁽²⁶⁾

The Cléopâtre was presented a second time at the Collège de Boncour in a somewhat different setting: "Ce fut sur un théâtre improvisé et la pièce ne fut pas jouée comme devant le roi avec toute la magnificence de la scène antique, "magnifico veteris scenae apparatu," dit Sainte-Marthe, Mais devant ce nouveau public de savants, de poètes, d'étudiants, le succès ne fut pas moins éclatant; c'est de cette seconde représentation

qu'Estienne Pasquier, qui en fut d'en des spectateurs, nous fait le curieux récit où l'émotion et l'enthousiasme se laissent encore deviner.⁽²⁷⁾

Jodelle received "de si grands applaudissements," says Scévole de Sainte-Marthe, "que toute la France fut bien tost rempli du bruit de son nom."⁽²⁸⁾ The play was a triumph for the youthful Pléiade which had not as yet shown itself to be especially prolific. Ronsard had just finished his first collection of Odes (1550) and Du Bellay, his Olive.⁽²⁹⁾ Jodelle had not yet published anything, and the other poets, too, were young.

"After the performance the author with other members of the Pléiade, made a far-famed excursion to the rural retreat of Arcueil, and there, amid Bacchanalian revelry pretended in mockery of Pagan rites to sacrifice a goat, garlanded with roses and ivy, to the god Bacchus. This celebration of the birth of classical drama on French soil is an event of supreme interest in the annals of both French and English literary history. It inaugurated a new era. But the ceremony of Arcueil excited bitterness in the hearts of the conductors of the old theater at the Hôtel de Bourgogne as well as among the Huguenots. The dramatic revolution was credited with immoral tendency. Imputation of blasphemy menaced Jodelle and his friends. Against Jodelle especially there were leveled charges of atheism, which clung to him during the rest of his unhappy life."⁽³⁰⁾

In 1558 Jodelle presented his second tragedy Didon se sacrifiant, based on the fourth Book of the Aeneid. At this time he was in great favor at the court. He was one of the important members of the Pléiade. He had many friends and also many enemies, due to his haughty and presumptuous ways. Later Jodelle fell into disgrace, after having written a "mascarade" for Henry II, which proved unsatisfactory to His Majesty.

Jodelle, besides knowing something of Greek and Latin, also was versed in architecture, painting and sculpture. Charles de la Mothe (Paris 1574) says that "Jodelle était grand architecte, très docte en la peinture et sculpture, très éloquent en son parler, et de tout il discourait avec tel jugement comme s'il eût été accompli de toutes connaissances. Il était vaillant et adextre aux armes dont il faisait profession, et si, en ses moeurs particulières, il se fût autant aimé comme il faisait en tous les exercices de son esprit, sa mémoire eût été plus célèbre pendant sa vie, et il eût reçu par son pays et par ses amis plus qu'il n'a fait, Mais méprisant philosophiquement toutes choses externes il ne fut connu, recherché, ni aimé que malgré ⁽³¹⁾ lui." He then relates the circumstances of Jodelle's fall from favor: "Il (Jodelle) eut occasion de mettre son savoir faire comme architecte décorateur, et maître de divertissements, à l'occasion.

d' un souper du roi à l'Hôtel de ville en 1558. Il fut chargé de l'ordonnance de la fête, et tout fut horriblement manqué. Tout ce dont on peut le louer, c'est d'avoir fait très-vite, car en quelques jours, il donna des dessins d'arcs de triomphe, de figures, de trophées, composa les devises, enrôla des musiciens, et composa une mascarade--ballet. Cette mascarade intitulée les Argonautes, à douze personnages et en vers alexandrins, a été imprimée: *Recueil d'inscriptions, figures, et mascarades, ordonnées à l'Hôtel de ville de Paris, le jeudi 17 février* ⁽³²⁾ *1588".*"

Jodelle was gifted with a marvellous facility and a very live and fruitful imagination. Why then, one naturally asks, was not Jodelle a great poet? The answer is in the vain, haughty nature, and the excessive confidence in self which brought him much misfortune. This poet possessed happy gifts, it is true, but he did not employ them judiciously. As Faguet says, "il les a gaspillés au hasard d'une improvisation à la fois fougueuse et négligente . . . Il avait de l'imagination, le choix heureux du sujet, quelques qualités de composition, un style capable de force, et tragique par ce côté, une langue enfin (on ne l'a pas assez remarqué, et je m'étonne qu'on ait cru remarquer le contraire), beaucoup plus simple et unie que la plupart de ses compagnons de la Pléiade . . . Ce qui lui a manqué le plus fut la volonté persévérante. Il s'enivra de succès éphémères,

travaille peu, gâta une vie qui avait commencé sous de brillants auspices, et mourut jeune encore, dégoûté et lassé, en 1573 (à Paris)⁽³⁵⁾!"

One must not forget what Jodelle did do for French tragedy. He did not create the genre, "mais il a donné et fait applaudir le premier modèle: tel est son vrai mérite; tel fut son titre de gloire aux yeux de ses contemporains."⁽³⁴⁾

Samuel Daniel, the son of a music master, was born in all probability near Taunton in Somersetshire; in the year 1562-3. In 1579, when he was seventeen years of age he was admitted as a commoner of Magdalen-hall, Oxford, where, as Anthony à Wood says, "he continued about three years, and improved himself much in academical learning, by the benefit of an excellent tutor. But his geny being more prone to easier and smoother studies, than in peaking and hewing at logic, he left the university without the honour of a degree, and exercised it much in English, history and poetry, of which he then gave several ingenious specimens."⁽³⁵⁾ Daniel, upon leaving Oxford, was introduced to the "charmed circle" of Wilton, and allowed to pursue his studies under the patronage of the Earl of Pembroke's

family. This he thankfully acknowledges in his "Defense of Rhyme," addressed to Philip Herbert, Earl of Pembroke. Besides defending his love of "rhyme" in verse against Campion's heresy of hexameters, he also recognizes his obligations to his patron's mother, with the following--

Sidney's sister, Pembroke's mother:--

Having been first encouraged and framed thereunto by your most worthy and honourable mother and received the first notion for the formal ordering of these compositions at Wilton, which I must ever acknowledge to have been my best school, and thereof always am to hold a feeling and a grateful memory. Afterwards, drawn farther on by the well-liking and approbation of my worthy lord, the fosterer of me and my muse, I adventured to bestow all my powers therein, perceiving it agreed so well both with the complexion of the times, and my own constitution, as I found not wherein I might better employ me. (36)

His first known work, published in 1584-5, was the translation of Paulus Jovius's "Discourse of Rare Inventions, both Military and Amourous, called Impresse."

The name of Samuel Daniel, given as that of the servant of Lord Stafford, ambassador to France in 1586, probably refers to the poet. At this time he may have journeyed to Italy, for the "Delia" collection of 1592 celebrates this trip. The forty seventh sonnet of 1594 is headed, "At the Author's Going into Italy," and the forty eighth, "This Sonnet was at the Author's

being in Italy. " More interesting still--and hitherto strangely overlooked--his verses on the translation of the Pastor Fido seem to make a personal reference to a conversation with Guarini, wherein the Italian depreciated the English tongue. The Pastor Fido first appeared in 1590, and in 1592 came the publication of the "Delia" sonnets which instantly made Daniel famous. "He was a new voice in the heaven of English Song. Surrey and Wyatt had now an 'heir'. If thinner in substance, these Sonnets have finer literary form than theirs." ⁽³⁷⁾ The Complaint to Rosalind accompanied the "Delia" collection. The identity of Delia, evidently the poet's lady love, is unknown, but it is supposed that she lived on the banks of Shakespeare's river, the Avon. The sonnets to her were inspired by her memory when the poet was in Italy. To the second edition of "Delia" in 1594, was added Cleopatra, a tragedy, and "a severe study in the manner of the Ancients, in alternately rhyming heroic verse, diversified by stiff choral interludes." ⁽³⁸⁾ In 1595 appeared the "First Foure Bookes of the Civill Wars," an historical poem in ottava rima. The Poeticall Essayes of Sam. Danyell, newly collected and augmented" of 1599 added a fifth book to the "Civill Wars."

In 1600 Daniel became tutor to the (afterwards) renowned Lady Ann Clifford, sole daughter and heiress

to George, earl of Cumberland. She always held her tutor in great esteem and after his death erected a monument to his memory, at Beckington.

Daniel relinquished his tutorship in 1602, when first appeared Book VI of the "Civil Wars." He had been a favorite at court during the latter part of the preceding century, and there is a vague tradition that Elizabeth appointed him poet-laureate on the death of Spenser. Anthony a Wood gives this in his life of Daniel, but Mr. Malone, whose researches lead to more decisive accuracy, considers him only as a volunteer laureate, like Jonson, Dekker, and those who furnished the court with masques and pageants. According to Southey the "wreath which' divinely Spenser wore" also adorned the brows of Drayton and gentle Daniel." Recent investigation, however, shows that "Daniel's courtly flattery was more fruitful, and the results supplied a better basis for tradition. His patroness was the Countess of Pembroke, and her influence, supplemented by Daniel's adulation in the "Panegyric Congratulatory" on the accession of James I, promptly brought him the appointment of Licensor of Plays. This appointment, a subsequent one as Groom of the Privy Chamber, and his activity as a writer of Court masques between the years 1604 and 1615, account

for the tradition that he was official poet laureate to Elizabeth and James. The memorandum in the Lord Chamberlain's office of "Poet Laureate from 1590 to the death of Robert Southey" gives the date of Daniel's "appointment" as 1598-9 . . . As for the validity of the tradition, it need only be said that there is no documentary warrant for it. Besides there is absolutely no evidence that the laureateship existed in Daniel's day, or that he was singled out from his contemporaries by an such title."⁽³⁹⁾

Of the masques presented at court, those printed were: "A Vision of the Twelve Goddesses", in 1604; the "Queen's Arcadia"; an adaptation of Guarini's "Pastor Fido", in 1606; "Tethys's Festival," or the "Queen's Wakes," written on the occasion of Prince Henry's becoming a Knight of the Bath, in 1610; and "Hymen's Triumph" in honor of Lord Roxburgh's marriage in 1615.

During King James's reign he was made gentleman extraordinary and afterwards one of the Grooms of the Privy Chamber to the queen consort, who took great delight in his conversation and writings. It is probable that this promotion was due to the interest of the Pembroke family, although some biographies attribute it to the influence of Daniel's brother-in-law, Florio, famed as the translator of Montaigne's Essays. Con-

cerning this relationship with Florio, there is considerable uncertainty. Grosart, who has made a detailed study of Daniel and his works, discredits this statement, saying that as far as is known Daniel had no sister, who could have married Florio. The poet's use of "brother" in his verses to him was in the sense of "brother" scholar or writer, not as a relative. (40)

However, the Encyclopedia Britannica upholds this relationship.

Later on Daniel was eclipsed at court by "rare Ben," who was surly and malignant toward him. Daniel evidently grew tired of this high life from which, like many others, he felt the need of periodic retreats. Fuller, in his Worthies, says that "as the Tortoise burieth himself all the Winter in the ground, so Mr. Daniel would lye hid in his Garden-house in Old-street, nigh London, for some months together (the more retiredly to enjoy the company of the Muses); and then would appear in publick to converse with Friends, whereof Dr. Cowel and Mr. Camden were principal." (41)

Privileged friends allowed to visit this retreat were Shakespeare, Marlowe, Chapman, and Selden.

In 1605 appeared Certain Small Poems, with the Tragedy of Philotas, a study in the same style as Cleopatra. The story of Philotas, also based on the

text of Plutarch, was taken to be the portrait of the brilliant but unfortunate Earl of Essex, and the author was thus constrained to write a "spirited" vindication, or apology, to the play.

"He was early in 1603-4 given charge in some way of the Theatre in connection with the licensing of "Plays": e.g. in the Calendars of State Papers under "January 31, 1604," we read:--

'Grant to Edward Kirkham, Alexander Hawkins, Thos. Kendall and Robert Payne, of license to train up children to be called "Children of the Revels to the Queen," and to exercise them in playing within the Blackfriars in London, or elsewhere; all plays to be allowed by Sam. Danyell. "'

Later on in 1618 this post must have passed to his brother, John Daniel. (Calendars)⁽⁴²⁾.

During his last years Daniel lived in the country, but the date of his withdrawal from town to country is untraced. Fuller says that "in his old age he turn'd Husbandman, and rented a Farm in Wiltshire nigh the Devises. I can give no account how he thrived thereupon; for, though he was well vers'd in Virgil, his Fellow Husbandman-Poet, yet there is more required to make a rich Farmer, than only to say his Georgicks by heart . . . Besides, I suspect that Mr. Daniel's fancy was too fine and sublimated to be brought down to his private profit.

However he had neither a bank of wealth, or a bank of want, living in a competent condition. By Justina, his wife, he had no child; and I am unsatisfied both in the place and time of death; but called the latter to be about the end of the Reign of King James.⁽⁴³⁾"

The farm to which he retired was called the "Ridge," at Beckington (Somerset), and here Daniel probably wrote his History of England, surrounded by the peace and quiet which he so much enjoyed.

Of Daniel's personal history little is known, but the inferences to be drawn from his works are highly favorable. He was married, as is seen in Fuller's commentary, but to whom, and when, remains unknown.

Grosart says that "he sleeps well" at Beckington. His pupil, the Lady Anne, years after placed a mural monument within the church, which bears the following inscription:

Here lyes expectinge the second coming of
Our Lord & Saviour Jesus Christ Ye dead body
Of Samuel Danyell Esq. that excellent poet and
Historian who was tutor to the Lady Anne
Clifford in her youth she that was sole daughter
And heire to George Clifford Earle of Cumberland
Who in gratitude to him erected this monument
In his memory a long time after when she was
Countess Dowager of Pembroke Dorsett & Montgomery.
He dyed in October 1619. (44)

Such is the brief story of the simple and comparatively uneventful life of Samuel Daniel. Among his contemporaries he was respected, honored, loved, and

was considered during his lifetime one of the foremost Elizabethan-Jacobean poets. During the eighteenth century, when so little Elizabethan literature was read, Daniel retained his poetical prestige. In later times Coleridge, Charles Lamb, A.T. Quiller-Couch and others have expended some of their most genial criticism on him. But the fame he enjoyed during the Elizabethan era has declined, until today he remains practically unknown, save to a favored few. In poetry he is remembered chiefly for the "Delia" sonnets, which proved a source of inspiration even to Shakespeare. Today, if Daniel is read at all, it is by those among whom he holds his place as the poet's poet.

In order to show Daniel's popularity among his contemporaries a few comments will be given from those who hold a high place in English literature. Edmund Spenser (1594) in "Colin Clout's Come Home Againe" praises the new poet, urging him to greater things:

". . . there is a new shephard late upsprong
The which doth all afore him far surpasse,
Appearing well in that well-tuned song
Which late he sung unto a scornfull lasse
Yet doth his trembling Muse but lowly flie,
As daring not too rashly mount to hight;
And doth her tender plumes as yet but trie
In loves soft laies and lossier thoughts
delight.

Then rouze thy feathers quickly, Daniell,
And to what course thou please thy selfe
advance.

But most me seemes thy accent will excell⁽⁴⁵⁾
 In tragick plaints and passionate mischance.

Thomas Nashe, another contemporary, in "Piers Penillesse" (1592) says that "you shall finde there goes more exquisite paynes and puritie of wit, to the writing of one such rare poem as "Rosamond" than to a hundred of your dumsticall sermons."⁽⁴⁶⁾

In his "Return from Parnassus" (1601-6) Drayton calls him "sweete hony-dropping Daniell."⁽⁴⁷⁾

Ben Jonson (1610) in "Conversations with William Drummond of Hawthornden" is not so lenient with the poet, "Samuel Daniel was a good honest man; had no children; but no poet."⁽⁴⁸⁾

Fuller (1662) in his "Worthies" praises his ability as an historian: "He was also a judicious historian: witness his 'Lives of our English Kings since the Conquest until King Edward the Third,' wherein he hath the happiness to reconcile brevity with clearness, qualities of great distance in other authors; a work since commendably continued (but not with equal judgment) by Mr. Trussell."⁽⁴⁹⁾

Daniel's influence is felt even in modern times. Wordsworth evidently read and admired him greatly, for he does him the honor to quote two of his lines in "The Excursion":

And that unless above himself he can
 Erect himself, how poor a thing is man!

Grosart says, "Wordsworth's working into "The Excursion" the noticeable lines from the "Epistle to the Countess of Cumberland" and related note, I regard as one of the most precious recognitions of Daniel. The great Poet of our century was chary in taking anything from others, even the highest. Hence this placing of elect lines from Daniel in his "Excursion" is the more memorable."⁽⁵⁰⁾

Coleridge, in his Literary Criticism draws an interesting parallel between Wordsworth and Daniel, praising the latter. Grosart hopes that every reader will surrender himself to the kindling enthusiasm of the great Coleridge, whom, he considers, "the most sane, the most seeing, the most luminous of literary critics."⁽⁵¹⁾ According to Coleridge "Mr. Wordsworth strikingly resembles Samuel Daniel, one of the golden writers of our golden Elizabethan age, now most causelessly neglected: Samuel Daniel, whose diction bears no mark of time, no distinction of age, which has been, and as long as our language will last, will be so far the language of the to-day and for ever, as it is more intelligible to us, than the transitory fashions of our own particular age. A similar praise is due him for his sentiments. No frequency of perusal can deprive them of their freshness. For though they

are brought into the full day-light of every reader's comprehension; yet are they drawn up from depths which few in any age are privileged to visit, into which, few in any age have courage or inclination to descend." (52)

"There is much illumination," says Courthope, "in the analogy suggested by Coleridge between the poetry of Wordsworth and that of Daniel, and the principle of composition adopted by both these poets is the secret alike of the virtues and the defects of their poetical styles. Both were idealists and philosophers in the first place, poets only in the second. Both were so strongly moved by the ardour of their thought, that they cared comparatively little to discriminate as to the best vehicle for its expression. And as each was accustomed by the inclination of his genius to write in verse, they frequently used this form of diction, even when the subject-matter of their conceptions was more akin to prose. But, on the other hand, as they were both always moved by a genuine enthusiasm, the weight and dignity of their thought seldom fails to penetrate through their prosaic modes of expression, and leaves in the imagination of the reader a sense of strength and character. The prime impulse in Wordsworth's poetry is the spirit of liberty characteristic of the first age of the French Revolution. Daniel's

leading idea was the individual energy which was the most worthy feature of the pioneers of Humanism in
 (53)
 in Italy."

Again Coleridge, in his Table Talk recommends Daniel as worthy of being read: "Read Daniel--the admirable Daniel--in his Civil Wars and Triumph of Hymen." The style and language are just such as any very pure and manly writer of the present day--Wordsworth for example--would use, it seems quite modern in comparison with the style of Shakespeare."
 (54)

In a letter to Charles Lamb, Coleridge is exceedingly enthusiastic over Daniel. He wishes that sometime at Lamb's fireside he may read to him and Mary passages from the Civil Wars. "But," says Coleridge, "he must not be read piecemeal,--even by leaving off and looking at a stanza by itself, I find the loss."
 (55)

One of America's own writers has read the "gentle" Daniel, and seen in him a poet of stronger fiber than ordinarily supposed. "Daniel," says Lowell, "was in all respects a man of finer mould. He did indeed refine our tongue, and deserved the praise his contemporaries concur in giving him of being "well-languaged." Writing two hundred and fifty years ago, he stands in no need of a glossary, and I have noted scarce a dozen words, and not more turns of phrase, in his works, that

have become obsolete. . . There is a conscious dignity in his thought and sentiment such as we rarely meet. . . His "Defense of Rhyme", written in prose (a more difficult test than verse) has a passionate eloquence that reminds one of Burke, and is more light-armed and modern, than the prose of Milton, fifty years later.⁽⁵⁶⁾

"Sweetness and dignity", according to Saintsbury, "sum up Daniel's poetical value. . . No writer of the period has such a command of pure English, unadulterated by xenomania and unweakened by purism, as Daniel . . . Quiet, indeed, is the over-mastering characteristic of Daniel. It was this no doubt, which made him prefer the stately style of his Senecan tragedies, and the hardly more disturbed structure of pastoral comedies and tragi-comedies, like the Queen's Arcadia and Hymen's Triumph, to the boisterous revels of the stage proper in his time."⁽⁵⁷⁾

A comparatively recent critic, A.T. Quiller-Couch, whose criticism Grosart considers "of priceless worth for its tenderness, and happy, however discursive phrasing." As Quiller-Couch says, "As certainly as Spenser, he was a 'poet's' poet while he lived. A couple of pages might be filled offhand with the compliments of his contemporaries, and he will probably remain a "poet's poet" as long as poets write in English.

But the average reader of culture--the person who is honestly moved by good poetry, and goes from time to time to his bookshelves for an antidote to the common cares and trivialities of this life--seems to neglect him almost utterly . . ."

"And, curiously enough, in the gentleness and dignified melancholy of his life, Daniel stands nearer to Lamb than any other English writer, with the possible exception of Scott . . . I defy any feeling man to read the scanty narrative of Daniel's life and think of him thereafter without sympathy and respect."⁽⁵⁸⁾

Daniel, in his time, if we are to believe the immortal "Q" and many others, did much to drive out the barbarisms that threatened to fasten themselves on the English tongue. He represented dignity, polish, and above all, purity, in the language. He did much quietly to train the growth of English verse. "He not only stood up successfully for its natural development at a time when the clever but less largely informed Campion and others threatened it with fantastic changes. He probably did as much as Waller to introduce polish of line into our poetry."⁽⁵⁹⁾

Such criticism as has just been given will serve to show that Daniel is indeed a true poet and that he has not merited the oblivion into which he has been cast.

Grosart's commentary is a fitting final tribute to this important, but much neglected Elizabethan: "Surely our national literature had been poorer without any one of these seven things. (The seven grounds for which Dr. Grosart claims for him a high and sure place in our great Elizabethan-Jacobean literature^{*}). Daniel has the true poet's soul, the God-given dower of genius and song. He is a maker: He is a ⁽⁶⁰⁾Singer."

* See appendix.

Chapter III

· Résumés of the Plays

The story of Cleopatra, that curiously magnificent creature, has proved a fascination for writers of all ages. The mention of her very name conjures up a picture of ancient Egypt at the very height of its glamour and splendor, ruled by a queen who voyaged in golden barges with silver oars, manned by countless galley slaves; a queen who, as legend has it, allowed herself such luxuries as pearls dissolved in vinegar; a queen, who, by the beckoning of one small hand, could render the strong weak.

Thanks to Plutarch, or rather to Amyot's translation of his Lives, Renaissance writers were afforded the opportunity to make the acquaintance not only of Cleopatra, but of many other notable characters of ancient Greece and Rome.

During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, Cleopatra experienced much popularity. Giraldi, in as far back as fourteenth century Italy, wrote a Cleopatra, while Jodelle, in France, made her the main character of the first French tragedy. Garnier, following his example, uses the story of Cleopatra in his Antoine.

In England, during the same period, Antony and Cleopatra were popular subjects with the classical groups of writers. Many splendid efforts have been made to portray her, but it is perhaps Shakespeare,

more than any one else, who has contributed to the
immortality of "the Queen of Old Nile."

Cléopâtre captive

(1552)

Daniel dedicated his Cleopatra to Lady Mary, Countess of Pembroke, while Jodelle dedicated his Cléopâtre captive to King Henry II of France. The prologue to the play is merely a eulogy of Henry himself, "Roy, des Rois la crainte," as Jodelle puts it. Jodelle would be an ungrateful subject were he not to sing the praises of his king, especially of so great and glorious a king as Henry II. Then he begs him to accept a little work in the way of homage;

Nous t'apportons (ô bien petit hommage)
Ce bien peu d'œuvre ouvré de ton langage,
Mais tel pourtant que ce langage tien
N'avoit jamais dérobbé ce grand bien
Des auteurs vieux; c'est une Tragedie,
Qui d'une voix et plaintive et hardie
Te represente un Romain, Marc Antoine,
Et Cleopatre, Egyptienne Roine:

.....

.....

Recoy donc (Sire) et d'un visage humain
Prends ce devoir de ceux qui sous ta main
Tant les esprits que les corps entretiennent,
Et devant toy agenouiller se viennent.

- Prologue -

Act I

At the opening of this play the ghost of Antoine appears, and with a long soliloquy ushers in the argument in the same manner as the ghost of Polydorus does in the Hecuba of Euripides and that of Ninus in the Sémiramis of Voltaire. "L'ombre d'Antoine" relates the story of his fatal love for Cléopâtre; how all for her sake, he forsook Rome, his wife Octavienne, and her children; how he cast all care for arms and war to the winds, in order that he might remain near the enthralling queen, and how at last, overtaken by Octavien he was forced to kill himself with his own sword to escape capture. Cléopâtre shall die:

Cleopatre mourra: je me suis ore en songe
 A ses yeux presenté, luy commandant de faire
 L'honneur a mon sepulchre et apres se deffaire,
 Plustost qu'estre dans Romme en triomphe portee.

She shall be his companion in grief and in sadness just as she was in the days of happiness.

Cléopâtre then tells her "confidentes", Eras and Charmium how she has seen the ghost in a dream, and that Antoine calls her to follow him. She declares her resolution to die, rather than be led in triumph by Octavius Caesar. Furthermore, she accuses herself of Antoine's suicide since, while César was attempting to take Alexandria, she had pretended death, and Antoine on hearing it and feeling that life held no more for him, had turned

O pauvre Reine! es-tu donc prise vive?
 Vis tu encor pour trespasser captive?

Cléopâtre had instantly drawn her dagger, but Proculée had stayed her hand. Agrippe then suggests that she be kept under strict guard, that nothing of the sort may happen again, for she must grace the Triumph at Rome; whereupon the chorus laments the evils of pride, enumerating the punishments meted out by the gods to Prometheus nailed to a rock, and Icare burned by the sun.

Act III

Octavien interviews Cléopâtre and reproaches her for her conduct towards Octavienne, his half-sister, and wife of Antoine. He blames her for the downfall and misery of her people and accuses her of feigning an abundance of tears and complaints for Antoine in order to soften Octavien's heart. She continues in vain to try to win his favor, telling him that by this war she has lost everything, that even her one chance at death was snatched from her. But she promises that no more will she attempt death. She only asks mercy for her children and herself:

Non, non Cesar, contente toy du pere,
 Laisse durer les enfans et la mere
 En ce malheur, où les Dieux nous ont mis.

Cléopâtre then endeavors to appease him by discovering to him her treasures--

Je veux, Cesar, te doceler tout l'or,
L'argent, les biens que je tiens en
thresor.

But Selenque, one of her subjects, at this moment, declares that she has not shown the whole of them, whereupon the Queen calls him a "faux meurdrier," a "faux traistre," and cuffs and drags him by the hair.

Voila
Tous mes bienfaits. Hou! le deuil
qui m'efforce
Donne à mon coeur langoureux telle force,
Que je porrais, ce me semble, froisser
Du poing tes os, et tes flancs crevasser
A coups de pied.

Octavien is then convinced of her "grinsant courage" and that

rien n'est plus furieux que la rage
D'un coeur de femme.

Selenque meanwhile flies to Octavien for protection.

But Cléopâtre says that she only reserved a few jewels to give to Livie and Octavienne in order to purchase their pity and ultimately César's.

The chorus laments the vicissitudes of fortune and presages that the queen will not suffer captivity in Rome.

Selenque finishes with:

O saint propos, ô verité certaine!
Pareille aux dez est nostre chance
humaine.

Act IV

Cléopâtre expresses her indignation against Oc—

tavien to Charmium and Eras. César will not be the conqueror of everything, for she is resolved that

La Parque, et non Cesar, soulage mes
 esprits,
 La Parque, et non Cesar, triomphera de
 moy,
 La Parque, et non Cesar, finira mon
 esmoy.

She exhorts her "confidentes" to follow her into death, to recognize "la Parque" as mistress. Charmium then tells her that Dolabelle, "l'ami de nostre affaire", has informed them that within three days Caesar intends to send Cléopâtre to Rome; therefore they must work rapidly if they wish to escape him. Cléopâtre contemplates death:

Mourons donc, cheres soeurs, ayons plustost
 ce coeur
 De servir à Pluton qu' à Cesar mon vainqueur.

But before dying "faire il nous conviendra les obseques d'Antoine." The queen and her women then depart for the tomb, whereupon the chorus compares the current evils to a hail storm.

Cléopâtre in a long monologue proceeds to apostrophize Antoine's ghost at great length. The last honor that she will pay to Antoine will be her death, for she would be unable to endure that

Antoine Romain en Egypte demeure,
 Et moy Egyptienne dedans Romme je meure.

The chorus then condoles with her at great length on the great sorrow that Fate has brought her. But

already the chorus fears that it will soon be time to lament the death of the queen herself. Death, with its scythe and bringing its grief, cuts down those in the springtime of happiness just as the green forests and the flowers are pillaged by Winter, the scythe and the sickle:

Tantost gaye et verte
 La forest estoit,
 La terre couverte
 Sa Cérés portoit
 Flore avoit la pree
 De fleurs diapree,
 Quand pour tout ceci
 Tout soudain voici
 Cela qui les pille,
 L'hyver, la faucille,
 Et la faulx aussi.

Act V

Proculée arrives to inform Octavien of the death of Cléopâtre. He had gone to the tomb, intending to console the queen, but on arriving there he found the guards beating on the doors in an effort to gain entrance. Inside they discovered Cléopâtre in her royal robes and her crown on her head, stretched out on a gilded couch, dead. Eras, her attendant was dead at her feet, while Charmium, still living, answers Proculée, telling him that this death is

. . . de noblesse
 De tant de Rois Egyptiens venue
 Un tesmoignage,

after which she expires at his feet. No mark of violence, no wound was to be found on the body of the queen. Proculée leaves Cléopâtre's death a question with the following conjecture:

Est-ce point par morsure
De quelque Aspiè? auroit-ce point esté
Quelque venim secrettement porté?

The chorus laments the mournful end of Egypt and its greatest queen, saying:

O dure, hélas! et trop dure avanture,
Mille fois dure et mille fois trop dure.

Cleopatra

(1594)

The dedication to Lady Mary, Countess of Pembroke, is very interesting, not only because Daniel tells us that it was due to her inspiration and at her request that he wrote this tragedy of Cleopatra, but because he gives a commentary on the Elizabethan age, eulogizing the reign of "Good Queen Bess" as the "golden age" of English literature.

"The Countess of Pembroke herself had made a translation four years earlier in 1590 of Robert Gar-

nier's Antonie, the first example of French Seneca in England." In the dedication to his Cleopatra (1594) Daniel admits subservience to a lesser muse until he was inspired by Lady Mary:

I, who (contented with an humble song)
 Made musique to my selfe and pleasd me best,
 And only told of Delia, and her wrong,
 And praised her eyes, and plained mine owne
 unrest:

(a text from whence my Muse had not digrest)
 Madam, had not thy well graco'd Antony,
 (Who all alone, having remained long)
 Requir'd his Cleopatra's company.

Thus, through Lady Mary's inspiration, Daniel informs us that, like Horace, — "though I die, I cannot yet die all," since he will have left behind his writings with the spirit of himself breathed into them. He, in turn, assures the Countess of lasting fame--that even when "Wilton," her estate, is "low levelled" with the ground, and she, too, is dead, sacriligious Time cannot overthrow this monument which bears her name. Daniel appears to have been very sure of his immortality as a poet, although he is not excessive in his presumption. He assures Lady Mary:--

That yet I shall be read among the rest,
 And though I doe not to perfection grow,
 Yet something shall I be, though not the best.

Later, in the commentary on the Elizabethan age Daniel compares the "great Sydney" and Spenser to those "Po-singers":

Whereby great Sydney and our Spenser might,
 With those Po-Singers being equalled
 Enchant the world with such a sweet delight,

the great queen. The battle of Alexandria is over. All Egypt is in the hands of Octavius Caesar, but Cleopatra is firm in the decision that Rome shall never see her "scepter-bearing hands" bound behind her, and glory in her tears. Her children are now her chief source of anxiety. It is for their sake, she says, that she temporizès with Caesar. She will endeavor to demand the kingdom for her sons and meantime plans a way for their escape. At last the queen realizes that she has been the cause of much misery and unhappiness and is responsible for the downfall of Egypt. She feels that she must strive to "make Death her praise", for it is Death that has finally awakened her to her failings. She confesses to the dead Antony that never until now did she truly love him:

Now I protest I do, now am I taught
 In death to love, in life that knew not how.
 For whilst my glory in her greatness stood,
 And that I saw my state, and knew my beauty,
 Saw how the world admir'd me, how they woo'd,
 I then thought all men must love me of duty,
 And I love none.

This long monologue ends with just a hint of what the final outcome will be, when Cleopatra says:

And yielding base content must wary hide
 My last design till I accomplish it.

The act closes with a chorus of Egyptians singing first of the torment of conscience that

No meanes at all to hide
 Man from himselfe can find
 No way to start aside out from the hell of
 mind.

then of Cleopatra, who now:

Well sees the dangerous way
She tooke, and car'd not how,
Which led her to decay

And likewise makes us pay
For her disordered lust,
The int'rest of our blood:
Or live a servile pray,
Under a hand unjust,
As others shall think good.
This hath her riot wonne.
And thus she hath her state,
herselfe and us undone.

Now all is known. All can be told that once was hidden,
for

The scene is broken doune,
And all uncov'red lyes,
The purple actors knowne
Scarce men, whom men despise.

Act II

Proculeius, sent by Octavius Caesar to Cleopatra to try to "win her forth alive" from the monument, has just returned from his errand, and relates to Caesar the result of his interview with the queen. He only succeeded in speaking with her through a grate at the entrance of the Temple. Cleopatra demanded the kingdom for her children, and Proculeius reassured her, advising her to come to Caesar and sue for grace. Gallus, another Roman, was sent to treat with Cleopatra, and while he kept her at the gate Proculeius discovered a means of entering the monument. With the aid of a ladder he suc-

ceeded in reaching an opening into the Tomb. As he descended, one of the queen's women saw him and cried out:

Poor Cleopatra thou art tane alive.

With that the unhappy queen seizes a knife from her bosom and would have killed herself had not Proculeius rushed up and caught her hands. He asks why she wishes to injure herself and Caesar in such a manner. But Cleopatra stands adamant, crying why must Caesar "take her from herself by force" after he has conquered her country. Is not the conquest of a state sufficient? Then she thinks of Caesarion, her son by Julius Caesar, and hopes that, notwithstanding her offenses, poor Caesarion may find favor, and that the blood of a Caesar may stay the rage of a Caesar. At last Proculeius leaves, with Cleopatra's promise that she will be content to live and will not again attempt suicide, but must be allowed to perform the last rites for her lost beloved, all of which Proculeius grants.

Caesar, however, does not believe that it is Cleopatra's intention to remain alive, for, as he says:

Princes (like Lions) never will be tam'd.
A private man may yield and care not how,
But greater hearts will break before they
bow.

And fearing lest she will not remain alive to "ornament his Triumph," Octavius sends an extra guard to watch the place.

The chorus closes with a tirade on the evil influences of Opinion and Ambition--Opinion which molests and turns the mind, and Ambition which, like a vile Vulture that feeds upon the heart of pride, finds no rest when everything is tried. Then "all is is one, and all is bad."

Act III

The two philosophers Philostratus and Arius discuss the downfall of the kingdom, however, not before Philostratus has thanked Arius for saving him from the wrath of Caesar. Arius agrees with him that the self same desire to live possesses all men. We reckon life our dearest good and, providing we live, we care not how we live. Arius proceeds to meditate further on the conquest. It was inevitable for there is "an ancient canon, of eternal date," which decrees

That no state (sic) can in height of happiness,
 In th'exaltation of their glory stand:
 But thither once arriv'd, declining lesse,
 Ruine themselves or fall by others hand.
 And that same day that hiest glory brings,
 Brings us unto the point of backe-returning.

Furthermore, to assure his position, Caesar is going to put to death the young Caesarion, for, as Arius says

Plurality of Caesars are not good,

and it is better to quench a spark before it flame.

Caesar arrives to treat with Cleopatra, who throws herself at his feet. He assures her of his clemency and bids her rise, telling her that she alone is the cause of her misfortune. But Cleopatra replies immediately that everything that has happened was done through her fear of Antony, that he really is the cause of all this misery. However, Caesar contradicts her every defense and listens to no argument. Cleopatra, then, seemingly is more than ready to throw herself on his mercy. She has been a great and powerful queen and it is his right to take her captive. Furthermore, she now presents him with all her treasure, and all the rare jewels of Egypt, collected through many ages. But Seleucus, Cleopatra's secretary, speaks at this point, and, in order to gain favor with the conqueror, denies the Queen's statement, saying that she has purposely kept back a goodly number of jewels. Cleopatra is furious with her servant, calling him a "vile ungrateful wretch," Then, turning to Octavius, she owns that she has reserved some jewels, but they are only "trifling ornaments" kept to win her way to the hearts of Livia and Octavia, and through them, eventually to Caesar's.

Dolabella, a youthful follower of Octavius, is quite smitten with the charms of Cleopatra, and, after the interview, yields to a poetical outburst in praise of Cleopatra's beauty. To him she has seemed beautiful

through clouds of age and sorrow. Dolabella, attracted by her charms during calamity, dares not think what she might have been, adorned "with youth, love, and the pomp of beauty," Octavius, hearing this tirade, severely reprimands his young lieutenant and warns him to take heed not to follow other footsteps. He, Octavius, has not been deceived. Cleopatra used all her charms on him, but to no avail. "She takes her aime amisse," says Octavius, and "time hath altered all, for neither is she as she was, nor we as she conceives." He is of the opinion that it is time that the Queen left such "badness", for "Folly in youth is Sinne, in age, tis madness." Octavius intends that Cleopatra be the crowning spoil of his Triumph and is now ready to send her and her children on to Rome.

The chorus chants on the inconstancy of fortune and how "travailed mortality" is but the plaything of the powers of heaven. Egypt had reached the apex of her glory and now is a fallen nation. And why? All through the fault of the great. Is it fair that the innocent poor multitude, then, should be made to suffer for the misdeeds of pride and ambition?

Act IV

Seleucus, Cleopatra's secretary, seeks out Rodon, tutor to the young Caesarion, to make a recital of his present woes and gain consolation. Seleucus, after

T'have eat the sweet-soure bread of povertie,
 And drunke of Nylus streames in Nylus earth?
 Under the cov'ring of some quiet Cottage...

instead of trying to raise himself to wealth and power. He awaits the same grim fate that befell Theodor who betrayed young Antyllus, son of Antony.

Cleopatra, in Scene 2, believes that her beauty has done its last and best service, for she has just received from Dolabella a letter informing her of Caesar's plan to send her and her children to Rome. Over the tomb of Antony she vows that such a thing will never happen. Why must she and Antony, who in life could not bear separation, now by Death be parted, she in Italy, and he in Egypt. She is resolved to die, and now seeks a means to effect this decision. She will die as she lived--a queen.

The Chorus laments Egypt's loss of all religion, law and order, that thus rendered her the weak nation easily conquered by Caesar.

Act V

Titius, Dolabella's messenger to Cleopatra, returns and recounts his interview with the queen as she was leaving the monument, and how she received the letter. She has told Titius to thank his master for having sent her the news of Caesar's plan, but as for her love, Antony has it all. She begs Dolabella to do all in his power to win

leniency in her behalf, but Dolabella knows that this is next to impossible, for Caesar is blinded by ambition and does not see the wrong he does the queen. Then Titius tells how Cleopatra, regally clad, was served her meal in sumptuous state. Dolabella believes that this is a last attempt to exercise her charms on Caesar, but he is mistaken, for at this moment arrives Nuntius, trusted servant of Cleopatra, who announces to the people her death.

It was he, who, having from youth attended the person of the queen, was chosen to perform the last great service. Cleopatra had ordered him to bring her two asps, carefully hidden. Nuntius then, disguised as a poor man, arrives at the monument with the asps secreted in a basket of figs. The guards question him, but thinking him some faithful subject bringing Cleopatra a present, allow him to pass. She takes the basket, uncovers the asps, and puts her bare arm within reach of the fangs. One tiny puncture and all is over. The poison works rapidly and Cleopatra falls, displacing the diadem which she wore on her head. Charmion, already weak and feeble, hastens to right it, the last honor she can pay her unhappy mistress. Eras, the queen's second attendant, has already died. At this moment arrive the Roman soldiers and Caesar, who had hoped to prevent Cleopatra's death. But too late. The queen, after having received the basket

of figs, had immediately dispatched a letter to Octavius begging him to place her body in the tomb of Antony, which request Caesar grants.

The act is terminated by the chorus, which laments Egypt's present condition, a country dispossessed, full of ruin, without a vestige of hope remaining.

Chapter IV

The Story in the Plutarch Narrative and in the
Plays Themselves.

One of the results of humanistic interest in the revival of the classics was the impetus given to translation. Perhaps the most important work of this type and of the farthest reaching influence is the translation in 1559 of the "Vies des hommes illustres de Plutarque" by Jacques Amyot, French dramatists of the Renaissance owe much of their inspiration to this source, as likewise the English playwrights of the same period. "It was no small benefit to Elizabethan dramatists first to learn from French tutors how adaptable Plutarch's Lives were to the contemporary stage. Each of Shakespeare's great Roman plays, Julius Caesar, Antony and Cleopatra, and Coriolanus, had its precedent in a French tragedy which had lately been fashioned out of Amyot's standard French version of the Greek biographies.⁽⁶¹⁾" In England Plutarch always signifies but one thing--North's translation of 1578 from the French version of Amyot. A comparison of North's rendering with the French text shows an admirable fidelity.

"Jodelle a tiré sa tragédie de Plutarque, qui jouissait alors d'une grande popularité et dont beaucoup d'érudits, connus ou inconnus, avaient entrepris la traduction . . . Pour revenir à la Cléopâtre de Jodelle, je remarque que parmi les traductions anonymes, restées manuscrites, l'une des plus anciennes (Bibl. nat., fonds fr., 1398) est précisément intitulée la

"Vie et faicts de Marc Antoine le triumvir et de samie Cleopatra translatez de l'hystorian Plutarque." C'est le fils même du grand helléniste, le poète Antoine de Baif, qui avait eu le premier, l'idée d'une tragédie de Cléopâtre, si l'on en croit Vauquelin de la Fresnaye: 'Mois present,' dit-il, 'Jodelle fit représenter sa Cleopatre,

Encor que de Baif un si brave argument
Eust entre nous esté choisy premierement.

.

Ce qui est certain, c'est que Jodelle a suivi le texte original, sans presque rien y changer: il a simplement imaginé, et l'idée était ingénieuse,--qu'au début de la tragédie Antoine est mort; c'est le sort de Cléopâtre qui fait uniquement le sujet de la pièce. Au premier acte, l'ombre d'Antoine expose ses malheurs et fait pressentir la fin de Cléopâtre. Mais, dans tout le reste de la pièce, Jodelle n' a guère fait que paraphraser ou traduire Plutarque: parfois et surtout au début il rapproche des indications dispersées; le plus souvent et à mesure que la pièce avance, il suit l'original pas à pas. Dans cette adaptation scénique, Jodelle ne fait guère preuve d'imagination créatrice; du moins il a su découper, de façon habile et même intéressante, les données de Plutarque: il a mis au premier plan le personnage de Cléopâtre, dont les plaintes souvent pathétiques, remplissent presque entièrement

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cette tragédie élégiaque."

The same thing that Gohin has said of Jodelle and his indebtedness to the work of Plutarch, may be also applied to Samuel Daniel and his tragedy, Cleopatra, for, as Carr states in his Introduction to "Four Lives From North's Plutarch", "Samuel Daniel's Tragedie of Cleopatra is generally quoted as owing much to Plutarch, but the debt is in reality slight, for the play treats only of the closing scenes of Cleopatra's life after Antony's death, so that the story as told by Plutarch is greatly expanded by Daniel." (63) This point, then, Jodelle and Daniel have in common, for each play deals only with the closing hours and death of Cleopatra.

An attempt will now be made to bring out the variations of the French and the English plays from the Plutarch text.

Plutarch says that the action of the story takes place in the city of Alexandria. Jodelle, in his play, does not state this specifically, but it may be gathered from a reading of the text. Daniel, however, gives the following note before naming his dramatis personae,

"the scene supposed Alexandria." In the first act of this play Cleopatra says that there remains for her but

This monument, two maydes, and wretched I. (64)
According to Plutarch it was to the monument or mausoleum, adjoining the Temple to Isis, that Cleopatra had

withdrawn after hearing that Antony judged her a traitor to him. An explanation of what these monuments were is probably necessary to a clear understanding of the plays. Plutarch says that "Davantage elle avoit de longue main fait bastir des sepultures et monumens fort sumptueux, tant en beauté d'ouvrage qu'en haulteur et grandeur d'edifice, tout joignant le temple d'Isis: elle y fait porter tout tant qu'elle avoit de riches et de précieux meubles des anciens roys ses predecesseurs, d'or, d'argent, d'esmeraudes, de perles, d'hebene, d'ivoire, de cinnamee, et outre cela, force torches, fagots et estoupes, tellement que Caesar ayant peur que tant de chevance ne se perdit, et que cette femme par désespoir ne meist le feu dedans, et ne brulast une si grand richesse, luy envoyait tousjours quel qu'un qui luy portoit un bon mot de sa part, pour l'entretenir en bonne esperance, dependant qu'il approchait de la ville avec son armée. (65)

The French ^{play} does not definitely mention the monument, but it is supposedly the scene of the action.

Jodelle's play, then, follows the text of Plutarch very closely. Scene I, of Act I, where the "ombre d'Antoine" speaks, is practically a brief resume of the life of Marc Antony. These events, however, are not mentioned by Daniel. The "ombre" says

Car combien qu'elle fust Royné et race royale,
Comme tout aveuglé sous cette ardeur fatale,
Je luy fis les presents qui chacun estonnèrent,
Et qui ja contre moy, ma Romme eguillounèrent.

Plutarch explains the reasons of the scorn of the Romans for Antony. First of all he showed no respect to his wife, Octavia, who did everything in her power to help him, and to preserve peace between him and Octavius. The Romans considered Octavia a model of virtue and goodness and Antony's conduct angered them, "quand on voyait qu'il traittoit si mal une tant honnete dame, et fut encore bien haf davantage pour un partage qu'il fait entre ses enfans dedans la ville d'Alexandrie: aussi à vray dire estoit-il par trop insolent et trop superbe, et quasi comme fait en despit et en mepris des Romains.

Car il fait assembler tout le peuple dedans le parc là où les jennes gâns s'adressent aux exercices de la personne, et là dessus un hault tribunal argenté fait mettre deux chaires d'or, l'une pour luy, et l'autre pour Cleopatra, et d'autres plus basses pour ses enfans: puis déclara publiquement devant toute l'assistance, qu'il établissoit premierement Cleopatra royne d'AEgypte, de Cypre, de Lydie, et de la basse Surie, et quant et elle Caesarion aussi roy des memes royaumes

.

LXXII Caesar rapportant ces choses au senat, et l'en accusant souventefois devant tout le peuple Romain, fait tant qu'il irrita toute le monde contre lui (Antonius).⁽⁶⁶⁾

(Cléopâtre, in scene 2, Act I, throws more light on

these gifts of Antony which incurred the wrath of Rome:

Qu'il me donna Syrie et Cyres, et Phenice,
La Judée embasmee, Arabie, et Calice,
Encourant par cela de son peuple la haine?

Plutarch says, "Car il (Antonius) envoya Fonteius Capito pour amener Cleopatra en la Surie, à laquelle pour sa bienvenue, il ne donna point peu de chose, ains outre ce qu'elle avoit, luy adjousta les provinces de la Phoenicie, de la basse Syrie, l'isle de Cypre, une grande partie de la Cilicie, et celle contrée de la Judée qui porte le vray baume, le quartier de l'Arabie ou habitent les Nabateiens, qui s'estend vers l'Océan. Ces donations là despleurent fort aux Romains." Cleopatra continues in the same scene,

Pour moi seule il souffrit des Parthes la
repousse,
Qu'il enst bien subjuguez et rendus à sa
Romme,
Si les songears amours n'occupoient tout
en homme,
Et s'El n'enst eu désir d'abandonner sa
guerre
Pour revenir soudain hyverner en ma terre?

According to Plutarch, Antony drunk with love of Cleopatra, made some fatal steps, "Car le grand désir qu'il avoit d'estre l'hyver avec elle, lui fait commencer la guerre hors de saison avant qu'il en fust temps, et précipiter toutes choses à la haste, estant transporté de son entendement, et tellement enchanté et charmé du poison d'amour, qu'il ne pensoit à autre chose qu' à elle, et comment il s'en pourroit bien tost retourner, plus

que comment il pourroit vaincre ses ennemis: car premièrement là où il failloit hiverner en l'Arménie pour rafraichir et reposer ses gens qui estoient aggravez et recreuz du long chemin qu' ils avoyent fait, qui estoit bien de cinq cents lieues, et puis sur le commencement de la nouvelle saison, aller envahir la Médie devant que les Parthes, bougeassent de leurs maisons et garnisons: il n'eut pas la patience d'attendre le temps, ains les mena tout incontinent, dans la province Atropathène, laissant Arménie à main gauche, et fourragea tout le plat ⁽⁶⁸⁾ pais." In his haste to leave, Antonius left behind his "engins de batterie," which were afterwards taken by the Parthians.

Once again Antoine honored the Egyptian queen, so Cleopatre tells us, in Scene 2. She cannot forget:

Que pour ma plus grand' gloire
 Il traîna en triomphe et loyer de victoire,
 Dedans Alexandrie un puissant Artavade,
 Roy des Arméniens, veu que telle bravade
 N'appartenoit sinon qu' à sa ville orgueilleuse,
 Qui se rendit alors d'avantage haineuse.

The "Vie de Marc Antoine" says that Antonius returned to Armenia, took King Artabazus prisoner, "et le mena en triomphe en la ville d'Alexandria. Ce qui offensa merveilleusement les Romains, et les aliens de luy, quand ils veirent que pour l'amour de Cleopatra, il estoit le propre honneur et la principale gloire de sa patrie, pour en gratifier aux Egyptiens." ⁽⁶⁹⁾

Furthermore Cleopatre says that she caused Antoine to cast off his wife Octavienne:

En cela mesment que pour ceste amour mienno
On luy veit delaisser L'Octavienne sienne?

Plutarch says that Octavia came to Athens with supplies for her husband's army. Antonius, in Alexandria, did not go to greet her, but sent her letters ordering her to await him. Cleopatra, realizing that by her virtue and goodness, Octavia might win back Antonius, did all in her power to keep him in Alexandria. Whenever he would leave the palace she would burst into tears, weep until he returned, or she would starve herself, and thus subtly seemed to languish for Antonius, or she made use of her "flatteurs, qui secondoyent la volonté de Cleopatra, blasmoient Antonius, comme un homme dur, inhumain et de peu d'affection, qui tourmentoit et affligeoit ainsi cette pauvre femme, laquelle ne tenoit sa vie que de lui seul."⁽⁷⁰⁾

The "ombre d'Antoine" in Jodelle's play continues to deplore the blindness and misdeeds of Antoine, how, he, charmed by the Egyptian queen, drove his wife, Octavienne and her children out of his house at Rome:

C'est que ja ja charmé, enseveli des flames,
Ma femme Octavienne, honneur des autres dames,
Et mes mollets enfans je vius chasser arière.

Plutarch has it: "puis envoya à Rome chasser Octavia hors de la maison, laquelle, comme l'on dit, en sortit avec tous les enfans d'Antonius, excepte l'ainé de ceulx de Fulvia, qui estoit avec son père, en pleurant et lamentant son malheur qui l'avoit à ce conduite, que l'on la tenoit pour l'une des principales causes de cette guerre

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civile."

This episode of Antony's life, as are many others, is not mentioned by Daniel.

The battle of Actium and its disastrous result is the next event. "L'ombre d'Antoine" continues:

Me voila ja croyant ma Roine, ains ma reine,
 Me voila bataillant en la plaine marine
 Torsque ~~me~~ plus fort j'estois sur la terre,
 Me voila ja fuyant oublieux de la guerre,
 Pour suivre Cleopatre, en faisant l'heur des
 armes
 Ceder à ce malheur des amoureux alarmes.
 Me voila dans sa ville où j'yvrogne et putace,
 Me paissant de plaisirs, pendant que Caesar
 trace
 Son chemin devers nous.

These lines are based on Plutarch's text: "tout ce qui est à l'opposite de l'Italie, de la Gaule et de l'Espagne: ce qui estoit depuis la province Cyrenaïque jusques à l'Æthiopie, estoit soubz Antonius, lequel estoit si abbesty et si asservy au vouloir d'une femme, que combien qu'il fust de beaucoup le plus fort par terre, il voulut néantmoins que l'affaire se vuidast par un combat de mer pour l'amour de Cleopatra, encore qu'il veist devant ses yeux qu' à faulte de forçaires ses capitaines prenoyent et enlevoient de la pauvre Grece par force toutes gens que l'on pouvoit trouver par les champs, viateurs passans, mulatiers, moissonneurs, de jeunes garçons, et encore ne pouvoient ils pas fournir à emplir les galères, tellement que la plus grande partie estoit vüide, et ne pouvoit vaguer qu' à peine, à cause qu'il n'y avoit pas assez

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gens de rame dedans."

Later on victory becomes doubtful. Cleopatra loses courage and flees, followed soon after by Antony, who has lost heart: "toutesfois, le combat estoit encore egal, et la victoire en doute, sans incliner plus d'un costé que d'autre, quand on veit soudainement les soixante naves de Cleopatra dresser les mats et desployer voiles pour prendre la fuite: si s'enfouyrent, tout à travers de ceux qui combattoyent: car elles avoyent esté mises derrière les grands vaisseaux, et meirent les autres en grand trouble et désarroy: pource les ennemis mesmes s'esmerveillerent fort de les voir ainsi cingler à voiles desployées vers le Péloponèse: et là Antonius montra tout évidemment qu'il avoit perdu le sens et le cuer, non seulement d'un empereur, mais aussi d'un vertueux homme, et qu'il estoit transporté de l'entendement et que cela est vray, qu'un certain ancien a dit en se jouant, "Que l'ame d'un amant vit au corps d'autrui, non pas au sien.": tant il se laissa mener et trainer à ceste femme, comme s'il eust esté collé à elle, et qu'elle n'eust seen se remuer sans le mouvoir aussi. Car tout aussi tost qu'il il veit partir son vaisseau il oubliâ, abandonna et trahit ceulx qui combattoyent et se faisoient tuer pour luy, et se jetta en une galère à cinq rens de rames pour suivre celle qui l'avoit desja commencé à ruiner, et qui le devoit encore du tout achever de détruire."

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Cléopâtre, in Act I, Scene 2, makes a similar recital of her woes, voicing the same thought--that through love of her, Antony fought on the "fatale mer" instead of on land:

En cela que pour moy il voulut faire guerre
Par la fatale mer estant plus fort par terre?
En cela qu'il suivit ma nef au vent donnée,
Ayant en son besoin sa troupe abandonnée?

Reading this passage one cannot fail to recall the final tercet of Heredia's sonnet where

Sur elle courbé, l'ardent Imperator
Vit dans ses larges yeux étoilés de points
d'or
Toute une mer immense où fuyaient des
galères.

After Actium we find Antoine in Alexandria at the queen's palace, where he feasted and rioted, endeavoring to forget his great loss: "Soudain qu'il y fut retourné, il remeit toute la ville à faire banquets et grandes chères, et soy même à donner: car il feit enroller selon la coustume des Romains, le filz de Julius Caesar et de Cleopatra au nombre des jeunes hommes, et donna la robbe virile, qui estoit une robbe longue, pure sans brodure ny enrichisseure de pourpre, à Antyllus son filz aisé qu'il avoit en de Fulvia: pour lesquelles choses par plusieurs jours on ne veit en Alexandria que jeux, danses, banquets et festins." Cleopatra, not allowing herself to be lulled by this feasting, and with perhaps a premonition as to the future experiment-

ed with various poisons: "Cependant Cleopatra faisoit un recueil et amas de tous poisons qui'ont pouvoir d'esteindre les hommes: et pour esprouver ceulx qui faisoient mourir avec la moindre douleur, elle en faisoit l'essai sur les criminels de mort qui estoient detenus ès prisons." After this research, Cleopatra concluded that there was none "plus propre que la morsure d'un aspic, laquelle sans pasmoison ne gémissement, attire seulement une pesanteur de teste, et une grande envie de dormir avec un peu de sueur au visage, et amortit ainsi petit à petit les sens, sans que l'on apperçoive aucunement que les patients endurent grande (75) douleur."

The "ombre d'Antoine" then relates the story of his suicide--that Caesar, having refused to meet him in a hand-to-hand combat near Alexandria, Antoine resorted to a "malheureux remède," et poussant mon espée

An travers des boyaux en mon sang l'ay
trempee
Me donnant guerison par l'outragause
playe.

In Scene 2, Act I, Cléopâtre cannot forget that she has caused Antony's death,

En cela qu'il prenoit doucement mes amorces,
Alors que son Caesar prenoit toutes ses
forces?

En cela que feignant estre preste à m'occire,
Ce pitoyable mot soudain je luy feis dire:
"O ciel faudra-t-il donc que, Cleopatre morte,

Antoine vive? Sus sus, Page, conforte
 Mes douleurs par ma mort" Et lors voyant
 soupage
 Soy mesme se tuer: "Tu donnes tesmoignage
 O Eunucque (dit-il): comme il faut que je
 meurs!"
 Et vomissant un cri, il s'enferra sur
 l'heure.

Plutarch says that Antonius, after seeing his navy yield itself to Caesar, cried out that Cleopatra had betrayed him. She, on the other hand, fearing his wrath, fled to her monument, "là où elle fait ferrer les portes et abbatre les grilles et les harses qui se fermoient à grosses serrures et fortes barrieres, et cependant envoya vers Antonius luy denoncer qu'elle estoit morte: ce qu'il creut tout aussi tost, et dit en luy mesme," Qu'attens tu plus, Antonius, quand la fortune ennemie t'a oste la seule cause qui te restoit, pour laquelle tu aimois encore à vivre?" Apres qu'il eut dit ces paroles, il entra en une chambre et delaca le corps de sa cuirasse, et quand il fut decouvert il se prit à dire: "O Cleopatra je ne suis point dolent d'estre privé et separé de ta compagnie, car je me rendray tantost par devers toy: mais bien suis-je marry que ayant esté si grand capitaine et si grand empereur, je soye par effet vaincu d'estre moins magnanime et de moindre cuer qu'une femme." or avoit il un sien serviteur nommé Eros, auquel il se fioit donner la foy qu'il l'occiroit quand par luy

il en seroit requis: il le somma lors que tenir sa promesse: parquoy le serviteur desguaina son espée et l'estendit comme pour le frapper, mais en destourant son visage d'un autre coté, il se la fourra à soy mesme tout au travers du corps, et tumba mort aux pieds de son maitre: et adonc dit Antonius, "O gentil Eros, je te sçay bon gre et est vertueusement fait à toy, de me montrer, qu'il fault que je face moymesme ce que tu n'as peu faire en mon endroit." En disant ces paroles il se donna de l'espée dedans le ventre, et puis se laissa tumber à la renvers sur un petit lit: si n'estoit pas le coup pour en mourir soudainement, et pourtant l'effusion du sang se restraignit un peu quand il fut couché, et apres qu'il se fut un peu revenu, il pria ceulz qui estoyent là presens de l'achever d'occire: mais ilz s'enfouyrent tous de la chambre et le laisserent ent la criant et se tourmentant, jusques à ce qu'un certain secretaire nommé Diomedes vint par devers luy, lequel avoit chargé de le faire porter dedans le monument où estoit Cleopatra.

C. Quand il sceut qu'elle vivoit encore, il demanda de grande affection à ses gens qu'ilz y portassent son corps, et fut ainsi porté entre les bras de ses serviteurs jusques à l'entrée, toutesfois Cleopatra ne voulut pas ouvrir les portes, mais elle se vint mettre à des fenestres haultes et devalla en bas quelques chaisnes et cordes

dedans lesquelles ou empacqueta Antonius, et elle avec deux de ses femmes seulement qu'elle avoit souffert entrer avec elle dedans ces sepulchres, le tira amont. Ceulx qui furent présens à ce spectacle disent qu'il ne fut onques choses si piteuse à voir: car on tiroit ce pauvre homme tout souillé de sang tirant aux traicts de la mort, et qui tendoit les deux mains à Cleopatra, et se soublevoit le mieux qu'il pouvoit. C'estoit une chose bien malaisée que de le monter, mesmement à des femmes, toutesfois Cleopatra en grande peine, s'efforçant de toute sa puissance la teste courbée contre bas sans jamais lascher les cordes, fait tant à la fin qu'elle elle le monta et tira à soy, à l'aide de ceulx d'abas qui luy donnoyent courage, et tiroyent autant de peine à la voir ainsi travailler, comme elle mesme. Après qu'elle l'eut en cette sorte tiré amont, et couché dessus un liot, elle desrompit et déchira adonc ses habillemens sur luy, batant sa poitrine et s'esgrattignant le visage et l'estomac; elle essuya le sang qui luy avoit souillé la face, en l'appellant son seigneur, son mary et son empereur, oubliant presque sa misère et sa calamité propre, pour la compassion de celle où elle le veoit. Antonius luy fait cesser sa lamentation . . . et quant à luy qu'elle ne le lamentoit point pour la miserable mutation de la fortune sur la fin de ses jours, ains qu'elle l'estimoit plus tost bien heureux pour les

triumphes et honneurs qu'il avoit receuz par le passé: veu qu'il avoit esté en sa vie le plus glorieux, le plus triumpphant et le plus puissant homme de la terre, et que lors il avoit esté vaincu, non laschement, mais vaillemment, luy qui estoit Romain par un autre Romain aussi. Sur le poinct mesme qu'il rendoit l'esprit, Proculeius arriva que Caesar envoyoit." (76)

All of the preceding events, mentioned in Jodelle, are not found in Daniel at all. The long soliloquy of the "ombre d'Antoine" opens the French play while Cleopatra's nine page monologue of the English play informs us that she is fallen from power, that Antony is dead, and that Egypt is in the hands of the conquerors. In no place does one find a reference to some definite scene in Plutarch's text, unless it be when Cleopatra speaks of her children, saying,

It is for you I temporizè with Caesar
And stay this while to meditate your
safety.

Plutarch tells us that she demanded Egypt for her sons. Proculeius, sent by Caesar to interview Cleopatra speaks to her through the griled gate, "et il entendoit qu'elle demandoit le royaume d'Egypte pour ses enfans, et que Proculeius luy respondoit qu'elle eut bonne esperance, et qu'elle ne doubta point de commettre tout au bon vouloir de Caesar." (77) Again when Cleopatra, overcome by

the grief of Antony's death attempted suicide by abstaining from food, Caesar, having guessed her intention, warns her, "et luy fait peur, en la menacant de faire mourir ses enfans honteusement," to which threat she yields.

Daniel has greatly expanded the grief and sorrow of Cleopatra in this long monologue, and from it one discovers the queen to be a different sort of person from Plutarch's Cleopatra. However, a comparison of characters will be made under a later heading.

The story of the second act of Jodelle's play is the outline of Plutarch, whose "Vie de Marc Antoine" gives the following scene immediately after the death of Antonius: "Caesar ces nouvelles ouyes, se retira incontinent au plus secret de sa tente, et illec se prit à plorer par compassion, et à plaindre sa miserable fortune, comme de celuy qui avoit esté son allié et son beau frere, son egal en empire, et compaignon en plusieurs exploits d'armes et grands affaires, puis appella tous ses amis, et leur monstra les lettres qu'il luy avoit escriptes et ses responses aussi durant leurs differents et querelles, et comment à toutes les choses justes et raisonnables qu'il luy escrivoit, l'autre luy respondoit fierement et arrogamment. Cela fait, il y envoya Proculeius, luy commandant qu'il feist tout devoir et toute diligence de saisir Cleopatra vive, s'il pouvoit, pourautant qu'il craignoit que son tresor

ne fust perdu, et davantage qu'il estimoit que ce seroit un grand ornement et embellissement de son triumphe, s'il la pouvoit prendre et mener vive à Rome. Mais elle ne se voulut jamais mettre entre les mains de Proculeius: toutefois ils parlerent ensemble: CII. Après qu'il eut bien regardé et considéré le lieu, il vint faire son rapport à Caesar, lequel envoya de rechef Gallus pour parlementer encore un coup avec elle: et luy fait expressement durer le propos ce pendant que Proculeius faisoit dresser une eschelle contre la fenêtre haulte par laquelle on avoit monté Antonius, et, descendoit au dedans avec deux de ses serviteurs tout contre la porte, près de laquelle estoit Cleopatra, entendant à ce que Gallus luy disoit. L'une des femmes qui estoyent leans enfermées avec elle, advisa d'aventure Proculeius ainsi qu'il descendoit, et se prit à crier, "Pauvre femme Cleopatra, tu es prise." Et adonc quand elle veit en se retournant Proculeius derrière elle, elle cuida se donner d'une courte dague qu'elle avoit tout expressement ceinte à son coste: mais Proculeius s'advanca soudainement, qui l'embrassa à deux mains, et luy dit, "Cleopatra, tu feras tort à toy-mesme premierement, et puis à Caesar, luy voulant oster l'occasion de mettre en évidence sa grande bonté et clémence, et donnant à ses malveillans matière de calumnier le plus doux et le plus humain prince qui fut oncques, comme s'il estoit personne sans mercy, et auquel il n'y eust point de fiance." En disant

cela, il luy osta la dague qu'elle portoit, et secouru ses habillements de peur qu'elle n'eust dedans quelque poison (76) caché."

Octavien's second speech is taken from part of the preceding passage:

Qui eust peu croire
 Qu'après l'honneur d'une telle victoire,
 Le deuil, le pleur, le souci, la complainte,
 Mesme à Cesar eust donné telle atteinte?
 Mais je me voy souvent en lieu secret
 Pour Marc Antoinne estre en plainte et regret,
 Qui aux honneurs receus en nostre terre
 Et compagnon m'avoit esté en guerre,
 Mon allié, mon beaufrere, mon sang,
 Et qui tenoit ici le mesme rang,
 Avec Cesar.

This second act, made up of a single scene, followed by a chorus, is merely a discussion between Octavien, Proculee and Agrippe, concerning the death of Antoine. Pride and arrogance, they are agreed, were the causes of Antoine's downfall. This idea reverts to the preceding Plutarch episode where Octavien reads the arrogant letters which Antoine had written him, although no mention of letters is made in the Jodelle play.

Agrippe's third speech is based on an interesting paragraph of the ancient text--that of the prognostications on Antonius's downfall. Agrippe says:

Qu'ils n'ont seen voir et cent et cent augures,
 Prognostiqueurs des miseres futures.
 Ne veit on pas Pisaura l'ancienne
 Prognostiquer la perte Antonienne,
 Qui de soldats Antoniens armée
 Fust engloutie et dans terre abysmee?
 Ne veit on pas dedans Albe une image
 Suer longtemps? Ne veit on pas l'orage

Qui de Patras la ville environnoit,
 Alors qu'Antoine en Patras sejournoit,
 Et que le feu qui par l'air s'eclata
 Herachion, en pieces escarta?
 Ne veit on pas alors que dans Athenes
 En un theatre on luy monstroit les peines,
 Où pour neant les serpens--pies se mirent,
 Quand aux rochers les rochers il joignirent,
 Du Dieu Bacchus l'image on bas poussée
 Des vents qui l'ont commé à l'envi cassée
 Veu que Bacchus un conducteur estoit,
 Pour qui Antoine un mesme nom portoit?
 Ne veit on pas d'une flame fatale
 Rompre l'image et d'Eumene et d'Atale,
 A Marc Antoine en ce lieu dediées?

.
 Qu'adonnestoit la nef de Cleopatre,
 Et qui d'Antoine avoit le nom par elle,
 Où l'hirondelle exila l'hirondelle?

Plutarch's version has it that "avant ceste guerre, comme
 lou dit, ces signes et prodiges advindrent: premierement
 la ville de Pisaurum qui avoit esté repeuplée par Antonius,
 assise au rivage de la mer Adriatique, par un violent tremble-
 ment de terre fut engloutie et foudit en abysme. L'une des
 statues de pierre qui avoyent esté dressées à l'honneur
 d'Antonius en la ville d'Alba, sua, par plusieurs jours:
 et combien qu'aucuns l'essuyassenet, elle ne cessa point
 pourtant de suer. En la ville de Patras, ce pendant qu'An-
 tonius y estoit le temple d'Hercules fut brulé de la
 foudre qui tremba dessus, et à Athènes en un endroit où
 estoit la guerre des Geants contre les dieux representée
 en statues, celle de Bacchus par un estourbillon de vent
 en fut arrachée et jettée dedans le theatre. Or se disoit
 Antonius estroit de la race d'Hercules, comme nous avons
 dit ailleurs, et en sa manière de vivre imitoit Bacchus,

à raison de quoy on l'appelloit le nouveau Bacchus. La mesme tempete abbatit les Colosses, qui sont des images excessives en grandeur outre le naturel faittes à l'honneur d'Eumenes et d'Attalus, lesquelz on avoit nommez et inscrits les Antoniens et si ne fait point de mal aux autres, combien qu'il y en eut plusieurs. La galère capitainesse de Cleopatra s'appelloit Antonnade, en laquelle il advint une chose de sinistre presage: des arondelles avoyent fait leur nid dessous la poupe: il y en vint d'autres puis apres qui chasserent ces premieres et demolirent leurs nids." (79)

The next speech, taken practically verbatim from Plutarch, is that of Proculée, sent by Caesar to interview Cleopatra. Proculée recounts to Octavien all that happened:

Scavez-vous pas, lors que nous echellasmes,
 Et que par ruse en sa court nous allasmes,
 Que tout soudain qu'en la court on me veit,
 En s'ecriant une des femmes dit:
 "O pauvre Roine! es-tu donc prises vive?
 Vis tu encor pour trespasser captive?"
 Et qu'elle ainsi, sous telle voix ravie,
 Vouloit trencher le filet de sa vie,
 Du cimenterre à son costé pendu,
 Si naisissant je n'eusse deffendu
 Son estomach ja desja menasse
 Du bras meurdrier à l'encontre haussé?

In Act II of Daniel's play Procleius makes almost the same recital, using Plutarch as a model:

My Lord, what time being sent from you to try
 To win her forth alive (if that I might)
 From out the Monument, where, wofully
 She lives indlos'd in most afflicted plight:
 No way I found, no meanes how to surprize her,
 But through a grate at the entry of the place

Standing to treat, I labour'd to advise her,
 To come to Caesar, and to sue for grace.
 She said, she crav'd not life, but leave to die,
 Yet for her children, pray'd they might inherit;
 That Caesar would vouchsafe (in clemencie)
 To pittie them, though she deserv'd no merite.
 So leaving her for then; and since of late,
 With Gallus sent to trie another time,
 The whilst he entertaines her at the grate,
 I found the meanes up to the Tombe to clime.
 Where, in descending in the closest wise,
 And silent manner as I could contrive;
 Her woman me desri'd, and out she cries,
 Poore Cleopatra, thou art tane alive:
 With that the Queene caught from her side her knife,
 And even in act to stab her martred brest,
 I stept with speede, and held, and sav'd her life,
 And forth her trembling hand the blade did wrest,
 Ah Cleopatra, why shouldst thou (said I)
 Both injury thy selfe and Caesar so?
 Barre him the honour of his victory,
 Who ever deales most mildely with his foe?
 Live, and relie on him whose mercy will
 To thy submission alwayes ready be.

Daniel in the six final lines of the preceding passage follows very closely the idea given by Plutarch (cf. p.75) while Jodelle makes no mention of this remonstrance of Proculee. In this instance it is Daniel who has remained more faithful to the original text.

Caesar's first speech in Act II of Daniel's play contains several extremely interesting lines. First he says

. . . kingdomes I see we winne, we conquer
 climates,
 Yet cannot vanquish hearts, nor force obedience.

Then he continues

Free is the heart, the temple of the mind,
 The Sanctuary sacred from above,
 Where nature keeps the keyes that loose and
 bind.
 No mortall hand force open can that doore,

So close shut up, and lockt to all mankind;
 I see men's bodies only ours, no more,
 The rest anothers right, that rules the minde.

These few lines aptly express the inspiring thought that has proved a source of consolation from early times ^{that} to "man is master of his soul." No matter how the flesh is scourged and crucified, the kingdom of the mind, or the soul, remains free and untouched.

Proculée then continues his story:--after ^{he} had forestalled Cléopâtre's attempt to kill herself, she resorts to other means so that

Elle est tombee en maladie extreme,
 Et qu'elle a feint de ne pouvoir manger,
 pour par la faim à la fin se renger?

According to Plutarch "estoit elle oultrée de tristesse et de melancholie, et ensemble aussi de douleur, pour autant qu'elle s'estoit tant batu la poitrine par destresse, qu'elle en avoit le sein tout meurtry et estoit en plusieurs lieux ulceree avec inflammation, tellement qu'elle en prit la fièvre: dont elle fut bien aise, pensant que ce lui feroit une bonne couleur pour s'abstenir de manger, au moyen de quoy elle pourroit finir et esteindre sa vie sans empeschement."
 (So)

Agrippe reproaches Octavien for his grief for Antoine. Instead of mourning such a loss, he should remember the trouble caused by Antoine, and he proceeds to mention the wars between Caesar and Antony after the latter has driven his wife Octavie from his house at Rome:

Le souvient il que, pour dresser ta guerre,
 Tu fus hay de toute nostre terre,
 Qui se piquoit mutinant contre toy
 Et refusoit se courber sous ta loy,
 Lors que tu prins pour guerroyer Antoine
 Des hommes francs le quart du patrimoine,
 Des serviteurs la huitiesme partie
 De leur vaillant tant que ja divertie
 Presque s'estoit l'Italie troublée?

The same passage is in Plutarch's text. "Caesar adverty
 de la grandeur et soudaineté de l'appareil d'Antonius, se
 trouva fort estonné, craignant qu'il ne fust contrainct
 de combattre en ce premier este a cause que plusieurs
 choses à ce necessaires luy defailloyent, et les violents
 extorsions et exactions de l'argent que lon devoit, gre-
 voyent grandement le peuple: car toutes autres sortes de
 gens estoyent contraincts de contribuer la quarte partie
 de leurs fruicts et de leur revenu: mais ceulx que lon
 nomme libertins, c'est à dire de qui les peres on autres
 predecesseurs auroyent esté autrefois serfs, la huitieme
 de tous leurs biens une fois payée: et pourautant en sour-
 doit il une merveilleuse crierie, et en estoit toute l'Italie
 en grand trouble, de sorte que lon compte entre les plus
 grandes faultes que jamais fait Antonius, la remise et di-
 lation de la bataille. Car il donna à Caesar le loisir de
 faire les apprestez, et d'appaiser les plaintes et doleances
 des peuples: car quand on leur demandoit un si grand argent,
 ils se courrousoyent, et se mutinoyent, mais quand ilz
 avoyent payé, ils ne s'en souvenoyent plus."⁽⁸²⁾

Agrippe next speaks of Lepidus dispossessed by Octav-

vien:

Mais quelle estoit sa peine redoublée,
Dont il taschoit embrasser les Rommains,
Pour ce Lepide exilé par tes mains?

Plutarch gives this as the third accusation of Antony against Caesar: "Tiercement, qu'ayant debouté Lepidus, leur compa-
gnon au Triumvirat de sa part de l'empire, et l'ayant desti-
tué de tous honneurs, il retenoit par devers luy la personne,
les terres et revenuz d'icelles qui luy avoyent esté assig-
nées pour sa part, et apres tout, qu'il avoit presque dis-
tribue à ses gendarmes toute l'Italie, et n'en avoit rien
laissé aux siens. Caesar luy respondoit, quant à Lepidus,
qu'il l'avoit deposé voirement, et privé de sa part de
l'empire, pourautant qu'il en abusoit outrageusement: et
quant à ce qu'il avoit conquis par armes, qu'il en feroit
volontiers part à Antonius, prouven qu'il luy fait aussi
le semblable de l'Arménie." (82)

Then Agrippe describes the powerful army Antoine sent
against Caesar:

Le souvient-il de ceste horrible armée
Que contre nous il avoit animée?
Tant de Rois donc qui voulurent le suivre;
Y venoyent ils pour nous y faire vivre?
Pensoyent-ils bien ~~bien~~ nous foudroyez exprés,
Pour déplorer nostre ruine apres?
Le Roy Bacchus, le Roy Cilicien,
Archelaus, Roy Capadocien,
Et Philadelphie et Adalle de Thrace,
Et Mithridate usoyent ils de menace.

La "Vie de Marc Antoine" tells us that "quand tout fut prest

et assemblé, et qu'ilz s'approcherent pour combattre, il se trouva qu'Antonius n'avoit pas moins de cinq cents vaisseaux de guerre, entre lesquels y avoit plusieurs galeres à huict et à dix rangs de rames, qui estoient parées et accoustrées superbement, et non tant pour le combat que pour le triumphe, cent mille hommes de pied, avec douze mille chevaux, et avoit avec luy pour son secours les roys, ses subjects et vassaux, qui s'enfuyèrent, Bacchus roy des Libyens, Tarcondemus celuy de la haulte Cilicie, Archelaus celuy de la Cappadoicie, Philadelphus roy de Paphlagonie, Mithridates roy de la Commagène, Adallos celuy de la Thrace, lesquelz y estoient tous en personne." (83)

The "choeur de femmes alexandrines" laments Cléopâtre's in her present condition at the end of Act II:

Ore presque en chemise
 Qu'elle va dechirant,
 Pleurant aux pieds s'est mise
 De son Cesar, tirant
 De l'estomach debile
 Sa requeste inutile.

In Plutarch's text Octavius, after having sent Proculeius to interview the queen, finally decides to go himself:

"Peu de jours apres, Cesar luy mesme en personne l'alla visiter pour parler à elle et la reconforter: elle estoit couchée sur un petit liect bas en bien pauvre estat: mais si tost qu'elle le vit entrer en sa chambre, elle se leva soudain, et se alla getter toute nue, en chemise à ses pieds estant merveilleusement desfigurée, tant pour ses

cheveux qu'elle avoit arrachez avec les ongles, et si avoit la voix faible et tremblante, les yeux batus et fondus à force de larmoyer continuellement: et si pouvoit on voir la plus grande partie de son estomac dechiré et meurtry." (84)

Act II of Daniel's play includes no references to Plutarch except those previously set forth. The conversation between Octavius and Proculess concerning Cleopatra's fate, followed by the chorus of Egyptians constitutes the substance of the act.

The third act of Jodelle's play is again the story as given by Plutarch, based on chapters CVI and CVII with several references to other chapters. Plutarch says that a few days after he had sent Proculeius to the queen, Caesar himself went to see her. He found her on a little cot in a much disfigured state, a creature martyred by her own passion and fury. She arose on his entrance and threw herself at his knees, but Caesar bade her rise and sit on the cot. Even in this pitiful state the great queen was not without charm: "brief le corps ne se portoit gueres mieulx que l'esprit: neantmoins sa bonne grace et la vigueur et la force de sa beauté n'estoyent pas du tout esteinctes." She begins with arguments in defense of herself. All this misfortune is Antony's fault and she lays all "seu la peur et la crainte d'Antonius. Caesar au contraire la convainquoit en chaque point et article: parquoy elle tourna tout

soudain sa parole à luy requérir pardon, et implorer sa mercy, comme si elle eust en grande peur de mourir et bonne envie de vivre, a la fin elle luy bailla un borderoau des bagues et finances qu'elle pouvoit avoir. Mais il se trouva là d'aventure l'un de ses thresoriers nommé Seleucus, qui la vint devant Caesar convaincre, pour faire du bon valet, qu'elle n'y avoit pas tout mis, et qu'elle en receloit sciemment et retenoit quelque choses: dont elle fut si fort pressée d'impatience de cholere, qu'elle l'alla prendre aux cheveux, et luy donna plusieurs coups du poing sur le visage. Caesar s'en prit à rire, et la fait cesser. "Holas! dit elle adonc, Caesar, n'est-ce pas une grande indignité, que tu ayes bien daigné prendre la peine de venir vers moy, et m'ayes fait cest honneur de parler avec moy chetive reduitte en un si piteux et si miserable estat, et puis que mes serviteurs me viennent accuser si j'ay, peut estre, mis à part et reservé quelques bagues et joyaux propres aux femmes, non point, helas! pour moy malheureuse en parer, mais en intention d'en faire quelques petits presents à Octavia et à Livia, à celle fin que par leur intercession et moyen tu me fusses plus doux et plus gracieux?" Caesar fut tres joyeux de ce propos, se persuadant de là, qu'elle desiroit fort asseurer sa vie: si luy fait response, qu'il luy donnoit non seulement ce qu'elle avoit retenu pour en faire du tout à son plaisir, mais que oultre cela il la traitteroit plus liberalement et plus magnifiquement qu'elle

ne scauroit esperer: et ainsi prit congé d'elle, et s'en alla pensant bien l'avoir trompée, mais estant bien trompé luy-mesme.

Or y avoit un jeune gentilhomme nommé Cornelius Dolabella qui estoit l'un des mignons de Cesar, et n'estoit point mal affectionné envers Cleopatra; cestuy luy mandassecrettement, comme elle l'en avoit prié, que Caesar se deliberoit de reprendre son chemin par la Surie, et que dedans trois jours il la devoit envoyer devant avec ses enfants. Quand elle eut entendu ces nouvelles, elle fait requeste à Caesar, que son bon plaisir fust de luy permettre, qu'elle affrist les dernières oblations des mots à l'ame de Antonius, ce que luy estant permis, elle se fait porter au lieu de la sepulture." (83)

Octavien's first speech in Act III opens with

"Voulez-vous donc votre fait excuser?"

and he continues in the same vein enlarging upon the idea given by Plutarch in the preceding passage. (cf. p. 84.) He accuses Cléopâtre of feigning excessive grief in order to excite his mercy. Then she plays upon his relationship to Julius Caesar and mentions her former affection for the latter:

Ne t'ont donc peu les lettres esmouvoir
 Qu'à tes deux yeux j'avois tantost fait voir,
 Lettres je dy de ton pere receues, ?
 Certains deus poudes esuener son ouvrage,
 Te descouvrant et maint et maint image

De ce tien pere, à celle-la loyal,
 Qui de son fils recevra tout son mal?

Plutarch makes allusion to the love of Julius Caesar and Cleopatra, but it is not a question of letters, which are undoubtedly the invention of Jodelle. Antonius had his first interview with Cleopatra when he sent for her to come to Cilicia to answer some accusations made against her--that she had aided Cassius and Brutus in their war against him. Cleopatra, having previously heard of Antonius's weakness where women were concerned, is firmly convinced that she will win Antonius without much effort: "Elle d'autre part adjoustant foy à ce que luy disoit Dellius (messenger sent by Antonius), et faisant conjecture par l'access et le credit qu'elle avoit eu auparavant avec Julius Caesar, et Cneus Pompeius, le filz du grand Pompeius, seulement pour sa beaute, elle entra en esperance, que plus facilement encore pouvoit elle prendre et gagner Antonius." Again in chapter LXXI Plutarch mentions that Caesarion, the supposed son of Julius Caesar, is made king of the lands Antony gave to Cleopatra and of which he established her queen.

Octavien then reproaches her for her conduct towards Octavie, Antony's wife, and to this the unhappy queen can find no excuse, save to offer Caesar her money, jewels, and treasure. Octavien says:

Pourriez-vous bien de ce vous garantir
 Qui fit ma soeur hors d'Athenes sortir,
 Lors que, craignant qu'Antoine, son espoux,
 Plus se connast à sa femme qu'à vous,

Vous le paissiez de ruse et de finesses,
 De mille et mille et dix mille caresses?
 Tantost au liot expres enmaigrissiez,
 Tantost par fointe expres vous pallissiez,
 Tantost vostre oeil vostre face baignoit,
 Des qu'un ject d'arc de luy vous esloignoit,
 Entretienant la feinte et sorcelage,
 On par coustume, ou par quelque breuvage;
 Mesme attiltrant vos amis et flatteurs
 Pour de venin d'Antoine estre fauteurs,
 Qui l'abusoyent sous les plaintes frivoles,
 Faisant ceder son proffit aux paroles,

 Tant peurent donc vos mines et addresses,
 Et de ceux la les plaintes flatteresse,
 Qu'Octavienne, et sa femme et ma soeur,
 Fut dechassée, et dechassa vostre heur.

Octavien here reproaches Cleopatra for keeping Antoine in Alexandria when he should have gone to meet Octavie in Athens.

Then he asks:

Que diriez-vous du tort fait aux Romains,
 Qui s'enfuyoient secrettement des mains
 De vostre Antoine, alors que vostre rage
 Leur redoubloit l'oultrage sus l'oultrage?
 Que diriez-vous de ce beau testament,
 Qu'Antoine avoit remis secrettement
 Dedans les mains des pucelles Vestales?

This speech alludes to a passage of Plutarch where Titius and Plancus, friends of Antonius, revolt against him and join Caesar's ranks all on account of Cleopatra: "Davantage Titius et Plancus des principaux amis d'Antonius, tous deux hommes consulaires, pour des grands torts et oultrages que Cleopatra leur faisoit, à cause qu'ilz avoyent empesche de tout leur pouvoir qu'elle ne vint à ceste guerre, s'allèrent rendre à Caesar, et luy enseignerent où estoit le testament qu'avoit fait Antonius, sachans bien ce qui estoit dedans, Il estoit

entre les mains des vierges sacrées et vouées à la déesse
Vesta, auxquelles Caesar le demanda.⁽⁸⁷⁾"

After Cléopâtre promised Caesar all her treasure,
Seleuque, one of her vassals, believing to gain favor with
the conqueror says:

Croy, Cesar, croy qu'elle a de tout son or
Et autres biens tout le meilleur caché.

Cleopatre then cuffs him and drags him by the hair:

A! faux meurdrrier! a! faux traistre! arraché
Sera le poil de ta teste cruelle.
Que pleust aux Dieux que ce fust ta cervelle!
Tien, traistre, tien.

This entire scene, is of course, only Plutarch expanded.
Furthermore here is found practically the only real action
of the play, and the sole comic situation characteristic of
the author of Eugène.

Octavien tries to assuage Cleopatre's wrath, but she
only replies:

Mais quoy, mais quoy?
Mon Empereur, est-il un tel esmoy
Au monde encro que ce paillard me donne?
Sa lacheté ton esprit mesme estonne
Comme je croy, quand moy, Roine d'ici,
De mon vañsal suis accusée ainsi,
Que toy, Cesar, as daigne visiter,
Et par ta voix à repos inciter,
He! si j'avois retenu des joyaux,
Et quelque part de mes habits royaux,
L'aurois-je fait pour moy, las, malheureuse!
Moy, qui de moy ne sius plus curieuse?
Mais telle estoit ceste esperance mienne.
Qu'à ta Livie et ton Octavienne,
De cès joyaux le présent je feroiy,
Et leurs pitiez ainsi pourchasseroy

Pour (n'estant point de mes presens ingrates)
Envers Cesar estre mes advocates.

Then Octavien tells her to have no fear, that he will treat her mercifully and that she may keep the jewels that she had hidden.

This speech is taken almost word for word from the Plutarch text (cf. p.85), as is also the similar speech made by Cleopatra in the English play.

Daniel in Scene 2 of Act II, uses the same outline as does Jodelle for his entire third act. Caesar arrives to interview Cleopatra, now a wretched, miserable creature. She throws herself at his feet, but he bids her rise, at the same time telling her that "none but thy selfe is cause of all." She answers his accusations and attempts to excuse herself, laying all blame to love and fear of Antony:

Caesar what should a woman doe
Opprest with greatnes? What, was it for me
To contradict my Lord, being sent thereto?
I was by love, by feare, by weaknesse, made
An instrument to such disseignes as these.

She continues to try to awaken Caesar's mercy by mentioning her former love for Julius Caesar and showing some letters he had written her. Daniel's queen suggests to Octavius that:

Th'inheritance of mercy from him take,
Of whom thou hast thy fortune and thy name:
Great Caesar, me a Queen at first did make,
And let not Caesar now confound the same.
Read here these lines which still I keepe with

me,

The witness of his love and favours ever;
 And God forbid this should be sayd of thee,
 That Caesar wrong'd the favoured of Caesar.

Jodelle, as has already been mentioned (cf. p. 86) made use of the device of letters also. The preceding argument, as well as the letters from Caesar, are not mentioned at all in the Plutarch text, and the fact that both Jodelle and Daniel have employed the same device substantiates the theory that Daniel must have been at least acquainted with the French play.

Cleopatra then presents Caesar with all her treasure,
 "all the jewels rare that Egypt hath in many ages got."

(cf. p. 85) Seleucus, her secretary, speaks up with:

May there's not all set downe within that raulb,
 I know some things she hath reserv'd apart.

Cleopatra turns on him, calling him a vile, ungrateful wretch.

Octavius attempts to calm her, and she replies with a speech analagous to that of Jodelle's already cited, (cf. p. 85) and based on the Plutarch text:

Ah Caesar, what a great indignity
 Is this, that here my vassall subject stands
 T'acuse me to my Lord of trechery?
 If I reserv'd some certaine women's toyes,
 Alas it was not for my self, (God knows),
 Poor miserable soule, that little joyes
 In trifling ornaments, in outward showes.
 But what I kept, I kept to make my way
 Unto thy Livia and Octavia's grace,
 That thereby in compassion moovèd, they
 Might mediate thy favour in my case.

Caesar assures her anew that he will show mercy towards her, telling her to keep the jewels, all of which follows

very closely the "Vie de Marc Antoine."

At the end of this scene Dolabella, a young favorite of Octavius, yields to a poetical outburst in praise of the fallen queen, and gains a severe reprimand from Caesar himself. This conversation between these two characters is expanded from the idea given by Plutarch (cf. p. 85) and, like the monologue of the first act is a product of Daniel's imagination. Dolabella is merely mentioned in Act IV of the French play as "l'ami de nostre affaire" who will aid Cléopâtre.

The first scene of Act III of Daniel's play takes place between Philostratus and Arius, two philosophers, who meditate on Egypt's fall and the fate of the queen and her children. This is the only scene of the play in which they appear, and it is furthermore another expanded idea from Plutarch, whose text gives the following commentary on the two philosophers: "Il fait (Caesar) ce pendant son entrée en la ville d'Alexandrie, et en allant devisa avec le philosophe Arrius, le tenant par la main, à celle fin que ces citoyens l'eussent en plus grande reverence, voyans que Caesar l'honoroit si haultement. Si alla jusques au parc des exercices, et là monta sur un tribunal hault élevé, que lon luy avoit préparé, devant lequel estoit assemblé par son commandement tout le peuple d'Alexandrie, tremblant de frayeur, et se jettant par terre à genoux devant luy, demandant misericorde. Caesar les fait lever, et declara publiquement qu'il absou-

loit le peuple, et leur pardonnoit l'offense et la felonie qu'ilz avoyent commise en ceste guerre, premierement à cause du fondateur de la ville, Alexandre le grand: secondement pour la beaulté d'icelle, qu'il estimoit et admiroit veaucoup: tiercement pour l'amitié qu'il portoit à son familier et amy Arrius. Tel honneur fait Caesar à Arrius, qui luy requit pardon, et interceda pour plusieurs autres, mesmement pour Philostratus le plus disort et le plus eloquent de tous les sophistes et rhetoricions de son temps, pour parler promptement et à l'improveu, mais qui se disoit philosophe académique à faulses enseignes: et pourtant Caesar qui haïssoit sa nature et ses mœurs, ne vouloit point ouir ses prieres: à l'occasion dequoy il laissoit croistre une longue barbe blanche, et suyvoit Arrius pas à pas vestu d'une robe noire en deuil, luy repetant toujours et alleguant un vers grec, qui est de telle substance:

Gens de sçavoir les sçavans vont sauvans
Ou ilz ne font eulx mesmes pas sçavans.

Ce qu'entendant Caesar, et voulant non tant delivrer Philostratus de la peur qu'il avoit, comme descharger Arrius de la haine et envie qui en pourroit sourdre encontre luy, le receut à mercy." Arius is mentioned later on as giving advice to Caesar, who is puzzled as to what to do with Caesarion, Cleopatra's son. Arius tells him that

Pluralité de Cesars n'est point bonne.

faisant allusion à un certain vers d'Homère, ou il y a:

(87)

Pluralite dé seigneurs n'est point bonne.

Daniel with his two philosophers has followed closely the idea given in the preceding passage and has also added a few touches of his own. First comes Philostratus grateful to Arius for pleading for him before Caesar:

How deeply am I bound to thee,
That sav'ds't from death this wretched life
 of mine:
Obtaining Caesar's gentle grace for mee,
When I of all helps else despaired but
 thine?

Then the two philosophers are agreed that no one wants to die, that "that selfe same care to live, possesseth all alike." They decide also that Egypt's fall was inevitable, for no state or nation, once arrived at the height of its glory can remain thus indefinitely. This bit of philosophy, although not found in Plutarch's text, is as old as the ages, and Daniel has very aptly applied it to Egypt's downfall. Arius adds that the great Augustus, to preserve his "safety and honor", will do away with all heirs of Cleopatra, especially Caesarion, for as he says (and herein Daniel quotes Plutarch directly):

Plurality of Caesars are not good.

Jodelle makes no mention of Philostratus at all, but the chorus at the close of Act III does tell us of the great respect that Caesar held for Arius. The passage is based on the Plutarch text (cf. p. 92):

Arius de ceste ville,
Que ceste ardeur inutile

N'avoit jamais retenu,
 Ce Philosophe chenu,
 Qui depressoit toute pompe
 Dont ceste ville se trompe,
 Durant nostre grand douleur
 A receu le bien et l'heur.
 Cesar, faisant son entree,
 A la sagesse monstrée,
 L'heur et la felicité
 La raison, la verité,
 Qu'avoit en soy ce bon maistre,
 Le faisant mesme à sa dextre
 Costoyer, pour estre à nous
 Comme un miracle entre tous.

Act IV of Cléopâtre captive is the story of Plutarch as given in chapters CVII and CVIII, that Jodelle follows closely. Eras and Charmium, the ladies in waiting, and Cléopâtre herself are contemplating death and are preparing to perform the last rites for Antony. In Cléopâtre's first speech there is indirect mention of her children, especially of her son Caesarion, and her effort to preserve him from Octavius's hands, for she says:

Et si j'ay cã jourdhuy usé de quelque feinte,
 Afin que ma portée en son sang ne fust teinte,
 Quoy! Cesar pensoit-il que ce que dit j'avois
 Penst bien aller ensemble et de coeur et de
 voix?

This is the only passage in the play from which it may be gathered that Cléopâtre intended to save her son. Plutarch informs us concerning the sad fate of Antony's children: "Quant aux enfans d'Antonius, Antyllus, le filz aisé de Fulvia fut tué, pource que Theodorus son gouvernant le livra aux gens de guerre qui luy couperent la teste: et luy osta le meschant, une pierre pre-

ieuse de bien grande valeur qu'il portoit au col, laquelle il cousut en sa ceinture, et puis nia qu'il l'eust prise, mais il en fut trouvé saisy, parquoy Caesar le fait mettre en croix. Ceulx de Cleopatra estoient gardez avec leurs gouverneurs et ceulx qui avoyent soing de leurs personnes, et les nourrissoit on honorablement." Then comes the fate of Caesarion--"Quant à Caesarion, que lon disoit estre filz de Julius Caesar, sa mere l'avoit envoyé aux Indes par l'Æthiopie avec une grosse somme d'argent: mais un autre sien gouverneur nommé Rodon, semblable à Theodorus, luy persuada qu'il s'en retournast, et que Caesar le rappelloit pour luy bailler le royaume de sa mere, . . . Parquoy Caesar le fait depuis mourir après la mort de Cleopatra."

Daniel's fourth act presents a slight deviation from the Plutarch text for he has Caesarion killed before the death of Cleopatra. Furthermore, the first scene of the act, made up of a conversation between Seleucus and Rodon, tutor to Caesarion, is the product of Daniel's imagination. According to this interpretation Seleucus, fallen from power for having repudiated the queen before Caesar, laments his fate before Rodon. Daniel shows Seleucus despised and scorned by Caesar for having betrayed Cleopatra. Rodon, too, awaits a grim fate for betraying Caesarion to the Roman conqueror, the same fate that befell Theodor. This mournful bit of fiction further complicates

the plot of the English play and affords Daniel the opportunity to philosophize and to describe a pathetic scene of separation between Cleopatra and Caesarion. This latter scene is not given in Plutarch but is purely the invention of Daniel.

Jodelle's play mentions neither Rodon, Theodor, nor the fate that befell them. Seleuque, as in Daniel's play betrays the queen, and in addition to being a turn-coat, he yields to Caesar and his followers, for, as he himself says at the close of Act III:

Je ne fuy pas ny Cesar ny ses hommes.

While his final fate remains unknown in this play, Jodelle does tell us that the unhappy Seleuque suffered some pangs of conscience. In answer to the questions of the "choeur" as to what still troubles him, he replies:

Estent puni, plus fort je me depite,
 Et ja dans moy je sens une furie,
 Me menassant que telle fashherie
 Poindra sans fin mon âme furieuse,
 Lorsque la Roine, et triste et courageuse,
 Devant Cesar aux cheveux m'a tiré,
 Et de son poing mon visage empiré:
 S'elle m'eust fait mort en terre gesir,
 Elle eust preveu à mon present desir,
 Veu que la mort n'eust point este tant dure
 Que l'eternelle et mordante peinture,
 Qui ja desja jusques au fond me blesse
 D'avoir blessé ma Roine et ma maitresse.

Charmium, in the Cléopâtre captive, then discloses further information concerning Dolabella, Caesar's young favorite. This is mentioned by Plutarch (cf. p.86)

Charmium says that they must soon find means to accomplish their death:

Car ce bon Dolabelle, ami de nostre affaire,
 Combien que pour Cesar il soit nostre adversaire,
 T'a fait sçavoir (ô Roine), apres que l'Empereur
 Est parti d'avec toy, et apres ta fureur
 Tant equitablement a Selenque monstree,
 Que dans trois jours prefix ceste douce contree
 Il nous faudra laisser pour à Romme menees
 Donner un beau spectacle à leurs effeminees.

Cleopatra, in Scene 2 of Act IV of Daniel's play, receives a letter from Dolabella:

Here Dolabella farre forsooth in love,
 Writes, how that Caesar meanes forthwith to send
 Both me and mine, th'ayre of Rome to prove:
 There his Triumphant chariot to attend.

Dolabella figures in a later scene of the English play, which will be explained in a discussion of the fifth act.

Cleopatra then makes her farewell speech before Antony's tomb. Plutarch gives it thus: "Quand elle eut entendu ces nouvelles (letter from Dolabella), elle fait requeste à Caesar, que son bon plaisir fust de luy permettre, qu'elle offrist les dernieres oblations des morts à l'ame de Antonius: ce que luy estant permis, elle se fait porter au lieu de la sepulture, et là à genoux embrassant le tumbeau avec ses femmes, se prit à dire, les larmes aux yeux, "O cher Seigneur Antonius, je t'inhumay nagueres estant encore libre et franche, et maintenant te presente ces affertes et effusions funebres estant prisonniere et captive, et me defend on de deschirer et meurtrir de coups ce mien esclave corps, dont on fait

soigneuse garde seulement pour triumphe de toy, n'attens don-
 ques plus autres honneurs, offrandes ne sacrifices de moy:
 celles cy sont les dernieres que Cleopatra te peult faire,
 puis que l'on l'emmeine. Tout ^{ce} que nous avons vescu, rien
 ne nous a peu separer d'ensemble: mais maintenant à nostre
 mort je fais doute, qu'on ne nous face eschanger les lieux
 de nostre naissance: et comme toy Romain as esté loy in-
 humé en Egypte, aussi moy malheureuse Egyptienne ne sois
 ensepulturee en Italie, qui sera le seul bien que j'auroy
 receu de ton pais. Si donc les dieux de là où tu es à
 present, ont quelque autorité et puissance, puis que
 ceulx de pardeçà nous ont abandonnez, ne seuffre pas que
 lon emmeine vive ton amie, et n'endure qu'en moy l'on
 triumphe de toy, ains me reçoÿ avec toy, et m'ensopvely
 en un mesme tombeau: car combien que mes maulx soyent
 infinis, il n'y en a pas un qui m'ait esté si grief à
 supporter comme le peu de temps que j'ay esté contraincte
 de vivre sans toy." (95)

In Jodelle's play Cléopâtre makes the following speech
 over the tomb of Antony and follows the Plutarch text
 almost verbatim, with the exception of a few lines which
 are the invention of the author:

Antoine, ô cher Antoine, Antoine ma moitié,
 Si Antoine n'eust eu des dieux l'inimitié,
 Antoine, Antoine, hélas! dont le malheur me prive,
 Entens la faible voix d'une faible captive,
 Qui de ses propres mains avoit la cendre mise

Au clos de ce tombeau, n'estant encore prise:

Mais qui, prise et captive à son malheur guidée,
 Sujette et prisonniere en sa ville gardée,
 Ore te sacrifice, et non sans quelque crainte
 De faire trop durer en ce lieu ma complainte,
 Veu qu'on a l'œil sus moy, de peur que la douleur
 Ne face par la mort la fin de mon malheur:
 Et à fin que mon corps de sa douleur privé
 Soit au Rommain triomphe en la fin réservé:
 Triomphe, dy-je, las! qu'on veult orner de moy,
 Triomphe, dy-je, las! que l'on fera de toy--
 Il ne faut plus desor de moy que tu attendes
 Quelques autres honneurs, quelques autres offrandes:
 L'honneur que je te fais, l'honneur dernier sera
 Qu' à son Antoine mort Cleopatre fera
 Et bien que toy vivant la force et violence
 Ne nous ait point forcé d'ecarter l'alliance,
 Et de nous separer: toutes fois je crains fort
 Que nous nous separions l'un de l'autre a la mort,
 Et qu'Antoine Rommain en Egypte demande,
 Et moy Egyptienne dedans Romme je meure.
 Mais si les puissans Dieux ont pouvoir en ce lieu.
 Ou maintenant tu es, fais, fais que quelque Dieu
 Ne permette jamais qu'en m'entraignant d'ici,
 On triomphe de toy en ma personne ainsi:

The substance of the following eight lines is not found
 in Plutarch's version, but belongs to Jodelle:

Ains que ce tien cercueil, ô spectacle piteux
 De deux pauvres amans, nous racouple tous deux,
 Cercueil qu'encore un jour l'Egypte honorera
 Et peut estre à nous deux l'epitaphe sera:
 "Ici sont deux amans qui, heureux en leur vie,
 D'heur, d'honneur, de liesse, ont leur ame assou-
 vie:
 Mais en fin tel malheur on les vit encourir,
 Que le bon heur des deux fut de bien tost mourir."

Then Jodelle returns to Plutarch:

Recoy, recoy moy donc, avant que Cesarparte
 Que plustost mon esprit que mon honneur s'ecarte
 Car entre tout le mal, peine, douleur, encombre;
 Soupirs, regrets, soucis, que j'ay souffert sans
 nombre,
 J'estime le plus grief ce bien petit de temps
 Que de toy, ô Antoine, esloigner je me sens.

The French play is truer to Plutarch than the English play
 concerning this final monologue. Daniel, as usual enlarges

(Sith our country gods betray our case);
 O worke they may their gracious helpe import,
 To save thy wofull wife from such disgrace.
 Do not permit she should in triumph shew
 The blush of her reproach, joyn'd with thy
 shame;

But (rather) let that hatefull tyrant know,
 That thou and I had powre t'avoyde the same.
 But what do I spend breath and idle winde,
 In vaine invoking a conceived aide?
 Why do I not my selfe occasion finde
 To breake the bounds wherein my selfe am stayd?
 Words are for them that can complaine and live,
 Whose melting hearts compes'd of baser frame,
 Can to their sorrows, time and leisure give,
 But Cleopatra may not do the same.
 No Antony, thy love requireth more;
 A lingring death, with thee deserves no merite;
 I must my selfe force open wide a dore
 To let out life, and so unhouse my spirit.
 These hands must breake the prison of my soule
 To come to thee, there to enjoy like state,
 As doth the long-pent solitary Foule,
 That hath escapt her cage, and found her mate.
 This sacrifice to sacrifice my life,
 Is that true incense that doth best besee me;
 These rites may serve a life-desiring wife,
 Who doing them, t'have done enough doth deeme,
 My hart bloud should the purple flowers have bin,
 Which here upon thy tombe to thee are offred,
 No smoke but dying breath should here bin seene,
 And this it had bin too, had I bin suffred.
 But yet I must a way and meanes seeke how
 To come unto thee, whatsoere I do.
 O Death, art thou so hard to come by now,
 That we must pray, intreate, and seeke thee, too?

The two preceding lines are somewhat similar to several lines from a speech made by Eras in Act IV of Jodelle's play:

Pourquoy n'approches-tu, ô Parque trop tardive?
 Pourquoy veux-tu souffrir ceste bande captive,
 Qui n'aura pas plustost le don de liberté,
 Que cest esprit ne soit par ton dard ecarté?

Cleopatra continues her monologue (Daniel's play):

But I will finde thee wheresoere thou lie,
 For who can stay a minde resolv'd to die?

And now I go to worke th'effect indeed,
 Ile never send more words or sighes to thee;
 Ile bring my soule my self, and that with speede,
 My selfe will bring my soule to Antony.
 Come, go my Maydes, my fortunes sole attenders,
 That minister to misery and sorrow;
 Your Mistris, you unto your freedome readers
 And will discharge your charge yet ere to-morrow.

As can easily be seen, Daniel has expanded Plutarch, much more than has Jodelle.

The comparatively brief act fifth of Jodelle's play is composed of a long monologue on Cléopâtre's death by Proculee, interspersed with sympathetic lamentations from the chorus. Proculee announces that:

J'estois venu pour le mal supporter
 De Cleopatre et la reconforter,
 Quand j'ay trouvé ces gardes qui frappoyent
 Contre sa chambre, et sa porte rompoyent,
 Et qu'en entrant en ceste chambre close,
 J'ay veu (ô rare et miserable chose)
 Ma Cleopatre en son royal habit
 Et sa couronne, au long d'un riche list
 Peint et doré, blesme et morte couchee,
 Avecq' Eras sa femme, à ses pieds morte
 Et Charmium vive, qu'en telle worte
 J'ay lors blamee: ô, a! Charmium est-ce
 Noblement fait? Ouy, ouy, c'est de noblesse
 De tant de Rois Egyptiens venue
 Un tesmoignage. Et lors peu soustenue
 En chancelant, et s'acrochant en vain,
 Tombe à l'envers, restant un tronc humain.

The following fourteen lines are of Jodelle's invention and seem to be his individual commentary on the death of the queen and her attendants:

Voila des trois la fin epouvantable,
 Voila des trois le destin lamentable;
 L'amour ne peut separer les deux corps,

Qu'il avoit joints par longs et longs accords;
 Le Ciel ne veut permettre toute chose,
 Que bien souvent le courageux propose.
 Cesar verra, perdant ce qu'il attend,
 Que nul ne peut au monde estre content:
 L'Egypte aura renfort de sa destresse,
 Perdant, apres son bon heur, sa maistresse:
 Mesmement moy qui suis son ennemi,
 En y pensant, je me pasme à demi,
 Ma voix s'infirme, et mon penser defaut:
 O! qu'incertain est l'ordre de là haut!

Then he says:

Mais que diray-je à Cesar? ô l'horreur
 Qui sortira de l'estrange fureur!
 Que dira-il de mourir sans blessure
 En telle sorte?

The following three lines are simply a résumé of Plutarch:

Est-ce point par morsure
 De quelque Aspic? auroit-ce point esté
 Quelque venin secrettement porté?

The preceding recital is taken from the story of Cleopatra's last hours and death as told by Plutarch in Chapter CVIII of the "Vie de Marc Antoine": "Après avoir fait telles lamentations et qu'elle eut couronné le tumbeau de bouquets, festons, et chapeaux de fleurs, et qu'elle commanda qu'on luy apprestast un baing: puis quand elle se fut baignée et lavée, elle se meit à table, où elle fut servie magnifiquement. Et de pendant qu'elle elle disnoit, il arriva un paisan des champs qui apportoit un panier: les gardes luy demanderent incontinent, que c'estoit qu'il portoit leans: il ouvrit son panier, et osta les feuilles de figuier qui estoyent dessus, et leur monstra que c'estoyent des figues. Ilz furent tous esmerveillez de la beauté et grosseur de ce fruict.

Le paisan se prit à rire, et leur dit qu'ilz en pris-
sent s'ilz voulegant: ilz creurent qu'il dist vray, et
luy dirent qu'il les portast leans. Apres que Cleopatra
eut unes tablettes escrittes et seelées, et commanda
que tous les autres sortissent des sepultures ou elle
estoit, fors ses deux femmes: puis elle ferma les portes.
Incontinent que Caesar eut ouvert ces tablettes, et
eut commence à y lire des lamentations et supplications
par lesquelles elle le requeroit qu'il voulust la faire
inhumer avec Antonius, il entendit soudain, que d'estoit
à dire: et y cuida aller luy mesme: toutesfois il envoya
premierement devant en diligencé voir que c'estoit. La
mort fut fort soudaine: car ceulx Caesar y envoya, accour-
urent à grande haste, et trouverent les gardes qui ne
se doubtoyent de rien, ne s'estans aucunement apperceuz
de ceste mort: mais quand ilz eurent ouvert les portes, ilz
trouverent Cleopatra roide morte couchee sur un lict
d'or, accoustrée de ses habits royaux, et l'une de ses
femmes, celle qui avoit nom Iras, morte aussi a ses
pieds: l'autre Charmion à demy morte et ja tremblante,
qui luy raccoustroit le diademe qu'elle portoit alen-
tour de la teste: il y eut quelqu'un qui luy dit en
courroux, "Cela est il beau, Charmion?" "Très beau,"
repondit elle, et convenable à une dame extraitte de

la race de tant de roys." Elle ne dit jamais autre chose, ains chent en la place toute morte pres du liét.

CIX. Aucuns disent qu'on luy apporta l'aspic dedans ce panier avec les figues, et qu'elle l'avoit ainsi commande qu'on les cachast de feuilles de figuier, à fin que quand elle penseroit prendre des figues, le serpent la picquast et mordist, sans que elle l'apperceut, premiere: mais que quand elle voulut oster les feuilles pour prendre du fruit elle l'apperceut, et dit, es tu doncques icy? Et qu'elle luy tendit le bras tout nud pour se faire mordre. Les autres disent qu'elle le gardoit dedans une buye, et qu'elle le provoqua et irrita avec un fuseau d'or, tellement que le serpent courroucé, sortit de grande raideur, et luy picqua le bras: mais il n'y a personne qui en sache rien à la verité. Car on dit mesme qu'elle avoit du poison caché dedans une petite rape ou estrille creuse qu'elle portoit entre ses cheveux et toutesfois il se ne leva nulle tache sur son corps, ne n'y eut aucune apparence ne sigae qu'elle fust empoisonnée: ny aussi d'autre costé ne trouva lon jamais dedans le sepulchre ce serpent, seulement dit on que lon en vit quelque fray et quelque trace sur le bord de la mer la ou regardoit ce sepulchre, mesmement du costé des portes. Aucuns disent que lon appercent deux picqueures en

l'une de ses bras fort petites, et qui n'apparaissoyent quasi point: à quoy il semble que Caesar luy mesme adjousta foy, pource qu'en son triumphe il feist porter l'image de Cleopatra qu'un aspic mordoit au bras. Voila comme lon dit qu'il en alla. Quant a Caesar, combien qu'il fust fort marry de la mort de ceste femme, si eut il en admiration la grandeur et noblesse de son courage et commanda que lon inhumast royalement et magnifiquement son corps avec celui d'Antonius, et voulut aussi que ses femmes eussent pareillement honorables funeraillies. Cleopatra mourut en l'age de trente et huit ans apres en avoir regné vingt et deux et gouverné avec Antonius plus de ⁽⁹⁹⁾ quartorze."

Thus, according to Plutarch, was ended the life of perhaps the most renowned queen of all history, a queen, who, during her reign, embodied all that her name implies--the "fame of her fatherland."

Act V of Daniel's play deviates slightly from the Plutarch text and the Jodelle play in that the first scene, which is between Dolabella and his messenger Titius, is purely the product of Daniel's imagination. Dolabella has sent Titius to Cleopatra with a letter concerning Caesar's plan. The scene opens after Titius has returned and is beginning to recount all that Cleopatra had said. She is grateful that Dolabella is inter-

ested in helping her out of her situation, but as for her love, she can love no more, for her heart is in the grave. Dolabella, she says,

Was worthy then to have beene lov'd,
Of Cleopatra whiles her glory lasted.

Now Cleopatra needs pity, rather than love.

Titius then continues to tell how, as he was leaving the monument he met Cleopatra's messenger on the way to Caesar with a letter. This servant reported that Cleopatra had ordered her dinner served in sumptuous state, while she herself appeared with her costliest ornaments and jewels. Having dined, she wrote a letter and sent it to Caesar, and commanded that all should leave the Tomb save "her two maides and one poore country man." Dolabella is sure that all this preparation was for a second interview with Caesar, a last attempt to make use of her charms to gain his mercy.

In Scene 2, Act V, the Nuntius says that he has come to announce the strangest death, "which selfe hand did upon himselfe inferre." The chorus asks if Egypt has not already seen the "worst of our calamity". What distress could possibly remain? Then the chorus asks if Cleopatra is gone?

What fled to India, to goe find her sonne.

Nuntius replies:

No, not to India, but to find her sonne.

Nuntius continues in a lengthy monologue of two hundred and sixty two lines to relate the circumstances of the queen's death, how she had ordered him to bring her two asps in a basket of figs, and how:

Being thus conjur'd by her t'whom I had vow'd
My true perpetuall service, forth I went,
Devising how my close attempt to shrowde,
So that there might no art my art prevent.
And so disguis'd in habite as you see,
Having found out the thing for which I went,
I soon return'd againe, and brought with me
The Aspikes, in a basket closely pent:
Which I had filled with Figges, and leaves
upon.

And coming to the guard that kept the doore,
What hast thou there? said they and lookt
thereon.

Seeing the figges, they deem'd of nothing more,
But said, they were the fairest they had seene.
Tast some, said I, for they are good and
pleessant.

No, no, saidd they, goe beare them to thy Queene,
Thinking me some poore man that brought a pres-
ent.

Well, in I went, where brighter than the Sunne,
Glittering in all her pompeous rich aray,
Great Cleopatra sate, as if sh' had wonne
Caesar, and all the world beside, this day:
Even as she was when on thy cristall streames,
Cleare Cydnos, she did shew what earth could
shew,

When Asia all amaz'd in wonder deemes
Venus from heaven was come on earth below.

The above four lines are an allusion to Chapter XXXI of Plutarch, concerning the first meeting of Antony and Cleopatra, when he sent for her to come to Cilicia to

answer such accusations as were brought against her. She arrived in such a sumptuous state that she amazed the people: "Parquoy, combien qu'elle fust mandée par plusieurs lettres, tant d'Antonius mesme que de ses amis, elle en fait si peu de compte, et se moqua tant de luy, qu'elle n'en daigna autrement s'avancer, sinon que de se mettre sur le fleuve. Cydnus dedans un bateau dont la poupe estoit d'or, les voiles de pourpre, les rames d'argent, que lon manioit au son et à la cadence d'une musique de flustes, hautbois, cythres, violes et autres telz instruments dont on jouoit dedans. Et au reste, quant à sa personne elle estoit couchée dessous un pavillon d'or tissu, vestue et accoustrée toute en la sorte que lon peint ordinairement Venus, et aupres d'elle d'un costé et d'autre de beaux petits enfans habillez ne plus ne moins que les peintres ont accoustumé de peindre les Amours, avec des esventaux en leurs mains, dont ilz l'esventoyent. Ses femmes et damoiselles semblablement, les plus belles estoient habillées en nymphes nereides, qui sont les fées des eaux, et comme les graces, les unes appuyées sur le timon, les autres sur les chables et cordages du bateau, duquel il sortoit de merveilleusement douces et souefves odeurs de parfums, qui remplissoyent deça et dela les rives toutes couvertes de monde innombrable: car les uns accompagnoyent le bateau le long

de la riviere, les autres accouroient de la ville pour
voir que c'estoit, et sortit d'une si grande foule de
peuple, que finalement Antonius estant sur la place
en son siege imperial à donner audience, y demoura tout
seul, et courroit une voix par les bouches du commun po-
pulaire, que c'estoit la deesse Venus, laquelle venoit
jouer chez le dieu Bacchus pour le bien universal de
toute l'Asie." ⁽⁹⁷⁾

Then Nuntius in his speech, he continues:

Even as she went at first to meete her love,
So goes she now againe to finde him.
But that first, did her greatnes only prove,
This last her love, that could not live
behind him.
Yet as she sate, the doubt of my good speed,
Detracts much from the sweetnes of her looke;
Cheere-marrer Care, did then such passions
breed,
That made her eye bewray the griefe she tooke.
But she no sooner sees me in the place,
But strait her sorrow clouded brow she cleares,
Lightning a smile from out a stormy face,
Which all her tempest-beaten senses cheeres.

Nuntius then compares Cleopatra's joy on seeing the asp
to that of a "strai'd perplexed traveller,

When chasd by thieves, and even at point of
taking.
Descrying suddenly some towne not far,
Or some unlookt for aide to him-ward making;
Cheeres up his tyred sprites, thrusts forth
his strength
To meet that good that comes in so good houre.

Cleopatra then, according to Nuntius, yields to a poet-
ical outburst in praise of the asp,

O rarest beast that Affrick breedes,
How dearly welcome art thou unto me?
The fairest creature that faire Nylus
feedes

Me thinkes I see, in now beholding thee.
 What though the ever-erring world doth
 deeme
 That angered Nature fram'd thee but in spight?
 Little they know what they so light esteeme,
 That never learn'd the wonder of thy might.
 Better than Death, Death's office thousandis-
 chargest,
 That with one gentle touch canst free our
 breath:
 And in pleasing sleepe our soule inlargest,
 Making our selves not privy to our death.

Then "she bares her arm, and offer makes

To touch her death, yet at the touch with-
 drawes,
 And seeming more to speake, occasion takes,
 Willing to die, and willing too to pause.

She meditates on death and finally decides that she loses
 but little when she loses her life. With that thought
 she receives the poisonous sting and then resumes her
 reflecting:

Well, now this worke is done (saith she) here
 ends
 This act of Life, that part the Fates assign'd;
 What glory or disgrace here this world lends,
 Both have I had, and both I leave behind.
 And now O earth, the Theater where I
 Have acted this, witnessse I die unforst;
 Witness my soule parts free to Antony,
 And now prowde tyrant Caesar doe thy worst.

The Nuntius says that Cleopatra commenced to grow weak,
 and with a smile on her face, she seemed to show that
 she scorned both death and Caesar.

Wonder it was to see how soone she went!
 She went with such a will, and did so haste
 it,
 That sure I thinke she did her paine prevent,
 Fore-going paine, or staying not to taste it.

And sencelesse, in her sinking down she wryes
 The Diademe which on her head she wore:
 Which Charmium (poore weake feeble maid) espies,
 And hastes to right it as it was before.
 For Eras now was dead, and Charmion too
 Even at the point, for both would immitate
 Their Mistresse glory, striving like to doo.
 But Charmion would in this exceed her mate,
 For she would have this honour to be last,
 That should adorne that head that must be seene
 To weare a Crowne in death, that life held fast,
 That all the world may know she dide a Queene.
 And as she stood, setting it fityly on,
 Loe, in rush Caesar's messengers in hast,
 Thinking to have prevented what was done
 But yet they came too late, for all was past.
 For there they found strecht on a bed of gold,
 Dead Cleopatra; and that proudly dead,
 In all the rich attire procure she could;
 And dying Charmion trimming of her head,
 And Eras at her feete, dead in like case.
 Charmion, is this well done? sayd one of them.
 Yea, well sayd she, and her that from the race
 Of so great Kings descends, doth best become.
 And with that word, yields to her faithfull
 breath,

To passe th'assurance of her love with death.

The chorus asks how Caesar learned of her plan, to which
 Nuntius replies:

By Letteres which before to him she sent
 For when she had procur'd this meanes to die,
 She writes, and earnestly intreates, she might
 Be buried in one Tombe with Antony.
 Whereby then Caesar ges'd all went not right.
 And forthwith sends; yet ere the message came
 She was dispatcht, he crost in his intent;
 Her providence had ordred so the same,
 That she was sure none should her plot prevent.

The two plays, then, follow closely the story of
 Cleopatra's last hours as given in the "Vie de Marc
 Antoine" of Plutarch. In development of scenes and

characters each dramatist has to a certain extent used his own imagination and originality. Jodelle, perhaps more than Daniel, has introduced the events of Antony's past life, bringing them clearly before our eyes, but Daniel has balanced this by his original scenes: first scene 1 of Act III, between Philostratus and Arius, then scene 1, Act IV, between Seleucus and Rodon. Caesar's speech on the supremacy of the spirit at the beginning of Act II is Daniel's invention as is likewise that of Nuntius in the last act, where he pictures the great queen just before her death. This, perhaps, is one of the finest passages of the whole play. The contrast that Daniel draws between Cleopatra's former glory and splendor when she went to meet Antony at the Cydnus for the first time, and her present condition, is sufficient proof that Daniel was endowed with the soul of a true poet. The idea as well as the lines themselves are extremely artistic.

Jodelle, too, has shown much imagination in his work for he has manipulated the biographical material with ingenuity. Scene 1 of Act I opens with the "ombre d'Antoine," which addresses Cleopatra in rather strong language. Originality is shown in Scene 2, for, "when the heroine first appears she is engaged in conversation which she has begun with her handmaidens before her entrance. This vivid device was familiar to Shakespeare.

But before he made trial of it, it had lost the air of novelty which it enjoyed at Jodelle's hand.⁽⁹²⁾"

In the second act of his play, Jodelle has remained truer to Plutarch than has Daniel by mentioning the scenes where Octavien mourns Antony's death, and where Agrippe tells of the prognostications concerning his fall.

The third, fourth, and fifth acts of each play follow Plutarch closely with the exception of certain passages which have already been discussed.

However, in Act V Jodelle and Daniel have each interpreted the original Greek text according to his own fancy. Daniel, in his play represents the asp story as an absolute fact, while Jodelle remains more faithful to Plutarch's version when he leaves the cause of Cleopatra's death a conjecture. Both plays are similar in that the death, according to the precepts of Seneca, is not depicted on the stage, but recited--in the French play by Proculée, and in the English play by a Nuntius, one of the stock characters of Senecan tragedy.

Chapter V

Dramatic Theory and General Aspects of the Drama in the Sixteenth Century

Modern French tragedy as it is known today had its beginning during the later years of the French Renaissance. It was the direct result of the revived interest in the humanities. As Sir Sidney Lee has stated it in his book, The French Renaissance in England, French tragedy, which blossomed in the last epoch of the French Renaissance, was the child of Greek and Latin parents, and grew up under the tutelage of classical scholarship. (93) "

The French theater had been fully organized during the Middle Ages, and had fostered the development of various genres--"mystères," "moralités," "farces," "soties," of which the "moralité" more nearly approached the new tragedy. "The main difference between Renaissance tragedy and the old "moralité" therefore, was one of form--granting the adoption also of the Greek or Latin subject. The plot was now divided into acts instead of "journées," to agree with Horace; the occasions for lyrical verse were increased through the use of monologues, descriptions, and choruses, modeled on the ancients; above all, attention was given to stylistic expression, and when a tragedy was acted--though few sixteenth-century tragedies were--an elaborate Renaissance setting was the rule. (94) Thomas Sebillet in 1548 says, though somewhat erroneously, in an attempt to compare the new

classical tragedy with medieval drama, in his "Art Poétique": "La moralité françoise represente en quelquechose la tragedie grecque ou latine, singulierement en ce qu'elle traite sujets graves et principaux. Et si lesFrançois s'estoit rangé à ce que la fin de la moralité fust toujours triste et douloureuse, la moralité seroit tragedie." Later on Lazare de Baïf, after translating plays of Euripides and Sophocles, insists on the tragic ending, defining tragedy as: "une moralité composée des grandes calamitez, meurtres et adversitez survenues aux nobles et excellents personnages... comme Oedipus qui se creva les yeux apres qu'il lui fust déclaré comme il avoit eu des enfants de sa propre mere, apres avoir tué son pere."⁽⁹⁵⁾

Thus it is quite evident that French tragedy had its roots in the old "moralité," as far as ^{the} lyrical element is concerned, but that some impetus was needed to effect the creation of a new genre. Egger tells us that: "c'est en 1548 que Th. Sibilet résume, dans son "Art Poétique," les règles de l'ancienne poésie française et laisse voir déjà quelque ambition de la relever par l'imitation des anciens; et lui-même, en 1549, il donne l'exemple de "tourner du grec en français l'Iphigénie d'Euripides, qui fut bientôt suivie (1550) de deux traductions de l'Hécube, l'une

par Bouchetel et l'autre par Lazare de Bâff." ⁽⁹⁶⁾ However, it was not until the brotherhood of the Pléiade had formulated their national plea for a literary reformation that there arose in France the novel and revolutionary conception of original tragedy and original comedy in the French language, on a regular classical pattern. That conception was first defined by Du Bellay's manifesto of 1549. Du Bellay peremptorily bade Frenchmen banish farces and moralities and put in their place true tragedies and comedies which should re-create in the native tongue the archetypes of Greece: ⁽⁹⁷⁾

"Quant aux Comedies et Tragedies, si les Roys et les republiques les voulaient restituer en leur ancienne dignite qu' ont usurpée les Farces et Moralitez, jo seroy' bien d'opinion que tu t' y employasses, et si tu le veux faire pour l'ornement de ta langue, tu ⁽⁹⁸⁾ sçais ou tu en dois trouver les Archetypes."

Jodelle's Cléopâtre captive is considered by practically all French dramatic critics as the first modern French tragedy based on classic forms and rules. Its structure perhaps will be better understood by a glance at the history of the dramatic theory of the Renaissance.

It is to Italy, the cradle of the Renaissance, that we must turn for the beginnings of a poetic and dramatic theory. The scholar, Trissino, who, according to

M. Breitinger, "le premier sut charpenter une tragédie classique (Sofonisba, écrite aux environs de 1515) se trouve être le premier qui ait doté son pays d'une théorie de l'art littéraire. Son livre est intitulé: La Poetica, Divisioni quattro . . . C'est dans ce supplément de 1563 que se trouvent imprimés pour la première fois les chapitres sur la tragédie et la comédie." (99)

Torquato Tasso in his Discorsi dell 'Arte poetica praises it thus: "Je les estime beaucoup, parce que Trissino fut le premier qui nous donna quelques lumières sur la manière suivie des Grecs, et qui enrichit notre langue de nobles compositions." (100)

Trissino patterned his work on that of the Greek classic writers, especially Aristotle. According to Breitinger "les chapitres de son livre consacrés au poème dramatique ne sont guère autre chose qu'une paraphrase quelquefois littérale de la poétique d'Aristote." Concerning the unity of time Aristotle says in comparing tragedy to the epic poem (Poet. V. 8). "Qu'en outre la tragédie se distingue de l'épopée par la durée de l'action, en ce que la première cherche, autant que possible, à borner son action à un seul tour de soleil, ou du moins à ne pas le dépasser de beaucoup; quoique antérieurement la tragédie à cet égard ait joui de la même liberté que l'épopée." (101)

The paraphrase of Trissino continues thus: "Encore dans la longueur la tragédie diffère de l'épopée, en ce que la première se termine en une seule journée, c'est-à-dire en un seul tour du soleil ou peu de plus, tandis que l'épopée n' a pas un temps limité, comme cela se faisait à l'origine même pour la tragédie et pour la comédie, et se fait encore aujourd'hui par les poètes ignorants." (102)

The "art poétique" of Muzio appeared in Venice in 1551 and the only passage where Muzio speaks of the drama is in fol. 73: "J'aime le style des dernières comédies de l'Arioste. Mon ami Vergerio réussit plus d'une fois à intéresser le spectateur pendant deux soirées au moyen d'une seule et même fable. Cinq et cinq actes formaient les incidents de deux journées, et le cinquième acte de la première partie, en suspendant la fable en même temps que l'impatience des spectateurs, termina la première représentation. Le public, tout préoccupé de sa jouissance, s' y retrouva le lendemain, avide des émotions d'une seconde soirée, se portant en foule vers tous les fauteuils, dans l'impatience de connaître le dénouement et de voir lever le rideau." Muzio adds that the comic poet is permitted to invent his subject matter, but not the tragic poet.

The Poetica di Antonio Minturno of 1563 makes

mention of the unity of time on page 71: "Qui bien considère les œuvres des auteurs anciens les plus renommés, trouvera que la matière des pièces de théâtre se termine en un jour ou ne dépasse pas l'espace de deux ⁽¹⁶³⁾ jours."

In France, at this time, too, the Pléiade aided in stimulating an interest in the humanities. Imitate antiquity--was the cry of these first literary theorists of the French Renaissance. Aristotle was chosen by the new school as a guide for, as Egger says: "Il excelle en cette fonction de précepteur par la rigueur de son esprit et par son merveilleux talent pour les définitions et les formules," ⁽⁴¹⁾ and Faguet adds: "si les premiers critiques dramatiques français se sont rangés d'abord aux théories d'Aristote, je crois qu'on pourrait dire que c'est parce qu'Aristote est, en vérité, le premier en date des critiques dramatiques français. Les Français ont trouvé chez lui réduite en règles d'art leurs secrètes inclinations, et n'ont presque appris avec lui qu' à se rendre un compte exact de leur pensée propre." ⁽⁴²⁾

Ronsard himself, in the Préface to the Franciade, insists on strict observance of the unity of time and on regard for Aristotle's rules. "Dans cette préface de la Franciade . . . on rencontre quelques traces

évidentes de la doctrine aristotélique . . . C'est l'unité de temps qui apparaît, presque pour la première fois, en toute la rigueur que lui ont donnée les Français, c'est-à-dire beaucoup plus stricte que dans Aristote . . . d'autant qu'elles (les tragédies et les comédies) sont bornées et limitées de peu d'espace, c'est-à-dire d'un jour entier. Et Ronsard insiste sur ce point, et pour plus de précision, conseille de ne pas dépasser le laps de temps qui va d'une minute ^(11^h 15) à la minute suivante."

Perhaps the most important work on literary theory at this time was the "Poétique" of Jules-César Scaliger which appeared at Lyons in 1561. He speaks of the method of composing tragedies as follows (III, 97): "La tragédie ressemble à l'épopée, mais elle diffère de celle-ci, parce que rarement elle admet des personnes de basse condition, comme seroient les messagers, les marchands, les matelots, etc. Mais dans les comédies il n' y a jamais de rois, sauf en quelques unes. Les matières tragiques sont grandioses, terribles, ordres des rois, carnages, désespairs, pendaisons, exils, perte des parents, parricides, incestes, incendies, batailles, aveuglements, pleurs, hurlements, lamentations, cadavres, épitaphes, et chants funebres." ⁽¹¹⁷⁾

After citing this passage Breitinger makes the

interesting commentary that "dans la Biographie générale de Hoefer-Didot, à l'article Jules-César Scaliger je trouve cette remarque que la poétique dont je viens de traduire deux passages, a beaucoup contribué à formuler la théorie des unités." However Scaliger has not repeated Aristotle's rule on the duration of the tragic action. He mentions it merely when he discusses the "vraisemblance exigée par les spectateurs. Voici le passage (III, 97): "Quant aux matières elles-mêmes, il faut les arranger selon le principe de la vraisemblance . . . Car la besogne de la scène tragique s'achevant en six ou huit heures, il n'est pas vraisemblable qu'une tempête, qu'un naufrage au milieu de la mer soient choses possibles."

It is in this final passage of Scaliger that we find for the first time "la tentative de renchérir sur le soi-disant précepte d'Aristote et d'identifier tout simplement la durée de l'action et celle de la représentation."

Such was this early conception of the Greek unities. As Breitinger says; "tout le monde parle de l'unité de temps parce qu'Aristote, le parrain spirituel de toutes les poétiques composées à cette époque, avait mentionné cette unité comme une chose usuelle sur le théâtre de sa nation. On déduit de sa remarque

purement historique un précepte, une loi, une règle enfin. Mais personne ne parle de l'unité de lieu, personne du moins ne songe encore à l'ériger en pendant de la première, à la formuler parallèlement à celle-ci. Pourquoi? Par la simple raison qu'Aristote n' en parle pas non plus.⁽¹¹⁵⁾"

Quadrio, in his book Della Storia et della Ragione d'ogni poesia has devoted several chapters to the unity of place: "cette unité, dit-il, est reconnue aujourd'hui, bien qu'Aristote n'en ait point parlé."⁽¹¹⁶⁾

Aristotle insisted on the one rule of unity of action. It remained for the early Renaissance dramatists of both Italy and France to evolve from this main rule of unity of action, the secondary principles of unity of time and place, and these latter are most certainly dependent on the former, if one follows Regal's reasoning in "Le Théâtre français avant la période classique": "Qu'est-ce que l'unité d'action, telle que la comprenaient nos classiques? C'est l'obligation de faire de la tragédie une crise, de ne mettre, dans une pièce qu'un fait important, qui forme le dénouement, et que les préparations de ce fait, qui remplissent les premiers actes. Une telle unité s'accorde avec celles du lieu et du temps, dont elle est la conséquence presque nécessaire. Le mot peut paraître

singulier, car loiquement c'est à l'unité d'action, la seule nécessaire, qu'il appartenait d'être le principe des autres. Mais je crois bien que l'ordre fut interverti chez nous. Peut-être pourrait-on le soutenir même pour Racine. 'La simplicité d'action, qu'il considère comme essentielle à la tragédie, semble être à ses yeux une conséquence de l'unité de temps'".

"In 1572 the new creed was embodied by the French dramatist, Jean de la Taille, one of Jodelle's disciples, in the critical edict: "Il faut tousjours représenter l'histoire on le jeu en un mesme jour, en un mesme temps, et en un mesme lieu."

These rules established themselves as necessary in the composition of French classical tragedy, and whatever may have been the vicissitudes of the unities during the Renaissance they had rooted themselves firmly by 1674 when Boileau wrote these famous lines of the "Art Poétique":

Que le lieu de la scène y soit fixe et
marqué.

Un rimeur, sans péril, delà les Pyrénées,
Sur la scène en un jour renferme des années:
La souvent le héros d'un spectacle grossier,
Enfant au premier acte est barbon au dernier,
Mais nous, que la raison à ses règles engage,
Nous voulons, qu'avec art l'action se ménage:
Qu'en un lieu, qu'en un jour, un seul fait
accompli

Tienne jusqu' à la fin le théâtre rempli.

However, a more definite influence appeared during the sixteenth century, reinforcing that of Aristotle and the Greek classical writers, that of Seneca. His tragedy, modeled as it was on that of the Greek dramatists, still carries on the classical influence, with the added advantage of being composed in Latin, the predominating language of the period. Petit de Julleville says that "Sénèque le Tragique était, parmi les anciens, le seul que Jodelle et ses successeurs eussent vraiment bien étudié, bien compris, malgré la prétention qu'ils affichaient d'entendre à merveille Sophocle et Euripide. Il est naturellement le tragique favori des novices, des commençants avec ses beautés tout en saillie et en relief, sa déclamation, ses sentences." ⁽¹¹⁶⁾

"Senecan irrelevance of chorus, Senecan melodrama, Senecan ghosts and stock characters, Senecan rhetoric and epigram, are inherited by Rome from Euripides, as they were handed on by Seneca in turn to the Renaissance." ⁽¹¹⁷⁾ J.W. Cunliffe in his "Influence of Seneca on the Elizabethan Tragedy" gives a clear and concise discussion of Seneca's five contributions to sixteenth century drama--division into five acts, the chorus, use

of the unities, introduction of certain stock characters, and use of the supernatural. Taking up the most important, the rule of the five acts, he says: "the most obvious way in which Seneca affected the modern drama was in external form. From Seneca the European drama . . . received the five acts which have become the rule of the modern stage. In the Greek drama the number of ἐπεισόδια was variable; the division into five acts was apparently established by Varro, and is noted by Horace in the "Ars Poetica" as a rule to be strictly observed; but it was the example of Seneca that governed the modern stage."⁽¹¹⁵⁾

As to the importance of the chorus, Scaliger, in his "Poetics," notes that "the function of the chorus is manifold. Sometimes it bewails; it also blames, predicts, expresses wonder, passes judgment, admonishes, learns that it may teach, make choices, hopes, and doubts. In a word its special function is to delineate character and express emotion."⁽¹¹⁶⁾

"Dr. Karl Böhm, in the six early tragedies that he has examined, notes a considerable increase in the lyric and a decrease in the dramatic elements as compared with Seneca; and a table prepared by Dr. John Ashby Lester shows that this lyric tendency was continued up to the end of the sixteenth century; in five of Garnier's

tragedies the chorus is from one-sixth to one-fourth
 (127)
 of the play."

In France, "au début, on mit des chœurs sans se soucier d'autre chose parce qu'il y en avait chez les anciens." The Cléopâtre and the Didon se sacrifiant of Jodelle, the Porcie and Cornélie of Garnier, and the David Combattant of Desmases all bear witness to the prominence of the chorus. "It was perhaps in obedience to the precept of Aristotle (Poetics, c. 18) that Jodelle emphasized and developed the part of the chorus; in his play it is an integral part of the whole and shares in the action. The result is to give French Renaissance tragedy the predominating lyrical character which no one who has studied it has failed to notice." Faguet says: "On pourrait presque dire que la tragédie du XVI^e siècle est une œuvre lyrique; car c'est toujours la partie lyrique qui en est la partie plus soignée et souvent qui en est la meilleure."
 (127)

Although in England the chorus is found in the earlier tragedies, it usually did not make itself popular. "The choric element, which survives in Shakespearian drama in a modified form, seems to reflect influences issuing from the classical reaction of his day in his own country,--a reaction which flowed directly from Garnier's predominance in the French

Of certain stock characters, which, found in Seneca, finally became practically indispensable to classical tragedy of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Cunliffe says: "In addition to the messenger, Seneca bestowed upon English tragedy other stock characters-- the confidential nurse, full of counsel and consolation; her male counterpart, the faithful servant; and the cruel tyrant, with his ambitious schemes and maxims of rules." ⁽¹³²⁾ But the most important inheritance in this respect was the Ghost, ⁽¹³³⁾ which, as Symonds says, "had a long and brilliant career."

"The French tragedians of the sixteenth century, who drew their inspiration in part from Seneca, and in part from Seneca's Italian imitators, soon came to recognize the dramatic value of the ghost. Prefixed to the Cléopâtre (1552) of Etienne Jodelle, is a lengthy prologue delivered by the ghost of Mark Antony, and conceived in the orthodox Senecan ⁽¹³⁴⁾ manner."

Last, but not least, in the legacy of Seneca to sixteenth century tragedy is the use of the supernatural. Sophocles and Euripides rely less than Aeschylus upon the supernatural and it is left for Seneca to develop the impressive effects of supernatural appearances and devices, and bequeath them to the modern stage. Lanson gives as one of the characteristics of early Renaissance tragedies "utilité et usage habituel de

pressentiments, songes, et visions, ombres, Mègère, furies, voyants, prophètes: moyens de créer la crainte dès le début, ou de la renouveler si elle s'⁽¹²⁷⁾apaise."

"It is seldom the gods of the upper air whom he brings on the scene; the atmosphere he loves to breathe is that of the world below . . . Lethe, Cocytus, Styx, Acheron, and Phlegethon are Seneca's best loved streams; Tantalus, Ixion, and Sisyphus his favourite characters."⁽¹³⁰⁾

Later dramatists worked out some of these suggestions found in Seneca: "Juliet is inspired with strength to take the sleeping potion by a like vision to that which appeared to Medea in her moment of weakness."⁽¹³¹⁾ Besides ghosts and Furies, two other supernatural devices, later used in Macbeth were employed by Seneca--witchcraft and oracles.

The influence of Seneca on drama did not end with sixteenth century tragedy, for its abiding results "we find chiefly in the stage traditions which have come to our own day. Seneca's five acts are still with us, and we have a curious survival from the classical drama in the operatic chorus. Our conception of tragedy still leads us to expect deeds of violence and blood, vividly presented in highly wrought scenes and weighted with well-expressed thought."⁽¹³²⁾

Chapter VI

Comparison of Treatment.

A

Structure

Taking as a basis the five points discussed in a previous chapter of this thesis as constituting the inheritance of Seneca in modern drama, a comparison will now be made of the structure of these plays. First of all the rule of the five acts, the prime bequest of Seneca to Elizabethan and all modern tragedy, has been strictly observed. The prologue and dedication of each play merit comment. Jodelle's Cléopâtre captive is preceded by what he terms a prologue to King Henry II, begging him to accept the play as homage to his greatness. At the same time the author, perhaps in imitation of the "prologus" of the medieval "mystere," discloses the nature of the subject matter:

O'est une Tragedie--
 Qui d'une voix et plaintive et hardie
 Te represente un Romain, Marc Antoine,
 Et Cleopatre, Egyptienne Roine:
 Laquelle apres qu'Antoine son ami
 Estant desja vaincu par l'ennemi,
 Se fust tué ja se sentant captive,
 Et qu'on vouloit la porter toute vive
 En un triomphe avecques ses deux femmes,
 S'occit.

Jodelle has called this dedication to Henry II a prologue, which is a somewhat misleading term, for, if one compares the speech of the "ombre d'Antoine" in Act I, scene 1, to some of the opening monologues of Seneca's

tragedies, it can readily be seen that the ghost gives the prologue to the play. In Seneca's Agamemnon the prologue is made by the ghost of Thyestes, who recites the "motif" of the play: how he had been most foully dealt with by Agamemnon's father, Atreus, and how he had been promised revenge by the oracle of Apollo through his son Aegisthus. The prologue of this ghost (Thyestes) has its counterpart in Greek tragedy, in the Agamemnon of Aeschylus, where it is given by a watchman on the palace roof, who sees the light that announces Agamemnon's return. In Seneca's Thyestes the ghost of Tantalus similarly appears in the prologue. Thus it is evident that the "ombre d'Antoine" and its speech form the true prologue to the play, if one compares them to Seneca's. Furthermore the fact that the "ombre", like Thyestes, recalls past wrongs and injuries is another proof of Senecan influence. Juno, at the beginning of Hercules Furens reviews former events and her hatred for her stepson, Hercules. In Medea the play opens with Medea invoking all the powers of heaven and hell in punishment of her false lord, Jason.

Daniel's play has no such ghostly prologue, but the dedication to the Countess of Pembroke, preceding his Cleopatra is analagous to the Jodelle "prologue"

to King Henry II. He assures us of his immortality as a poet, and of the Countess's as a result of his dedication, but unlike Jodelle, he leaves the subject matter of the play unannounced. The reason for this may be found in the argument, similar to those that precede many of the early Greek tragedies, that sums up briefly and concisely the plot of the play.

The ghost's prologue in Jodelle's first act may be said to have its counterpart in the nine page monologue wherein Daniel's Cleopatra bewails her misfortune. This, with a chorus of Egyptians forms the first act of the English play. Two separate scenes plus a "choeur" make up Act I of the French tragedy. Scene 1 is devoted to the aforementioned long monologue of the "ombre d'Antoine." In the second scene Cléopâtre tells her handmaidens Eras and Charmium that she has seen Antoine in a "pitoyable songe" and that she must join him in death. The "choeur de femmes Alexandrines," in a chant occupying more than one third of the act, sing of the inconstancy of fortune in regard to human happiness. Daniel's chorus of Egyptians first tells of the torment of mind and conscience of the one who has sinned, then of Cleopatra, who now well realizes her wrongdoing. There is a hint in the following lines of the fickleness

of fortune, which forms the theme for the *Jodelle*
 "choeur":

Thus much beguiled have
 Poore unconsiderate wights,
 These momentary pleasures,
 fugitive delights.

Mr. Uplam in his "French Influence in England" gives the following interesting commentary on the length of these choruses as compared with those found in Seneca. "While the chorus in Seneca averages almost one fourth of the play, that of the early English group never exceeds one sixteenth of the whole, though the French and the later English plays again follow Seneca closely. The same cleavage occurs in the matter of verse form in the choruses; the first English group, like the early English translations from Seneca, exhibiting the simplest kind of verse with regular rhyme scheme, while the French and later English plays follow Seneca himself in the use of lyric metres, and display intricate rhyme schemes, developing in complexity from *Jodelle* to Alexander." ¹³²~~(134)~~ Exception to this is found in the dramas of Fulke Greville. "On the other hand the later English group follows the French series in a definite departure from the custom found in Seneca and the early English specimens of using the chorus merely as an ideal spectator moralizing upon the action. It shares rather in

the development of the play though sometimes to a very limited extent." ⁽¹³³⁾ ~~(140)~~

The comparatively short Act II of Daniel's play is again made up of but a single scene between Octavius Caesar and Proculeius, who discuss the fate of Cleopatra and the advisability of taking her to Rome to adorn Caesar's triumph. This is followed, as in Act I, by a chorus. Act II of the French play likewise includes but one scene between Octavien and Proculee with the addition of the character of Agrippe and is concerned with the causes of Antoine's downfall, and, as in Daniel's play, Cléopâtre's fate. The chorus of this act of the French play is striking in that it is in the Pindaric form of strophe, antistrophe, and constitutes practically one half of the whole act. The "chorus" laments the evils of human pride:

De la Terre humble et basse,
 Esclave de ses cieux,
 Le peu puissant espace
 N'a rien plus vicieux
 Que l'orgueil, qu'on voit estre
 Hay du ciel, son maistre.

The punishments meted out by the gods to Prométhée nailed to a rock, and to Icare burned by the sun are cited as shining examples of the reward for the excess of pride. Daniel's chorus, five stanzas in length, deploras the evils of ambition which draws us on to that which has no end. Antony

Can say by prooffe of toyle,
Ambition is a vulture vile,
That feedes upon the heart of pride.

Nor does Opinion leave us alone. It now persuades
Cleopatra

how she shall gaine
Honour by death and fame attaine.

Jodelle's third act again consists of a single scene of moderate length, between Octavien, Cleopatre, Seleuque and the chœur. Cléopâtre begs for mercy for herself and her children. Octavien reproaches her for her conduct towards Octavie. Then comes Seleuque's betrayal of his queen. It is interesting to note that here the chants of the "chœur" are interspersed throughout the act. It condoles first with Seleuque on his fall from favor, and then, at the end of the act, laments fortune's vicissitudes and presages Cléopâtre's end. In this final chant is introduced the episode of the philosopher Arius.

Daniel's third act is made up of two separate scenes. The first, between Philostratus and Arius, is original, and the second, between Caesar, Seleucus, and Cleopatra, with the addition of Dolabella, is analogous to the whole third act of Jodelle's play. The same points are introduced: the pleading for mercy, the reproaches, the betrayal of the queen. All are in

Jodelle with the exception of the episode of Dolabella smitten by the charms of Cleopatra. The chorus again sings of the inconstancy of fortune and

how the powers of heaven doe play
With travailed mortality.

In Jodelle's fourth act, consisting of a single scene with lamentations of the "choeur" again interspersed throughout the act, Cleopatra explains that she longs for death, and has dissembled with Octavien in order to protect her children. After paying the last rites to Antony she will die. The most notable parts of this act are the lyrical monologues of the queen and her ladies-in-waiting, which will be discussed under Jodelle's style. A "final chant of the Choeur" in the Pindaric form of strophe, antistrophe, telling of the forthcoming death of the queen, closes the act.

Act IV of the English tragedy includes two scenes, the first, purely the product of Daniel's imagination, takes place between Seleucus and Rodon, who bewail their fall from favor. The reader ^{has} the feeling in this scene that he is receiving a moral lecture from Daniel's pen on the evils of "over-vaulting ambition." Cleopatra in the long ninety-eight line monologue of scene 2, says farewell to Antony. In this speech is found the interesting commentary on immortality, which has already been

discussed. The Chorus terminates the act moralizing on the downfall of Egypt and its direct cause, Cleopatra. The following passage on the changes demanded by natural laws and the government of kings, is worth noting. Egypt was not destined to remain ever great and powerful, for:

The course of things requireth change and
alteration ever!
That same continuance man desireth,
Wh' inconstant world yeldeth never.
We in our counsels must be blinded,
And not see what doth import us;
And often-times the things least minded
is the thing that most must hurt us.
Yet they that have the stern in guiding,
tis their fault that should prevent it;
For oft they seeing their country sliding,
take their ease, as though contented,
We imitate the greater powres,
The Princes manners fashion ours.

Jodelle's final act of one comparatively brief scene, consists of a recital by Proculée of the circumstances of Cleopatra's death. The "chœur" laments with him and concludes the play with the observation that:

Souvent nos maux font nos morts desirables,
Vous le voyez en ces trois miserables.

Two scenes followed by a chorus constitute the fifth act of Daniel's play, which is considerably longer than that of Jodelle. Scene 1 merely describes Cleopatra's faithfulness to Antony, and Scene 2 is the recital by Nuntius of the queen's death which has taken

place between acts. The chorus bewails Egypt's wretched condition and the misfortune fallen on the Egyptian people.

The traits of the new type of tragedy appeared for the first time in France in the Cléopâtre captive of Jodelle. After the rule of the five acts separated by a chorus, the three unities next demand consideration. As H. Ferdinand Gohin says "On peut du moins en reconnaître les traits généraux et extérieurs, et comme une image dans la Cléopâtre". Throughout the play Jodelle has imitated the ancients. "Il a emprunté son sujet à l'antiquité classique, il a concentré l'intérêt sur un seul personnage autour duquel les autres--en petit nombre--ne jouent qu' un rôle d'interlocuteurs; la pièce est divisée en cinq actes pour que soit marquée et graduée aux yeux des spectateurs la succession des événements; l'action suit une marche simple, directe, rapide, s'accomplit en un même lieu commence et s'achève en quelques heures; ce n'est pas une des moindres curiosités de cette première tragédie que d'offrir déjà réalisées les unités qui susciteront tant de querelles au siècle suivant."

M. Jusserand in ^{his} Literary History of the English People, assures us that Daniel fashioned his play so

that it would conform to the unities. "Daniel composed after Seneca's recipe a Cleopatra beginning with a monologue which filled the whole of Act I, and ending with a messenger's report nine pages long. In the same way as Jodelle in his Cléopâtre captive, he was obliged on account of the unities to begin his tragedy very near the catastrophe and to dilute, in his five acts, matter considered by Shakespeare insufficient for one: the first scene of the first act both in Daniel and Jodelle corresponds to Scene 2 of Act V in Shakespeare." ⁽¹¹⁾

Sainte-Beuve, enlightens us further as to the general character of the structure of the early French tragedy. He says "que si maintenant l'on dégage la tragédie de tout cet appareil poétique, ou si l'on veut, de tout cet attirail pédantesque; si on l'estime en elle-même et à sa propre valeur, que ce soit une Cléopâtre, une Didon, une Médée, un Agamemnon, un César, voici ce que l'on y remarque constamment: nulle invention dans les caractères, les situations et la conduite de la pièce: une reproduction scrupuleuse, une contrefaçon parfaite des formes grecques; l'action simple, les personnages peu nombreux, des actes fort courts, composés d'une ou deux scènes et entremêlés de chœurs; la poésie lyrique de ces chœurs bien supérieure à celle ^{du} dialogue, les unités de temps et de

lieu observées moins, en vue de l'art que par un effet
 de l'imitation.⁽¹³⁷⁾"

In each play the unity of action, insisted upon by Aristotle is automatically realised. The action, or what little action there is, centers around one main character, Cleopatra. A series of catastrophes, each one greater than the last and adding to the misery of the unhappy queen leads up to the final supreme action of the fifth act--her death, which is not presented on the stage, but related, in Daniel's play by a Nuntius, in Jodelle's play by Proculée. The tragedy in reality is but the representation of a "fait tragique," which is le "le spectacle d'une misère extrême, atroce, inhumaine, d'une grande victime écrasée par la fortune ou par la cruauté d'un tyran."⁽¹³⁸⁾ As M. René Dornic states it: "la tragédie ne s'occupe pas encore d'étudier les passions."⁽¹³⁹⁾

Unity of time, the second rule derived from Aristotle's "Poetics" is as strictly observed in each play as is the unity of action. "In Cléopâtre and in most of the French tragedies of which that piece was the progenitor, unity of time was acknowledged to be as binding an obligation as unity of action. Jodelle contrived to develop his tragic episode within the time which was occupied in the presentation of the

of the drama." Darmesteter and Hatzfeld in "Le Seizième Siècle en France" state emphatically that in the Cléopâtre captive "pour la première fois paraît l'unité des temps."⁽¹⁴⁷⁾

M. Petit de Jullville says concerning this unity that "entre le jour naturel et le jour artificiel, dont on discutait si c'était l'un ou l'autre qu'avait indiqué Aristote, Jodelle a choisi le jour naturel pour se mettre un peu plus à la gêne, et il n'accorde guère à son action qu'une douzaine d'heures"⁽¹⁴⁸⁾ and Jodelle himself assures us that he will observe this rule, for Scene 1 of Act I contains a formal allusion to the unity of time. The "ombre D'Antoine" says that:

Avant que ce soleil, qui vient ores de naître,
Ayant tracé son jour chez sa tante se plonge,
Cleopatre mourra.

The "ombre d'Antoine," evidently in the very early morning appears to Cleopatra in a dream and requires her death:

Je me suis, ore en songe
A ses yeux présenté, lgy commandant de faire
L'honneur à mon sepulchre et apres se deffaire.

Daniel's tragedy, following the same outline as does Jodelle's, adheres closely to the unity of time, although no definite mention of time is made in the play itself. "Daniel, in his determination not to violate the unities, confines himself to the last hours of Cleopatra's life;

and rather than disturb the ceremonious decorum of his art, he introduces a Messenger who relates in polished phrases how she has died.⁽¹⁴⁷⁾"

Unity of place, the third law derived from Aristotle, was not binding for Jodelle. He observed strictly enough the unities of action and time, but he, like many of his successors, transgressed the new law of unity of place by an occasional transference of the scene. This was very possible according to M. Lanson, who gives the following interesting remarks on the elasticity of this law: "le poète français fait venir sur la scène les personnages dont il a besoin: il n' a pas souci de préciser le lieu. Tantôt il l'indique, quand sa source l'y invite, ou que la nécessité l' y force; mais souvent il ne l'indique pas."⁽¹⁵⁰⁾

"Assez souvent le sujet suppose une pluralité de lieux," and Lanson cites Jodelle's Cléopâtre captive as a play of this type. Then he adds that "une certaine pluralité de lieux est permise par le décor classique de Vitruve, tel que Serlio l'interprète."⁽¹⁵¹⁾

Jodelle himself makes no mention of where this tragedy is supposed to take place, but M. Rigal in his study of the "mise en scène" of the early French tragedies says that Jodelle may have obeyed one of

two tendencies of the period: "ou bien, habitué à voir les mystères et les moralités joués sur une scène aux mansions multiples, il a, d'instinct, disposé son oeuvre pour une scène analogue, ou bien, guidé par l'unité ordinaire des tragédies antiques, sentant vaguement le lien logique qui unissait la règle, non encore formulée, de l'unité, de lieu à la règle par lui appliquée de l'unité de temps, et surtout désireux, comme tous les révolutionnaires, de prendre le contre-pied de ce qui se faisait avant lui, il a plus ou moins heureusement enfermé son action dans un lieu unique." (145)

Whichever of these two tendencies Jodelle followed, M. Rigal attempts to explain. He makes a brief analysis of the play as has already been done. (cf. p. 2). Then he says that: "il n'est certes pas vraisemblable qu'Octavien révèle ses secrets à ses lieutenants là même où Cléopâtre révèle les siens à ses confidentes; il l'est moins encore que le "clos des Tombeaux" où se trouve la tombe d'Antoine touche à la salle où se tient d'ordinaire la reine; enfin, quand la reine a frappé Selenque et que celui-ci s'enfuit, le choceur lui demande où il va, montrant ainsi qu'il ignore tout ce qui vient de se passer, et nous faisant supposer qu'il y a un au milieu du troisième acte un changement de lieu:

(Le choeur) Où couvrez, vous Seleuque, ou couvrez-vous?

(Seleuque) Je cours, fuyant l'enversime courroux
 - Mais quel courroux? hé Dieu, si nous en sommes!
 - Je ne fuy pas ny Cesar ny ses hommes.
 - Qu' y a t il donc que peut plus la fortune?
 - Il n' y a rien, sinon l'offense d'une.
 - Auroit on bien nostre Roine blessés?
 - Non, non, mais i' ay nostre Roine offensés.
 - Quel malheur donc à cause ton offensé?
 - Que sert ma faute, on bien mon innocence?
 - Mais dy le nous, dy, il ne nuira rien.
 - Dit, il n'apporte a la ville aucun bien
 Mais tant y a que tu as gaigne l'hâis.

M. Rigal claims that if the play were brought to the stage today there would be four different settings, representing: "1.° l'appartement de Cléopâtre, 2.° une salle (pour la scène dont nous venons de parler) contiguë à cot appartement, 3.° une salle, au palais ou ailleurs, où s'est installé Octavien, et 4.° un lieu funèbre".

The scene of Act II is also a question. "Après le conciliabule que tiennent, à l'acte II, Octavien, Agrippe et Proculâe, le choeur disserte sur le sujet qui a été le plus abordé par eux, les malheurs que cause l'orgueil: il assiste donc à ce conciliabule. En tout état de cause, la chose est bizarre, puisque ce choeur est composé de femmes alexandrines, mais elle est plus que bizarre, elle est impossible, si les chefs romains sont dans un compartiment spécial de la scène, ce qui équivant, dans nos idées, à être dans une salle

particulière où les femmes alexandrines ne pourraient
 pénétrer." ⁽¹⁵⁷⁾

In Act IV Cléopâtre and her "confidentes" announce that they are going to see "le clos des Sepulchres" to perform the last rites for Antoine, "Que sejourmons nous donc", chants the chorus, -"Suivons nostre maistresse." Eras answers with these words:

"Suivre vous ne pouvez, sans suivre la destresse." The chorus, then, remains content to express its sentiments on Cléopâtre's misfortune. Rigal says that "on pourrait croire que, pendant ce temps, la reine a changé de compartiment, ce qui équivant pour nous à changer de lieu. Mais voici que le choeur s'accuse lui-même d'indiscrétion et met fin à ses chants:

Je la Roine se couche
 Pres du tombeau.
 Elle ouvre ja sa bouche:
 Sus donc tout beau.

"Et aussitôt Cléopâtre prend la parole. La reine n'est donc pas dans un lieu distinct de celui où se tient le choeur, elle est à une extrémité de ce même lieu. Elle s' y tient tant qu'elle n' a que des plaintes à exhiler; et lorsqu'elle a des cérémonies à accomplir qui ne peuvent plus se faire près du tombeau, mais sur le tombeau, elle disparaît. Vois-la, dit le choeur,

Voila pleurant elle entre en ce clos des
 tombeaux,

Rien ne voyent de tel les tournoyans
flambeaux. (148)

Then these lamentations:

Est-il (dit Eras) si ferme esprit, qui
presque ne s'envole
Au piteux escouter de si triste parole?

Cléopâtre reappears and goes out while the chorus resumes its chants.

Act III is "embarrassant" according to M. Rigal. In the beginning the chorus is present at the interview of Octavien and Cléopâtre; at the end it questions Séleuque, in a scene which has already been quoted; and l'on est donc tenté d'admettre qu' après avoir promis à César de lui "deceler tout l'or l'argent, les biens, qu'elle tient en thresor," la reine a entraîné Octavien dans un lieu particulier où ses tresors sont en effet, enfermés. Malheureusement, après la promesse de la reine, le choeur n' a que le temps de prononcér seize vers de cinq syllabes jusqu' à ce qu' Octavien s'écrie:

T' ample thresor, l'ancienne richesse
Que vous nommez, tesmoigne la hautesse
De vostre race,

et que Séleuque replique:

Comment peux-tu ce thresor estimer,
Que ma Princesse a voulu te nommer?
Enides tu bien, si accuser je l'ose,
Que son thresor tienne si peu de choses?

Si Octavien s'est transporté lui-même dans un lieu

spécial et y a examiné les richesses de Cléopâtre, vraiment il a été expéditif, et, de plus, comment le public, puisqu' on a mis sous ses yeux la salle aux trésors, n' a-t-il pas été mis au courant de ce qui s'y faisait? et enfin, pourquoi Octavien et Séleuque ne disent-ils nulle part que la reine a montré ses richesses, mais qu'elle les a nommées?

L' ample trésor, l'ancienne richesse
Que vous nommez . . .

dit Octavien;

Comment peux-tu ce trésor estimer,
Que ma Princesse a voulu te nommer?

reprënd Séleuque. Ou bien, pendant que le choeur prononçait ces seize petits vers, Cléopâtre, sans quitter la scène, a parlé bas à Octavien, ou bien, plus probablement, elle a, comme dans Plutarque, remis au Romain un mémoire, que celui-ci a eu le temps de parcourir. Ainsi tout l'acte III se passe dans un même lieu, et, si le choeur n' a pas vu les coups reçus par Séleuque, c'est que le choeur--on plutôt Jodelle--a été distrait.

Dès lors, que représentait la scène à l'Hôtel de Reims le jour où fut jouée la Cléopâtre? un lieu vague, un vestibule, "une place entourée de façades" peut-être, avec, tout au plus, un tombeau peint à une de ses extrémités. Au collège de Boncour, il est même probable que la scène ne représentait rien du tout, mais était

fermée par des ¹⁵⁴tapis aux trois côtés qui ne regardaient pas le spectateur." (157)

Petit de Julleville is of the same opinion concerning the indefiniteness of the unity of place. He says that Jodelle leaves the action "constamment dans le même palais, celui de Cléopâtre, et dans le même endroit-- vague, il est vrai, et indéterminé--⁽¹⁵⁸⁾de ce palais."

Such was the unity of place as conceived by Jodelle. The scene is vague, to be sure, and we are constantly in the dark as to the exact location of the characters; but perhaps this vagueness was but a means to the observance of the unity itself. Since Jodelle was not a powerful dramatist, and French tragedy was still in its infancy as regards composition, indefiniteness of place probably seemed an easy way out of a rather difficult situation.

Daniel disposes of the unity of place by saying, before naming his characters "the scene supposed Alexandria." Even without this statement there are but a few possible changes of scene throughout the play, and these within the city itself.

In Act I, Cleopatra gives her long monologue in the monument. Act II presupposes a change of scene, since it is hardly possible that Caesar and Proculus should discuss the queen's fate in her presence. Act

III must have two changes of setting, since scene 1 is a philosophical conversation between Philostratus and Arius, at which no one else is present; scene 2 is the interview of Octavius with Cleopatra, which takes place in the monument. The episode of Cleopatra giving up her riches to Caesar, discussed by Rigal, offers no room for doubt in the English play. No character leaves the stage; Cleopatra, as in Plutarch's story, hands Caesar a note with the list of the treasure:

And here I do present thee with the note
Of all the treasure, all the jewels rare.

Act IV again presupposes a change of scene, for at the beginning Seleucus and Rodon bewail their unhappy situation. This conversation naturally would not take place in Cleopatra's monument or palace, for both servants have betrayed the queen, and now await Caesar's decision concerning their fate. Scene 2 represents Cleopatra in the act of leaving the monument for Antony's tomb. Caesar has granted her permission to perform the last rites for Antony:

But having leave, I must goe take my leave
And last farewell of my dead Antony:
Whose dearely honour'd tombe must here
 receive
This sacrifice the last before I die.

Scene 1 of Act V, evidently takes place outside the queen's monument between Dolabella and Titius, who relates to his master the result of his interview

with the queen. At the end of the scene Dolabella says:

But now I goe to be thy advocate,
Sweet Cleopatra, now I'll use mine arte.

Thus the stage is cleared for the immediate arrival of Hantius who relates to the people the circumstances of the queen's death.

Like Jodelle's therefore, Daniel's interpretation observes the unity of place with "the scene supposed Alexandria". Considering the unities in a general way Daniel and Jodelle have probably adhered as strictly to them as did the old Greek dramatists.

The relation of the "chœur" and the unity of place is a question. In many of the older plays the "chœur" was bound to the action. But in the plays of Jodelle and Daniel the "chœur" seems to express the "moralité" and lamentations. This is especially true of the English play, whereas Jodelle's play gives instances where the "chœur" takes part in the action. These passages are found at the close of Acts III, IV, and V.

Jodelle, influenced by Seneca, also introduced the use of the supernatural, an explanation of which has already been given. The Roman dramatist's favorites are found in the lower regions, and we find in Jodelle, too, that when Cleopatra in Act IV, speaks, she says that

it is better

De servir à Pluton qu' à Cesar.

Besides the "ombre d'Antoine" Jodelle does mention the "sœurs eschevelees" or Furies, and he relates in Act II the various prognostications concerning Antony's downfall, which are supernatural indeed:

Ne voit on pas Pisaure l'ancienne
 Prognostiquer la perte Antonienne,
 Qui de soldats Antoniens armee
 Fust engloutie et dans terre abyssée?
 Ne voit on pas dedans Albe une image
 Suer longtemps?

And Jodelle adds a few signs of his own invention, not found in Plutarch, but common enough perhaps during the Middle Ages:

Puis maintes voix fatalement oriées,
 Tant de gessiers, et tant d'autres
 merveilles,
 Tant de corbesux, et senestres cor-
 neilles,
 Tant de sommets rompus et mis en
 poudre,
 Que monstroient ils que ta future
 foudre,
 Qui ce rocher devoit ainsi combattre?

Daniel has omitted the recital of these prognostications, as well as the use of the ghost and "pitoyable songe," differing in this respect from Jodelle and Seneca, and adhering perhaps more closely to Sophocles and Euripides.

Seneca's influence then, is apparent in these plays, in the five acts, the three unities, the use of the chorus, the introduction of certain stock characters, and ,

in addition, in the French play the use of the supernatural. Seneca was chosen as the model for these dramatists and to him and his tenets they remained true as far as was in their power to do so.

B

Characters.

The characters as given by Plutarch have not been altered to any great extent by Jodelle and Daniel. Cleopatra, Octavius, and Proculeius appear to us practically in their original state as given in the Greek text, since the early Renaissance dramatists, for whom form and composition were of paramount importance, troubled themselves very little with delineation of character. "Imagination créatrice, peinture de caractères, invention en un mot, voilà ce qu'il n' y faut pas chercher." But although this is the case with Jodelle and to a lesser extent with Daniel, the plays lose very little for the chief character. Cleopatra, irresistible and dark-browed as Egypt herself, will always preserve throughout the ages a certain mysterious charm.

"The queen who ends the dynasty of the Ptolemies has been the star of poets, a malign star shedding a baleful light, from Horace and Propertius down to Victor Hugo; and it is not to poets only that her name has come to be synonymous with all that one can conceive of the

subtlety of beauty. Before the thought of Cleopatra every man is an Antony, Shakespeare no less than another. The very name calls up everything that one has read or thought or known of the "world well lost," the giving up of all for love, the supreme surrender into the hands of Lilith, and the inevitable ⁽¹⁶³⁾ penalty."

In the story of Antony and Cleopatra "we see the golden glamour of oriental splendour, the witchery of an unstable and fickle love, and the unsatisfying bitterness of sensuous self-destruction. Behind all its beauty, and the glow and colour, the tragic gloom of a decaying empire lies along the horizon. It is the tragedy of fascination without affection, and without a heart for love; the Tragedy of a queenly state ruined by lust. In it we see the failure of the worship of pleasure, the loss of judgement, the secret of enervation of a mighty people, and finally, the despair of satiation, which leaves emptiness, and the ashes of a spent fire. In it we look with awful eyes, on gaunt ⁽¹⁶³⁾ Despair at bay."

But Cleopatra, that curiously perverse charmer, what was she like? Plutarch said that "Her charm entered into men's very souls," and Horace thanked the gods for delivering the earth from that "Fatale Monstrum." Physical beauty alone could not have so ensnared and deprived of reason such warriors as Caesar and Antony,

brave, indefatigable, honourable men, who fell at her feet, forgetting duty, honour, the very memory of their country, for love of her.

Plutarch attempts to explain this indefinable charm and fascination of Cleopatra: "Sa beaulté seule, à ce que lon dit, n'estoit point si incomparable, qu'il n' y en penst bien avoir d'aussi belles comme elle, ny telle, qu'elle ravist incontinent ceulx qui la regardoyent: mais sa conversation à la hauteur en estoit si aimable, qu' il estoit impossible d'en eviter la prise, & avec sa beauté, la bonne grace qu'elle avoit à deviser, la douceur & gentillesse de son naturel, qui assaisonnait tout ce qu'elle disoit ou faisoit, estoit un aiguillon qui poignoit au vif: & si y avoit outre cela grand plaisir au son de sa voix seulement & à sa prononciation, pource que sa langue estoit comme un instrument de musique à plusieurs jeux et plusieurs registres, qu' elle tournoit aisément en tel langage, comme il luy plaisoit, tellement qu' elle parloit à peu de nations barbares par truchement, ains leur rendoit par elle mesme response." ⁽¹⁵⁴⁾

Hers was a rare intellect indeed, which made her every word of interest, "her incomparable, magnetic charm, which banished ennui and held her listeners enthralled; her ardent passionate nature; these have made

her peerless among the fascinators of the world, Circe, Delilah, Heloise, Yseult, Carmen, Sirens, or Walkyries--living women, or creatures of the poet's fancy--all the enchantresses who have driven men to madness have had the one gift in common, that of arousing passion, stirring emotion, fanning the flame of love." ⁽¹²³⁾

In reality Cleopatra probably was not by nature the unique character that history depicts. She possessed unusual intelligence, it is true, but what is really important is that Cleopatra knew how to use to the utmost advantage the talent that was hers. "If she stands above all others it is because she possessed an a higher degree that sovereign gift that transforms the dullness of every-day life and creates an atmosphere of rose and gold." ⁽¹²⁴⁾

"History shows her as crafty, diplomatic, frivolous, generous; capable of horrible cruelties; coveting the whole world; a prey to ambition, yet flinging it all away for the sake of her lover's kiss." ⁽¹²⁵⁾ She was clever, and hers was a wily nature to the very end. Even when a captive with her country completely in the hands of the conqueror, she tries to parley with Octavius and to trick him, too. In Act III of Jodelle's play she suddenly turns from accusing Antony as the

cause of Egypt's downfall to blaming herself. Nothing better can serve to illustrate the shrewd nature, which, like a drowning man, snatches at a last means to save itself from a death that it knows to be inevitable:

Ore, Cesar, chetive je m'accuse
 En m'excusant de ma premiere excuse,
 Rocognaissant que ta seule pitié
 Peut donner bride a ton inimitié,
 Qui ja pour moi tellement se commande,
 Que tu ne veux de moy faire une offrande
 Aux Dieux ombreux, ny des enfans aussi
 Que j' ai tourné en ces entrailles ci
 De ce peu donc de mon pouvoir reste
 Je rens, je rens grace à ta majesté
 Et pour donner à Cesar tesmoignage,
 Que je suis sienne et le suis de courage,
 Je veux, Cesar, te deceler tout l'or,
 L'argent, les biens, que je tiens en
 thresor.

This should appear to Caesar the supreme sacrifice and complete proof that she is conquered, but unfortunately Seleneque, Cléopâtre's treasurer, like most weak, subservient creatures, attempts to gain the favor of the conqueror by informing him that she has reserved the best part of the treasure. This betrayal affords Cleopatra the opportunity to do something wholly out of keeping with her regal bearing. She cuffs the "faux meurrier," the "faux traistre," and promises that "arraché sera le poil de ta teste cruelle;"--also she would like to "froisser

Du poing tes os, et tes flancs crevasser
 A coups de pied.

The picture of this great queen thus chastising her ser-

vant is indeed extraordinary and is one of the striking differences between Daniel's and Jodelle's interpretations of this rare character.

Where Jodelle's Cléopâtre descends in this scene to a low level, Daniel's queen preserves throughout her royal bearing:

What, vile ungratefull wretsh, dar'st thou,
 controule
 The Queene and soveraigne, caitle as thou
 art?

During the whole play Daniel "well preserves the dignity of his heroine in her sorrow: her grief is never otherwise than queen-like, and her department overawes the insolence of her adversaries. Perhaps the most pathetic passage of the play is the following, and yet it is rather a philosophic observation than an appeal to the heart--Cleopatra is speaking--

Ah Caesar, see how easy 'tis t' accuse
 Whom fortune hath made faulty by their
 fall. (166)-

The Cleopatras of both plays are, first of all, queens; they have suffered misfortune and are preserving their regal attitude in the face of an inevitable fate. But if closer examination is made, one discovers Daniel's queen to be the nobler character and it can safely be said that this is true, not through the

farewell:

Let Egypt now give peace unto you dead,
That living, gave you trouble and tur-
moile.

Sleepe quiet in this ever-lasting bed,
In forraine land preferr'd before your
soile.

Antony's love deserves immediate sacrifice:

No Antony, thy love requireth more:
A lingring death, with thee deserves
no merite,
I must my selfe force open wide a dore
To let out life and so unhouse my
spirit.

The English queen also shows herself a more profound character in her manner of reflecting and philosophizing on life and death. She meditates in her farewell to Antony on immortality. That in this soliloquy the author here questions the existence of an after life is worthy of note, for it proves that Daniel is a thinker and a philosopher. Jodelle allowed the ghost of Antony to return in a dream to Cleopatra, but Daniel was not sure whether or not such a thing were possible:

And O, if that the sp'rits of men remaine
After their bodies, and do never die,
Then heare thy ghost, thy captive spouse
complaine

And be attentive to her misery.
But if that laboursome mortality
Found this sweete error, onely to confine
The curious search of idle vanity,
That would the deapth of darknes undermine:
Or rather, to give rest unto the thought
Of wretched man, with th' after-comming
Of those conceived fields, whereon we dote,
To pacifie the present worlds annoy.
If it be so, why speake I then to th' ayre?

Then Daniel seems to be sure that the spirit remains:

But tis not so, my Antony doth heare:
His ever-living ghost attends my prayer,
And I do know his hovering sprite is neere.

Jodelle's Cléopâtre is perhaps truer to the queen of the Plutarch text in that she is unable to understand the meaning of true affection and faithfulness. In this play we find no Dolabella episode to attest her fidelity. Such a thing would have been impossible for the real Cleopatra.

Besides dignity and a royal attitude the queens of each play have this in common--that the chief regard of each one is to preserve her regal pride so as not to adorn the triumph of Octavius Caesar, which is perhaps the true incentive for Cleopatra's suicide. Egypt, her country, and her children were secondary in importance. Regal pride was primary, for she, who, when she first met Antony at the Cydrus in such sumptuous state that she resembled Venus come to earth, could not endure the humiliation,

That Rome should see my scepter-bearing hands
Behind me bound, and glory in my teares;
That I should passe where Octavia stands,
To view my misery, that purchas'd hers.

The character of Antony plays but a small part in these plays, since both deal with the last hours of Cleopatra's life after Antony's suicide. Garnier's Antoine,

translated into English by the Countess of Pembroke, depicts the life of the Triumvir up to the time of his death. Jodelle's Gleopatre and Daniel's Cleopatra are concerned solely with the queen's fate. The French play, however, introduces the "ombre d'Antoine" at the beginning of Act I. Referring to a passage already quoted, "Antony is not a revenge ghost, but, adopting throughout an elegiac tone, he bewails the misfortunes of the past and foretells new disasters." ⁽¹⁶⁷⁾ The "ombre d'Antoine" gives a recital of the events of the lives of Antony and Cleopatra. Entrance into the spiritual world certainly effected a marvelous change in the soul of the Roman triumvir. He is almost sorry that he presented Cleopatra with numerous kingdoms, that, for her sake, he divorced his wife, Octavienne, and thus incurred the wrath of Rome. He deploras those days of rioting and feasting in Alexandria, when he should have been preparing to battle with Caesar. Throughout the "ombre" uses such harsh language that the reader wonders how Cleopatra, for whom Antony had been as wax in her fingers could at his behest be determined to seek death.

Of the subordinate characters, Octavius plays the role of most importance. Jodelle, in the prologue to his play informs us that not only does he present the "desirs et les flammes des dux amans," but also

d'Octavien aussi
 L'orgueil, l'audace et le journal souci
 De son trophée empourpré de sauriers :

Octavius, plentifully endowed with foresight, and moderation is well able to cope with the charms of Cleopatra. In the French play, Scene 1, Act II, we see an Octavien touched by sorrow, a conqueror whose glories have not yet wholly hardened him:

Qui eust peu croire
 Qu' après l'honneur à'une telle victoire,
 Le deuil, le pleur, le souci, la complainte,
 Mesme à Cesar eust donné telle atteinte,
 Mais je me voy souvent en lieu secret
 Pour Marc Antoine estre en plainte et regret

 Ou veit son corps en sa playe mouillé
 Avoir ce lieu piteusement souillé
 Ha! cher ami!

Then Proculée and Agrippe make jest of his tears and exhort him to hardness:

Poursuy, poursuy jusqu'au bout ta victoire.

If there is any spark of generosity or sympathy in Octavien it is straightway quenched by the counsels of Proculée and Agrippe. Octavien replies:

Ne veux-je donc ma victoire poursuivre
 Et mon trophée au monde faire voire?

and he yields to Agrippe's suggestion that Cleopatra be heavily guarded so that she may not attempt death, and thus foil his plans for the triumph.

Jodelle seems to convey the idea, and a true one, through the conversation of these three characters, that Antony's fall was caused by himself. He does not judge with the same broad humanity as does Plutarch, who never allows us to lose the sense of infinite pity for Antony's ruin, and throughout makes Antony's love for Cleopatra appear no mere human frailty, but a pestilence, a plague, and mischief, sent upon him by the same fate by which it was predestined that the government of the world should fall into Caesar's hands.

Although in the interview with Cleopatra in Act III, Octavius tries to show himself magnanimous and generous, he cannot wholly hide the ruthless, passionless conqueror who is daunted by no obstacle. With his usual prudence he does not allow himself to yield to Cleopatra's charms, and Daniel's Octavius brings this out even more strongly than does Jodelle's. Octavius knows that she has tricked Caesar, Pompey, and Antony, but, he scorns to allow himself to be ensnared, and in Act III, scene 2, reprimands Dolabella for praising the queen's charms and admonishes him to take heed:

Let others fresh examples be thy warning.

Caesar has not been deceived:

Indeed I saw she labour'd to impart
 Here sweetest graces in her saddest cheere;
 Presuming on the face that knew the arte
 To move, with what aspect so e'er it were.

The Agrippe of the Cléopâtre captive is of the same caliber--ruthless, ambitious, and selfish. When Octavien mourns Antony's death, Agrippe wonders that he should weep for one who led an army against the Romans:

Te souvient-il de ceste horrible armee
 Que contre nous il avoit animee?
 Tant de Rois donc qui voulurent le suivre,
 Y venoyent ils pour nous y faire vivre?

 Le Roy Bacchus, le Roy Cilicien,
 Archelaus, Roy Capadocien,
 Et Philadelphie et Adalle de Thrace.

 Voila les pleurs que doit un adversaire
 Apres la mort de son ennemy faire.

And Octavien then calls Agrippe his "Fidelle Achate," promising to follow his counsel.

The character of Seleucus, Cleopatra's treasurer or secretary, appears in both plays. Plutarch gives him but a minor role--that of the traitor who turns on his queen, to gain the favor of the stronger hand. In Jodelle's play Selenque appears only once--in the third act where he discloses to Octavius the queen's hidden treasure. Selenque would indeed receive our utmost contempt and scorn were it not for the fact that he suffers a few pang's of conscience. Here he is truly remorseful, and says to the chorus at the close of Act III:

Veu que la mort n'eust point esté tant dure
 Que l'eternelle et mordante peinture,
 Qui ja desja, jusques au fond me blesse
 D'avoir blessé ma Roine et ma maitresse.

In Daniel's play Seleucus makes two appearances, first, in Act III, scene 2, where he denounces the queen, then in Act IV, scene 1, where he bewails his misfortune to Rodon, tutor to Caesarion. Like all weak, conquered creatures, Seleucus sought the hand of power. But his treason has been of no avail, for how could Caesar be sure of his fidelity when he proved false to Cleopatra? Seleucus, himself, as in the French play, sees his mistake:

For having all the secrets of the Queens
 Reveald to Caesar, to have favour won,
 My treachery is quitted with disgrace,
 Yet Princes in this case
 Doe hate the Traitor, though they love the
 treason.

For how could he imagine I would be
 Faithfull to him, being false unto mine owne.

Two other characters, found in both plays, deserve mention--Eras and Charmium, the ladies-in-waiting or handmaidens to Cleopatra. They are a forerunner of the "confidentes" of the later plays of the seventeenth century, and like the ideal "confidentes" they make the queen's grief their own even consenting to follow her to death. This attitude is characteristic of classical tragedy, and in the eighteenth century we find it satirized by Sheridan in his Critic, where Puff in answer to Sneer's question--"Is the confidante to be mad, too?"--replies: "To be sure she is--the Confidante is always to do what her mistress does--weep when she weeps--smile when she

smiles--go mad when she goes mad."
 (160)
 (168)

When Cleopatra says to her two handmaidens:

Mourons donc, cheres soeurs, ayons plutost
 ce coeur
 De servir a Pluton qu' a Cesar, mon vain-
 queur.

Eras replies:

Pourquoy n'approches-tu, o Parque trop
 tardive?
 Pourquoy veux-tu souffrir ceste bande
 captive?

Charmium is sure that:

L'homme n'est point heureux tant qu'un
 cercueil l'enserre.

The manifestation of such fidelity is indeed refreshing after the treason of Selenque. Cléopâtre had at least two faithful subjects in her hour of need.

In Daniel's play the remaining minor dramatis personae who provide the perspective, fill up the background, and afford the author the opportunity to moralize, are, for the most part elaborated from suggestions in Plutarch. This is true of the two philosophers, Philostratus and Arius, who, though mentioned once or twice in the Greek text, are allowed a whole scene to themselves (Act III, scene 1) in which to discuss Cleopatra's downfall, Egypt's ruin, the struggle for glory, and the love of life. It is equally true of the characters of Rodon, Titius, and Dolabella, who are mentioned but two or three times in Plutarch.

Young Cornelius Dolabella was one of Octavius's officers, who, on seeing the queen weeping and suffering, felt a tender compassion towards her. This scene in Daniel's play is probably added in order to bring out Cleopatra's faithfulness to Antony. Even in her sorrow she won the heart of Dolabella, who could not help performing this service--that of informing her that within three days Caesar would send her to Rome. In the French play he performs the same service, for Charmium says that:

Ce bon Dolabelle, ami de nostre affaire
will aid them.

In Cleopatra Dolabella makes two appearances--first, in Act III, scene 2, where, he is reprimanded by Octavius, then in Act V, scene 1, where Titius, his messenger, relates the result of his interview with Cleopatra. Dolabella at least is generous in his attitude:

Ah sweet distressed Lady, what hard heart
Could chuse but pity thee, and love thee, too?
Thy worthinesse, the state wherein thou art
Requireth both, and both I vow to do.

Rodon, tutor to the young Caesarion, is another character elaborated from Plutarch. Rodon, like Seleucus, was a traitor to his queen: bribed by Caesar's agents, he consented to turn Caesarion over to them. He now awaits the same grim fate that befell Theodor, tutor to Antyllus, Antony's son--that of hanging.

Only too late has Rodon seen the advantages of mediocrity. How much better it would have been

T' have eat the sweet-soure breade of pover-
tie,
And drunke of Nylus streames in Nylus earth?
Under the cov'ring of some quiet Colledge
Free from the wrath of heaven, secure in mind.

Act V, scene 2 of Daniel's play introduces a Nuntius who relates Cleopatra's death. This character with the chorus concludes the dramatis personae of the play.

The Chorus of the English play is worthy of note, for the reason that it represents the common people, the vulgar mob. Thus the reader gains an impression of the condition of affairs among the mass. Daniel is certainly unique in this respect--that already at this early date we see the rights of the common people voiced in literature. Egypt has fallen--a great nation crumbled through the errors of a few:

But is it justice that all we
The innocent poore multitude,
For great men's faults should punished be,
And to destruction thus persude?
O why should th' heavens us include,
Within the compasse of their fall,
Who of themselves procured all?

The chorus of the French tragedy serves no purpose such as that just discussed, but simply expresses the morality and lamentations of the play, taking part in several instances in the action.

The characters then, of the Cléopâtre captive

follow closely those outlined by Plutarch, while in the Cleopatra we discover several original additions in the way of interpretation and extra scenes. Daniel's queen is rendered a more noble character by her misfortune and Arius and Philostratus, the philosophers, Seleucus and Rodon, and especially Dolabella, barely mentioned in Plutarch, have been considerably elaborated upon in the English play. Although sixteenth century playwrights dealt very little with delineation of character, nevertheless Jodelle and Daniel have well preserved the majesty, grandeur and mysterious charm of Cleopatra, as well as the pride, arrogance, and ambition of Octavius.

C

Style

In style, as in structure and composition, these plays bear witness to the influence of the humanistic spirit of the Renaissance. Seneca, in addition to the five acts, unities, stock characters and chorus, is responsible for the classical literary form of these sixteenth century tragedies. From Seneca, Renaissance dramatists in general, and Jodelle and Daniel in particular learned how to "faire alterner monologues et dialogues, stichomythies et couplets, placer les choeurs, degager la leçon de l'action par les moralités senten-

cieuses ou amplifiées, composer un personnage par une collection de discours philosophiques ou pathétiques en rapport avec le rang et les accidents de fortune." ⁽¹⁶⁸⁾

Or, as Cunliffe expresses it in a more detailed explanation: "without regular dramatic development by action and character, the tragedies of Seneca are filled up with elaborate descriptions, sententious dialogues, and reflective diatribes. Of Seneca's descriptive passages little need be said: they are the forerunners of similar efforts by the Elizabethan dramatists, who excel Seneca as much in descriptive power as they show moderation in the use of it." ⁽¹⁷⁸⁾ "So far as space goes, narrative plays a great part in Seneca's tragedies: but much of it is mere padding: far more characteristic of Seneca are the reflective passages and the dialogue, which is highly finished in form and often heavily weighted with philosophic thought. Stichomythia is very common in Seneca's tragedies, and sometimes every line is a moral maxim or a commonplace of philosophy. English playwrights very soon began to imitate Seneca's brilliant performances in this respect. The restraint found in Senecan tragedies also is typical of these plays, and it is curious to note how, in dealing with such a story as that of Cleopatra, it manifests itself to such a degree as to render the action practically nil.

Thus the lyric element is given ample opportunity to dominate.

Long monologues, and final recitals, resembling those found in Seneca, make up the larger part of these plays. In Jodelle's Cléopâtre we find in scene 1, Act I, the lengthy introductory prologue of the "ombre d'Antoine"; in scene 2, Act I, Cléopâtre's monologue; Octavien's and Cléopâtre's speeches in Act III; Cleopatre's farewell to Antoine in Act IV; and Proculées "recit final" in Act V. In Daniel's play, Cleopatra's nine-page monologue forms Act I; Arius's reply to Philostratus in Act III, and Rodon's seven page speech to Seleucus in scene 1, Act IV, followed in scene 2 by Cleopatra's farewell to Antony, and Huntius's nine page recital of the queen's death in Act V, are all monologues on the Senecan model. Narration for the most part constitutes the substance of these speeches, as for example in scene 1, Act I, of Cléopâtre captive, the "ombre d'Antoine" reviews the story of the love of Antoine and Cleopatre, and the entire first act of Daniel's play is Cleopatre's recital of the same story.

Reflective passages and philosophic commonplaces, again betraying the influence of Seneca, play an important role in these speeches. In the English tragedy these passages are numerous, as would be expected of a

serious English poet of Daniel's type. Octavius's speech on the supremacy of the mind at the beginning of Act II affords an excellent example, and likewise the lines from Arius's speech in Act III, scene 1, that explain that

Ancient canon of eternall date,
 * * * * *
 That no state can in height of happinesse,
 In th' exaltation of their glory stand.
 But thither once arriv'd, declining lesse,
 Ruine themselves, or fall by others hand.

The passage on immortality in Cleopatra's farewell to Antony (Act IV, Scene 2) also is curious in that it betrays a Daniel who must have been at least touched by a questioning spirit.

The puns and plays upon words found in the English tragedy, and absent from the Cléopâtre captive are one of the most striking differences in style of the two plays. The following examples illustrate this point:

Act IV, Sc. 1	Parting from thee, I part from part of me.
Act IV, Sc. 2	But having leave, I must go take my leave.
Act IV, Sc. 2	This sacrifice to sacrifice my life.
Chorus IV	That our spoyles may spoyle your great- ness.
Act V, Sc. 2	Alas, an error past is past recalling.

Daniel's manner of expression is often unique, and the following examples are worthy of note: in Act IV, scene 1, Rodon wishes he had enjoyed the "sweet-sowre bread of povertie" rather than riches and glory; then

again in Act V, scene 2, Nuntius says that Cleopatra's brow was troubled by "choere-marrer care"; the chorus of Act V gives God the title of "High President of Heaven." Daniel evidences a liking for compounds as does Du Bartas, whose work was very popular with the group of which Daniel was a member. Peculiarities of style, such as those quoted, are evidence of the individuality and literary ability of the writer. With Jodelle, who is neither as finished or polished a poet as Daniel, we do not find such fortunate stylistic expressions, but only too frequently, and abuse of repetition, which becomes monotonous. "Le vide de l'action est loin d'être compensé par le style, qui, en général, est lâche, emphatique, d'une pompe déplacée: pour simuler l'émotion, la passion, l'auteur abuse de la répétition," and the following illustrations are but a few of the many instances of this stylistic fault:

Penseroit doncq Cesar estre du tout vainqueur?
Penseroit doncq Cesar abastardir ce coeur,
 Veux que des tiges vieux ceste rigueur j'herite
 De ne pouvoir ceder qu' à la Parque depite?

La Parque, et non Cesar, aura sus moy le pris,
La Parque, et non Cesar, soulage mes esprits,
La Parque, et non Cesar, triomphera de moy,
La Parque, et non Cesar, finira mon esmoy.

.....
Cesar, Cesar, Cesar, il te servit facile
 De subjuguier ce coeur
Cour je donc, courage, (ô compagnes fatales)

Encore que les maux par ma Roine endurez,
Encore que les cieux contre nous conjurez,
Encore que la terre envers nous courroncée,
Encore que Fortune envers nous insensee,
Encore que d'Ambine une mort miserable,
Encore que la pompe à Cesar desirable,
Encore que l'arrest que nous fismes ensembles
 Qu'il faut qu'une mesme jour aux enfors nous
 assemble,

Eguillonast assez mon esprit courageux etc.,

Ha! mort, ô douce mort, mort seule guarison
 Des esprits oppressez d'une estrange prison,

 T'avons nous fait offense, ô douce et douce
mort?

.
 Mais ou va, dites-moy, dites moy, damoysselles,
Ou va ma Roine ainsî?

The Cléopâtre captive, nevertheless is endowed with some saving graces for, although "les traits pathétiques sont en petit nombre . . . quoique le style ait une allure lyrique plutôt que dramatique, et que la fausse rhétorique domine, toutefois le dialogue vif, coupé, aux répliques heurtées, paraît déjà dans la Cléopâtre."⁽¹⁹²⁾

Comparisons and similes, frequent in Senecan tragedy, are characteristic of these plays. In Daniel there are four close together: in Act IV, scene 2, Cleopatra compares her coming death to

. . . . the long-pent solitary Foule,
 That hath escapt her cage, and found
 her mate.

Then when Nuntius brings the asps Cleopatra is like

. a strai'd perplexed traveller,
 When chased by thieves, and even at point
 of taking,
 Descrying suddenly some towne not far,

Act V
Sc 2

Or some unlookt for aide to him-ward making;
Cheeres up his tyred sprites, thrusts forth
his strength,
To meet that good, that comes in so good houre.

Cleopatra, with the asp, procrastinates like

Act V
Sc 2

. . . . a mother at her sonnes departing
For some farre voyage bent to get him fame,
Doth entertaine him with an ydle parting
And still doth speake, and still speakes
but the same;
Now bids Farewell, and now recalles him
backe
Tels what was told, and bids againe farewell,
And yet againe recalles;

In Act IV of Jodelle's play the chorus compares the
current evils to a hail storm:

La gresle petillante
Dessus les toits
Et qui mesme est nuisante
Au verd des bois,
Contre les vius forceue
En sa fureur,
Et trompe aussi la peine
Du laboureur:
N'estant alors contente
De son effort,
Ne met toute l'attente
Des fruits à mort.
Quand la douleur nous jette
Ce qui nous poind,
Pour un seul sa sagette
Ne blesse point.
Si nostre Roine pleure,
Lequel de nous
Ne pleure point a l'heure?

Stichomythia, or line-for-line moral dialogue,
characteristic of Seneca, and found in these tragedies
perhaps more in evidence in Daniel's play. The follow-
ing speech between Octavius and Proculeius is generously

supplied with moral maxims:

- Caes. Ah, private men sound not the hearts of Princes,
Whose actions oft beare contrary pretences.
- Pro. Why, tis her safetie to come yield to thee.
- Caes. But tis more honour for her to goe free.
- Pro. She may thereby procure her children's good.
- Caes. Princes respect their honour more than their
blood.
- Pro. Can Princes powre dispence with nature then?
- Caes. To be a Prince, is more than be a Man.
- Pro. There's none but have in time perswaded beene.
- Caes. And so might she too, were she not a Queene.
- Pro. Divers respects will force her be reclaim'd.
- Caes. Princes (like Lions) never will be tam'd
A private man may yield and care not how
But greater hearts will break before they bow.

The close of Act III offers another line-for-line moral dialogue:

Plurality of Caesars are not good.

.....
Tis best to quench a spark before it flame.

These moral maxims are good counsel:

- Rodon Neare death he stands, that stands too neare
a crowne.
- Sel. Princes in this case doe hate the Traitor,
though they love the treason.

The Cléopâtre captive in Act I, scene 2, affords a good example of the French dramatist's interpretation of stichomythia:

- Cleo. Que gaignez-vous, hélas! en la parole vaine?
- Eras. Que gaignez-vous, hélas! de vous estre inhumaine?
- Cleo. Mais pourquoy perdez-vous vos peines ocieuses?
- Charm. Mais pourquoy perdez-vous tant de larmes piteuses?
- Cleop. Qu'est-ce qui adviendroit plus horrible à la
vene?
- Eras. Qu'est-ce qui pourroit voir une tout despourveus?

Moral maxims comparable to those of Daniel, are also found

Et tousjours tard un homme se fait sage.

Proculée says that:

Pareille aux dez est nostre chance humaine.

.....

Charmium believes that:

L'homme n'est point heureux tant qu'un cerceuil
l'enserre.

*

In another manner Jodelle gives evidence, more than Daniel, of the influence of the period, for the abundance of mythological allusions found in the Cléopâtre are proof of the further hellanization of the Renaissance. Jodelle and his contemporaries, steeped in classical literature and Greek mythology, could scarcely refrain from generously sprinkling their works with references to the Greek deities and their extraordinary deeds. Thus are accounted for--the Furies, "sœurs echevelées;" Tantale; Jason; les Parques; Icare, burned by the sun; Prométhée, nailed to a rock; Pluton; and Phoebus; these represent only a few of all the mythological names mentioned. But Jodelle, in this respect, is not nearly as difficult as some of his more extreme classical contemporaries, whose works can scarcely be read by the average person without the use of a mythological dictionary. Du Bellay, in his "Défense and Illustration", had preached, imitate antiquity! Copy the subject matter as well as the form of the ancients! And this is just what Jodelle

*jusqu'a ce que

attempted to do. With Daniel, on the other hand, who had no such manifesto to follow, it is curious to note a continuance of medieval allegory in his personifications of Opinion, Desolation, Ambition, Beauty, and "Cheer-marrer Care." Whereas his mythological allusions are rare indeed. Throughout the whole play there are perhaps but three direct classical allusions. In Act I Cleopatra speaks of Antony as her "Atlas, and supporter of her pride"; the chorus of Act III chants on "Fearful-frowning Nemesis," and in Act V, Nuntius recalls Cleopatra's first visit at the Cydnus when all thought

Venus from heaven was come on earth below.

This use of Greek mythology is one of the striking differences between the two plays.

However, Jodelle still shows medieval influence for the allegorical element is not entirely absent. The first antistrophe of the "choeur" of Act II is devoted to a personification of

Orgueil, qui met en poudre
Le rocher trop hautain.

The "choeur" at the end of Act III chants on "L'inconstante fortune", and Cleopatra in Act IV, welcomes death.

Ha! ô douce mort, mort, seule guarison
Des esprits oppressez d'une estrange poison,

but these examples, however, are not in the spirit of true personification.

Concerning the style in general of Jodelle's play,

M. Ferdinand Gohin says that "le succès de la Cléopâtre dépassa de beaucoup sa valeur littéraire. Cette tragédie ne peut être comparée, même de loin, aux chefs-d'œuvre qui plus tard, devaient signaler chaque renouvellement de l'art dramatique. Elle porte des traces nombreuses d'improvisations: le poète n' a pas choisi avec soin ses mots; souvent il les prend et les place au hasard, et l'expression n'est pas toujours correcte. Le style ne manque pas de mouvement, ni de chaleur; mais il manque parfois de netteté, surtout d'éclat et de poésie. Ces faiblesses frappèrent même les contemporains qui applaudirent la pièce. Colletet se fait l'écho de leurs critiques quand il dit: 'Quoique son style fust un peu rude et qu'il n'eust pas toutes les graces et toutes les clartez que l'on eust pu desirer, si est-ce que la nouveante de l'ouvrage pleust infiniment au monde . . .'"

But if Jodelle's play seems amateurish, crude, and unpolished, one must take into consideration that he was an innovator. "Il faut faire la part du temps. Jodelle vivait dans un siècle d'examen, où tout étoit ~~toute-en~~ mis en doute. Il fut novateur. Jamais, dit-il de lui-même dans un chapitre à sa muse,"

Jamais l'opinion ne sera mon collier.

Son style, souvent barbare, est rempli de locutions neuves, hasardées pour la plupart, mais dont quelques

unes ont pris droit de cité."

"Unité et composition exacte, voilà les qualités de ce premier essai dramatique . . . Ne croyez pas pour cela que la pièce soit ennuyeuse. Le poète se retrouve dans le détail, un poète assez vigoureux et qui se crée une langue assez estimable." But unfortunately ⁽¹⁷⁵⁾ Jodelle for all his association with the Pléiade, was an inferior poet, and rare are the lines in which beauty of expression redeems paucity of incident and action. Sometimes, however, he shows movement and warmth:

Penserait donc Cesar etre partout vainqueur?
Penserait donc Cesar abatairdir un coeur?
Vu que de tiges vieux cette rigueur j'herite,
De ne pouvoir ceder qu' à la Parque depite,
La Parque, et non Cesar aura sur moi de prix,

Then a cry from Octavien is vigorous enough:

Non! Non! les plaints cedoront aux rigueurs:
Baignons au sang les armes et les coeurs.

There is imagination in the words in which Cleopatra envisages Antony's love:

Ha! l'orgueil et les ris, la perle detrempee,
La delicate vie effeminant ses forces,
Estoient de nos meilleurs les subtiles amorces.

Raguet asks if the following lines are not in a "nuance juste de mélancolie inquiète et sombre?" ⁽¹⁷⁶⁾ Que vous demande Antoine?' (dans le songe), dit Charmium. Cléopâtre répond:

. . . Qu' à sa tombe je fasse
L'honneur qui liu est deu--Qui encor? Que je
trace
Par ma mort un chemin pour rencontrer son
ombre.
Il me demande encor . . . La basse porte sombre

Est a l'aller ouverte, et au retour fermee.
 Une eternelle nuit doit de ceux estre aimees
 Qui souffrent en ce jour une peine eternelle.

"Cela est de l'elegie", says Faguet, "mais de l'elegie qui n'est pas vulgaire. Le tour en est noble et le sentiment en est juste. Desirerait-on y voir le mouvement d'une passion plus vive et plus forte?" Cleopatra is vehement in her desire for death:

Constanto je suis. Separe je ma sens (d'Antoine),
 Mais separer on ne me peut longtemps:
 La pale mort n'en fera la raison.
 Bientot Pluton m'ouvrira sa maison,
 Ou meme encor l'aiguillon qui ne touche
 Fera rejoindre et ma bouche a sa bouche.

Such verses are worthy of note and it is unfortunate that they are rare with Jodelle, who lacks strength as a lyrical poet. The lyrical element was of prime importance to the tragedians of the sixteenth century, but with Jodelle it is weak. "Il n' a pas l'oreille lyrique. Il fait d'ordinaire sa strophe de quatre vers très courts (trois, quatre, ou cinq pieds). Elle est sautillante et manque d'haleine. Je ne vois pas une des stances qui vaille qu' on la cite." This criticism may be a trifle harsh, for, although in this play, there is the orthodox absence of action, there is lyric fervour in the choruses.

In Daniel, we see a more polished poet, whose ideal is lofty, and whose language is generally pure

and harmonious. Lee says that he abandoned the method of literal translation from the French and brought some original power to reinforce the Countess of Pembroke's aspiration to free Elizabethan drama of the Gothic taint . . . He presented Cleopatra's fate afresh on Garnier's lines, but in English of his own. Daniel brought to the classical revival far richer poetic gifts than Kyd or his noble patroness.⁽¹⁸⁹⁾"

"Despite its impossible rhyme scheme and antediluvian machinery, there are lines in Cleopatra which show how the passages (in Plutarch) that were afterwards to impress themselves on Shakespeare's memory had already touched the imagination of at least one true, if misguided, poet. In the fifth act we find a retrospective allusion to the splendour of Cleopatra's progress up the "river of Cydnus" (cf. Vie de Marc Antonius).

Clear Cydnos, she did show what earth
could show
When Asia all amazed in wonder, seems
Venus from heaven was come on earth below.

And later Charmion's death is described in words, which, in spite of the distortion caused by the necessity of finding rhymes, are not a great deal farther from North's prose than are Shakespeare's own; while Charmion was readjusting the crown on Cleopatra's head:

Loe, in rush Caesar's messengers in haste,
Thinking to leave prevented what was done
But ~~yet~~ they come too late, for all was past

For there they found stretcht out on a bed
of gold,
Dead Cleopatra, and that proudly dead,
In all the rich attire procure she could
And dying Charmion trimming of her head,
And Iras at her feet, dead in like case.
"Charmion, is this well done?" said one
of them.
"Yea, well," said she, "and her that from
the race
Of so great Kings descends, doth best become." ⁽¹⁷⁰⁾
~~(160)~~

Although Daniel in his tragedies has not shown himself a great dramatist, yet his Cleopatra is judged the best of its kind by Tucker Brooke in his Tudor Drama. "Samuel Daniel, the greatest of the regular supporters of the school of Garnier, produced in the Tragedy of Cleopatra the finest play of this type." ⁽¹⁷¹⁾

"As a poet Daniel enjoyed a deserved success, and his later pastorals and mesques added to his well-earned laurels. But neither in these nor in Cleopatra, nor yet in Philotas, his other Senecan play, begun in 1600, can Daniel be pronounced a dramatist. A certain queenly and tragic dignity surrounds the figure of Cleopatra, withdrawn to her tomb and hovering on the brink of an heroic resolution. And unity, tragic decorum, adequacy, at times eloquence of diction, occasional poetic flights and metrical inventiveness in the choruses, all are characteristic of both tragedies." ⁽¹⁷²⁾

Concerning the Cleopatra the Annals of the English Stage says that "this is on the whole a good play, the

merit of it however consists chiefly in the language: it is deficient in action, much being said and little done--even the death of Cleopatra is related by a messenger--this T. begins after the death of Antony-- it seems not to have been acted, and it is very unfit for representation; many of the speeches being of enormous length." ⁽¹⁷³⁾

But the critic adds that "Daniel' tho' very rarely sublime in his poetry, has skill in the pathetic; and his pages are not disgraced by pedantry nor conceit; as he has no obscurities either of style or language, the oblivion he has met with is peculiarly undeserved." ⁽¹⁷⁴⁾
(Headley as quoted in B.D.)

Versification in these plays will not be discussed in detail. Suffice it to say that the versification of Jodelle's first French tragedy is as significant of the future as its loyalty to the unities. Jodelle has often been criticized for his use of two different metres in the Cléopâtre captive, but according to Enguet this was due to "l'incertitude où Jodelle a été sur la question du mètre à employer dans la tragédie. Son premier acte est tout en alexandrins à rimes féminines, les second et troisième, en vers de dix pieds (bien légers pour le genre élégiaque) à rimes féminines et masculines se succédant au hasard, le quatrième en alexandrins, et le cinquième en décasyllabes. Tout cela n'est pas d'un créateur." ⁽¹⁷⁵⁾

Jodelle broke with the "versification ingénieuse et savante des mystères; il n'emploie plus que le vers héroïque du moyen âge, le décasyllabe ou le nouveau vers héroïque, l'alexandrin," whereas "le vers dominant dans les mystères est le vers de huit syllabes." "Jodelle se sert du vers de dix syllabes aux dates II, III, et V, de l'alexandrin aux actes I et IV; ceux-ci sont beaucoup plus dramatiques que les trois autres, et l'auteur sent que l'alexandrin est plus propre à exprimer les grands sentiments." The Didon se sacrifiant written throughout in alexandrines is witness to this final decision of Jodelle. "Les choeurs divisés en strophes et faits pour être chantés présentent suivant les règles de notre ancienne poésie lyrique, l'alternance régulière des rimes masculines et féminines, alternance imposée par des nécessités mélodiques."

In spite of weakness of style and composition apparent in the Cléopâtre captive, the play must not be judged too harshly, for this tragedy was innovation. It must be remembered, too, that Jodelle, other than writing the first modern French tragedy, established the alexandrine as the meter of French tragedy, though he did not submit to the strict rules enforced in the next century. Jodelle's play was, as Faguet has said "an *essai*," while Daniel's play is, as far as versification is

concerned, the product of a master of verse and the English language. That its popularity waned is perhaps not so much the fault of the author, as it might be ascribed to the nature of the English drama itself. "As a dramatic writer, Daniel has been praised for his adherence to the models of antiquity; but whoever attempts this, attempts what has ever been found repugnant to the constitution of the English theatre."
(179)

Conclusion

A close study of the two plays--the Cléopâtre captive of Jodelle and the Cleopatra of Samuel Daniel, reveals several points in common, of which the most outstanding is the historical basis. Each dramatist has been almost painstakingly accurate in following the story of the last hours of Cleopatra's life as given in Plutarch's "Vie de Marcus Antonius," the speeches themselves being often taken verbatim from the original text. However, in touching upon the events of Antony's life Jodelle, more than Daniel, has borrowed from the Plutarch narrative.

Furthermore Jodelle and Daniel have in common their choice of Seneca as a model, in whom they found again the classic sense of form, structure, and unity. This influence was more definite than that of Aristotle and the ancient Greeks: to Seneca's five acts, chorus, use of the unities and the supernatural, and introduction of certain stock characters, they have remained faithful as far as was in their power.

In each play Seneca inspires in the choice of characters, which although taken from Plutarch with very little alteration, are representative of the types found in the Roman dramatist's tragedy. In Cleopatra we see the central figure, overwhelmed by misfortune; in Octavius, the ruthless tyrant; in Eras and Charmium, the ideal

"confidentes," and their male counterparts in Proculeius and Agrippa. Jodelle, unlike Daniel, adds yet another distinctly Senecan character in the "ombre d'Antoine," whereas Daniel, adhering less strictly to his classic model, allows himself some originality when he introduces the roles of Rodon, Seleucus, Philostratus, and Dolabella. Again, in his portrayal of Cleopatre, Jodelle remains truer to the queen of the Plutarch story, while Daniel creates a Cleopatra rendered nobler, more sympathetic and thoughtful by her misfortune. However, each play has preserved the grandeur, majesty, and mysterious charm of the "Queen of Old Nile" as well as the pride and arrogance of Octavius.

In style, each dramatist has permitted himself to be guided, as was to be expected, by the interpretation of the period. Jodelle, following the counsel of the "Défense et illustration de la langue française," has made very frequent use of Greek mythology, while Daniel, guided by no such manifesto, adheres to medieval tradition in his use of personification.

Imitating the Greeks, Jodelle has used the Pindaric form of strophe, antistrophe in his chorus, which taking little part in the action, serves to utter the lamentations of the people and express the moral of the play. Daniel's chorus, neglecting any attempt at classical form, is notable, because even at this early date, it upholds the rights of the common people against the

tyranny of the few.

In choice of words, and stylistic traits, such as puns, plays upon words, and the use of compounds recalling Du Bartas, Daniel displays versatility and original power. Jodelle, on the other hand, by his impetuosity, abuse of repetition, haste, and above all by his intermingling of both alexandrine and decasyllabic shows that his play is that of an amateur, that it is an "essai." The uncertainty of the verse form used in the Cléopâtre is entirely absent from the English play, which is written throughout in alternate rhyming verse. The French dramatist, hasty as he was in all his undertakings, never gives himself the time to revise his work and attain the excellence within his power. Considered as a whole Daniel's work has a certain sweetness and polish, which Jodelle's lacks, while his English, pure and harmonious, is more akin to that of Wordsworth and other moderns than to that of his sixteenth century contemporaries.

Of the two poets, Daniel is the more profound. In his reflective and philosophic passages he shows himself to be a thinker with mature judgment, while Jodelle with his paucity of reflection betrays his youth and inexperience. The Cleopatra impresses the reader as

being the work of one who has lived long enough to have seen, and who had the mind to understand the frailties of human nature.

Daniel is neither an innovator, nor a follower. As Saintsbury says, "no one who knows Daniel's unsurpassed faculty of ethical verse-writing will be surprised at his personal adoption of the Senecan tragedy; but what is really curious is that he stands in that adoption almost alone, amidst a generation of learned persons, all like himself prone to moralize, most eager to write, many enamored of the dramatic manner of writing. Here, if anywhere, the genius of the nations seems to have exerted its saving force."⁽¹⁵⁰⁾

Although the intrinsic literary value of this first French tragedy is very small indeed, nevertheless the date of its performance, 1552, is a landmark in the dramatic history of France, for it must be remembered that "dans la Cléopâtre on trouve déjà la construction de la tragédie classique, mais à vrai dire une ébauche encore imparfaite et grossière de ce que deviendra une grande œuvre."⁽¹⁵¹⁾ Jodelle did not create French tragedy, but merely gave dramatic form, which was to reach its height in the classical tragedies of Corneille and Racine in the seventeenth century.

Appendix

Grosart claims for Samuel Daniel a "high and sure place" in Elizabethan-Jacobean literature on these

Seven grounds:--

1. For his "Delia" sonnets, as being exquisitely wrought, and as having historically led Shakespeare to his Sonnet-form.

2. For his "Complaint of Rosamond". This must ever abide unsurpassed for its pathos and delicacy and daintiness of workmanship.

3. For his already frequently designated Lament for the Earl of Devonshire and most of the "Epistles."

4. For "brave translunary things"-in every book of the Civil Wars.

5. For "Hymen's Triumph", as melodious and gracious and equal to anything contemporary of the kind.

6. For his "Defence of Rhyme". Had he done no more than smashed Campion and Harvey's preposterous hexameter themes and vagaries, our national literature had been his debtor.

7. For his choice English all through--Verse and Prose. There can be no question that he largely shaped and coloured our English tongue in its making. No writer of the period, or of any period, was so fastidious and painstaking in his composition and revision.

Notes

1. Cunliffe--E.E.C.T. (Intro.).....p. xix
2. Cunliffe--E.E.C.T. (Intro.).....p. i
3. Miller, F.J.--Seneca's Tragedies (Intro.)..p. ix
4. Thorndike--Tragedy.....p. 36
5. Cunliffe--E.E.C.T.....p. xxx
6. Faguet--La Tragédie française au XVI^e
siècle.....p. 58
7. Schelling--Elizabethan Playwrights.....p. 35
8. Faguet--La Tragédie française au XVI^e
siècle.....p. 59
9. Ibid.....p. 61
10. Ibid.....p. 73
11. Ibid.....p. 78
12. Cunliffe--E.E.C.T. (Intro.).....p. lvi
13. Bernage--Étude sur Garnier (Paris, 1880)
quoted by Cunliffe in E.E.C.T.....p. lvi
14. Cunliffe--E.E.C.T.....p. lviii
15. Brunetière--R.D.M.....p. 213
16. Cunliffe--E.E.C.T.....p. lvii
17. Schelling--Foreign Influences.....p. 82
18. Lee--French Renaissance in England.....p. 439
19. Schelling--Foreign Influences.....p. 83
20. Upham--French Influence in England.....p. 25
21. Lee--French Renaissance in England.....p. 442
22. Schelling--Foreign Influence.....p. 83

23.	Lucas--Seneca in Elizabethan Tragedy.....p.	110
24.	Recherches de la France (Pasquier--livre VII, Ch. 7. Quoted from Gohin's Intro).....p.	1
25.	Cléopâtre captive (Gohin's Intro.).....p.	6
26.	Ibid.....p.	8
27.	Ibid.....p.	8
28.	Ibid.....p.	8
29.	Ibid.....p.	8
30.	Lee--French Renaissance in England.....p.	385
31.	Grande Encyclopédie (Larousse).....p.	998
32.	Ibid.....p.	998
33.	Faguet--La tragédie au XVI ^e siècle.....p.	112
34.	Gohin--(Intro. to Cléopâtre captive).....p.	1
35.	Anthony à Wood--Atheniae Oxoniensis, quoted by Grosart--Vol. IV. Daniel's Works.....p.	ii
36.	Daniel--Defense of Rhyme. Quoted by Grosart, Vol. IV.....p.	iii
37.	Grosart's--Intro. to Vol. IV. Daniel's Worksp.	iv
38.	Ibid.....p.	v
39.	Broadus--Poets Laureate in England.....p.	37
40.	Grosart--Intro. to Vol. IV of Daniel's Works.p.	vii
41.	Ibid.....(Fuller's Worthies) p. 288.....p.	ix
42.	Ibid.....p.	x
43.	Ibid	
44.	Ibid	

45.	Grosart--Intro. to Vol. IV.....	p. xii-xx
46.	Ibid.....	
47.	Ibid.....	
48.	Ibid.....	
49.	Ibid.....	
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