

THE UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

GRADUATE SCHOOL

Report
of
Committee on Thesis

The undersigned, acting as a Committee of the Graduate School, have read the accompanying thesis submitted by Ethel Elliott for the degree of Master of Arts. They approve it as a thesis meeting the requirements of the Graduate School of the University of Minnesota, and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

Herbert Seales

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May 20, 1920
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THE UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

GRADUATE SCHOOL

Report
of
Committee on Examination

This is to certify that we the undersigned, as a committee of the Graduate School, have given Ethel Elliott final oral examination for the degree of Master of Arts . We recommend that the degree of Master of Arts be conferred upon the candidate.

Minneapolis, Minnesota

May 20, 1920

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The Adélaïde and the Tragedies of Racine

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A Thesis submitted to the
Faculty of the Graduate School of the
University of Minnesota

by

Ethel Elliott

In partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of
Master of Arts

June

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Voltaire wrote twenty-eight tragedies and it is generally conceded that these tragedies show a direct influence of Racine. It is the purpose of this thesis to show this influence in detail in Voltaire's Adelaide written in 1734, also to study the sources of plot and characters, to discover what is Macinian, what historical and what seems to be the pure invention of the author.

History provides the incident used by Voltaire as the nucleus of his plot. Likewise history provides the names Vendome, Coucy, Nemours and de Quesclin, of the characters depicted by Voltaire. The characters themselves however seem to be more or less original in that Voltaire has pictured composite historical characters. It is possible to trace the source however of these characteristics and also the brotherly feud and death sentence used by Voltaire.

The plot in Voltaire's tragedy Adelaide is, according to the poet's own declaration, based upon an historical event. In 1387 a duke of Brittany commanded an unknown Seigneur de Bavalan to assassinate the constable de Clisson. Bavalan, the next day informed the duke that he had been obeyed, the latter upon seeing all the horror of his crime and fearing its disastrous consequences, abandoned himself to the most violent despair. Bavalan allowed him to feel his guilt and repent at length; he then told him that he had cared too much for him to obey his command.

In this historical incident Voltaire claimed to have found his characters. The names, he declared, are fictitious. It is true that they are not the names of the characters in the historical incident; but it is just as true that Voltaire did

not choose these names at random, for the success of his Zaire proved to him that his audiences liked and appreciated his use of French historical names. In the Adelaide, therefore he took his characters not from antiquity but from ancestors of houses prominent in his own day.

In the play we are led to believe the heroine Adelaide a descendant of the famous warrior de Quesclin. Adelaide - Act I, Sc. 1

"Digne sang de Quesclin, vous qu'en voit aujourd'hui

Le charme des Français dont il était l'appui."

There is no record however of such a personage in the history of that family, and it is impossible to find any convincing historical prototype; but it is worthy of note that, as in the tragedy, the duc de Vendome defended Adelaide in the city of Lille, so does the historical duc de Nemours fight in defense of Mlle. Montpensier

The plot in Voltaire's tragedy Adélaïde is, according to the poet's own declaration, based upon an historical event. In 1387 a duke of Brittany commanded an unknown Seigneur de Bavalan to assassinate the constable de Clisson. Bavalan, the next day informed the duke that he had been obeyed, the latter upon seeing all the horror of his crime and fearing its disastrous consequences, abandoned himself to the most violent despair. Bavalan allowed him to feel his guilt and repent at length; he then told him that he had cared too much for him to obey his command.

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In the play we are led to believe the heroine, Adélaïde, a descendant of the famous warrior du Quesclin. Adélaïde - Act I, Sc. 1.

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There is no record however of such a personage in the history of that family, and it is impossible to find any convincing historical prototype; but it is worthy of note that, as in the tragedy, the duc de vendôme defended Adélaïde in the city of Lille, so does the historical duc de Nemours fight in defense of Mlle. Montpensier,

who has thrown herself into the city of Orléans. The significance of this coincidence is heightened by the rather close relations which seem to have existed between this princess and the two historical heroes pictured by Voltaire, as will be shown later.

The two principal male characters in the tragedy are Vendôme and Nemours, names which are constantly recurring in French history. There is for example, César, duc de Vendôme, son of Henri IV, King of France, and of Gabrielle d'Estrées, born in the Château of Couci in 1594. This Vendôme married Françoise de Lorraine, Duchess de Mercoeur, and his children were Louis François duc de Beaufort and Elizabeth, who married Charles Amédée de Savoie, duc de Nemour.

At the age of sixteen he was among those discontented ones who took arms against Marie de Medicis. With the grand'prieur, his brother, he was thrown into prison at Vincennes. Later he withdrew into Holland where he fought as a volunteer in the siege of Lille, the city which Voltaire makes the scene of his tragedy.

He came back to live in his residence of Anet et Vendôme, but was obliged to flee to England to avoid the vengeance of Richelieu. Moved by a crude and turbulent ambition, he put himself at the head of "la cabale des importants." Later he was devoted to Mazarin and Anne d'Autriche and fought for the French in 1655, putting to flight and destroying the Spanish fleet.

A connection between this historical event and Voltaire's plot is evident when one recalls that the Vendôme of Adélaïde, although fighting for the English at the time of the episode, is won over to the French side in the last scene of the last act, and from

that time is represented as an ardent supporter of the French.

From this Vendôme Voltaire seems to have taken also many traits of character for the Vendôme of his tragedy, Adélaïde. In the letters of the duc de Bourgogne to the King of Spain, the duke says: (1)

"Ce n'est pas chose amusée de faire entendre raison à M. de Vendôme. Vous savez que M. Vendôme veut être ménagé. En le prenant doucement on lui fait changer les choses sur lesquelles il est le plus opinâtre. C'est ainsi qu'on me l'a toujours dépeint et c'est ainsi que je l'ai éprouvé hier."

What description could better suit Voltaire's Vendôme of whom Adélaïde exclaims to the warrior and friend, Coucy. Act 1, Sc. 1.

"A ce prince, à moi-même, épargnez cet outrage
Seigneur, vous pouvez tout sur ce jeune courage
Souvent on vous a vu, par vos conseils prudens
Modérer de son coeur les transports turbulens."

It is Coucy's role in this tragedy to guide Vendôme by wise and prudent counsel and to induce him to change the ideas and plans he so firmly intends to see materialize even though they cause his downfall and misery.

Either to disguise his characters or to provide a more suitable background, Voltaire threw back the time of his plot nearly one hundred years into the 16th century, during the reign of Charles VII, the period which saw two great events, the expulsion

1. Lettres du Duc de Bourgogne au Roi D'Espagne Philippe V Tome I

of the English and the constitution of an administrative order. The young King of England, Henry VII, was in possession of a large portion of France, including all that country north of the Loire. The University and the duc de Bourgogne supported him, and the treaty of Troy was in his favor.

The weakness of France was, however, more apparent than real, for in the quarrel between France and the English, France soon showed itself disposed to espouse heartily the cause of its king. A national sentiment arose for the first time, and Charles was openly proclaimed "naturel et souverain seigneur." This reaction in favor of the French king against his English foes is echoed in the warning of Coucy to the rebellious Vendôme:

"Son égal aujourd'hui demain dans l'abandon,
Vous vous verrez réduit à demander pardon."

Also:

"Je prévois que bientôt cette guerre fatale
Ces troubles intestins de la maison royale,
Ces tristes factions, céderont au danger
D'abandonner la France au fils de l'étranger
Je vois que de l'Anglais la race est peu chérie,
Que leur joug est pesant; qu'on aime la patrie;
Que le sang des Capets est toujours adoré.
Tôt ou tard il faudra que de ce trône sacré
Les rameaux divisés et courbés par l'orage,
Plus unis et plus beaux, soient notre unique ombrage!"

The feud which forms the nucleus of the tragedy belongs, however, neither to the period nor to the personages which have

been discussed, but is related to them by the fact that such a feud actually existed between two relatives of the duc de César, his son, duc de Beaufort and his son-in-law, duc de Nemour. The latter during the Fronde allowed himself to be led astray by the Duchesse de Châtillon, fought on the side of the princess and was declared a rebel; while the former, the duc de Beaufort, was at the same time an ardent defender of the court against the duc d'Orléans and the Prince de Condé.

Voltaire describes the period in which one duke is fighting for France and the other for England. The duc de Vendôme, in love with Adélaïde, captures his brother, the duc de Nemours, only to find that the latter loves and is loved by Adélaïde. He orders him put to death.

The mémoires of Mlle. de Montpensier contain the following account of a duel fought by the duc de Nemours, Voltaire's Vendôme, and the duc de Beaufort, Voltaire's Nemours.

The duel was provoked by the duc de Nemours, "lorsqu'ils furent en présence, Monsieur de Beaufort lui dit, "Oh mon frère quelle honte; oublions le passé, soyons bons amis." "Le duc de Nemours lui cria, "Oh coquin, il faut, que tu me tues ou que je te tue." Il tira son pistolet qui manqua et vint à Monsieur Beaufort, l'épée à la main de sorte que celui-ci fut obligé de se défendre. Il tira et le tua."

This duel and the intolerance and hot-headedness of the historical Nemours are reflected in the tragedy where the duc de Vendôme commands the immediate death of his brother. In the tragedy, however, Vendôme repents and spares Nemour's life, a denoue-

ment suggested very likely by the fourteenth century episode which Voltaire himself claims to have used as the genesis of his play.

Voltaire, having selected the historical background, characters and plot for his play, had one of two alternatives to follow: either he could develop this material in a strictly original manner or he could take as models the tragedies of his illustrious predecessor, Racine, whom he so greatly admired and whose works were so familiar to him. It is the purpose of this study to show that he adopted the latter course and to determine the method and extent of his imitation.

Now Racine composed four tragedies portraying a fraternal feud, the Thébaïde, Alexandre, Britannicus, and Mithridate.

The last, Mithridate, seems to have suggested the whole dramatic framework of Voltaire's Adélaïde and there is also found in it the more continuous parallelism of lines and diction.

In Mithridate two enemy brothers, Xipharès and Pharnace, love the same princess, Monime, who is likewise loved by Mithridate the father of these brothers. The play therefore contains scenes of fraternal rivalry resulting in declarations of love, jealousy and revenge. This rivalry is often expressed by lines in the Adélaïde which, although found in totally different situations, are decidedly reminiscent of similar lines in Racine's play.

The following lines - Act I, Scene 1, Mithridate,

"Non, je ne prétends point cher Arbate à ce prix,

D'un malheureux empire acheter le débris,"

recall immediately - Act I, Scene 1, Adélaïde,

"Quand j'ai dit que bientôt on verrait réunis

Les débris dispersés de l'empire des lis."

ment suggested very likely by the fourteenth century episode which Voltaire himself claims to have used as the genesis of his play. Having traced the historical background, characters and the skeleton of the plot there still remains to be determined how Voltaire put together this material and to show the method and extent of his imitation of Racine.

The Racinian influence may be seen by means of a comparative study of the Adelaide and each of the eleven tragedies of Racine. This study is one of structure not the division into acts and scenes but rather the development of plot by situations, sentiments and diction. Taking each of Racine's plays in turn, the greatest resemblance is discovered between the Adelaide and Racine's Mithridate. In each play two blood relatives love the same princess and are up to a certain point in the tragedy unaware of the rivalry of their affections. The more powerful of the two is, in each play, the one whose love is scorned. He, therefore, condemns the accepted lover to death.

A frenzy of jealousy is followed by one of repentance and by a desire to atone. The audience is led to believe the atonement too late but soon learns that the hero is not only to be saved but also to receive the heroine because of the desire on the part of the former tyrant to make due amends for his intended crime. All this is common to the two tragedies and seems to constitute a very direct influence of Racine upon the eighteenth century poet.

In filling in the interstices of this action, in presenting motivation and in depicting characters, Voltaire undoubtedly used other works of his illustrious predecessor, especially the following - Phedre, Andromaque, and Bajazet - along with occasional touches from five of the remaining eight Racinian tragedies.

It is not contended that the imitation is always conscious even when the lines are identical. In fact in such cases it is probably mostly unconscious, for in the passages in which Voltaire seems to be following more closely a given situation in his model, he has tried to vary the form and diction.

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"Quand j'ai dit que bientôt on verrait réunis
Les debris disperses de l'empire des lis."

Vendôme, dwelling upon the love he has discovered between his brother and Adélaïde, realizes that this love is not new and his lines are reminiscent of those of Xipharès when speaking to Arbate of his love for Monime.

Mithridate - Act I, Scene 1.

Xipharès

"Mais ce n'est point Arbate un
secret de deux jours.

Cet amour s'est longtemps ac-
cru dans le silence."

Adélaïde - Act V, Scene 1.

Vendôme

"Hélas! malgré le temps et la
guerre et l'absence

Leur tranquille union croissait
dans le silence."

Both Monime the heroine of Mithridate and Adélaïde, after consenting to accept the hand of a scorned lover, threaten this lover with the same consequences.

Mithridate - Act I, Scene 2.

Monime

"Au pied du même autel où je
suis attendue
seigneur, vous ne verrez à moi
même rendue
percer ce triste cœur qu'on
veut tyranniser."

Adélaïde - Act V, Scene 4.

Adélaïde

"Sachez que cette main que vous
tyrannisez
punira la faiblesse où vous me
réduisez."

Adélaïde, when forced to answer Vendôme who loves her but whom she fears, seeks practically the same words to put him off as Monime relies upon in her answer to Pharnace in an identical situation.

Mithridate - Act I, Scene 3.

Monime

Adélaïde - Act I, Scene 3.

Adélaïde

"Seigneur, tant de bontés ont
lieu de me confondre.

"Tant d'honneur, tant d'amour
servent à me confondre.

Again after being forced to give a reason for their refusals, both Monime and Adélaïde evade the actual cause and seek an explanation in the duty owed to their respective ancestors.

Mithridate - Act I, Scene 3.

Adélaïde - Act II, Scene 5.

Monime

Adélaïde

"Mais puisque le temps presse et
qu'il faut vous répondre

"Mais réduite à parler je vous
dirai, seigneur,

----- mais je suis
descendue

Que l'amour de mes rois est
gravé dans mon coeur

D'aïeux, ou rois seigneur, ou
héros qu'autrefois
Leur vertu, chez les Grecs, mit
au-dessus des rois,

De votre sang au mien je vois la
différence;

tout ce que je puis faire,

Mais celui dont je sors a coulé
pour la France

C'est de garder la foi que je
dois à mon père

Ce digne connétable en mon coeur
a transmis

De ne point dans son sang aller
tremper mes mains

La haine qu'un français doit à
ses ennemis;

En épousant en vous l'allié
des Romains."

Et sa nièce jamais acceptera
pour maître

L'allié des Anglais, quelque
grand qu'il puisse être."

Mithridate, after declaring his love to Monime and realizing that she accepts it unwillingly, exclaims; (Act II, Sc. 4)

"Hé quoi: n'avez-vous rien, madame, à me répondre?
Tout mon empressement ne sert qu'à vous confondre,
vous demeurez muette; et, loin de me parler,

Je vois, malgré vos soins, vos pleurs prêts à couler."

Vendôme's exclamation in a like situation in Adélaïde,

Act I, Scene 4, is:

"Quoi: vous n'osez d'un mot rassurer ma tendresse!

Vous détournez les yeux: vous tremblez! et je voi

Que vous cachez des pleurs qui ne sont pas pour moi!"

Assured of the guilt of Pharnace, his son, Mithridate

cries:

Mithridate - Act III, Scene 2.

"Qu'on le saisisse.

Oui, lui-même Pharnace. Allez; et de ce pas

Qu'enfermé dans la tour on ne le quitte pas."

While the knowledge of Memour's guilt causes his brother

vendôme to command:

Adelaide - Act IV, Scene 2.

"Qu'il périsse.

Qu'on l'entraîne à la tour:

Allez; qu'on m'obéisse."

Thus in neither case does the relationship prevent the severe punishment or imprisonment in the tower.

Mithridate, reeling betrayed by both sons and Monime, gives vent to his despair:

Mithridate - Act III, Scene 4.

"Quoi? de quelque côté que je tourne la vue,

La foi de tous les coeurs est pour moi disparue!"

Vendôme, equally discouraged by the betrayal of his brother and Adélaïde, cries: (Act V, Scene 1)

"Oh Ciel! me faudra-t-il, de momens en momens,
Voir et des trahisons et des soulèvements?"

Monime, in hopes of postponing a dreaded marriage, seeks an excuse in the disturbed conditions of the country. Adélaïde makes use of the same excuse in almost identical words.

Mithridate - Act III, Scène 5. Adélaïde - Act I, Scène 1.

"Quel temps pour un hymen!" "Quel temps pour l'hyménée!"

In a jealous rage, both vendôme and Mithridate consider abandoning Adélaïde and Monime to their lovers Nemours and Xipharès and thus punishing them.

Mithridate - Act III, Scène 5. vendôme - Act III, Scène 3.

"Je ne saurais mieux punir vos
dédains
Qu'en vous mettant moi-même en
ses serviles mains."
"Je vous dédaigne assez tous
deux pour vous unir,
Perfide! et c'est ainsi que
je dois vous punir."

Threatened with the death of their lovers both Adélaïde and Monime express the same protest.

Mithridate - Act IV, Scène 2. Adélaïde - Act IV, Scène 2.

"J'ai tout fait et c'est à moi
que vous devez punir."
"Mon cruel c'est à moi de
mourir. J'ai tout fait."

Fury brought Mithridate to the decision to destroy his son loved by Monime, just as the same jealous fury made vendôme determined to destroy his brother Nemours loved by Adélaïde. Both, however, realized the horror of their decisions and repented.

Mithridate - Act IV, Scène 5. Adélaïde - Act V, Scène 1.

"Mais quelle est ma fureur? et
qu'est-ce que je dis?
"C'est moi que l'immoie! et
cette même main

"Tu vas sacrifier qui? mal-
heureux! Ton fils?

O Monime! Ô mon fils! Inutile
courroux!"

"D'un frère que J'aimais dé-
chirer~~ait~~ le sein!

O Passion funeste! Ô douleur
qui m'égare!

----- Mais que dis-je?"

Mithridate, learning that the Romans are besieging his walls, is determined that Monime shall not be a witness to his misfortunes. Vendôme is also determined that Adélaïde shall derive no pleasure from the fact that the people have risen and that the enemy is marching upon Lille.

Mithridate - Act IV, Scene 7.

"Ciel! Courroux. Écoutez --- du
malheur qui me presse
Tu ne jouiras pas, infidèle
princesse."

Vendome - Act III, Scene 4.

"Allez cruelle allez; vous ne
jouirez pas
Du fruit de votre haine et de
vos attentats."

The same horror pervades the spirits of Mithridate and Vendôme when learning that their son and brother are dead.

Mithridate - Act V, Scene 1.

"Il est mort; --- Et je vis?"

Adélaïde - Act V, Scene 3.

"Il est mort, et Je vis!"

A still more striking resemblance between the tragedies Adélaïde and Mithridate is found in the dénouement. The reader in both cases has been led to believe the hero dead only to learn suddenly that he has been saved and forgiven by his heretofore relentless rival. Thus Mithridate still loving Monime offers her to his son Xipharès, and Vendôme loving Adélaïde bestows her upon his brother Nemours.

Mithridate - Act , Scene 5.

"Vous seule me restez; souffrez que je vous donne,
madame, et tous ces voeux que j'exigeais de vous,
Mon coeur pour Xipharès vous les demande tous."

And Adélaïde - Act V, Scene 5.

"Je l'adore encore plus --- et mon amour la cède.
Je m'arrache le coeur; Je la mets dans tes bras."

Some further important details in the development of the plot were taken from Britannicus, as for example in Britannicus Act II, Scene 3, Nero declares his love for Junie and at the same time seeks to impress her with the benefits and great honor awarded to her by his declaration, and gained by her upon the acceptance of his love. Junie's response calls to mind Adélaïde's answer to Coucy first, and then to Vendôme under almost identical conditions.

Britannicus - Act II, Scene 2.

"Seigneur, avec raison Je demeure étonnée."

Adélaïde - Act I, Scene 1.

"Qu'avec étonnement, Seigneur Je vous contemple."

Later, when answering Vendôme's declaration. Act I, Scene 3.

"Tant d'honneur, tant d'amour servent à me confondre."

Both Burhus and Coucy, confidants respectively of Nero and Vendôme realizing the discord necessarily the result of the love of their lords, call upon them to overcome it and not fear its power over them.

Britannicus - Act III, Scene 1.

"Vous vous le figurez,
Seigneur, et satisfait de quelque résistance,
Vous redoutez un mal faible dans sa naissance.
Mais si dans son devoir votre coeur affermi

voulait ne point s'entendre avec son ennemi.
 Croyez moi quelque amour qui semble vous charmer
 On n'aime point Seigneur, si l'on ne veut aimer."

In different diction Coudy's advice to Vendôme is;

"Verrai-je un si grand coeur à ce point s'avilir?
 le salut de l'état depend-il d'un soupir.
 Aimez, mais en heros qui maîtrise son âme, qui
 gouverne à la fois ses états et sa flâme.
 On connaît peu l'amour, on craint trop son amorce;

 C'est nous qui sous son nom troublons notre repos;
 Il est tyrant de faible, esclave du héros."

In neither case was the hoped for result achieved. nero responds
 in Britannicus, Act III, Scene 1:

"Adieu. Je souffre trop éloigné de Junie."

Adélaïde - Act II, Scene 7.

"Le sort en est jeté; je ferai tout pour elle."

A similar scene occurs in both plays when jealousy is
 aroused by a supposed lack of love on the part of the heroine for
 her true lover. Each is upbraided for this seeming inconstancy.
 Britannicus when led by Junie to consider her faithless exclaims;
 Britannicus - Act III, Scene 7,

"Vous voulez que ma fuite assure vos désires
 Que Je laisse un champ libre à vos nouveaux
 soupirs."

Nemours, suspecting Adélaïde of preferring vendôme, de-
 clares:

Adélaïde - Act III, Scene 2.

"Vous avez en effet besoin de mon trépas
Libre dans vos amours et sans inquiétude
Vous jouirez en paix de votre ingratitude."

Britannicus, overwhelmed by so many misfortunes and now forced to consider Junie faithless, cries: (Act III, Scene 7)

"Il me restait d'être oublié de vous."

Adélaïde, a prisoner, loved by the detested Vendôme and now finally accused of faithlessness by her lover, exclaims:

"Vos soupçons manquaient à ma misère."

The struggle between the two brothers in the Thébaïde furnishes but one noticeable parallelism. There is no conflicting love element and the intense hatred felt by the two brothers is utterly lacking in the Voltarian tragedy.

La Thébaïde - Act IV, Scene 3.

"Et moi, je vais, cruels, vous apprendre à mourir."

Adélaïde - Act V, Scene 1.

"----- S'il vous faut perir

Vous recevrez de moi l'exemple de mourir."

Likewise a study of the Alexandre where two brothers struggle against each other, both in love and battle, reveals but few similar lines, those few appearing, however, in quite similar situations. Porus, when warned by Axiane of his probable death if he attempts to fight the battle he is anticipating, scorns to fear:

"La gloire de combattre et de mourir pour vous."

Vendôme also is willing to die if loved by Adélaïde;

"----- Vendôme amoureux

Expira votre époux, et périt trop heureux;"

Both Adélaïde and Axiane are forced to make desperate choices: Adélaïde must marry Vendôme to save her lover Nemours, and Axiane must beg mercy of the hated Taxile in order to save hers. When they both refuse to make this sacrifice each one is similarly accused of being the cause of her lover's death.

Alexandre - Act V, Scene 2.

Adélaïde - Act IV, Scene 2.

"Mais enfin s'il périt n'en
accusez que vous."

"C'est vous qui le perdez vous
qui l'assassinez."

The four brotherly feud plays however, were not the only Racinian tragedies which Voltaire has used in the development of characters and for details in the execution of his plot. Racine's Iphigénie differs radically in the plot and development from the preceding four tragedies, having the sacrifice of a daughter by her father as its theme. There is a minor love element, one, however, which lacks any incentive for jealousy on the part of its hero. A mother's resistance against a father's determination to carry out the gods' decree is the motive which predominates.

Two passages, however, in Adélaïde are slightly reminiscent of passages in this Racinian play.

Iphigénie true to Achilles is accused by him of faithlessness:

"Oh! Cruel cette amour, dont vous voulez douter
Ai-je attendu si tard pour le faire sceler?"

In Adélaïde we have the same accusation by Nemours who unjustly accuses her of not loving him. Her response is similar to that of Iphigénie.

"Ah! Cruel me faut-il employer
Les momens de vous voir à me justifier!"

Clytaemnestra supposing Iphigénie to be dead exclaims:

Iphigénie - Act V, Scene 5.

"Ma fille est morte, Arcas, il n'est plus temps."

While Adélaïde's answer to Vendôme when learning of Nemours' supposed death is:

Adélaïde - Act V, Scene 3.

"Il n'est plus temps: ----- Nemours est mort?"

In a like fashion Bérénice presents occasional lines and diction similar to those found in Adélaïde. An important episode in the Racinian tragedy is the unrequited love of Antiochus for the Queen and Voltaire seems to have the Racinian development in mind when he wrote the scenes in which Vendôme is repulsed by Adélaïde. Arcas, the confidant of Antiochus, after speaking of Bérénice is aware of the disturbing effect upon his friend, as is Faïse when she realizes Adélaïde is moved when considering Vendôme's love for her.

Bérénice - Act I, Scene 3.

"Quoi! Ce discours pourrait-il vous troubler?"

Adélaïde - Act I, Scene 3.

"Quoi! ce rang qui ferait le bonheur ou l'envi

ferait couler les pleurs dont vos yeux sont noyés."

Antiochus assures Bérénice whom he loves, that he is saying an eternal adieu. Nemours likewise declares that he is leaving, never to return. Probably the figure of Bérénice was in Voltaire's mind when he fashioned Adélaïde's response for it is decidedly similar to that of the Racinian heroine.

Bérénice - Act I, Scene 4.

"Que dites-vous? Ah ciel

Quel adieu! Quel langage!"

Adélaïde - Act III, Scene 2.

"Helas que dites vous?

Quelle fureur subite."

Bérénice remains unmoved upon hearing Antiochus' declaration of love as does Adélaïde before Vendôme's passionate appeal and Phénice, confident of Adélaïde, is moved to pity as is raïse, the confident of Adélaïde;

Bérénice - Act I, scene 5.

"Que je le plains! Tant de
fidélité,

madame, méritait plus de prospérité

ne les plaignez-vous pas?"

Adélaïde - Act II, Scene 5.

"Vous voyez sans pitié
sa tendresse alarmée?"

Bérénice expresses her astonishment of Titus' coolness in the following lines, which are suggestive of those spoken by Vendôme when failing to influence Adélaïde in his favor.

Bérénice - Act II, scene 4.

"Hé bien Seigneur? Mais quoi?
sans me répondre

vous détournez les yeux et
semblez vous confondre."

Adélaïde - Act I, Scene 4.

"Quoi! vous n'osez d'un mot
rassurer ma tendresse
vous détournez les yeux!"

More decided, however, is the similarity in the lines spoken by Antiochus and Vendôme in identical situations.

Bérénice - Act III, Scene 2.

"J'aurai le triste emploi
De recueillir des pleurs qui
ne sont pas pour moi."

Adélaïde - Act II, Scene 4.

"Vous tremblez et je voi
Que vous cachez des pleurs
qui ne sont pas pour moi."

Voltaire has also developed certain situations in Adélaïde according to the Racinian method found in Bajazet. Bajazet, in love with Atalide who loves him, at the mercy of Roxane is threatened by her as is Adelaide by vendome.

Bajazet - Act II, Scene 1.

Adélaïde - Act II, Scène 5.

Roxane

Vendôme

"Songez-vous que sans moi tout
vous devient contraire?
Que c'est à moi surtout qu'il
importe de plaire?"

"Mais vous qui m'outragez me-
connaissez-vous bien?
Vous resta-t-il ici de parti
que le mien?"

Que j'ai sur votre vie une
empire suprême

Vous qui me devez tout; vous
qui sans ma défense --"

Que vous ne respirez qu'autant
que je vous aime."

Bajazet answers; (Act III, Sc.1)

Adélaïde answers Act II scènes.

"Oui je tiens tout de vous
Je vous dois tout mon sang ma
vie est votre bien
Mais enfin voulez vous ---"

"Oui vous m'avez sauvée oui je
vous dois la vie
Mais seigneur mais: hélas:
n'en puis-je disposer?"

Astonishment is the emotion of both Roxane and Vendôme at this ingratitude. neither had considered a refusal possible.

Bajazet - Act III, Scène 6.

Adélaïde - Act II, Scène 5.

"De quel étonnement ô ciel:
suis je frappée."

"Quoi! lorsque de ma main je
vois offrerais l'hommage."

A final opportunity is offered both Bajazet and Adélaïde to save the one loved by them if they will consent to a hated marriage.

Bajazet - Act v, Scène 4.

"Pour la dernière fois veux-tu
vivre et régner?

Mais tu n'as qu'un moment parle-
viens la voir expirer."

Adélaïde - Act IV Scène 2.

"Oui je vous aime encore, le
temps le peril presse
vous pouvez à l'instant parer
le coup mortel
voilà ma main venez; sa grâce
est à l'autel."

Roxane reflecting upon her proposed crime, the death of
him whom she loves, realizes her guilt and weakening somewhat cries

"Oui c'est moi cher amant qui t'arrache la vie "

While vendôme considering the approaching death of Ne-
mours, whom he loves, finds it equally hard to realize that it is
he, Vendôme, who is to be the cause of this death.

"Et c'est moi qui l'immole!"

Bajazet and Adélaïde protest against similarly any obli-
gation other than gratefulness for the protection they have re-
ceived from Roxane and Vendôme.

Bajazet - Act III, Scene 5.

"Oui je vous ai promis et j'ai
donné ma foi
De n'oublier jamais tout ce que
je vous doi;
J'ai jure que mes soins, ma
juste complaisance
vous répondront toujours de ma
reconnaissance."

Adélaïde - Act II, Scene 5.

"Je ne vous promis rien vous
n'avez point ma foi
Et la reconnaissance et tout
ce que je doi."

The criminal love of a woman for her stepson is the
theme of Racine's Phèdre. With this as a theme there would seem

to be little chance for Voltaire to find, consciously or not, material for his Adélaïde. There proves to be, however, many passages in Voltaire's tragedy which are undoubtedly reminiscences of the Phèdre. Theseus upon learning the guilt of his son; whom he believes has declared his love for Phèdre, is so overcome by his horror of this faithlessness that he finds the very sight of Hippolyte unbearable and cries

Phèdre - Act IV, scene 3.

"Pour la dernière fois ôte-toi de ma vue."

Vendôme's impulse upon realizing Nemours' guilt is the same. He no longer cares to look upon the one whom he considers has betrayed him.

"Qu'on l'ôte de ma vue."

Following this situation in each play comes a scene of jealousy. Phèdre has learned that Hippolyte whom she has openly acknowledged she loves cares for another and Vendôme now knows of the love of Adélaïde and Nemours.

Phèdre - Act II, scene 5.

Adélaïde - Act V, scene 1.

"Hélas! il se voyaient avec
pleine licence
Le ciel de leurs soupirs ap-
prouvait l'innocence.
Ils survaient sans remords
leur penchant amoureux
Tout les jours se levaient
clairs et sereins pour eux."

"Hélas! malgré le temps et la
guerre et l'absence
Leur tranquille union croissait
dans le silence;
Ils nourrissaient en paix leurs
innocente ardeur
Avant qu'un fol amour empoison-
nât mon coeur."

This last line of Vendôme's also recalls the following verse of Phèdre.

"Ni que du fol amour qui trouble ma raison
Ma lâche complaisance ait nourri le poison."

The two scenes of repentance provide the following similarity. Both Theseus and Vendôme seek to assure themselves that they are justified in commanding the death of their son and brother.
Phèdre - Act IV, Scene 4. Adélaïde - Act V, Scene 2.

Theseus

"Un Dieu vengeur te suit tu ne
peux l'éviter
Je t'aimais; et je sens que
malgré ton offense
Mes entrailles pour toi se
troublent par avance.
Mais à te condamner tu m'as
trop engagé
Jamais père en effroi fut-il
plus outragé."

Vendôme

"Et c'est moi qui l'imole:
et cette même main
d'un frère que j'aimais déchirerait le sein!
Mais que dis-je? Nemours est
le seul criminel."

When Theseus learns of Phèdre's guilt and the innocence of Hippolyte, he demands the immediate return of his son.

"Qu'as tu fait mon fils", receiving as an answer;
"Soins tardifs et superflus
Mutiler tendresse: Hippolyte n'est plus."

Vendôme's first words after his repentance are:

"Que l'on sauve Nemours", only to learn that he,
like Theseus is too late.

"Hélas seigneur, j'ai vu, non loin de cette porte
un corps souillé de sang, qu'en secret on
emporte."

Theseus, realizing his son's death, cries;

"Dieux mon fils n'est plus", a cry of despair similar in thought to that expressed by Vendôme.

"Dieu qu'entend-je

Oh Ciel: mon frère est mort."

Phèdre after confessing her guilt to Theseus insists upon death as does Vendôme after relating to Adélaïde his crime toward Memours. Each suddenly realizes that death at the hands of Theseus and Adélaïde whom they have wronged, is too light a punishment and asks then, only to have the weapon to die by their own hands.

Phèdre - Act I, Scene 5.

"C'est la que ta main doit
frapper. Frappe:

Faibles projets d'un coeur trop
plein de ce qu'il aime"

Phèdre - Act II, Scene 5.

"Ou si d'un sang trop vil ta
main serait trempée
Au défaut de ton bras prêts-moi
ton épée
Donne:"

Adélaïde - Act V, Scene 4.

"Frappez, que votre main contre
moi ranimée

Perce un coeur inhumain qui
vous a trop aimé."

Ton horreur est trop juste

Et bien: Adélaïde

Prends ce fer, arme-toi mais
contre un parricide

Je ne mérite pas de mourrir de
tes coups

Que ma main les conduise."

Andromaque could not fail to be a source of inspiration to any playwright of a later century, and situations and diction, as well as traits of character displayed in Adélaïde, recall like passages and character development in Andromaque. The first simi-

lar situation is found in Andromaque, Act I, Scene 3: Pyrrhus agrees to fight the Greeks and save Andromaque's son, Astyanax, providing she will marry him. Vendôme in the Adélaïde agrees to renounce the cause of the English and fight for the French if Adélaïde will marry him. In both cases the response is an acknowledgement of the virtue of the action but a depreciation of its cause.

Andromaque - Act I, scene 4.

"Seigneur que faites vous et que dira la Grèce?
Faut-il qu'un si grand coeur montre tant de
faiblesse?

Voulez-vous qu'en dessein si beau si généreux
Passe pour le transport d'un esprit amoureux?"

Adélaïde - Act III, Scene 3.

"Seigneur, mon coeur est juste, on ne m'a vu jamais
Mépriser vos bontés, et haïr vos bienfaits
Mais je ne puis penser qu'à mon peu de puissance
Vendôme ait attaché le destin de la France
Qu'il n'ait lu son devoir que dans mes faibles yeux.
Qu'il ait besoin de moi pour être vertueux."

Coucy, Act II, scene 3, voices the same sentiment when he realizes Vendôme's love for Adélaïde is stronger than his patriotism.

"Mais qu'importe pour vous ses vœux et ses desseins
Faut-il que l'amour seul fasse ici vos destins?"

A line in Adélaïde which is even more reminiscent of Andromaque's

"Faut-il qu'un si grand coeur montre tant de

faiblesse?"

is Coucy's later remark to Vendôme;

"Verrai-je un si grand coeur à ce point s'avilir?"

In the conversation between Pyrrhus and his companion Phoenix and in that between Vendôme and Coucy, a similar attitude is assumed by both confidants. Each in his turn bewails the weakening power of love, and would have his friend conquer love completely. The following verse in Andromaque shows Pyrrhus already in a state of mind pleasing to Phoenix, and this state of mind Voltaire has Coucy advocate for Vendôme.

Andromaque - Act II, Scene 5.

Pyrrhus

"He' bien Phoenix l'amour est-il

le maître

Tes yeux refusent-il encore
de me connaître?"

Phoenix

"Oh je vous reconnais, et ce

juste courroux

Ainsi qu'à tous les Grecs

seigneur vous rend à vous

Ce n'est plus le jouet d'une

flamme servile

C'est Pyrrhus c'est le fils et

ce rival d'Achille."

Adélaïde - Act IV, Scene 5.

Vendôme

"Eh bien: Que faut-il faire?"

Coucy

"Les prévenir dompter l'amour
et la colère

Ayons encore, mon prince en

cette extrémité

Pour prendre un parti sur assez

de fermeté."

The scene in which Adélaïde is forced to accept the hand of Vendôme in order to save the life of Nemours is parallel to the one in which Andromaque must wed Pyrrhus in order to save her son,

Astyanax.

Andromaque - Act III, Scene 7.

Pyrrhus

"Pour la dernière fois sauvez-le

sauvez-vous

Mais ce n'est plus Madame une

offre à dédaigner

Je vous le dis, il faut ou

périr ou régner."

Upon a definite refusal from both Andromaque and Adélaïde both Pyrrhus and Vendôme seek to intimidate the heroines.

Andromaque - Act I, Scene 4.

Pyrrhus

"Il faut désormais que mon coeur,

S'il aime avec transport, naisse

avec fureur.

Je n'épargnerai rien dans ma

juste colère.

Le fils me répondra du mépris de

la mère;"

The decree of death pronounced upon Astyanax and Nemours calls out the same expression of despair on the part of Andromaque and Adélaïde.

Andromaque - Act III, Scene 5.

"Hélas! tout m'abandonne."

Adélaïde - Act IV Scene 2

Vendôme

"Vous pouvez à l'instant parer

le coup mortel

voilà ma main, venez sa grace

est à l'autel."

Adélaïde - Act III, Scene 3.

Vendôme

"Je vous dois ma colère et

sachez qu'elle égale

Tous les emportements de mon

amour fatale."

Adélaïde - Act II, Scene 5.

Vendôme

"Quelque soit l'insolent que

ce coeur me préfère

Redoutez mon amour tremblez

de ma colère."

Adélaïde - Act I, Scene 2.

"Ou suis-je? Hélas! tout

m'abandonne."

In this despair both women are encouraged by their confidants to accept the hand of the lover and thus avoid disaster.

Andromaque - Act IV, scène 1.

Céphise

"Sur lui sur tout un peuple il
vous rend souveraine
Est-ce la ce vainqueur digne
de tant de haine?
Quel plaisir d'élever un enfant
qu'on voit croître
Non plus comme un esclave élevé
pour son maître
mais pour voir avec lui renaître
tant de rois?"

Adélaïde - Act I, scène 2.

"Quoi: du duc de vendôme et le
choix et l'amour
Quoi; ce rang qui ferait le
bonheur on l'envie
De toutes ces beautés dont la
France est remplie
Ce rang qui touche autrefois
au trône et qu'on met à
vos pieds
ferait couler les pleurs dont
vos yeux sont noyés."

The two confidants fail to tempt Andromaque and Adélaïde each of whom gives fidelity to family as the reason for the impossibility of the desired marriages.

Andromaque - Act III, scène 8.

"Dois-je les oublier s'il ne
s'en souvient plus
Dois-je oublier Hector" etc.
Andromaque - Act IV, scène 1.
"As tu pensé qu'Andromaque
fut trahir un époux qui croit
revivre en elle."

Adélaïde - Act I scène 2

"Ici, au haut des cieux du
Guesclin me contemple
De la fidelite ce heros fut
l'exemple
Je trahirais le sang qu'il
versa pour nos lois
si j'acceptais la main du
vainqueur de nos rois."

Because of their inability to force Andromaque and

Adélaïde to the altar, Pyrrhus and Vendôme pronounce the death sentences of Astyanax and Nemours and are similarly upbraided by the horrified Andromaque and Adélaïde.

Andromaque - Act I, Scène 4.

"Et vous prononcez un arrêt
si cruel?"

Adélaïde - Act ~~IV~~ Scène 3

"Vous cruel: vous ferez cet
affreux sacrifice"

This proposed cruelty is refuted by both Pyrrhus and Vendôme who consider their deeds justified by the actions of Andromaque and Adélaïde.

Andromaque - Act I, Scène 4.

Pyrrhus

"Hélas fus-je jamais
si cruel que vous l'êtes"

Adélaïde - Act II Scène 5

Vendôme

"Je deviendrai tyran
Mais moins que vous cruelle"

Pyrrhus and Vendôme suffer equally from the scorn of Andromaque and Adélaïde and openly resent it in a very similar manner.

Andromaque - Act I, Scène 4.

"Le fils me répondra des mépris
de la mère"

Adélaïde - Act II Scène 5

"Vous avez fait là une secrète
étude

Andromaque - Act II, Scène 2.

"Poursuivez il est beau de
m'insulter ainsi

Du mépris de l'insulte d'in-
gratitude."

Cruelle, c'est donc moi que
vous méprisez ici?"

Lines used by Andromaque in Racine's play and Coucy in that of Voltaire although having quite different meaning are similar enough in diction to be sited.

Andromaque - Act III, Scène 7.

Adélaïde - Act IV, Scène 5.

"Songe Songe, Céphise a cette
 nuit cruelle
 Qui fut pour tout un peuple
 une nuit éternelle"

"Je l'avoue avec vous une nuit
 éternelle
 Doit couvrir s'il se peut une
 fin si cruelle."

Andromaque begs to live a secluded life with her son far from the court of Pyrrhus and her appeal may have suggested that of Adélaïde who similarly wishes to be sent far from Vendôme and his warriors.

Andromaque - Act I, Scène 4.

Adélaïde - Act II, Scène 5.

"C'est un exil que mes pleurs
 vous demandent
 souffrez que loin des Grecs et
 même de vous
 j'aille cacher mon fils et
 pleurer mon époux."

"Pour vous, pour votre honneur
 encore plus que pour moi
 Renvoyez-moi plutôt à la cour
 de mon roi;
 Loin de ses ennemis souffrez
 qu'il me revois."

Adélaïde is forced to give in finally in order to save Nemours. Her decision, however, in the tragedy is spoken by her to Vendôme whereas we learn a like decision of Andromaque in her conversation with her confident Céphise. The decision in each case is to marry the hated tyrant but each heroine swears to take her own life immediately after pronouncing the marriage vow.

Andromaque - Act IV, Scène 1.

Adélaïde - Act V, Scène 5.

"Je vais donc, puis qu'il faut
 que je me sacrifie,
 Assurer à Pyrrhus la reste de
 ma vie;
 Je vais en recevant sa foi sur
 les autels

"Puisqu'a ravir ma foi votre
 haine obstinée
 veut ou le sang d'un frère ou
 ce triste hymenée
 Puisque je suis réduite au
 déplorable sort

L'engager à mon fils par des
 vœux immortels
 Mais aussitôt ma main à moi
 seule funeste
 D'une infidèle vie abrégera
 le route."

Où de trahir l'amour ou de
 hâter sa mort,
 Mon choix est fait Seigneur
 Je me donne à vous
 Sachez que cette main que vous
 tyrannisez
 Punira la faiblesse où vous
 me réduisez."

The sacrifices which a mother's love entails upon Andromaque and those which a fidelity to Nemours bring upon Adélaïde cause exceedingly similar regrets from the two princesses.

Andromaque - Act III, Scene 8.

Adélaïde - Act II, Scene 5.

"O cendre d'un époux!
 O Troyens! O mon père!
 O mon fils, que tes jours
 content cher à ta mère."

"O discorde fatale amour plus
 dangereux
 Que vous coûtez cher à ce
 cœur malheureux."

The situations and passages which have been paralleled establish evidently a connection between many portions of Racine's tragedies and the Adélaïde. Just how direct this connection is may well be open to question.

History furnished Voltaire with three dramatic moments for his tragic action, the decree of death, the repentance of the tyrant who has pronounced this decree, and the disclosure of the happy disobedience to his commands whereby the life of the hero was saved.

History likewise furnished the Aristotelian desiderandum of a blood relationship between the two male characters involved. The love element may have been merely a facile invention of the

poet, or it may have been suggested by the Mithridate. Whether reminiscences of Racine or Voltaire's historical researches took precedence in his first conception of the tragedy it is impossible to state. But it is clear that having formed this conception his mind ran along Racinian channels.

The greatest resemblance is discovered between the Adélaïde and Racine's Mithridate. In each play two blood relatives love the same princess and are up to a certain point in the tragedy unaware of the rivalry of their affections. The more powerful of the two is, in each play, the one whose love is scorned. He, therefore, condemns the accepted lover to death.

A frenzy of jealousy is followed by one of repentance and by a desire to atone. The audience is led to believe the atonement too late but soon learns that the hero is not only to be saved but also to receive the heroine because of the desire on the part of the former tyrant to make due amends for his intended crime. All this is common to the two tragedies and seems to constitute a very direct influence of Racine upon the eighteenth century poet.

In filling in the interstices of this action, in presenting motivation and in depicting characters, Voltaire undoubtedly used other works of his illustrious predecessor, especially the following - Phèdre, Andromaque, and Bajazet - along with occasional touches from five of the remaining eight Racinian tragedies.

It is not contended that the imitation is always conscious even when the lines are identical. In fact in such cases it is probably most unconscious, for in the passages in which Voltaire seems to be following more closely a given situation in his model, he has tried to vary the form and diction.

The Adelaide is the work of a man whose mind was so full of his favorite poet that assimilation became with him a second nature.

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