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**The creative legacy of Euripides: an investigation of
Euripidean influence on the dramatists of 17th-century
France, as seen through their response to and
reinterpretation of his portrayal of Andromache.**

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ABSTRACT

The thesis examines the influence of Euripides' portrayal of Andromache on a series of later portrayals by the dramatists of 17th-century France. The works principally studied are:

Euripides: *Andromache, Troades*

Sallebray: *La Troade* (1639)

Racine: *Andromaque* (1667)

Pradon: *La Troade* (1679).

I: Andromache in Euripides

The first stage of the study analyses in detail Euripides' presentation of Andromache in *Andromache* and *Troades*.

II: The intervening tradition

The second section examines the contribution to the Andromache tradition of Virgil, Seneca and the French Renaissance dramatist Garnier, identifying the elements of their portrayals of Andromache that will be particularly influential in later works, and investigating the debt these elements may owe to Euripides.

III: Andromache in 17th-century French tragedy

The main comparison then deals in turn with each of Sallebray's *La Troade*, Racine's *Andromaque* and Pradon's *La Troade*. Investigation proceeds by the following stages:

- (a) The evidence for the author's acquaintance with Euripides' 'Andromache plays' is established, as is the evidence for his acquaintance with the other previous works in the tradition.
- (b) An attempt is made to discover how the plot outline and dramatic structure of each play may have evolved.
- (c) The question of the debt owed to and use made of previous portrayals is considered in a detailed analysis of each author's presentation of Andromache, asking:
 - (i) how each portrayal of Andromache fits into the series, tracing the development of certain elements from their appearance in Euripides to the form they have reached here;
 - (ii) what considering each portrayal of Andromache in the light of its relationship to previous portrayals may reveal of the author's intentions and skill.

Euripides' influence is shown to play a crucial rôle, directly, indirectly through a 'chain of inspiration', and by complex combinations of the two, in determining the shape and effectiveness of each French play.

Declarations

(i) I, Susanna Phillippo, hereby certify that this thesis, which is approximately 150,000 words in length, has been written by me, that it is the record of work carried out by me and that it has not been submitted in any previous application for a higher degree.

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(ii) I was admitted as a research student under Ordinance No. 12 in October 1989 and as a candidate for the degree of Ph.D. in October 1990; the higher study for which this is a record was carried out in the University of St. Andrews between 1989 and 1992.

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Oh she knows...
She takes his hand -
And prays the child will understand;
At the door,
They watch the men go by
In the clothes that daddy wore...
Mother's pride,
A baby boy,
His father's eyes....

At the [wall]
She bids her son good-bye,
Like the man she did before...
Mother's pride,
Just a boy...
And in her heart
The time has come
To lose a son...

(G. Michael, *Mother's Pride*)

Andromaque, je pense à vous! Ce petit fleuve
Pauvre et triste miroir où jadis resplendit
L'immense majesté de vos douleurs de veuve...

Andromaque, des bras d'un grand époux tombée,
Vil bétail, sous la main du superbe Pyrrhus,
Auprès d'un tombeau vide en extase courbée;
Veuve d'Hector, hélas! et femme d'Hélénus!

(Baudelaire, *Le Cygne*)

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INTRODUCTION

I: Field of study

The purpose of this thesis is to study the creative relationship between Euripides and the dramatists of 17th-century France. The specific field to which this investigation is applied is the development of the portrayal of one character, Andromache, from her appearances in Euripides to her appearances in classical French drama. The study aims to ascertain the importance of the influence of Euripides on that development.

What we have to deal with is an inter-related series of works incorporating a series of portrayals, comprising what will be termed the 'Andromache tradition'. The principal focus is on the ways in which Euripides influenced the course of the Andromache tradition, both as an overall process and in terms of the individual manifestations of that tradition in three French 17th-century plays: Sallebray's *La Troade* of 1639, Racine's *Andromaque* of 1667, and Pradon's *La Troade* of 1679. The influence of Euripides' *Andromache* and *Troades* is examined alongside that of other works which have played a major part in the Andromache tradition: Homer's *Iliad*, Virgil's *Aeneid*, Seneca's *Troades* and the 1579 *La Troade* of the French renaissance dramatist Robert Garnier. The central task is to identify what Sallebray, Racine and Pradon owe directly to Euripides, and what to other previous works, and then to discover whether, in the latter case, the idea concerned can be traced back originally to Euripides. The question asked, however, is not simply what each writer took from a predecessor, but what he made out of what he took.

Li: The gaps to be filled

The definitive work in the area of Greek influence on the French 17th century is Knight 1951 (*Racine et la Grèce*). Beginning with a comprehensive overview, in terms of education, expertise, available translations and prevailing taste, of the century's receptiveness to Greek influence, Knight searches for evidence of direct contact and weighs the Greek influence against that of Latin literature and contemporary works. His assessment is severe: "La littérature grecque n'a pas exercée au XVIIe siècle une influence de premier ordre" (Knight 1951, p.133). This verdict affects even the particular, exceptional case of Racine. Applying the above principles to Racine's earlier works, Knight concludes that Racine's Greek

training did not profoundly influence his dramatic writing until 1673 and *Iphigénie*.

Knight's facts are for the most part indisputable; subsequent criticism has followed much the same track, and has tended to confirm rather than challenge Knight's verdict. But the conclusions drawn from Knight's facts may need to be reassessed. There are three main deficiencies in the traditional critical approach to this question.

(a) Evidence for direct influence of Greek literature.

The evidence has not been fully recognised. Sometimes, the ideas and effects of the Greek works themselves have not been appreciated sufficiently clearly or in sufficient detail for the resemblances that may exist between them and their French successors to be realised. Sometimes, when the original idea or phrase has been adapted by the French writers to contemporary or personal tastes and purposes, critics have noticed only the differences from the Greek and overlooked the underlying similarities. Moreover, research into the evidence has mainly concentrated on 'major' authors like Racine. No detailed exploration has been attempted with Sallebray, nor (except in the case of *Phèdre et Hippolyte*) with Pradon.

(b) Direct vs indirect influence

There has been virtually no recognition that literary influence can work in a 'chain reaction' through a series of works, as well as directly. Euripides may instigate an idea or a turn of phrase; Virgil or Seneca may echo or adapt it. When later writers then take up Virgil's or Seneca's version, they owe an indirect debt to Euripides, however little direct contact they had with his work and however much the idea or phrase has been modified in the process. Such links can be even more extended. Pradon may appear to be indebted at first hand to Sallebray for something which, on closer examination, can be traced back through Garnier to Seneca and finally to Euripides. This 'chain of inspiration' is a largely uncharted concept in study of the relationship between Greek literature and the 17th century.

(c) Use of sources

While some attempt has been made to identify direct echoes of Greek literature, very little attempt has been made to go beyond this to assess the use to which echoes are put. What was the significance of the original phrase or passage in the source work? Does that significance carry over into

the later author's use of the phrase, and if so what can that tell us of his intentions for his own work? What can we tell of the later author's intentions and skill from the way he adapts inherited material, either in substance or in applying it to an altered context?

L.ii: Choice of Andromache for this investigation

The figure and story of Andromache have been chosen because the Greek influence on 17th-century works involving her has been particularly under-rated. There is a considerable body of alternative source material to Euripides, in contemporary plays on quite different subjects, in Seneca, in Virgil and in Garnier. In the first place, a fuller appreciation of the ideas and effects in Euripides' own portrayal of Andromache and her story may show its resemblances to the versions of Sallebray, Racine and Pradon to be as strong as those presented by contemporary plays. Secondly, close attention to the operation of the 'chain of inspiration' within the Andromache tradition may suggest a more complete picture of Euripides' rôle in the creation of the French plays. Finally, an appreciation of the authors' use of their source material offers a new approach to the questions of interpretation and authorial intention which the 17th-century 'Andromache plays' present.

II: Review of previous research

Existing research relevant to the study of Euripidean influence on the French Andromache tradition divides into three categories. There is 'background' research into the general issues and problems of Greek influence in 17th-century France. There are investigations specifically into the sources of the three French plays under examination - almost exclusively concerned with the sources of Racine's *Andromaque*. Finally, there are a few studies which attempt to consider some of the *series* of portrayals that go to make up the 'Andromache tradition'. What follows is an assessment of the results, merits and shortcomings of these, along with an indication in each area of how I differ and what I hope to add.

II.i: Greek influence on 17th century French drama: background.

Knight sets the standard in this field. Subsequent studies have tended to take his information as a given basis for them to build on¹, and

¹ e.g. Levi 1988; Levi acknowledges Knight (p. 409) and reproduces many of his central points in his own argument (e.g. pp. 410-11, 417,418).

any work venturing on this ground has been measured by Knight's yardstick². While a complete survey of all the research carried out into Greek influence on the 17th century is beyond the scope of this introduction, a survey of Knight's results will thus suffice to summarise.

"Le plus grand nombre [des élèves], affirme Fleury..... en apprennent assez pour avoir un prétexte de dire tout le reste de leur vie que le grec s'oublie facilement".³ Knight begins by examining the standard of Greek teaching in 17th-century schools and the average level of Greek learning attained by the educated populace. He finds that generally, despite high intentions on the part of pedagogical leaders, Greek was very indifferently taught (ch II), increasingly so as the century progressed⁴. Among writers, some never knew any Greek - Quinault, for example, despite plays based on Greek legend (*Bellérophon*) (Knight 1951, p.35), Charles Perrault, despite all his writings comparing ancient literature to that of his own century. Even among the most scholarly in the world of letters, admissions and revelations of the insufficiency of their Greek learning were frequent. D'Aubignac's knowledge of Greek was mediocre, according to Boileau; he appears to have read Homer in Latin translation, and betrays in his own remarks an uneasiness with the Greek language, "une langue entièrement opposée à la nôtre" (p. 36). La Fontaine is said to have read most of his Greek authors in Latin (p. 39); La Bruyère's 'translation' of Theophrastus derives mostly from Casaubon's Latin version (p. 38). The greater proportion, then, of the educated classes could not, or at least not comfortably, read Greek literature in the original.

Neither was there much help available from translations. "Un contemporain de Racine, ignorant le grec ou ayant oublié le peu qu'il en a appris au collège peut lire en un langage désuet qui en gâte tout le charme, Homère, deux tragédies de Sophocle et deux d'Euripide" (p.55). The translations of Sophocles and Euripides in question are, respectively,

² Cf., e.g., the review, by Marc Fumaroli, of the one really major work in this field since Knight 1951, Noémi Hepp's 1968 *Homère en France au XVIIe siècle* : "Ce livre renoue, avec les qualités qui lui sont propres, avec la tradition marquée au XXe [siècle] par [le grand livre] de R. C. Knight, *Racine et la Grèce*". (Fumaroli 1973, p. 643.)

³ E. Egger, *L'Hellénisme en France*, Paris, 1869, II, 53, quoting from Fleury's *Traité du choix et de la méthode des études*, ch. XV; cited Knight 1951 p.34.

⁴ There were exceptions: Port-Royal, above all: "Les Petites Ecoles ont donné, à n'en point douter, la meilleure formation grecque qu'on pût obtenir au XVIIe siècle" (Knight 1951, p. 33); to some extent the Oratoire de Jésus college at Juilly ("on peut s'imaginer qu'à Juilly les études grecques prospéraient sous Lamy et du Guet" p. 31); the protestant Collège de Sedan, following similar pedagogical principles to those later introduced at Port-Royal. (Lopez 1987, 217-22). But all of these were in different ways exceptions to the general, mainstream patterns of education.

Lazare de Baïf's *Electre* (1537) and Jean-Antoine de Baïf's *Antigone* (1573), Bochetel's *Hécube* (1544) and Sébillet's *Iphigénie à Aulis* (1549). Four out of a total of thirty-three extant tragedies is not an encouraging total. The 17th-century public, with nothing more recent in their own language to help them get to grips with Greek tragedy until 1692, seems to have paid scant attention to these meagre resources from a previous century⁵. They could, if they so wished, consult a Latin translation: many editions of the works of Greek literature were published with parallel Latin versions. But there is a big question as to whether many would have wished to, or have been much inspired by what they found if they did so. The Latin translations were mostly plodding word-for-word versions, and showed the Greek originals to a great disadvantage: "il est parfaitement clair que Sophocle, rendu littéralement en latin, ne soutient pas la comparaison avec Sénèque" (Knight 1951, p. 56). And the tragedies of Seneca, so much easier to read in the original, were correspondingly more popular: witness the three 17th-century French translations of his complete works (1629, 1651, 1659), as against the total neglect of his Greek predecessors.

Thus Knight concludes that, naturally enough, "C'est...Sénèque et non Sophocle qui préside aux premiers pas comme aux premiers triomphes de la tragédie française" (p. 55). There were two big obstacles to a Greek tragedy attracting a modern adaptor: the average 17th-century playwright would have had to go out of his way to familiarise himself with a potential Greek model; if he did so he might not be greatly impressed with what he found. An increasingly large and vociferous section of the century's intellects decried the so-called virtues of Greek literature to extol the achievements of their own era: hence the 'Querelle des Anciens et des Modernes'. Latin literature, considered to belong to a more civilised era, fared better than Greek in the controversy; Seneca's plays remained a clear and constant influence on the French stage (p.119). But to a contemporary taste that demanded romance, the softening of the harsh or the peculiar, and polish, eloquence and 'bon ton' in language, the creations of Greek civilisation appeared mostly too frank, too austere or too alien. Playwrights certainly treated many stories from Greek legend, but in adapting their subjects to please their public with "des intérêts et des sentiments purement

⁵ These translations may have more merit than Knight allows. So Delcourt 1925: "La version d'*Hécube* [de Bochetel] est loin d'être méprisable" (p. 9); "Jean Antoine de Baïf, à qui l'on doit une traduction de l'*Antigone*, où il y a des morceaux excellents et d'une exactitude remarquable..." (pp 9-10); although Lazare de Baïf "n'entend pas toujours la langue de Sophocle et écrit un français bien pénible" (p. 9). But both Knight and Delcourt agree that these translations were all but forgotten in the 17th century (Knight, p. 54, Delcourt, p. 4).

modernes" (p. 126), they mostly did their best to dispose of any truly authentic Greek flavour. This was so, Knight maintains, even in the few cases where there was a specific Greek dramatic model which the author might claim to draw on. Often in these cases the author made use anyway of Latin or French intermediaries or translations.

Knight counts at most four 17th-century plays prior to Racine's *Iphigénie* (1673) whose principal and immediate source can be tied down to a Greek model; a few more after 1677 when Racine's *Phèdre* gave the practice a temporary popularity. Beyond this he allows the contribution of Euripides and Sophocles, except with Racine, to consist in scarcely more than a few details in a handful of plays (p. 126). He concludes, as we have seen, that "la littérature grecque n'a pas exercé au XVIIe siècle une influence de premier ordre" (p. 133)⁶.

Knight's investigation is meticulous and provides much essential groundwork for this thesis. Knight, however, applies very narrow criteria for determining Greek influences. He focuses on two sharply-defined aims. Firstly, he seeks to identify where playwrights have drawn on Greek sources and ideas at first hand, in their authentic form, without resort to intermediaries. This approach effectively distills out of the mass of 17th-century drama all that is of unadulterated Greek derivation, but has the drawback of treating the influence of Greek in the original and the influence of the various sorts of intermediary as competing sources. A translation can still transmit the influence of an original work, however imperfectly; so can an adaptation, or a previous work, French or Latin, that itself drew directly on the original. A search for 'pure Greek' influence precludes an investigation of indirect influence, and therefore, however valuable, will always give an incomplete picture.

Secondly, Knight aims to establish how much that is authentically Greek an author adapting a Greek source would communicate to an audience through his play (p. 230). Consequently, he regards as of secondary value any element taken from the Greek which an author has reshaped to suit more modern tastes and purposes. This study, by contrast, is more concerned with *whatever* an author has used from a Greek work, regardless of how he manipulates, modernises or even mangles the original Greek elements. Such modifications are important in establishing the aims and concerns of the particular author, but they do not alter the basic creative

⁶ Delcourt goes further: "Entre la Pléiade et Racine, nous ne rencontrons plus d'autre trace des tragiques grecs que quelques vers épars chez Corneille ou Rotrou; encore ne s'y trouvent-ils souvent que pour avoir été repris par Sénèque", (Delcourt 1925, p. 82).

relationship between that author's work and the ancient text that provided him with a starting point. This point is especially important in assessing the influence of a Greek author as it passes through a 'chain' of works.

II.ii: Studies investigating Greek sources for the 'Andromache plays'.

Virtually without exception, these concern solely Racine's *Andromaque*⁷. The majority of the studies of *Andromaque*'s Greek sources approach the issue in terms of the larger building-blocks of ideas, elements of plot, elements of the dramatic conflict. A few, however, tackle the more detailed identification of verbal echoes: and with these we start.

Mesnard 1865-73 includes, in footnotes, all the direct textual borrowings he identified in each of Racine's plays. Knight comments (Knight 1951, p.11) that, as for the echoes from Greek literature, "L'admirable édition de Mesnard a réuni l'essentiel". In fact, for *Andromaque* at least, Mesnard identifies but a handful of such echoes. The list of direct borrowings from Euripides (and Homer) that Knight allows (Knight 1951, pp. 281-2) is equally scanty. Knight clearly did not believe there were any more worth noting: in Knight and Barnwell 1977, the most recent detailed work on textual echoes, it is stated: "deux ou trois [souvenirs] à peine, dans *Andromaque*, sont grecs" (p. 19). Accordingly, this work adds very little to the total of recognised Greek echoes, while cataloguing a formidable array of echoes from contemporary French literature. The same is true of Knight 1962⁸, with its narrower focus on a couple of scenes (I sc. i, IV sc. 5).

When dealing with verbal echoes, these works confine themselves to noting the parallels. Nowhere is there any attempt to consider the significance of the alterations or of the differences in application, nor the possible implications of deliberate reference to a previous work. The most that Knight does is to refer reminiscences of ancient literature to aesthetic effect: "dans certains.... cas Racine comptait, à coup sûr, que l'original de tel de ses vers serait reconnu, et qu'un souvenir virgilien, par exemple, habilement amené, ferait plaisir". (Knight 1962, p. 35). This is disappointing and also surprising, since in all three cited works, Knight recognises in principle the illumination that a study of sources may shed on a writer's

⁷ Apart from brief surveys in passing of plot and character derivation, in such general works as Lancaster 1929-42 and Bussom 1922, Sallebray's and Pradon's *La Troade* plays have been completely neglected by critics in respect of their relationship with Greek literature.

⁸ This article seems to have served as the basis for the introduction to Knight and Barnwell 1977.

creative processes in terms that seem to promise some detailed investigation of this at work⁹. Knight and Barnwell 1977 applies this idea when talking specifically of verbal echoes: "il s'agit de définir si possible la vraie nature de l'originalité d'un très grand artiste. On a l'impression de surprendre jusqu'à un certain point le travail poétique qui s'accomplit en lui" (p. 24). The promise of these remarks, certainly in terms of the echoes of ancient literature, is nowhere fulfilled.

Quant aux emprunts faits par Racine directement à Euripide ou à Homère, voici deux siècles et demi qu'on les connaît, qu'on compare à tous les points de vue l'original et l'adaptation... J'ajoute très peu à la somme des sources grecques déjà signalées; aussi bien m'a-t-il semblé sans profit de beaucoup chercher dans ce domaine. Le plus important, sinon tout, est depuis longtemps connu

(Knight 1951 pp. 10-11).

As regards *Andromaque* at least, Knight's verdict seems excessively dismissive. Neither Mesnard's work nor any other seems to have exhausted even the clearest possible cases of Euripidean (or Homeric) reminiscences. And almost no work has in fact been done on comparing Euripides' or Homer's original lines with Racine's adaptations, except in a famous case such as the reminiscences of Hector and *Andromaque's* farewell from *Iliad* 6.

Other works relative to the questions of Greek sources have concentrated on larger elements of action, situation or characterisation. With a few exceptions, these are mainly concerned with the influence (or lack of it) of Euripides. The *Andromaque* chapter in Knight 1951 and Knight and Barnwell 1977 recur in this category; they may be classed along with J. Pommier 1962 in that all three treat the Greek contribution in the context of a comparative examination of ideas and elements possibly/probably contributed from across the range of other source works.¹⁰ All generally play down Euripides' contribution in comparison on the one hand to that of Latin literature (especially Virgil - cp. e.g. Knight and Barnwell 1977, p. 17), and on the other to that of contemporary plays (and contemporary history, in Pommier's argument) about quite different stories

⁹ See Knight 1962 p. 29, Knight and Bamwell 1977 p. 7, Knight 1951 p. 10.

¹⁰ Moravcevic 1982 enters this class too but is a survey of research done in the area this century rather than an investigation.

and people. Alongside these studies are works concentrating more narrowly on the links between Euripides' portrayals of the Andromache story and *Andromaque*. Van Stockum 1960 gives a useful exposition of some salient, and some quite detailed, points about the Greek play, but adds very little to the conclusions reached by the above works, and like them concentrates on Racine's modifications viewed as straight differences. By contrast, Goodkin 1984, studying Racine's portrayal of *Andromaque* in terms of its relationship to the heroine of Euripides' *Andromache*, views Racine's modifications in this area as an *interpretation* of Euripides (see e.g. p. 231); a potentially fruitful approach, but Goodkin's underlying purpose - to explore the ambiguities and conflicts of Andromache's attitude of fidelity to the past as a metaphor for Racine's own creative relationship to Euripides - takes us into realms of modern literary theory and a psychologically speculative analysis beyond the scope of our present study. Sells 1942, while much more traditional in its method, like Goodkin 1984 accords Euripides' influence on *Andromaque* an importance rarely allowed it in 20th-century criticism. Sells aims to show that despite Racine's claims in his preface, Euripides rather than Virgil is his main classical source. This article has the merit of drawing attention to the pre-existence in Euripides of features too often considered to owe their presence in the *Andromache* tradition to Virgil (see [2.1.1.1](#), [2.1.1.2](#)). Sells' argument, however, is seriously flawed by the oversimplification that opposes Euripides to Virgil without taking into account the ensuing tradition of Seneca, Garnier and Sallebray. Disappointing, too, is Sells' failure to fulfil in detail the initial promise to "examine the *transition* between Euripides and Racine" (5, p. 1): he never gives proper attention to the question of *how* the various elements may have got from Euripides to Racine. Consequently, the article provides an inadequate counterbalance to the weight of modern opinion playing down Euripides' influence, and contributes little of substance to an investigation of how the creative relationship between Racine and the Greek dramatist may have worked.

II.iii: Studies of the 'Andromache tradition'.

A principal deficiency of almost all the works in the previous two categories was their failure to consider the various possible source works involving *Andromache* as an inter-related series. It remains to consider the possible contribution to an examination of Euripides' influence of those studies which do look at several works in the *Andromache* tradition in

sequence . In the first place, there is a crop of 19th-century studies considering Andromache's various literary appearances. Among these are Taine 1852, Hamel 1858 and the section on *Andromaque* in Saint Victor 1884 (III, 325-50). Hamel 1858 is the best of these, in Racine's case at least exploring the relationship between his portrayal and those of his predecessors in some detail, showing the beginnings of an appreciation that sources can work as a process (p. 285) and making an attempt to consider the particular use to which Racine turns certain individual source passages. But there is too little space for such promising ideas to be developed; and his account of the ancient works treats their possible influence on each other only at the level of the broadest generalisations. As for the discussions of Taine and Saint Victor, these are far more concerned with making straightforward comparisons than with examining the possible relationship between the various portrayals of Andromache. An innate conviction of Racine's superiority, moreover, hampers their ability to appreciate the qualities of Euripides' portrayal, and therefore to allow it to bear any substantial resemblances to Racine's.

A much more thorough and penetrating analysis of the Andromache tradition *as* a tradition is provided by Bénichou 1967. Bénichou gives a comprehensive survey of all the ancient texts, fragments and allusions communicating the various versions of legends relevant to the Andromache story, as it gradually develops into its familiar form in Euripides, Virgil, and Seneca. He then considers how Racine's version, whether consciously or not, continues this process of evolution. Bénichou has paid attention to the nuances of Euripides' portrayal of Andromache, and this enables him to grasp better than any other critic here cited the fact that Racine's rendition of the Pyrrhus-Andromaque conflict is a natural development from an attitude of Andromache's already present in Euripides (p. 222). He appreciates in general terms something of the influence Euripides had on the tradition as a whole, e.g. in the motif of the "chantage à l'enfant" (p. 214); in terms of such larger elements he appreciates the individual influence of Euripides on Racine, as with the dramatic outline and oppositions involved in the delineation of Andromache's peril. Bénichou's essay is, however, much less a study of particular creative relationships between writers, one author's work influencing and shaping the work of another throughout a series of writers, than a study of the evolution of a tradition as a natural development: each writer responding in turn to the previous tradition as a whole.

Consequently Bénichou goes very little into the details of the various individual relationships between any writer and each of his predecessors, and of how these influence the ongoing course of the tradition. Moreover, Bénichou's focuses only on the evolution of the tradition of *Andromache* as captive *in Greece*; he therefore mentions Euripides' and Seneca's *Troades*, and Garnier's and Sallebray's *La Troade* plays, only in terms of their furnishing supplementary details to Racine's rendition of the 'main' tradition (p. 224), not as stages in the course of the tradition itself. In literary terms this separation falsifies the overall picture: the influence of the 'fall of Troy' plays is an integral part of the literary tradition to which *Andromache*, *Aeneid* III and *Andromaque* belong.

This peculiarity of Bénichou's approach is symptomatic of a basic problem in all the studies considered, instanced by the omission, in considering the *Andromache* tradition, of any mention of the portrayals of Garnier and Sallebray¹¹. None of these studies fully appreciates that what we are dealing with may be a *chain* of inter-related works, each strongly linked to the immediate successor and predecessor. It is not possible to skip over any of the links in the chain without distorting the picture of how the overall tradition has developed. The influence of each work in such a chain affects, in different ways and to varying degrees, the influence of every other: each work may both transmit and modify the influence of a predecessor.

It seems, therefore, that there is a lot of work still to be done in terms of an investigation based on the principles laid down in I.i. What follows is an outline and explanation of the procedures to be adopted in pursuing that investigation.

III: Methodology

III.i: Principles for establishing the evidence.

The building-blocks of this investigation are the individual cases in a text where one writer has borrowed something from a predecessor's work. This happens on varying scales: at the level of a phrase, a line, an image, an argument in a speech, a longer passage, a whole scene; the resemblance may be verbal, structural or consist in the ideas. Studying these borrowings as evidence concerns mainly the smaller-scale, more specific echoes of phrases,

¹¹ The omission of Pradon is less crucial: his *La Troade* provides a further link in the chain but is not vital to considering the continuity between the works preceding it.

lines, or images. Exact verbal echoes provide the strongest evidence. Close verbal echoes (not using the same precise words but employing terms closely related in meaning to the original ones) also carry much weight. A distinction should be made here between the expression of commonplaces and the expression of more individual ideas: with a commonplace idea, even close similarity of expression might be mere coincidence, but with an idea more specific to a particular character or situation this is less likely. The same distinction is important when assessing the evidence provided by parallels in the ideas underlying a phrase, line or passage. Such parallels, unsupported by any notable verbal resemblance, provide less certain evidence than verbal echoes; but a specific thought, peculiar or especially appropriate to a certain character, or a more unusual idea, recurring from one writer's work to another is worth taking note of.

These types of borrowing will be generally described as 'textual' echoes, reminiscences or recollections. I have not adopted the distinction in terminology made in Knight and Barnwell 1977 between "souvenirs" and "échos", "écho" being applied specifically to cases of fortuitous verbal similarity brought about by the influence of French versification or of the conventions of tragic diction. The former case obviously does not apply to resemblances between Greek (or Latin) and French passages; the latter case is similar to the position, described above, that arises with 'commonplace' ideas, and has been taken into account when determining whether or not a parallel is worth noting. In general, if a resemblance is included it is because I believe it to be a reminiscence of a particular work; any degree of doubt as to the strength of the case for the link will be made clear in the way the resemblance is proposed. "Echo", "reminiscence", "borrowing" and similar terms are therefore used more or less interchangeably; although "echo" *usually* refers to a verbal resemblance, and "parallel" *usually* to resemblances at the level of ideas.

The term "parallel" is also applied where there are similarities at a less precise level and on a larger scale between two works. Into this category come 'structural similarities': e.g. an interchange between characters constructed after the same pattern as an interchange in an analogous situation in a previous work. These cases are generally introduced as pointers to a link rather than as strong evidence: they are often cited in support of more detailed resemblances not in themselves sufficient to uphold a general conclusion about an overall relationship between two works. Many 'resemblances of ideas' are also classed as "parallels". Such

resemblances are proposed with varying degrees of confidence. A specific attitude, or trait of behaviour, attributed to a particular character and to some degree personalised to him, occurring in one work and mirrored by a later one, will be considered as having a good claim to be a direct derivation, particularly if, here and there, there are textual echoes in the expression of that attitude or trait. On other occasions, where for example an aspect of a character's rôle might derive from elements in a previous portrayal relating to a common underlying attitude, motive or intention, the proposed link is more tenuous but will still be put forward as meriting consideration.

Before the investigation into the sources of Sallebray's, Racine's and Pradon's plays begins, an attempt is made to establish the evidence for their having read the 'Andromache works' of Euripides, and of those other authors through whom Euripides' influence may be transmitted, Seneca, Garnier and (in Racine's case) Virgil. With Racine and Pradon there is some external evidence, but even so the extra support of textual evidence is needed, as it is with Sallebray. There is a danger of becoming involved in a circular argument here ("we can say that this line of X's echoes Euripides, since we know that X read Euripides because some of X's lines echo Euripides"). It is, I believe, nonetheless legitimate to use the clearest examples indicating direct contact as evidence that first-hand knowledge and use of Euripides is involved in the later author's work, and to proceed on that basis to explore other cases where the direct influence of the earlier work may, if not quite so clearly, be involved. Where there are no examples sufficiently clear in themselves to provide completely convincing evidence of a direct link, the cumulation of two or three examples where there is at least a close similarity of thought, expression or structure not matched in any of the other likely sources, will be taken as a reasonable basis on which to proceed. The varying levels of certainty with which it is concluded that each author *had* read and did draw on Euripides, however, will always be made clear.

III.ii: Lines of investigation

We are investigating in what ways Euripides influenced the course of the 'Andromache' tradition. This involves considering, with respect to each French work, both the operation and the effect of his influence, direct or indirect. While examining in what respects each 17th-century work has been inspired and influenced by the Andromache tradition, we shall also

assess the rôle, importance and impact of Andromache within each new play, as the end result of each author's response to the inherited material.

III.ii.i: Procedure adopted in considering indirect influence

Euripides(A) → B → C → D → E etc.

The study will investigate where Euripides has instigated defining elements of the tradition, or elements that became particularly influential in a number of individual works. This may work in two ways:

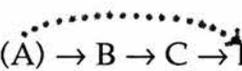
- (a) elements may be taken over from 'A' by 'B' and transmitted to 'C', etc., more or less as they are, although possibly in elaborated or expanded form;
- (b) elements from 'A' may be adapted by 'B' into something different, by combining inherited and original ideas.

Alongside this, each French author's reaction to the 'Andromache tradition' initiated by Euripides will be examined, considering the way he develops that tradition; how far that tradition has come since Euripides; the extent of Euripides' contribution to the development; and the process by which the tradition has reached the form it takes here from the form it started with.

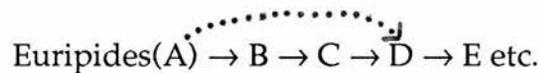
Once a connection has been postulated between Euripides and any of the definitive elements of the tradition developed by a later writer, the rôle this establishes for Euripides within the continuing influence of that element will usually be taken as read. For example, it will be tacitly understood that, in talking about the impact of Seneca's portrayal of Andromache in the 'tomb-scene' conflict as a source for later portrayals, we are dealing with a factor that carries within it the influence of Euripides (see [2.1.3.1](#), [2.1.3.2](#)). Explicit reminders of Euripides' rôle in the process are inserted only where, because intervening factors or the current trend of critical opinion might obscure that rôle, it is felt to be particularly crucial that this consideration be brought to the reader's attention.

III.ii.ii: Procedure adopted in considering direct influence

Euripides(A) → B → C → D → E etc.



Euripides' direct influence on each 17th-century writer works in combination with the influence of the chain and needs to be considered alongside it. We shall be investigating cases where it appears that a later writer's modification on any point of the tradition Euripides instigated is due to direct contact with the Greek dramatist's work. Such direct contact may allow a writer to pick up elements which were either completely left aside or marginalised by the intervening writers. It may also mean that a later writer will combine his first-hand knowledge of Euripides' portrayal of Andromache with his knowledge of an element beginning with Euripides' portrayal but transformed in an intervening writer's version into 'something else', and produce a rendition of that element that brings the tradition back closer to Euripides' portrayal than was previously the case. Such 'modification' of the tradition by direct contact may affect only the writer concerned:



It may also occur in one writer in such a way as to affect the ongoing course of the tradition.

III.iii: Implications of Greek allusions for critical interpretation

...originality is not simply what is left when all the borrowings have been accounted for

(Knight 1970, p. 16)

C'est à partir des sources, non en l'absence de toute source, que commence le mystérieux travail créateur; et ce n'est, neuf fois sur dix, que par la confrontation des sources avec l'oeuvre qu'on peut deviner ce travail

(Knight and Barnwell 1977 p. 7).

Having identified the debts that the three French authors owe Euripides directly, indirectly through the tradition, or through a process combining direct and indirect influence, this thesis addresses a second main task: to investigate the use that is made of what is borrowed. How may looking at an individual work in the light of its relationship to the sources affect:

(a) our interpretation of the portrayal of Andromache within the work;

(b) our appreciation of what the author was trying to achieve, how skilfully he does that, and the extent of his originality?

Study of the choices a writer makes between the various presentations of a particular aspect of Andromache's portrayal in the closely related sources, and study of the particular adaptations he makes, is undertaken in an attempt to gain insight into that writer's conception of the character he is presenting, and into his dramatic purposes. This may be worked out at the level of individual textual allusions to a prior work. When Sallebray, Racine or Pradon deliberately echoes a line or phrase which in Euripides related to a particular facet of Andromache's character, this may allow us to conclude that the particular French author intended that same trait to be part of his portrayal.

This assumes that textual reminiscences of a previous work are conscious and deliberate. Knight, in arguing (Knight 1969(b)) that literary creation, at least in the case of drama, necessarily involves conscious construction, maintains that the use of sources comes under this heading: "what if ... we seek to use sources as clues to the author's purpose?... If .. it is once accepted that literary activity must be partly conscious and rational - the work of choosing and deploying...elements provided by whatever means - it is not difficult to accept ... that the pieces in the pattern may themselves come ... from literature" (pp. 156-7). To hold such a view is not necessarily to claim that Racine, Sallebray, and Pradon wrote their plays with the various source works as it were open in front of them, ready to be consulted at any point where they felt a reference might be helpful. It is, however, to suggest that when their characters have been given something to say that recalls words spoken by a character in Euripides, it is worth exploring the possibility that each author knew where the words he was adapting came from, had his own clear conception of their place, significance and impact within the original work, and understood and intended the similarities and the differences between his adaptation and the original. It is also to suggest that the author may make a conscious choice between the different versions of a scene, speech, line, thought or sentiment that he has read and either has before him or retains in his memory: "It need not follow that all the reasons for all his choices are known to the artist, though I believe the good artist is conscious of choosing and rejecting" (Knight 1969(b), p. 155). This seems a logical conclusion to draw when behind an author there stretches a linear tradition of works treating the same stories or characters as he does: if he has read any one of these

works he is unlikely not to be aware of it as an influence on his own work, and may well deliberately intend his work to follow in the footsteps of his predecessor(s). Pradon states in his preface that he was so attracted by Seneca's and Euripides' depiction of the story and characters of the fall of Troy that he conceived the desire to recreate their works in his own version. Racine's prefaces show him to be clearly aware that *Andromaque* is continuing a tradition of portrayals of Andromache, to which his own play is a response and in the face of which he has made choices to follow or reject various of the paths his predecessors have taken. Sallebray, in following his main source Garnier, at times makes adaptations or additions to passages which otherwise follow his model closely, picking up ideas or phrases from Seneca and possibly Euripides, thus showing that he was aware of the different previous treatments of his story and made choices between Garnier's rendition or omission of an idea and what he found in other versions. There is evidence, then, that all three writers made conscious use of the previous versions of the Andromache story in constructing their own conception of it.

The problem with applying this principle to an interpretation of the later author's intention approached through a confrontation of their text with the 'meaning' of their source is that we cannot be certain what conception each author had of the place, significance and impact within the original work of the words he adapts. However, it may be possible to establish pointers to be looked for in the adapting author's text, which allow us to infer, with due caution, that his understanding of the source text at a particular point was close to that being suggested. If, for instance, an implication that appears to us to underlie a phrase in the original is represented more explicitly in the later author's adaptation, it seems fair to conclude that he interpreted the original in the same way as we do. If a later author applies a phrase or line, verbally similar to one in the source work, to a context where, given the author's presentation elsewhere of the issues involved, it seems to carry an ambiguous or double-edged significance similar to the effect we suspect the earlier writer to have intended, we may cautiously conclude that the later author's reading of the source ran parallel to ours at this point and was applied accordingly to his own purposes. If, more generally, an author uses a phrase with a good claim to being a textual echo from an earlier work to express a wider attitude or trait in a certain character - say, for example, Andromache's attitude to her son - and this aspect of characterisation is the same as that to which the phrase related in

the original work; if, then, in either the original or the later work the implications of the phrase for the attitude being portrayed are reasonably clear, then it seems possible to suggest that, in the one case, the implications of the phrase in the earlier work are likely to be intended by the later author to apply in his own use of the phrase, or, in the other case, that the implications apparent in the later author's use of the phrase reflect his understanding of the original portrayal. Care must be taken here to avoid falling into a circular argument; two interpretations are involved, that of the later work and that of the earlier, and since interpretation always involves some degree of subjectivity one's own personal view of the earlier work may colour one's view of the later, and vice versa. In any case one could never be dealing with certainties in this area. But some interpretative statements about a work can claim a generally accepted validity. No-one, to take an extreme case, has ever suggested that Euripides or Racine portrays Andromache as not having loved Hector; it seems beyond reasonable doubt that in his *Troades* Euripides portrays Andromache's love for Astyanax as a mother's straightforward love for her child. This does not prove that Racine, for instance, viewed matters this way; it simply makes it probable, to a greater or lesser degree, that he did so. There are also occasions where, from external evidence, it may be legitimate to make suppositions as to how an author is *likely* to have viewed and interpreted a work or a character within that work (see 4.1.1.1). All interpretative approaches involve some degree of speculation. As long as one is always aware that one is dealing not with absolute facts but with varying degrees of probability and possibility, an attempt to consider an author's use of inherited material as a possible source of illumination in the interpretation of his work and intentions seems perfectly valid.

IV: Theoretical issues: the character debate

The previous section has examined the theoretical approach here adopted. It will be apparent, however, that wider areas of literary theory are relevant to this study. Above all, since the investigation is centred on the influence of the portrayal of one character in a work of Greek dramatic literature, clearly a position has been adopted on the controversial issues of the true nature and importance of 'character' in Greek tragedy - and in dramatic literature generally. Accordingly, an outline of that position is required.

This study of the portrayal of Andromache in Euripides and in his successors proceeds on the basis that it is legitimate to ask fairly detailed questions about what a character 'is like' in an author's presentation; that these questions would be of interest both to a modern and to a 5th-century Athenian audience; and that the author intended them to be so. This view cuts across several of the main current controversies over 'character presentation' in Greek drama. I do not mean by 'asking fairly detailed questions' the at times hyper-subtle psychological analysis that assumes its subject must necessarily be possessed of complex inner motivations and idiosyncrasies of personality. Such confusion of 'interesting' with 'complex' in discussions of character is mirrored in the distrust displayed by many critics, reacting against such 'psychologising', of any analytical approach to character in Greek tragedy at all.¹² The basis of my approach is that audiences, in watching a play, respond to the characters as if, within the dramatic world of the play at least, there were a truth about what they *are*, are interested in this truth, and ask their own questions and come to their own decisions as to what that truth is; authors intend and, within certain parameters which may allow for greater or lesser freedom, direct this process of response. It is the author's 'directions' that we are attempting to identify when, in literary criticism, we ask questions pertaining to the 'discovery' of what a character 'is like'.

This viewpoint assumes, in the first place, that audiences in general do react in this way, and that the reactions of a 5th-century Athenian audience were likely in this respect to be the same as ours. It is a general human tendency to relate our understanding of anything we see or hear bearing a resemblance to a phenomenon we are familiar with, to our understanding of the familiar phenomenon, even in dealing with abstract or imaginary concepts. If, therefore, an actor coming on stage appears to us to bear any resemblance to the people we are used to meeting in 'real life', the instinctive reaction is to respond to what that actor says and does in the same way as we would respond to a 'real human being', even if we are aware that the actor is representing someone or something that does not

12 Cp Dale 1954: "To that school of thought which sees in...the creation of character, the chief ... contribution of Euripides to the drama, scanning every turn of incident, every line of dialogue, for little touches to fill in some *complex* [my italics] portrait, the chief interest of this play lies in an elaborately unflattering 'character study' of Admetus..." (p. xxii).

exist as 'objective reality'¹³. That latter consciousness does not preclude the possibility of envisaging the represented character as belonging to a complete and coherent imaginary world operating on the same principles as in our own world¹⁴. Even if what we see in some obvious external aspects is quite unlike the external forms we are used to with human beings (appearance, mode of utterance), we still tend to interpret in human terms whatever still admits of this. For instance, most people very easily attribute emotions of loneliness, distress, pleasure, or loyalty to an animal seen behaving or responding in a way that seems to bear recognisable similarities to the way humans experiencing those emotions behave or respond. Nor can this be dismissed as a sentimental modern notion: compare the Homeric portrayal of Achilles' horses mourning Patrocles (*Iliad* 17), or of Odysseus' faithful dog Argos (*Odyssey* 17). Thus I do not think it anachronistic to suggest that a 5th-century Athenian audience could respond to and understand the figures they saw represented on the stage in the same terms as they responded to and understood each other, unhindered by the fact that these figures expressed themselves in a more 'formal', poetic and stylized way, and that their masks and costume made their appearance not quite like anything they met in the normal course of existence¹⁵. If our view of the instinctive correlation of things seen and heard with one's own human experience as soon as any recognisable feature seems to invite this is correct, an author would have to work very hard to persuade his audience *not* to react in this way¹⁶. What we know,

¹³ This assertion is admittedly controversial: Pelling (Pelling 1990) identifies as a principal area of debate: "the question whether our construction of characters in an art-form differs significantly from the way we form a view of people in everyday existence" (pp. vi-vii). Critics like Goldhill and Gould maintain it is (Goldhill 1990, e.g. p.111; Gould 1978, e.g. p.61). Easterling, on the other hand, drawing on E. Goffman's book, *Frame Analysis*, makes a comparison between theatrical spectating and the theory of how in normal life people respond to events that they see; "the techniques used by the audience in 'following along' and 'reading off' what is happening by attending to the relevant framing cues are the *same techniques* as they use in relation to other, off-stage events which they experience as onlookers" (Easterling 1990, p. 87); she therefore concludes; "the world of drama ... we perceive its essential difference while 'reading it off' *as if* it were real" (pp.87-8).

¹⁴ Cp. Wolfgang Iser on 'Imaginary reality': "The text's selective utilization of the reader's own faculties results in his having an aesthetic experience whose very structure ... enables him to imagine a reality which is real as a process of experience, though it can never be real in a concrete sense", 'The current situation of literary theory; key concepts and the imaginary', *New Literary History*, vol. 11 no. 1, 1979, p. 15; quoted from Holub 1984, p.110.

¹⁵ *Contra* Gould, who sees the staging conventions and the modes of expression of Greek tragedy as *designed* to indicate to the audience that they are not to react to the characters as they would to people in real life (Gould 1978, pp. 49-50).

¹⁶ Easterling cites Goffman (*Frame Analysis* p. 244) as speaking of "the great capacity of audiences to adjust and calibrate in order to get on with getting involved", even when faced with unfamiliar conventions (Easterling 1990, p. 88).

archaeologically speaking, of 5th-century mask-design indicates neither that the physical appearance of the characters on stage would be sufficient to dissuade an audience from reacting to them as humans nor that the playwrights were concerned so to dissuade them¹⁷. This is not to deny that the Athenian audiences were conscious of watching a fictional representation, but to assert that that awareness did not *fundamentally* alter the nature of the emotions and curiosity the on-stage characters aroused in them from the nature of the responses they experienced in their everyday dealings with their fellow-creatures. The famous statement attributed to Sophocles by Aristotle (*Poetics* 1460b 33-4), that he portrayed men as they should be, Euripides as they were, strongly suggests a view of dramatic character that expects a theatrical creation to belong recognisably to the same humanity as authors and audience.

To the principle that any audience will respond to and interpret in terms of human personality whatever resembles the human traits they are aware of in themselves and others is here added the principle that a modern critic can reconstruct what the playwright intended that response and interpretation to be. This further assumes that human nature has remained essentially constant¹⁸. Such a view does not imply that nothing has changed in social, cultural, religious or ethical conceptions and values. It does, however, hold that the basic components of human experience are the same in whatever culture. Is it outrageous to claim that in Greek culture people felt anger, or unhappiness, or concern for and devotion to their children or parents, in exactly the same way we do, if not always in the same conditions and for the same reasons? Even when it comes to applying the more problematic term 'love' to Greek literature and characters, it is important to realise that our modern use and understanding of 'love' is not as a monolithic concept: the term embraces a wide range of concepts (romance, passion, physical attraction, devotion, affection, admiration, and so on) and does not necessarily include all of those concepts in any one use of the term. Most of those individual concepts have an equivalent

¹⁷ See Pickard-Cambridge 1953, ch. IV, esp. p. 193.

¹⁸ *Contra* most modern critics on both sides of the characters debate: Goldhill criticises Brian Vickers' statement "In Greek Tragedy people love and hate as we do" (*Towards Greek Tragedy*, London 1973, p. 6) for ignoring what he calls "the cultural specificity of the fifth-century Athenian construction of 'love' and 'hate' " (Goldhill 1990, p. 101); cp. Easterling 1990: "There is no need to fall back on a monolithic view of 'unchanging human nature'... it is plain enough that human nature does change" (pp. 88-9). These views depend on a tacit identification of differences in social, ethical and cultural reactions to the various issues of life, with differences in the essence of those reactions - in the human ingredients - feelings, choices, problems - of which they are made up. I would wish to query that identification.

somewhere in the Greek understanding or portrayal of human feeling and behaviour. Certainly we should be careful in using the term 'love' when talking of Greek literature, conscious that a number of the associations it may call up in a modern reader may be inappropriate on a particular occasion, and taking precautions accordingly. But when we meet with a character saying or doing something in connection with their relationship with a husband or wife which, with due allowance made for cultural convention, clearly relates to any of the feelings or reactions we would nowadays understand to belong to our concept of love, then there seems to be no reason to avoid talking about it in those terms. For example, when Homer's Hector says to Andromache that, out of all his concern for all his family's future griefs, the thought of her suffering when Troy falls distresses him most, it seems perfectly legitimate to say that this expresses a husband's love for his wife. Similar arguments may be applied to other human reactions and feelings as we understand them and as the Greeks portrayed them. Cultural differences do of course surround and become attached to these 'human reactions', but that does not mean that the similarity between the basic reaction in the ancient and modern context does not exist.

The next proposition is that, in responding to stage characters in the same terms as if they were 'real', a Greek audience would have been interested in finding out 'what the characters are like', and a Greek playwright expected them to be so and composed his work accordingly. Aristotle states that tragedy is primarily a *mimesis* not of people but of events (*Poetics* 1450 a 16-17); critics have gone on from this to argue that what the characters are like is of less interest than what happens to them or what they do: "it is what happens to a man, more than the kind of man that he is, that is emotive. That ... was Aristotle's view: it is the *muthos* of tragedy that is most powerfully emotive, and *êthos* is entirely subordinate to the imitation of a *praxis* (1450 a 20-3, 29-35, 53b 11-14)" (Heath 1987(b), p.94). Our response to a play, however, whether we regard it as designed to make us think or as designed to create an emotionally and aesthetically rewarding experience, depends both upon what happens *and* on our perceptions of the characters involved, and indeed on the interaction between the two. For example: our response to the first part of *Andromache* would vary if the action were arranged so that Andromache fell into Menelaos' hands by some other means and did not, therefore, have the opportunity to offer her life in exchange for her son's - we would still feel pity and sympathy for her underserved plight and defenceless state, but the sympathy would be of a

different quality from the current compound of sympathy with admiration and the heightened feeling that Andromache positively deserves better. Furthermore, once Menelaos' ultimatum has been presented to us, we would also respond differently if Andromache, for however good a reason, declined to surrender herself; it is therefore important to the audience to discover, through the action and through what she says, that Andromache is so committed to her son that she will die for him, and they will be interested in discovering this even though they may have few doubts that it will turn out to be so. And finally, because an act of self-sacrifice is something that calls forth admiration, sympathy and liking, the audience would be likely to be interested in why she was doing this, and would pay attention to what she says about it. Thus the way the plot unfolds *favours* our interest in and engagement with Andromache; in turn our engagement with Andromache keeps us interested in what is going to happen next, and therefore favours our responses of curiosity and emotion to the action.

Our assessment of and interest in what the characters are like, then, affects the way in which our emotions are stimulated by the events that form the play's action. This is so even in terms of aspects of characterisation which are not essential for 'the characters to be such as to make the events of the play happen'¹⁹. We pay attention to *everything* that is indicated about a character because we know that they are going to do things or have things happen to them to which we are going to be called to respond, and that how we feel about the characters will colour the way we feel about what happens (although this is probably not a deliberate step-by-step process of thought). This is a question not just of sympathy or lack of sympathy or even degrees of sympathy, but also of 'quality' of sympathy. For example, we may feel no less intense pity for Creon in what befalls him than for Antigone, but it will be a distinctive sort of pity, touched by the painful consciousness of a disaster brought about through the person's own

¹⁹ Heath 1987(b) p. 123 gives the example of "Deianeira's tenderness towards the captives in *Trachiniae*", which "is not required by her basic rôle in the plot ... but is used to enhance the pathos and irony of her position". Earlier, (pp.117-8), he usefully points out that in any case there are usually many different ways in which an author could realise through his agents, the characters, individual acts necessary to the plot, and the choices he makes may be suggestive of a far greater degree of individualisation than is implied by the vague phrase "such as to do so-and-so" (cf. *Poetics* 1449 b36-8). The indications of 'particular character' in both cases carry some weight because "his character does necessarily have some bearing on the degree and nature of our response to a person in tragedy" (p. 123). Heath still holds, however, that "the emotive force of the *praxis* depends more on what happens to the persons than on...what kind of a person they are" (p. 116). As will emerge, I believe the effect of our appreciation of a character's 'personality' on the *nature* of our response to what happens to them to be sufficiently fundamental to merit a more equal status.

mistakes and faults; our pity may be touched by a greater or lesser warmth of sympathy depending on whether or not we feel that Creon is honest if misguided in his belief that he is acting for the good of the law. These are the sorts of 'decisions', conscious or not, that a spectator takes in watching and responding to a play, and the decisions and assessments, whether emotional or 'intellectual', that he reaches about the nature of the characters are an essential part of the process. Moreover, once a character has aroused our liking or sympathy or understanding, whenever we meet with any element that might seem to require a qualification of our positive assessment, we are, I think, likely to start asking ourselves questions such as 'can my previous positive reaction still be justified in the light of this new information? if so, how? if not, can I sustain my positive response with some qualification, and what does that qualification need to be?' Such an approach to the issue of 'character analysis' depends on an interaction between emotional response, curiosity and evaluative assessment. The theatre may not be the place for analysis (cp. Heath 1987(b), p.102), but it *is* a place where emotions are aroused that may cause us to ask ourselves the questions upon which analysis is based, and where, for us even to make our response, emotional or otherwise, to the play, we must consciously or unconsciously have answered some of those questions within ourselves.

On this view the 'interest' an author creates in his characters does not depend on the fascination of a complex, intriguing or idiosyncratic personality. Our modern taste for the exceptional has led us too much to identify an 'interesting' character with one who strikes us as out-of-the-ordinary in some way or as presenting complex enigmas of interpretation, concealed psychological quirks of motivation and so on²⁰. A character who is 'norm-fulfilling' tends to be described or even dismissed as a 'type'²¹; one who presents no particular complexities of interpretation as 'flat' or two-dimensional. I should prefer to identify as 'interesting' any character capable of engaging our interest in the sense that what happens to them and what they are like *matter* to us; a character who is presented in such a way that they convince us and make us care about them as individual

²⁰ This fact, and an appreciation of the distortions it has brought both to past trends of criticism and more recent reactions against those, has been increasingly recognised: Pelling 1990, p. vii; Easterling 1977, p. 124; Halliwell 1990, p. 57.

²¹ cp. Lee's remarks on Andromache and Hecuba (Lee 1976, p.xxiv).

representations of humanity to whom individual things happen²². The characteristics such a figure is attributed with, whether or not they are unique or exceptional, will interest us both because they contribute to our sense of the character as a person, whose experience matters, and because our reaction to these characteristics individually or in combination will determine the degree and particular quality of our response to what happens to the character in the play.

All of this also assumes, finally, that the Greek dramatists pursued a consistent strategy in the response they called on for a particular character, and that therefore potentially everything they give that character to say or do can contribute to the picture of his nature and feelings they seek to build up. This would mean that the dramatist expected the audience to be sensitive at all times to anything that was relevant to creating this picture. The main stumbling-block here is the rôle of rhetoric in Greek drama. Most speeches in Greek tragedy involve elements of rhetoric; some scenes are clearly structured as rhetorical set-pieces. It is often felt that what characters say or the way they say it in these scenes and speeches is inconsistent with the picture of them created elsewhere; it has been argued that this militates against the existence of any Greek concern with consistent character portrayal²³. It has sometimes been insisted that it is quite fallacious to read any sort of delineation of character into any element of a scene, such as an *agon*, clearly structured on rhetorical principles²⁴. No doubt the Athenian audience were especially susceptible to the pleasure and intellectual stimulation of a good argument or a well-constructed speech, and considered this to be perfectly sufficient justification of the presence of such elements in a play even where they did not totally harmonise with other interests such as character portrayal. But that does not mean that their liking for and familiarity with rhetorical techniques would lead them automatically to discount anything said in a recognisably rhetorical context as irrelevant to the responses encouraged from them elsewhere and

²² On this point Heath has some helpful observations: "Subtlety of characterisation ... should be conceived less in terms of refinement of underlying conception than of the success - *the vividness and conviction* - with which a simple and easily grasped conception has been realised in textual details" (Heath 1987(b), p. 119).

²³ On both these points, see Lee 1976, p.xxii. For the basic theoretical premise see, however, Lucas 1968 on *Poetics* 1454a33-36: "This demand for probable and consistent behaviour certainly does not support, though it is perhaps too vague to dismiss, the suspicions that have been raised ... that the Greeks lacked the notion of continuity and consistency of dramatic character".

²⁴ See e.g. Gould 1978 p.57, on the Theseus-Hippolytos confrontation in *Hippolytos*: "personality is as little relevant here as in interpreting the linguistic strategies of barristers".

throughout. Their capacity to distinguish, from their own familiarity with it in non-dramatic contexts, what was introduced purely for rhetorical suitability or effect would be greater than ours; consequently as modern interpreters we do need to be careful about identifying what is and is not significant for character delineation in, say, an *agon* scene. We also need, however, to be alert to the indications relevant to character that the author may have intended his audience to pick up. After all, in the Helen episode of *Troades*, for example, the view of Helen herself that we take from the scene and from her speech in particular is important to our overall emotional response to the Trojan women's situation: if Euripides makes her in her defence at all convincing or sympathetic we shall have to set that response alongside our response to Hecuba's and others' bitterness against her. An audience might well be conscious of this as they listened to the speech and alert to any indications of the view they were encouraged to take of Helen even as they enjoyed the cut-and-thrust of the argument. Distinctions in the *way* in which an author makes different characters within one play conduct their arguments can suggest that among the reactions being called upon by a speech is an appreciation that we are being told something about a character relevant to our overall response to them. Similarly, it is worth scrutinising the dramatist's *choice* of the arguments to be marshalled by his characters. Why choose these ones? If the purpose were *simply* to create a stimulating argument, could he have made a different and better selection to serve that purpose? If so, what may his actual choice of arguments tell us²⁵? Consider Hippolytos' defence speech to Theseus in *Hippolytos*. Ostensibly it is a piece of rational argument along formal rhetorical lines calculated to persuade. But actually Euripides has calculated the speech as a paradeigm of tactlessness likely rather to fan than to quench the flames: each of Hippolytos' 'rational' points - e.g. that only a madman or a fool would want to be a king - are woefully obvious blunders. That Euripides gives him such a muffed response when he finds himself

²⁵ These considerations are insufficiently taken into account in the assessments of the intentions behind the 'rhetorical' passages of Greek tragedy by Dale and Heath: "the dominating consideration is: What *points* could be made here? ... Fertility in argument, a delight in logical analysis - these are the essentials ... we might sometimes get nearer to the meaning by imagining the question: suppose a man involved in such a situation, how should he best acquit himself? How gain his point? Move his hearers? Prove his thesis?" (Dale 1954, p. xxviii); "The masterly conduct of argument ... is being treated as something to admire and savour in its own right" (Heath 1987(b), p. 135). Several speeches, even in *agon* scenes, are not notably logical in their analysis (Hermione's 'accusation' speech in *Andromache* 148-80, for instance), or especially 'masterly' in their conduct of argument.

called upon to argue seems to indicate that the author *does* intend to say something about Hippolytos' character here.

The point to be made, here as elsewhere, is that, while not everything a Greek dramatist does is necessarily designed to serve the portrayal of character as an end in itself, the dynamics of the way our emotions and interest are engaged in a theatrical work depend in part on our responding to the characters involved in the action and therefore on our being alert to anything that may contribute to or affect that response. Because of that dependence, the author who wishes to guide our emotional response to a work in a particular direction will, within boundaries of varying broadness or narrowness, seek by various indications in the text to direct the 'decisions' we make in responding to the individual characters. If this is so, the attempt through critical analysis to identify those textual indications and discover the direction in which they tend is not only legitimate, but crucial to our understanding of how the play worked.

CHAPTER ONE: EURIPIDES

1.1: Introduction

Euripides' portrayals of Andromache are the keystones of this thesis. All the varying facets to our investigation relate back to the central issue of the ways in which Euripides influenced the course of the 'Andromache tradition', both as an overall process and in terms of the individual manifestations of that tradition in individual works. Consequently, this study must begin with an examination of his portrayals.

This chapter has two main tasks. One is to establish that Euripides' portrayal of Andromache can legitimately be read as involving an overall individual conception, and that he is interested in getting the spectator to view and respond to her as an individual. In investigating a series of 'literary appearances' by one legendary *figure*, we need to know what we are dealing with to start with, what it is that the later writers are responding to - a more or less 'fragmented' literary figure in the technical sense, a 'type', a paradeigm, or a consistently-conceived character endowed with their own individuality? These questions make sense in considering Euripides' plays in their own terms, but are also fundamental to the overall investigation of the developing series of 'Andromache' works.

The second task, working alongside the first, is to explore the defining traits of Euripides' portrayal(s) of Andromache. This will follow the lines of traditional exposition, but lay stress on those traits that will play a part in the ongoing 'Andromache tradition'. These traits divide into three main categories:

- (1) those that will 'set' major features of the tradition;
- (2) those that will be adapted by a later writer into elements that will then become major features of the tradition (e.g. the resemblance Hecuba finds in Astyanax to Hector, in *Troades*);
- (3) those that will have a particular influence on any one of the succeeding portrayals.

Euripides' 'heroine' is not the first of our surviving literary Andromaches; and there are many traits of his Andromache that Euripides inherits from Homer's portrayal. Nonetheless, Euripides not only comes at the start of the surviving *dramatic* tradition (a distinction valid for all the later works except the *Aeneid*) but also comes at the start of the surviving tradition of a post-war Andromache. It is Andromache's history and experience after the war that define all of the works we are to deal with. It is therefore, I believe,

legitimate to talk of Euripides' portrayal 'setting' features of the tradition even where the characteristics concerned are perceptible in Homer's creation.

While attempting to establish that an overall individual conception of Andromache is part of Euripides' intentions, it is necessary always to keep any view of Andromache located in the framework of the plays in which she appears. An author's conception of a character is always related to and to some degree influenced by his conception of that character's place and rôle within the work overall, and thus to his conception of his overall work. Thus before discussing the portrayal of Andromache in *Andromache* and *Troades* in detail it is sensible to attempt an outline of how each portrayal may fit into the overall work concerned, and to consider the importance of that portrayal for the whole, and its contribution to the overall impact aimed at. Much of what will be said here will depend on the more detailed ensuing exposition for its proper justification: at this stage I am attempting to define the position I will take rather than to defend it.

We are, of course, dealing with *two* plays and *two* portrayals. For most of this chapter they will be considered separately as far as the structure of the discussion is concerned, except where a possible light to be shed on one by reference to the other is essential to my argument. Comparison and parallels will, however, be drawn throughout. I believe there to be a certain unity of conception behind the two separate appearances of Andromache in Euripides' work. This is not, however, something to be assumed; and so on every point each play will be dealt with in turn, in chronological order.

1.1.1: Andromache's place in the overall scheme of *Andromache*

In terms of deciding Andromache's place in the overall conception, *Andromache* presents the more difficult case. Stevens, in the introduction to his edition, gives a thoughtful account of the various suggestions for a unifying force to the play: the character of Hermione, the character of Andromache, the fortunes of the house of Pelops, an all-out assault on Sparta. The very variety of these indicates the nature of the problem. It is not absolutely necessary that there be an 'overall conception' in the preferred modern sense of a unifying theme or idea:

...a dramatisation of episodes traditional or invented, calculated to stir excitement, anger, and pity and linked together by a superficially adequate causal connection... may

indeed be all that some of the audience would look for and all that they could be expected to be aware of

(Stevens 1971, pp.8-9).

If that were so, deciding Andromache's 'place' in the play would be a question of weighing up the balance between the impact of her character and situation and the impact of the plot in arousing the required emotion in the episodes concerning her; and the balance in terms of interest and emotive force between the various episodes that go to make up the play's overall story. There is small doubt that such questions are in fact involved in assessing Andromache's rôle in the play; but there is probably more to it than that. Stevens continues: "it would not follow that Euripides meant and hoped to convey no more than this", and puts the question:

...is there a character or a theme which inspired the choice of material and the manner of presentation, and which gives to the play its own form of dramatic unity?

(pp.8-9).

His own theory, having rejected on various, mostly convincing grounds the other suggested unifying forces, is that "the real theme of the play is the disastrous [Trojan] war, its trivial origin, and its tragic aftermath" (p.13). This view is well-stated and on the whole persuasive. Undoubtedly the theme of the war of Troy is far more than mere background in the play. Yet there are many important features of the play that this view cannot wholly account for. The ambiguity concerning Neoptolemos' 'guilt' *vis-à-vis* Apollo is one such - a sort of potential *hamartia* element, not, certainly, stressed as central but still there; nor is this the only complexity involved in the presentation of Neoptolemos. In other ways, too, if we ask the question 'what does Euripides appear to want to achieve in this play?', we must admit along with Stevens that:

if the theme indicated was never altogether absent from Euripides' mind, there were times when other interests were admitted and given disproportionate emphasis

(pp.14-15).

These other interests would include the relations between Andromache and Hermione, and the excitements and pathos of the Suppliant and Rescuer actions (as Burnett terms them, Burnett 1971 pp.132-3).

It seems to me that along with the several strands of action and several centres of focus in this play, there are a *number* of overall ideas and authorial interests running throughout. The Trojan War, stripped of its lustre and seen as a cause or starting-point of ongoing misery and strife, is one. But of perhaps equal importance is the emphasis on "groups connected by ties of blood" (Kovacs 1980, p.75) and concepts of *φιλία*. The question of 'family' relations is intimately concerned in the action and subject of the play: questions of good and bad wives, good and bad parents, even worthy and unworthy children; of obligations and loyalties, attachment to and separation from home. In fact Kovacs sees the question of *φιλία*, the different groups and different varieties of kinship ties - involving three houses (the house of Pelops, the house of Peleus, the house of Troy), and two types of tie (blood relations and marriage relations) - as lying at the heart of the play. While there is much truth in this, on further exploration it becomes apparent that bound up in Euripides' treatment of *φιλία* are questions of the tensions and problems that operate within kinship ties, or between different ties and the various groups they involve, and of the tension that can be brought to bear on these ties, relationships and obligations by external contingencies. What we see in this play is the operation of *φιλία* coming under various sorts of stress.

The obvious examples of this are the problems and conflicts Neoptolemos has incurred in contracting *φιλία* with Hermione and the house of Menelaos: Menelaos' interference in Neoptolemos' household, Peleus' disapproval of the marriage from the outset (619-22), and the strain imposed on the marriage-ties between Neoptolemos and Hermione by the further stresses of childlessness, Hermione's particular temper, and the presence of another woman in the household. But the sorts of tension that Euripides evokes do not stop there. For example, the importance of good and bad descent is constantly referred to and clearly relates to the idea of the influence of parentage. It is striking, even allowing for the frequency of the Greek usage of the patronymic, how often Hermione, Neoptolemos and Orestes are referred to as their parents' children, and how often this happens in contexts that imply significance. What their parents are or were or did holds this 'second generation' of the Trojan War in its shadow: it inevitably, and in a whole range of ways, influences their characters and fortunes in the

present. This becomes especially important in Neoptolemos' case. He is certainly presented as "a true son of Achilles" (Stevens 1971, p.14), but this heritage is by no means as unambiguous as Stevens (and others) often assume. It is a positive element in the account of the glittering fearlessness and prowess with which Neoptolemos meets his end; at several points throughout the play, even by Andromache, it is applied partly as an index of honesty and straightforwardness in dealing, contrasted with Menelaos' duplicity and Orestes' treachery. On the other hand, at the level of events, Neoptolemos' ties with his father were what led to his challenging the god Apollo over Achilles' death, while his prowess that is perceived as an inheritance from his father at Troy won him Hermione's hand; on the level of character, the image of Achilles in his son is apparent in the pride indicated by his challenge to a god, and in the arrogance indicated by his contemptuous treatment of Orestes. In all of these ways, Neoptolemos' relationship to Achilles is inextricably bound up with the processes that lead to his end.

If we can add Andromache to this system of presenting the characters as a 'second generation' of the Trojan War, further interesting tensions operating in the domain of *φιλία* are brought to light. Andromache from the outset is presented as still very much Hector's wife (and referred to as such, a variation on the 'patronymic' titles applied to the other characters). As Neoptolemos' captive of war, concubine and most of all as mother of his child, she has contracted, however unwillingly, ties of *φιλία* and thus of obligation with him and his house. But her old *φιλία* - ties with Troy, with her family, with Hector - are clearly at odds with the house of her master, and above all with Achilles, whose name and memory cast such a strong shadow over Neoptolemos. Hermione and Menelaos are constantly making this point in casting Andromache as an enemy and an outsider, by race and relationships; Hermione openly taunts her rival with the 'betrayal' of her old ties involved in her relations with Neoptolemos. Andromache herself, it will be argued, feels this tension and conflict, and appears sensitive to this idea of betrayal. And although the idea of it being outrageous - even wrong - that Neoptolemos should link himself and concern himself with a woman of a hostile barbarian race, the widow of Greece's greatest enemy, comes largely from Menelaos and Hermione from whom it is likely to receive little audience sympathy, there remains a sense of the latent strains and tensions of this relationship contracted between Greek and Trojan, conqueror and defeated captive, between Achilles' son

and Hector's widow. The echoes of Hector's death at Achilles' hand in the account of the demise of Achilles' son may relate to this idea and sustain it to the end. Thetis' final speech may indeed unite the fortunes of Achilles' Aeacid house and those of the house of Troy (1249-52); but the union - the fact that Hector's widow has borne the child who will assure the succession of Achilles' line, and Achilles' son has fathered the child who will assure the posterity of Troy - is a paradox of some piquancy, and I think Euripides may mean us to be aware of this.

It might, then, be possible to see at least one of Euripides' intentions in *Andromache* as the exploration of the complexities of human relationships even within the apparently straightforward, clearly-defined structures of socially-perceived ties of mutual obligation and duty existing within bloodkin families and between such families by means of marriage. The play's story and characters raise questions of the strains and tensions that can operate on and within the social construct of *φιλία*. What happens to the *φιλία* structures *if....?* Contrary feeling is one such possible tension: suppose a wife is such as to resent a husband's perceived infidelity or neglect; suppose a husband dislikes his wife; suppose a concubine has strong reasons to shrink from her master... But these tensions are not generalisations, nor would they necessarily generally entail the sort of disruption that occurs in this story. It is here that I disagree with Kovacs' assertion that "The individuals in this play never stand by themselves or for themselves. They are always seen as part of their several groups, connected by ties of blood to them and deriving their character from them" (Kovacs 1980, p.75). *Andromache* deals with these themes of *φιλία* in relation to the individuals concerned in the story of the Trojan War and its aftermath, who each have a rather peculiar set of circumstances. If the play is considering "What happens to *φιλία if...?*", one of the major sets of 'if' circumstances is not just 'a war and its aftermath', but the *Trojan War* and its aftermath, with all the individualities as well as the generalities its story entails. Orestes' matricide, for example, and all the circumstances of crime and counter-crime that lay behind it, are a very particular part of the Trojan War story. Here it intersects disastrously with *φιλία* in the shape of the kinship and betrothal of Orestes and Hermione: it is the grounds for Neoptolemos' contemptuous rejection of Orestes' plea that his promised bride be returned to him; broken promise and contemptuous treatment together act to arouse Orestes' individual resentment and to engender his climactic revenge and Neoptolemos' death.

Similarly, while Andromache's position as concubine-captive-of-war may involve socially normal ties and obligations of *φιλία* both to her country and old family, and to her master and new 'family', the way these interact in her own set of circumstances and her attitude need not be seen as standardised. After all, Andromache's fate as the Trojan legend gives it is peculiarly poignant: allocation as captive-of-war to the bed of the son of a husband's killer is an unusually cruel twist of fate's knife. Even more is the situation individual when killer and husband were the two outstanding men on either side of the war; when the killer's son is in terms of prowess and temper all that his father was, and credited with the fall of the husband's city; when, above all, the dead husband and his widow were traditionally regarded and celebrated as having perhaps the most ideal marriage in Greek legend.

One's ties to one's family, by blood or by marriage, cannot always be entirely reduced to a rational system of social values and ideas. The influence of blood, descent and parentage, the relationship between husband and wife, always retain latent forces of the individual and the emotional. Inherited character and inherited commitment may in particular cases become forces that conflict with the purely rational, social aspects of the relationship structure. Or they may, in their consequences for behaviour and events, lead to an explosion that will shake or even totally topple those structures. The stability in human relations that civilisations labour to establish is always potentially at the mercy of human circumstance and human individuality.

These ideas, while not comprising a definitive system explaining everything about Euripides' intentions in the *Andromache*, do relate together in some sort of coherent fashion the various elements running as fairly continuous threads through the action. These ideas also have the advantage of allowing both for a certain amount of thematic coherence and for the disparate elements of a series of theatrically exciting and dramatically rewarding stories: of allowing Euripides to be concerned both with interesting circumstances and exciting plots, and with the ideas that may be explored within those. It is important not to forget purely theatrical concerns in assessing what an author is trying to do with a play. There are indications of much novelty in Euripides' handling of his plot, particularly with respect to Andromache's part in the action (Stevens 1971, p.5). In a rather different way there is novelty in Euripides' handling of Neoptolemos. It is unusual, to say the least, for the climactic death in a

Greek tragedy to be that of a character who has never appeared on stage. Yet by the time Neoptolemos' death is recounted we seem to have a very clear picture of him. It is tempting to wonder whether Euripides had set himself the theatrical challenge of creating a dramatic portrait of a central character *in absentia*, as it were. Neoptolemos is central to the conflicts of each new turn of the action in the play, and in each episode we get different lights on him and his behaviour, by what the on-stage characters say about him and how their relationship to him is evoked. The audience might well find this intriguing. Furthermore, Euripides uses the relation of Neoptolemos to the on-stage action and characters to manipulate dramatic expectations and effect: at various stages, the audience along with the characters is 'waiting for Neoptolemos' to arrive. Theatrical effect, theatrical experiment, theatrical innovation may all need to be counted among Euripides' intentions and interests in composing *Andromache*.

Within all this, what place should be accorded to Andromache in the play? In purely dramatic terms, it is her situation in Neoptolemos' household that provides Euripides with the basis for creating a series of situations of danger, pathos, suspense and excitement: Andromache, her plight and her reactions are until 765 the main focus for audience emotion. She would stir pity, fear and admiration, arouse anger against her enemies, engage our sympathy and support for Peleus; her story presents scope, too, for other elements of 'popular appeal' such as rousing debates, pathetic lament and a suspenseful last-minute rescue. So Euripides had plenty of bread-and-butter theatrical reasons for choosing to do what he does with Andromache's story and situation: she would make good theatre, as we say. There is, however, more to it than that. For example, implicit in the suggestion that we may attribute to Euripides the intention of building up a portrait of Neoptolemos through the words and reactions of others is the view that the particular relationships with and attitudes towards him of the on-stage characters are important and meant to engage our attention. Our attention is drawn to Neoptolemos through first being drawn to them, and to how he affects them. And once we start looking at Andromache's relationship with Neoptolemos we begin, as outlined above, to find much depth and complexity and even subtlety of shading, regarding both their position *vis-à-vis* one another and Andromache's attitude to that.

Euripides' interest in Andromache is not, however, confined to his interest in her relations with Neoptolemos. Bound up with her relationship to Neoptolemos and its ensuing complications are other

features of Andromache's experience and situation that command attention in their own right. Euripides is interested in the whole set of circumstances given to Andromache in the legend, and in the whole range of her reactions to them. Some of these circumstances and reactions may be meant to illustrate general human truths, and that is part of Andromache's 'thematic' importance. But the play's thematic patterns as discussed above involved the interaction of general truths and *individual* circumstance, attitudes and personalities. Andromache is captive-of-war, concubine, homeless exile, widow, grieving mother, but also *Neoptolemos'* concubine, exile of Troy, *Hector's* widow, mother of her master's child and of one other whom she saw thrown from the walls of Troy. She is presented both as paradigmatic: "widowed, orphaned, and enslaved, she more than anyone brings together in her person the woes of the conquered city" (Stevens 1971, p.13) and also as an individual. Hers is a story of particular poignancy; in choosing to dramatise its sequel and to exercise his invention on filling in the details, Euripides may be showing that he found the story and the character interesting. Interesting in their theatrical possibilities, interesting in their illustrative force, interesting, still when all other considerations have been accounted for, in themselves.

As for Andromache's *relative* importance within the range of individual characters and individual stories we are presented with, I think there are grounds for seeing why Andromache may be 'singled out' - why her name, rather than that of any of the others with whom Euripides is concerned, should be set at the head of the play. If the play's overall concerns are at least partly with individuals, Andromache is distinctive in the measure and the quality of the sympathy invited for her. She is from the start in the 'sympathetic position', as victim past and present; she is later made to show admirable self-sacrifice for her son's sake. This is, however, a different sort of sympathy from that which we are invited to feel for Peleus, who as her rescuer may be applauded but who remains a slightly humorous and slightly undignified figure. In the last section of the play, this changes as Peleus becomes a victim in his turn, and the apparition of his goddess wife Thetis helps to restore his dignity; but the earlier distinction shows that 'sympathy' can work on different levels and different characters may arouse it in different forms. With Andromache, the sympathetic reaction is inseparable from both pity and admiration of a fairly elevated kind. And the 'sympathetic image' of Andromache is the first thing presented to us, remaining thereafter before our eyes for an almost unbroken space of 765

lines (with one brief absence from 465-93). While the audience might not wonder *why* they felt drawn to her, interest in character can take the form of 'contemplation' as well as 'exploration'. The former may be particularly applicable to the presentation of Andromache here.

1.1.2: Andromache's place in the overall scheme of *Troades*

Determining Andromache's rôle in *Troades* is rather simpler. The unity of the play is far more apparent, in spite of its episodic structure. All of the episodes illustrate the sufferings of Troy, particularly the women of Troy; at the same time each illustrates the injustice of the Greek conquerors. The play is undoubtedly concerned with universal questions about war and its conduct: the suffering and degradation both moral and physical that war brings, the danger it invites for the victors, the desolation it brings to the vanquished. The relation of the particular story treated to such wider themes is more obvious here than in *Andromache*.

It may, nonetheless, be helpful to draw some parallels here with our approach to *Andromache*. The stories and characters presented in *Troades* are clearly paradigmatic. But our conclusion that Euripides deals with his themes in terms of *individual* stories can also be applied here. This is suggested particularly by Euripides' presentation of Helen and Cassandra. Both are attributed in the legend with stories and personalities that involve a high degree of peculiarity. No other woman in Greek legend sparked off such a cataclysmic conflict as Helen did or in quite the way that Helen did; no other was attributed with the 'untouchable' aura that seems to cling to Helen by virtue of her unparalleled beauty and the stories of her divine birth. However much Euripides may be 'debunking' all this, such a procedure only has meaning in the context of this 'legend'; indeed it is this legend of sublime irresponsibility that Hecuba is fighting against in the debate scene. The Helen episode may illustrate universal themes such as human responsibility or the perversion of justice by self-interest and passion; but it is also the presentation of the unique case of one particular woman, and Euripides can hardly be said to portray her as typical¹. Cassandra, too, in the legend a vivid and exceptional figure, is presented by Euripides as such, despite the dislocation which some find between the "coldly logical" (Lee 1976, p.xxiv) reasoning in 365-405 and the rest of her part. Her entrance waving torches - however it was staged - must count

¹ Even Lee, who argues, with Norwood, that "there is little characterisation to be found" in *Troades*, finds Helen "[a] distinct and real [personality]...drawn with great skill" (Lee 1976, p.xxiv).

among the most visually dramatic moments in Greek tragedy and immediately draws attention to the 'difference' of Cassandra - an impression only strengthened by the wild song and dance with which she continues. Particularly in 444-61, which give us our parting impression of her, her darkly exultant prophetic references to the future, with their strong, stark language and violent, often intensely visual images, maintain the character of the "ecstatic prophetess and defiant concubine" (Lee 1976 p.xxiv). Moreover, the way that her situation is referred to tends to highlight the religious aspects that mark her case out. Hecuba's distress at hearing her daughter's fate centres on the defilement of her daughter's vowed, dedicated, holy status; Cassandra in her final speech picks up this point with odd wistfulness (451-5) and perhaps a touch of bitterness (450). The difference of Cassandra's reactions to events from those of Hecuba and the chorus, too, is repeatedly stressed. Thus the precise nature of what Cassandra suffers, her own peculiar state and her own highly individual reactions impress us with too much of a sense of uniqueness and difference to be regarded as primarily exemplary.

The co-existence of the paradeigmatic and the individualised in these two cases should lead us to wonder whether the elements of individuality in Cassandra's and Helen's case might be not the exception but the rule. It will be argued in the ensuing discussion that Andromache is portrayed not just as ideal wife and devoted mother, an archetype for all the wifely and motherly sufferings imposed on the women of a defeated race in war, but also as an individual woman with her own story and her own personal tragedy. Certainly her sufferings are presented as paradeigmatic, but they are also presented as specifically *hers*. Andromache is important for her own story, interesting, painful, pathetic, as well as for what she represents.

In the episodic structure of the play, the characters of each episode as it unfolds become the focus of our attention. To that extent Andromache, Cassandra and Helen are of equal importance. Hecuba, present throughout, holds our attention for a more continuous space, but in a different way: there is not so much stress laid on the things that *happen* to her as there is with the others. While Andromache as a character may not have a special status in the play, however, what happens to her in the loss of her child does receive special attention, because the murder of Astyanax is the climactic incident of the play. It is the last and worst crime of the Greeks, it is the final coping-stone to Troy's miseries, the loss of their last hope for the future; and the structure of the play is arranged in such a way as to bring this

out. The story of Andromache would therefore be likely to be one of the strongest impressions remaining with the spectators as the play closed.

1.1.3: General approach to be adopted

Bearing in mind this duality between the paradigmatic and the individual in Andromache's rôle in both plays, we may now proceed to examine Euripides' portrayals of Andromache in detail. Andromache's experiences and to some extent her 'personality' in the legend are defined largely by three cardinal relationships: with her husband, Hector; with her child (or children); with her new master, Neoptolemos. Euripides, in the two extant plays concerning Andromache, portrays her in her post-war situation: this is defined in its turn by two determining experiences - one, the loss or threatened loss of her children; the other, her acquisition by Neoptolemos as slave and concubine. We will consider the interaction between these experiences and the attitudes and personality of Andromache as expressed in the three relationships concerned.

1.2: Andromache as mother

1.2.1: *Andromache*: Andromache and 'Molossos'²

We will take the portrayal of Andromache as mother first, beginning with the earlier play, *Andromache*. Our guiding questions here are: how does the aspect of Andromache as mother fit into the proposed overall scheme combining general truths with individual stories? What impact does the portrayal of Andromache as mother make, and how important is this to the impact of the play as a whole? What are the main impressions we receive of Andromache as mother, and how do these relate to the image of her adopted by successive stages of the tradition?

1.2.1.1: Neoptolemos' child

The first mention of Andromache's living child comes early in her prologue:

² The name is given in the *dramatis personae* of all MSS but nowhere mentioned in Euripides' text. It is generally accepted to be a later invention (Stevens 1971, p.94), derived from Molossia, the name of the land Thetis prophesies (1243ff.) that the descendants of Andromache's son will rule over. Hereafter the name will appear without inverted commas.

κάγῳ δομοῖς τοῖσδ' ἄρσεν' ἐντίκτω κόρον,
 πλαθεῖσ' Ἀχιλλέως παιδί, δεσπότη γ' ἐμῶ
 (24-5)³.

This factual summary deliberately implies more than the surface information. From the beginning we see that Andromache's individual story has significance for the portrayal of her as mother. Only one other mother appearing in extant Greek tragedy, Sophocles' Tecmessa, is a captive who has borne her child to her new master. Andromache's situation has a further twist, suggested here in the use of the title Ἀχιλλέως παιδί⁴: Hector's widow has perforce borne a child to Achilles' son. So Andromache's first mention of her child sets her motherhood in a context tinged by the humiliation of slavery and constraint, and by the treacherous irony of fate that has forced her to 'sleep with the enemy'. Her relationship with her son was not engendered under promising conditions.

Admittedly the point is not insisted upon here. Andromache's attitude throughout the play is portrayed as leaning heavily towards the positive side to her having borne a son even in slavery. Moreover Andromache expresses the painful irony of her situation in terms of "lying with the son of Achilles", rather than of "bearing the child of Achilles' son". Nonetheless, the point is made; and it is not a mere isolated, chance reference to the unhappy conditions of Molossos' birth, for Hermione picks up exactly this point to finish off her taunt in 170-2:

ἦ παιδί πατρός, ὅς σὸν ὤλεσεν πόσιν
 τοιμᾶς ξυνεύδειν καὶ τέκν' αἰθέντου πάρα
 τίκτειν...⁵

We are not likely to sympathise with Hermione's view of Andromache's behaviour; but however spiteful the interpretation, the facts are essentially as Hermione gives them. That is what gives the impression of Hermione's cruelty in this speech so much force. Two references do not make this a major idea to be seen as in the forefront of Euripides' portrayal. But the fact that the implications of Neoptolemos' having fathered Andromache's child

³ "And in this house I have borne a male child, drawing nigh [in union] to the son of Achilles, my master".

⁴ See 1.4.1.1(a), below.

⁵ "[You] who dare to sleep with the son of a father who killed your husband, and to beget children from the murderer."

are suggested at the very outset leads me to believe that Euripides was concerned to sketch this in as part of his picture of the situation within which Andromache's relationship with her child works.

The other significant detail of this opening reference is the specification of a male child. A *male* child is a strong potential advantage to someone in Andromache's position, since all male children both legitimate and illegitimate were valued, if not equally. Particularly this would improve Andromache's position if, as is subsequently revealed, there are currently no legitimate children. Such an 'improvement' in position is, however, a double-edged advantage in that it also makes Andromache more likely to be regarded as a threat.

Andromache's being the mother of *Neoptolemos'* son, then, in itself suggests a relationship affected by a complex combination of circumstances both social and emotional. Within this framework, how are Andromache's responses to her son portrayed? What is the balance between negative and positive in her view of her motherhood, and what part do social advantage, ambition or the interests of her own survival play in shaping that view?

1.2.1.2: Practical advantages

καὶ πρὶν μὲν ἐν κακοῖσι κειμένην ὄμως
 ἐλπὶς μ' ἀεὶ προσῆγε σωθέντος τέκνου
 ἀλκὴν τιν' εὐρεῖν κάπικούρησιν κακῶν
 (26-8)⁶.

Andromache's words make it immediately clear that the one bright spot in her life centres round the existence and survival of her child: her child gives her hope. There is no reason to associate this hope with any ambition for her son and for herself. When Andromache later denies Hermione's charge of ambition by saying that any hopes of her children aspiring to positions of prominence in a Greek state would be absurd (201-4), this is the obvious rhetorical defence for her to make. Yet there are good grounds for also seeing her rejection of the idea as sincere. Her central argument is that her children by Neoptolemos would still be the offspring of an enemy princess, widow of Greece's greatest enemy: what goodwill could the Greeks of Phthia then be expected to bear either her or her children? "φιλοῦσι γάρ μ' Ἕλληνες

⁶ "And previously, though I lay in bad circumstances, hope always led me onwards to find, if my child should be preserved, some defence and protection against evils" (my translation; see below).

"Ἐκτορος τ' ἄπο;" (203)⁷ seems an oddly objective and clear-sighted point, and chimes in well with the strong impression given throughout that Andromache still characteristically thinks of herself as Hector's wife (see 1.3.1.2 below). Her child's eventual destiny as the ancestor of a race of kings, dependent as it is partly on Neoptolemos' death, is not something Andromache could foresee.

The highest hopes that Andromache ever expresses for herself are given in 28, and it seems sensible to understand the hope that Andromache connects with her son to be precisely what she says here: "ἀλκὴν τιν' εὐρεῖν κάπικούρησιν κακῶν": "to find defence and protection from troubles". The emphasis in what she says seems to be on *her son* as a source of help. It is true that involved in the protection the boy's survival offers is the protection Neoptolemos would be likely to afford his son and his son's mother. But a son, particularly a grown-up son, could also provide support in himself⁸. If εὐρεῖν as an aorist infinitive ought to refer to "a definite future contingency" (Kovacs 1980, p.9), then the stress is unlikely to be on *Neoptolemos'* protection, which would be (and is) available all the time that the child is alive, in the present as well as the future. I would therefore translate προσῆγε as "led me onwards", understanding the direction or destination implied by the prefix προσ- as the future realisation of hope and taking the infinitive εὐρεῖν with προσάγω in a similar way to the construction with ἄγω itself in such phrases as ἄγει θανεῖν, "it leads to death". We would then have something like: "hope always led me onwards, if my child should be kept safe, towards a time when I should find from him some defence and a protection against evils". Hope, we might say, kept Andromache going, for a time when with her son's help things might be less bad. The present danger (29-31) contrasted with these previous hopes is that, due to Hermione's persecution, Andromache and/or her son will not survive for them to be realised.

Thus even in terms of the advantages to her of her son's existence, Andromache views the relationship with Molossos at the personal level of a parent to their child. There does not appear to be much textual evidence to support the view that the ruling motive in Andromache's relationship with her child is her concern for preserving her family's posterity⁹.

⁷ "Would it be because of Hector that the Greeks were well-disposed towards me?"

⁸ As, for instance, the sons of Melanippe and Antiope in two lost plays by Euripides (*Melanippe Desmotis*, *Antiope*) helped their captive and oppressed mothers (see Webster 1967, pp.150-57, 205-11).

⁹ Kovacs 1980, pp.10-13; he follows the reading δόμων for κακῶν (28) of MS B and O, emending to δόμον: "hope that *my/our house* should find help..."

Preserving the family line is certainly an important idea in the play as a whole; but what Andromache herself says to or about her child tends to concern his relationship to her, not to her descendants. When she talks of the impossibility of the Greeks tolerating her offspring as rulers (201-4), she puts this less in terms of their being Trojans or belonging to the Trojan royal house than in terms of objections to their mother, specifically. At least the first objection, that she is Hector's widow, concerns personal more than dynastic antipathy (203). Similarly, when she talks of her child carrying on her memory (414-8), this is stated in the entirely personal terms of single-generational relationships: a mother to her son, the son to his father. In Andromache's case, then, the overall themes and issues of family relationships, including the hopes a parent may have in their child, operate primarily on this one-to-one level.

1.2.1.3: Attitude to motherhood

Having argued that the presentation of Andromache's relationship with Molossos is focused on questions of how a mother views her own relationship to her son, we may now consider the words Andromache is given to say when she deals directly with the subject. What attitude towards motherhood does Euripides ascribe to her?

Some references seem to imply a negative attitude. In her 'defence speech' to Hermione, Andromache asks what her motive for ousting the legitimate wife could be:

πότερον ἴν' αὐτῆ παιδᾶς ἀντὶ σοῦ τέκῳ
 δούλους ἐμαυτῆ τ' ἀθλίαν ἐφορκίδα...
 (199-200)¹⁰.

Later, in her second speech to Menelaos, she exclaims:

ὡς δεινὰ πάσχω. τί δέ με καὶ τεκεῖν ἐχρῆν
 ἄχθος τ' ἐπ' ἄχθει τῷδε προσθέσθαι διπλοῦν...
 (395-6)¹¹.

¹⁰ "[Would it be so that] I might bear children instead of you, to be slaves and a burdensome appendage to me?"

¹¹ "...what dread things I suffer. Why did I have to bear a child to add a double grief to this grief?"

In 199-200 Andromache, aiming to convince Hermione that she has no designs on Neoptolemos, naturally paints the most negative picture of her attitude towards bearing children. δούλους ("slaves") is a "rhetorical exaggeration" (Stevens 1971, p.120) and this alerts us to the consideration that Andromache is overstating the negative side of the case. The exclamation of 395-6, however, has a stronger claim to represent a sincere feeling. Andromache has abandoned direct persuasion of Menelaos; what she says in lamenting her fate between 393 and 410 is addressed as much to herself and the audience as to her persecutor. In 396 the "διπλοῦν ἄχθος" added to "ἄχθει τῶδε" most likely refers to the fear and concern for her child that adds to her suffering in her own present danger, and to the fact that because she has a child she is more vulnerable and will now be forced to surrender herself - taking ἄχθει τῶδε as referring to Menelaos' machinations against her, as expressed in the immediate context by "ὡς δεινὰ πάσχω" and in the general context by the overall thrust of her complaint in 388-93. This sense would be a reasonable one to give to "ἐμαυτῇ τ' ἀθλίαν ἐφοκίδα" ("a burdensome appendage to me") in 200 if we are to allow the sentiment a grain of truth: "Would I want to bear children to give me something more to worry about?" Andromache's real answer, as opposed to the one rhetorically implied, might be 'yes', but that would not prevent it from being a 'yes' *despite* the extra burden of anxiety children may impose.

This is in fact what Andromache says as she offers her life for her son:

πᾶσι δ' ἀνθρώποις ἄρ' ἦν
 ψυχὴ τέκνῳ· ὅστις δ' αὐτ' ἄπειρος ὦν ψέγει,
 ἦσσαν μὲν ἀλγεῖ, δυστυχῶν δ' εὐδαιμονεῖ
 (418-20)¹².

For Andromache, parenthood is a two-edged blessing, but a definite blessing nonetheless. She states the positive side of the case here in strong terms: "πᾶσι δ' ἀνθρώποις ἄρ' ἦν ψυχὴ τέκνῳ". She is clearly referring to her own attitude in the first instance. The statement runs on after her injunction: "λέγ' οἷ' ἔπραξα" (418): "tell [your father] what I did [for you]", and the expression "children are as life itself" takes on particular point from the context: Andromache considers her son to be worth her own life. But she states this attitude in terms which also make it clear that, despite her

¹² "Indeed to all men children are as life itself; whoever finds fault with this, having no experience of it himself, well, he suffers less pain, but in his 'good fortune' he is unhappy."

consciousness of the worth of her deed, she believes she is only doing what is natural and normal. After 416-8 she may also be referring the sentiment to what she hopes from Neoptolemos: her instructions to Molossos involve playing upon Neoptolemos' feelings for his son:

διὰ φιλημάτων ἰῶν
δάκρυά τε λείβων καὶ περιπτύσσων χέρας
(416-7)¹³,

to induce him to respond to her action with a strengthened commitment to his child whom she died to preserve. Andromache certainly sees parenthood in terms of duty and obligation, but her view of it also refers to more tender impulses. "ἄρ' ἦν ψυχῇ τέκν'" implies not merely the consideration that 'one's children are one's future' but also the attitude that children are 'the breath of life' in the present as well.

Relating to that general positive statement about the experience of parenthood is Andromache's positive statement of her own particular experience: "εἷς παῖς ὅδ' ἦν μοι λοιπὸς ὀφθαλμὸς βίου" (406)¹⁴. This line is highly influential in the subsequent tradition: it is the probable ancestor of a motif which, transferred to Astyanax, recurs throughout Andromache's portrayals in later literature: her son as her only comfort, hope or joy. "ὀφθαλμὸς", involving through the image of the eye the associations of light, designates Molossos as the 'bright spot' of Andromache's existence. This refers not just to the hopes outlined in 27-8, but also to a joy she finds in him: ὀφθαλμὸς with a genitive means figuratively "the dearest, best, most choice" part or member of something, "as the eye is the most precious part of the body" (*LSJ*).

1.2.1.4: Motherhood in action

1.2.1.4(a): Apprehension of danger: 1-116

Having considered the circumstances within which Andromache is portrayed as mother, and the light in which she is portrayed as viewing her son, it remains to be seen how Euripides works these out in the action of the play. At the outset, Andromache anticipates a danger and takes steps against it. This bears marked similarities to a pattern that through Seneca's version

¹³ "going [to him] with kisses, shedding tears and twining your arms around him"

¹⁴ "This one child was left to me, the light [lit. "eye"] of my life".

of the story will become definitive for much of the later tradition. Here, in contrast with Seneca's version, Andromache is not warned of approaching peril but acts out of her own apprehension of the situation:

ὅς δ' ἔστι παῖς μοι μόνος, ὑπεκπέμπω λάθρα
 ἄλλους ἔς οἴκους, μὴ θάνη φοβουμένη
 (47-8)¹⁵.

Thus, while Andromache's *already* having sent her child into hiding helps to create suspense¹⁶, the fact as recounted at this point does establish her as a woman concerned for her son's danger quite as much as her own and taking steps to protect him. Furthermore, we may credit Andromache with a certain amount of resourcefulness, since in her powerless position she has managed, for the moment, to get past her enemies' guard.

In the ensuing dialogue with the *therapaina*, Andromache discovers that her expedient has failed and that the anticipated threat to her child has now materialised (68-9). The vivid language of some of her remarks characterises a maternal tenderness in her distress particularly effectively: for example, the description of Menelaos and Hermione as two vultures catching and destroying her child:

ὦ τέκνον, κτενοῦσί σε
 δισσοὶ λαβόντες γῦπες
 (74-5)¹⁷.

Here too Andromache's fears are followed by positive action, in a renewed attempt to secure the protection of Peleus - though this may be as much on her own account as on her son's.

1.2.1.4(b): Danger confronted: 309-420

After receding into the background for most of the confrontation between Andromache and Hermione, the danger to Molossos returns to prominence with Menelaos' entrance in 309. Andromache's response to Menelaos' ultimatum - surrender or see your son die (314-5) - passes

¹⁵ "I have sent him who is my only child away secretly to another house, fearing lest he should die".

¹⁶ The intimations of danger, here and in 62-3, 72-3 and 261-8, build up expectation for Menelaos' entrance with the child in his power.

¹⁷ "My child, two vultures have caught you and will kill you". Stevens 1971, p.103, says this is a unique occurrence of this metaphor in Greek literature.

through two main phases. The first, after an outburst of scornful anger, is an attempt at rational dissuasion (333-63). In her reasoned appeal of 333ff., Andromache concentrates most of her argument on the harm Menelaos and his daughter would incur if the *child* were to be killed. While in the four lines considering the consequences of their killing *her*, she talks of Menelaos and Hermione incurring the moral and social guilt and stain of murder, in her son's case she assumes the intervention of Neoptolemos, and his being exercised to exact revenge. Moreover her argument relies on a strong sense of what Neoptolemos would owe to his offspring: "ἀλλ' εἶσιν οἱ χρῆ"18 (342), and also what he would feel for the child: "κᾶτα πῶς πατήρ τέκνου θανόντος ῥαδίως ἀνέξεται..." (339-40)19. Once again, in Andromache's reasoning, we get a clear sense that her attitude towards parenthood is what underlies the arguments Euripides chooses for her. It may be the primacy she places on parenthood that is to be understood as making her so sure that Neoptolemos will react strongly to his child's fate; in perhaps deliberate contrast to her silence as to whether he will be so moved by hers.

It is also probable that Euripides intends us to see Andromache's reasoning as sound. Menelaos and Hermione alike refuse to consider the consequences of their plots in terms of Neoptolemos' reaction; and their determination to complete their scheme "before he comes home" (255, 267-8, 378-9) suggests some degree of nervousness as to how he would react to what they intend to do. Andromache, in contrast, looks towards the future and presents Menelaos with a logical, long-term view of probable consequences reasoned out on his own terms of self-interest. Peleus' reactions, as well as her enemies' uncertainty over Neoptolemos', tend to vindicate Andromache's argument.

How a character is made to argue by the author, including his choice of arguments for them, is sometimes revealing of the author's intentions for their personality. Andromache's manner of reasoning is likely to strike us as superior to Menelaos' and Hermione's, and also to that of Peleus. Hermione, in the earlier confrontation with Andromache, did not really argue; her speech scarcely even made rational points, but was rather a catalogue of bitter accusations, taunts and malicious boasting. Menelaos, here and more particularly in the later clash with Peleus, argues superficially with rational reasoning and pragmatism but always with

18 "But he will do what he ought."

19 "And yet how could the father, when his child has died, bear it lightly?"

arguments distorted by self-interest or hate-filled prejudice (e.g. 652-6). Peleus, for his part, rails rather than argues, making virtually no attempt at persuasion. All the truly practical, clear-sighted arguments go to Andromache. By this contrast as well as by the quality of her own arguments, we may see Andromache as a woman capable of applying common sense and an aptitude for clear-sighted reasoning to her son's defence.

Andromache's second speech to Menelaos applies her attitude to parenthood to her own behaviour and decisions. Despite the opening: "οἴμοι, πικρὰν κλήρωσιν αἵρεσίν τέ μοι βίου καθίστης" (384-5)²⁰, this is not really a dilemma speech. It is clear almost from the outset what Andromache's decision will be, since she attempts one last plea against the injustice of taking *her* life (387-93). After lapsing into lament for the past, Andromache does not linger over internal conflict but gives a clear and straightforward statement of her decision and her reasons for it:

εἷς παῖς ὄδ' ἦν μοι λοιπὸς ὀφθαλμὸς βίου·
 τοῦτον κτενεῖν μέλλουσιν οἷς δοκεῖ τάδε.
 οὐ δῆτα τοῦμοῦ γ' εἶνεκ' ἀθλοῦ βίου·
 ἐν τῷδε μὲν γὰρ ἐλπίς, εἰ σωθήσεται,
 ἐμοὶ δ' ὄνειδος μὴ θανεῖν ὑπὲρ τέκνου
 (406-10)²¹.

Euripides' Andromache has no real doubts as to the choice she should make, if choice is forced on her. Clear-sightedness is again at work here: Andromache knows what she feels is required of her, and knows precisely why she prefers to die for her son (409-10). Her decision is made in the consciousness of a standard by which her conduct is to be judged and which she accepts for herself, the values of duty and sacrifice owed to one's children when required (410). It is also made under the influence of her concern for her child's future, that he live and perhaps prosper (409). ἐλπίς in 409 is most unlikely to mean "*my* hope"²², as "ἐν τῷδε μὲν" is contrasted with "ἐμοὶ δ'" in 410: "in *him* there would be hope if he lived...but to *me*

²⁰ "Alas, what bitter chance and choice of life you offer to me."

²¹ "this one child was left to me, the light of my life; those to whom this seems good intend to kill him. No indeed [they shall not], not for the sake of my unhappy life. For in him there is hope, if he should be preserved, but to me it would be a reproach not to die for my child."

²² Kovacs suggests that it does, and that this reveals Andromache's central motivation: "[her child's] well-being is their [her family's] only hope of immortality, of living on in their offspring" (Kovacs 1980, pp.12-13).

there would be shame...". Andromache is motivated by the boy's own hope, perhaps for some degree of future prosperity, mostly simply for survival. "σωθήσεται" should have its full force here: "be saved, kept safe"; Andromache is aware, and current events prove, that her son's course is littered with dangers and pitfalls (cp. "ἦν δ' ὑπεκδράμης μόρον": "if you should escape a fateful end" a few lines later (414)). It is likely that the hope for him she expresses in 409 is the simple hope allowed by surviving present danger, that he continue to live. Thus emotion, reason and duty are all blended in Andromache's decision for self-sacrifice.

Dramatically this is Andromache's moment, and Euripides presents her act of self-sacrifice in terms expressing a courage at once impressive and despairing:

ἰδοῦ προλείπω βωμὸν ἦδε χειρία
σφάζειν φονεύειν, δεῖν, ἀπαρτῆσαι δέρην
(411-12)²³.

Action and words alike are demonstrative: Andromache rises from the altar to surrender herself, her words drawing attention to the significance of what she does. Her words continue to do so as she bids farewell to her son:

ὦ τέκνον, ἢ τεκοῦσά σ', ὡς σὺ μὴ θάνης,
στείχω πρὸς "Αἰδην· ἦν δ' ὑπεκδράμης μόρον,
μέμνησο μητρός, οἶα τλᾶσ' ἀπωλόμην
(413-5)²⁴.

If there is consciousness of virtue in these lines, they are nonetheless expressive of a warmth and depth of feeling. The lines focus attention on Andromache's act and motivation in their simplest human form: a mother face-to-face with the child she bore (413), determined that he should not die, accepting death for him. Andromache wishes her child to remember what she has done for him: "Everyone would like his self-sacrifice to receive proper recognition, and characters in Greek Tragedy...never hesitated to state their own claims" (Stevens 1971, p.145). But the phrase, wish or command, carries other resonances. Andromache would like her child to cherish her

²³ "See, I am abandoning the altar and am in your hands to slaughter, to kill, to bind, to hang by the neck".

²⁴ "My child, I who bore you am going down to Hades, so that you may not die; if you escape a fateful end, remember your mother, how I endured to die..."

memory; and "μέμνησο μητρός" as an audience would hear it may stand on its own as well as with "ὄλα τλάσ' ἀπωλόμην"²⁵. One may, then, legitimately understand Andromache's parting wish both as "remember your mother" and "remember what your mother did". Self-sacrifice as an act of both love and duty, memory as perpetuating both honour and bond of feeling: all are involved in Euripides' presentation of Andromache as the mother who offers her life for her son.

1.2.1.4(c): Facing defeat: 425-63, 501-44

The sacrifice is in vain: Menelaos condemns Molossos to a judgement that means certain death at his mother's side. Andromache reacts first with shock and outrage at this duplicity (435-40), then with grief for her son (441-4). Again the vividness of her language is expressive of strong maternal tenderness: "ἦ καὶ [sc. κτενεῖς] νεοσσὸν τόνδ', ὑπὸ πτερῶν σπάσας..." (441)²⁶. Then Andromache rounds on Menelaos with an impassioned, furious denunciation of his 'racially' characteristic treachery (445-52). Whatever the political overtones of the speech, the denunciation is quite appropriate in its context: Andromache's anger burns against what Menelaos, despite her best efforts and her sacrifice, is doing to her child. This speech, as will be argued in ch.2 (2.1.2.3), will become the ancestor of Andromache's tirade against Ulysses at a moment of similar despair in Seneca's *Troades*, a tirade that will be adopted as one of the defining elements in the tradition of Andromache's relationship with Astyanax. Andromache is portrayed in all of her subsequent dramatic incarnations as a woman capable of both tender and forceful emotion; a combination that begins with Euripides' portrayal of her as mother of Molossos.

After the choral ode, Andromache is led out with her son to die: their joint lament represents the last stage in Euripides' portrayal of Andromache's maternal responses in the face of defeat. The note of pathos and tenderness is the dominant one here. Andromache's laments for her child use terms that belong to the classic vocabulary for evoking the raw stuff of maternity:

²⁵ μίμνησκομαι / μνάομαι followed by a genitive noun is the normal construction for the sense "remember/ take thought of a person" without further qualification; with a relative clause following, the verb is followed "especially" by an accusative (*LSJ*; cp. *Hdt.* 7.18, *Aesch. Cho.* 492).

²⁶ "And will you indeed kill this little nestling, dragging him from under my wings?"; Stevens: "the context here stresses the live metaphor" (p.147).

κείσῃ δῆ, τέκνον ὦ φίλος,
 μαστοῖς ματέρος ἀμφὶ σᾶς
 νεκρὸς ὑπὸ χθονί, σὺν νεκρῶ <τ'>
 (510-12)²⁷.

This passage may have influenced subsequent tradition by inspiring in part the idea of Andromache seeking a reunion with her son in death brought to fruit by the French writer Garnier²⁸. Here, the closeness and warmth of their relationship is contrasted with the cold reality of the death awaiting them, heightening the expression of Andromache's grief and loss.

1.2.1.4(d): Appeal for deliverance: 559-76

With the timely arrival of Peleus, defeat is reversed and hope returns. Andromache's appeal to Peleus is concerned with both herself and her child, mentioning their peril always together (559-60, 569-71, 575; also 750-51, 754-5). The most interesting point about her appeal is her stress on the child's innocence:

ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐμήν ἐρημίαν
 γνόντες τέκνου τε τοῦδ', ὃν οὐδέν αἴτιον
 μέλλουσι σὺν ἐμοὶ τῇ ταλαιπώρῳ κτενεῖν
 (569-71)²⁹.

The point is that even if exception is taken to Andromache's part in her relations with Neoptolemos, the child is not involved in his mother's 'guilt'. This consciousness of her son's being utterly undeserving of the doom that threatens him comes into Euripides' portrayal of Andromache with Astyanax in *Troades*, and will recur powerfully in Racine's rendition of the same relationship in *Andromaque*. The suggestion of this consciousness in Euripides' Andromache adds to the overall picture of maternal concern for her son; its legacy in Racine's portrayal will be significant in this respect.

²⁷ "You will lie, then, dear child, by your mother's breast, a corpse below the earth, alongside another corpse..."

²⁸ *La Troade* 1960-5. The idea recurs in Sallebray (*La Troade* p.83; see 3.2.2.5, p.155) and in modified form in both Racine and Pradon.

²⁹ "...but knowing the deserted state of me and of my child, whom, *though guilty of nothing*, they intend to slay along with my unhappy self..."; cp. the chorus in 497-500, Menelaos in 317-8.

1.2.2: Troades: Andromache and Astyanax

In *Troades* Euripides returns to the more familiar image, already immortalised by Homer, of Andromache as mother of Astyanax. Astyanax has a far clearer individual identity than the nameless child tradition eventually dubbed Molossos: it is thus easier for Andromache's relationship to the boy to be conveyed as a particular relationship. At the same time, within the context of *Troades*, Andromache and her experiences with her son are examples of a people's suffering. So how far are Andromache's experience and story intended simply to represent the wider experience of her compatriots, and how far are they presented as possessing the stamp of individuality? Within the emotive aims of the play - and this play clearly aims, if ever any did, to stir up pity and pain and sympathy - how much attention do we accord to the characters arousing these emotions in themselves?

1.2.2.1: A royal child

There are several ways in which Euripides might have distinguished Andromache's relationship and experiences with her son. One would be to present Astyanax himself as an 'exceptional' child, by position or potential if not by personality; to convey a sense that Andromache's loss is of peculiar intrinsic value. What indications of this approach do we find in *Troades*?

The chorus introduces the boy to us in 571 as "φίλος Ἀστυάναξ, Ἐκτορος ἱυῖς" ("[her] dear Astyanax, Hector's child"). This certainly establishes the child as of value to Andromache, but mostly in an emotional sense. On the other hand, given what has been said of Hector's status and reputation up to this point, "Ἐκτορος ἱυῖς" is likely to carry overtones of the child's being his father's heir as the hope of Troy's royal house and of his city. Hecuba's optimistic words in 702-5 explore these implications more fully:

καὶ παῖδα τόνδε παιδὸς ἐκθρέψειας ἂν
 Τροία μέγιστον ὠφέλημ' εἶναι ποτε,
 ἔξ οὗ γενόμενοι παῖδες Ἴλιον πάλιν
 κατοικήσειαν, καὶ πόλις γένοιτ' ἔτι³⁰.

³⁰ "...and you may rear up this son of my son to be one day a great help to Troy, from whom children being born may re-establish Ilion, and the city be once more". With Lee, I have followed Nauck's emendation of the end of 703.

702-3 refer to the child as heir to his father's virtue to the city, 704-5 to his inheriting and passing on the blood of the royal line. The former idea is reiterated in Talthybios' account of Odysseus' motive in urging Astyanax's death: "λέξας ἀρίστου παῖδα μὴ τρέφειν πατρός"³¹ (723).

Yet Andromache's own attitude is not presented in quite these terms. In 740-44, Andromache talks of her son in relation to his father's virtues in dissociative rather than associative terms. The shadow of what Hector was will be fatal to his son, but Andromache talks of that 'shadow' not as presently part of Astyanax's make-up, but rather as an influence affecting the Greeks' thinking: it has 'come to' the child 'not opportunely' (οὐκ ἐς καιρὸν):

ἡ τοῦ πατρὸς δέ σ' εὐγένει' ἀπώλεσεν
ἢ τοῖσιν ἄλλοις γίγνεται σωτηρία,
τὸ δ' ἐσθλὸν οὐκ ἐς καιρὸν ἦλθε σοὶ πατρός
(742-4)³².

Contrast this with what Seneca makes of the idea: his Andromache already finds a resemblance of spirit to his father in Astyanax's conduct. Euripides' Astyanax is clearly too young for this. Andromache's speech throughout casts him as a helpless child, an innocent in the fullest sense (765). She does make one reference to Astyanax's royal hopes, in 747-8:

οὐ σφάγιον υἷὸν Δαναΐδαις τέξουσ' ἐμόν,
ἀλλ' ὡς τύραννον Ἀσιάδος πολυσπόρου³³.

This certainly talks of the position Andromache once hoped to see her child grow up to fill. But the balance of her statement expresses her regrets quite as much for what the child will become ("σφάγιον Δαναΐδαις") as for what he can never now be. Furthermore, in contrast to, say, the regrets expressed by Seneca's Andromache in her farewell lament (*Troades* 766ff.), Euripides' Andromache never talks in terms of royal hopes for Astyanax retained *after* Troy's fall - these are left to Hecuba. The lament of 745-8 overall, apostrophising as it does her "marriage-bed and nuptials" (745), relates less

³¹ "...saying that we should not rear up the child of an exceedingly noble/courageous father".

³² "Your father's nobility destroyed you, something which to others is a means of salvation, but your father's virtue did not come to you opportunely".

³³ "...not bearing my son to be a slaughter-victim for the Danaans, but as king of fruitful Asia".

to the extinction of a royal bloodline than to the destruction of a family unit - a marriage wrenched asunder, the hopes once cherished for the fruit of that marriage blown away, the fruit itself now to be destroyed.

Andromache's lament, then, unfolds on the level of personal grief. Nowhere do we hear from her expressions equivalent either to those with which Seneca's Andromache opens her lament: "o decus lapsae domus/ summumque Troiae funus" (766-7)³⁴, or to those the latter applies to Astyanax elsewhere: "spes una Phrygibus, unica afflictæ domus,/ veterisque suboles sanguinis" (462-3)³⁵. It is left to the chorus and to Hecuba to voice the thought that the child's death is a tragic blow to the city (780-81, 795-8). Even they, however, when lamenting over Astyanax's corpse later, concentrate much more on the death of the child as a child: heightening the emotion by emphasising the empty cruelty of the Greeks in killing a child who could have done nothing of what they feared. Hecuba explicitly reverses the course of her earlier hopes to make this point:

παῖδα δείσαντες [...] μὴ Τροίαν ποτὲ
πεσοῦσαν ὀρθώσειεν; οὐδὲν ἦτ' ἄρα...
(1159-60)³⁶.

Hecuba's lament resembles Andromache's in that the lost hopes (1168-70, 1209-11, 1218-9) refer to what Astyanax might have been and done and known in Troy's happier days, or (1168) if he had grown to manhood before this disaster came upon him. Only one refers to the royal power he would have inherited (1169). The significance of Astyanax to his father's house and to Troy is not ignored (1192, 1214-5, 1253-5); but the emphasis of the passage lies elsewhere. Thus although we are made sufficiently aware throughout the play that Astyanax is Troy's prince, Euripides presents him very much less as a prince than as a little child: and this is especially so in what Andromache is given to say of him.

1.2.2.2: Hector's son

A different way of impressing Astyanax on us as an 'exceptional' child would be to highlight his being *Hector's* son, an aspect that Andromache could be expected to value highly. As we saw above, the first

³⁴ "o glory of a ruined family, and last burial of Troy."

³⁵ "sole hope of Troy and of your shattered family, scion of an old race."

³⁶ "...fearing this child...lest fallen Troy should one day raise itself up? Nothing of this could be..."

reference to him by the chorus describes him in these terms (571). Yet the element of Hector's 'being in' his son is not dwelt on by Andromache here as it will be in later stages of the tradition. In fact it is not Andromache but Hecuba whom we hear refer directly to Astyanax as Hector's son (702, 790). Similarly, the idea - so influential in later tradition - of finding a resemblance to Hector in his son comes from Hecuba in this play: "ὦ χεῖρες, ὡς εἰκοῦς μὲν ἠδείας πατρὸς κέκτησθ'" (1178-9)³⁷. Thus there are indications that Astyanax is valued as the son of his father, but they do not strike that insistent a note.

When Andromache does mention her child alongside her husband, it is usually in terms that paint them as a family unit. In 752-3, Andromache wistfully imagines Hector coming out of the ground to rescue his son, "φέρων σωτηρίαν" ("bringing salvation"). Even expressed as an impossibility, this paints a picture of a father's active relationship with his son, as distinct from the passive relationship of inheritance and resemblance. Andromache, when her words relate Astyanax to his father, sees Hector not *in* her son but alongside their son. The former idea, the full identification of Astyanax with his father, belongs of course to the later Senecan tradition; the comparison is introduced here simply to help us to understand the nature of Andromache's relationship with her son in this play, by showing what it might be and is not. We are certainly reminded that Astyanax is Hector's son and that there is special value in being so. But it is never in terms of his value as Hector's son that Andromache laments her loss of her child.

1.2.2.3: An exceptional death, an individualised grief

Being Hector's son marks out Astyanax in a quite different way. It is his father's virtue and fame that earns Astyanax death at Greek hands (723, 742-2). And it is this fate that really marks Astyanax out, and distinguishes what his mother suffers as exceptional. The chorus talk of seeing *their* dead children (201-2), but these are clearly grown-up children fallen in battle or in the sack of the city, as with Hecuba's sons (107, 134-5, 475-80 etc.). Young children were taken captive with their mothers, and although they might be separated in captivity (1089-94), death was in no way their normal fate. As against this, the Greek Talthybios' obvious horror at the news he has to break paints the death of Astyanax as an exceptionally black deed. The crime is distinguished by the extreme youth of the victim ("βρέφος τσοῦνδ'": "such

³⁷ "o hands, what a sweet likeness you have to your father's"

an infant" (1165), although βρέφος is probably here an emotive rather than an accurately descriptive term), by his commensurate innocence (765) and by the meanness, brutal ruthlessness and possible futility (1160-66) of the motive. Andromache's experience does not merely exemplify of the sufferings of mothers in wartime; she is suffering something that is clearly presented as monstrous.

Given that Euripides is portraying Andromache as a mother under exceptional conditions, how does his presentation of her interact with those circumstances, and does this interaction arouse our interest in her as well as our pity? To begin with, Euripides shows us just what quality of motherhood this is that is being torn from Andromache under such uniquely cruel conditions. He concentrates on the simple pleasure a mother may take in her son. Consider the wrenching tenderness of her address to Astyanax following her stark evocation of the fate awaiting him. The terms of both are vivid and physical, the one conveying her sense of the horror of what he will suffer, the other expressing what this son she is losing means to her:

λυγρὸν δὲ πῆδημ' ἔς τράχηλον ὑψόθεν
 πεσῶν ἀνοίκτως, πνεῦμ' ἀπορρήξεις σέθεν.
 ὦ νέον ὑπαγκάλισμα μητρὶ φίλτατον,
 ὦ χρωτὸς ἠδὺ πνεῦμα

(755-8)³⁸.

Euripides reinforces this sense of the joy Andromache took in her son in Hecuba's later speech, again in juxtaposition with a starkly horrible physical evocation of his doom:

δύστην', κρατὸς ὡς σ' ἔκειρεν ἀθλίως
 τεῖχη πατρῶα [...]
 ὄν πολλ' ἐκήπευσ' ἠ τεκοῦσα βόστρυχον
 φιλήμασιν τ' ἔδωκεν, ἔνθεν ἐκγελά
 ὀστέων ραγέντων φόνος

(1173-7)³⁹.

³⁸ "falling by a grievous leap, pitilessly, from on high onto your neck, your life-breath will be rent away from you. O little infant armful most dear to your mother, o sweet scent of your skin..."

³⁹ "Unhappy one, how wretchedly your father's walls have shorn open your head, where your mother often tended your curls of hair and gave you kisses, there death of shattered bone grins out..."

The same simple but powerful images of intimacy inform Andromache's haunting farewell embrace of her child in 761-3:

νῦν - οὔποτ' αὖθις - μητέρ' ἀσπάζου σέθεν,
 πρόσπιτνε τὴν τεκοῦσαν, ἀμφὶ δ' ὠλένας
 ἔλισσ' ἐμοῖς νώτοισι καὶ στόμ' ἄρμοσον
 (761-3)⁴⁰.

Their clinging to each other is the natural 'language' for the elemental feeling that holds a mother to her child and a child to its mother. The child is torn from this embrace (782-3) - or possibly thrust from her arms by Andromache herself in an access of despair (774) - at the close of the scene in a powerful representation of the sundering of the relationship by the Greeks.

Are we, though, to regard the representation of such feeling in Andromache's presentation as an image Euripides wishes to create of *her*, or is he using her rather as a mirror in which to reflect an image of all maternal feeling? The presentation of Andromache's feelings clearly does relate to a wider picture of the things that motherhood cherishes, rendered with an exquisite, forceful simplicity that idealises Andromache's relationship with Astyanax. But individuality enters the picture in the interaction of general idealised truth with particular circumstances. On only one other occasion in his extant plays does Euripides convey the intimacy of a mother's relationship to her child at such a young stage with quite this vividness, in *Medea* (especially 1040-43, 1068-77). There, the situation reacts with the emotive effect of the words to produce a rather different overall response from the audience. In *Medea* the bond is under strain from within: the mother bears responsibility for the contingency that threatens to shatter it; whereas in *Troades* the mutual attachment of Andromache and her son is seen under threat from no conflicting impulses in the mother, but from an external agency. In contrast to *Medea*, Andromache can do nothing to avert her child's death however desperately she wants to. That death is presented to her as a fact before the event, giving her the agony of anticipation. The reasons motivating the child's killers have nothing to do with any act or guilt of hers (as with, e.g., Thyestes or even Niobe) - she is

⁴⁰ "Now - for never again - kiss your mother, embrace her who bore you, twine your arms around my back and join your mouth to mine."

innocent as well as her child. These are some examples of the way Andromache's experience is differentiated - and all these considerations inevitably reflect on the way we respond to her.

One crucial aspect of maternity expressed by Andromache is her protective instinct, her desire to ward off all ill and danger from her son. In its simplest form we encounter this when Andromache, perturbed by Talthymbios' hesitancy, voices fears that Astyanax may be separated from her, and then of his being deserted in Troy:

μῶν οὐ τὸν αὐτὸν δεσπότην ἡμῖν ἔχειν; [...]
 ἀλλ' ἐνθάδ' αὐτοῦ λείψανον Φρυγῶν λιπεῖν;
 (714-6)⁴¹.

Such affecting concerns are overshadowed by a deep irony: the truth is far worse than Andromache's worst forebodings. She is not to be faced with a future far from her son and unable to protect him, but a present right beside her son yet utterly powerless to save him. The text brings out the essential injustice of Andromache's being deprived of the ability to protect. Astyanax is presented as too young to grasp properly what is happening, but sensing that 'something is wrong', and instinctively seeking protection in his mother's arms:

ὦ παῖ, δακρύεις· αἰσθάνη κακῶν σέθεν;
 τί μου δέδραξαι χερσὶ κἀντέχη πέπλων,
 νεοσσὸς ὡσεὶ πτέρυγας ἐσπίτνων ἐμάς;
 (749-51)⁴².

Andromache's consciousness of her child's state of innocence adds an implicit note of bitter injustice to the accompanying thought that the protection is sought in vain. Underlying 749-54 are a wistfulness and a despair: an intense yearning to be able to avert her child's doom, to have at hand the resources she once had, coupled with a hopeless consciousness of helplessness:

⁴¹ "Surely it is not that he will not have a different master to me?...But is he to remain right here as a last remnant of the Trojan people?"

⁴² "Child, you are crying; do you realise your woes? Why do you clutch at me with your hands and cling to my robes, like a young nestling falling under my wings?"

οὐκ εἶσιν Ἔκτωρ κλεινὸν ἀρπάσας δόρυ
 γῆς ἔξανελθῶν σοὶ φέρων σωτηρίαν
 (752-3)⁴³.

Euripides 'rounds out' his portrayal of Andromache as mother with a more forceful side to her emotions. Alongside the racked tender pathos of such passages as 749-54 there is the suddenly impassioned flaring of anguished bitterness in 764ff. First Andromache turns on Astyanax's enemies:

ὦ βάρβαρ' ἔξευρόντες Ἕλληνες κακά,
 τί τόνδε παῖδα κτείνειτ' οὐδὲν αἴτιον;
 (764-5)⁴⁴.

The swift change in the emotional register is theatrically powerful: Euripides expertly orchestrates the interchange of pathos and passion, the latter rising in a crescendo from 764 to 779. But if the switch in mood and tone is designed to play upon the whole range of an audience's emotions, the bitter anger also adds another dimension to the picture of Andromache as mother. Until now, the general impression of her rôle has been of strong emotion painfully understated: her speech has had neither the abandon of Cassandra (e.g. 353-60) nor the expansiveness with which Hecuba gives voice to her grief (e.g. 466-71, 278-91). Yet her climactic outburst rings true nonetheless. It has been prepared for by the momentary violence of her language in 667 giving a glimpse of passionate conviction ("ἀπέπτυσ' αὐτήν, ἥτις [...] ἄλλον φιλεῖ": "I spit out a woman, who loves another..."), and by the sudden aggression towards Odysseus in 724, cutting across her lamentation in response to the Greek decision: "τοιαῦτα νικήσειε τῶν αὐτοῦ πέρι" ("May such counsels prevail concerning *his* children!"). That we are stirred by Andromache's sudden forcefulness here has, then, only partly to do with the thrill of an upsurge in pace and tone; it also arises from a sense, carefully fostered throughout Euripides' portrayal, that something real and readily comprehensible is being represented to us.

Euripides' expression of Andromache's grief at the climax of her speech carries similar conviction.

⁴³ "Hector will not come, snatching up his famed spear and rising up out of the earth to bring salvation to you..."

⁴⁴ "You Greeks who have sought out barbarian crimes, why are you killing this child who is guilty of nothing?"

<ἀλλ' > ἄγετε φέρετε ῥίπτειτ', εἰ ῥίπτειν δοκεῖ·
 δαίνυσθε τοῦδε σάρκας. ἔκ τε γὰρ θεῶν
 διολλύμεσθα, παιδί τ'οῦ δυναίμεθ' ἄν
 θάνατον ἀρῆξαι. κρύπτειτ' ἄθλιον δέμας
 καὶ ῥίπτειτ' ἐς ναῦς. ἐπὶ καλὸν γὰρ ἔρχομαι
 ὑμέναιον, ἀπολέσασα τοῦμαυτῆς τέκνον
 (774-9)⁴⁵.

The tone, particularly in 774-5, is almost savage, underlining the cruelty of the Greeks but also conveying, in the way her fury makes her speak of her child, the distracted extremity of Andromache's grief. This is also conveyed by the fierce carelessness with which she talks of what will become of her (777-8), in terms reminiscent of Cassandra's in 355-6: "κἄν μὴ τὰμά σοι πρόθυμά γ'ἦ, ὥθει βιαίως"⁴⁶, but inspired by utter hopelessness rather than the ferocious consolation of revenge.

The importance to Andromache of her relationship with her son is highlighted at the last by her final reference to the 'marriage' she has so dreaded. The bitter irony of 778-9 relates back to the glimmer of hope in Andromache's life with Neoptolemos that Hecuba urged on her in 697-705: make the best of things with your master and Astyanax may prosper. Whether or not Andromache was persuaded by this, her very last words point up the extinguishing of this one hopeful light on her future. The two evils she suffers combine: her 'marriage' was a bleak enough prospect in itself, but the loss of Astyanax takes away the last shred of consolation and puts the last and worst touch to her hopelessness.

1.2.2.4: Burial: the last duty and care

There remains one detailed reported 'appearance' of Andromache, described by Talthybios when he returns with Astyanax's body for burial. Earlier the Greek herald had urged Andromache not to struggle against the inevitable, that the consolation of burial be not denied to her and the child. In the end, we hear, Andromache is not allowed the time to see her son buried, and must commit that care to others. Talthybios' words draw

⁴⁵ "But lead him away, carry him off, hurl him down, if hurl you must; feast on his flesh. For by the gods have I been destroyed, and I cannot ward off death from my son. Cover up my miserable body and hurl me into the ship. For I have come to a fine marriage, having lost my child"

⁴⁶ "And if I appear reluctant to you, *thrust me on by force*"

attention to the fact that, utterly subject as she is to her master's will, a sudden change in Neoptolemos' plans has deprived Andromache of bestowing her last care and duty:

ἐπεὶ βέβηκε, καὶ τὸ δεσπότης τάχος
ἀφείλετ' αὐτὴν παῖδα μὴ δοῦναι τάφῳ
(1145-6)⁴⁷.

In these simple terms Euripides restates the cruel helplessness of Andromache's fate. At the same time, she is described as taking all the care she can. She begs Neoptolemos to arrange for the child to be buried, and to give up part of his spoil to be used instead of a coffin (1133-42). And she requests that Astyanax's grandmother be given the child to dress for burial, in reported words that stress the idea of entrustment to one who will care about him: "σὰς δ' ἐς ὠλένας δοῦναι" (1142-3: "...and that he be given into your arms") despite the little she has to give (1143-4). With these instructions, conveying both tenderness and intense pathos, Andromache leaves Troy, and her son, behind.

1.3: Andromache as Hector's wife

In both plays by Euripides, although Hector is dead, so much of what Andromache and others say concerns her relationship with him that it comes across as part of her present experience. Moreover this relationship, as will be considered in [1.4](#), has an effect on the second major aspect of Andromache's present experience, her relations with Neoptolemos. So how does Euripides portray Andromache as Hector's wife and Hector's widow? How does he set about conveying his own dramatic sense of what had almost certainly already become a defining image: Hector's Andromache, as Virgil's Aeneas puts it (*Aeneid* 3.319)? And what is the importance of this aspect of Andromache's portrayal in each of the two plays?

1.3.1: Andromache

In a play concerned with questions of *φιλία* ties, Andromache's relationship with Hector works thematically on both the general and the particular levels identified in [1.1.1](#). On the general level it relates to the

⁴⁷ "After that she went away, and her master's haste prevented her from giving her child burial"

issues of good and bad marriages, good and bad wives. On the level of Andromache's particular story it shows how present ties of *φιλία* may conflict with past ties of *φιλία* when the latter, because of an individual's personal view of past commitments, are adhered to beyond death. How does Euripides draw these ideas to our attention? One general answer has already been considered (1.1.1): the sympathy and admiration encouraged for Andromache favours our interest in how she views and responds to her experiences. On the thematic level, however, the answers to the question of how attention is drawn to Andromache's relationship with Hector centre round the conflict between Andromache and Hermione. Into this conflict and its aftermath is woven a contrast which points up the differences in the two women's attitudes, character and outlook and invites us to explore the nature of each woman as revealed in their approach to marriage and to their husbands.

The most notable operation of this contrast concerns Andromache's very first words in the play. Although a full realisation of this may not come until after Hermione's entrance some 150 lines later, Euripides deliberately frames the respective opening words of the two women on similar lines, inviting a comparison. This is how Andromache begins:

Ἀσιάτιδος γῆς σχῆμα, Θηβαία πόλι,
 ὄθεν ποθ' ἔδνων σὺν πολυχρύσῳ χλιδῆ
 Πριάμου τύρρανον ἐστίαν ἀφικόμην
 δάμαρ δοθείσα παιδοποιὸς Ἕκτορι,
 ζῆλωτὸς ἔν γε τῷ πρὶν Ἀνδρομάχη χρόνῳ,
 νῦν δ', εἴ τις ἄλλη, δυστυχεστάτη γυνή
 (1-6)⁴⁸.

Now, Hermione:

κόσμον μὲν ἀμφὶ κρατὶ χρυσεῆς χλιδῆς[...]
 οὐ τῶν Ἀχιλλέως οὐδὲ Πηλέως ἄπο
 δόμων ἀπαρχὰς δεῦρ' ἔχουσ' ἀφικόμην,

⁴⁸ "Land of Asia, Theban city, from whence once with a rich golden luxury of dowry-gifts I came to the kingly hearth of Priam, to be given as child-bearing wedded wife to Hector, Andromache, enviable in time past but now, if any ever were, the most ill-starred of women".

ἀλλ' ἐκ Λακαίνης Σπαρτιάτιδος χθονὸς
 Μενέλαος ἡμῖν ταῦτα δωρεῖται πατὴρ
 πολλοῖς σὺν ἔδνοις, ὥστ' ἐλευθεροστομεῖν
 (147-53)⁴⁹.

The parallels are striking (πολυχρύσω χλιδῆ/χρυσέας χλιδῆς; ὄθειν ἀφικόμην/δεῦρ' ἔχουσ' ἀφικόμην; ἔδνων σὺν/πολλοῖς σὺν ἔδνοις); the more so because of the widely differing situations of those who speak the words - slave and princess - a difference which the similarity of thought and expression, in its turn, poignantly emphasises. The contrast goes beyond that of situation, however. While for both women the words express a princess's pride, there remains a sense in which Hermione's words are an assertion of pure, ingrained pride: in her family wealth, in her royal status, in her independence of her husband in terms of both, and in the licence she feels this gives her: "ὥστ' ἐλευθεροστομεῖν"). Andromache's words, on the other hand, are expressive of her attachment to the things of the past as well as of her pride in them; certainly she remembers the gold-decked glory of her royal marriage, but she also remembers the city she left, and above all the man she went to marry - in terms that link her closely to him, recalling a union of fruitful wholeness: "δάμαρ δοθεῖσα παιδοποιὸς Ἑκτορι". She stresses the bond where Hermione stresses her independence. A difference of outlook; perhaps too a difference of character: Andromache looks away from herself and talks of "being given away" with her dowry ("δοθεῖσα"); Hermione centres her thought on herself and talks of her finery being "given to her" ("ἡμῖν ταῦτα δωρεῖται πατὴρ"). These echoes and contrasts of language would, most probably, be picked up by the actors and their delivery of the lines adapted accordingly - so the audience could well have been expected to notice and be interested in the difference.

Two cardinal impressions arise from all this. One is that Andromache's first words cast her once for all as Hector's wife, in a more complete sense than Hermione is or could ever be Neoptolemos'. Even without the benefit of the later comparison Hermione affords, the opening lines of the play impress on us Euripides' conception of Andromache as indissolubly linked to her dead husband, in her memory and in her thinking. The second impression is that Andromache's whole attitude to wifedom in the abstract is fundamentally different from Hermione's. The

⁴⁹ "I have come here wearing on my head adornment of golden luxury...no first-fruits from the house of Achilles or of Peleus, but my father Menelaos gave these things to me from Spartan Lakedaimon, with many dowry-gifts, so that I have a right to speak freely."

study of Andromache as wife involves looking at her in the light both of her marriage considered as a relationship with a particular man, and of her view of marriage as an ideal depending on certain values and virtues.

1.3.1.1: The standard of virtue

In the confrontation between Andromache and Hermione, their difference of outlook on the level of general principles is explored in more detail. Andromache comes out with a series of precepts giving her view of what being a good woman and a good wife entails. On the negative level, this view depends on the suppression of passionate or rebellious talk or emotions. Hermione's lack of restraint in her complaints is "shameful" (238); if she suffers with respect to her passion she should do so in silence (240), for though women feel these things keenly it is their place and their virtue to master any stirrings of jealousy (220-21). Indeed however unhappy a woman's marriage is, she should content herself:

χρὴ γὰρ γυναῖκα, κἄν κακῶ πόσει δοθῆ,
στέργειν, ἄμιλλαν τ' οὐκ ἔχειν φρονήματος
(213-4)⁵⁰.

Although "στέργειν" here probably has the sense "be contented with, bear with", in the first instance, the word may still carry overtones of its other principal sense "have affection for". All this passive virtue has in Andromache's argument a definite and positive aim in view.

οὐ τὸ κάλλος, ᾧ γύναι,
ἀλλ' ἀρεταὶ τέρπουσι τοὺς ξυνευνέτας
(207-8)⁵¹.

Wifely good behaviour is advocated not as mere self-sufficient righteousness, but as a crucial part of a relationship, designed to induce one's husband to take pleasure in his wife.

When Andromache applies these general principles to an account of her own marriage with Hector, it should become clear that her outlook involves more than cold, self-righteous virtue. Lines 222-7, unromantically revising the Homeric impression of Hector and Andromache's *mutual*

⁵⁰ "For a woman ought, even if she is given to a bad husband, to bear with him, and not engage in a clash of wills"

⁵¹ "Not beauty, my lady, but virtues *delight* [our] consorts"

fidelity, are notorious. There is an element of rhetorical exaggeration here: Andromache is putting as strongly as possible the opposite case to the attitude she disapproves of in Hermione; and the story of her own marriage as told here throws Andromache's selfless devotion into highest relief. To some, this has seemed so extreme as to place Andromache's standard of virtue on a dubious foundation⁵²; but beyond even the impression of Andromache's extreme devotion is the statement of a clear and sane motive: the maintaining and restoration of the integrity of the marital relationship. Andromache's response to her husband's affairs was to strive to keep herself and Hector 'in harmony': "ἵνα σοι μηδὲν ἐδοίην πικρόν" (225: "So that I should afford you nothing bitter"), even at the price of indulging his misdemeanours - but in the aim of winning Hector back to her, of restoring their relationship: "καὶ ταῦτα δρώσα τῇ ἀρετῇ προσηγόμενῃ πόσιν" (226-7: "And in doing this I *won my husband* over by my virtue"). The virtues that Andromache champions belong neither to a doormat nor to a prig, but to a woman who believes in marriage as a union to be kept whole even if that means the denial of self in the wife. A wife is "given to" her husband (δοθῆ, 213); Andromache talked of herself as "being given" to Hector (δοθεῖσα, 4). The values she upholds in this argument are a logical extension of that initial, basic principle into the ideal of giving all one's efforts to make one's husband happy - but happy, in the final analysis, in *his wife*.

1.3.1.2: An individual devotion and an abiding relationship

This might still characterise Andromache as a devoted wife rather than specifically as devoted to Hector. But other aspects of Euripides' portrayal are designed to bring out the individual nature of her devotion. There is, in particular, the simple fact that Andromache's husband has been several years dead. Euripides plays off this fact in various ways. The first is that Andromache is continually spoken of in connection with Hector, by herself and by virtually everyone else⁵³. When Hermione wishes to taunt her rival, it is precisely with reference to Hector that she chooses to strike:

⁵² "...the truth is that the poet has forced her to argue on very difficult ground, since in this case it is a wife's resentment of her husband's mistress that is to be recognised as immutably shameful, while the concomitant immutable virtue is illustrated by complicity in a husband's adultery" (Burnett 1971, pp.136-7).

⁵³ e.g. Hermione and Orestes in their scene together (908, 960); Menelaos in 655-6: "δάμαρ δ' ἦδε "Ἐκτορος", "and she is Hector's wife"; the loyal *therapaina* who in 59 refers to Andromache alongside her husband: "εὖνους δὲ καὶ σοὶ ζῶντι τ' ἦ τῷ σῷ πόσει": "[being] well-disposed also to you and to your husband when he was alive".

"γνωαί θ' ἴν' εἶ γῆς. οὐ γάρ ἐσθ' Ἐκτωρ τάδε"⁵⁴ (168). Andromache introduces herself as "δάμαρ [...]"Ἐκτορι" (4: "Hector's wedded wife"), and even in her argument with Hermione links herself with her husband: "φιλοῦσι γάρ μ' Ἕλληνες Ἐκτορος τ' ἄπο;"⁵⁵ (203). Her present enemies' insistence on the connection is rhetorically appropriate - it helps them cast her as an outsider and as 'the enemy'. But the obstinate recurrence of the idea also impresses another point upon the audience: in the natural common view of the Greeks, in the view of those more sympathetically disposed, in her own thinking, Andromache is still, essentially, Hector's wife.

The second way in which Euripides characterises Andromache's devotion to *Hector*, gaining added force from the time known to have elapsed since his death, is the way he makes her speak of the loss of her husband. However resigned she is to survival and her new existence in Neoptolemos' household, Euripides has taken care to present the loss of Hector as a shadow that darkened Andromache's life forever. At one point, in defying her persecutors, Euripides has her state this in the clearest possible terms: you can do me no more real harm, she says:

κεῖνα γάρ μ' ἀπώλεσεν,
 ὄθ' ἡ τάλαινα πόλις ἀνηλώθη Φρυγῶν,
 πόσις θ' ὁ κλείνος
 (454-6)⁵⁶.

Along with the fall of Troy, Hector's death had for Andromache an impact equivalent to her own death. This passage sums up the impression clearly conveyed on previous occasions. Four times elsewhere, Andromache describes Hector's death as she laments all that has befallen her (8-9, 97, 107-12, 399-400). It is the beginning of her sufferings as she gives them in her first account (6ff.):

⁵⁴ "Know what country you are in. There's no Hector here..."

⁵⁵ "Would it be on Hector's account that the Greeks felt friendly towards me?"

⁵⁶ "For that day/those things killed me, when the unhappy city of the Phrygians was destroyed, and my famed husband..."

δυστυχεστάτη γυνή· [...]
 ἦτις πόσιν μὲν Ἔκτορ' ἐξ Ἀχιλλεῶς
 θανόντ' ἐσεῖδον

(6-9)⁵⁷.

The eye-witness element here is developed in the later descriptions: glanced at in the detail, chosen or invented by Euripides in preference to Homer's account, that Hector was dragged "περὶ τείχη" ("around the walls", 107-8; a procedure of which the purpose would be for his city to *see* what was done to him), it reaches a climax with the brutal stark vividness of the language employed in 399-400: "ἦτις σφαγᾶς μὲν Ἔκτορος τροχηλάτους κατεῖδον"⁵⁸. The death of Hector thus takes on the impact of a scene seared into Andromache's memory.

Equally effective in their different way are the references to Hector's death in the elegiac lament of 103-16. To begin with there is the description of the defilement her husband endured in death:

καὶ τὸν ἐμὸν [...] πόσιν Ἔκτορα, τὸν περὶ τείχη
 εἴλκυσε διφρεύων παῖς Ἀλίας Θέτιδος

(107-8)⁵⁹.

Apart from the sense of humiliation and cruelty involved in "περὶ τείχη εἴλκυσε διφρεύων", there is also a painful link of Andromache's past suffering to her present situation inherent here. As she laments her husband's death at the hands of "the son of...Thetis", we see her in the present clinging to that same goddess's shrine, the only protection currently available to her. I do not think the desperate irony of the matronymic would escape the audience. As we shall go on more fully to examine in considering her relations with Neoptolemos, Euripides creates and exploits a tension between Andromache's current situation and the memory of her husband and of his death.

A few lines later Andromache remembers her farewell to Troy:

⁵⁷ "...the most ill-starred of women...who looked on Hector dying at Achilles' hands..."

⁵⁸ "[I] who looked on Hector's wheel-dragged slaughter"

⁵⁹ "...and my husband Hector, whom the son of sea-born Thetis dragged from his chariot around the walls..."

πολλὰ δὲ δάκρυά μοι κατέβα χροός, ἀνίκ' ἔλειπον
 ἄστυ τε καὶ θαλάμους καὶ πόσιν ἐν κοίαις

(111-2)⁶⁰.

That last phrase, "καὶ πόσιν ἐν κοίαις", captures with haunting delicacy the essence of Andromache's grief. The world and the happiness that was Troy and Hector were brought down to the dust: and it is in the midst of the element symbolising the last reduction and disintegration of human life that Andromache's memory pictures her husband at the moment she left him finally behind. Euripides, then, conveys Andromache's memories powerfully and recurrently: in such a way that we view her as still living under the shadow of Hector's death.

Andromache's loss of Hector is less frequently evoked by references to him alive. Such references do, however, occur, and in significant passages: we have already encountered reminiscences of their wedding (1-4) and of their married life (222-7). Perhaps the most notable occasion where regret for Hector is blended with a picture of what he was for Andromache in life occurs in her lament with her son at their moment of greatest danger. Molossos cries out for his father (Neoptolemos) to come to their rescue (507-8). About a dozen lines later, Andromache, in perhaps pointed contrast, calls in wistful hopelessness not on the living man who might actually be able to help, but on the long-dead husband whom she remembers as her strong protector:

ὦ πόσις πόσις, εἴθε σὰν
 χεῖρα καὶ δόρυ σύμμαχον
 κτησαίμαν, Πριάμου παῖ
 (523-5)⁶¹.

The apostrophe, in an emotionally climactic passage, is a striking device to convey Andromache's attachment to Hector. If only he could still be with her; such is the last reference to Hector that we hear from Andromache in this play.

⁶⁰ "Many tears ran down my face, when I left behind my city and home and my husband in the dust".

⁶¹ "My husband, my husband, would that I had by me your strong hand and spear as an ally, son of Priam."

1.3.2: Troades

In *Troades*, Andromache's loss of her husband is less obviously exceptional than her loss of Astyanax. The chorus, war-widowed themselves, share the same grief as Andromache: in 1081-5 they too lament their fallen husbands. Andromache, as the one prominent member of the Trojan royal family to be in the position of the young widow, represents, then, a general case. The other side of her position, enslavement and the prospect of an enforced liaison with a Greek master, is also shared by the chorus (see 684-5). Is this, however, all there is to the matter? Does the presentation of Andromache's loss of Hector fit the theory of a story representing both general truths and a living, individual case?

1.3.2.1: A special husband

One thing that is clear is that Hector is no ordinary man to have lost. Most of the references to him in *Troades* present him as pre-eminent warrior: his fair reputation undying (Cassandra, 394-7), his shield referred to as the great fear of the Greeks (1136-7). Hector was his city's pride (394-7) and his mother's (490, 493) as well as Andromache's:

ὦ μητέρα ἀνδρός, ὅς ποτ' Ἀργείων δορὶ
πλείστους διώλεσ' Ἔκτορος

(610-11)⁶².

But he was Andromache's husband, and there is a sense of what a husband he was to lose in many of the references, such as Talthybios' address: "Φρυγῶν ἀρίστου πρὶν ποθ' Ἔκτορος δάμαρ"⁶³ (709). "ἄριστος" (applied to Hector by his opponents here and in 723, by his sister in 395), like "χρηστός" (397) and "ἔσθλόν" (744), is a 'global' term: involved in Hector's military pre-eminence are courage and nobility as well as sheer martial prowess⁶⁴. In *Troades* this duality is reflected above all in the image of Hector as defender: Troy's first and best hope who still could not preserve her (1160-63), the man who spent his sweat and toil in doing battle on his city's behalf (1194-9). For Andromache this great defender is a personal loss to his wife: "σᾶς δάμαρτος ἄλκαρ" (590: "the bulwark of your wife") and to their son (752-3; see 1.2.2.3,

⁶² "O mother of Hector, of a man who once with his spear killed very many Argives..."

⁶³ "Wife of him who was once, ere this, the best of the Phrygians"

⁶⁴ From the fragments of the *Alexandros*, the first play in the loosely interconnected *Troades* trilogy of 415 (see Lee 1976, pp.xi-xii), the audience would have been left with an impression of Hector where nobility (in the generous acceptance of defeat) would be more important than prowess (see Snell 1937, pp.11-17).

p.59). Thus it seems fair to say that Andromache is presented not just as having lost a husband but as having lost a rather special husband.

1.3.2.2: The past: a special relationship

Euripides' presentation of Andromache as Hector's wife gives us three different perspectives on the relationship: the past perspective, what it was like when Hector was alive; the present perspective, how she feels now he is dead; and the future perspective, how the relationship influences her reactions to her fate in captivity. The past perspective is presented almost entirely in her speech from 634 to 683. Andromache's description of the catastrophe she has undergone opens with a depiction of her married life in terms of a field for excellence. Andromache had set herself the goal of being a perfect wife:

ἐγὼ δὲ τοξείσασα τῆς εὐδοξίας
λαχοῦσα πλείον τῆς τύχης ἡμάρτανον.
ἃ γὰρ γυναιξὶ σῶφρον' ἔσθ' ἠύρημένα,
ταῦτ' ἐξεμόχθουν

(643-6)⁶⁵.

While Andromache is certainly conscious of her own quality in schooling herself to wifely excellence: "τὸν δὲ νοῦν διδάσκαλον/ οἴκοθεν ἔχουσα χρηστὸν ἐξήρκου ἐμοί"⁶⁶ (652-3), her marriage is described as more than just a matter of lofty ideals, of virtue for its own sake. There may be a sense that her dour and seemly conduct was aimed at giving pleasure to her husband, in 654-5: "γλώσσης τε σιγῆν ὄμμα θ' ἤσυχον πόσει παρείχον"⁶⁷. Her devotion to the home (647-52) is also a devotion to *her husband's* home, "Ἐκτορος [...] στέγας", a sentiment later echoed in the wistful apostrophe to the marriage that brought her to Hector's home:

ὦ λέκτρα τὰμὰ δυστυχῆ τε καὶ γάμοι,
ὄς ἦλθον ἐς μέλαθρον Ἐκτορος ποτε
(745-6)⁶⁸.

⁶⁵ "But I, having aimed at fair repute and gained more than an ordinary share, failed to acquire good fortune. For whatever is wise for women to discover, these things I worked hard at..."

⁶⁶ "but I was content in having in my own mind a fine teacher"

⁶⁷ "I presented to my husband a silent tongue and a tranquil eye"

⁶⁸ "O my marriage-bed and unhappy nuptials, for which once I came to the house of Hector".

And Andromache does not see her rôle in the marriage as that of a cipher: her life with Hector had aspects of a partnership:

ἤδη δ' ἄμ' ἐχρῆν νικᾶν πόσιν,
 κείνω τε νίκην ὧν ἐχρην παριέναι
 (655-6)⁶⁹.

To the extent that Andromache's ideal is 'norm-fulfilling', it is true that it is 'conventional'. It would be wrong, however, to understand it as 'conventional' in the sense of 'commonplace', or with the frequent association of mere habit and duty untouched by warmth of feeling. Andromache's conventional values are embraced, cherished and striven for with an energy (ἐξεμόχθουν, 646) and a conviction ("τούτου παρείσα πόθον", 650: "thrusting aside the desire for this [distraction]") that lends them their own nobility. And the warmth of Andromache's own happiness with her husband is clear in her later address to Hector, stating very simply that she had never looked for any more than him, or anyone else than him:

σὲ δ', ὦ φίλ' Ἴκτορ, εἶχον ἄνδρ' ἀρκούντά μοι,
 ξυνέσει γένει πλούτῳ τε κἀνδρεία μέγαν·
 ἀκήρατον δέ μ' ἐκ πατρὸς λαβὼν δόμων
 πρῶτος τὸ παρθένειον ἐξεύξω λέχος
 (673-6)⁷⁰.

Andromache's attachment to Hector, and her finding of her sufficiency in him, is, finally, expressed in her memories of him as her strong protector, whom she naturally wishes at her side in the present crisis: "μόλοις, ὦ πόσι<ς>, μοι [...] σᾶς δάμαρτος ἄλκαρ"⁷¹ (587-90). Her memory of the Hector of "famed spear" whom she was proud of is bound up with this idea of him as her and her son's natural defender. Even the impossible image of hope that Euripides has Andromache deny is the image of this Hector returning to her (752-3). Now, as throughout her marriage, it is Hector whom Andromache wants. The simple strength of this feeling as Euripides alludes to it, coupled with the image of a high ideal of marriage

⁶⁹ "I knew where I should prevail over my husband, and where I should yield the victory to him."

⁷⁰ "But in you, dear Hector, I had a husband quite sufficient for me, great in understanding, in birth, in wealth and in manly courage; taking me untouched from my father's house you were the first to join in marriage with me, a maiden"

⁷¹ "Would that you might come to me, my husband...your wife's defender"

striven for and achieved through devotion to virtue and to the man she married, together serve to give Andromache's loss of Hector its particular impact.

1.3.2.3: The present: abiding attachment and loss

Hector's death is never described in *Troades*. Instead, it is the fact that he is dead, and the separation this entails, that is dwelt on. After recalling her marriage in 673-6, Andromache continues with the same haunting simplicity:

καὶ νῦν ὄλωλας μὲν σύ, ναυσθλοῦμαι δ' ἐγὼ
πρὸς Ἑλλάδ' αἰχμάλωτος
(677-8)⁷².

The μὲν...δέ structure underlines the idea of separation: "Now *you* are dead...and *I* must sail away..."; both statements convey Andromache's sense of loss of the old, happy life just described: Hector is dead and has left her, she must go to Greece and leave him and their homeland. These ideas are reinforced in our last picture of Andromache, through Talthybios' eyes:

φροῦδος, μετ' αὐτοῦ δ' Ἀνδρομάχη, πολῶν ἐμοὶ
δακρύων ἀγωγός, ἥρικ' ἐξώρμα χθονός,
πάτραν τ' ἀναστένουσα καὶ τὸν Ἑκτορος
τύμβον προσεννέπουσα
(1130-33)⁷³.

Leaving Troy behind entails leaving Hector's tomb, his last physical link with his wife. At the last, as Andromache is led away, she is still reaching out for that link, calling on Hector's tomb: the first indications in literature of an attachment that will recur throughout later portrayals of Andromache.

Euripides heightens our sense of the pain of separation by alluding to a bond that is still strong even as it is physically severed. This is one point of the references to Andromache as "wife of Hector" throughout: this is how she is first mentioned in the play (271) and how Talthybios first addresses

⁷² "And now you are dead, and I am carried away by sea to Greece, a captive."

⁷³ "[Neoptolemos] is gone, and with him Andromache, who called from me many tears, when she set out from this land, bewailing her homeland and calling on the tomb of Hector by name..."

her (709). Our first sight of her is certainly in an enemy's wagon⁷⁴, but holding *Hector's* child and surrounded by *Hector's* armour - the chorus draws attention to both of these connections ("Ἔκτορος ἱνίς", "Ἔκτορος ὄπλοις"; 568-74). Andromache's ties to Hector are visually presented alongside the images of her being handed over to another man. She is Hector's wife still; indeed Hecuba gently rebukes Andromache for having her thoughts still too much with Hector, now when this can do no good:

ἀλλ', ὦ φίλη παῖ, τὰς μὲν Ἔκτορος τύχας
 ἔασον· οὐ μὴ δάκρυά νιν σώσῃ τὰ σά
 (697-8)⁷⁵.

1.3.2.4: The future: fighting for fidelity

Finally, mostly in 657-72, Euripides explores what being Hector's widow means to Andromache in terms of her future. Andromache is going off to be a slave, and for a young female captive of war that inevitably meant an enforced sexual union with her captor. As an experience to be dreaded, this can present itself in two obvious lights: that of the degradation of enforced concubinage, and that of the emotional violation in sharing an enemy's bed. The chorus certainly see their impending enslavement in the former light (202-4), and there is in 203 an element of the latter reaction, too. But there is a third consideration, involving the fidelity to one's dead partner that is now to be violated. This aspect of the case appears to dominate Andromache's view of her future position. Although her words reflect the humiliation of going to live as another man's slave and at his pleasure (678, 664), much of what she says refers to betrayal in the simple prospect of taking a new partner, and could apply almost as well to remarriage as to concubinage. Andromache's terminology at times reflects this. For instance, she refers to Neoptolemos as "τὸν παρόντα πόσιν" ("my present husband") in 662, the usual word for an actual husband at law⁷⁶. A similar explanation may lie behind Andromache's rather odd use of δάμαρ in 660: "Ἀχιλλέως με παῖς ἐβουλήθη λαβεῖν/δάμαρτα"⁷⁷ (659-60). Since the very

⁷⁴ For the possible sexual implications of the visual image see Craik 1990, p.7, but also my discussion below (1.4.2.1, p.93).

⁷⁵ "But, my dear child, let Hector's misfortunes be; your tears will not save him."

⁷⁶ Compare Hecuba's "τίμα δὲ τὸν παρόντα δεσπότην": "honour your present master", 699.

⁷⁷ "Achilles' son wished to take me as his wife". According to Stevens 1971, pp.87-8: "In tragedy δάμαρ is used...generally with some stress on the dignity of a lawful spouse...in

next word Andromache utters is δουλεύσω ("I shall be a slave") it seems unlikely that she is thinking of Neoptolemos' intentions in terms of actual marriage; but the fluctuation in terminology may reflect the fact that Andromache is as much disturbed by her relationship with Neoptolemos replacing her relationship with Hector as by the aspect of slavery involved.

All this is further borne out by the fact that Andromache's discussion of the choices before her does not involve physical fidelity, about which there is frankly nothing she can do, but rather 'emotional' fidelity. She is talking about an attitude of heart and mind: "κεῖ [...] ἀναπτύξω φρένα" (662), "τόνδε δ' αὖ στυγοῦσ'" (663-4), "χαλᾶ τὸ δυσμενὲς γυναικὸς" (665-6)⁷⁸, even in her comparison drawn from the animal kingdom: "οὐδε πῶλος [...] ῥαδίως ἔλξει ζυγόν" (669-70)⁷⁹. Although it is her being a slave that creates the dilemma and renders the option of 'emotional resistance' a dangerous one, Andromache generally discusses the situation in terms of the free exercise of personal choice in the attitude adopted. Three things seem clear about her own attitude. Firstly, she feels that any positive acceptance of her new partner necessarily involves slighting her love for Hector:

καί μὲν παρώσασ' Ἐκτορος φίλον κᾶρα
πρὸς τὸν παρόντα πόσιν ἀναπτύξω φρένα
(661-2)⁸⁰,

and therefore constitutes betrayal: "κακῆ φανοῦμαι τῷ θανόντι" (663). The dative may be intentionally ambiguous, giving both the sense of violating an external standard of conduct: "I shall appear [to others] false to him who is dead", and that of violating a personal trust: "I shall appear to him who is dead to be evil/false". Secondly, the physical possession she cannot avoid fills Andromache with dread lest it induce her to embrace such a betrayal:

καίτοι λέγουσι ὡς μί' εὐφρόνη χαλᾶ
τὸ δυσμενὲς γυναικὸς εἰς ἀνδρὸς λέχος
(665-6)⁸¹.

Euripides too it is more commonly used when the married state is emphasized (it is particularly frequent in *Alcestis* and *Helena*).

⁷⁸ "if.. I open my mind", "if I hate him", "[this] loosens a woman's hostility".

⁷⁹ "not even a colt...will lightly draw the plough"

⁸⁰ "And if, *thrusting aside dear Hector*, I open my mind to my present 'husband'..."

⁸¹ "And yet they say that one night in a man's bed loosens a woman's hostility".

Thirdly, she is intensely committed to the ideal of loyalty, and determined not to forget Hector at another's side: she would despise herself if she did. The strength of this feeling is conveyed by the forceful language especially at the beginning of 667-8:

*ἀπέπτυσ' αὐτήν, ἥτις ἄνδρα τὸν πάρος
καινοῖσι λέκτροις ἀποβαλοῦσ' ἄλλον φιλεῖ⁸².*

It is also expressed by the rather affecting comparison with the unhappy filly separated from her accustomed yoke-fellow: to surrender easily a loyalty to and regrets for a former partner is to prove one's sensibility inferior even to the simplest impulses found amongst animals (669-72).

Certainly the views that Andromache puts forward here are countered by Hecuba's advice to respect and please her new master. The purpose of that advice in this scene, however, is at least partly to draw a contrast between the two women's outlook and attitudes. We never hear Andromache's reaction to this counsel; but what is apparent is that Hecuba's preliminary exhortation to "put aside thoughts of the dead Hector" (Craik 1990, p.7) is a suggestion that Andromache to the last shows no sign of following (see above, [1.3.2.3](#), on 1130-33). The impression one gets from the last reported sight of her is that she leaves Troy at Neoptolemos' will and before she personally would wish to (1145-6): she has no physical choices and so yields to her new master and accepts his control (1133ff.), but her inclinations remain elsewhere.

1.3.2.5: Conclusion

One may say the same of Andromache's position generally. Her view of affairs is clear and realistic: she sees the practical dangers of even emotional resistance - if she hates her master and shows it she will get into trouble (663-4). But the strength of her rejection of the opposite course of positive emotional surrender is conveyed by Euripides in terms undoubtedly implying sincerity. The clear awareness of her situation and its realities, with the doubts and fears and conflicting demands it entails, breathes life and conviction into the portrayal of Andromache as Hector's widow. The ideal of the wife devoted and faithful beyond death is not compromised; but in showing it confronting head-on the strains imposed by present realities, Euripides invests his portrayal of the woman who

⁸² "I spit out a woman who, throwing away her former husband loves another in a new bed."

embodies that ideal with a particular human interest and a touch of true tragedy.

1.4: Andromache and Neoptolemos

1.4.1: Andromache

In *Troades*, Andromache's feelings as she faces a future with Neoptolemos are considered in depth and at some length; for a short while they even become the subject of the action, as she and Hecuba discuss the issue. In *Andromache*, the title character's feelings are given no such explicit treatment, and no such dramatic prominence. The conflict we see played out before us is not that suggested in *Troades*, between Andromache and Neoptolemos, but is between Andromache and Hermione. It is *Hermione's* reaction to the Andromache-Neoptolemos relationship that 'upsets the applecart' and sets the action in motion. Whatever Andromache's feelings, the implication of 26-31 in her prologue is that, before Hermione appeared on the scene, the status quo was preserved. Furthermore, Neoptolemos does not even appear on stage (except dead) at all. So does Andromache's reaction to Neoptolemos any longer matter? Or is it simply the physical danger consequent on their relationship that is important, and is Euripides' over-riding interest the reaction of the two women to each other?

This view would under-value the impact of the figure of Neoptolemos in the play. In a special sense we receive a strong impression of his *presence*, dramatically speaking, through the manifold references to him (see 1.1.1). Neoptolemos plays a sizeable part in the motivation of most of the other characters: sometimes simply as who he is - as Peleus' grandson, for instance - but also because of the sort of person he is or the sort of relationship a particular character has with him. Orestes' references to Neoptolemos in his scene with Hermione tell us something about his rival as a person and Orestes' reaction to him. Resentment of the young warrior's previous arrogant contempt looms large in Orestes' motives for murder (971-8,993-4,1007-8). In Hermione's case, too, it is her own perception of her husband's attitude - to their marriage, to the attempt on his son's life - that sparks off, in the first instance her jealousy, in the second her panic. Thus reactions to and relationships with Neoptolemos are given dramatic importance in the play and claim our attention.

How does this apply to the particular case of Andromache and her conflict with Hermione? One aspect of these two women's reaction to one another is the way each perceives not just her own relationship with Neoptolemos but also the other woman's. This is made particularly clear in Hermione's case. Hermione is persuaded that Andromache has designs on her position and on Neoptolemos' affections, and it is on this assumption that she bases her attack. So some of her more telling taunts draw our attention to *Andromache's* position *vis-à-vis* Neoptolemos and are likely to arouse our interest in that position and in Andromache's true reaction to it.

The confrontation between Andromache and Hermione is, then, a way of looking at their relationships with Neoptolemos. As such it also provides the opportunity, within a dramatic context, for considering how Andromache reacts to her new master. Similar opportunity is provided by the way the whole plot of this first section is set up: the points of stress - Hermione's jealousy, as wife, of the captive ex-favourite, Andromache's powerless and vulnerable isolation, the suspense and concern over the safety of her son by her master - all concern Neoptolemos in one way or another and thus bring attention on his relationship not just with wife but with 'concubine' and son. Nor should the 'indirectness' of this approach surprise us. No play based on the traditional position of a women captive in Greece could be built on a confrontation between Andromache and Neoptolemos. Unlike Racine's *Andromaque* a couple of millennia later, Euripides' Andromache has no choice about her union with her captor - so, there being nothing for them to argue about, a confrontation would be dramatically sterile. It is, certainly, the acute physical danger resulting from Andromache's relationship with Neoptolemos that provides the focus for the action in *Andromache*, rather than the emotional crisis that potentially lies at the heart of it and is explored later in *Troades*. Andromache has more or less resigned herself to the situation with Neoptolemos, and the time when any decision on her part would have been relevant is long since past. But although her emotional reactions are less acute, they are still, it will be argued, referred to and still important to our conception of her, of Neoptolemos and of their 'inter-action' - to which the actual visual conflict draws our attention.

1.4.1.1: Negative influences

1.4.1.1(a): The influence of the past

The complexity of Andromache's reactions to Neoptolemos in *Andromache* arises from the various and sometimes conflicting impulses that affect her. First of these impulses to be considered is the influence of her past over Andromache's present way of thinking and feeling. The crucial aspect of the past that colours her view of Neoptolemos is his descent: he is "Ἀχιλλέως παῖς" ("son of Achilles"), the son of her husband's slayer. Hermione makes this implication explicit in her accusation of 171-2: "ἢ παιδί πατρός, ὃς σὸν ὤλεσεν πόσιν, / τολμᾶς ξυνεύδειν"⁸³; but even by itself "Ἀχιλλέως παῖς" is enough to impress us with the painful significance of who Neoptolemos is. That the idea is important may be seen from the fact that, whereas Neoptolemos' name is mentioned only once (14), the patronymic periphrase recurs frequently: on the lips of Andromache (21, 25), Hermione (268), Orestes (881-2, 971, 993-4), and the messenger (1119, 1149-50, 1163) among others. "Ἀχιλλέως παῖς", although no doubt partly introduced for metrical convenience (cp. Stevens 1971, p.90), usually conveys a deeper meaning and may acquire special resonances according to who uses it and in what context. In Andromache's mouth the title is always especially poignant, the tragic connection between her sufferings and Achilles being a well-established association. Furthermore, since all her references to Neoptolemos inevitably reflect the fact that he now possesses her, the phrase also expresses the cruel irony of her present position: she is permanently bound to one who is a living reminder and legacy of the cause of all her sufferings. At the same time, her use of the phrase is surely designed to express something of Andromache's own feelings towards that position: that *she* cannot ever forget who Neoptolemos is.

κάγῳ δόμοις τοῖσδ' ἄρσεν' ἐντίκτω κόρον,
πλαθεῖσ' Ἀχιλλέως παιδί, δεσπότη γ' ἐμῷ
(24-5)⁸⁴.

Andromache's use of Ἀχιλλέως παιδί in such a context serves not just to remind *us* of what such a union means for her but to convey Andromache's own sense of this - bad enough to have had to bear a child in slavery, but to

⁸³ "you who dare to sleep with the son of a father who killed your husband".

⁸⁴ "And in this house I have borne a male child, drawing nigh to the son of Achilles, my master"

bear one to your husband's killer's son....! Hermione picks up on this point when she sneers:

ἐξαναστήσω σ' ἐγὼ
πρὶν ᾧ πέποιθας παῖδ' Ἀχιλλέως μολεῖν
(267-8)⁸⁵.

The juxtaposition of "the one you trust in" with "the son of Achilles" brings out the contemptuous irony Hermione flings at her rival: 'you of all people trust in *him* of all people - the one above all others whom you should avoid in horror and shame'. At the same time the taunt highlights the agonizing irony of Andromache's position: Neoptolemos is the only hope left for her to trust in, and he the last person on earth she should want to. As the ghost of Hector, we might say, still haunts her affections, so the ghost of Achilles still haunts her relationship with Neoptolemos.

The peculiar intensity of Andromache's feelings about the past is reflected in her almost complete identification of Neoptolemos with his father in Hector's killing. In a speech to Menelaos she recalls the death of Hector and her own enslavement, and concludes starkly: "φονεῦσιν Ἐκτορος νυμφεύομαι" (399-403: "I am wedded to Hector's murderers"). As a statement of fact this is inaccurate, but as a statement of Andromache's feelings it carries conviction. Hermione, once again, hits on the same sensitive spot with her use of αὐθέντης, when she taunts Andromache in 170-3:

εἰς τοῦτο δ' ἤκεις ἀμαθίας, δύστηνε σύ,
ἢ παιδὶ πατρός, ὅς σὸν ὤλεσεν πόσιν,
τολμᾶς ξυνεύδειν καὶ τέκν' αὐθέντου πάρα
τίκτειν⁸⁶.

αὐθέντης is not normally applied to any idea of 'inherited blood-guilt'. In cyclic epic, Neoptolemos was the murderer of Priam and in some versions of Astyanax as well. But neither implication is mentioned elsewhere in the play: undoubtedly Euripides plays down Neoptolemos' actual responsibility in Andromache's bereavements. Among the reasons for this may be that Andromache's perception of her master as being stained with her family's

⁸⁵ "I shall make you get up [from the altar] before the one you trust in, Achilles' son, comes."

⁸⁶ "You wretched woman, you have come to that point of ignorant coarseness where you dare to lie with the son of a father who killed your husband, and to beget children from the murderer."

blood even without that personal involvement is intended by Euripides to be part of her emotional individuality. Hermione's taunt, making exactly the same impassioned identification as Andromache's "φονεῦσιν Ἔκτορος", then seems cruelly to play on this, her rival's particularly raw nerve.

One final implication of the Ἀχιλλέως παῖς motif is the way it causes us to view Neoptolemos himself. Euripides' portrayal of Achilles' son is quite different from the brutal image suggested in post-Homeric epic: and it is to some extent true that this may be taken as indicating the writer's wish to portray him in a more favourable light than usual. Nonetheless, I think that to conclude that he is simply "presented as impetuous but brave and honourable, a true son of Achilles" (Stevens1971, p.14) is to misjudge the two-edged effect of his father's reputation in this play⁸⁷. Certainly from Andromache's point of view, "the son of Achilles" as a title has almost wholly negative connotations. And the death of Hector, while in one sense a high point in Achilles' career, was in another sense a low point, as two of Andromache's reminiscences of the occasion emphasise:

καὶ τὸν ἐμὸν μελέας πόσιν Ἔκτορα, τὸν περὶ τείχη
εἴλκυσε διφρεῦων παῖς ἄλλας Θέτιδος
(107-8);

ἦτις σφαγὰς μὲν Ἔκτορος τροχηλάτους
κατέϊδον
(399-400)⁸⁸.

Hermione, be it noted, uses Ἀχιλλέως παῖς only to taunt her enemy; Orestes' use of it tends to imply bitter reflection on his enemy's pride. There are clearly, then, two ways about being seen as the son of Achilles. And Neoptolemos is never, I think, quite free of the shadow of Hector's death and of his father's rôle in it, in the audience's mind. The messenger's account of his own murder shows him in his most sympathetic light, and yet even here, at the end, the shadow still hangs over him. As he falls, Neoptolemos is once more referred to as Ἀχιλλέως...παῖς (1149-50). And in the near context of this reference, we find Homeric echoes of some particularly searing details of Hector's final encounter with Achilles: 1140-41

⁸⁷ See also 1.1.1, p.32.

⁸⁸ "...and the husband of my unhappy self, Hector whom the son of sea-born Thetis dragged as he drove his chariot around our walls"; "[I] who saw the wheel-dragged slaughter of Hector."

(the simile of doves fleeing from a hawk - occurring twice in the *Iliad*, but probably most memorably applied to Hector's flight from Achilles in 22.156-9,278-80), and 1152-4 (the multiple wounds inflicted by the mob on the fallen warrior, as by the Greeks in *Iliad* 22.371-5). These are unlikely to be merely accidental or even merely decorative. If it is true that the narrative of Neoptolemos' death subtly recalls to us that of his father's illustrious Trojan victim, then the tension inherent in Neoptolemos' relationship with Andromache, arising from his links with his father and the memory of Hector and his death, would again be a factor to be considered in our response to this climactic scene.

1.4.1.1: The realities of the present

If memories of past events are one influence on Andromache's way of viewing Neoptolemos, the realities of the present situation are another. Andromache is Neoptolemos' *δορὸς γέρας* (14): a prize of the spear, chosen like any other piece of property from the booty of Troy:

τῷ νησιώτῃ Νεοπτολέμῳ δορὸς γέρας
δοθείσα λείας Τρωϊκῆς ἐξαίρετον
(14-15)⁸⁹.

That she was chosen (*ἐξαίρετον*) rather than simply awarded by lot, the usual fate of women prisoners of war, at least indicates that she was not *just* 'another piece of baggage' to Neoptolemos - but she is nonetheless a piece of property, and he her 'owner'. As if this status were not degradation enough, Andromache is also in the position of concubine: at her master's pleasure, she must lie with him whether she wills it or no. She was dragged into her master's possession with violence:

αὐτὴ δὲ δούλη ναῦς ἐπ' Ἀργείων ἔβην
κόμης ἐπισπασθεῖσ'·
(401-2)⁹⁰;

was obliged to submit to a union of constraint: "ἐκοιμήθηγ βίῃ" (390: "I lay with him by force"); bore her master a son under the same forced conditions (24-5). On top of all this, Andromache recognises that her union with

⁸⁹ "being given to the islander Neoptolemos as a spear-prize, a piece of the plunder from Troy, specially chosen"

⁹⁰ "And I myself went on board an Argive ship, dragged by my hair..."

Neoptolemos gives her no assured status or security: she is for him to pick up and put down at his pleasure:

τὴν Λάκαιναν Ἑρμιόνην γαμῆ
τοῦμόν παρώσας δεσπότης δοῦλον λέχος
(29-30)⁹¹.

"δοῦλον" possibly implies both a bitter contrast with Hermione, who has both freedom and status, and a further reference to the constraint Andromache was under.

Andromache shows a keen sense of her own degradation, an awareness that she is nothing but a slave in fact: "ὦ φιλτάτη σύνδουλε - σύνδουλος γὰρ εἶ" (64)⁹². At the same time, conflicting with that evident sense of abasement is the pride of the one-time Trojan princess. She is resigned to submission up to a point, but she has her limits, as she shows when she declares to Hermione with sudden *hauteur*: "ὄμως δ' ἑμαυτὴν οὐ προδοῦσ' ἀλώσομαι" (191)⁹³. This is certainly more than just the standard apologia for speaking such as Hippolytos gives (*Hippolytos* 990-1): " since I *must* speak, then.... ". Even at the level of her reaction to the fact of enslavement, then, there are indications that although Andromache accepts her position she retains in her own mind a certain conviction in what she once was, and a desire to be true to that. This consideration is important when considering her reactions to the relationship with Neoptolemos.

1.4.1.1(c): Andromache's reactions

These, the past and present realities, are the 'negative' influences on Andromache's reaction to Neoptolemos. Together they provoke two contrasting responses from her: firstly, and principally, a strong emotional revulsion, but also a sort of acceptance, even a sense of duty. Andromache still recoils from the thought of her union with Neoptolemos. To return to 24-5:

κάγῳ δόμοις τοῖσδ' ἀρσέν' ἐντίκτω κόρον,
πλαθεῖσ' Ἀχιλλέως παιδί, δεσπότη γ' ἐμῶ,

⁹¹ "my master married the Spartan girl Hermione, pushing aside my slave's couch".

⁹² "Dearest fellow-slave - for you are a fellow slave [now]..."

⁹³ "Nonetheless I shall not be caught betraying myself..."

we may see that in 25 the first title of Neoptolemos, with all its implications, 'accuses' her - how could she bring herself to lie with *him!* - while the second is almost a plea in defence against the thought - he is my master, I had no choice. Repugnance at who Neoptolemos is, and at having to be *his* slave and *his* bedfellow, is combined with shame that she has, albeit perforce, acquiesced in this. That Andromache's conscience is not at rest over her part is suggested by her continually stressing the point that it is against her will: "δοῦλον λέχος" (30: "my bed of slavery"), "ἐν κακοῖσι κειμένην" (26: "lying in an unhappy state"), "οὐχ ἔκοῦσα" (38: "not willingly"), "ἔκοιμηθῆν βίᾳ σὺν δεσπότησιν" (390-1: "I was forcibly bedded with my master"). Particularly this is seen in her impassioned rebuttal of 36-8:

ἀγὼ τὸ πρῶτον οὐχ ἔκοῦσ' ἔδεξάμην,
 νῦν δ' ἐκλέλοιπα· Ζεὺς τὰδ' εἰδείη μέγας,
 ὥς οὐχ ἔκοῦσα τῷδ' ἐκοινώθην λέχει.⁹⁴

Along with Stevens (Stevens 1971, pp.96-7), I am inclined to believe that the repetition in 38 is a deliberate effect and that the line should be retained. It is quite appropriate that Andromache's apostrophe at this juncture should stress her unwillingness in sharing her master's bed, rather than the fact that she has now "left it" - the latter is at best an ambiguous point, and the charge of scheming against Hermione as described depends not so much on her physical relationship as on her *desire* to 'ensnare' Neoptolemos. The point is, then, relevant; and as they stand the lines are dramatically effective, suggesting that Andromache's is the sort of mind that feels the physical 'betrayal' of her husband's memory, under whatever constraint, as a deep reproach to herself.

Andromache's repugnance at her union of constraint seems to fuel reproach for herself more often than for her master. This may be yet another reason why Neoptolemos' record is 'cleaned up' in the play: if Andromache's reaction to him were more acute - more angry, more bitter - as it would have to be if his brutal exploits at Troy were stressed, then less interest would be focused on her introspective anguish. That said, she does show a flash of the more prideful response when she exclaims to Menelaos:

⁹⁴ "[Neoptolemos' bed] which in the first instance I accepted not by my own will, and now I have left it; may great Zeus bear me witness that I did not share in his bed willingly."

ἔκοιμήθην βία
 σὺν δεσπόταισι· κᾶτ' ἔμ', οὐ κείνον κτενεῖς,
 τὸν αἴτιον τῶνδ'

(390-92)⁹⁵.

The lines seem expressive of real resentment of what Neoptolemos has forced her to. Andromache may be stressing her innocence as a last desperate attempt to persuade Menelaos; but that need not prevent us from seeing real feeling behind her emphasis on Neoptolemos' guilt.

It was said earlier that, as compared with *Troades*, *Andromache* represents a less acute stage in this emotional crisis of Andromache's. For instance, the feeling that she should really "hate" (στυγοῦσ', *Troades* 664) her new master appears only in a tempered and toned-down form in *Andromache*. Neoptolemos may inspire her with instinctive repugnance as the son of his father, and with reproach for his rôle in her present trials - but it would be an exaggeration to say that she hated him. In *Troades* Hecuba responds to her daughter-in-law's agonizing by advising a more practical approach:

ἀλλ', ὦ φίλη παῖ, τὰς μὲν Ἔκτορος τύχας
 ἔασον· οὐ μὴ δάκρυά νιν σώση τὰ σά·
 τίμα δὲ τὸν παρόντα δεσπότην σέθεν,
 φίλον διδοῦσα δέλεαρ ἀνδρὶ σῶν τρόπων

(697-700)⁹⁶.

Despite her emotional revulsion at their union, Andromache in *Andromache* shows something of the response to Neoptolemos advised, in the later play, by her mother-in-law. There is a sense in which she accepts her situation, and even reveals a certain dutifulness towards her master:

ἡμεῖς γὰρ εἰ σὴν παῖδα φαρμακεύομεν [...]
 [...] αὐτοὶ τὴν δίκην ὑφέξομεν

⁹⁵ "I was bedded with my master by force; and yet you will slay me, not him, who was responsible for these things."

⁹⁶ "But, my dear child, let Hector's misfortune's be; your tears will not save him. Honour your present master, and offer to the man a pleasing bait of your [gentle] ways."

ἐν σοῖσι γαμβροῖς, οἷσιν οὐκ ἐλάσσονα
βλάβην ὀφείλω προστιθεῖσ' ἀπαιδίαν
(*Andromache*, 355-60)⁹⁷.

This reveals both a willingness to submit to Neoptolemos' judgement and a consciousness that in her position she has certain obligations to him. This attitude may be what lies behind many of her stipulations on womanhood in the confrontation with Hermione.

χρῆ γὰρ γυναῖκα, κἄν κακῶ πόσει δοθῆ,
στέργειν, ἄμιλλάν τ' οὐκ ἔχειν φρονήματος
(213-4)⁹⁸

expresses a sense of what is required from a woman in a disadvantageous position that applies just as well in one way to herself as it does in another to Hermione. As a slave it is not her place to engage in strife with her master, however she may feel about him. Andromache seems to have this sharply-defined sense of what is fitting - σωφροσύνη⁹⁹, the attitude which Hermione dislikes having cast up at her (234-5) - and it works on her response to being a slave as well as on her response to being a woman:

καῖτοι χείρον' ἀρσένων νόσον
ταύτην νοσοῦμεν, ἀλλὰ προύστημεν καλῶς
(220-1)¹⁰⁰

and to being a wife:

οὐ τὸ κάλλος, ᾧ γύναι,
ἀλλ' ἀρεταὶ τέρπουσι τοὺς ξυνευέτας
(207-8)¹⁰¹.

⁹⁷ "If I have used drugs on your daughter, I will myself submit to judgement before your son-in-law, to whom I would owe no lesser penalty if I had made him childless."

⁹⁸ "A woman, even if she is given to a bad husband, ought to bear with him, not engage in a contest of wills."

⁹⁹ An elusive term, involving concepts of 'sense', moderation, prudence, discretion, self-control, chastity, temperance.

¹⁰⁰ "And yet we women suffer this as a worse plague than men do, but we show our virtue by governing it."

¹⁰¹ "It is not beauty, my lady, but virtues that delight our consorts."

1.4.1.2: Positive influences and the ambivalence of Andromache's reactions

This latter set of considerations leads us to see that there are other impulses in Andromache's relationship with Neoptolemos, that have a positive, rather than a negative, basis. As a result of her position, certain 'ties' have been established between her and her master: specifically, that he is in the position of her 'protector', and that he is the father of her child.

1.4.1.2(a): Neoptolemos as protector

It appears to be an assumption of the play that Neoptolemos is kindly disposed to Andromache. Consider the words of the *therapaina* in 77-8:

δοκῶ γὰρ οὐκ ἂν ὤδε σ' ἂν πράσσειν κακῶς
κείνου παρόντος· νῦν δ' ἔρημος εἶ φίλων¹⁰².

Even Hermione, at one extreme, assumes that her husband being present would put a stop to her murderous revenge: "ὥς τοῦτ' ἄραρε, κοῦ μενῶ πόσιν μολεῖν" (255)¹⁰³; as does Andromache, at the other, in 47, 49-51, 75-6 and 568-71. The most strikingly positive statement Andromache makes about Neoptolemos is also her simplest: "πέποιθα", "I trust him" (269). Its effect is all the stronger for its coming in response to Hermione's barbed shaft "ὧ πέποιθας παῖδ' Ἀχιλλέως" (268: "the one you trust in, the son of Achilles"). How great a confidence in him does this suggest, though? On her own account Andromache may well have some reservations about counting on him. Notice that she takes refuge at the shrine of Thetis as something the house of *Peleus* respects:

Πελεύς τε γάρ νιν ἔκγονοί τε Πηλέως
σέβουσιν, ἐρμήνευμα Νηρηίδος γάμων
(45-6)¹⁰⁴.

The gesture is designed as a deterrent to Hermione and Menelaos only in the sense that it will be an additional persuasion to Peleus or his grandson to take revenge if she is harmed. Andromache seems to feel that additional persuasion may be needed; certainly she uses this as a tactic in her appeal to

¹⁰² "I think you would not fare so badly if he were present; but now you are bereft of friends [*philoï*]."

¹⁰³ "Indeed this is fixed [my intent to kill you], and I will not wait for my husband to come"

¹⁰⁴ "For Peleus and Peleus' descendants revere it, as a symbol of his marriage with Nereus' daughter."

Peleus in 565-7. There is, too, the consideration that Andromache has no one else left to trust in: so her reliance on Neoptolemos may be something of a *faute de mieux*. On the other hand, she believes that he will fulfil his obligations to her child, at least, if they do suffer harm:

κᾶτα πῶς πατήρ
τέκνου θανόντος ῥαδίως ἀνέξεται;
οὐχ ᾧδ' ἀνανδρον αὐτὸν ἢ Τροία καλεῖ·
ἀλλ' εἶσιν οἱ χρή - Πηλέως γὰρ ἄξια
πατρός τ' Ἀχιλλέως ἔργα δρῶν φανήσεται -
ᾧσει δὲ σὴν παῖδ' ἐκ δόμων

(339-43)¹⁰⁵.

She trusts at any rate in Neoptolemos' sense of honour, and perhaps in his warm-hearted defence - or avenging - of his son ("πῶς [...] ῥαδίως ἀνέξεται"); she ascribes to him a sense of right and duty ("ἀλλ' εἶσιν οἱ χρή") as well as courage ("οὐχ ᾧδ' ἀνανδρον...") which would provide a solid basis for her confidence in him. But it would be wrong to overestimate the warmth of such a feeling. "οὐχ ᾧδ' ἀνανδρον αὐτὸν ἢ Τροία καλεῖ" ("Troy did not call him so lacking in courage") is a compliment in its way; but a reference by Andromache to the courage and prowess Neoptolemos showed at Troy is a somewhat double-edged tribute. His bravery and the family 'pride and honour' referred to in "ἄξια πατρός τ' Ἀχιλλέως ἔργα" ("deeds worthy of his father Achilles") are not, after all, something she can recall with unmixed pleasure or admiration.

1.4.1.2(b): Neoptolemos as father

Towards Neoptolemos as the father of her child, Andromache's reaction, as most clearly expressed in her farewell to her child in 414-8, is warmer but still ambivalent. Bearing a child to this particular captor, as we saw earlier, was the final drop in Andromache's cup of horror and shame. Yet she loves the child thus born - he is the last surviving object of her affections and her hopes (406). Being the mother of his son, then, supplies Andromache both with a new sense of obligation to Neoptolemos to guard and protect their child, and with a new and strong motivation for a gentler attitude towards her master, to win his support and favour for the boy.

¹⁰⁵ "And then how could the father take it lightly that his son has died? Troy did not call him so lacking in courage; but he will do what he ought - he will be seen doing deeds worthy of Peleus and of his father Achilles - and thrust your daughter from the house."

Neoptolemos is, after all, a sturdier prop for the boy than she can hope to be; and, indeed, would be his only refuge if she were dead. It is, then, only natural that her parting words to her child should contain an injunction to bestow a tenderness on his father that she in herself may be far from feeling:

ἦν δ' ὑπεκδράμης μόρον,
 μέμνησο μητρός, οἶα τλᾶσ' ἀπωλόμην,
 καὶ πατρὶ τῷ σῶ διὰ φιλημάτων ἰῶν
 δάκρυά τε λείβων καὶ περιπτύσσων χέρας
 λέγ' ὄ' ἔπραξα

(414-8)¹⁰⁶.

In bidding her son tell Neoptolemos what she did for him, Andromache probably intends this to act as a further persuasion to look kindly on the child: softening Neoptolemos' heart with the memory of what she suffered for her son, placing him too under a sense of obligation - Andromache died to save the child, what will Neoptolemos do to help him¹⁰⁷? Perhaps, too, Andromache has her eyes and thoughts centred so much on her child that her own harder feelings for Neoptolemos are temporarily forgotten.

For there have earlier been indications that even in relation to these more positive aspects to their relationship Andromache finds that Neoptolemos fails her. This comes through in her accounts of his absence at this critical moment.

ὁ γὰρ φυτεύσας αὐτὸν οὔτ' ἐμοὶ πάρα
 προσωφελῆσαι, παιδί τ' οὐδέν ἐστ', ἀπῶν
 Δελφῶν κατ' αἶαν, ἔνθα Λοξία δίκην
 δίδωσι μανίας

(49-52)¹⁰⁸.

"παιδί τ' οὐδέν ἐστ'" ("he is nothing [=no help] to his son") and "οὔτ' ἐμοὶ πάρα προσωφελῆσαι" ("he is not near me to help") seem reproachful in tone: Neoptolemos is their only source of protection, yet at their hour of need he

¹⁰⁶ "if you escape a fateful end, remember your mother, how I endured death, and going to your father with kisses, pouring forth tears and clasping his hands, tell him what I did."

¹⁰⁷ cp. *Alcestis* 299-305, where the heroine similarly urges her sacrifice as an argument to ensure her husband will treat their children well.

¹⁰⁸ "For [the boy's] father is not near me to help, and is nothing [=no help] to his son, being away in the land of Delphi, where he is to make amends to Loxias for his rash folly..."

fails them by not being there to help. There may be a similarly reproachful spirit behind Andromache's words to the *therapaina* a little later:

ὁ δὲ κεκλημένος
πατὴρ ἔτ' ἐν Δελφοῖσι τυγχάνει μένων
(75-6)¹⁰⁹.

From Andromache's point of view Neoptolemos seems to be prolonging his absence ("τυγχάνει μένων": "he happens to be tarrying"), which is actually true - the messenger speaks of Neoptolemos spending three days 'sightseeing' before consulting the oracle (1085-7): he was not exactly in a hurry to get home. One must, of course, be wary of concluding that Euripides means to present a critical picture of Neoptolemos' negligence, since his absence is a necessary condition for the action to take place: without the apparent 'oversights' on his part there would be no play at all. Nonetheless, it may be that Euripides portrays Andromache herself as reproachful of Neoptolemos for his absence, and invites a certain amount of sympathy may for this. It is, after all, no thanks to Neoptolemos that Andromache and her son do escape from death, and as Andromache says to Peleus:

εἰ δὲ μὴ [ῥύσαι με], θανοῦμεθα
αἰσχρῶς μὲν ὑμῖν
(575-6)¹¹⁰.

1.4.1.3: Conclusions

We may now attempt to sum up Euripides' portrayal of Andromache's relationship with Neoptolemos. On the negative side, she still instinctively feels revulsion from him as Ἀχιλλέως παῖς, and division from him as a Greek conqueror. She feels humiliation at being his slave and his partner-by-constraint, and once at least expresses resentment at his exercise of power over her. On the other hand, she is submissive to what is expected of her as a slave and shows a sense of obligation and duty to her master. She accepts her dependence on him and to a certain extent allows herself to rely on him, recognising and respecting his qualities - although

¹⁰⁹ "He who is called his father happens to be still tarrying in Delphi."

¹¹⁰ "If you do not [rescue me], our death will be a reproach to you [plural]."

retaining reservations on both counts. She loves his child and is willing in a sense to 'bequeath' the boy to him. At the same time she does not seem especially impressed with *his* fulfilment of his obligations to her and to their child. Nonetheless, when at last released from danger, the last words Andromache is given to say on the subject wish Neoptolemos well (if somewhat indirectly): "ὦ πρέσβυ, θεοί σοι δοῖεν εὖ καὶ τοῖσι σοῖς" (750)¹¹¹. It is clear enough that Andromache does not 'hate' Neoptolemos, as Euripides later, in *Troades*, portrayed her as thinking she must (*Troades* 664). But the warmth of her 'acceptance' of the relationship should not be overestimated. Andromache continues to find anything but comfort and ease of mind in her relationship with Neoptolemos. Perhaps it would be most accurate to see her responses in *Andromache* as the combination of the intense emotions later expressed in *Troades* 657-72 with the restraining exercise of one part of the frame of mind Hecuba there advocated: "τίμα δὲ τὸν παρόντα δεσπότην σέθεν" (699: "Honour your present master"). That Andromache has a dutiful soul is well enough attested in *Andromache* by her attitude to her former husband and her son. It may be reasonable to see that same dutifulness as inducing her to make the best of her relations with her master - though it cannot and does not overcome the emotions that years of servitude have failed to extinguish.

It is true that circumstances have so fallen out that Andromache has contracted certain 'family ties' - φιλία - with Neoptolemos and his house. It is true that this gives her certain obligations to him (and vice versa), and that this might be expected to temper her reactions to her master, without 'feelings' one way or the other coming into the question. We have already seen, however, that feelings *do* come into the question, exerting a strong negative influence over Andromache's relationship with Neoptolemos. And besides, I am not sure that we can talk of a uniform set of 'family obligations' operating on someone in Andromache's position. Consider the reactions of two other women in Greek drama who end up in a similar situation: Tecmessa, in Sophocles' *Ajax*, and Cassandra, in *Troades*. Both of these react to their new relationship in a way that is different from Andromache. Tecmessa's situation bears remarkable similarities to that of Andromache: she, too, is a spear-captive, whose family and home were destroyed with a good deal of help from her new master. Yet it seems clear from Sophocles' text¹¹² that Tecmessa, as well as being utterly dependent on

¹¹¹ "Reverend sir, may the gods grant all good things to you and yours."

¹¹² *Ajax* 392-3, 490-93, 529, 807-8, 810-12, 915-18, 938-42.

Ajax, actually 'loves' him. According to the chorus (*Ajax* 211-2) the feeling is mutual: so the relationship is more than one of simple obligation. Indeed critics have pointed out the echoes of Homer's Hector/Andromache scenes in Sophocles' play, and also the deliberate contrasts that these echoes highlight: Andromache as princess, Tecmessa as captive, Hector as husband and protector, Ajax as 'husband', protector and yet destroyer as well. In *Andromache*, Andromache, like Tecmessa, is dependent on her new lord's protection; like Tecmessa, she is further bound to him by the birth of their son. But she has for Neoptolemos none of the personal feelings of attachment and affection Tecmessa shows for Ajax - we might almost say, on the contrary. If she occasionally shows a 'softer side' in her attitude towards him, it is not one born of any particular inclination of that sort. On the other hand, neither does she react to Neoptolemos in the way Cassandra does to Agamemnon (as portrayed by Euripides in *Troades*), who takes a certain decided satisfaction in the prospect of her new lord's death. Of course Cassandra is rather a special case. But the differences between these three do show that for a concubine-captive-of-war to react from a sense of obligation and duty, unsupported by any positive personal inclination, is not necessarily a standard reaction, or even the one we - or an Athenian - should expect. And it is her own *sense* of acceptance and duty, rather than an objectively required obligation, that seems to me to motivate Andromache in Euripides' play.

1.4.2: Troades

Questions of individuality, both of experience and of response, are also concerned in assessing Euripides' portrayal of the Neoptolemos-Andromache relationship in *Troades*. In discussing Andromache's attitude to the future in connection with her relationship with Hector, we considered the 'betrayal' in general terms she felt to be involved in her passing to another man, and her resistance to a personal emotional complicity in that betrayal. But there remains the underlying physical possession for which there is no help, the idea of having to 'sleep with the enemy'. This experience and the anguish of apprehension it evoked was, we saw, common to the other women of Troy (203-4). Is Andromache's experience any different from this, or is it 'privileged' in our minds only because of the particular attention that is focused on it? Is her response portrayed as in any way distinctive, and how, indeed, is her response to Neoptolemos in this play to be characterised?

1.4.2.1: Specific dread of a specific allocation

The very first mention of Andromache in the play introduces her as Hector's wife, but also introduces the question of her new relationship with Neoptolemos:

ἜΚΑΒΗ: τί δ' ἄ τοῦ χαλκεομήστορας Ἔκτορος δάμαρ,
 Ἄνδρομάχη τάλαινα, τίν' ἔχει τύχαν;
 ΤΑΛΘΥΒΙΟΣ: καὶ τήνδ' Ἀχιλλέως ἔλαβε παῖς ἐξαίρετον
 (271-3)¹¹³.

Andromache's fate, like Cassandra's, is clearly a special one: unlike the other women, including Hecuba¹¹⁴, they were specially selected rather than allocated by lot. The point about Cassandra's selection by Agamemnon is that the choice is a dark stroke of irony for the chooser. For Cassandra herself, in her own peculiar and privileged view of things, the choice is one she finds singular cause for rejoicing, because in going with Agamemnon she will witness and indirectly participate in the retribution that awaits him. The point about Andromache's selection is the exact opposite: the choice is a dark stroke of irony for her who is chosen, in that the man who has singled her out is the very one she of all people has particular reason to wish to avoid. Euripides leaves this to be understood here from the juxtaposition of the titles "Ἔκτορος δάμαρ [...] Ἀχιλλέως [...] παῖς". Later on, when Andromache herself comes to speak of her selection, it is made clear that it is being taken by this specific enemy that has added the final drop of bitterness to her cup. What she talks of as "destroying" her is the fact that her fair repute led one particular man, Achilles' son, to desire her possession:

καὶ τῶνδε κληδῶν ἐς στρατεῦμα Ἀχαιϊκὸν
 ἐλθοῦσ' ἀπώλεσέν μ' ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἠρέθην,
 Ἀχιλλέως με παῖς ἐβουλήθη λαβεῖν
 δάμαρτα
 (657-60)¹¹⁵.

¹¹³ "HECUBA: What of bronze-clad Hector's wedded wife, unhappy Andromache, what fortune has she? - TALTYBIOS: She too is chosen out, the son of Achilles has taken her."

¹¹⁴ cf. "ἔλαχ' [...] δούλην σ' ἔχειν", 277 : "He has received you as his slave by lot."

¹¹⁵ "And the report of these things [my virtue] coming into the Achaean camp destroyed me; for when I was chosen, the son of Achilles wished to take me as his wife."

Andromache's fate in the legend is, in fact, invested with a particularly cruel irony. Hecuba was allocated to a man she held in loathing (278-91), but this was an aversion common to all Trojans. Cassandra's sacred virginity is defiled by her selection as partner by Agamemnon, but that would have been so whomever she had been allotted to: the particular identity of her 'partner' is relevant only in the respect that it allows her the consolation of retribution, though at the cost of her own life. Only Andromache is required to share the bed of a man she shrinks from for personal reasons, to lie with the son of her husband's killer in her husband's place. Euripides has portrayed Andromache as feeling this particular anguish: the use of Ἀχιλλέως [...] παῖς in this passage is surely meant to be significant. On Andromache's first appearance as heralded by the chorus Euripides had also alluded to this aspect of the case: connecting Andromache, visually and verbally, with Hector's child and Hector's armour, he had referred to the one who has woman, child and arms in his possession as Achilles' son (575-6). It is, further, probable that Euripides presents Andromache as associating Neoptolemos particularly closely with his father. When she says in 660: "δουλεύσω δ' ἐν ἀθροῦν δόμοις" ("I shall be a slave in the house of murderers") I am inclined to think that, coming after "Ἀχιλλέως [...] παῖς", the killing of Hector by Achilles is at least one of the deeds referred to by the term "ἀθροῦν", much as Hermione's "ἀθροῦ" in *Andromache* 172 took on from its context the specific implication of "killer of Hector". Indeed it may be primarily this killing that is referred to, as the obvious point of reference for the term in Neoptolemos' own case would be the murder of Priam, to which there is no allusion anywhere in the context and to which Neoptolemos' name is never attached in this play (cf. 16-17, 134-6, 481-3). Thus "δουλεύσω δ' ἐν ἀθροῦν δόμοις" at least partly and perhaps primarily means "I shall be a slave in the house of [my husband's] killers". The man who has chosen Andromache is a man who in her eyes is stained, by association with his father, with her husband's blood. We saw this attitude at work in *Andromache*; there is good reason to believe it is implied, though more allusively, in Euripides' portrayal here. Once again, the paradigmatic aspect of Andromache's portrayal, as one of many who will be forced to sleep with the enemy, is combined with a degree of individuality, showing Andromache in her fate as captive of war as a particularly tragic victim.

1.4.2.2: A tension maintained

Hecuba does not take Andromache's position so tragically; her advice is to offer Neoptolemos "allurements" to keep him happy with her and to treat her and her son well. This advice seems to involve more than just honour and obedience. The phrase "φίλον διδοῦσα δέλεαρ ἀνδρὶ" (700: "offering to the man a pleasing [lit. 'dear'] bait of your ways") implies a desire or intention to attract Neoptolemos to her which involves looking more kindly on the relationship and on him. Such advice clearly contrasts with Andromache's responses to her situation: she feels, it seems, that she ought to 'hate' Neoptolemos (663-4), and even if this extremity is rejected there is no indication that she is prepared to be content with her lot: "οὐδὲ πῶλος...ῥαδίως ἔλξει ζυγόν" (669-70: "Not even a colt lightly draws the plough..."). At the last, Andromache begs Neoptolemos to make arrangements for Astyanax's burial, and follows where he goes: but there is no other course open to her in either case. She asks for Hector's shield to be left behind and not conveyed: "ἔς τὸν αὐτὸν θάλαμον, οὗ νυμφεύσεται...λύπας ὄραν" (1139-40)¹¹⁶, because the sight would continually remind her of what she cannot help, that she is 'married' into the family of her husband's killer¹¹⁷. None of this indicates that Andromache is reconciled in the proper sense to sharing her future life with this new master, even if she has accepted that she must do so. The tension of the feelings explored earlier is still there. In characterising her attitude in this last reported appearance in Euripides, a phrase applied to Andromache by Racine some two thousand years later comes to mind:

Sans joie et sans murmure elle semble obéir

(*Andromaque* 1440).

¹¹⁶ "to the same chamber where she will live as [Neoptolemos]' 'wife'...to be a painful sight for her."

¹¹⁷ The shield is in Neoptolemos' possession because his father stripped it as spoil from Hector when he killed him.

CHAPTER TWO: THE INTERVENING TRADITION

Euripides' influence did not remain unchallenged or unmodified in the two millenia that separated his work from 17th-century France. Other writings and traditions on the stories of Troy and of Andromache intervene and complicate the picture. The writers of ancient Rome; the medieval romances of Troy, owing much to Hellenistic additions and to the spurious eye-witness accounts of Dictys and Dares; and Renaissance writers in France itself, adapting the works of antiquity but always leaving their own mark on the finished product: all of these had modified the Greek tradition before it reached the 'classical' 17th-century. The purpose of this chapter is to examine the rôle of the most influential works in the 'chain of inspiration'. How do the works of Virgil, Seneca and Garnier relate to the work of Euripides? In what aspects and details is their work a 'channel' for Euripides' influence? How does their personal contribution modify particular elements of the Andromache tradition? There will also be some discussion of other, lesser, more problematic figures from this intervening period, whose work survives only in fragmentary form (the early Roman dramatists Ennius and Accius), or who are more independent of the central 'chain of inspiration' (Dares and Dictys).

2.1: The influence of Latin literature.

Eminent critical opinion has maintained that Latin rather than Greek literature was the primary ancient influence on 17th-century drama at least until the 1670's¹. It is at least clear that Latin sources played a major part in the three plays by Racine, Sallebray and Pradon we are concerned with. Racine began all three of his prefaces to *Andromaque* by quoting from Virgil's *Aeneid* 3.292-332 and declaring: "Voilà,.....tout le sujet de cette tragédie... Voilà....l'action qui s'y passe, les quatre principaux acteurs, et même leurs caractères"². Pradon, in the preface to *La Troade*, states: "J'ai suivi l'ordre de [Sénèque] qui a compris l'*Hecube* et la *Troade* [sic] d'Euripide dans la sienne". Sallebray's *La Troade* clearly also draws heavily on the Roman *Troades*, as well as on Garnier's 1579 adaptation of that play (along with others by Euripides) in his *La Troade*. The great influence of Virgil and Seneca on these plays led Knight to conclude that Euripidean influence is slight. With reference to Sallebray's *La Troade*, he remarks: "[le] théâtre [d'Euripide] a ajouté à peine quelques détails aux pièces

¹ See e.g. Knight 1951, p.55; Delcourt 1925, p.82.

² Preface, 1668, 1673, 1676 quoted from N.C.L. Edition p.29.

sénèqueennes de Sallebray" (Knight 1951, p.126). Similarly, on the sources of Racine's *Andromaque*, he comments "Les Troyennes du poète athénien....n'ont été que peu utilisées; moins que la *Troade* de Sénèque" (p.282): "j'ai nommé les ouvrages latins à côté des ouvrages grecs, puisque ce mélange d'inspirations (où l'on peut trouver que Rome l'emporte sur la Grèce) est très important...." (p.284). It is against this background that we pause to consider how the 'chain of inspiration' transmitted Euripides' influence to the 17th-century dramatists through the works of his Roman successors. Knight, in his untiring search for unadulterated Greek influence, fails to consider this. Sells, a much less accomplished critic, is closer to realising that Racine's sources may have operated as a sequence when he declares, rather too roundly, "what (Racine) pretended to take [from the *Aeneid*] was mainly Euripides at one remove" (Sells 1942, p.7)³.

2.1.1: Virgil's *Aeneid* and the *Andromache* tradition

2.1.1.1: The faithful widow.

In Book 3 of the *Aeneid*, Andromache is discovered having undergone the experience of captivity outlined in Euripides' *Andromache* but now beyond that, queen of Pyrrhus' lands after her master's death, and married to Helenus. Virgil renders her as having attained a sorrowful calm after the storm, left in peace and freedom to remember and to grieve. This image, especially in 3.301-13, of Andromache at Hector's cenotaph, a widow ever mourning, ever faithful, will dominate later European literature and art. In Knight's view, "C'est Virgile qui a commencé à idéaliser la figure de la veuve inconsolable... L'image d'Andromaque veuve et mère fidèle est donc une image virgilienne" (Knight 1951, pp.272-3). Certainly Virgil's cameo crystallizes the image, with the tomb faithfully tended so many years and miles distant from her husband's death. But it is not true that the image is distinctly Virgil's. Andromache forever in tears after Hector's death begins with Homer:

οὐδέ τί μοι εἶπες πυκινὸν ἔπος, οὐδέ κεν αἰεὶ
 μεμνήμην νύκτας τε καὶ ἡμέρας δάκρυ χέουσα
 (Il. 24,744-5)⁴.

³ For the drawbacks to Sells' argument overall, however, see II.ii.

⁴ "... Nor [in death] did you speak any wise words to me, that I might have remembered forever as I shed tears night and day".

The image is continued by Euripides in his heroine's haunting elegy near the beginning of *Andromache*:

πολλὰ δὲ δάκρυστά μοι κατέβη χροός, ἀνίκ' ἔλειπον
 ἄστου τε καὶ θαλάμους καὶ πόσιν ἐν κοίταις
 (111-2)⁵.

Andromache inconsolable for her loss, yearning to have her husband back again (as in Virgil's "Hector ubi est?", 3.312), is there in Euripides' *Troades* and *Andromache*. In *Tro.* 673-80:

σὲ δ', ὦ φίλ' Ἕκτορ, εἶχον ἄνδρ' ἀρκοῦντά μοι [...]
 καὶ νῦν ὄλωλας μὲν σύ, ναυσθλοῦμαι δ' ἐγὼ
 [...] ἐς δοῦλον ζυγόν.
 ἀρ' οὐκ ἐλάσσω τῶν ἐμῶν ἔχειν κακῶν
 Πολυξένης ὄλεθρος, ἦν καταστένεις;⁶

Andromache expresses a hopelessness born of lost love as well as lost freedom. In *Andromache* the heroine's final despairing cry for rescue goes out to neither of the two living men who could save her but to the husband eight years dead and more:

ὦ πόσις πόσις, εἶθε σὰν
 χεῖρα καὶ δόρυ σύμμαχον
 κτησαίμαν, Πριάμου παῖ
 (523-4)⁷.

Even the more specific image of Andromache's attachment to the tomb, increasingly important in her Roman and then her French history, has its beginnings quite possibly in our last glimpse of her in *Troades* as described by Talthybius:

⁵ "many tears ran down my cheeks, when I left behind my city and my bridal chambers, and my husband in the dust."

⁶ "Dearest Hector, I held you as my husband quite sufficient for me.... And now you are lost, and I am taken away by sea to the yoke of slavery. Is not Polyxena's death, which you [Hecuba] mourn, a lesser evil than what I suffer?"

⁷ "My husband, my husband, if only I had by me your strong hand and helping spear, son of Priam."

Ἄνδρομάχη, πολλῶν ἔμοι
 δακρύων ἀγωγός, ἥνικ' ἐξώρμα χθονός,
 πάτράν τ' ἀναστένουσα καὶ τὸν Ἑκτορός
 τύμβον προσενέπουσα

(1130-33)⁸.

Virgil was of course thoroughly conversant with Homer, whom he emulates and imitates throughout (e.g. *Aen.* 3.97-8; 1.85-6; 1.471-2 cp. *Il.* 20.307-8; *Od.* 5, 295ff; *Il.* 22,93-4). Verbal parallels establish that he was closely acquainted also with Euripides' plays, including both *Troades* (e.g. 2.237-8 cp. *Tro.* 11-12, both using the same image of the 'pregnant' wooden horse: "fatalis machina..feta armis", "ἐγκύμον' ἵππον...ὀλέθριον") and *Andromache* (e.g. 3.326-7 cp *And.* 24-5; cp. Williams 1962, p.123). It is therefore highly probable that his image of Andromache was to a considerable extent created from what he saw of her in the works of both Homer and Euripides. This is not to deny Virgil's own creative input; but the debt to his Greek predecessors should be acknowledged.

2.1.1.2: The faithful mother

Virgil's Andromache is influential secondly as Astyanax's mother. Here Virgil's picture differs noticeably from Euripides'. Virgil (3.327) makes glancing reference to Andromache's having borne children to Pyrrhus, but that is all - of any equivalent of Molossos as an individual there is no mention. All the maternal sentiment Virgil's Andromache expresses is for her dead Astyanax. In Euripides, by contrast, Astyanax is mentioned just once, in Andromache's prologue; Molossos, the living child, is the focus of Andromache's maternal attachment. Virgil's portrayal of Andromache's affection for her long-dead son is unique: elsewhere, Andromache is invariably set alongside her living son, even when it is an Astyanax doomed to die. But the quality of her affection, and the particular way it finds expression, will leave its mark on succeeding portrayals; and the links with Euripides' portrayals may be closer than it would seem. The lasting maternal love of the *Aeneid* heroine is expressed in the likeness she finds to her son in her nephew, Aeneas' son Ascanius:

⁸ "...Andromache, who called many tears from me, when she set sail from this land, lamenting her country aloud and addressing Hector's tomb by name."

o mihi sola mei super Astyanactis imago.
 sic oculos, sic ille manus, sic ora ferebat;

(*Aeneid* 3.488-91)⁹.

In later literature, starting with Seneca, similar lines are spoken to the still living Astyanax, expressing Andromache's close identification of him with his father, her beloved husband. So begins a new and powerful line of tradition in which Andromache's love for her son is fed by the way he brings Hector back to life for her. The *Aeneid* is the last work of those we will study in which Astyanax is loved purely and simply in himself. In this respect Virgil's conception of the mother-son love is closer to that of Euripides, both with Molossos and with Astyanax in *Troades*. But in the idea of identification Virgil provides the immediate source for the later writers' more complex portrayal of Andromache's maternal love.

The idea itself does not originate with Virgil's Andromache. In Homer's *Odyssey*, Menelaos had found a similar resemblance in Telemachus to his missing father Odysseus (4.149ff.). Possibly with this in mind, Euripides was the first to apply the resemblance idea to Astyanax and Hector, in Hecuba's lament in *Troades*:

ὦ χεῖρες, ὡς εἰκοῦς μὲν ἠδείας πατρὸς
 κέκτησθ', ἐν ἄρθροισι δ' ἔκλυτοι πρόκεισθέ μοι
 (1178-9)¹⁰.

As Hecuba identifies the dead Astyanax with his father Hector, so Virgil's Andromache identifies the living Ascanius with Astyanax, and so Seneca and the French dramatists will have Andromache identify the living Astyanax with his father Hector. Although the idea in Seneca and company is closer to that of Euripides' Hecuba, the verbal parallels are very close with the *Aeneid* passage and suggest that Virgil is the direct source, with the simple transference of Ascanius-Astyanax to Astyanax-Hector. The Euripides passage may have inspired the transfer, however; it may also have influenced Virgil here, although his lines are verbally closer to the *Odyssey* 4 passage.

⁹ "for all that is left to me of my Astyanax is his likeness in you. His eyes, his hands, his face and his movements were just like yours..."

¹⁰ "Dear hands, how like the dear shape of your father's you are, but now lying limp from the joints..."

Further, Andromache's affection in the *Aeneid* for Ascanius is a transferal of her characteristic motherly tenderness. Later writers echo certain of Andromache's words about Ascanius in words to Astyanax: notably:

ecquid in antiquam virtutem animosque virilis
et pater Aeneas et avunculus excitat Hector?

(*Aeneid* 3. 342-3)¹¹,

cp. Racine *Andromaque*, 271-2. Once again, this influential rendition by Virgil echoes Euripides' portrayal of Andromache. For instance, compare Andromache's torrent of anxious questions in *Aeneid* 3.339-43:

quid puer Ascanius? superatne [...]?
ecqua tamen puero est amissae cura parentis?¹²

with her farewell to Molossos in *Andromache*: "ὦ τέκνον, [...] ἦν δ' ὑπεκδράμης μόρον, / μέμνησο μητρός" (413-5: "My child... If you escape fate [now], remember your mother,...").

2.1.1.3: The Sack of Troy.

Other elements of the *Aeneid* not directly connected with the portrayal of Andromache also contribute to Virgil's legacy to the Andromache tradition. Most occur in Book 2 in the account of the Sack of Troy. There is Virgil's evocation of the night of the sack itself, whose most famous offshoot is Andromaque's speech to Céphise in Racine: "Songe, songe, Céphise, à cette nuit cruelle..." (997ff.). Again there are Greek precedents behind Virgil's account, although the latter is longer, more vivid and more intense than its precursors. The build-up to disaster, the entrance of the Wooden Horse, the sleep and the celebration horribly broken, are sung of by the chorus in Euripides' *Troades* and *Hecuba* (511-67 and 906-42 respectively). The murder of Priam is described by Hecuba in *Troades* (481-4) and by Polydorus' ghost in *Hecuba* (21-4) in terms echoed in Virgil: for example,

¹¹ "Does he know that Aeneas is his father and Hector was his uncle, and does the knowledge already awake in him the qualities of a man and the spirit of olden time?"

¹² "What of your little son, Ascanius? Does he still live...? And can he remember the mother whom he lost?"

καὶ [...] Πρίαμον οὐκ ἄλλων πάρα
 κλύουσ' ἔκλαυσα, τοῖσδε δ' εἶδον ὄμμασιν
 αὐτῇ κατασφαγέντ' ἐφ' ἑρκείῳ πυρᾷ
 (*Troades* 481-3)¹³

compared to:

vidi ipse [...]
 vidi [...] Priamumque per aras
 sanguine foedantem quos ipse sacrauerat ignis
 (*Aeneid* 2.499-502)¹⁴.

The portrayal of Pyrrhus here is important. In Virgil, the young warrior son of Achilles is brutal, callous, arrogant, vicious; he remains so in Seneca and not until Racine's *Andromaque* will he gain some softening and redeeming features. But we should say "regain"; because in extant 5th-century Greek literature, Pyrrhus or Neoptolemos gets a much better press. The idealistic youth in Sophocles' *Philoctetes* is far from Virgil's youthful monster. Euripides, too, generally tones down Neoptolemos' record - nowhere in either *Andromache* or *Troades* is he mentioned as Priam's murderer. He is once mentioned in this character in *Hecuba*, by Polydorus' ghost¹⁵, but without the invective that is heaped upon Helen, for instance. Further back, Homer's brief indications (*Odyssey* 11. 506-40) also give a carefully selective and favourable report. If what we have is representative, then it seems that classical Greek literature chose to 'whitewash' Neoptolemos. It was a choice though, for the darker strand of the legend persisted in the contemporary visual arts: Neoptolemos' murder of Priam was a popular subject with vase-painters.

Two apparitions in Book 2 will also leave their mark on the subsequent *Andromache* tradition. Aeneas is visited, first by a vision of Hector's ghost, warning him of the danger (270-297), then at the last by the ghost of his wife Creusa, who bids him farewell and asks him to look after their son. Later writers transfer some details of the love between Creusa

¹³ "...and I wept for Priam, not hearing from others, but I saw with my own eyes his slaughter at the household altar."

¹⁴ "My own eyes ...saw ... Priam himself, fouling with his blood the altar fire which he had hallowed..."

¹⁵ "σφαγείς Ἀχιλλέως παιδὸς ἐκ μαιφόνου": "slaughtered by Achilles' murderous-hearted son", 24; but Polydorus is not an impartial judge.

and Aeneas to that of Hector and Andromache - most obviously the reaction of the living partner on awaking:

ter conatus ibi collo dare bracchia circum
 ter frustra compressa manus effugit imago.
 (*Aeneid* 2.792-3)¹⁶;

cp. Seneca *Troades*, 458-60, Garnier 660-62 etc.. While the idea of these apparitions is original to Virgil, that of Hector contains certain verbal resonances from Greek passages. For example, Hector's words to Aeneas: "si Pergama dextra/ defendi passent, etiam hac defensa fuissent" (2.291-2)¹⁷ may well recall Hecuba's over Astyanax' body in *Troades*:

μή Τροίαν ποτὲ
 πεσοῦσαν ὀρθώσειεν; οὐδὲν ἦτ' ἄρα,
 ὅθ' Ἐκτορος μὲν εὐτυχοῦντος ἐς δόρυ
 διωλλύμεσθα
 (1160-3)¹⁸.

Creusa's ghost in 2.785-6 echoes a sentiment voiced previously by Polyxena in Euripides' *Hecuba* (357-68) and by Hecuba in *Troades* (489-97). Perhaps more importantly, the Creusa-Aeneas couple throughout this book seems heavily influenced by recollections of the Hector-Andromache couple in the *Iliad*. Creusa appealing to Aeneas by his love for her and their son not to go out to fight and die if there is any hope (*Aeneid* 2.673-8, esp 677-8: "cui parvus Iulus, /cui pater et coniunx quondam tua dicta reliquir?"¹⁹) recalls Andromache's analogous plea to Hector in *Iliad* 6.407-39, especially 407-9:

δαιμόνιε, φθίσει σε τὸ σὸν μένος, οὐδ' ἐλεαίρεις
 παῖδά τε νηπίαχον καὶ ἔμ' ἄμμορον, ἢ τάχα χήρη
 σεῦ ἔσομαι.²⁰

¹⁶ "Three times I tried to cast my arms about her neck where she had been; but three times the clasp was in vain and the wraith escaped my hands..." This in its turn derives from Odysseus' meeting with his mother's ghost in *Odyssey* 11.204-8.

¹⁷ "If any strong arm could have defended our fortress, surely mine would have defended it."

¹⁸ "(did they fear) lest he should build Troy up again after it had fallen?. But this could not be, since even when Hector flourished with his spear, we still perished..."

¹⁹ "Otherwise, to whom will you leave our little Iulus, your father, and me, whom you once called your wife?"

²⁰ "strange one, your powers will destroy you, and you have no pity on your infant son or on my ill-fated self, who shall soon be your widow."

The child Iulus whose cap suddenly lights up with flame in an auspicious portent, and over whom his grandfather offers up prayers for the future (2.679-704) may perhaps recall the child Astyanax: "ἀλίγκιον ἀστέρι καλῶ" ("like a fair star": *Iliad* 6.401), frightened by another gleaming helmet (467-70), and prayed over by his father (473-81). The opening of Creusa's farewell:

quid tantum insano iuvat indulgere dolori,
o dulcis coniunx? non haec sine numine divum
eveniunt;...

(*Aeneid* 2.776-8)²¹

may echo the opening of Hector's last words to his wife:

δαιμονίη, μή μοί τι λίην ἀκαχίζεο θυμῶ·
οὐ γάρ τίς μ' ὑπὲρ αἴσαν ἀνὴρ Ἴδιδι προΐάψει
(*Iliad* 6.486-7)²².

This relationship between the Greek original and Virgil's creation is important in considering the evolution of later portrayals of Andromache influenced by the Latin picture of Creusa and Aeneas.

2.1.1.4: Andromache and Dido

A similar argument holds true for Virgil's pictures of Dido and her first husband Sychaeus, whose story is indicated in *Aeneid* 1 and 4. Dido's fidelity to her dead husband, her reluctance to break faith by surrendering to her love for Aeneas and her shame after she has done so strongly resemble aspects of Andromache's story stressed by Racine. Here too Virgil may have drawn on the story of Andromache as presented in Euripides' *Troades*, where she voices a determination to remain true to her dead Hector and repugnance at the idea of opening her heart to another (662-72). Beyond the general outline of the sentiment there is at least one direct verbal link: Andromache's:

²¹ "Sweet husband, why do you allow yourself to yield to a pointless grief? None of these events has come about apart from the divine will..."

²² "Unquiet soul, do not be overly distressed for me in your heart; for no man will send me to Hades beyond my fate..."

ἀκήρατον δέ μ' ἐκ πατρὸς λαβὼν δόμων
 πρῶτος τὸ παρθένειον ἐζεύξω λέχος
 (*Troades* 675-6)

is translated virtually word for word in Venus' description of Dido : "cui pater intactum dederat primisque iugarat / ominibus" (*Aeneid* 1.345-6)²³.

2.1.2: The early Roman dramatists.

The Roman dramatic tradition is the next important influence to be discussed. While Seneca is the major figure here, we must first consider his possible sources, the so-called 'lost' early Roman dramatists: Ennius, to whom a play entitled *Andromache Aechmalotis* is attributed, and Accius, who wrote an *Astyanax*. Both were writing in the 2nd century B.C.; what we know of their work comes from quotation by later Roman writers, Cicero, Varro and ancient 'grammarians' such as Nonius. These writers may have served as sources for Virgil as well as for Seneca; Ennius at least certainly did²⁴. I deal with them at this point, however, because *Andromache Aechmalotis* and *Astyanax*, treating some of the same subject-matter as Seneca's *Troades*, might be major direct sources, in competition with Euripides, for Seneca's plot and overall dramatic shape. *Andromache Aechmolotis* seems to have portrayed Andromache at Troy in the war's immediate aftermath, and certainly deals with Astyanax's death (fr. XLI, Jocelyn 1969, p.92). Fantham (1982, p.64) remarks "it is possible that Ennius used the Astyanax episode of *Troades*, amplified by material from *Hecuba* and the *Andromache*", contra Jocelyn (1969, p.45): "*Andromache*, despite the statements of Varro *Ling.*7.82 and Cicero, *Opt.gen.* 18, cannot be regarded as an adaptation of any of the Euripidean seventy". Jocelyn's arguments are not totally convincing and his dismissal of verbal parallels (see Fantham 1982, p.64) goes too far: "Such similarities as have been pointed out between the Latin *Andromache* and the three Euripidean plays are either accidental (the plays have a similar background of events) or may be due to the fact that Ennius translated a Greek imitator of Euripides"

²³ "She had been a virgin [lit.'untouched' - the image of ἀκήρατον and "intactum" is the same] when her father gave her to him; her union with him was her first marriage."

²⁴ For instance, Macrobius in *Sat.*6.2.18 refers an Ennian fragment, generally considered to come from a visionary speech of Cassandra's in Ennius' *Alexander*: "o lux Troiae, germane Hector, / quid ita cum tuo lacerato corpore / miseris, aut qui te sic respectantibus / tractavere nobis?", to Aeneas' address to Hector's shade in *Aeneid* 2.281ff: "o lux Dardaniae spes o fidissima Teucrum..." (Jocelyn 1969, p.232). It is commonly believed that the *Alexander* is in its turn a close adaptation of Euripides' *Ἀλέξανδρος* (see Varro, *Ling.* 7.82 and Snell 1937, 1-68); although Jocelyn is typically cautious about this (pp.203-4).

(Jocelyn 1969, p.238). There is no particular indication that Ennius' plot as it concerns Andromache resembled Seneca's in any noteworthy way, but that is as much as can safely be said. The verbal parallels (e.g. Jocelyn 1969 fr XXVIII(g) (p.85) cp. Eur. *And.* 399-400; fr XXXVI (p.91) cp. Eur. *Tro.* 725) do suggest that Euripides had some influence on Ennius' play, and it seems superfluous to posit an intermediary "imitator of Euripides" when we know from other cases that Ennius had first-hand acquaintance with Euripides' work.

With Accius' *Astyanax* the picture for reconstruction is slightly clearer. According to Fantham, it is reasonably clear from fragments IX,X and XI "that Astyanax had been hidden in the hills by Andromache and was tracked down by and brought back to the Greeks" (Fantham 1982, p.65). This 'concealment motif' can perhaps be related to Seneca's central episode of Andromache hiding her son from the Greeks in Hector's tomb; but it may also refer back to Andromache's attempt to get Molossos secretly to safety in Euripides' *Andromache*. One other plot element that can fairly safely be deduced from the Accian fragments, involving Hecuba's concern over Cassandra's fate²⁵, perhaps adds to the case for a Euripidean connection, this time with *Troades*. But beyond this there is little that can be said with any confidence. Both what we do know and what we do not of these potential sources needs to be kept in mind in tracing the ancestry of subsequent portrayals of Andromache.

2.1.3: Seneca's *Troades* and the *Andromache* tradition

Seneca's *Troades* marks a further stage in the progress of Andromache, owing much to Virgil for the ideas he forges into his own conception of the character and her experience. It is Seneca's plot and Seneca's picture that often appear to be the guiding force behind most of Andromache's 17th-century appearances - obviously so, where writers like Sallebray and Pradon stick so closely to elements of his plot. Where does the Greek legacy fit in in relation to his presentation?

2.1.3.1: Elements of the plot.

The question of the lost plays (2.1.2) is particularly relevant to the central plot element of Andromache's attempt to save her son in Hector's tomb. Warned by Hector's ghost in a dream, Andromache hides Astyanax

²⁵ fr.III: "utinam unicam mi antistitam arquiteuens suam tactur": "Would that the archer-god may protect my one daughter, his own priestess" - Fantham 1982, p.65.

in the tomb, and then struggles to defeat Ulysses' attempt to force her to surrender her son. His first attack, a straightforward threat of physical constraint, leaves her unmoved, but his second, the subtler threat that Hector's tomb will be destroyed if she won't co-operate, throws her into a turmoil of conflicting loyalties and eventually defeats her when she realises that the demolition will destroy her hidden son as well. This new and highly dramatic way of presenting Astyanax's peril and Andromache's reaction to it seems to be Seneca's invention: none of the evidence we have concerning the lost plays suggests a plot involving Hector's tomb in this way. Generally, the earlier Roman tragedians were fairly faithful adapters of Greek models²⁶, not noted for innovation on this scale. However, suggestive ideas or elements of plot in other works may have served as a "springboard" for Seneca's own innovation.

The two defining features of his episode are, firstly, the attempt to hide the child from the conquerors' fury in the tomb; and secondly, the inner conflict inflicted on Andromache by Ulysses' ultimatum: give up your son or see us destroy what is left of your husband. To take the idea of concealment first, it appears that, in Accius' play, Andromache tried to hide Astyanax - though there the attempt took the more standard course of sending the boy secretly into the hills. Behind that, several critics²⁷ have noted that the motif of concealment is already present in Euripides' *Andromache*, where the heroine, fearing for her son's life, has secretly sent him away to some unspecified place of safety (47-8, 69, 309-10). Whether or not Seneca derived his version in the first instance from Ennius' plot, or from a putative Greek intermediary²⁸, there are indications that Euripides' play was to some degree involved in the evolution of the 'tomb scene' plot. Similarities do exist between Euripides' story and Seneca's. The argument for choosing the tomb as the hiding place, that it is "a sacred place to be respected by the enemy" ("...sacer, verendus hosti", *Troades* 483-4), may have something in common with Euripides' *Andromache*'s choice of the shrine of Thetis as her own place of refuge:

²⁶ For instance, the fragment of Ennius' *Hecuba*, quoted by Aulus Gellius (*Noctes Atticae* 11.4.1) alongside 293-5 of Euripides' *Hecuba*, which play he says Ennius is 'translating', [verteret], shows a very close correspondence with its original (Gellius fragment given in Jocelyn 1969, p.104).

²⁷ e.g. Fantham 1982, pp.65,66; Knight 1951, p.271.

²⁸ Calder 1970 posits a "post Euripidean Intrigenstuck" (p.75). Neither theory is especially convincing (see Fantham 1982, p. 272).

Πηλεΐς τε γάρ υἱν ἔκγονοί τε Πηλέως
 σέβουσιν, ἑρμήνευμα Νηρηΐδος γάμων
 (*Andromache* 45-6)²⁹

- although Peleus and his family are not, strictly speaking, the "enemy" she has to face. There is also a broad similarity between Ulysses trying to force Andromache to do what he wants by threats first of physical punishment and then of injury to something or someone she holds dear, on the one hand, and Hemione and Menelaos trying to force her to do what they want by the threat of physically forcing her to leave the shrine (*And.* 257-60), then of killing her son (314-5ff.). It is further true that in each play Andromache is confronted with an ultimatum involving her son's life, and in each case his safety demands a sacrifice from her - her own life in Euripides, the loss of her husband's tomb in Seneca³⁰. Seneca may, then, have recalled the outlines of Euripides' story in developing his own plot.

The second major feature of Seneca's episode, Andromache's inner conflict, provides a more fruitful field of inquiry as regards Andromache herself. This conflict - often seen (e.g. Knight 1951, p. 271) as a precursor of the similar conflict in Racine's *Andromaque*, between loyalty to her dead husband and loyalty to her son's interests - might seem to be entirely of Seneca's imagining, depending on the presence of the tomb and the threat to destroy it, apparently original elements. However, while the particular formulation of the conflict is Seneca's own, the psychological premises behind the conflict do seem to go further back. We have already met with the necessary element of Andromache's attachment and devotion to the tomb, and the concept of her relationship with Hector as a continuing reality this entails, in Virgil:

libabat cineri Andromache manisque vocabat
 Hectoreum ad tumulum, viridi quem caespite
 inanem et geminas, causam lacrimis, sacra verat aras.
 (*Aeneid* 3.301-5)³¹

²⁹ "for Peleus and Peleus' descendants reverence this symbol of his marriage with the Nereid."

³⁰ Some of these points are made in Fantham 1982, pp.271-3, especially p. 273.

³¹ "Andromache herself, sorrowfully pouring a drink offering in a ritual of sacrifice to Hector's ashes, calling on Hector's spirit at his cenotaph of green turf, where she had reverently set up two altars as a place for her mourning."

We also saw (2.1.1.1) that this image had Greek roots, in Euripides as well as Homer. Certainly loyalty to her dead husband was voiced in vivid and moving terms by Euripides' Andromache in *Troades*:

καίτοι λέγουσιν ὡς μί' εὐφρόνη χαλᾶ
 τὸ δυσμενὲς γυναικὸς εἰς ἀνδρὸς λέχος·
 ἀπέπτυσ' αὐτήν, ἥτις ἀνδρα τὸν πάρος
 καινοῖσι λέκτροις ἀποβαλοῦσ' ἄλλον φιλεῖ.
 ἀλλ' οὐδὲ πῶλος ἥτις ἂν διαζυγῇ
 τῆς συντραφείσης, ῥαδίως ἔλξει ζυγόν.
 καίτοι τὸ θηριῶδες ἀφθογγόν τ' ἔφυ
 ξυνέσει τ' ἄχρηστον τῇ φύσει τε λείπεται
 (665-72)³².

The conflict between the demands of survival and the call of loyalty to the dead had also been previously articulated by Euripides' Andromache, as in the lines immediately preceding those just quoted:

κεί μὲν παρώσασ' Ἔκτορος φίλον κᾶρα
 πρὸς τὸν παρόντα πόσιν ἀναπτύξω φρένα,
 κακὴ φανοῦμαι τῷ θανόντι· τόνδε δ' αὖ
 στυγοῦσ' ἑμαυτῆς δεσπότηαις μισήσομαι
 (661-4)³³.

Although Andromache does not mention her child, the formula is completed by Hecuba's response in which she urges her daughter-in-law to set aside Hector and ingratiate her new master for the sake of Asytanax's future (697-702). We may compare this sense of the conflicting demands of the living and the dead with the sentiments of Seneca's Andromache:

³² "And yet they say that one night in a man's bed softens a woman's hostility; I loathe a woman who casts aside her former husband and loves another in a new union. But not even the colt who is separated from her yoke-fellow will draw the plough with a light-hearted - though she is a brute beast without voice, without use of understanding, and is inferior by nature."

³³ "And if, thrusting aside my own dear Hector, I open up my heart to my present 'husband' [i.e. Neoptolemos], I shall appear to him who is dead as a traitor; but then if I hate the other I shall become an object of hatred to my masters."

potero, perpetiar, feram,
 dum non meus post fata victoris manu
 iactetur Hector - hic suam poenam potest
 sentire, at illum fata iam in tuta locant.

(*Troades* 653-6)³⁴.

The situation is of course different; but the dilemma facing Andromache is essentially the same.

2.1.3.2: The conflict with Ulysses.

The conception of Andromache within Seneca's new plot may, then, owe much to Euripides. This argument can be extended to certain details of Andromache's conflict with Ulysses over the tomb. The willingness for self-sacrifice has already been mentioned. Threatened with death, Seneca's Andromache replies, "Animosa nullos mater admittit metus" (588)³⁵; similarly, Euripides' heroine offers herself for her son:

ἐμοὶ δ' ὄνειδος μὴ θανεῖν ὑπὲρ τέκνου [...]
 λέγ' οἷ' ἔπραξα. πᾶσι δ' ἀνθρώποις ἄρ' ἦν
 ψυχὴ τέκν'.

(*And.* 410, 418-19)³⁶.

Courageous defiance when threatened with brutal punishment (though for different motives) is also carried over from Euripides' *Andromache*:

ΕΡΜΙΟΝΗ: πῦρ σοι προσοίσω, κοῦ τὸ σὸν προσκέψομαι-

ΑΝΔΡΟΜΑΧΗ: σὺ δ' οὖν κάταιθε· θεοὶ γὰρ εἴσονται τάδε.

ΕΡ: καὶ χρωτὶ δεινῶν τραυμάτων ἀλγηδόνας.

ΑΝΔ: σφάζ', αἱμάτου θεᾶς βωμόν, ἢ μέτεισί σε³⁷

(257-60)

³⁴ "I will endure and bear [my son's death], so long as my dear Hector is not abused after his death by the victor's violence - but the child can feel his punishment while death has already set his father in safety."

³⁵ "No mother with courage has room for fear."

³⁶ "it would be a reproach to me not to die for my child.... Tell what I did, how I endured to die. Indeed, in all the race of men there is a heart to love their children..."

³⁷Hermione: I shall bring fire to you [at the altar] and show no consideration for you-

Andromache: Burn away, then; for the gods will see these things.

Hermione: -and I shall inflict the pains of terrible wounds on your body.

Andromache: Slaughter me, then, cover the goddess's altar with blood - she will pursue you.

to Seneca's *Troades*:

ULIXE: Verberibus igni morte cruciatu eloqui
quodcumque celas adiget invitam dolor
et pectore imo condita arcana eruet...

ANDROMACHA: Propone flammam, vulnera et diras mali
doleris artes et famem et saevam sitim
variasque pestes undique....

(578-88)³⁸

It is, further, possible that the way Seneca makes Andromache 'fight back' is based on Euripides. When her plea for mercy to Ulysses is rejected, Andromache rounds on him with furious invective, roundly charging him with deceit, treachery and cowardice:

O machinator fraudis et scelerum artifex,
virtute cuius bellica nemo occidit,
dolis et astu maleficae mentis iacent
etiam Pelasgi [...]
nocturne miles, fortis in pueri necem
iam solus audes aliquid et claro die

(*Troades* 750-56)³⁹.

There are echoes here of Ovid and Virgil's descriptions of Ulysses ("scelerum artifex, *Troades* 750 cp. "crudele....artificis scelus", *Aeneid* 2.124-5, "hortator scelerum, *Metamorphosis* 13.45; see Fantham 1982, p.314). But there is a closer Greek parallel, directed by Euripides' Andromache at the Spartans in general and Menelaos in particular:

Σπάρτης ἔνοικοι, δόλια βουλευτήρια,
ψευδῶν ἄνακτες, μηχανορράφοι κακῶν,

³⁸ Ulysses: Whatever you are hiding, pain with blows and fire and death and torture will compel you against your will and root out the secrets buried deep in your breast...
Andromache: Confront me with flames, wounds, and the dreadful devices of evil pain, with hunger and cruel thirst and every kind of affliction around me...

³⁹ "O you contriver of deceit, you engineer of crimes; no man ever died from your warlike valour, but even Greeks lie betrayed by your guile and the cunning of your evil mind...You soldier of the night, brave in devising a child's murder, at last you dare to act unaided, by the light of day."

ἐλικτὰ κούδεν ὑγιές, ἀλλὰ πᾶν πέριξ
 φρονούντες [...]
 νῦν δ' εἰς γυναῖκα γοργὸς ὀπλίτης φανείσ
 (Andromache 449-58)⁴⁰.

If we consider that the Latin "machinator" translates μηχανορράφοι, that ψευδῶν and δόλια correspond to "fraudis" and that κακῶν (although a general term for anything "evil" or "ugly") can in context have the same sense as "scelerum", the resemblances begin to look very strong; especially with the implications of cowardice against a defenceless victim. Both passages occur after Andromache's pleas for mercy have been spurned. The fierce anger and denunciation born of despair when the last hope has gone may, then, go back to Euripides' portrayal of Andromache. A similar reaction on her part is to be found in *Troades*, after her last farewell to Astyanax: suddenly she breaks into bitter recrimination (764-773: "ὦ βάρβαρ' ἐξευρόντες Ἕλληνες κακά...": "You Greeks who seek out barbarian crimes..." etc.) and ends in a fierce passion of distracted grief:

ἄγετε φέρετε ῥίπτειτ', εἰ ῥίπτειν δοκεῖ·
 δαίνυσθε τοῦδε σάρκας. ἔκ τε γὰρ θεῶν
 διολλύμεσθα [...]
 [...] κρύπτειτ' ἄθλιον δέμας
 καὶ ῥίπτειτ' ἐς ναῦς
 (774-8)⁴¹.

The access of maddened fury is reminiscent of the frenzied rush by Seneca's Andromache at the Greek soldiers to protect Hector's tomb (671-81): a different expression in act and word but the same mood.

2.1.3.3: Andromache and Hector.

In other respects too, Seneca's portrayal of Andromache, while often fixing an image and becoming formative for the generations of writers to come, shows in its turn a debt to Euripides. We may start with Andromache's relationship with Hector. Seneca's specific manifestations of

⁴⁰ "Inhabitants of Sparta, counsellors of cunning, lords of lies, craft-contrivers of evil, twisted in mind and in no way sound, but always with devious thoughts, unjustly do you prosper in Greece.... Now you appear as a fearful warrior- against a woman."

⁴¹ "Come, take him, *hurl* him down, if *hurl* you must; feast on his flesh. For I am destroyed by the gods, and cannot ward off death from my son. Wrap up my afflicted body and *throw* me into the ship..."

this relationship are often 'new' in the sense that they introduce thoughts that have never been expressed, experiences that have never been formulated, ideas and images that have never been presented, in quite this way before. Their originality in this sense, however, need not mean that they sprang out of nowhere. Take, for instance, Andromache's opening lament for Hector:

Ilium vobis modo,
mihi cecidit olim, cum ferus curru incito
mea membra raperet et gravi gemeret sono
Peliacus axis pondere Hectoreo tremens,
tunc obruta atque eversa quodcumque accidit
torpens malis rigensque sine sensu fero.

(*Troades* 412-7)⁴².

The declaration that for Andromache the death of Hector was the death of Troy has not been made in so many words before, but Euripides' Andromache voiced a very similar sentiment:

έμοι μὲν θάνατος οὐχ οὕτω βαρὺς
ὡς σοὶ δέδοκται· κείνα γάρ μ' ἀπώλεσεν,
ὅθ' ἡ τάλαινα πόλις ἀνηλώθη Φρυγῶν
πόσις θ' ὁ κλεινός

(*Andromache* 453-6)⁴³.

Seneca, further, picks up images and ideas from a number of sources: the harsh "σφαγὰς... "Εκτορος τροχηλάτους": "Hector's wheel-dragged slaughter" of Euripides' Andromache (*ibid.*399), and her earlier elegiac account of Hector's death (107-8); Andromache's words to Hector in *Iliad* 6.411-3:

οὐ γὰρ ἔτ' ἄλλη
ἔσται θαλπωρή, ἐπεὶ ἂν σύ γε πότμον ἐπίσπης,
ἀλλ' ἄχε' ·⁴⁴

⁴² "Ilium fell only now for you: for me it fell long since, when the brutal wheels dragged those dear limbs, as his chariot was spurred on, and groaned dreadfully, shuddering with Hector's weight: It was then that I was crushed and destroyed, so that I now endure whatever may pass, dazed and stiff from the blows of disaster, my senses numbed."

⁴³ "Death to me is not so hard to bear as you think; for that day destroyed me, when the unhappy city of the Phrygians was destroyed, and my famed husband..."

⁴⁴ "for there will be no other warmth, when you have incurred your fate, but heartache."

the account of her reaction to Hector's death and defilement in *Iliad* 22. 463-76. He expands some, adapts others, adds details of its own ("his chariot.... Groaned dreadfully, shuddering with Hector's weight"), and ends up with a new and expressive evocation of Andromache's feelings. The feelings have been brought to light before but never described in these terms.

A combination of originality with creative use of sources characterises Seneca's portrayal of the Hector-Andromache relationship on many occasions. Andromache's account in Seneca of Hector's ghost appearing to her in her sleep draws together the two apparitions in *Aeneid* 3 (see 2.1.1.3), with many close borrowings (e.g. the descriptions of how changed the spectre was from the old, rampant Hector, *Aeneid* 2. 274-6 cp. Seneca 444-7; the way the living partner sought to clasp the vision on waking: *Aeneid* 790-4 cp. Seneca 458-60). The motive for the apparition - the warning to save their son - arises from the requirements of the dramatic situation, but may also recall Creusa's charge to Aeneas to look after their son (*Aeneid* 2. 789). The close relationship between Aeneas and Creusa that 'motivated' her apparition and her words to Aeneas seemed to be inspired by Hector and Andromache, in Homer especially; the similar closeness of Seneca's Hector and Andromache motivates the incident here, seen particularly in Andromache's pathetically joyful reaction to the sight: "iuvat tamen vidisse" (451: "yet it was such comfort to see him") and Hector's apostrophe "o fida coniunx" (453). We have also seen that Andromache's attachment and devotion to her husband's remains and memory derives ultimately from Greek ideas and suggestions, reflected through Virgil (2.1.1.1). Seneca has, however, increased the intensity of the attachment to an almost obsessive level: witness Andromache's last words to her son:

matris hanc solacio
relinque vestem: tumulus hanc tetigit meus
manesque cari. Si quid hic cineris latat,
scrubator ore

(809-12)⁴⁵.

⁴⁵ "But leave this shirt as comfort for your mother: my burial mound and dear shades of death have touched it. I will search with my gaze in case some trace of ash is hidden here."

Finally, there is the way Andromache seems to think naturally of Hector as someone who can still help and protect. Twice she calls on him to protect their son, entrusting the boy to him: 519-21:

tuque, coniunx, ultimo
specu revulsam scinde tellurem et Stygis
sinu profundo conde depositum meum⁴⁶;

and 500-02:

qui semper, etiam nunc tuos,
Hector, tuere; coniugis furtum piae
serva et fidele cinere victurum excipe⁴⁷.

The latter of these in particular resembles, in spirit and (partly) in expression, a wish of Andromache's in Euripides' *Troades*:

μόλοις, ὦ πόσις, μοι [...]
σᾶς δάμαρτος ἄλκαρ
(752-3)⁴⁸

Euripides' Andromache, in both *Troades* and *Andromache*, already tends to address Hector dead and buried in the second person; not an uncommon practice in Greek tragedy but worthy of note in *Andromache*, at least, for the distance in time and space from Hector's death, and for her wish that some physical intervention might be possible (523-5). Seneca, however, develops this trait a long way beyond the wistful, forlorn hopes in Euripides: his Andromache calls on her husband to come back and defend his tomb, and in a moment of distracted despair actually believes that she sees him: "arma concussit manu, iaculatur ignes - cernitis, Danaï, Hectorem? an sola video?" (683-5)⁴⁹. Likewise, Andromache's final sending off of her son to join his father may be based on Hecuba's last words to her grandson's corpse in

⁴⁶ "and you, dear husband, rend the earth away from its farthest cavern and bury my dear treasure in the deep gulf of Styx."

⁴⁷ "You who always watched-over your family, watch over us even now, Hector: keep safe the stolen treasure of your loving wife, and with trusty ashes welcome him so that he may live."

⁴⁸ "Would that you would come, oh my husband, you the bulwark of your wedded wife..."

⁴⁹ "he brandished his weapon in his hand, he is hurling firebrands - Greeks, do you see Hector? Or do I alone see him?"

Troades: "τὰ δ' ἐν νεκροῖσι φροντιεῖ πατήρ σέθεν" (1234)⁵⁰, and Polyxena's question to her mother in Euripides' *Hecuba* as she goes to her death:

ΠΟΛΥΞΕΝΑ: τί σοι πρὸς Ἑκτορ' ἢ γέροντ' εἶπω πόσιν;
 ΕΚΑΒΗ: ἄγγελλε πασῶν ἀθλιωτάτην ἐμέ
 (422-3)⁵¹.

Seneca again develops this by making Andromache convey a reproach to her husband through Astyanax for not coming to her aid. This Andromache is endowed with a new level and intensity of feeling about her husband, although the basis of this has been established before.

2.1.3.4: Andromache and Astyanax

We can apply a similar approach to Andromache's relationship with her son Astyanax. We considered above (2.1.1.2) the stages through which the Senecan Andromache's identification of Astyanax with Hector developed. Seneca's image will shape the whole European tradition to come. How far this identification involves an eclipse of Astyanax as an object to be mourned in himself will vary in each work. In Seneca both identification and eclipse are probably at their fullest: consider these lines from Andromache's 'dilemma' speech:

non aliud, Hector, in meo nato mihi
 placere quam te. vivat, ut possit tuos
 referre vultus

(646-8)⁵².

This also colours the second aspect of Andromache's attitude towards Astyanax that Seneca's portrayal will make typical: her ambitions for her son. In this, Seneca's portrayal of Andromache differs from Euripides': the latter's heroine never expresses any ambitions for Astyanax's future in *Troades*; even for Molossos in *Andromache* her hopes for the future are of the most modest (27-8; see 1.2.1.2, 1.2.2.1). On the other hand, Hecuba,

⁵⁰ "as for the rest of the things [you need], your father amongst the dead will have a care for them."

⁵¹ "What shall I say on your part to Hector or to your aged husband?- Hecuba: Tell them I am the most afflicted of all women."

⁵² "dear Hector, there is nothing that pleases me in my son except you. Let him live, to bring back to life your features..."

responding to Andromache's first hopeless speech in *Troades*, voiced ambitions for the child similar to those of Seneca's Andromache:

καὶ παῖδα τόνδε παιδὸς ἐκθρέψειας ἂν
 Τροία μέγιστον ὠφέλημ' εἶναι ποτε,
 ἔξ οὔ γενόμενοι παῖδες Ἴλιον πάλιν
 κατοικήσειαν, καὶ πόλις γένοιτ' ἔτι
 (702-5)⁵³.

Seneca has transferred this thought to Andromache, elaborated on it, and added the new element of Astyanax as potential avenger:

o nate sero Phrygibus, o matri cito,
 eritne tempu illud ac felix dies
 quo Troici defensor et *vindex* soli
 recidiva ponas Pergama et sparsos fuga
 cives reducas, nomen et patriae suum
 Phrygibus que reddas?
 (*Troades* 469-74)⁵⁴.

The desire to see Troy avenged by later generations is absent from what both Andromache and Hecuba say concerning Astyanax in Euripides' *Troades*. This difference is also found in the two parallel farewell laments, of Andromache to her living son in Seneca, of Hecuba to her dead grandson in Euripides. The Greek passage has furnished a basic outline for the Roman: compare Eur. *Tro.* 1167-70 and 1209-11 with Sen. *Tro.* 771-82. The two laments develop differently from their common starting point of regretting the kingly power that the child should have inherited, but both lament the passing forever of Astyanax's chance to take part in youthful pastimes. In the middle of this, though, Seneca inserts a further regret corresponding to the hope in Astyanax as avenger: "non Graia caedes terga, non Pyrrhum trahes" (774)⁵⁵: the latter clause in particular, recalling the death of Hector, has a vengeful twist to it, quite different from any sentiment regarding the boy voiced by Euripides' Andromache or Hecuba. This heightened

⁵³ See 1.2.2.1 for translation.

⁵⁴ "Dear son, born too late for the Trojans, too soon for your mother, will that time come and that blessed day when you, as defender and *avenger* of the Trojan land, will found a Troy renewed, and bring back your people scattered in exile, giving back a name to your country and your Phrygians?"

⁵⁵ "You will never thrash the backs of the retreating Greeks, nor drag Pyrrhus in defeat."

ambition and wish for revenge, transferred onto Astyanax and his future, increase the impression in Seneca that Andromache's child is cared for and mourned often less for himself than for what he could bring or achieve. To that extent Seneca has complicated the simple love of Euripides' Andromache, though building to some degree on suggestions supplied by the Euripidean text.

That said, Seneca's portrayal retains many manifestations of more straightforward maternal love. His Andromache states at the outset - though without great joy - that her son is her only reason for staying alive. The sentiment is peculiar to Seneca's portrayal at this stage, much copied though it will be by later writers; suicide is not on the agenda of Euripides' Andromache and she does not claim that duty to her son obliges her to live. This rather joyless Roman view of her attachment to Astyanax is complemented by the more warmly human quality behind her later plea to Ulysses: "misere matris: unicum adflictae mihi solamen hic est" (703-4)⁵⁶. This does draw on Euripides, echoing Hecuba's plea to the same adversary in *Hecuba* 279-80:

ταύτη γέγηθα κάπιλήθομαι κακῶν·
ἥδ' ἀντὶ πολλῶν ἐστὶ μοι παραψυχή⁵⁷,

and drawing on a sentiment expressed by Andromache in *Andromache* : "εἷς παῖς ὄδ' ἦν μοι λοιπὸς ὀφθαλμὸς βίου·" (406)⁵⁸. The whole of Andromache's supplication to Ulysses in Seneca, as in her anxiety for Astyanax's safety she sets aside all pride and enmity, renouncing her earlier ambitious hopes for Troy, draws on images and ideas from Euripides. Andromache bids her son supplicate Ulysses for his life:

submitte manus
dominique pedes supplice dextra
stratus adora...
(705-10)⁵⁹,

⁵⁶ "take pity on a mother: this boy is my only comfort in affliction."

⁵⁷ "in this girl I rejoice and forget my woes; she is my comfort in the face of their multitude."

⁵⁸ "this one child was left to me, the light of my life" (following an enumeration of all she has suffered).

⁵⁹ "Stretch out your arms and with suppliant right hand, prostrate, venerate your master's feet."

as Andromache in *Andromache*, faced with another callous enemy, Menelaos, urged her son:

λίσσου, γούνασι δεσπότη
 χρίμπτων, ὦ τέκνον
 (529-30)⁶⁰.

The argument that Astyanax resurrecting Troy, as the Greeks fear, is inconceivable:

Has, has ruinas urbis in cinerem datae
 hic excitabit? [...]
 non sic iacernus Troes, ut cuiquam metus
 possimus esse. Spiritus genitor facit?
 sed nempe tractus. Ipse post Troiam pater
 posuisset animas, magna quos frangunt mala.
 (*Troades* 739-45)⁶¹,

comes from Hecuba's reproach in Euripides of the Greek fear that has killed her grandson:

τί τόνδ', Ἀχαιοί, παῖδα δέισαντες φόνον
 καινὸν διειργάσασθε; μὴ Τροίαν ποτὲ
 πεσοῦσαν ὀρθώσειεν; οὐδὲν ἦτ' ἄρα,
 ὅθ' Ἑκτορος μὲν εὐτυχοῦντος ἐς δόρυ
 διωλλύμεσθα μυρίας τ' ἄλλης χερός,
 πόλεως δ' ἀλούσης καὶ Φρυγῶν ἐφθαρμένων
 βρέφος τοσόνδ' ἐδείσατ' ·
 (Eur. *Troades* 1159-65)⁶².

⁶⁰ "Beseech him, approaching close to your master's knees, o my child."

⁶¹ "Look at these ruins of a city brought to ashes: shall this child revive them?... We Trojans are not so lightly prostrated that we can become any man's fear. Does his father give him spirit? Yet Hector was dragged through the mire. His father himself would have abandoned his courage, after Troy had fallen, for great sorrows can shatter courage."

⁶² "Why, Achaeans, did you fear this child and carry out this un-heard of slaughter? Did you fear lest, Troy once fallen, he should raise her up again? But this could not be. When Hector prospered with his spear, and countless other strong hands, we perished; yet, when the city was destroyed and the Phrygians had perished, you feared such an infant."

The parallels with the Greek in Andromache's maternal tenderness continue into her final lament and farewell, most clearly after Astyanax's cry for help:

Quid meos retines sinus
 manusque matris cassa praesidia occupas?
 fremitu leonis qualis audito tener
 timidum iuvenus applicat matri latus...
 (*Troades* 749-51)⁶³,

says Seneca's Andromache, answering Euripides':

ὦ παῖ, δακρύεις· αἰσθάνη κακῶν σέθεν;
 τί μου δέδραξαι χερσὶ κἀντέχῃ πέπλων,
 νεοσσὸς ὡσεὶ πτέρυγας ἐσπίτνων ἐμάς;
 (Eur. *Troades* 749-51)⁶⁴.

Finally, Andromache's concern, when she hears of her son's death, for his burial, briefly indicated in Seneca: "quis tuos artus teget tumuloque tradet?" (1109-10)⁶⁵, was portrayed in more detail in Euripides *Troades* 1133-45. Andromache, Talthybios reports, as she was hurried away from Troy requested Neoptolemos to have her son buried, leaving Hector's shield behind expressly for this purpose, asking that the body be entrusted to Hecuba's arms ("σὰς δ' ἐς ὠλένας δοῦναι", 1142-3). Seneca's portrayal of a tender concern with Astyanax as a child, retained despite his altering the balance in favour of less disinterested concerns and an eclipse of the boy by the father he represents, owes a clear and straightforward debt to Euripides.

2.2: The intervening tradition in France

It is now possible to look at Andromache in her French incarnations. Our concern is primarily with the 17th century; but there are two preceding influences that must be looked at. One is the medieval Trojan tradition, which, like the Latin writers to some extent, interferes in the literary

⁶³ "Why do you cling to my breast and clutch at your mother's arms, that vain protection? Just as a young bullock, at the sound of a lion's roar, pushes his frightened flank against his mother...."

⁶⁴ "My child, you are crying; are you aware of your sufferings? Why do you clasp at me with your hands and cling to my dress, like a nestling rushing into [the shelter of] my wings?"

⁶⁵ "Who will cover your body and commit it to the tomb?"

relationship between Euripides and the 17th century. The other is the French dramatist Robert Garnier.

2.2.1: Dares, Dictys and the medieval romances of Troy

We can only give a cursory glance here to the medieval element. There are two main relevant points. Firstly, there is the fact that the medieval romances, Benoît's *Roman de Troie* and its successors, drew heavily on two sources quite independent, as far as we can tell, of the main stream of Greek literature: the ostensibly eye-witness accounts of the Trojan War by Dares Phrygius and Dictys Cretensis, claiming to have been participants on the Trojan and Greek sides respectively. These have come down to us in supposed Latin 'translations': of the fifth century A.D. in the case of 'Dares', of whose reputedly pre-Homeric account Aelian makes mention in the *Varia Historia* 11.2⁶⁶; of the fourth century A.D. in the case of 'Dictys', by one L. Septimus⁶⁷. Ever since the beginning of the 18th century (Knight 1951, p.113), scholars have agreed that the claims to authenticity of the two works are spurious: the Trojan War diary of 'Dictys', for instance, is now accepted as composed probably in the second or third century A.D. (*O.C.D.*). Before their authority was finally demolished, however, the two accounts had had the time to shape the French medieval tradition. Knight notes:

Tout le moyen âge européen avait cru à leur véracité,
(surtout parce qu'ils excluèrent de leur version des faits toute
intervention divine)

(Knight 1951, p.113).

Although cracks had begun to appear in their reputation before the 17th century - their authenticity first being challenged in 1532 (Knight 1951, p.113) - many writers still accepted them as a more 'historical' source than Homer, including two authors who wrote plays on Trojan subjects: Alexander Hardy (*La Mort d'Achille*, printed 1632) and Isaac Benserade (*Mort d'Achille*, produced 1637)⁶⁸.

⁶⁶ See *O.C.D.*, under 'Dares'.

⁶⁷ *O.C.D.*; both dates are provisional.

⁶⁸ Knight 1949, pp.112-3; he quotes from Benserade's preface: "quelques Auteurs, comme Dares Phrygiens et Dictys Cretensis, en parlent historiquement, et avec plus de vray-semblance".

The second point about the medieval tradition requiring notice concerns the romantic accretions to the basic legend. One important episode that 'Dares' and 'Dictys' introduce for the first time is the story of Achilles' love for Polyxena, daughter of Priam, which leads him to negotiate a private peace with the Trojans and then to his death, lured into an ambush by a tryst with Polyxena. There will be reason to return to this particular incident later; meantime we may note that such stories gave the French writers the opportunity for a profusion of *galanteries*. Writers such as Benoît de Saint-Maure in the *Roman de Troie* added many episodes of gallantry - 'love stories' unfamiliar from the sterner Greek tradition - even to their more florid Latin sources. This may often be what lies behind the sometimes rather unlikely outbursts of romantic feeling on the part of Greek heroes in 17th-century drama. The public taste expected a love interest, it seems; and the dramatists could find, in these medieval writers and the Latin sources behind them, the pretext for giving to their intractable legendary figures the courtly manners and attachments their century's predilections required.

2.2.2: Robert Garnier

Dares, Dictys and the medieval tradition exert an influence pulling somewhat away from the Greek sources. The influence of Robert Garnier, on the other hand, is very much more in line with the main Classical literary tradition. His plays on ancient legendary subjects are often fairly close translations - although with some expansion and adaptation - of Greek or Latin originals⁶⁹. His plays therefore have a special importance for the influence of Greek literature on 17th-century France. Firstly, this is because Garnier's 'adaptations' were one channel through which a greater number of people in the 17th century could derive a knowledge of Greek drama. His works remained very popular into the 17th century; no fewer than thirty editions of his complete theatrical works appeared between 1583 and 1620. His influence on 17th-century dramatists extends from Hardy⁷⁰, through Rotrou (particularly in the 1637 *Antigone*) and Sallebray, to Pradon (very noticeably in the 1679 *La Troade*). Secondly, the closeness of his 'translation' throughout much of the text makes it particularly easy to pinpoint occasions when a new interpretation, or use of a different source

⁶⁹ Acts IV and V of his *Antigone*, for instance, render quite faithfully in French a great deal of Sophocles' *Antigone*.

⁷⁰"Hardy recommande, pour la tragédie, 'le style du bon Sénèque suivi de Garnier'", Jacquot 1964, p.291.

or tradition, creeps in to divert the text from its principal source. This will often help us to understand why and how and where the 17th-century view of an ancient legendary character or plot is modified from what we understand of the original, and how the Latin and Greek ideas and images have become blended into the form they characteristically take in French drama. Finally, very often Garnier's translation of Greek or Latin phrases and passages, or his own formulation of ideas voiced differently or less explicitly in his models, became the definitive expression of that phrase, passage or idea in French, and served as the basis for later borrowings. Consequently Garnier often appears as the immediate or the closest verbal source for something which goes a long way further back.

2.2.2.1: La Troade: Garnier's Andromache and Euripides

Garnier's *La Troade* was published in 1579 and is Andromache's first appearance in modern French drama. Its action is closely based on Seneca's *Troades*, and on Euripides' *Hecuba* since Garnier attempts to pack the fates of *all* the surviving members of Priam's family into one play⁷¹. The play also, however, shows clear and direct contact with Euripides' *Troades*, since it includes the episode of the ecstatic Cassandra, not present in the Latin version. The variations from Seneca in the 'Andromache' part of the plot (Act II and the first half of Act IV) may therefore be instructive: particularly those which go back beyond Seneca to pick up ideas from Euripides or Homer that have lain dormant.

Starting with those elements colouring Garnier's portrayal of Andromache that come from Euripides, we may see that certain features in Garnier's presentation are absent from the parallel passages of Seneca but recall an idea from the Greek dramatist. Some of these elements occur only briefly: for instance, the expression by Andromache in her farewell to Astyanax of the feeling that Hector is waiting to receive him:

Or va, mon cher soleil, et porte ceste plainte
Aux saints Mânes d'Hector; jà la main il te tend
(1110-11).

⁷¹Raymond Lébègue's somewhat sweeping statement: "un Garnier n'utilisait Euripide ou Sophocle que comme un appoint...à Sénèque", even allowing for his caveat: "même quand Baif et lui imitent des scènes des dramaturges grecs, ils empruntent à Sénèque ds procédés stylistiques" (Lébègue 1964, p.87), seems to me an unjustifiable underestimation of the Greek contribution, particularly here in *La Troade* and in *Antigone*.

This contrasts with Seneca, where the idea is simply that Astyanax is going to join his father:

et plenus mei
occurre patri; pauca maternae tamen
perfer querelae verba...

(*Troades*, 800-802)⁷².

But in Euripides' *Troades* Hecuba also speaks of Hector's shade actively receiving his son: "τὰ δ' ἐν νεκροῖσι φροντιεῖ πατὴρ σέθεν" (1234)⁷³. This idea of the dead welcoming those who come to join them will develop in the French tradition into a much more positive idea of reunion in death than has hitherto been the case in Andromache's portrayals: cf. Sallebray:

Rens la mere à l'enfant, rens à l'époux sa femme,
Et rejoins nos trois corps [où] ne fût rien qu'une ame
(*La Troade*, IV sc.iii)

and Racine:

Mais enfin sur ses pas j'irai revoir son père.
Ainsi tous trois, Seigneur, par vos soins réunis...
(*Andromaque*, 378-9).

Other parallels with Euripides are more substantial: some are verbal recollections, others are on the level of ideas. An example of the first type comes in Andromache's opening lament for Hector (Act II). Garnier, expanding on the image in Virgil of Andromache forever in tears, presents his heroine as sighing and weeping and drawing out her life with regret: "Depuis, j'ay respandu des larmes continuës..." ff. (585ff.), in words which directly recall Andromache's elegiac lament in Euripides' *Andromache* 111-4: particularly in the idea of regretful continuance of life under the sun: "ὦ μοι ἐγὼ μελέα, τί μ' ἐχρῆν ἔτι φέγγος ὀρᾶσθαι;" (113)⁷⁴; cp. Garnier:

⁷² "go to your father full of me; but carry a few words of your mother's complaint..."

⁷³ "but as for the rest, your father amongst the dead will take thought [for you]."

⁷⁴ "Alas, unhappy one! why should I still look on the light?"

le soleil doré
 M'a depuis misérable, ennuyeux, éclairé [...]
 Séjournant à regret sous la grand' voûte bleue
 (587-90).

Echoes of this will recur in all three of the 17th-century plays (e.g. Racine 301-4). An example of the recollection of ideas can be found in Andromache's last speeches (1949-71, 1973-82): the concern for burial, answering to her detailed concern in Euripides' *Troades* 1133-46 (see 2.1.3.4), and in particular her final lament over Hector's shield, now serving as Astyanax's coffin. This last comes directly from Hecuba's lament in Euripides' *Troades* 1192-9, 1221-5. Garnier retains some verbal details from 1136-42, 1192-3 and 1221-3⁷⁵. Starting from the basic idea, however, he has created his own version of the lament, concentrating on the tragic contrast between the shield's former glorious career and the purpose it is now serving: instead of Astyanax inheriting it one day from his ageing father to carry on his renown, the child inherits it as his bier. Sallebray, half a century later, will pick up on this modified idea in his *La Troade* (p.84). Finally, in Andromache's penultimate lament Garnier again draws extensively on Euripides for both words and ideas, although here in a number of different passages. The most important in terms of later adaptations is her moving request to her dead son: "Enfant, où que tu sois souviens-toy de ta mère" (1961), echoing (although with the living/dead positions reversed) the desire of Euripides' Andromache to be remembered by Molossos (*Andromache* 414-5). Certain images, then, fixed in their French form for the coming generations by Garnier, can be traced back to Euripides.

2.2.2.2: Garnier's Andromache: original development of a traditional image

There remain some differences from Garnier's Senecan model for Andromache's scenes that appear to be his original contribution. Certain of these differences, whether differences of balance or new ideas, are particularly important for the overall image of Andromache that Garnier will leave to his successors. The most crucial concern the number of subtle alterations that Garnier has made tending towards 'idealisation' of

⁷⁵ For example, the shield as an object of renown and fear in itself: "φόβον τ' Ἀχαιῶν" (1136: "[this] terror of the Greeks"), "ὦ ποτ' οὔσα καλλιδικε, μυρίων μῆτερ τροπαίων" (1221-2: "once crowned with victory, the mother of a thousand trophies"), cp. "ô renommé boucler, /...redouté des Grecs" (Garnier, 1975-6).

Andromache. Seneca had swung the pendulum of Andromache's affections very definitely to Hector's side, sometimes to an almost obsessive level and often to the exclusion of affection for her son in his own right. Garnier to a large extent softens this peculiarity. There is, for instance, much more that is purely maternal in Andromache's last farewell to Astyanax - more spontaneous embraces and tenderness, more endearments: "O mon mignon" (1107), "pauvret" (1108), "mon cher soleil" (1110), "ma chère âme" (1115), "Mon enfant, mon amour" (1129). The incessant references to Hector in Seneca are thinned out, so that Astyanax is lamented much more for himself. Compare the two openings to her lament: Garnier: "O le seul réconfort de ta mère affligée!" (1082), Seneca: "O dulce pignus" (766: "O sweet token of our love"), and the two closing farewells: in Garnier, the tokens of grief are for Astyanax himself:

Hélas! et recevez, pour mes suprêmes voeux,
Ces larmes, ces baisers, ce toufeau de cheveux
(1131-2);

in Seneca, they are partly for Hector too:

sume nunc iterum comas
et sume lacrimas, quidquid e misero viri
funeri relictum est, sume quae reddas tuo
oscula parenti
(806-9)⁷⁶.

Garnier further balances conjugal and maternal affection by a greater stress on Andromache's wish to die for her son, balancing that to die for her husband's tomb (989-90, cf. Seneca 676-7); not just when it is a question of keeping Astyanax's whereabouts secret but also after his doom has been fixed:

⁷⁶ "Now take again my locks and take my tears, all that remains after my husband's unhappy burial, and take these kisses to deliver to your father". Holyoake (Holyoake 1987, pp.269-70) also makes this point, though he exaggerates the contrast in saying that "in Seneca her tears and kisses and her lock of hair are to be taken by Astyanax to his father Hector" - only the kisses are explicitly to be transmitted to Hector.

Ah! que j'ay de douleur! je veux m'esvertuer,
Je veux mourir pour luy...

(1120-21),

and before Ulysse's entrance: "Conservez cet enfant et meurtrissez la mère" (722)⁷⁷. The return to the love for Astyanax in himself is a step back towards Euripides' portrayal of Andromache, in *Troades* especially.

2.2.2.3: Garnier's Andromache and Pyrrhus: a tradition suspended

Finally, one important omission in Garnier's treatment of Andromache's story, as considered against that story's overall history, should be mentioned. The Pyrrhus-Andromache relationship has never been entirely absent from works portraying Andromache's post-war history. In Seneca, however, although the division of lots that gave Andromache to Achilles' son did get a mention, this came much later in the day than in Euripides and had much less of a spotlight turned on it. Andromache's revulsion at hearing the news was briefly indicated, as she exclaimed on Cassandra's happy fortune in being excluded from such a fate: "Cassandra felix..." (977: "Lucky Cassandra..."), but clearly receives nothing like the attention accorded it in Euripides' *Troades*. Garnier goes even further: although the longer discussion of the division of lots with Talthybios, transcribed from Euripides' *Troades* 235-91, is restored to an early position in Act I, it is cut short after the exchange over Cassandre's fate and nowhere is Andromache's assignation to Pyrrhus mentioned at all. It is perhaps not incidental that the waning of interest in the Pyrrhus-Andromache relationship began, with the Latin writers, in a period where a highly negative image of Achilles' son was in the ascendancy. In any case, Garnier's indifference to the matter is clear: his interests obviously lie elsewhere. We shall have to wait until Racine's *Andromaque* for this other element to Andromache's story to steal back some of the limelight.

⁷⁷ The desire to die *in her son's place* may recall Andromache in Euripides' *Andromache* or Hecuba in *Hecuba* 383-8.

CHAPTER THREE: SALLEBRAY'S *LA TROADE*

As explored in the introduction (II.i), the seventeenth century in France was not one in which conditions were ideal for the fostering of direct influence by Greek literature. The evidence suggests that the level of knowledge and education in Greek was low. On the whole, the century's taste preferred Seneca and Virgil to the Greeks, and a sizeable proportion preferred the creations of their own time and country to either:

the public for whom seventeenth century literature was composed..... had no real knowledge of any society except the one it lived in, never reflected that there had been others, and in general condemned everything in antiquity which it considered incompatible with its own patterns of behaviour

(Knight 1969(a), p. 162).

Such is the background against which Sallebray, Racine and Pradon wrote their plays continuing the 'Andromache' tradition.

Yet behind them there was the chain of inter-related works we have been uncovering, going back from Garnier through Seneca and Virgil to Euripides and, beyond him, Homer. Despite the complex network of other competing sources continually becoming enmeshed around this central chain, the Greek influence survived in this indirect form. When Sallebray bases a new *La Troade* on Garnier's plot, his work comprises the next stage of the tradition whose pedigree stretches back to ancient Greece. How Sallebray's, Racine's and Pradon's works fit into that tradition, what is the extent of their contact, direct and indirect, with ancient Greek literature, to what effect that contact is turned: these are the main concerns of the following chapters.

3.1. Sallebray's *La Troade*: Introduction

Since both our 'chain of inspiration' and the Andromache tradition are linear developments we shall study the three French works in chronological order. We begin with Sallebray, whose *La Troade* was published in 1639-40. Sallebray is an obscure dramatist, roughly contemporary with Corneille, about whom very little appears to be known - not even his first name. There is therefore no way of telling what his competence in or experience of Greek and Latin may have been. He chose

to treat stories from the Trojan legend more than once: his *Jugement de Paris et Enlèvement d'Hélène*, more comedy than tragedy, also survives. The plot of his *La Troade* is based on Garnier's play of the same name. Like Garnier, he crams into one play the events of both Seneca's *Troades* and Euripides' *Hecuba*, along with a Cassandra plot element deriving through Garnier from an episode in Euripides' *Troades*. The interest as far as Andromache is concerned centres once again around the tomb incident invented by Seneca: the hiding of her son Astyanax in Hector's sepulchre, the contest of wits and nerve with Ulysse as she tries to keep her son and her husband's remains safe out of enemy hands, the final seizure and death of Astyanax. While, of the three 'classical' plays, Sallebray's shows the least evidence of direct inspiration from the Greek, the indirect 'chain-reaction' inspiration from the Greek to the 17th-century writers that has been posited is no less valid or interesting a connection between the two. Since it is possible that Seneca's innovative plot did in fact have a number of Greek ideas and suggestions behind it, it could be said that, in this respect, Sallebray himself owes an indirect debt to Euripides, among others, for his plot.

3.1.1.Evidence for the sources.

The first task is to assess the evidence for Sallebray's direct acquaintance with the various works of the preceding 'chain'. Sallebray evidently based his plot in the first instance on Garnier's *La Troade* rather than on Seneca's *Troades*: the inclusion of the Polydorus episode, the prominence given to Cassandre and the scene involving Hécube and a speaking Polyxène all point to the French work as source. Moreover Sallebray draws fairly extensively on Garnier in verbal terms. Frequently it is Garnier's version of an idea from classical antiquity that Sallebray echoes at the appropriate moment (see [2.2.2](#)). To take two examples: the reflections of Garnier's Andromache on the spirit shown by Astyanax in recoiling from the tomb:

Pourquoi refuyez-vous? *vostre ame genereuse*
Dedaigne volontiers *ceste cache honteuse*

(p.32),

based on Seneca's *Troades* 503-6, are picked up by Sallebray in corresponding terms:

C'est ainsi que jamais *une honteuse peur*
 Ne put meme à sa mort s'emparer de son coeur,
 Tu marche sur ses pas, *ton ame est genereuse*
 (p.34).

Equally a sentiment original (in this particular form) to Garnier, Andromache's prayer as she hides her son: "Dieux,.../ Conservez cet enfant et meurtrissez la mere" (p.32) is echoed almost exactly by Sallebray's figure: "Juste Ciel pers la mere et conserve l'enfant" (p.34). Sallebray's variations or additions, in passages otherwise closely modelled on Garnier, are, however, worth noting: sometimes for a new thrust or idea, as we shall see in detailed discussion later, sometimes because in differing from Garnier they actually return to ideas or phrases from the older works. This brings us onto the question of how far Sallebray knew and used Seneca and Euripides directly. With Seneca, it is at times hard to tell when Sallebray has used him at first hand, Garnier's play being often a very close adaptation of *Troades*. There are, nonetheless, occasional indications that let us see where the French 17th-century playwright has referred back to the Latin. For example, Hecuba's exclamation in IV sc.ii about the cruel fate that gives Hector's mother as captive to Ulysse, the man who possesses the arms of Hector's killer (p. 77), takes an idea from *Troades* 984-7 not represented in Garnier. On the whole, however, it may be true that Sallebray rarely owes anything *particularly* significant to Seneca that he hasn't got through Garnier.

One difference, however, may have important implications for the investigation into Sallebray's sources. When Sallebray's Andromaque breaks into invective against Ulysse in a moment of frantic defiance, she taxes him with cowardice:

Avance le premier lache coeur, feble corps,
 Vaillant contre un enfant, hardi contre une femme
 (p.49).

The characteristic charges loaded on Odysseus/Ulysses, of cowardice and of duplicity, occur in different combinations in different works. Garnier's Andromache concentrates *solely* on his deceit; Seneca's, on the other hand, rails at his treachery and implies cowardice: "fortis in pueri necem" (755:

"brave in devising a child's murder"). Seneca's phrase, then, clearly gives the basis for "Vaillant contre un enfant"; the complementary insult "hardi contre une femme" may simply be a natural development on this. It is, however, possible that "hardi contre une femme" - an idea not expressed in the Latin - is a direct reminiscence of Euripides, from Andromache's cutting remark to Menelaos in the *Andromache*: "νῦν δ' εἰς γυναῖκα γοργὸς ὀπλίτης" (458: "but now.... a fearsome warrior against a woman")¹. This introduces the question of Sallebray's acquaintance with Euripides. There is a stumbling block in the low likelihood of Sallebray's having had sufficient education to read Euripides' difficult Greek in the original. Knight's argument that such learning was rare in the 17th century is convincing; and generally Sallebray does not give the impression of having any great pretensions to scholarship. It is, however, not impossible that he had read Euripides in Latin translation. At least one of the main editions of Euripides' complete works available was published with a parallel translation, that of P.Estienne (1602), a copy of which was in Racine's library². The translator, Wilhelm Canter of Utrecht, was a scholar of some distinction who had himself edited the works of Euripides in 1571³. Assuming Sallebray could read Latin, this roundabout route to an acquaintance with Euripides was, then, open.

There are occasional slight indications which, taken cumulatively, may point to a familiarity with Euripides' work. One instance is the counterpoint lament of Hécube and Andromaque in IV sc.ii, reminiscent in structure - the prolonged to-ing and fro-ing of individual sorrows answering each other- of the passage following Andromache's entrance in *Troades* (577-602) and not really matched by the brief exchange in Garnier Act IV, 1817-8 (itself drawing on Eur. *Troades* 578-9). While conceding that Sallebray's passage could have evolved independently, and only incidentally along the same track as Euripides', it does contain a line with a more particular claim to derive from the Greek. Andromaque exclaims:

Quel barbare Demon pour m'affliger encor
Mele le fils d'Achille a la veufue d'Hector?
(p.77).

¹ Seneca's invective in any case probably drew on the *Andromache* passage in which this occurs (2.1.2.2).

² EURIPIDES *tragoediae quae extant, cum latina versione Gulielmi Canteri; accedunt scholia graeca...et...annotationes*. Ed. Estienne, Genève 1602. See Knight 1951, pp.416, 433.

³ Sandys 1967, p.216.

This is not only the first explicit reference to Andromache's repugnance for the son of her husband's slayer since Euripides, but also reflects a juxtaposition of titles that occurred in the Greek *Troades*, uniquely among Sallebray's possible sources:

ΕΚΑΒΗ: τί δ' ἄ τοῦ [...] Ἔκτορος δάμαρ [...];
 ΤΑΛΘΥΒΙΟΣ: καὶ τήνδ' Ἀχιλλέως ἔλαβε παῖς ἐξαίρετον
 (271-3)⁴,

and may also more loosely recall a phrase from *Andromache*: "πλαθεῖσ' Ἀχιλλέως παιδί" (25: "drawing nigh [in union] to the son of Achilles"). It is certainly striking that an idea so long dormant in the tradition makes such an abrupt and fleeting an appearance (this is the only reference to it in the whole play). The lack of development is more suggestive of a momentary recollection of a specific verbal source than of Sallebray's formulating an idea of his own based perhaps on passing allusions in Seneca (976-8) or Virgil (*Aeneid* 3.325-7).

3.1.2: The sources: plot construction.

Lancaster (Lancaster 1929-42, Vol.II p.160) supplies us with a rare critical assessment of Sallebray's play:

The chief merit of the tragedy lies in the dramatic suspense of the scene in which Astyanax is captured and in the skill with which Hecuba's vengeance is portrayed, but in both cases the credit lies with Euripides rather than with either Garnier or Sallebray.⁵

While there is more to the play's merits, and to Sallebray's credit for them, than Lancaster allows, it is true that the scene of Astyanax's concealment and capture are among the most developed and dramatic of the play. It is on these, certainly that Andromache's rôle centres. But the other plot elements - the stories of Cassandre and Polyxene - are not irrelevant in studying the presentation of Andromache. Considerations of juxtaposition,

⁴ "HECUBA: What of Hector's wedded wife?.....TALTHYBIOS: "The son of Achilles has chosen and taken her."

⁵ Lancaster has made an uncharacteristic slip in giving Euripides the credit for the former of these elements: the Astyanax scene in its definitive form is, of course, Seneca's creation.

contrast and the relative prominence of her character and story in relation to those others all affect the way the audience views her.

The Polyxena and Polydorus episodes come, via Garnier, from Euripides. Sallebray makes only a handful of alterations. The most important are: the omission of Hecuba's attempted persuasion of Odysseus (or Pyrrhus in Garnier's version), replaced by a much shorter scene with Pyrrhe; the removal of Polymestor's children from the vengeance Hecuba exacts for her son Polydore's murder by the former; and the fact that Andromache is (apparently) among the Trojan women who, with Hecuba, set about blinding the murderer - a problem we shall discuss later. The story of the sacrifice of Polyxena is interwoven with that of Astyanax to some extent; but the true plot-binding element is the innovative presentation of the Agamemnon-Cassandra relationship. Agamemnon's passion for his captive, his attempts to win her over and hers to exploit his sympathy in her family's cause, run throughout and in between the various other episodes of the play, and in the last analysis give the play its sole claim to unity. Clearly the extent to which Sallebray develops this particular relationship as a plot element is his own handiwork. He starts with the episode of Cassandra being sent for by the Greek commander as his chosen prize, given by Euripides and 'transcribed' by Garnier: this gives him the general outline and plot of Act I, and the specific outline of scene vi in which Talthybios comes to take Cassandra away, while she prophesies the disasters that will fall on Agamemnon and his house as a result. He takes the idea of Agamemnon's passion for his captive, a well-attested fact of Greek legend and literature: clearly stated in Euripides' *Troades* 255: "ἔρωσ ἐτόξευσ' αὐτὸν ἐνθέου κόρης"⁶, and faithfully transmitted by Garnier: "Elle a gagné le coeur d'Agamemnon le roy" (296). Garnier's more prosaic adaptation is perhaps more likely to have been Sallebray's source for the idea. Transposing this passion into sufficiently courtly and polite terms, heavily seasoned with 17th-century *galanterie* of language and expression, Sallebray elaborates on it at length. Agamemnon is portrayed as torn between his desire, the shame-faced powerlessness it induces, his pride and wish to cut the figure of the all-conquering leader of men, and the demands of kingship and his countrymen. Cassandra, meanwhile, retains the defiance and hostility that she showed in Euripides and Garnier; Sallebray adds to this by giving her a new role of playing shamelessly on Agamemnon's desires, to try to help her family. This is, of course, only

⁶ "Eros/love shot him with an arrow of desire for the prophetic maiden."

possible in a French 17th-century conception of the situation; in a Greek portrayal of concubinage, 'bargaining' would be impossible, since it would never be a case of Agamemnon merely asking for Cassandra's favours. There may be some similarity between this active role for Cassandre in her compatriot's cause, with Agamemnon as the focus of her assault and herself as the 'bait', and Cassandra's peculiar conception in Euripides and Garnier that in going with Agamemnon she will serve her country's cause by avenging Troy on Agamemnon - his union with her being another sort of 'bait' luring him to his ruin, for which she takes the credit⁷. Sallebray may have had such attitudes of Cassandra in mind when he created his own version of her role in the story.

3.2: Sallebray's Andromaque.

These are the similarities and variations of plot between Sallebray's play and the line of works behind him. We may now consider how his *Andromaque* is portrayed within the terms of this modified plot and new era, and what her relationship is to previous portrayals. Once again, at the centre of *Andromaque*'s portrayal are her relationships with Hector and Astyanax, and the balance between the two. The procedure with all aspects of Sallebray's presentation will be to consider in order: first, those aspects which Sallebray takes over directly from previous writers, noting at the same time any slight variations adding new touches to the portrait; second, those aspects which show a larger-scale originality on Sallebray's part, investigating whether and where he was using previous ideas as a starting point; third, what Sallebray achieves in the overall presentation of *Andromaque* in each area.

3.2.1: Andromaque and Hector

3.2.1.1: Sallebray's Andromaque and Hector: imitation and variation.

The basic dramatic elements through which this relationship is expressed are the same as in Garnier and Seneca: lament, apparition, appeal to Hector's shade for help, devotion to his tomb. Sometimes these are kept

⁷ See Garnier 329-33: "*Egorger je feray (j'en saute d'allegresse)/ Le grand Agamemnon, monarque de la Grece,/ Par sa femme impudique...Je seray vengeresse et du sang de mes freres...*"; coming from Euripides: "κτενῶ γὰρ αὐτόν, κάντιπορθήσω δόμους/ποινας ἀδελφῶν καὶ πατρός λαβοῦσ' ἔμοῦ" (*Troades* 359-60: "*I shall kill him, and shall lay waste his house in return, taking revenge for my brothers and my father....*").

virtually untouched from one play to another: so, for example, Andromaque's call to her husband's shade to defend his tomb:

Ha revien des enfers mon genereux epoux,
 Quand ces fiers ennemis seraient en plus grand nombre
 Pour deffendre ton corps il ne faut que ton ombre
 (p.50).

expresses exactly the same pride in her husband and slighting regard for his enemies as in Garnier and Seneca⁸. On other occasions, there are differences which, however small, add an original flavour. The account of Hector's apparition to his wife (pp.31-2) is a close transcription of Garnier (645-62) and Seneca (443-60); but two touches are new. The description of Hector's tears:

Pour la premier fois j'ay veu ce grand courage,
 Repandre quelques pleurs sur son triste visage
 (p.31),

although based on the fact of the spectre weeping in Seneca 449-50 and Garnier 651-2⁹, brings out a fresh idea of Hector's heroic temper and Andromaque's tender and proud regard for it. Similarly, Andromaque's feelings faced with the disfigured apparition:

Tout hideux et sanglant il m'a plu toutefois
 Ce noble et cher epoux...
 (p.32),

is at once a development on and a more 'tender', almost romantic, rendering of Seneca's "iuvat tamen vidisse" (451: "yet I rejoiced to see him"). There is 'romantic' elaboration on pre-existing ideas also in Andromaque's account of her awakening:

⁸ Garnier: "Sors, Hector; leve toy du plutonique gouffre;/ Vien defendre ton corps de ce laertien:/ Ton ombre suffira" (994-6), Seneca: "rumpe factorum moras,/ ...Hector: ut Ulixem domes, vel umbra satis es...": "Break down the barriers of the fates,...Hector: to defeat Ulysses a shade is enough" (681-3).

⁹ Seneca: "sed fessus ac deictus et fletu gravis"; Garnier: "Mais lasse, miserable...et en pleurs consommé".

[la peur] me fait ouvrir les yeux,
 Moins pour me reveiller qu'a fin de le voir mieux
 (p.32),

replacing the simpler "chill fear awoke me" in Garnier (658-9) and Seneca (457). Taken together, these variations suggest an interest on Sallebray's part in dwelling explicitly on the more 'emotional' (as opposed to 'devotional') side to Andromaque's motivation of "amour".

More extensive variation appears in Andromaque's opening lament for Hector:

De moy tant de sujets de douleurs domestiques
 M'empechent bien icy de songer aux publiques
 Je pleure seulement Hector assassiné.....ff.
 (pp.14-15).

This is based on the opposition opening her first lament in Garnier:

Qu'est-ce qui nous survient digne de pleurs nouvelles?
 Troye depuis n'aguere est destruite pour vous,
 Mais pour moy des le temps que mourut mon espoux....
 (562-4ff.)

and Seneca:

Ilium vobis modo,
 mihi cecidit olim, cum ferus curru incito
 mea membra raperet...
 (*Troades* 412-4ff.)¹⁰.

Sallebray's Andromaque goes on to equate Hector's downfall with that of his city, e.g. "Nous penchames des lors n'ayant plus son appuy" (p.15), as does Garnier's ("le cercueil d'Hector de Troye le cercueil", 584), and as did Hecuba and the Trojan women in Seneca (117-29)¹¹ But her opening assertion that she is weeping, not for the public disaster, but exclusively for

¹⁰ "Ilium fell only now for you; for me it fell long since, when the brutal wheels dragged those dear limbs...". See also [2.1.3.3](#).

¹¹ The idea itself goes back to Homer in the *Iliad*, e.g. 22.506-7

her own loss, differs from the idea in Seneca and directly contrasts with Garnier's development of it:

Alors donc je ploray, non d'Hector l'infortune,
 Mais au trespas d'Hector la ruine commune
 (581-2).

Again, then, Sallebray's presentation shows a tendency to concentrate Andromaque's attention even more closely on Hector; although admittedly the second half of her lament does rather contradict her opening statement, since she does talk there of "douleurs....publiques" at some length. Sallebray adds some other new touches, also tending to intensify the expression of Andromaque's attachment to Hector:

A ce ressouvenir, Dieux, faites que j'expire,
 Je seray trop ingrate a son ombre, a son rang,
 Si je n'écris mon deuil avec des pleurs de sang
 (p.15).

These rather impressive lines have no equivalent in either Garnier or Seneca. In spirit - the feeling of *owing* an extremity of loyalty and grief - they are closest to Andromache's feelings for her dead husband, as expressed in Euripides' *Troades* 661-3ff. and as revealed in Hecuba's response to that: "Leave your husband's misfortunes be; your tears will not save him" (697-8). But the resemblance is not so clear as to justify insistence on a link.

Finally, Sallebray also adapts from Garnier Andromache's continuing trust in Hector as a protector. The decision to confine her son to his tomb is rendered in lines closely modelled on the older play:

CASSANDRE: Je ne scay point de lieu qui soit plus salulaire,
 Doutes vous de fier un enfant à son pere?
 ANDROMACHE: Non pas ma chere soeur....
 (Sallebray, p.34).

Compare Garnier 697-8:

Et quel lieu luy sçauroit estre plus salulaire?
 Qui pourra mieux garder un enfant que le pere?¹²

Sallebray, though, develops Andromaque's expression of this trust beyond his immediate source:

Non pas ma chere soeur, meme puis que c'est luy
 Dont l'ombre charitable en prend soin aujourd'huy
 (p.34),

echoing a response to Hector's apparition she had voiced earlier: "Par des soins paternels son ombre le deffend" (p.29). This grateful recognition of Hector's part in warning her is not expressed in Garnier, and contrasts with Andromache's reproach to her husband at a later stage in Seneca for his failure to intervene (802-6). On the other hand, the view of Hector, even dead, as present protector that underlies her remarks does go back to Seneca (500-02; see [2.1.3.3](#), for Euripidean antecedents).

3.2.1.2: Sallebray's Andromaque and Hector: tradition and originality.

Sallebray's modifications of these equivalent passages in Garnier and Seneca involve only variations of intensity and emphasis, or new details of expression. The closeness of the Hector-Andromache relationship, and its outworking in the action of Seneca's play - inconsolable grief in the lament, love and a bond beyond death in the apparition, unwavering esteem in the calls for help, devoted loyalty in the over-riding concern to protect the tomb - remain constant. Thus far it is not a case of creating new characteristics for Andromache within the relationship, or of finding new ways of expressing the given characteristics in the plot, as Seneca had done with what he received from Virgil, Euripides and Homer (see [2.1.3.1](#)). Actually, the characteristics of Hector and Andromache within their relationship have long since been fixed. Hector's were once tampered with by Euripides, who revises the Homeric impression of his marital fidelity in *Andromache* 222-5, although probably his purpose was simply to emphasise Andromache's devotion; Andromache's, however, have never been altered and only very

¹² Garnier's lines in turn seem to be based on Seneca 486: "optime credam patri" ("I had best trust him to his father").

rarely added to. The only significant example is her identification of her dead husband with Astyanax, initiated by Seneca. What can be changed, though, are the situations, actions or attitudes imagined to express those characteristics. To discover whether Sallebray attempts any such innovation, it seems reasonable to look at passages concerning Andromache's relationship to Hector that are not so firmly anchored to the sources.

3.2.1.3(a): Mortal grief.

The first example relates to the proposal to hide Astyanax in his father's tomb. In Seneca's and Garnier's versions, Andromache hesitated at the idea out of superstitious dread. Sallebray has her hesitate for an entirely different reason, which he has her explain to Cassandre:

Mais j'ay peur d'y laisser une vie ennuyeuse,
Et par la decouvrir notre fraude pieuse
(p.34).

Andromache's shrinking from the proposal is motivated by her fear that her grief on entering Hector's tomb will be so great that it will kill her (not that she fears death, but her corpse would give away Astyanax's hiding place). This effect of the intensity of her grief for Hector on Andromache's reasoning and behaviour comes close to being the sort of plot element we are looking for, evolved as a new way of expressing this traditional characteristic of the Andromache-Hector relationship. It is, however, really a new motive applied by Sallebray to an existing turn of the action, rather than a new plot element in itself; and is passed over so briefly here that it might not attract much attention from an audience. Nonetheless, it is a start; and Sallebray does return to the idea in IV sc.iii, as Andromache contemplates laying her son's body to rest in Hector's tomb ("C'est la que je perdray la force qui me reste", p.83).

3.2.1.2(b): Lyrical lament

The other two passages we have to look at are more substantial. At the beginning of Act IV, Andromache is discovered alone on stage, delivering a lyrical monologue in the *stances* form common in plays of this period. While this is clearly 'outside' of the action, and cannot therefore be regarded as a new expression of the plot, it is a lament for the loss of Hector

expressing a theme not found in any of Andromache's laments elsewhere in extant drama: the theme of the mutability of fortune, the reversals of fate:

Hector n'est plus qu'un peu de poudre,
Et celuy qui lançoit la foudre
En a receu le coup d'un bras pareil au sien...
(p.74).

Elsewhere, Andromache has been heard to lament her own change of state - from a high reputation as virtuous wife to the dishonoured state of concubine, in Euripides' *Troades* 643ff., from a royal and happy marriage to bereavement and slavery, in the prologue to *Andromache*; or the fall in Astyanax's fortune (in Seneca especially), but never quite in these terms of high estate brought low by a higher power of fate, and never as applied to Hector himself. In theme, the lament is closest to that with which Hecuba opens Seneca's *Troades*:

Quicumque regna fidit [...]
[...] nec leves metuit deos
animumque rebus credulum laetis dedit,
me videat et te, Troia....
(1-4,ff.)¹³,

expanded on by Garnier (1-7ff.). Seneca himself perhaps drew on the similarly-phrased bitter reflection of Hecuba in Euripides' *Troades* 1203-6 (though the idea was a stock feature of both Roman and Greek morality). Sallebray may owe a direct verbal debt to the Roman *Troades* passage (or to its translation in Garnier's *La Troade*): compare his stanzas 1 and 3 with Seneca's opening as quoted above:

Superbes Rois, puissans monarques
Qui braves les Dieux et les Parques [...]
Venes voir l'etat ou nous sommes....
(p.74)

¹³ "If any man puts his confidence in royal power...if he does not fear the fickle gods but surrenders his trusting heart to times of prosperity, then let him look on me, and on you, Troy..."

Grandes Reines, vaines Princesses,
 Qui vous fies en vos richesses,
 Venes voir l'etat ou nous sommes...
 (p.75).

However, although the moralising theme of the lament may simply reflect a thought transferred from one character to another, Sallebray has personalised the lament to Andromaque as a new expression of her emotions concerning Hector. For instance, the line "celuy qui lançoit la foudre", referring to Hector in the second stanza, uses an epithet traditionally (and Homericly) applied to Zeus¹⁴. Of course this helps to supply the neat rhetorical reversal with the following line ("Et celui qui lançoit la foudre/ En a receu le coup d'un bras pareil au sien"); but it may also be intended to suggest the height of the pedestal to which Andromaque had raised her husband. This idea is supported by the third line of the following stanza: "Et tenés pour vos Dieux vos enfans, vos epoux". There, the depth of Andromaque's attachment to and pride in her family is perhaps more clearly evoked: wistfully, chastenedly:

Grandes Reines, vaines Princesses
 Qui [...] tenes pour vos Dieux vos enfans, vos epoux,
 Venes voir [...]
 Et reconnesses avec nous
 Qu'un plus grand Dieu dispose des biens et des hommes
 (p.75).

Sallebray's phrasing here is not totally original. "Et tenés pour vos Dieux [...] vos époux", implying Andromaque's own attitude to Hector, seems remarkably close to Hecuba's characterisation of the Trojan view of Hector in *Iliad* 22.434-5:

Τρωσί τε καὶ Τρωῆσι κατὰ πτόλιν, οἳ σε θεὸν ὡς
 δειδέχατ'·¹⁵

Garnier, too, had already associated the image of thunder with Hector: "Non comme *foudroyant* les argives armee/ Lors qu'il lançoit ses feux..." (649-50),

¹⁴ As in Racine's *Iphigenie*, later: "du Dieu qui lance le tonnerre", 1703.

¹⁵ "to Trojan men and women throughout the city; who greeted you as [they would] a god."

and with Hector's shield: "Plus redouté des Grecs que d'un foudre l'esclair" (1976). But the particular and personal effect to which Sallebray turns these echoes, and the moral idea, in these lines, *are* his own, and may stand as an original touch to his portrait of Andromache. The sense of a private universe reduced to ashes, one of the most haunting themes that runs throughout Andromache's literary history, receives a new, and in my view sometimes rather fine, expression here:

Hector n'est plus qu'un peu de poudre,....
Tous les jours ce peu diminuë,
Il pouvoit tout, il n'est plus rien....

(p.74).

The first line is reminiscent, in mood and feeling, of *Andromache* 111-2: "ἀνίκ' ἔλειπον [...] πόσιν ἐν κοίαις" ("when I left behind....my husband in the dust"), also from a lament metrically distinct from the rest of the play. Although κοίαι there is a different sort of dust, the word and the phrase conjure parallel associations to Sallebray's "plus qu'un peu de poudre" (see 1.3.1.2). Other Euripidean lines, Andromache's words of hopelessness from *Troades*:

ἐμοὶ γὰρ οὐδ' ὃ πᾶσι λείπεται βροτοῖς
ξύνεστιν ἐλπίς

(681-2)¹⁶

may contribute to the closing sentiments of Sallebray's lament:

Tout meurt, jusques a mon espoir,
Et ce dernier-mourant me laisse encor la vie
(p.75).

Whatever his use of specific sources, these traditional feelings of Andromache seem to have inspired Sallebray to some of his best poetry.

¹⁶ "For with me lives not even hope, which remains to all [other] mortals."

3.2.1.2(c): Rebuilding the tomb.

Sallebray's remaining major innovation does introduce a new twist to the action. At the end of Act II, he alters the conclusion to the tomb scene, cutting out Andromaque's supplication of Ulysses by having her faint on the realisation that the collapsing tomb will crush Astyanax, thus leaving the field clear for the Greek soldiers to break down the tomb and extract Astyanax (still living; the inconsistency does not appear to trouble Sallebray). His reasons for this plot change will be discussed later on. But one consequence is that it makes possible a new formulation of Andromaque's devotion to Hector and his tomb, in her intention, after Astyanax has been carried off, to attempt to rebuild the sepulchre with her own hands.

Laisse moy seulle icy, j'y seray plus contente,...
 L'amour m'apprendra l'art de batir aujourd'huy,
 A cause du sujet j'aymeray l'exercice,
 Et je commenceray par ce saint edifice,
 Mes bras sont assez forts pour cet employ pieux,
 Et je veux relever ces debris precieux

(p.52).

The particular idea is entirely original; in any case it would have been impossible within the plot structure of Garnier and Seneca, where Andromache's intervention and 'capitulation' leaves the tomb intact. It is of course *related* to the central idea of her attachment to remains and memorial, put by Seneca at the heart of his plot, drawing on prior suggestions in the Virgilian and Greek portrayals as already discussed. In some ways it is a natural extension of that idea: the desire to protect the structure becoming the desire to restore it. There are shades, too, of the picture of Andromache "building for Hector" in *Aeneid* 3, where she had built a cenotaph and two pillars for him in Epirus. And just possibly, a parallel might be drawn between this desire to express her love in practical, concrete terms, and the similar concern with tangible expressions which often characterise Andromache in the *Iliad*: feeding her husband's horses (Bk.8), preparing a bath for his homecoming (22), thinking of the now useless funeral robes left at home (22). What Sallebray has forged, possibly out of others' ideas and images, is, however, on this occasion his own. Similarly, Andromaque's final words in the scene, when Cassandra has

persuaded her to abandon her first intention and withdraw, express a feeling that the 'best part' of herself, her love, her life was bound up with Hector and went into the tomb with him, that has been implied in all her literary portrayals, starting with Homer:

ἔμοι δέ κε κέρδιον εἶη
σεῦ ἀφάμαρτούση χθόνα δύμεναι· οὐ γὰρ ἔτ' ἄλλη
ἔσται θαλπωρή

(6.410-12)¹⁷.

But relating the feeling specifically to the tomb and to the desire we have just heard over-ruled by Cassandra, Sallebray has found an original and rather attractive expression of the thought:

Je fay ce que tu veux, mais malgre ma sortie,
Je laisse icy de moy la meilleure partie

(p.53).

3.2.1.3: Conclusions.

What conclusions can we come to about Sallebray's overall presentation of Andromaque in her relationship to Hector? Generally, nothing has changed from her portrayal as passed down through generations of writers: her fidelity in love and grief, her regard for Hector's qualities, her devotion to his interests, her inconsolable regret for what she has lost - all are present as they have been through over two millennia. What may be said, however, is that Sallebray on many occasions heightens and intensifies the expression of Andromaque's feelings. The references to love, of a more overtly romantic sort, are made both more numerous and more explicit: "La voix de mon amour" (p.47) is what Andromaque calls the impulse to save Hector's tomb in her dilemma speech. Ulysse himself for the first time openly plays on Andromaque's love: are you resolved to let us demolish, he demands, "Ce tombeau *qui sur tout vous devoit etre cher...*?" Equally, Andromaque's pride in Hector, certainly stated or implied but more subtly so in Sallebray's predecessors, is announced here with fanfares. We have considered her regarding him in life as, almost, her deity. Even when

¹⁷ "If I am deprived of you it would be better for me to sink below the earth; for there will be no more warmth/comfort..." Cf. also Euripides *Troades* 673-83, *Andromache* 453-6; the image behind Virgil, *Aeneid* 3.300-5; Seneca *Troades* 412-7, and in a different expression - finding her sole comfort in traces of Hector's ashes - 809-12; Garnier 571ff..

encountering her son Astyanax's heroic spirit, Sallebray's Andromaque finds a resemblance to Hector that leads her into four lines of panegyric reminiscence of her husband's proud fearlessness:

C'est ainsi chere soeur que ce grand Capitaine
 Conservoit la grandeur de son ame hautaine,
 C'est ainsi que jamais une honteuse peur
 Ne put meme a sa mort s'emparer de son coeur.
 (p.35)¹⁸.

As for inconsolable grief, Andromaque here caps all other previous statements of it with her impressive: "Si je n'écris mon deuil avec des pleurs de sang" (p.15). It should be noted, by way of caution, that Sallebray has a general habit of intensifying the expression of emotion: all his female characters, for example, (except the more robust Cassandra) tend to experience an intensity of grief declared to be mortal. But if Andromaque is not alone or exceptional in that, the focus on her relationship with Hector remains individual to her - and in Sallebray it is probably fair to say that the focus is more concentrated than in any portrayal yet encountered

3.2.2: Sallebray's Andromaque and Astyanax

Andromaque's relationship with Astyanax in Sallebray also follows the general outline inherited from Garnier and Seneca. As in Garnier and Seneca - though with sharper focus in the latter - the ambivalence of her feelings between concern for her son in himself and concern for what (and whom) he represents remains: this is becoming a central characteristic in the 17th-century tradition. As we shall see, Sallebray renders the tension in a form even more heightened than in Seneca, adding a few developments of his own.

Sallebray has kept the main elements of word and action expressing the Andromaque - Astyanax relationship more-or-less as they they were from Garnier's play: anxiety and hope as she reacts to Hector's warning, the hiding of her son, the braving of Ulysse's early attempts to force her to hand him over, the dilemma of choosing between him and her husband's remains, the final lament on hearing of his death. We will look at each of these in turn, comparing them with the sources, studying the effect and

¹⁸ This contradicts the familiar Homeric account of Hector's death, where to begin with, the hero does flee from Achilles.

impact of Sallebray's variations and innovations. First, however, we need to consider some wider questions concerning Sallebray's structural rearrangement of certain components.

3.2.2.1: Imitation and redeployment.

There are certain significant redeployments in Sallebray's arrangement of the inherited components of *Andromache's* part. Let us take the opening stage of the 'Astyanax action', in II sc.iii, where *Andromaque* expresses her anxiety for her son and recounts the dream that aroused it. In Seneca and Garnier, *Andromache* opened with a speech lamenting Hector and ending with the "my child is all that keeps me from death" motif. After a few lines of questioning by a token interlocutor, (Seneca 426-37, Garnier 637-44), *Andromache* embarked on a second long speech describing the apparition of Hector, commenting on Astyanax's resemblance to his father, indulging in future hopes and ambitions from which she hastily recalls herself, and wondering where she can hide her son. Sallebray rearranges quite a lot of this. To begin with, the lament for Hector is separated from the Astyanax episode and comes a whole act earlier (I sc.i). As a result, the first time we see *Andromaque*, her words are concerned with Hector alone - Astyanax gets no mention at all from her until Act II. I would hesitate to suggest, however, that conclusions should be drawn from this as regards *Andromaque's* regard for Astyanax. The rearrangement probably has to do rather with reasons of theatrical structure. The subject of Astyanax's peril is not to intrude on the presentation of the Trojan women until the second act, since the fate of Troy as a whole and the new blow of *Cassandre's* lot make up the subject of the their scene in Act I. In Euripides' *Troades*, where *Andromache's* feelings for Astyanax were uncomplicated, something similar happened: her first main speech made no reference to her son at all, the reason there being most likely that Euripides was sticking to the simple 'consecutive' form of dramatic presentation whereby two aspects to a person's situation are looked at in two distinct stages one after the other - first, *Andromache's* distress at the degradation and forced betrayal involved in becoming Neoptolemos' concubine, then her anguish at losing her son. It is probable that Sallebray is following a parallel procedure, keeping any mention of Astyanax out of the lament for Hector for reasons of dramatic simplicity.

In *Andromaque's* first speeches concerning Astyanax themselves, Sallebray has ordered his various inherited elements rather differently from

his sources. The 'ambitions and hope' passage now comes near the beginning. The 'I stay alive only for Astyanax's motif is compressed into a single line and blended into the end of the apprehensions with which, as always, Andromaque pulls herself up short after giving rein to her ambitions. These form her first main speech. Her second follows the usual pattern in recounting Hector's apparition, but omits the lines exploring Astyanax's resemblance to Hector, keeping the idea for a later speech (see 3.2.2.3). The remaining element, the reflection on where she may hide her son, becomes a separate speech marked off from the dream account by an interjection from Cassandre.

What precisely this juggling is aimed at, beyond mere variation, is not absolutely clear. Opening the 'Astyanax action', after a few lines indicating his imminent peril, with an evocation of the hopes bound up with the child, does establish from the outset the importance of the political and social issues at stake in Astyanax's fate; an important theme in the play as a whole, witness the fact that this *La Troade* opens, for the first time, with the council of the Greek leaders deciding on the boy's death for precisely the reasons referred to in Andromaque's hopes (pp. 4-5). The 'rise and fall' of ambition in Andromaque's first speech also establishes, at the start of a major new phase of the action, a theme recurring in various connections throughout the play, notably, in Andromaque's part, in her Act IV *stances*. In this respect, the speech may be meant as a replacement for Hecuba's opening speech in Garnier and Seneca; Sallebray omits the 'mutability of fortune' element from Hecuba's part in Act I. However, the most important consideration concerning these rearrangements is the fact that Sallebray has turned what was, in the sources, essentially a series of monologues by Andromache delivered in the presence of a convenient spectator, into a real interchange between two major characters, Andromaque and Cassandre. At this early stage this is achieved with very little addition to what Cassandre herself says. Up to the point we have been considering, Cassandre's spoken part differs from that of the Old Man (Seneca) or Helenus (Garnier) only in the addition of one extra two-line question at the outset, and a one-line interjection at the end of the dream account. But combined with the alterations in Andromaque's part, these variations begin to give the scene its own definite shape. Andromaque's first speech opens with a request to Cassandre for help and the 'ambitions' passage follows on as an explanation of why saving Astyanax should be important to both. Her 'dream account' speech now ends on a note of

preoccupation with Hector, and Cassandre's interjection recalls her to the urgency of the present situation. This transformation into real dialogue is partly a question of dramatic structure: it makes the scene less static, giving it a more truly theatrical dynamic and allows more natural breaks in Andromache's originally rather long speeches. But it is also becoming clear that Sallebray has a particular and original conception for the role of Cassandre in this scene, and that the variations in Andromaque's part are partly designed to serve this end. This will become even clearer as the Astyanax action progresses, with Cassandre assuming an active role, at times to the extent of taking over some of Andromache's own part, in scenes to which she has not traditionally belonged. Furthermore, the later omission from Andromache's role of two major components present in both Garnier and Seneca (the supplication of Ulysse after Astyanax has emerged from the tomb, and the farewell/lament following the failure of the plea) also have implications for the balance and contrast between the roles of Andromaque and Cassandre. The relationship between the two roles will be discussed in detail at a later stage. For the moment, we may remark that the original expansion of Cassandre's role which Sallebray uses to bind his disparate actions together also affects the structure and presentation of certain of those actions themselves. What Sallebray chose to do with Cassandre influences what he does with his other inherited materials, on whose adaption he otherwise exercises far less originality.

3.2.2.2: Anxiety and hope

We may now consider in greater detail the use to which Sallebray puts his inherited material in his portrayal of Andromaque within the Astyanax action. The traditional first stage to that action involves the preliminaries to the decision to hide Astyanax in the tomb. Within the structural rearrangements outlined above, the verbal content of what Andromaque says remains largely a direct transferral from Sallebray's predecessors. Her ambitions for her son echo Garnier's terms closely:

[C'est-Luy] Qui doit estre le Roy de nos peuples epars,
 Qui les doit rassembler en de nouveaux remparts
 (Sallebray, p.29)

cp.:

Verray-je point le temps que nos peuples epars
 Vous r'assemblez, leur roy, dedans nouveaux remparts
 (Garnier, 675-6);

Ressusciter l'Empire et la gloire de Troye
 (Sallebray, p.30)

cp.:

Que la Gloire et le nom ressuciter je voye
 Par vos armes, mon fils, d'une nouvelle Troye?
 (Garnier, 677-8).

Likewise, Andromaque pulls herself up short in much the same way, recognising the variety of her high thoughts (as in Garnier 679-84¹⁹) at a time when: "Nous ne sçaurions chez nous disposer de nous-memes" (p.30) - echoing Garnier's: "Et [nous] ne commandons pas seulement a nous memes" (682). To Andromaque's ambitions for the child, Sallebray has added the hope that he will be an avenger: a hope indicated in the one word "vindex" in the equivalent speech of Seneca (471), but omitted by Garnier. The idea in its details is transferred from the later lament for what Astyanax dead can never do, in Seneca (774) and Garnier (1093-6). Sallebray seems to emphasise this hope of Andromaque's for her son much more than her predecessors, though; partly by including it in a speech of hope for the living, rather than regrets for the dead, partly because vengeance is both the first and the last of the hopes she voices:

C'est luy qui doit un jour venger ses [i.e. Hector's] funerailles
 (p.29)

Et soumettre a son tour ces laches ennemis
 A qui cruellement le sort nous a soumis
 (p.30),

¹⁹ In Seneca 474-5, she *fears* the greatness of her thoughts, which is a related but distinct sentiment.

with another reference in-between for good measure: "Qui des Grecs triomphans doit faire un jour sa proye" (p.30).

As if to balance this far-from-disinterested ideal of Astyanax's future, Sallebray reasserts Andromaque's purely maternal feeling in the coming-down-to-earth conclusion of this speech, with more warmth but less subtlety than in the I-stay-alive-for-him-alone remarks (Seneca 419-23, Garnier 629-31) which the line summarises:

Et toy mon cher enfant pour qui seul je soupire
[ils te destinent] A quelque autre malheur peut etre encore pire
(p.30).

But the ambivalence of Andromaque's feelings for her son remains. At some points the eclipse of Astyanax by Hector is almost as full in Sallebray's version as it was overall in Seneca. For example, Sallebray picks up the brief statement of Seneca and Garnier that on waking from her vision Andromaque temporarily forgot her son as she sought for Hector ("oblita nati", Seneca 459, "de mon fils oublieuse", Garnier 661), and leans on the point rather more:

Lors j'oubliay ton fils pour toy mon cher Hector,
Du desir que j'avois de te revoir encor
(p.31).

This is reinforced by the way Cassandre is made to recall her companion to the matter in hand, rather than Andromaque doing this for herself, as elsewhere:

ANDROMAQUE: Et ta chere presence enfin me fut ravie.
CASSANDRE: Ne nous arretons pas plus longtemps en ces lieux
(p.32).

It will be argued later that there is an intentional contrast in this scene between Andromaque and the more practical and active Cassandre: it is therefore probable that the impression of Andromaque's attention *needing* to be recalled is deliberate.

3.2.2.3 ; Hiding Astyanax in the tomb

These tensions between regard for Hector and regard for Astyanax, between regard for Astyanax in himself and regard for what he represents, are also apparent in Andromaque's attempts to persuade her son to enter his father's tomb. Her speech is again largely composed of various borrowed elements. The opening, with its loving anxiety and dread (p.34), derives from her superstitious foreboding in Garnier (699-700) and Seneca (467-8). It ends by taking up a line from Garnier portraying Andromache's maternal devotion at its most whole-hearted:

Juste ciel pers la mere et conserve l'enfant
(Sallebray, p.34)

cp.:

Dieux../Conservez cet enfant et meurtrissez la mere
(Garnier, 722).

On the other hand Andromaque's remarks on Astyanax's hesitation swing the balance the other way. Following Garnier and Seneca, her commenting on his reluctance leads into reflection on Astyanax's heroic spirit. Sallebray here inserts the "resemblance to Hector" element held over from its earlier position in his sources, turning this into a paean on the temperamental rather than the physical resemblance (pp.34-5). Since Andromaque's words concentrate more on the original, Hector, than on his image, Astyanax (4 lines out of 8 are denoted to a panegyric on Hector's courage), the passage tends to suggest a further eclipse of the boy by his father in Andromaque's attention. At the same time the introduction of the resemblance idea here is perhaps better motivated by the context than in its original position elsewhere: it develops naturally out of the recognition of Astyanax's courageous temper. This would also be true of Sallebray's next stroke, which is to reiterate the ambitions for Astyanax's future from the earlier speech discussed above, pp.31-32, reduplicating them here as an argument for her son to go into hiding²⁰. This move clearly illustrates the double-sided nature of Andromaque's relationship with her son. On the one hand, the terms with which she urges his future on Astyanax, pointing out that he has a responsibility to survive in order to preserve the throne of his fathers:

²⁰ In Garnier 731-5 and Seneca 505-8, the argument employed was that it was necessary to yield to present misfortune, and not bridle against it with the proud spirit of former times.

Cette facon timide assure ta Courone [...]
 [Le trone] du vieux Priam prest a choir aujourd'huy,
 Veut ton corps inclinant pour luy servir d'apuy
 (p.35)

are heavily coloured by a concern for a royal succession and lineage, reflecting again the 'political' aspect to Sallebray's treatment of the story (see [3.2.2.1](#)). The lines do not savour much of a mother's simple wish to save her child's life. In Garnier and Seneca, Andromache's initial grand hopes for Astyanax's future never recur as a living hope; only in Sallebray are they repeated as anything other than regrets for the dead. On the other hand, towards the end of the speech the audience may begin to wonder how far Andromaque is employing an "ad hominem" argument against her spirited son: a simple anxiety for his safety begins to creep in:

Qui pourroit s'opposer a leurs per fides trames,
 S'ils venoient en ces lieux? un enfant, deux femmes..
 (p.35)²¹.

The same problem of ambiguity continues into the ensuing dialogue with Astyanax, who for the first time is given an extended speaking part. Andromaque continues to show glimpses of maternal anxiety: "Ha mon fils!...Sauve-toy" (p.36), whilst also employing arguments showing more concern for the continuation of Hector's line than for Astyanax himself: "Mais ton pere par toy veut prolonger son sort" (p.37). This echoes a desire attributed by Sallebray, for the first time, to Hector in his apparition: "secondes aujourd'huy/ L'esperance que j'ay de revivre par luy" (p.32). Both are based on Andromache's wishes in Seneca and elsewhere along the lines of "Let him live to bring back to life your features" (e.g. Seneca 647-8). In all cases, the words express such parental concern as is present primarily in terms of other considerations: love for her husband from Seneca's Andromache, concern for his lineage from Sallebray's Hector, a combination of the two from Sallebray's Andromaque.

There is ambivalence, too, in the presentation of Andromaque's pride in her son at this crisis. Both Astyanax's heroic temper and Andromaque's pride in it gain rather more attention in Sallebray than they

²¹ Derived from Seneca 507-8 : "en intuerre, turba quae simus super: tumulus, puer, captiva..."
 "See, look what a poor troop remains: a tomb, a child, a captive woman..."

have previously. Sallebray has considerably developed the role of Astyanax, bringing to culmination a tendency begun by Seneca to alter his status from pathetic and largely passive victim (as in Euripides) to a heroic and more independent being who wrings some glory from his tragic end. Astyanax's 'Cornelian' display of "gloire" in Sallebray appears to serve two particular dramatic purposes. One is that his opposition gives scope for debate: once again this innovation makes theatrical dialogue out of what was originally monologue. In the second place, protracted resistance from Astyanax in this heroic vein allows Sallebray to give a fuller treatment of Andromaque's maternal pride. Pride in her son was implied at this juncture in Garnier: "vostre ame genereuse" (729) and Seneca: "agnosco indolem/pudet timere. Spiritus magnos fuga/ animosque veteres" (504-6)²²; Sallebray's version, however, leans on the point more heavily. This begins to show an interest in Astyanax himself from Andromaque that is sometimes lacking elsewhere in the play: so even as she tries to dissuade him from his heroic determination, Andromaque cannot help exclaiming: "Beaux sentimens de gloire" (p.36). Later, even as she hears of his death, she still has enough concern for this to ask, rather pathetically, "Dy nous sa triste fin, s'il eut queque constance..." (p.79), and to exclaim shortly after: "N'etoit- ce pas assez quil..eut la vertu [de son pere]..?" (p.82). At the same time, in the passage discussed earlier (p.33) where Andromaque notices her son's spirited reluctance to go into hiding, her remarks seem more concerned with the heredity he is living up to:

Deja cette action prouve bien ta naissance,
 Par la tu parois bien le digne fils d'Hector,
 Et par toy ce Heros me semble vivre encor
 (p.34).

Andromaque's pride in Astyanax's conduct remains double-edged, partly expressive of straightforward pleasure in her son's nobility, partly of her pride in her husband and her desire that he should live on. At the very end of Andromaque's part in this stage of the action, nonetheless, it is Andromaque's more purely maternal concern that prevails, expressed in a new, rather curious way. She cannot bring herself to force Astyanax into

²² "I know your nature: you are ashamed to show fear. Throw off your heroic spirit and old courage..."

hiding against his wishes: "C'est une cruauté d'y contraindre sa mere" (p.38); the job is left to Cassandre.

3.2.2.4: The battle with Ulysse: defence and dilemma.

These ambivalences in Andromaque's attitude towards her son continue as Ulysse enters and the battle for Astyanax's life is joined. Here also, Sallebray innovates very little, though he impresses his own stamp on the portrayal by developing selected aspects of his inherited material either with increased emphasis or with original elaboration. In the earlier stages of the scene (II sc.iv) Andromaque appears as the traditional courageous mother. Adopting a speech of Seneca's heroine (556-62), Sallebray's Andromaque wishes (disingenuously) that she knew her son's whereabouts, declaring:

De la flame et du fer je braverois l'effort,
Et t'irois delivrer dans les bras de la mort
(p.42)²³.

Similarly, Sallebray transfers from his sources the loyal, fearless and defiant disregard for her own life:

ULYSSE: La mort vous contraindra de nous le decouvrir.
ANDROMAQUE: Menaces moy de vivre, et non pas de mourir,
Ouy, ouy c'est seulement ce qui me reste a craindre...
(p.43)²⁴.

He keeps, too, Andromaque's resourcefulness in dissembling the true fate of her son, attesting on oath that he is gone into the grave with his father (pp.42-3). In fact Sallebray deliberately points up the cleverness of this by having Cassandre exclaim approvingly in an aside: "Sainte subtilité,/ Piété frauduleuse autant que nécessaire..." (p.43). I am not sure, though, that Sallebray is not most interested simply in the clever word-play, the irony of the *double-entendre*: "Il est, le puy-je dire, où son pere repose" (p.42); "J'ai vû, di-je, mon fils entrer dans le tombeau" (p.43) - rather than in any quality of mind this might reveal in Andromaque. Be that as it may, Sallebray has

²³ cp. "non hostilibus confessa telis pectus...non acri latus/utrumque flamma cincta maternam fidem/umquam exuissern": "not if my breast were pierced with enemy spears,...not if I were beset on either side with fierce flames, would I ever have cast off my loyalty as mother."

²⁴ cp. Garnier 852-5, Seneca 574-7; see also Euripides' *Andromache*, 453ff.

invented another rejoinder for Andromaque, without any rhetorical showmanship, that does portray her with a certain resourceful presence of mind. The watchful Ulysee having noticed the anxious glances she casts at the tomb as the soldiers ruthlessly search for Astyanax, she meets his interrogation with a ready and plausible explanation: "Je craignois seulement que l'on troubla le cendre/De mon fidelle époux" (p.46).

This impression of maternal courage, resource and self-sacrifice is, however, balanced in the second part of the scene by the particular slant Sallebray adopts in portraying Andromaque's reaction to Ulysse's ultimatum. In her speech of 'indecision', the balance of her feelings seem to swing in Hector's favour. Even the impulse to save her son is often explicitly motivated by love for her husband - consider the shift of reference from husband to son in:

Rendons nous a l'amour d'un epoux qui m'engage
Mais de ce meme amour le cher et noble gage...
(p.47).

This is true in Seneca and Garnier as well (Seneca 644-7, Garnier 943-8); but Sallebray goes further in considering Astyanax as the 'repository of Hector's essence', in lines like the following:

Ouy la mort de mon fils me sera supportable
Pourveu que mon Hector[.....]. Mais il est en repos,
Et je puis dans son fils conserver ce Heros
(p.48).

In the original versions, the last two lines are more concerned with what the child will experience himself ("but the child can feel his punishment...", Seneca 655-6; "Mais [...] cestuy-la vit, cestuy-ci ne vit plus/ Insensible, impassible...", Garnier 963-4). Andromaque, in the end, does seem to decide in favour of Astyanax as in previous versions (although here, as there, this decision cannot have any practical effect). But her stated reasons for this choice at the point when she makes it, expanded from Seneca's and Garnier's "save the one whom the Greeks fear most", seem almost entirely political:

Abandonnons celui qui n'est plus presque rien,
 Et sauvons dans son fils l'espair de notre Empire,
 C'est luy seul que l'on craint, et luy seul qu'on desire
 (p.49).

Sallebray has shown Andromaque on several occasions to be concerned about the political, royal and social prospects bound up in Astyanax's future, so the reasoning he gives her here, however abruptly dispassionate it might seem, is at least consistent. We are left, all the same, with a presentation in this speech of Andromaque's motives in which concern with her son in himself has at best only a third share, and by no means necessarily the largest one. It is concern for Hector, or for Hector-in-Astyanax, that seems to dominate. Again, it is suggestive that once her son has been seized, although there is nothing practical that Andromaque can do for him, her thoughts stray naturally back to concern for Hector's tomb. Cassandre has to recall her from this:

Si vous aymes Hector, sortes de sa presence,
 Et songes que son fils a besoin d'assistance
 (p.52).

3.2.2.5: Lament.

After Astyanax's death, however, Andromaque's words begin to show a variety of maternal tenderness where her love for her son is in union with love for her husband rather than in tension with, or dominated by, it. Towards the end of her final lament in Act IV, Sallebray takes up from Garnier the apostrophe to Astyanax: "Mon fils, ou que tu sois, atens un peu ta mere..." (p.83)²⁵. From this starting point he proceeds to develop a quite new anxiety in Andromaque that her husband and son, both disfigured in death, will be unable to recognise each other without her ("Tu ne scaurois sans moy reconetre ton pere..." p.83), and that she must follow her son to reunite them, and herself with them. The idea that her grief on entering the tomb, coupled with grief at her son's death, will be the death of her recurs here, but now as a hope of reunion rather than as a fear:

²⁵ cp. "Enfant, ou que tu sois, souviens- toy de ta mere", Garnier 1961; for prior influences on Garnier see [2.2.2.1](#).

C'est la que je perdray la force qui me reste...
 Tu reposeras mort entre ton pere et moy,
 Ainsi de tous cotes ton sort s'egale au notre...
 (p.83).

(See [3.2.1.3\(a\)](#).) This develops the more positive view of death as a reunion of her family noticed in germinal form in Garnier ([2.2.2.1](#); cp. also Cassandra in Eur. *Tro.* 458-60). Here in Sallebray's rendition there is a strong resemblance between the second line and Andromache's words to her other child Molossos in *Andromache*:

κείσῃ δῆ, τέκνον ὦ φίλος,
 μαστοῖς ματέρος ἀμφὶ σᾶς,
 νεκρὸς ὑπὸ χθονί, σὺν νεκρῷ <τ'>
 (510-12)²⁶.

In Euripides' portrayal Andromache's maternal love was presented at its most uncomplicated; if the Greek image has directly influenced Sallebray here, it would be significant.

Thus Andromaque's lament for her dead son restores the balance between her feelings for Hector and for Astyanax, her own wish for death (pp.78-9, 83) now harmonising the two concerns in the desire for and hopes of reunion. The similarly expressed wish of Garnier's Andromache, to be struck down by heaven and thus rejoin her husband and son (1833-6) has contributed to this last; Garnier in turn may have been influenced by Andromache's preference in Seneca (418-9) and Homer (*Iliad* 6.410-13) to follow her husband even in death. The extent to which Sallebray develops the idea of the reunion of husband, wife and child in this context, however, is his own:

Rens la mere a l'enfant, rens l'epoux sa femme,
 Et rejoins nos trois corps ou ne fut rien qu'une ame
 (p.78).

²⁶ "Dear child, you will lie by your mother's breast, one corpse in company with another under the earth..."

3.2.2.6: Conclusion

How may we sum up Sallebray's presentation of Andromaque within her relationship to Astyanax? His Andromaque certainly shows maternal tenderness and regard for her son, often enhanced by the playwright's characteristic heightened expression of feeling. In confirmation of this, after hearing of his death, she is attributed with an intense identification with her son's fate:

La pointe des rochers où l'on t'a vu tomber,
Me vient percer le coeur et me fait succomber
(p.81)²⁷.

On the other hand her equally heightened emotions for Hector do on many occasions lead to Astyanax's eclipse by her husband in Andromaque's attention. Sallebray tends generally to intensify the portrayal and expression of the 'emotions' supplied by the story. This may explain why Andromaque's two-edged feelings for Astyanax, with both sides - the identification with Hector and the concern for Astyanax in himself - presented in this high-lighted form, can sometimes seem close to being inconsistent. Sallebray has further complicated the picture by an increased emphasis on the 'political' and social lights in which Andromaque views her son. All three elements to Andromaque's regard for Astyanax are accentuated by the playwright. Towards the end, Sallebray does resolve the tensions into a more integrated attitude. For most of Andromaque's part, however, he leaves us with a series of highly-coloured, often effective, vignettes of attitude or emotion, succeeding each other in a way that at times seems contradictory or even haphazard, but which in its own fashion manages to convey the same ambiguities and tensions within the portrayal of Andromaque as mother that will later be explored, more subtly and with a more accomplished touch, by Racine.

²⁷ She is not exceptional in this, however: compare Hecuba's words on hearing of the death of her daughter Polyxena: "Ouy, je meurs Andromaque, et cette meme lame/ Qui traverse son couer, passe jusqu'a mon ame" (p.89).

3.2.3.: Andromaque and the Greeks

3.2.3.1: Pyrrhus

Although less important than the relationships with Hector and Astyanax, Andromache's interactions with other characters also play their part in her presentation. We should, then, consider two further aspects to her portrayal: her reactions to the Greeks, in the persons of Pyrrhus and Ulysse; and her relative prominence in relation to the rest of her family. Firstly, the relationship between Andromaque and her captor Pyrrhus. In Sallebray's play, this receives nothing like the attention that Euripides gave it and that Racine will give it. But it is worth noting, in our study of the evolution of the overall tradition, that in this *La Troade* Andromache's feelings on the matter re-emerge for the first time, explicitly at least, since Virgil. Pyrrhus' response to his captive is indicated as wholly negative: in I sc.i he replies to Ulysse's proposal to kill Astyanax by suggesting that they do the job properly and dispose of Hector's mother, sisters and wife for good measure, lest their women's wiles bring trouble on the Greeks. A long way from Racine's portrayal of the situation! But the references to Andromaque's reactions are not so far away from Racine. She feels a repugnance for Pyrrhus on account of his own career: "Quoy Pyrrhe ce brutal dont je suis le butin!" (p.77) - excepting Virgil, the first direct and explicit formulation of her aversion to Pyrrhus *in himself*. Virgil was probably Racine's primary source for the idea, but he may have been encouraged in his adoption of it by his reading of Sallebray. In addition, Sallebray's Andromaque shrinks from Pyrrhus as the son of Achilles, of the man who killed her husband:

Quel barbare Démon pour m'affliger encor
Mêle le fils d'Achille à la veufve d'Hector?
(p.77).

This is important because it is the first reference to this particular basis for aversion to Pyrrhus since Euripides (e.g. *Andromache* 403). Sallebray's use of the title "fils d'Achille" to express this idea, moreover, parallels Euripides' recurrent use of the Ἀχιλλέως παῖς motif in *Andromache* (and, three times, in *Troades*) to convey the same implication of "the son of her husband's killer". The parallel demands to be taken notice of.

3.2.3.2: Andromaque and the Greeks: Ulysse: questions of dramatic consistency

Secondly, there is Andromaque's reaction to Ulysse. Sallebray innovates very little here. He retains Andromaque's frantic courage in defence of the tomb as she prepares to fight for it: "Aproche, vien tout seul que je t'arrache l'ame" (p.49); cp. Garnier 985ff., Seneca 671-80; and with it the furious invective against Ulysse: "Avance le premier lache coeur..." ff., (p.49) - for the antecedents of this see [3.1.1](#). From Garnier he also takes the more overt scorn for the Greeks in general, expressed in her ironic exclamation: "Redouter un enfant!" (p.41) adopted word-for-word from Garnier 771. To this Sallebray adds a moral outrage edged with similar scorn, at the threat to destroy Hector's tomb: "Vous voulés donc aux morts livrer encor la guerre" (p.46) - perhaps summarising the thrust of Andromache's reproach in Seneca 670: "busta transierat furor" ("but [until now] your mad folly had passed over tombs").

This more aggressive side to Sallebray's portrayal is, along with the resourcefulness discussed at [3.2.2.4](#), quite in keeping with Andromache's character in Garnier, Seneca and Euripides (*Andromache*), of being capable of fighting back-to-the-wall with every resource - however meagre - that she can summon. In Sallebray's case, however, there are problems of consistency, because these more 'spirited' moments of his heroine adopted from previous portrayals stand side-by-side with original elements betokening a deliberate decision to make Andromaque a more timid, 'fragile' personality than elsewhere. The woman who offers to fight hand-to-hand with Ulysse, in Sallebray's portrayal swoons under the stress of the conflict ten lines later. The most violent instance of inconsistency in fact involves innovation on both sides: on the one hand this general modification in Sallebray's portrait of Andromaque, and on the other his apparent (though unstressed) inclusion of her among the women who take vengeance on Polymestor in Act V. In the first part of the play we see an Andromaque too gentle and tender-hearted to force her son into the tomb even to save him; in the second part we find her helping to plan and carry out the blinding and stabbing to death of an enemy. To have deliberately created a heightened impression of 'helplessness', and then to place Andromaque in a rôle quite incompatible with that impression, looks like carelessness. It is, however, true that the Polydore/Polymestor incident as a whole is not very well integrated into the rest of the play, 'tagged on',

almost, to the previous episode with virtually no prior warning²⁸. It is, then, perhaps not surprising that Andromaque's rôle in this episode is not integrated with her rôle in the rest of the play either. Besides, Sallebray clearly has little sympathy for Polymestor, as the monologue of 'Le Troyen' shows (pp.101-2), and he has taken care to eliminate the most morally repugnant aspect of Hecuba's vengeance, the killing of Polymestor's children. Quite possibly he did not think twice about including Andromaque among the Trojan women who traditionally abetted Hecuba's vengeance: she was there to hand, and it enabled him to keep her in sight to the end²⁹.

The problem of the less spectacular inconsistencies in Andromaque's earlier appearances remains. These inconsistencies are neither very severe nor totally inexplicable: even a more timid and emotionally fragile Andromache could be imagined as raised to high moments of furious defiance and courage by her grief, love and despair. However, my general impression is that as far as Sallebray's creative process is concerned, to consider how and why these more spirited moments get into his overall picture is to look at things the wrong way round. It is the greater 'timidity' of Andromaque that is the innovation; and it is the reasons why Sallebray brings *this* into his portrait of Andromaque that should be considered. In 3.2.2.1 we began to see that Andromaque's rôle was affected by what Sallebray was interested in doing with the part of Cassandre. This is clearer still in Andromaque's central appearance (II sc.iii & iv), where she is juxtaposed with Cassandre in a way entirely unnecessary for the story to proceed. Furthermore, Cassandre is given a number of lines that were Andromache's in the sources - notably, it is she who finds and urges the solution of hiding Astyanax in Hector's tomb (Andromache's own idea in both Garnier and Seneca). This leads us back into the final question about Sallebray's presentation of Andromaque: how it is affected by the juxtaposition with the other members of her family, and by the way those last are portrayed.

²⁸ Polydore has earned but one brief belated mention (p.77) up to the point when his body is discovered - in Euripides and Garnier a dream or apparition had prepared the way for this new turn of events.

²⁹ D'Aubignac's *Pratique du Théâtre* (Book II ch.ix; D'Aubignac 1715, vol.I, p.126) had decreed that the *dénouement* should leave the audience informed of the situation of all the main characters.

3.2.4: Dramatic relationships

3.2.4.1: Andromaque, Hécube and Polyxène

Before looking in depth at the cardinal dramatic relationship with Cassandre, there are one or two points worth making about Andromaque in relation to Hécube and Polyxène. Whenever Andromache's story is presented alongside Polyxena's, we have to consider whether the prominence afforded to one affects the attention we give to the other. In Seneca, although Polyxena's story was part of the action she herself had no speaking part and the interest as regards that story centred around the argument between Agamemnon and Pyrrhus over her fate, and the reactions of Helen as she delivered, Andromache and Hecuba as they received, the news. Garnier restored to Polyxena something of her heroic Euripidean rôle (from *Hecuba*); on the whole, though, her story did not intrude on Andromache's - the latter retained her pre-eminence throughout Act II and contested it only with Hécube in the earlier part of Act IV. Sallebray, in his turn, keeps his heroic Polyxène (pp.69-70) but considerably shortens the scene of her forcible parting from Hécube. As a result, her story cannot really compete, in intensity and nuance of emotion, with Andromaque's as portrayed in the long scene of her dilemma at the tomb. On the other hand, in I sc.iii her rôle can claim to rank alongside Andromaque's. She has a short but expressive lament for the loss of her father:

La mort du grand Priam, execrable attentat,
Plus funeste à mon coeur qu'il n'est à cet Etat..
(p.15).

She also shares with Andromaque the strong sympathy and willingness to bear up and come to Hécube's aid when the latter collapses as Cassandre is taken away (I sc.v; described also by Andromaque in II sc.iii, p.31). We should, therefore, be wary of regarding the latter virtues as characteristics Sallebray was concerned to give individually to Andromaque; on this occasion it is true rather to say that she is regarded as one of a sympathetic supporting group. A similar point was raised earlier about the mortal intensity of grief felt at her losses: not unique to Andromaque and shared particularly by Hécube.

3.2.4.2: Andromaque and Cassandre

Of considerably more importance is the interaction between the rôles of Andromaque and Cassandre. Andromaque's dependence on her more forceful sister-in-law is apparent throughout II sc.iii. The way she first accosts Cassandre suggests that Sallebray has this in mind:

Ha ma soeur qu'à propos en ce lieu je vous treuve,
Sauvés du grand Hector et le fils et la veufve
(p.29).

Then, Sallebray interjects between Andromaque's account of her dream and her beginning to wonder what is to be done with her son a practical exhortation by Cassandre to waste no time: "Ne nous arrêtons pas plus longtemps en ces lieux" (p.32; see [3.2.2.1](#)). The idea of hiding Astyanax in Hector's tomb is transferred from Andromaque to Cassandre, who presents the case for this plan lucidly, while her companion fears its execution may prove too much for her. Sallebray adds at this point further exhortations and remonstrances from Cassandre, who appreciates the crucial time factor and presses her point forcefully and urgently:

Le voicy, hâtons nous ma soeur, le temps nous presse,
Faites tréve a present avec votre tendresse...
Ca, vite, dépechons, vos discours superflus...
(p.34).

After Andromaque's lengthy speech over her son's heroic hesitations, and the ensuing argument with him, Cassandre is again made to interrupt, warning that time is of the essence. And it is she who, when Andromaque's maternal tenderness renders her incapable of pushing her unwilling son into hiding, takes charge and hustles the boy into the tomb (p.38). As Ulysse enters she continues to manage affairs, instructing Andromaque to let her do the talking at first:

Permetés que d'abord je luy fasse réponce,
Et tâchés cependant d'assurer vos esprits
(p.39).

Even at the climax of Andromaque's dilemma, Sallebray inserts an appeal to Cassandre for advice: "Ha ma soeur je retombe.../Quel sera ton conseil dans ce trouble fatal?" (p.48). And finally, after Ulysse's exit, in sc.v Cassandre retains her energy, formulating a plan to try to exert her influence to save Astyanax ("Je cours demander grace au Prince Agamemnon", p.52), telling Andromaque what she should do when the latter's weary thoughts stray away from her son, assuring her that she will take care of the damaged tomb: "J'auray soin que quelqu'un vienne icy travailler" (p.52). It is obvious, then, that Sallebray has deliberately increased Andromaque's helplessness to set up a contrast with the new character he introduces into this scene.

That this step is motivated, beyond a desire to create a strong contrast, by Sallebray's interest in the figure of Cassandre, and in the new, dynamic rôle he has created for her, is strongly suggested. There are indications in support of the view that, involved in Sallebray's introduction of her relationship with Agamemnon as a new plot element to bind his whole plot together, is his own personal interest in Cassandre, rivalling that which he has in Andromaque. She is certainly given a peculiar prominence in the play. One outworking of this is her pre-eminence amongst her family in force of character, suggested from the outset in I sc.iii-iv. For instance, while her family can only exclaim in horror and distress at Agamemnon's claiming of her, she responds with grim and far-seeing satisfaction³⁰. The opportunities Sallebray gives Cassandre to manipulate Agamemnon to her family's advantage provide another demonstration of the enhanced credit he wishes to give her. More revealing still, perhaps, is the attention he draws to her even when her rôle in the plot does not require it. Andromaque, alone at the beginning of Act IV (in which Cassandre does not appear), is heard to acknowledge her debt: "Chere soeur dont le soin console mon martyre..." (p.75). Even at the height of Andromaque's clash with Ulysse, where Cassandre does take a step back to allow a greater concentration of dramatic focus, she is kept in view by being given a number of (dramatically unnecessary) asides and interjections (pp.43, 46, 48, 49).

Indeed, there are times in II sc. iii & iv when Sallebray's interest in Cassandre seems to be at the expense of Andromaque. Some of Andromache's lines in Seneca and Garnier are 'stolen' by Cassandre: e.g.

³⁰ Her foreknowledge of Agamemnon's impending doom, here as elsewhere (e.g II sc.i, V sc.vii-viii), is also used by Sallebray to add an effective new dimension to the plot.

Cassandre's speech to Astyanax as she puts him in the tomb: "Entre dans ce tombeau, cher espoir..." ff. (p.38), cf. Andromache in Garnier 735ff. and Seneca 509-12, and her reproach to Ulysse for disturbing the tomb: "Voudriés vous l'entreprendre/ Après l'avoir venduë" (p.46), cf. Andromache's lines in Garnier: "Les reliques d'Hector que vous avez vendu?" (979) and Seneca (664). Most important of all is the way Sallebray has altered the end of the scene. Andromaque's part in the scene comes to an abrupt end as she falls into a dead faint:

Ha cet effort m'abat, je cede à mes douleurs,
Ayés soin de mon fils, chere soeur, je me meurs. *Elle pâme*
(p.50).

This has a number of implications. It means that the spectacle before us at the end of the scene is Andromaque in a state of collapse while Cassandre remains still standing, powerless to help but still able to hurl reproach: "Barbares" (p.51). This heavily underscores the contrast that has been built up throughout the scene; it also means that, although Andromaque's intensity of emotion as embodied in her collapse attracts sympathy and attention, she must for the first time in her literary history share the audience's attention at the end of the tomb scene, with her more forceful sister-in-law. Furthermore, the move means that two of Andromache's major 'speeches' in Sallebray's sources, the supplication of Ulysse and the farewell/lament to Astyanax, are omitted completely. Even if the reasons for this are partly structural - to avoid repetition, with another supplication scene (between Agamemnon and Cassandre) coming up in III sc.iii - one cannot help but notice that this is to cut Andromaque's part in favour of Cassandre's.

Andromaque's prominence, then, and the degree of admiration though probably not of sympathy which she attracts, are modified by the presence of the more dynamic Cassandre that Sallebray sets alongside her. His conception of Cassandre and his desire to present the two women as a contrasting pair in this scene may account to a large extent for the greater impression of timidity, 'helplessness' and frailty that this Andromaque often gives. Sallebray decreases Andromaque's capacities in order to add to and to highlight those of Cassandre. The inconsistencies that sometimes arise might well stem from Sallebray's apparently forgetting that his

modified portrait does not always blend in very well with the attributes of Andromache he has borrowed and taken over as they are.

3.2.5: Sallebray's *Andromaque*: conclusions

How, then, may we sum up this phase of Andromache's literary history? Sallebray's *Andromaque* keeps the essential characteristics of devotion to Hector, love for Astyanax, desperate defiance and inconsolable grief for the past. Many of these are intensified in expression, and some begin to bear the mark of seventeenth-century preoccupations and tastes: notably the increasingly 'romantic' elements in the portrayal of her attachment to Hector, and the heightened emphasis on 'political' elements in the story. Sallebray keeps the conflict between Andromache's loyalty to Hector and her loyalty to her son and his future, perhaps swinging the balance back towards Hector, whilst at the same time stressing Andromache's hopes for reunion with her son in death, an idea brought to fruition by Garnier. He returns, too, if only in passing, to the question of the relationship between Andromache and her captor Pyrrhus. But it is another captive/captor relationship that has the greater prominence in the play. Sallebray's clear interest in that other captive, Cassandre, steals some of the limelight from *Andromaque* and results in a portrayal of equal pathos but slightly lesser stature, in comparison with the presentations of Andromache by his predecessors.

3.3: Sallebray's Cassandre and the Andromache tradition

3.3.1: Cassandre, Agamemnon and Racine

There is one final aspect of Sallebray's play that needs to be looked at, important because of the relationship between Sallebray and the next author in our series, Racine. Knight (Knight 1949(a)) identifies as the source of the famous line of Racine's Pyrrhus:

Brûlé de plus de feux que je n'en allumai
(*Andromaque*, 320),

and of the surrounding images, Agamemnon's monologue in Sallebray, I sc.ii:

Les traits que j'ay lancés retournent contre moy,
Je brûle par le feu que j'alumay dans Troye
 Je suis de mon vaincu le butin et la proye,
 Et je ressens le mal dont j'ay causé l'effroy
 (pp.9-10).

Elsewhere (Knight 1951, p.115), Knight asserts: "Les 'feux' dont il [Agamemnon] brûle et ceux qu'il allume...dévoilent une des influences sous lesquelles a évolué le Pyrrhus d'Andromaque". "Close verbal resemblances of word and situation" (Knight 1949(a), p.116) do indeed point to a close link between Sallebray's Agamemnon-Cassandre pairing and that of Pyrrhus and Andromaque in Racine. Knight notes the correspondence between Cassandre's flattering words, angling for a reprieve for Astyanax:

Je suis vôtre captive, et le Ciel rigoureux
 En cela seulement rend mon destin heureux...
 (*La Troade*, III sc.iii, p.60)

and Andromaque's words with the same object:

J'ai fait plus: je me suis quelquefois consolée
 Qu'ici, plutôt qu'ailleurs, le sort m'eût exilée,
 Qu'heureux dans son malheur...
 (*Andromaque*, III sc.vi, 933-5).

One can explore this resemblance in some detail. Agamemnon and Pyrrhus are both victorious captors subdued by their love, driven by it to plead with their captives, respecting the loved object's person. Cassandre, like Racine's Andromaque, has only her captor's inclination for her to pit against threatened disaster for her family, and is forced to do battle with it as her sole weapon, playing on or up to the captor's feelings as the situation demands. Cassandre does so with fewer scruples and more evident insincerity than her later counterpart, but both will accept the expedient, to save those they love. Both women, too, have a strong aversion to their suitor based on his record in the war and his rôle in their sufferings; both confront him with the past that must alienate them: Cassandre at greater length ("Quand les Grecs obstinés..." etc., II sc.i, p.24; see [3.3.2](#)), Andromaque more briefly:

Troie, Hector contre vous révoltent-ils son âme?
(Andromaque, 557);

Mais il me faut tout perdre, et toujours par vos coups
 (280).

There remain differences. There is not the close personal association in Cassandre's revulsion for Agamemnon that there is in Andromaque's for Pyrrhus. Agamemnon for Cassandre is simply the leader responsible by association for all her, her family's and her city's wrongs; Pyrrhus for Andromaque is her father-in-law's murderer and the son of her husband's killer. Also the effect of Cassandre's tirade in II sc.i, powerful enough in itself, is rather blunted by the conclusion, where she points out that even if she had not all this against Agamemnon, he is a married man:

Pouroy-je consentir à ce triste Hymenée,
 Sçachant bien que dé-jà vôtre ame est enchainée?
 (p.24).

Andromaque's reference to Pyrrhus' engagement to Hermione is more subtle and can claim greater psychological justification from the realities of the situation:

Votre amour contre nous allume trop de haine:
 Retournez, retournez à la fille d'Hélène
 (341-2).

The resemblances elsewhere continue, all the same. Both women are prepared to talk fairer words, with even a hint of esteem, to their captors, as the first pair of quotations given above shows. In Cassandre's case this is obviously to soften Agamemnon and thus induce him to act for her family; in Andromaque's case this is probably so, too, in part (but this must be discussed later when looking at *Andromaque*). Both express a quite different attitude to their suitor in his absence: Cassandre, alone in II sc.ii:

Tu t'abuses cruel, infame suborneur...
 Quoique ton lâche coeur espere de Cassandre,
 Tant que vivra le sien, tu n'en dois rien attendre
 (p.28);

Andromaque to Céphise in *Andromaque* III sc.viii, having described Pyrrhus' blood-spattered rôle in the sack of Troy:

Voilà par quels exploits il sut se couronner;...
 Non, je ne serai point l'accomplice de ses crimes;
 Qu'il nous prenne, s'il veut, pour dernières victimes
 (1007-10).

Just as Cassandre's words are more vitriolic, though, so her insincerity in 'flattering' Agamemnon is more evident: she lavishes praise she clearly does not mean: "Par votre piété qui fait qu'on vous adore..." (p.60), and has no qualms about her procedure: "Je ne te flate ainsi qu'à fin de t'outrager" (p.28). Andromaque is more guarded, her true feelings more inscrutable: we cannot be so sure that she does not mean what she says:

Qu' heureux dans son malheur, le fils de tant de rois,
 Puisqu'il devait servir, fût tombé sous vos lois: [...]
 Jadis Priam soumis fut respecté d'Achille.
 J'attendais de Pyrrhus encor plus de bonté..
 (935-9).

This will be discussed in more detail in the chapters on *Andromaque* itself. But we do well to note comparisons and distinctions as we look at the strong similarities, and the obvious link, between Sallebray's Cassandre and Racine's Andromaque.

3.3.2: Cassandre, Euripides and Andromache

This probable influence of Sallebray's portrayal of Cassandre's relationship with Agamemnon on Racine's later portrayal of Andromaque's relationship with Pyrrhus leaves us with one as yet unexplored link in our chain to examine: the link between Sallebray's Cassandre and Euripides. In [3.1.2](#) we considered the possible relation of Sallebray's newly conceived plot as it involved Cassandre to ideas in

Garnier's and Euripides' renditions of Cassandra's rôle. As with Agamemnon's passion for his captive, Cassandre's dislike of her new master finds its counterpart in the Greek:

ἦ κακὸς κακῶς ταφήσῃ νυκτός, οὐκ ἐν ἡμέρα,
 ὦ δοκῶν σεμνόν τι πράσσειν, Δαναίδῶν ἀρχηγέτα
 (*Troades*, 446-7)³¹.

The words are not represented in Garnier's version although Cassandre's relish at the vengeance that 'through her' will overtake the king makes her attitude nonetheless clear: "Egorger je feray, j'en saute d'allégresse/ Le grand Agamemnon..." (329-30). More importantly for our present purposes, it is possible that Sallebray's development of the Cassandre-Agamemnon situation is coloured by reminiscences of the situation between Andromache and Neoptolemos in Euripides' *Andromache* and *Troades*. The speech of Sallebray's Cassandre enumerating the reasons why Agamemnon's attentions are an affront to her ("Quand les Grecs obstinés...", etc., p.24; see below) bears the mark of a sort of aversion we have not encountered in Cassandra before. Cassandra's feelings about the union itself, rather than about its consequences, have not been discussed. Hécube's response to the news of Cassandre's lot, likewise, expresses this same aversion for the first time:

Quoy [...] je verray ma Cassandre
 Dans les bras d'un cruel qui nous réduit en cendre
 (p.19);

her distress in Euripides and Garnier was for Cassandra's defiled virginity and vows, not for the identity of the man who would possess her. We *have*, however, encountered this sort of feeling before with Andromache, both in *Troades* as she shrinks from the thought of union with Neoptolemos:

³¹ "Indeed, you who seem to be of august account, leader of the Danaans, you wretch, wretchedly will you be buried, at night, not in open day."

Ἀχιλλέως με παῖς ἐβουλήθη λαβεῖν
 δάμαρτα· δουλεύσω δ' ἐν αὐθεντῶν δόμοις
 (658-60)³²;

and in *Andromache* as she recounts all she has suffered (390-403), ending with "φονεῦσιν Ἐκτορος νυμφεύομαι" (403: "I am wedded to Hector's murderers."). Consider the two longer speeches, Cassandre's in Sallebray and Andromache's in Euripides' *Andromache*, side by side.

Quand les Grecs obstinés à perdre les Troyens,
 N'auroient pas employé tant de lâches moyens,
 Quand *je ne verrois pas ces flames* criminelles
 Assouvir les désirs de leurs âmes cruelles,
 Quand *nôtre grand Hector* cedant aux loix du sort
 N'auroit pas éprouvé la honte dans la mort,
 Qu'un pere assassiné, Dieux ce penser me tuë,
 Ne se montreroit pas a mon ame abatuë,
 Qu'une mère et des soeurs que l'on destine *aux fers*
 Ne metroient pas le comble a mes tourmens divers...
 Que vous ne seriés pas *l'auteur de ces malheurs...*
 Pouroy-je consentir à *ce triste Hymenée..?*

(II sc.i, p.24).

ἐκοιμήθη βία
 σὺν δεσπόταισι· κἄτ' ἔμ', οὐ κείνον κτενεῖς,
 τὸν αἴτιον τῶνδ', ἀλλὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀφείς
 πρὸς τὴν τελευτὴν [...] φέρῃ;
 οἴμοι κακῶν τῶνδ', ὧ τάλαιν' ἐμὴ πατρίς,
 ὡς δεινὰ πάσχω [...]
 ἦτις σφαγὰς μὲν Ἐκτορος τροχηλάτους
 κατείδον οἰκτρῶς τ' Ἴλιον πυρούμενον,
 αὐτὴ δὲ δούλη ναῦς ἐπ' Ἀργείων ἔβην
 [...] φονεῦσιν Ἐκτορος νυμφεύομαι

(*Andromache* 390-95, 399-403)³³.

³² "the son of Achilles wanted to take me as his wife; and I shall be a slave in the house of murderers" (see 1.4.2.1).

³³ "I lay with my master by force; yet it is me you are killing, not him, *the one responsible for these things*, but leaving aside *the first cause* do you bear against the end result? Alas for *these evils*, o my unhappy country, what dread things I suffer...*who saw the wheel-dragged*

The evidence for a link is not conclusive, but there are apparent resemblances in the sequence of ideas. And it is clear that Sallebray's portrayal of Cassandre elsewhere does borrow from prior portrayals of Andromache. We considered this in relation to the tomb scene at [3.2.4.2](#); the scene where Cassandre pleads with Agamemnon for Astyanax's life also takes over elements from Andromache's supplication of Ulysses in previous versions: e.g.: "Grand Roy je me prosterne à vos sacrés genoux" (p.59), cp. Garnier 1013: "Ulysse, bon Ulysse, ores vos piés j'embrasse" and Seneca 691-2; and the appeal to Ulysse's own paternity:

Par ce qui vous est cher, sur tout par vos enfans,
Qu'on verra quelque jour comme vous triomphans
(p.60),

cp. Garnier 1027-8:

Et le Ciel puisse ainsi Télémaq' conserver,
Et plus qu'ayeul, que père, en honneur l'élever

and Seneca 700-702. If Sallebray's Cassandre will go on to influence Racine's *Andromaque*, it is also true that previous portrayals of Andromache have contributed to her own development - and may even have done so, through Euripides' *Andromache*, in the crucial matter of her relationship with her captor. If this last were so, Racine's adaptation of Sallebray's Cassandre-Agamemnon relationship to his own *Andromaque-Pyrrhus* pairing would be 'circular', with Racine taking Sallebray's idea back to its original source.

slaughter of Hector, and Ilion pitiably burning, and went myself a slave onto an Argive ship...I am wedded to Hector's murderers."

CHAPTER 4: RACINE'S *ANDROMAQUE*

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

Over twenty years pass before Andromache makes her next appearance in French classical drama. Racine's *Andromaque* (1667) is reckoned to be a new departure in French theatre, a young man's play, fiery and innovative. The plot, certainly, breaks out of the mould set by Seneca; after the reworkings of the immediate aftermath of Troy's fall, Racine opts for the context of Virgil's episode and Euripides' *Andromache*. The result gives an impression of sparkling clean originality, yet involves the transformation of various inherited stories and snippets into something that retains elements of all of them while forging its own identity. It is the purpose of this chapter, in considering Racine's creative response to the 'Andromache tradition' we have seen building up, to examine the place and importance of Euripides amongst the multiplicity of influences at work on *Andromaque*. Further, we may investigate whether an appreciation of Racine's use of his Greek sources may shed any light on thorny points of interpretation in his play.

4.1: External evidence

4.1.1: Racine's annotations of Greek texts

Racine is a special case not just because of his greater skill and reputation. His knowledge of Greek literature was exceptional and can claim a certain amount of valuable documentation. As Knight argues in Knight 1951 (ch. II, pp.31-4), at Port-Royal Racine was privileged to receive the best education in Greek available in the France of his time. The surviving evidence of his continuing Greek studies, a few manuscript commentaries and editions of a wide range of works annotated in his own hand, give a favourable impression of his quality as a scholar. His references to the *scholia*, which he could apparently read with ease¹; his ability to cross-reference²; and his familiar knowledge of learned commentaries (such as that of Eustathius on Homer) without dependence on them, suggest a high level of erudition and diligence joined to an excellent memory. These documents of personal study are invaluable to the study of Greek influence on Racine for two main reasons. Firstly, they

¹ See Mesnard 1865-73, vol.VI p.6 on Racine's *Remarques sur les Olympiques de Pindare*.

² For example, in his note to Sophocles' *Ajax* v.663 Racine refers to a point of detail in Euripides' *Iphigeneia in Aulis* - *Oeuvres*, Mesnard 1865-73, VI, p.240.

allow us certainty about what Racine had read (if not always about what he had *not*). Secondly, they give us evidence of Racine's reactions to the works of his Greek predecessors, in a private form so that the desire or need to placate or impress possible critics does not distort the expression of his opinion. Knight suggests (Knight 1951, pp.223-4) that the annotations show us something about Racine's approach to his own art through his attitude to the way his Greek predecessors practised it. I would further suggest that these notes reveal something of Racine as reader of Homer and Euripides, reacting to the things that particularly appeal to him, or to characters and situations which seem to him to have particular dramatic or tragic potential.

This latter consideration is particularly important in considering Racine's reaction to the 'Andromache tradition'. Critics have sometimes suggested that in the genesis of *Andromaque*, the 'modern' chain of relationships was more important than any interest of Racine's in the characters of the Trojan legend whose names are attached to the figures embodying those relationships. Barnwell generalises:

The tragic poets...seem also to be primarily concerned with a disposition involving attitudes and relationships in a general or abstract way first, and then particularized in individuals and set in a specific historical context

(Barnwell 1982, p.26).

This will be discussed later with reference to the composition of *Andromaque*. Initially, however, it is important to consider what evidence we have of Racine's interest in the *particular* figures from Greek legend he treats: primarily, on this occasion, Andromache.

4.1.1.1: Racine, Homer and Andromache

Whether or not because some of Racine's annotated copies of Euripides have been lost through time³, the indications of Racine's reactions to *Andromache*, *Troades* or even *Hecuba* are disappointingly thin. It is here that Racine's responses to Homer, far better documented, are of particular value. In considering the influence of Euripides' portrayals of Andromache on Racine it will help if we can, from other sources of

³ We have only two editions of Euripides' complete works annotated by Racine, as against four of Sophocles'; Mesnard for one believes that there were originally other copies of Euripides with fuller annotations by Racine than those which have survived.

information, find evidence that Racine would be interested in Andromache in Euripides' plays, gain insight into what attributes of the character and her story would particularly attract him, and discover something of the light in which he would view her. Although Euripides' portrayal comes at the start of both the surviving dramatic tradition and the tradition of Andromache's post-war experience, it does of course draw heavily on the Homeric image. It is therefore surely legitimate to draw some inferences about Racine's responses to the former from what he says about the latter.

Racine's notes on the passages relating to Andromache in the *Iliad* may, then, be illuminating. Of Racine's 'significant' comments reproduced by Mesnard (Mesnard 1865-73, VI, pp.195-211), those on Book 6, the book of Hector's farewell scene with Andromache, are more numerous than those on any other book⁴. In Book 6 Racine's admiration for the Hector-Andromache scene is clear: "Artifice admirable d'Homère d'avoir mêlé le rire, les larmes, la gravité, la tendresse, le courage, la crainte, et tout ce qui peut toucher" (note at foot of p.138 of Racine's copy - Mesnard VI, p.203). Equally clear is his *interest* in the couple. In part, this is a response to the artistry with which their encounter is presented, as the last quotation showed, linked with a sense of the moving quality of Homer's pictures of husband and wife: "Vers 404 et 405... Image admirable. Silence et sourire d'Hector. Larmes d'Andromaque" (Mesnard VI, p.202). The adjective "divin" is used as an approbatory comment only three times in the *Iliad* notes, and all three are in relation to Hector and Andromache, elicited by passages both artistic and moving; twice in Book 6: "Tableau divin" (p.203), in response to the incident where Hector's baby son shrinks back from his father's glancing helmet which is then gently removed, "Entretien divin d'Hector et d'Andromaque" (407, p.202); once in Book 24: "Paroles divines d'Andromaque sur le corps d'Hector" (725ff, - p.211). In part, Racine's interest may stem from a sense of the couple's tragic destiny: "Vers 447-449: Hector prévoit que Troie sera prise quelque jour. Cela excite plus de compassion que s'il était sûr de la victoire" (p.203); "Leur conversation même devient plus tragique et plus noble; elle se passe à la porte de la ville, par où Hector va sortir pour n'y plus rentrer [sic]" (p.202). But in part, too, it is the couple's relationship, and their personalities and feelings as revealed within that relationship, that interest Racine. In his comments prior to this scene, Racine has offered independent observations on Hector's behaviour

⁴ Compare the 39 notes that Mesnard reproduces for this book with the two for Book 9 and the four for Book 1, two books widely regarded as of capital importance to the poem's 'Wrath' theme and to the development of the central character, Achilles.

and character: "Vers 281 et 282 ... Mais quand il [Hector] le voit [Paris], il lui parle sans aigreur: ce qui marque bien le caractère d'un brave homme, d'épargner ceux qui sont au-dessous de lui" (p.201). He continues this now: "Vers 441: Le discours d'Hector est grave et passionné..." (p.202); but with an even greater interest in the reciprocal feelings and characteristics of him and his wife: their love, as revealed in the description to Hector of his wife running to the walls for news of him "Μαινομένη έκυβα ["like a madwoman", 389]; *Cela fait plaisir à Hector* [my italics], à qui on apprend l'amour d'Andromaque"; their mutual devotion - on 450ff.: "Il rend la pareille à Andromaque, et comme elle n'aime que lui, il ne craint pour personne tant que pour elle" (p.203). It appears further that he is especially interested in Andromache's side of the relationship. Racine comments on the tenderness of her address to her husband: "vers 407: Ce δαιμόνιε est fort tendre" (p.202); on her pride in Hector: "vers 410 (Πάντες ἐφορμηθέντες ["all rushing furiously against you"]): Tous les Grecs ensemble; car elle croit qu'il ne faut pas moins que cela pour venir à bout de son mari" (p.202); and finds in Homer's picture a woman whose thoughts are totally bound up with her husband: "vers 431-439. Andromaque veut lui donner un conseil. Cela convient bien à une femme inquiète, et qui a l'esprit tout plein de la guerre à cause du péril de son mari" (p.202). These all appear to be Racine's own reactions, and not based on ideas gleaned from Eustathius' commentary: a number of these last appear in these notes but they are usually acknowledged.

Already a picture is emerging of a lively interest awakened in Homer's tragic couple, and particularly in Andromache. Racine highlights her appearance by writing her name separately in larger letters just below the lines in which she first appears (390-4 - Mesnard VI, p.202), a distinction rarely accorded in these notes. It is, however, also accorded to Astyanax, the lines of whose first appearance (400-402) are marked off with an "accolade" and a N^a (Nota) in the margin (p.202). So a keen interest in the young son of this marriage is also indicated. In Homer, the excellence of Astyanax is to some degree a symbol not only of Hector's excellence in virtue (whence the name "Lord of the Town", "because Hector alone protected Troy" - again Racine notes this point in his comment on vv.402-3) but also of the excellence - the perfect wholeness - of his union with Andromache. The completeness of their love for each other is reflected in the love and tenderness both show for this fruit of their union - Hector especially here, Andromache especially in her later laments for the boy's shattered future

after Hector's death. The child also embodies their destiny; as he is their future, a feeling expressed by Hector in Book 6 in a prayer of which Racine has taken note ("Prière d'Hector sur son fils", 476-81), so his own eventual fate - foreshadowed in Andromache's lament in Book 24 - will be the final tragedy of their future: dead because his father is gone, dead so that for his mother all that Hector gave her is gone. Whether such a view accurately reflects Racine's own thoughts on the appearance of Astyanax in the *Iliad* as he wrote these notes is mere conjecture, although the relationship of the three thus viewed is very close to how Racine presents it in *Andromaque*. It does at least seem clear that the tragedy of Hector and Andromache as that of bright young lives, love and hopes torn apart particularly impressed Racine in his reading of the *Iliad*. On 725 of Book 24 he writes: "Paroles divines d'Andromaque sur le corps d'Hector. Tout cela marque la jeunesse de l'un et de l'autre. La séparation en est plus douloureuse". It seems that Racine's reading of the *Iliad* awakened in him a special interest in Andromache, in Hector, in Astyanax and in their tragic potential.

It is unfortunately very difficult to date these *marginalia*. Knight, after weighing internal evidence, scrutinising the development of Racine's handwriting from other dated documents, and considering cross-references and other external factors, comes up with a tentative schema (Knight 1951, pp.152-3). His outline and argument seem judicious and well-researched, but he cautions that his schema is only tentative; and in for the most part simply assigning to the annotations a rough chronological order between 1662 and 1676, he seems to me to be asserting as much as is reasonable. As a result we cannot be *sure*, on hard evidence, that these written remarks on the *Iliad* predate the composition of *Andromaque*. On the other hand, we can be certain that Racine had *read* the *Iliad* before 1662, due to his references to the epic in his more extensive manuscript *Remarques sur l'Odyssée*, dated 1662 in his own hand. There are, besides, sufficient verbal resonances of lines from the *Iliad* in *Andromaque* itself to prove that there was some link between the reading of the one and the creation of the other. Racine would certainly have *re-read* Homer when working on *Andromaque*. This is not to suggest that Racine at any stage went through the *Iliad* pen in hand, noting anything that might eventually be useful in one of his plays. It is to suggest, however, that on reading the *Iliad* Racine's interest and imagination were fired by Andromache (and family), whether or not he had any idea of channelling his response into a play of his own at

the time; and that, whether or not his noting down of these reactions predated 1667 (and I think it more likely so than not), his interest itself did.

4.1.2: Racine, *Andromache* and *Troades*

Regrettably, there are no surviving marginalia on *Andromache* in either of Racine's two editions of Euripides; on *Troades* there is precisely one, in the P. Estienne edition.⁵ This tells us for certain at least that Racine had read *Troades*, but not when; we shall have to rely on textual links to establish how far Racine's knowledge of *Troades* could and did play a part in the composition of *Andromaque*. As for *Andromache*, Racine's first preface to *Andromaque* tells us that he had definitely read the earlier Greek play before 1667, and asserts that it had a definite role to play in the creation of his own new work:

Voilà, [dans vv. 1-18 de *L'Énéide*] [...] les quatre [...] acteurs, et même leurs caractères. Excepté celui d'Hermione, dont la jalousie et les emportements sont assez marqués dans l'*Andromaque* d'Euripide ...

As a source of information for what Racine did or did not use from the relevant plays of Euripides, we are, in fact, left with his prefaces. Like all public statements, especially by Racine, the two prefaces to *Andromaque* need to be handled circumspectly. Throughout the history of French literature such preambles to a published work have usually been part of widespread polemic and controversy, set against a background requiring the author to defend or to 'cover' himself. Appeals to ancient critical precepts and to contemporary theories purporting to be based on them, to different sources and to legendary authority abound - and sometimes the sincerity or the whole-heartedness of these may be doubted. Often we may feel that the real or main reasons for this or that innovation lies elsewhere than in these self-justifying claims for higher authority. As a result, the reasons writers give and the statements they make concerning their work and its antecedents need careful scrutiny.

Racine opens both his 1668/1673 and 1676 prefaces by quoting Virgil's *Aeneid* 3.292-3, 301, 303-5, 320-32. He then goes on to state:

⁵ Mesnard appears to have overlooked this; Knight reproduces the single note in Knight 1951, appendix II (p.425).

Voilà, en peu de vers, tout le sujet de cette tragédie. Voilà le lieu de la scène, l'action qui s'y passe, les quatre principaux acteurs, et même leurs caractères...

On the other hand there is nothing in the Virgil quotation that is not there in Euripides' version of the story, except the detail that Andromache was handed on by *Pyrrhus* to Helenus after his new marriage (in *Andromache* the 'heroine' is thus bestowed by Thetis, after Pyrrhus/Neoptolemos' death). Moreover, crucial developments in Racine's plot, such as Andromaque's retaining first place in Pyrrhus' affections, and the role of her child in the subsequent complications, are not suggested in Virgil at all, whereas they may relate to suggestions in *Andromache* or even *Troades*. Some of the innovations can be referred to contemporary parallels; Racine, proud of his classical scholarship, shows a certain reticence in admitting these debts to fellow French writers. But why should Racine claim Virgil as the particular source and, further, deliberately play down Euripides' influence on *Andromaque*, as he does in the 1676 preface?

...la jalousie et les emportements [d'Hermione] sont ...
presque la seule chose que j'emprunte ici de cet auteur
[Euripides].

Is Hermione really the only true link between Racine's play and Euripides, or does Racine have ulterior motives for skirting round his debt to the Greek author?⁶

After that opening assertion, Racine goes on to establish and explain the difference between *Andromache* and *Andromaque*. His distinction centres around the fact that in the Greek play the heroine is tied to a new partner and has a son by him, whereas Racine has kept her unsullied by this later union: "J'ai cru en cela me conformer à l'idée que nous avons maintenant de cette princesse [...] La plupart [...] ne la connaissent guère que pour la veuve d'Hector et pour la mère d'Astyanax". A distaste for the idea of Homer's faithful and virtuous Andromache ending up the enforced bed-fellow of another man pervades much of French criticism, even two centuries later (see e.g. Saint-Victor 1884). Possibly, then, Racine is being coy

⁶ Barnwell, despite his general view that Racine does not owe a primary debt to Euripides here, does state that "the features which attach these two characters [Pyrrhus and Andromaque] to their ancient counterparts are also more extensive than he claims" (Barnwell 1982, p.60).

about a social imperative: contemporary proprieties and taste would not have been favourable to Euripides' realistic portrayal of a captive Andromache having no choice but to be her captor's concubine, and therefore almost inevitably the mother of his child. French seventeenth century heroes do not impose their "favours" on women. Perhaps more importantly, Racine's newly-conceived plot - derived from whatever sources - likewise forbade any such presentation of the situation. There can be no conflict between Andromaque and Pyrrhus if Pyrrhus can simply take what he wants; and as Knight succinctly puts it, "la figure de Pyrrhus soupirant exclut celle d'un fils dont Pyrrhus serait le père" (Knight 1951, p.271). In distancing his work from Euripides' on these grounds, Racine in this second preface may be making a virtue out of necessity.

Moreover, the main purpose of what Racine has to say in the preface is to justify the prolongation of Astyanax's life. The substitution of Astyanax for Molossus is inextricably linked to the altered relations between Pyrrhus and Andromaque and is therefore as essential to the plot. Barnwell states:

The prolongation of the life of Astyanax is of course crucial to the situation: without it, Oreste would have no pretext for his visit to Epirus, and Pyrrhus would have no means of blackmailing Andromaque

(Barnwell 1982, pp.60-61).

Furthermore, whatever Racine's own reactions to Andromache as the devoted mother of her captor's child in Euripides' play, his dramatist's eye is on the public taste and on what would most greatly move his audience:

....je doute que les larmes d'Andromaque eussent fait sur l'esprit de mes spectateurs l'impression qu'elles y ont faite, si elles avaient coulé pour un autre fils que celui qu'elle avait d'Hector.

The substitution, though, in 'resurrecting' Astyanax flies in the face of the Greek legend as Racine's prestigious classical predecessors, both Euripides *and* Virgil, had presented it. In 1676 it seems to be this deviation that Racine feels called upon to justify. He does so, among other strategies, by stating the problems with Euripides' portrayal of Andromache as strongly as

possible: "On ne croit point qu'elle doive aimer ni un autre mari ni un autre fils". It is not hard to imagine why: at a stage when Racine was insistently proclaiming his debt to the Ancients, particularly Euripides, his own departure in an earlier work from the basic facts of the latter's version might appear an awkward contradiction. Since this departure was absolutely essential to his play, the easiest way for Racine to preserve his classical credentials would be to insist, even to the point of exaggeration, that on this occasion Euripides' portrayal had grave drawbacks for presentation to a modern audience, and therefore absolutely required emendation. None of what Racine says in this preface, then, necessarily reflects what he actually thought about and understood from his reading of *Andromache*.

4.2: Internal evidence

In the end, it is on textual evidence that we shall have to decide how far either *Andromache* or *Troades* helped to shape Racine's tragedy. The evidence for *Andromache* having played at least some part is clear: the testimony of the prefaces is supported by direct verbal links: for instance Andromaque's 871-2 to Hermione:

[mon fils]
Lorsque de tant de biens qui pouvaient nous flatter,
C'est le seul qui nous reste, et qu'on veut nous l'ôter,

closely related to *Andromache*'s 406-7 in Euripides:

εἷς παῖς ὃδ' ἦν μοι λοιπὸς ὀφθαλμὸς βίου·
τοῦτον κτενεῖν μέλλουσιν οἷς δοκεῖ τάδε⁷.

The case of *Troades* is more problematic. The influence of this play is often very closely intertwined with that of Seneca's *Troades*, Garnier's *La Troade* and Sallebray's *La Troade*. Most of the clearly identifiable verbal links⁸ have a certain ambiguity about them, with the same ideas similarly

⁷ "This one child was left to me, the light ["eye"] of my life; they [to whom these things seem good] intend to kill him..."

⁸ Racine 193, 268, 1069-71 cp. Euripides' 1160-61 and 702f. (Knight 1951, p.282); Pyrrhus in 179-80 cp. Hecuba in *Troades* 1158-60; Céphise in 1069-71 cp. *Andromache* in *Troades* 747-8; Andromaque in 1077-81 cp. *Andromache* in *Tro.* 661-3, 667-8.

expressed in other sources. On some occasions the Greek lines are the *closest* to Racine's, as with the best of the examples just cited:

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!
 (*Andromaque* 1069-71)

cp.:

κἄν δρῶς τάδ' [...]
 καὶ παῖδα τόνδε παιδὸς ἐκθρέψειας ἄν [...]
 ἐξ οὗ γενόμενοι παῖδες Ἴλιον πάλιν
 (*Troades* 702-5)⁹

οὐ σφάγιον υἷὸν Δαναΐδαις τέξουσ' ἐμόν,
 ἀλλ' ὡς τύραννον Ἀσιάδος πολυσπόρου
 (*Troades* 747-8)¹⁰.

There is, however, one particular passage which in my view clinches the matter; this is Céphise's advice to Andromaque in the final scene of Act III:

Madame, à votre époux c'est être assez fidèle:
 Trop de vertu pourrait vous rendre criminelle.
 Lui-même il porterait votre âme à la douceur.
 - ANDROMAQUE: Quoi! je lui donnerais Pyrrhus pour successeur?
 - CEPHISE: *Ainsi le veut son fils, que les Grecs vous ravissent*
 (981-5).

The parallels with Hecuba's advice to her daughter-in-law in Euripides, though not exact, seem clear enough:

ἀλλ', ὦ φίλη παῖ, τὰς μὲν Ἔκτορος τύχας
 ἔασον· οὐ μὴ δάκρυά νιν σώσῃ τὰ σά·
 τίμα δὲ τὸν παρόντα δεσπότην σέθεν,

⁹ "And if you do this...you may also rear up this son of my son ... from whom children being born may reestablish Iliion."

¹⁰ "not bearing my son as a slaughter-victim to the Danaans, but as king of fruitful Asia."

φίλον διδοῦσα δέλεαρ ἀνδρὶ σῶν τρόπων.
 κἂν δρῆς τάδ' [...]
 [...] παῖδα τόνδε παιδὸς ἐκθρέψειας ἄν

(*Troades*, 697-702)¹¹.

We should also look briefly at the textual evidence for links with the other principal works in the Andromache tradition we have been studying. Sallebray's *La Troade* (3.3.1) has an indisputable claim. With Garnier and Seneca, the close correspondence between these two plays and between their works and Sallebray's greatly complicates the question. But there is evidence that each was directly involved. Here we may cite one example of an 'independent' echo for each. Firstly, Garnier:

Il [Astyanax] est allé revoir son père magnanime
 (*La Troade* 790)

cp.:

Mais enfin sur ses pas [d'Astyanax] j'irai revoir son père
 (*Andromaque* 378)¹².

Then for Seneca, compare Pyrrhus' words to Agamemnon

ut alia silcam merita, non unus satis
 Hector fuisset? Ilium vicit pater,
 vos diruistis

(*Troades* 234-6)

with *Andromaque's* to Pyrrhus:

[Hector] Sa mort seule a rendu votre père immortel
 (*Andromaque* 360).

Racine's verbal debt to the *Aeneid* is of course well-established; an indication of some of the correspondences between passages describing Pyrrhus at the sack of Troy will suffice:

¹¹ "But, my dear child, let Hector's misfortunes be; your tears cannot save him; honour your present master, presenting to your husband a dear bait of your ways (perhaps to be understood as "a bait of your sweet ways"). And if you do these things... you will be able to rear up this son of my son..."

¹² The *rapprochement* is owed to Knight & Barnwell 1977, p.160.

ipsum primoque in limine Pyrrhus
 exsultat telis et luce coruscus aëna [...]
 fit via vi

(*Aeneid* 2.469-70, 494)¹³

cp.:

Figure-toi, Pyrrhus, les yeux étincilants
 Entrant à la lueur de nos palais brûlants,
 Sur tous mes frères morts se faisant un passage
 (999-1001).

And finally we should note the verbal links brought out by Georges May between Racine's *Andromaque* and the surviving fragments from the 'lost' play *Andromache aechmalotis* of the early Roman dramatist Ennius. For instance:

le vers de Racine

O cendres d'un époux! ô Troyens! ô mon père,
 est bien, dans son mouvement, l'écho du vers d'Ennius
 O pater, o patria, o Priami domus.

(May 1947(b), p.464)¹⁴.

Ennius as a source is closely linked with Euripides, whom many of the fragments seem to imitate closely. He needs to be mentioned here because Racine shows personal acquaintance with him: there are one or two passages where his possible influence will require to be weighed alongside that of Euripides.

4.3 Racine's original plot: source, situation, and the role of Euripides.

Car, quoique ma tragédie porte le même nom que la sienne,
 le sujet en est pourtant très différent.

So declared Racine, in 1676, about the relationship between his play and Euripides' *Andromache* (Second preface). Much respected critical opinion, particularly this century, has concurred: "Racine's concept of the subject of

¹³ "right in the doorway Pyrrhus pranced, shining in his glittering bronze armour... violence opened a passage."

¹⁴ Most of the Ennian fragments from this play are to be found in quotations in Cicero's *Tusculans*, a work which Racine knew well as early as 1662 - see May 1947(b), p.464.

his tragedy," declares Barnwell (Barnwell 1982, p. 9), "is very remote from that of his classical sources ... the primary aspect of the subject is the moral situation". Attention has been drawn instead to contemporary plays involving closely analogous "moral situations": Thomas Corneille's *Camma*, Rotrou's *Hercule Mourant* (Rudler 1917), above all Pierre Corneille's *Pertharite*, of which even in the eighteenth century Voltaire declared:

Il me paraît prouvé ... que Racine a puisé toute l'ordonnance de sa tragédie d'*Andromaque* dans ce second acte de *Pertharite*..¹⁵

While no-one nowadays would wish to deny the influence of these works, even they show important differences from Racine's play. At the same time, some of Racine's apparently radical modifications to the ancient legend may relate to aspects of Euripides' treatment overlooked by many critics.

What are the fundamental differences between *Andromaque* and *Andromache* at stake? Those that Racine has in mind in his second preface seem to be the transformation of Molossos, Andromache's son by Neoptolemos/Pyrhus, back into Astyanax to return Andromache to her state of faithful widowed chastity. Motivating that difference is a basic difference of plot: the threat to Andromache's son comes not from Hermione,¹⁶ but from Pyrrhus. Thus the central conflict involving Andromache is now with Pyrrhus himself; the spotlighted cause of her and her son's peril is not her rival's jealousy but her master's love. Those maintaining the essential difference between Racine and Euripides identify three principal elements that go to make up this conflict: Pyrrhus' love for Andromaque, Andromaque's ability and determination to resist him, and Pyrrhus' threats against Astyanax to get his way. So as regards Pyrrhus and Andromaque, it is said:

... ce qui fait d'*Andromaque* ce qu'elle est, [c'est ... l'élément] de ... *la captive aimée d'un maître qui cherche à fléchir sa*

¹⁵ Quoted from Rudler 1917, p.286.

¹⁶ Although Hermione may fan the flames (445).

résistance en menaçant la vie d'un être qui lui est cher. Or rien de tout cela ne se retrouve chez Euripide ...

(Knight and Barnwell 1977, pp.10-11)

Let us consider each of these three elements in turn, asking if there *are* any links between them and Euripides.

4.3.1: Pyrrhus and Andromaque: "la captive aimée d'un maître"

Firstly, Pyrrhus' passion for Andromaque. It would be foolish to deny the assertion of H. Gaston Hall:

There is nothing in *Aeneid* III or in the *Andromache* of Euripides (which has no Pyrrhus) that resembles the quality of Pyrrhus' love for Andromaque in Racine's play

(Hall 1974, p.64).

But this does not oblige us to find this aspect of Pyrrhus totally dependent on other sources and quite unconnected with his portrayal in Euripides. In the first place, Hall's statement that *Andromache* "has no Pyrrhus" is misleading. Pyrrhus/Neoptolemos appears on stage only as a corpse in that play but is intimately concerned in all of its action (see [1.1.1](#)). Moreover the relationship between Neoptolemos and Andromache - which Racine restores to prominence after it has been sidelined by the entire dramatic tradition from Seneca onwards¹⁷ - is central to at least the first part of Euripides' plot. In *Troades*, too, Euripides devotes two speeches to the question of Andromache's feelings and behaviour towards her new master. So Racine would not have to go outside Euripides' treatment of the Greek legend to find a precedent for exploring the relationship between this particular captor and captive.

Secondly, and more importantly, Racine could have found in Euripides' portrayals indications of a personal inclination towards Andromache on Pyrrhus' part. These indications gain distinction from the contrast between Euripides and his successors in the 'Andromache tradition'. Garnier ignored Pyrrhus' possession of Andromache; Sallebray portrayed him as urging the extermination of Hector's wife along with the rest of the family. Seneca's passing mention of Andromache's allocation to

¹⁷ See [2.2.2.3](#). Virgil, though giving the relationship more attention, still glosses over it in a dozen lines (*Aeneid* 3.323-34).

Pyrrhus by its phrasing takes stress away from any idea of choice: "Te sorte prima Scyrius iuvenis tulit"¹⁸. Even Virgil, though his Andromache talks as if of a 'marriage', portrays Pyrrhus' feelings towards her as nothing more than a generalised lust¹⁹. Euripides' approach is significantly different. In *Troades*, the line announcing Andromache's fate calls attention to the fact that Andromache (like Cassandra) was specially chosen out by her captor: "ἐξαίρετον" (273)²⁰. ἐξαίρετον, "chosen out" contrasts with the use of the verb "ἔλαχε" for "received as his lot" applied to Odysseus' gaining of Hecuba in 277. In Andromache's later speech the point is reiterated that Neoptolemos had an especial interest in gaining Andromache as his prize: more a desire for possession than anything resembling 'love' as such but an *individual* desire based on Andromache's good qualities and reputation:

καὶ τῶνδε κληδῶν ἐς στρατεύμ' Ἀχαιϊκὸν
 ἐλθοῦσ' ἀπώλεσεν μ' ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἤρέθην,
 Ἀχιλλέως με παῖς ἐβουλήθη λαβεῖν
 δάμαρτα

(657-60)²¹.

In *Andromache*, that term ἐξαίρετον crops up again in Andromache's opening description of her fate:

τῷ νησιῶτῃ Νεοπτολέμῳ δορὸς γέρας
 δοθεῖσα λείας Τρωικῆς ἐξαίρετον

(14-15)²².

As regards the present situation, the matter of Hermione's jealousy naturally leads to suspicions about Neoptolemos' preferences. Some commentators have even opined that Neoptolemos has continued to sleep with Andromache after his marriage to Hermione; the point is certainly

¹⁸ *Troades* 976, "The Scyrian youth won you by the first lot".

¹⁹ "o felix...virgo,/...quae sortitus non pertulit ullos/ nec victoris heri tetegit captiva cubile!", "stirpis Achilleae fastus iuvenemque superbum" (3.321-6): "o happy...maiden, ...who was not chosen by lot to gratify a conqueror's lust", "the scornful arrogance of Achilles' young son."

²⁰ "She too was *chosen out*, taken by the son of Achilles."

²¹ " And the report of these things [Andromache has just outlined her pre-eminently virtuous conduct as Hector's wife], when it reached the Achaean camp, destroyed me; for when I was captured, the son of Achilles desired to take me as his wife."

²² "being given to the islander Neoptolemos as a spear-prize *chosen out* from the plunder of Troy".

ambiguous. And although nothing *definite* is said there is a general impression that Andromache is or has been a 'favourite' among Neoptolemos' slaves (163-7, for instance, suggest that hitherto she has not been assigned to menial duties), and that Hermione's complaint of her husband's "hatred" is supported by some sign of inclination on his part towards Andromache. All the concrete indications are that Neoptolemos is at any rate kindly disposed towards Andromache and their son: Hermione as well as Andromache, Peleus, the slave-girl and the Chorus all assume that Neoptolemos would protect the captives if he were to return. Might Racine not have worked partly from this basis when he created his Pyrrhus in love with Andromaque?

This is not to deny the concurrent influence of contemporary plays. The conqueror-in-love-with-captive situation recurs frequently in seventeenth-century French theatre, sometimes in relation to other figures from the Trojan legend. We have already discussed Sallebray's Agamemnon and Cassandre couple, which certainly contributed to Racine's play. Behind Sallebray, Knight sees a series of Greek-Trojan, victor-vanquished love affairs, concerning mainly Pyrrhus' father Achilles, intractable and unromantic in the main Greek sources, transformed with the help of the authority of Dictys and Dares (see 2.2.1) into a French *galant* lover by Alexandre Hardy, and by Isaac Benserade in 1635, in two *Mort d'Achille* plays: the object of his affection in both cases the Trojan princess Polyxena, Hector's sister. This evolving tradition, Knight believes, also influenced Racine's conception of his new play:

Car Andromaque, où le fils d'Achille aime, comme son père, une Troyenne, et respecte sa captive comme l'Agamemnon de Sallebray, prend sa place dans la lignée issue, je crois, en passant par Hardy, de Darès.

(Knight 1951, p.115).

Other plays involve completely different stories but closely analogous relationships between the characters: Hercule's love for his prisoner Iole in Rotrou's *Hercule mourant*, Grimoald's love for Rodelinde, the captive widow of the conquered king, in *Pertharite*. It is impossible to say definitively from which line of dramatic tradition Racine took his ideas. Quite possibly the 'finished product' of Pyrrhus enslaved by his passion for his captive Andromaque is a subtle combination of both: the basic situation

as presented to him in the case of his particular characters in the Greek intensified by suggestions drawn from other, similar relationships. The point to emphasise is that, whether it was at the outset or later in the play's genesis that Racine decided to base a dramatic situation of this kind round the story of Pyrrhus and Andromache, the rudiments of the required sentiments were already there in Euripides.

4.3.2: Pyrrhus and Andromaque: the captive's resistance

The second basic element of Racine's Pyrrhus-Andromaque conflict, Andromaque's resistance, does indeed involve a crucial difference of situation from Euripides. A Greek Andromache would never have the choice that is fundamental to Racine's plot: "It is out of Andromaque's invented capacity to resist the advances of Pyrrhus that Racine virtually creates his play" (Barnwell 1982, p.11). But the *desire* to resist, and its motives, are as important to the dramatic situation as the ability to do so; and here an appreciation of the links between Racine's Andromache and Euripides' becomes vital. In Racine, Andromaque's resistance to Pyrrhus is motivated by a "répugnance morale pour son conquérant, meurtrier, ou fils de meurtrier, de toute sa famille"²³. The repugnance arises both from Pyrrhus' own career at Troy and from his father's: "Troie, Hector, contre vous révoltent-ils son ame?" (357). And, crucially, Andromaque tends to identify Pyrrhus with his father Achilles in a way that is pretty nearly absolute. Twice at least she talks of Pyrrhus as if he were actually guilty of the deaths his father caused - her father's, her brothers', her husband's: once in Pyrrhus' presence:

Il [Astyanax] m'aurait tenu lieu d'un père et d'un époux,
Mais il me faut *tout perdre*, et *toujours par vos coups*
(279-80);

once in an anguished apostrophe to him in his absence:

[Astyanax] T'a-t-il de *tous les siens* reproché le trépas?
(1031).

Knight comments on this trait:

²³ Knight 1951, p.273, with acknowledgement to Rudler.

Chez Euripide, je ne trouve *rien de pareil* [my italics]; tout dans l'esclavage est amer, ce surcroît d'amertume n'est pas remarqué; dans l'antiquité de telles répugnances, hélas, ne tiraient pas à conséquence.

(Knight 1951, p.273).

I am forced to take issue with Knight on this point. The Andromache of *Troades* finds her allocation to *Neoptolemos* a shattering blow: consider the lines quoted earlier (657-60; above, [4.3.1](#)), where she stated that the good repute which led Achilles' son to single her out "ἀπώλεσεν μ'": "destroyed me, ruined me"; she follows these lines with the bleak statement: "δουλεύσω δ' ἐν αὐθεντῶν δόμοις" (660: "I shall be a slave in the house of murderers"). What is more, in *Andromache* Euripides' heroine clearly expresses that identification of son with father noted in Racine, in a stark and memorable formulation of her present position: "φονεῦσιν Ἑκτορος νυμφεύομαι" (403: "I am wedded to Hector's murderers"). In both *Andromache* and *Troades* the aversion of Andromache to her new master based on this association is reinforced by the often significant use of the periphrasis παῖς Ἀχιλλέως ("son of Achilles") for Neoptolemos/Pyrhus (e.g. *Troades* 658-9, *Andromache* 24-5). Thus the trait of emotional or moral repugnance for her master on these grounds is clearly established in Euripides' portrayal of Andromache. The trait is absent from the intervening 'Andromache tradition', except in Sallebray where there is one brief reference to it ([3.1.1](#) and [3.2.3.1](#)). While Racine quite possibly drew on Sallebray's reference (see [5.1.1.2](#)), only in Euripides could he have found this trait indicated as clearly as in his own development of it, and integrated into a similarly prominent treatment of the Pyrrhus-Andromaque relationship.

Knight and Barnwell (1977, p.14) talk of Racine "prêtant à ses personnages une façon de réagir à leur *situation* qui n'est certes pas celle de leurs prototypes grecs et troyens (une Andromaque qui ne saurait songer à résister aux avances de son maître...)". But whereas Euripides' Andromache had to submit to the new physical relationship, she does in fact, in *Troades* at least, think of moral or emotional resistance: this is the whole point of the dilemma evoked in 661-72. Even in *Andromache* she insists with some passion on the unwillingness with which she has shared Neoptolemos' bed (37-8, 390-91). Thus there is in Euripides' portrayal of Andromache much more of the resistance to Pyrrhus so central to Racine's plot than Knight,

Barnwell and even Rudler²⁴ allow. All that Racine needed to do was to allow Andromache's resistance to be effective, in line with contemporary proprieties and with the situation he found in contemporary plays. The effective resistance of the heroines of *Pertharite* and *Hercule mourant* does not of itself give Rodelinde or Iole a greater influence than the Greek Andromache in shaping this aspect of Andromaque's role in Racine. It may be true that their ability to resist is coupled to a motive similar to that of Racine's heroine:

Racine ... met [son héroïne] ... dans la même situation qu'Iole ... ou que Rodelinde ... Ces trois personnages féminins refusent l'amour du conquérant de leur patrie ... parce qu'il est leur ennemi ... [et] parce qu'il a été parmi ceux qui ont causé la mort d'un être qui leur était cher.

(Barnwell 1963, p.22).

But the objections of Andromaque to her suitor are more specific than Rodelinde's and more subtle than either Rodelinde's or Iole's. Andromaque associates Pyrrhus with Hector's death more personally than Rodelinde associates Grimoald with her husband's (supposed) demise; and the association is based on an identification of son with father that has no equivalent in the thinking of either of the other heroines. This important side to the psychology of Andromaque's aversion, then, is not matched in the contemporary sources; while it mirrors exactly a trait Racine could have found in Euripides' Andromache.

4.3.3: Pyrrhus and Andromaque: blackmail and dilemma

The third essential element of Racine's renewed situation is Pyrrhus' use of threats against Astyanax as a trump-card in the battle for Andromaque's affections. Hall characterises "Pyrrhus' courtship through blackmail" as "a device already exploited in similar dramatic circumstances by P. Corneille in *Pertharite* and by Th. Corneille in *Camille*" (Hall 1974, p.65). To these may be added *Hercule mourant* and a good dozen other seventeenth-century plays²⁵. Only *Pertharite* presents a very close analogy to *Andromaque*, however, with Grimoald threatening Rodelinde's *child* to induce her to marry him. There are differences: the expedient is suggested

²⁴ Rudler 1917, pp.439-40, 441.

²⁵ Listed in Knight and Barnwell 1977, p.11, note 9.

and largely enacted by a third party, Garibalde; unlike Pyrrhus, Grimoald himself shows reluctance in pursuing this course; Rodelinde responds to her dilemma by accepting marriage if Grimoald will kill the child himself, for somewhat complicated reasons (see. e.g. Knight and Barnwell 1977, pp.12-13). Nonetheless, the blackmail situation adopted by Racine between an enamoured conqueror and a reluctant party from the conquered side was clearly already well-established as a contemporary dramatic formula, and *Pertharite* could provide a model for the particular version of the situation Racine wanted. Thus it is possible that Racine simply combined the name and person of Astyanax with a theatrically promising formula from contemporary sources, by the simple expedient of keeping the boy alive. His plot required *this* child; and he had a good excuse to hand in the branch of legend that had Astyanax survive Troy to become ancestor of the French monarchy²⁶ - although introducing his survival into *Andromache's* post-war story was a new and therefore a bold departure.

While this is Astyanax's first appearance in this particular situation, already in his literary history he has figured in conflict with his father's memory as enemies attempt to force their way with his mother. Such is the situation in the *Andromache* episode in Seneca, and in Garnier and Sallebray who borrow his plot. There is a crucial difference: it is *Andromache's* loyalty to her husband that is used as a 'lever' to force her to surrender her son whose death is the enemy's object; the position in Racine is almost exactly the reverse. Nonetheless, the dilemma set before *Andromache* by Ulysses - the choice between abandoning either love and loyalty to her son (in surrendering him to those who seek his death), or love and loyalty to her husband (in forsaking her perceived obligation to his remains or memory) - is the same as that with which Pyrrhus confronts her in *Andromaque*. Knight and Barnwell admit the potential importance of Seneca in influencing the genesis of Racine's play in this respect:

Et qui sait si ce ne fut pas le souvenir d'Andromaque (celui de Sénèque sans doute, qui lutte en vain pour sauver son Astyanax des mains d'Ulysse), surgi inopinément dans la mémoire de Racine comme pour protester contre [la]

²⁶ Referred to by Ronsard in the *Franciade*, and as recently as 1657 in Desmaret's *Clovis*. See Hall 1974, pp.73-5, for the recurrences of this legend; and cp. Racine's second preface.

fanfaronnante générosité [de Rodelinde], qui lui inspira tout d'abord l'idée de transposer la situation lombarde [de *Pertharite*] en terre grecque?

(Knight and Barnwell 1977, p.13).

One may, though, put the case for the influence of the ancient *Andromache* tradition more strongly than that. Rudler suggests the possibility that:

la résurrection d'Astyanax... soit... née spontanément d'une méditation d'Euripide et de Sénèque, dont l'*Andromaque* et les *Troyennes* esquissent des chantages analogues à celui de Pyrrhus

(Rudler 1917, p.442).

Some interesting conclusions emerge if we consider the plays of Euripides and Seneca as sources working in combination. In *Andromache* the heroine is faced with the threat of her son's death if she will not comply with her captor's wishes; this time, as in Racine, it is the boy who is the lever and not the object in the blackmail. What Menelaus and Hermione want is *Andromache's* death, with the result that her choice, as eventually in Racine, requires the sacrifice of her own life. It has already been argued that Seneca may have developed his *Andromache's* conflict of loyalties to dead husband and living son out of ideas in Euripides, rather than *totally* inventing it. Such a 'conflict' is not part of the action in *Andromache* (1.4.1). But in *Troades* the germ of the more clear-cut conflict of Seneca and Racine is present: *Andromache's* dilemma (660-64 ff.), outlines a conflict between her feelings for Hector and against her new master on the one hand, and the risk of incurring her master's displeasure - the necessities of survival - on the other. Although the conflict does not yet centre round her son, Hecuba's advice (697-705) introduces Astyanax into the problem, offsetting his interests against *Andromache's* emotional resistance to her master. Furthermore, unlike Seneca, Euripides includes Neoptolemos/Pyrrhus, and *Andromache's* response to him, in the picture. Already *Andromache* sees the option of surrender to Neoptolemos in emotional terms: she talks of having to "open her mind (or 'heart')" to him: "ἀναπτύξω φρένα" (662). Already the old queen of Troy is talking of *Andromache* getting Neoptolemos onside with her "manners" or "temper"

(σῶν τρόπων) as a "pleasing (lit. "dear") bait" (φίλον δέλεαρ) (700). Hecuba probably has in mind the quiet allurements of Andromache's virtue rather than allurements of intentional charm and endearments, but the germ of Racine's Céphise, who urges her mistress to play on Pyrrhus' inclination and accept his love and his hand, may well be there.

Thus the three cardinal elements of Andromaque's dilemma as Racine recreates it are present, in disparate contexts, in his classical sources: threats against Andromache's son to gain something from her (*Andromache*); an ultimatum involving a choice between saving Astyanax and loyalty to Hector (Seneca's *Troades*, possibly combining elements from Euripides' two plays); a dilemma between emotional surrender to Pyrrhus and maintaining fidelity to her dead husband (Euripides' *Troades*). Whatever *Pertharite* may have contributed to the overall shape of Racine's "moral situation", in the adaptation of the Pyrrhus and Andromache story to suit that situation can it be true to say that "l'influence d'Euripide est ici assez faible"?²⁷

4.3.4: Sources, situation and inspiration: conclusions

In 1951, Knight posed the question of the initial inspiration for *Andromaque*:

On voudrait bien savoir lequel, du schéma moderne ou du choix des quatre personnages antiques, constitue l'élément primordial de la tragédie de Racine; car on pourrait soutenir avec autant de vraisemblance l'une ou l'autre [des] deux thèses contradictoires...

(Knight 1951, p.270).

In Knight and Barnwell 1977, we find a less equivocal judgement, influenced by research into the practice of other seventeenth-century dramatists in similar cases²⁸: "Aujourd'hui ... il nous semble possible d'opter pour le schéma moderne" (p.15). In the light of all that has just been argued, perhaps this verdict requires modification. Almost undoubtedly a model such as *Pertharite* gave Racine the precise framework into which to fit the situation he was portraying. But if nothing had ever been known of *Pertharite* or the other contemporary plays, it would still be possible to see

²⁷ Knight 1951, p.285.

²⁸ This research is set down in detail in Barnwell 1982.

how Racine could have developed *Andromaque* - at least so far as Pyrrhus and Andromaque are concerned - from Seneca and Euripides. Whatever its relationship to its contemporaries, Racine's play is *at the same time* a comprehensible development of the Andromache tradition we have been tracing. Thus when Barnwell characterises Racine's conception of the plot as "based not on the ancient myth, but on the new relationships between the characters" (Barnwell 1988, p.60), he overstates the case. Most of the important aspects of the relationship between Pyrrhus and Andromaque can be seen as developments or recreations of something *already* present in the "ancient myth" as treated by the ancient dramatists. One cardinal particularity of that relationship, the complex foundations of Andromaque's aversion, directly mirrors Euripides' portrayal and has no counterpart in seventeenth-century literature. It remains possible, therefore, that Racine saw in Euripides and Seneca glimmerings of the situation he would eventually render in *Andromaque* before he found the more tightly interconnected structure for that situation that *Pertharite* supplied.

Chronological priority is not, however, the main point at issue here. The important conclusion is that Racine wanted to write a play about Andromache as he met her in his classical reading at least as much as he wanted to write a play based on the dramatically interesting formula of relationships identified in Knight and Barnwell 1977, p.13. Euripides' Andromache (and Homer's, and Seneca's) lent herself to the situation; the situation lent itself to her.

CHAPTER 5: RACINE'S *ANDROMAQUE* DETAILED DISCUSSION

Having argued that Racine's reading of Euripides did have a strong influence on the overall conception and design of *Andromaque*, we may now proceed to consider in more detail what Euripides contributed to Racine's portrayal of the Andromache story. A series of major aspects relevant to *Andromaque*'s character and situation will be considered according to the following principles:

- (a) Firstly, the case for a link between Racine's play and the work of Euripides will be examined, considering where and to what extent other, intervening, Latin or French works either modify or supercede the Greek works as sources;
- (b) Secondly, the 'creative relationship' between Racine's play and the other works he may have drawn on will be explored, looking for occasions where Racine has gone on to create something original for his own purposes from a 'starting-point' found in a character, an idea or an expression in another work.
- (c) Thirdly, it will be considered how an appreciation of the Greek sources might help to illuminate certain problematic aspects of Racine's presentation of *Andromaque*.

5.1: *Andromaque* and the past

The first subject is the past, and more especially the figures of the past, in *Andromaque*. This becomes crucial to studying the character and experience of *Andromaque* with respect to two relationships in particular: her own with Hector, and Pyrrhus' with Achilles. The title "fils d'Achille" when used in the context of Pyrrhus' hopes regarding *Andromaque* intentionally emphasises the ironies and incompatibilities involved:

Elle est veuve d'Hector, et je suis fils d'Achille;
Trop de haine sépare *Andromaque* et Pyrrhus
(662-3).

At the same time, it is clear that the Trojan War is a vital background to the events depicted, with *all* of the main characters having a family history rooted in the great and tragic Greek-Trojan conflict. Hermione and Oreste (1477-811; 1159-62) as well as Pyrrhus and *Andromaque* compare their own

present experience with the past, as lived through by their own parents. Barnwell, discussing the use of Pyrrhus' patronymic, adds:

And the other characters of the play are introduced through their relationships to some of the principal figures of the war... these means of attaching the characters to their mythical past - the allusiveness contributing much to Racine's poetry - provide causes of dramatic conflict through their irreconcilable perceptions of that past.

(Barnwell 1988, p.61).

5.1.1: Patronymics

5.1.1.1: General patterns of use

This shadow of the past is evoked most strikingly by the way the characters refer to themselves and others in terms of their relationship to the 'first generation' of the Trojan War - to their parents or (in Andromaque's case) late husband. "Fils d'Achille", "fils d'Agamemnon", "fille d'Hélène", "veuve d'Hector", used throughout the play, have quite a cumulative force. In Euripides' *Andromache*, the only other play in which Orestes, Hermione, Pyrrhus/Neoptolemos and Andromache are all concerned, a very similar usage of such 'patronymics'¹ occurs. Patronymic reference is, of course, a common figure in both classical French and Greek literature; but a distinction may be made between conventional usage and occurrences in contexts inviting us to read special significance into them. The point here is that both works display a parallel pattern of such 'significant' patronymic references.

Occasionally there may in fact be a direct verbal echo of the original Greek phrase in Racine's use of such a title. For example, in answer to Orestes' probe about the transfer of Neoptolemos' affections, Euripides' Hermione names the new object of her master's desire: "τὴν αἰχμάλωτον Ἐκτορος ξυνευνέτιν" (908: the *spear-captive wife of Hector*"). Confronting Pyrrhus in *Andromaque*, Hermione flings this cutting taunt at her ex-fiancé:

Me quitter, me reprendre, et retourner encor

¹ For convenience's sake, the term is used to cover all these titles, including "widow/wife of Hector".

De la fille d'Hélène à la *veuve d'Hector*?
 Couronner tour à tour *l'esclave* et la princesse..
 (1319-21).

The title of Andromache relating her to Hector is employed by Hermione in the same way in both cases: to express contempt for her rival. In Euripides, the title is clearly spoken with slighting scorn (αἰχμάλωτον makes this clear - the term is often used to disparage Andromache, particularly in comparison with Hermione's position - cp.877-932): to Hermione Hector is merely a defeated barbarian (see 168-9: "Just you remember where you are now: there's no Hector here... this is a *Greek* city"). Similarly in Racine, the thrust of Hermione's "fille d'Hélène/veuve d'Hector" contrast, aimed at the difference in race and status between the two women is "You'd give up Helen's daughter, for a defeated barbarian slave?"

At the same time, from what Hermione goes on to say in 1332 ff: that indeed, Pyrrhus' record with her family is such as to please his new bride, it is clear that her use of "veuve d'Hector" has the further thrust of "You, of all people, running after Hector's widow?" This second implication *may* also underlie the Euripidean phrase, though less pointedly so since Hermione is talking *about* Pyrrhus and not *to* him. In the earlier confrontation with Andromache, we heard the corollary taunt from Hermione: "You of all people running after Achilles' son!" (171-2: "ἢ παιδὶ πατρὸς, ὃς σὸν ὤλεσεν πόσιν, τολμᾶς ξυνεύδειν": "[you] who dare to sleep with the son of a father who killed your husband"). So although a direct verbal echo is hard to *prove*, there is a very close correlation of idea, irony and effect here, supported by the similar words.

While this *might* be accidental in a one-off instance, there are other parallel examples. Consider, for instance, the ironic use of "son of Agamemnon" by Pyrrhus (*Andromaque* 177-8) and the messenger (*Andromache* 1090-91) to cast insulting or hostile reflection on the meanness of Orestes' current actions; or the use of "fille d'Hélène" by Pyrrhus (*Andromaque* 245) and "son of Agamemnon" by Hermione (*Andromache* 897) to underline the blood-tie between Orestes and Hermione (cousins through both mothers and fathers). Both Racine and Euripides employ 'patronymics' to convey impressions about the characters; and there seems to be a common fount of associations that their use of these titles draws on, since both can use a particular patronymic to imply the same thing. It is true that Euripides' and Racine's use of this device does not

always coincide so that one can chalk up precise parallels such as those already cited. The range of titles and their possible implications is great: Racine does not always use the same title as Euripides does for a character, nor does he always use the same title to convey the same implications. (See table 5.1.1.1.).

Table 5.1.1.1: Comparative use of 'patronymics' in Euripides and Racine

	EURIPIDES	RACINE (<i>Andromaque</i>)
Pyrrhus²	<p><i>Andromache</i>: 'Αχιλλέως παῖς: 10 (21; 25; 125; 268; 881-2; 993-4; 1069; 1119; 1149-50; 1163) 'Αχιλλέως γόνος: 2 (971; 1239) 'Αχιλλείου σκῆμιον: 1 (1169-70)</p> <p style="text-align: right;">13</p> <p>Periphrastic reference to relationship (mentioning 'father' or 'Achilles') : 2 (171-2; 342-3)</p> <p><i>Troades</i>: 'Αχιλλέως παῖς : 3 (273; 575; 659)</p>	<p>fils d'Achille : 5 (146; 150; 310; 630; 662³)</p> <p style="text-align: right;">5</p> <p>Periphrastic references : 8 (233-6; 360; 609; 612; 938-9; 990; 1055-6; 1466)</p>
Andromache	<p><i>Andromache</i>: δάμαρ Ἕκτορος/-ι: 2 (4; 656) Ἕκτορος ξυκευῖτιν : 1 (908) γυναικὸς Ἕκτορος : 1 (960)</p> <p style="text-align: right;">4</p> <p><i>Troades</i>: δάμαρ Ἕκτορος : 2 (271; 709)</p>	<p>veuve d'Hector : 4</p> <p style="text-align: right;">4</p>
Orestes	<p><i>Andromache</i>: παῖς/κέλωρ/τόκος 'Αγαμέμνονος: 5 (884; 892; 1034; 1061; 1090) τόκος Κλυταιμῆστρας: 2 (884; 1115)</p>	<p>fils d'Agamemnon : 2 (178; 274)</p> <p>Periphrastic references (mentioning 'father' or 'Agamemnon') : 3 (190; 622; 1160-62)</p>
Hermione	<p><i>Andromache</i>: Μενέλεω κόρη : 2 (897; 1049)</p> <p>Periphrastic references to relationship with Helen or Menelaos : 7 (145; 211-12; 248; 486-7; 872; 967; 987)</p>	<p>filie d'Hélène : 3 (245; 342; 1320)</p> <p>Periphrastic reference to relationship with Helen or Menelaos : 4 (41; 1160-62; 1283-4; 1342-3)</p>
TOTAL	<p>Direct use of 'patronymic' : 31</p> <p>Periphrastic references : 7</p>	<p>Direct use of 'patronymic' : 14</p> <p>Periphrastic references : 15</p>

² Or Neoptolemos.

³ Plus one use in original (1668) Act V sc.3, 1511.

Notwithstanding, in both plays we find a cumulative use of 'patronymics' to express the abiding influence of the prior generation on the characters' attitudes and experience, or to imply something about a character based on the exploits or person of their parents (or late husband). It may not be too rash to conclude that Racine's use of this simple and powerful effect derives from Euripides.

5.1.1.2 Sources

Only in Racine and Euripides is this device employed extensively. Seneca does not refer to Pyrrhus by the title "son of Achilles", even where such a reference might be effective: in Helen's announcement of Andromache's allocation, for instance, Pyrrhus is called "Scyrius iuvenis"(976:"the Scyrian youth"). "Hectoris coniuga" is used once (59); only Astyanax is consistently, and for obvious reasons, referred to by his 'patronymic' (369,528,554,597,605). The account of Andromache's post-war history in Virgil's *Aeneid* Book 3 has all four main characters in view, and here Pyrrhus is referred to as "stirpis Achilleae" in Andromache's brief account of her 'marriage' (326); this, though, is the only significant use of a 'patronymic'. Similarly in Garnier, the sole 'significant patronymic' is Pyrrhus' self-styling as "d'Achille fils" (1497) in the quarrel scene with Agamemnon (Act III).

In Sallebray's *La Troade* comes the one dramatic use of these patronymics to something like the Euripidean and Racinian effect:

Quel barbare Démon pour m'affliger encor
Mêle le fils d'Achille à la veufve d'Hector?

(p.77).

The close juxtaposition of "fils d'Achille" and "veufve d'Hector" might suggest that this was the immediate source of Racine's line:

Elle est veuve d'Hector, et je suis fils d'Achille
(662).

At the same time, Sallebray's juxtaposition quite probably derives from Euripides' *Troades* 271-3 "'Εκτορος δάμαρ [...] 'Αχιλλέως [...] παῖς" (see [3.1.1](#)). It is clear that the significant use of "son of Achilles" originates with

Euripides; that Euripides and Racine use it far more often than the intervening writers; and that the pattern of 'patronymic' reference to *all* the main characters is unique to Euripides and Racine. If anything, the *leitmotif* is more insistent in *Andromache* than in *Andromaque*; but it is well-marked, and undoubtedly significant, in both plays.

5.1.1.3: "παῖς Ἀχιλλέως", "fils d'Achille"

The closest similarity lies in Racine's and Euripides' use of Pyrrhus' title "fils d'Achille" - in Greek, "Ἀχιλλέως παῖς". Racine uses this title five times in comparison to Euripides' thirteen; but in Racine there are frequent additional references to Pyrrhus' relationship to his father, whether in comparison or contrast (see Table 5.1.1.1). The title can be used to varying effect. Oreste uses the title in his first confrontation with Pyrrhus, as flattery probably intended to puff up the pride for which Achilles was notorious, pride on which Oreste counts for the refusal he hopes for:

Et qu'à vos yeux, Seigneur, je montre quelque joie
De voir *le fils d'Achille* et le vainqueur de Troie:
Oui, comme ses exploits nous admirons vos coups.
Hector tomba sous lui, Troie expira sous vous;
Et vous avez montré, par une heureuse audace,
Que *le fils* seul d'Achille a pu remplir sa place
(145-50).

Euripides' Orestes also uses the title with Neoptolemos'/Pyrrhus' pride in mind: not as a tactic, but as a bitter reflection on the arrogance of this prince with the heroic lineage:

τὸν δ' Ἀχιλλέως
μηδὲν φοβηθῆς παῖδ', ὅς' εἰς ἐμ' ὕβρισε
(993-4)⁴.

For grandfather Peleus it is a term of high esteem, used in 1069 in contrast to the scheming of his opponents: "πρὶν παῖδ' Ἀχιλλέως καταθανεῖν ἐχθρῶν ὕπο"⁵. Racine's Phoenix applies the title in like manner: "C'est Pyrrhus,

4 "Have no fear of the son of Achilles, so arrogantly has he treated me."

5 "...before the son of Achilles perishes under the hands of enemies." Cp. the messenger in 1118-9.

c'est le fils et le rival d'Achille" (630), approving of his protégé and master's apparent change of heart. For Euripides' Hermione the title is a reproach to her rival, an overt sneer: "πρὶν ᾧ πέποιθας, παῖδ' Ἀχιλλέως μολεῖν" (268)⁶; for the Greek Andromache it is an expression of anguish and (possibly) self-reproach:

ἀπώλεσεν μ' Ἀχιλλέως με παῖς ἐβουλήθη λαβεῖν
δάμαρτα·

Troades 659-60⁷;

ἐντίκτω κόρον,
πλαθείσ' Ἀχιλλέως παιδί, δεσπότη γ' ἐμῷ
Andromache 24-5⁸.

Racine's *Andromaque* lives only with the prospect of this relationship, not the reality, but she too may use the title to convey the full emotional implications of such a relationship, in order to warn Pyrrhus off:

Sans me faire payer son salut de mon coeur [...]
Seigneur, voilà des soins dignes *du fils d'Achille*
(308-10).

The French Hermione's use of "veuve d'Hector" to Pyrrhus carries a similar sneer to that of "παῖδ' Ἀχιλλέως" in *Andromache* 268 (see above). Finally, Pyrrhus' own sole use of the title spells out its full implications for any relationship with *Andromaque*:

Elle est veuve d'Hector, et je suis fils d'Achille;
Trop de haine sépare *Andromaque* et Pyrrhus
(662-3).

The equivalent lines in *Andromache*, Hermione's 171-2, are even more explicit, although Achilles is not mentioned by name:

6 "before the one you trust in, Achilles' son, comes.."

7 "[this] has destroyed me; Achilles' son has conceived the desire to take me as his wife".

8 "I have borne a son, lying near the side of Achilles' son, my master."

ἢ παιδὶ πατρός, ὃς σὸν ὤλεσεν πόσιν,
τολμᾶς ξυνεύδειν⁹.

It is this last implication of the title that is most important in Racine. Beyond and often independently of each character's immediate 'intention' in using "fils d'Achille", this other irony comes through. For example, Phoenix's commendation in II sc.v:

Ce n'est plus le jouet d'une flamme servile:
C'est Pyrrhus, c'est le fils et le rival d'Achille
(629-30)

may strike us with a particularly piquant irony. Pyrrhus' friend, in cheerfully proclaiming the incompatibility of Pyrrhus' inherited heroic mantle with his passion for Andromaque, unconsciously touches on the deeper reason for this than Greek manly pride: "le fils et le rival d'Achille". In Euripides' *Andromache*, simply because it is not her relationship with Neoptolemos, by now an established if painful fact of life, but the consequences of that relationship that are at the centre of the dramatic conflicts, the impact of "παῖς Ἀχιλλέως" often lies elsewhere than in what it means to Andromache. This is the case with Orestes', Peleus' and (usually) the messenger's use of the title. But while Andromache is on stage reference to the implications for her is always possible: those implications render double-edged her own reference to Neoptolemos' inherited courage and prowess:

Πηλέως γὰρ ἄξια
πατρός τ' Ἀχιλλέως ἔργα δρῶν φανήσεται
(342-3)¹⁰.

And it is *possible* that the relationship of Achilles' son to Hector is also recalled in the climax to the account of his death. The echoes of the event of Hector's death at Achilles' hands in 1140-41 and especially 1152-4 were discussed at [1.4.1.1\(a\)](#), and just 2-3 lines before the latter echo, Neoptolemos is again referred to as "Ἀχιλλέως [...] παῖς" (1149-50). Throughout the varied use of this patronymic by the two authors, there are a number of parallels in

⁹ "[you] who dare to sleep with the son of a father, who killed your husband."

¹⁰ "for he will be seen to perform deeds worthy of Peleus and of *his father Achilles*".

the way it is employed; and in particular a parallel pattern of use in terms of recalling the relationships between Andromache and Hector, Hector and Achilles, Achilles and Neoptolemos/Pyrrhus.

5.1.2: Pyrrhus

Elle est veuve d'Hector, et je suis fils d'Achille:
Trop de haine sépare Andromaque et Pyrrhus.

The influence of the past we have been discussing becomes crucial to Racine's play with respect to Andromaque's relationship with Pyrrhus. Andromaque's past is in conflict with Pyrrhus' past, and it is this that lies at the root of their conflict in the present. Moreover, Andromaque's view of and reaction to her past and his are both in conflict with the present as Pyrrhus wants it to be:

Pyrrhus is simply not allowed to detach himself from the past. The figure of Hector, conjured up for him by the imagination of Andromaque, besets him still (649ff.), as it haunts his very desire of present love.

(Barnwell 1988, p.62)

A view of the conflict between Andromaque and Pyrrhus as being one between past and present, the Old Order and a New Order, has been one of the preoccupations of modern criticism. Most notoriously, this is so in the case of Roland Barthes' analysis of the play (Barthes 1963, pp.77-86). Barnwell cites others who have developed this theme in various ways: Peter Allen, Odette de Mourgues, Revel Elliott, George Poulet (Barnwell 1988, p.60, and bibliography pp.69-70). Peter France refers to Charles Mauron's Freudian view of Pyrrhus' struggle to escape from the past (France 1989, p.54) and himself advances a more modest version of the idea: "Pyrrhus in particular... can be seen as a positive force striving to escape from the horrors of the past (which paralyse Andromaque)... and trying to make a new beginning" (p.25). The distinction between past and present is often mapped onto Pyrrhus himself:

Nous avons de lui... un diptyque dont un volet figure le présent... [et] un autre volet... figure le passé ...Le Pyrrhus de guerre, rappelé, et renié, par le Pyrrhus de paix; le Pyrrhus des récits et le Pyrrhus du dialogue; le Pyrrhus ancien et le Pyrrhus moderne...

(Knight 1951, pp.275-6).

René Pommier, following Jules Lemaître, further applies the distinction to Andromaque's reactions to Pyrrhus:

Jules Lemaître pense, et il n'a pas tort, que la haine d'Andromaque n'est pas une haine viscérale, qu'elle déteste *ce que Pyrrhus a fait et qu'elle ne peut oublier* [my italics], et non sa "personne même"

(R. Pommier 1988, p.72).

So appreciating the impact aimed at in Racine's portrayal of Pyrrhus is crucial to our interpretation of Andromaque's reactions, to our sympathy for them, and thus to our view of the whole play as it concerns these two characters. Is Andromaque's aversion to Pyrrhus an obstinate refusal to let go of his past and hers? Or are we invited to sympathise with that refusal? What precise distinction does Racine make in his portrayal between Pyrrhus' past and present conduct, and how does this affect our view of Andromaque's aversion?

It was said earlier (4.3.2) that Andromaque's aversion arose both from Pyrrhus' career at Troy and from his father's. Pyrrhus' past, and Achilles', are deeply rooted in images that subsist from their appearances in ancient literature. Thus examining where, how, to what extent and why Racine draws on that literature where Pyrrhus is concerned may help us to appreciate the impact aimed at and suggest answers to the above questions. We will examine in turn references to Pyrrhus' own past and references to Achilles'. Euripides' influence is involved in both cases: his work may have supplied inspiration for and certain details of Virgil's seminal depiction of the Sack of Troy (2.1.1.3); it almost certainly supplied the idea for Andromaque's aversion to Pyrrhus as "the son of Achilles" (above, 4.3.2.).

5.1.2.1: Pyrrhus and his past: the sack of Troy

No-one has ever denied that a 'ferocious' Pyrrhus appears in the recollections of his own past career, which set up a background to his present conduct, often in deliberate contrast. All the characters remember with varying shades of emotion the Pyrrhus of the Trojan campaign¹¹. Although the facts are those of Greek legend, these images are generally drawn, often very directly, from Latin literature. This is most obviously true in Andromaque's famous speech of III sc.viii (995ff.) and Hermione's bitter taunts of IV sc.v (1333 ff.). Both of these recall Pyrrhus' most notorious crime at Troy, the murder of Priam at the altar:

Dois-je oublier son père à mes pieds renversé,
 Ensanglantant l'autel qu'il tenait embrassé?
 (995-6);

Du vieux père d'Hector la valeur abattue
 Aux pieds de sa famille expirante à sa vue,
 Tandis que dans son sein votre bras enfoncé
 Cherche un reste de sang que l'âge avait glacé;
 (1333-6).

These draw on Virgil's blood-chilling account in *Aeneid* 2:

vidi ipse furentem [...] Priamumque per aras
sanguine foedantem quas ipse sacraverat ignis [...] [
 [...] hoc dicens altaria ad ipsa trementem
 traxit et in multo lapsantem sanguine nati,
 implicuitque comam laeva, dextraque coruscum
 extulit ac lateri capulo tenus abdidit ensem..
 (499-502, 550-53)¹².

Seneca follows this passage fairly closely for Hecuba's description of the deed in *Troades* 44-50. Garnier draws on both Latin texts, adding details of his own that may also be echoed in the account of Racine's Andromaque,

11 e.g Pyrrhus, 209-14, 313-4; Andromaque, 995-1006; Hermione, 464-7, 1333-9, Oreste, 146-50.

12 "My own eyes saw...Priam himself fouling with his blood the altar-fire which he had hallowed... So speaking he [Pyrrhus] dragged Priam, quaking and sliding in a pool of his own son's blood, right up to the altar. He twined his left hand in Priam's hair. With his right hand he raised his flashing sword, and buried it to the hilt in his side."

e.g.: "En vain de Jupiter l'image il [Priam] embrassa" (79) cp. Racine 996: "l'autel qu'il tenait embrassé".

Virgil's original account may well draw on a few lines from Euripides' play describing the incident (Polydoros' ghost in *Hecuba* 23-4, and especially Hecuba in *Troades* 481-4). In particular, the emphasis on the narrating character's having seen the incident 'with their own eyes' (Eur. *Troades* 481-3 cp. *Aeneid* 2. 499-501) is echoed from Euripides to Virgil. This might have occurred to Virgil independently, but there is an overall similarity between the two sets of three lines. Successive writers develop this detail to different effect, depending on the choice of narrator. There is great pathos in Hecuba's presence as a witness of her husband's murder, as in Euripides; something which Garnier seems to appreciate when he develops his account in accordance with this idea:

J'ay veu, j'ay veu, chétive, [...]

Le jeune Péléan occire furieux

Le monarque d'Asie [...]

Son froid sang [...]

Jaillissant foiblement m'arrosa le visage.

Mourant je l'embrassay...

(75-7, 89-91).

Seneca's version is more restrained and makes far less of the idea; he has Hecuba as narrator (perhaps remembering Euripides' play) and retains the phrasing "I saw" ("vidi", 44), but without emphasis. Virgil's version, with Aeneas as the horrified narrator who "saw for himself", is effective in a different way: it conveys the horror of the loyal Trojan citizen both at the criminal ruthlessness of their enemy and at the death of their old king, an affecting symbol of the whole city's fall. At the same time, Virgil highlights Hecuba's presence at the beginning of the scene, creating an image of the queen and her family clutching the altars just before Priam's slaughter at the altar is described (2.501, 515-525). It is this picture which seems to inspire the words of Racine's Hermione to Pyrrhus:

Du vieux père d'Hector la valeur abattue

Aux pieds de sa famille expirante à sa vue

(1333-4).

Again Racine picks up the "before their/her eyes" motif, using it to a new effect since Hermione's recollection of Pyrrhus' callous behaviour is not uttered in grief and outrage but as a taunt. Racine had earlier added yet another twist to the 'eye-witness' idea in Andromaque's own lines: "*Dois-je oublier son père à mes pieds renversé*" (995). This is the first time that Andromaque's presence at the event has been highlighted. Transferring the part of horrified eyewitness narrator to Andromaque enables Racine to add to both the motivation and the expression of her aversion to Pyrrhus and his own past. In other words, Racine adapts the words and ideas of his classical source(s) not just to suit but actually to serve his original dramatic purposes.

Richard Goodkin (Goodkin 1984) brings out the relevance of this adaptation to the presentation of Andromaque's dilemma:

The decision to save her child by accepting Pyrrhus would require a corresponding movement of forgetfulness, a turning away from the past. What will not allow that action to take place is the astonishingly vivid description of the night of Troy's destruction ...not a simple memory... but a projection of what the past will look like in the future if it is sacrificed to the needs of the present: these are the scenes which will never cease to haunt Andromaque if she chooses Pyrrhus...

(pp.241-2).

This crucial element of 'narrating' the Sack of Troy as Andromaque's personal and searing memory is sustained throughout the speech at 997-1006. The words and images are evidently based on Virgil. Compare the following examples:

Vestibulem ante ipsum primoque in limine Pyrrhus
exsultat telis et luce coruscus aëna;
qualis ubi in lucem coluber mala gramina pastus...
nunc, positis novus exuviis nitidusque iuventa

(2.469-73)¹³

13 "In front of the entrance-hall, and right in the gateway, stood Pyrrhus, a figure of armed insolence sparkling in a sheen of bronze; like a snake swollen from a fare of poisonous weeds coming out into the light ...and now shedding its slough becomes shiningly fresh and young."

cp.:

Figure-toi Pyrrhus, les yeux étincelants,
Entrant à la lueur de nos palais brûlants.
(999-1000);

instat vi patria Pyrrhus; nec claustra nec ipsi
custodes sufferre valent; [...]
fit via vi [...]
[...]vidi ipse furentem
caede Neoptolemum...
(2.491-4, 499-500)¹⁴,

cp.:

Sur tous mes frères morts se faisant un passage,
Et de sang tout couvert échauffant le carnage
(1001-2).

Again, Virgil may well be drawing inspiration from Euripides, notably from the vivid 'Sack of Troy' choruses in *Troades* 511-76 and *Hecuba* 905-51; again, Virgil's lengthy and vivid account has spawned later imitations, not so much in Seneca but certainly in Garnier (445-556)¹⁵ and in Sallebray (pp.13-14). Virgil's is the only version to give individual prominence to Pyrrhus that night. Racine picks this up and highlights it as his central image, once more adroitly turning his source to his own particular purpose, which, here, is to account for the intensity of Andromaque's reluctance to yield to Pyrrhus' suit. At the same time Racine has probably drawn on the 'intermediate' versions as well¹⁶.

Racine has made a judicious selection from inherited ideas and images to produce the desired emotional impact: the literal and metaphorical night, the end of a people, the confusion of shrill sound, the inexorable combination of fire and sword and chosen two individual points of focus to serve the dramatic function of the speech. The first is the

14 "Pyrrhus came on, like his father in his onset; no bolts or bars, no guards could hold off that attack... Utmost violence opened a passage...my own eyes say Pyrrhus with the blood-lust in him..."

15 Garnier's chorus also draws heavily on the Euripidean passages.

16 Compare, e.g., the poetry of 907-8 and 1003-4, with its repetitions and sound patterns, with Garnier's "O nuit, ô lamentable nuit..." etc. (549-52).

concentration on Pyrrhus, directly inspired by though developing Virgil's picture. The second is the final image of the account, employing the same twist as we saw with the murder of Priam:

Peins-toi dans ces horreurs Andromaque éperdue:
Voilà comme Pyrrhus vint s'offrir à ma vue
(1005-6).

From Euripides on, the poetic accounts of the fall of Troy have included passing images of the wives and mothers "éperdue[s]", as they look on helplessly (Eur. *Troades* 557-9; *Hecuba* 933-8; *Aeneid* 2.486-90; Garnier 533ff), but no individuals, except perhaps Hecuba, have been distinguished among them. By singling out Andromache, Racine adapts the anonymous image into an individual cameo, that personalises the whole speech and adds an important psychological touch in driving home the intensity of the past experience that so influences Andromaque's reactions.

Thus Racine, in his adaptation of this ancient tradition, seems to invite us to sympathise with Andromaque's inability to forget the past. The extraordinary poetry with which he renders Andromaque's recollection of the last night of Troy brings home the reality of the barrier she feels between her and her captor. It encourages us to take the past seriously as a living force, with comprehensible and legitimate claims on the present; and Racine may suggest that Pyrrhus does not take it seriously enough. Part of the dramatic point of Pyrrhus' speech:

Vaincu, chargé de fers, de regrets consumé,
Brûlé de plus de feux que je n'en allumai... etc.
(319 ff.)

is that to the listening Andromaque these words are not mere figurative abstractions. She has lived through their "literal and searing truth" (Moore 1971, p.94), the truth graphically presented to us in 997-1006. We may question the legitimacy of Pyrrhus' assumption that his pain of love and remorse is of equal status to what his captive has suffered: "Hélas! fus-je

jamais si cruel que vous l'êtes?" (322). What right, we may ask, has Pyrrhus to dictate that the past ought to be set aside:

Mais enfin, tour à tour c'est assez nous punir
(323)?

5.1.2.2: Racine's Pyrrhus: "le fils d'Achille"

Racine's *Andromaque*, however, objects to Pyrrhus not merely in himself but because he is Achilles' son. She tends to identify Pyrrhus emotionally with his father, the man who killed her husband (and father, and brothers). Racine owes this trait, I believe, to Euripides' portrayal of Andromache in *Andromache* and *Troades* (see 4.3.2). Now, in *Andromache* Euripides further presented Neoptolemos/Pyrrhus very much as "a true son of Achilles" (Stevens 1971, p.14), and at times related this to the ironies of Andromache's relationship with him (e.g. *Andromache* 342-3). Does Racine support the Euripidean psychological trait of *his* heroine by a similar linking of Pyrrhus to his father's image?

5.1.2.3: Pyrrhus at Troy and the image of Achilles

The question will be considered first in terms of the portrayal of Pyrrhus' past conduct. Apart from recollections of the sack itself, the other images of Pyrrhus from the Trojan past are of the glorious victor and outstanding fighter. All of these either compare or relate him to his father: e.g.:

Les exploits de son père effacés par les siens
(467);

Des peuples [...]
Qui cent fois, effrayés de l'absence d'Achille [...]
[...] qu'on verrait encor, sans l'appui de son fils,
Redemander Hélène...
(840-44).

The latter of these two passages recalls incidents and images from the *Iliad*: the rout of the Greeks, led by Hector, in 12-16, Hector's firing of a Greek ship in 16:

Des peuples qui, dix ans, ont fui devant Hector,
 Qui *cent fois*, effrayés de l'absence d'Achille,
 Dans leurs vaisseaux brûlants ont cherché leur asile...
 (840-42).

The words are Hermione's; to suit the Iliadic reference to her exultant mood at this juncture, Racine makes her exaggerate previous accounts. The Greeks certainly did not spend all ten years at Troy fleeing from Hector, though they could not overcome his defence; Achilles absented himself, and a *single* ship was fired, with the fighting pressed back on the shore, only once. Compare Andromache's very similar exaggeration in *Andromache* 456-7, when attacking Menelaos:

πόσις θ' ὁ κλεινός, ὅς σε πολλάκις δορὶ
 ναύτην ἔθηκεν ἀντὶ χερσαίου κακόν¹⁷.

Racine may have recalled the Euripidean lines; both writers have the speaker go beyond the Iliadic facts here, in accordance with their character and rhetorical intent. At the same time, Racine's lines, shifting the heroic focus from Hector to Achilles and relating the reminiscence to Hermione's present view of Pyrrhus, continue and add to the "son of Achilles" theme.

Nonetheless, while the pictures of Pyrrhus in his Trojan career reflect his father's image and influence - the glittering figure of terror on the rampage through burning Troy has some affinities with Homer's Achilles at his most inexorable and destructive (*Iliad* 20-22) - they also reflect a stage of Pyrrhus' literary career where his image is diverging from Achilles'. The Pyrrhus of the *Aeneid* is a nastier character than ever Achilles has appeared: Achilles who, for all his ruthlessness, obsessive pride, extremity of temper and capacity for passionate savagery, retains always the seeds of greatness of soul and of generosity. The murder of Priam was an act beyond the scope even of Achilles at his most ferocious (cf. *Aeneid* 2.540-550): in comparing the two most famous images of Achilles and of his son in their dealings with Troy's king the difference becomes immediately apparent. Both these images are recalled - and contrasted - in Racine. Andromaque's recollection of Priam's murder - the image crystallised by Virgil's Latin rendering - in III sc.viii is preceded, in her last long speech before this, by her recollection in

17 "... and my famed husband, who *many times* with his spear made you a cowardly sailor instead of a land-soldier [i.e. drove you onto your ship]."

III sc.vi of Achilles' generosity to the suppliant Priam - the image immortalised by Homer in *Iliad* 24: "Jadis Priam soumis fut respecté d'Achille.." (938). The 'Latin' and the Greek image are set in apposition, as they have been from Seneca onwards in the quarrel between Agamemnon and Pyrrhus. In the Trojan past Achilles was capable of both ferocity and magnanimity; Pyrrhus seems to have been capable only of ferocity. In the present, Pyrrhus, on the other hand, is potentially capable of both, for all his faults: Andromaque says she thought so once (939-42), and continues to think it possible that he is open to the influence of generosity, or she would not attempt to call on the sentiment (297-310):

Malgré moi, s'il le faut, lui donner un asile:
Seigneur, voilà des soins dignes du fils d'Achille
(309-10)

To this extent, Pyrrhus in the present resembles his father more than he does his own previous self.

5.1.2.4: Pyrrhus in the present: "fils d'Achille" or "héros de roman"?

So what of Racine's portrayal of Pyrrhus 'in the present' - in Jules Lemaître's phrase, "la personne même de Pyrrhus"¹⁸? Does the Pyrrhus we see on stage reflect the image of his father? Is he intended to? Racine's first preface appears to answer the question in the affirmative:

Pyrrhus n'avait pas lu nos romans. Il était violent de son naturel... Horace nous recommande de dépeindre Achille farouche, inexorable, violent, tel qu'il était, et tel qu'on dépeint son fils

(1668/1673 preface).

But Racine's defence here concentrates on only one side of the contemporary critical reaction to Pyrrhus. Opinion from the beginning was sharply divided: some found Pyrrhus' present behaviour too violent¹⁹; others, like Boileau, considered Pyrrhus far too modern and *galant*, an

¹⁸ Lemaître, J., 1908: *Jean Racine*, Calmann-Levy, p.144.

¹⁹ According to Louis Racine, the Prince de Condé found "le personnage de Pyrrhus...trop violent et trop emporté" (citation from p.30 of the Larousse edition of *Andromaque*, footnote 1).

"héros à la Scudéry"²⁰. Racine himself admits in the 1668/73 preface that he has taken the liberty to "adoucir un peu la férocité de Pyrrhus". For Knight, "adoucir" is a key admission. In his view, the "farouche" Pyrrhus, the son of Achilles, is confined to the Pyrrhus of the past we hear described; the Pyrrhus of the present we see in action is a modern figure, "héros de roman [...] grand seigneur, beau parleur" (Knight 1951, p.275). He adds, "c'est sans scrupule... que... Racine brosse le portrait moderne qui sera le plus en vue des deux" (p.276). Mesnard is of the same opinion:

quoi qu'en dise Racine, Pyrrhus avait un peu trop "lu nos romans". Non, ce n'est pas là ce farouche fils d'Achille, tel que nous le font entrevoir Euripide et Virgile...

(Mesnard 1865-73, III, p.13).

But if we look at the use Racine has made of ancient literature in his portrayal of Pyrrhus, a different picture may emerge. What evidence is there that Racine deliberately recalls ideas and images that relate Pyrrhus to his father Achilles, even if his present conduct often appears to belong very much to Racine's own century?

There are two important preliminary points to be made. Firstly, the ancient, primarily Homeric, image of Achilles involved more characteristics than those paraphrased by Racine from Horace's account as "farouche, inexorable, violent". Horace's complete description runs thus:

scriptor honoratum si forte reponis Achillem,
impiger, iracundus, inexorabilis, acer,
iura neget sibi nata, nihil non arroget armis

(*Ars Poetica* 120-22)²¹.

The "fils d'Achille, que nous font entrevoir Euripide" in *Andromache* is proud, impulsive and occasionally arrogant, more than simply "farouche". Homer's Achilles is as much a man of pride as of violence: Racine himself notes against Achilles' first speech in the *Iliad* (1.85-91), even before the quarrel proper begins: "Discours d'Achille, qui marque sa fierté" (Mesnard

²⁰ Montchessnay, *Bolaeana*, p.59; see Mesnard 1865-73, III, pp.12-13, from where the quotation is taken.

²¹ "If as a writer you are representing Achilles with all his honours, let him be full of energy, irascible, inexorable, fierce [or hasty], let him say 'the laws are not for me', let him award nothing if not to arms..."

1865-73, VI, p.196). So it is not merely indications of ferocity and violence in Pyrrhus' present conduct that should be looked for as evidence that he is being portrayed in his father's image.

Secondly, we should note that Racine may often call up general images rather than specific textual recollections of Achilles from ancient literature. The most highly educated members of his audience, men such as Boileau, might, while watching the play, have been able to pick out individual echoes of Greek literature. But if Racine wished to establish in his audience's mind an impression of a resemblance between Pyrrhus and his father, what would matter much more would be that they should have recalled to them famous and recognisable images and events, the sort of images that might hazily subsist in the mind of anyone who had ever had any acquaintance with the *Iliad* or its story. Even nowadays most people remember who Achilles was, that he quarrelled with Agamemnon and sulked in his tent; many may also recall that he was noted for a decidedly inflammable temperament and more than his fair share of pride. It may be reasonable to assume that Racine could call on such images in the minds of a fair proportion of his audience: he certainly calls on audience recollections of the Iliadic tale of Achilles' generous treatment of Priam (938).

Specific textual resemblances remain particularly important, nonetheless, as providing hard evidence that Racine actually had any intention of relating Pyrrhus' present portrayal to the ancient image of his father. Moreover, if individual echoes meant little to the majority of the audience, they undoubtedly meant something to the playwright himself. Often it is through what he does with these that we can most clearly grasp his intentions for the overall impression. Of course, Racine may draw on his own memories of images and ideas from Greek literature as well as of specific passages; we simply need to be more careful in handling the more tenuous evidence provided by such links of ideas.

5.1.2.5: Pyrrhus: "fils d'Achille": the "quarrel scene", I sc.ii

The obvious place to start looking for indications of a Pyrrhus whose present behaviour reminds us of his father's story and temperament would be the 'quarrel scene' with Oreste, I sc.ii. This has clear affinities with the famous quarrel between their fathers portrayed by Homer in *Iliad* 1. Even Knight concedes here that:

Racine est sans doute allé chercher dans l'*Illiade* les traits de son portrait. Le mordant avec lequel Pyrrhus rejette la revendication d'Oreste (I,2) est bien d'Achille, à quelques injures près

(Knight 1951, p.275).

As Pyrrhus' first appearance, this scene plays an especially important rôle in establishing the impression he makes at the outset. It thereby awakens audience attention to particular attributes that may recur in less emphatic guises later.

What links does this scene establish between Pyrrhus and the image of Achilles created by Homer? Racine, of course, know the *Iliad* well, and his marginalia on Book 1 begin by noting the pride of the antagonists Agamemnon and Achilles revealed at the outset:

vv.26-32: Discours superbe d'Agamemnon

vv.85-91: Discours d'Achille, qui marque sa fierté

(Mesnard 1865-73, VI, p.196).

Knight, however, remarks:

des démêlés [d'Achille] avec Agamemnon au sujet, précisément, d'une captive aimée, on ne trouve dans la tragédie de Racine aucun souvenir textuel, si ce n'est celui-ci:

Et seul de tous les Grecs ne m'est-il pas permis
D'ordonner d'un captif que le sort m'a soumis?

(183-4)

(Knight 1951, p.275).

The Iliadic passage to which Knight refers this is *Iliad* 9.334-6:

ἄλλα δ' ἀριστήεσσι δίδου γέρα καὶ βασιλεύσιν·
τοῖσι μὲν ἔμπεδα κείται, ἐμεῦ δ' ἀπὸ μούνου Ἀχαιῶν
εἴλετ' 22,

22 "But he gave the other prizes to the chiefs and princes; the rest still have theirs, but from me alone of the Achaeans he stole [my prize]."

though Racine's lines may also recall Achilles' subsequent rhetorical demand:

ἦ μοῦνοι φιλέουσ' ἀλόχους μερόπων ἀνθρώπων
 Ἀτρείδαι;
 (9.340-42)²³.

This is certainly the clearest but not necessarily the *only* "souvenir textuel" of the quarrel. Compare, for instance, Pyrrhus' proud and resentful rejoinder:

ORESTE: Ainsi la Grèce en vous trouve un enfant rebelle?
 PYRRHUS: *Et je n'ai donc vaincu que pour dépendre d'elle?*
 (237-8)

with this from Achilles in *Iliad* 1:

ἦ γάρ κεν δειλός τε καὶ οὔτιδανός καλεοίμην,
 εἰ δὴ σοὶ πᾶν ἔργον ὑπέιξομαι, ὅττι κεν εἴπῃς·
 ἄλλοισιν δὴ ταῦτ' ἐπιτέλλεο, μὴ γὰρ ἐμοί γε
 σήμαιν'
 (293-6)²⁴.

But more important for the audience's conception is the overall image recalled to them. Does Racine's Act I sc.ii make us think of the counterpart quarrel from the *Iliad*?

I believe it does, quite deliberately. It is surely not accidental that each of the antagonists is made, near the beginning of their main speech, to address the other by their patronymic: "De voir le fils d'Achille..." (146), "Du fils Agamemnon méritât..." (178). This from the outset both reminds us of the two opponents from the *Iliad* story, and underlines the fact that the present combatants are their offspring. Then, Pyrrhus towards the end of the scene actually recalls the former quarrel, drawing a parallel:

23 "Is it alone the Atreidae of mortal men who love their bed-fellows?"

24 "Indeed, I should be called a coward and good-for-nothing, if I gave way to *you* in everything you said to do; give your orders to others, but don't tell *me* what to do..."

Aussi bien ce n'est pas la première injustice
 Dont la Grèce d'Achille a payé le service.
 Hector en profita, seigneur;

(233-5).

Between these two points, it would be natural to be alert to Pyrrhus' behaving in a way reminiscent of his father. The echoes of Achilles' words just cited suggest this was Racine's intention. And a 'mirror image' is apparent in Pyrrhus' very first argument against the Greek demand (181-92). The dislike of another authority attempting to tell him what he should do:

Mais à qui *prétend*-on que je le sacrifie?
 La Grèce a-t-elle encor *quelque droit* sur sa vie?

(181-2)

recalls Achilles' resentment of Agamemnon, as we saw it above (*Iliad* 1.293-6; see p.216). Similarly, the ready annoyance at the merest suggestion of that authority's 'muscling in' on what he regards as his own business, is reminiscent of Achilles' instant firing up, first at the idea that the army should have to replace Agamemnon's prize (1.122-9), then at Agamemnon's general threat to take another's prize by force (1.149-71). Pyrrhus' language is less extreme than Achilles', certainly, but that is largely a matter of seventeenth-century French convention - after all, no Racinian hero is going to call an opponent "sac de vin! yeux de chien! coeur de biche!" and so on. The *hauteur*, the indignation, the instant resentment at being singled out (183-4, 191-2) are "bien d'Achille", as Knight recognises. More than that, they deliberately recall Achilles as he was when quarrelling with Agamemnon. Compare the similar spirit of indignation and touchy pride revealed by the Homeric Achilles:

καὶ δὴ μοι γέρας αὐτὸς ἀφαιρήσεσθαι ἀπειλεῖς,
 ᾧ ἔπι πολλὰ μόγησα, δόσαν δέ μοι υἱες Ἀχαιῶν
 (1.161-2)²⁵.

Likewise, the implication of cowardliness in Pyrrhus' opening remarks:

²⁵ "And now you yourself are threatening to steal away my prize, which I toiled hard for, which the sons of the Achaeans gave me!"

Qui croirait, en effet, qu'une telle entreprise
 Du fils d'Agamemnon méritât l'entremise?
 Qu'un peuple tout entier, tant de fois triomphant,
 N'eût daigné conspirer que la mort d'un enfant?
 (177-80)²⁶

finds its counterpart in *Iliad* 1.226-8, where Achilles delivers exactly the same insult to Agamemnon, albeit in decidedly less veiled and generalised terms. At the ending of this speech, Pyrrhus conveys a 'warning off' and a challenge in his refusal:

Non, seigneur; que les Grecs cherchent quelque autre proie [...]
 L'Épire sauvera ce que Troie a sauvé
 (217-20);

as Achilles could challenge all-comers both 'indirectly':

οὐ τις ἐμεῦ ζῶντος [...]
 συμπάντων Δαναῶν οὐδ' ἦν Ἀγαμέμνονα εἵπης
 (88-90)²⁷

and rather more bluntly:

τῶν δ' ἄλλων [...]
 τῶν οὐκ ἂν τι φέροις ἀνελῶν ἀέκοντος ἐμεῖο.
 εἰ δ' ἄγε μὴν πείρησαι, ἵνα γνώωσι καὶ οἶδε·
 αἰψά τοι αἶμα κελαινὸν ἐρωήσει περὶ δουρί
 (1. 300-302)²⁸.

²⁶ We find the same insult implied later, in 195-6.

²⁷ "No-one, of all the Danaans, shall lay violent hands on you [Calchas] while I live, not even if you mean Agamemnon..."

²⁸ "But of the rest [that I own]...you will *not* take anything away from me against my will; come on now, just try! so that these men may know this: forthwith your blood will flow dark about my spear."

Again, after Oreste in his turn has delivered a veiled threat (228-9), Pyrrhus responds with defiance:

Non, non. J'y consens avec joie:
Qu'ils cherchent dans l'Epire une seconde Troie
(229-30),

an angry sense of grievance:

Qu'ils [...] ne distinguent plus
Le sang qui les fit vaincre de celui des vaincus
(231-2),

and a threat:

Hector en profita, seigneur; et quelque jour
Son fils en pourrait bien profiter à son tour
(235-6).

Achilles, when Agamemnon threatened to take his prize away, responded likewise: compare, respectively, the defiance of:

νῦν δ' εἴμι Φθιῆνδ' [...]
[...] οὐδέ σ' οἴω
ἐνθάδ' ἄτιμος ἔων ἄφενος καὶ πλοῦτον ἀφύξειν
(*Iliad* 1.169-71)²⁹;

the sense of grievance in:

εὐρὸν κρείων Ἀγαμέμνων
[...] ὃ τ' ἄριστον Ἀχαιῶν οὐδὲν ἔτισεν
(1.411-2)³⁰,

and the threat in:

29 "But now I shall go back to Phthia .. nor am I minded to stay here without honour heaping up wealth and possessions for you."

30 "wide-ruling Agamemnon... who has made the best of the Achaeans of no account."

δημοβόρος βασιλεύς, ἐπεὶ οὐτιδανοῖσιν ἀνάσσεις·
 ἦ γὰρ ἄν, Ἄτρεΐδη, νῦν ἕστατα λωβήσαιο
 (1.231-2)³¹.

These qualities and responses give us the Iliadic image of Achilles when his pride and temper are up; and that is the image that Racine, though within the milder manners and conventions of his time, recalls in his portrayal of Pyrrhus here.

It is true that Racine has also drawn extensively on Seneca's quarrel scene between Pyrrhus and Agamemnon in *Troades*. And while Racine's Pyrrhus shares his Latin counterpart's pride, insubordination and resentment of his antagonist's attempt to impose his authority³², for the most part his rôle more closely resembles that of Seneca's Agamemnon: it is he who urges mercy for a captive to Oreste, as in *Troades* Agamemnon had urged mercy for Polyxena to Pyrrhus, in very similar terms (*Andromaque* 209-14, *Troades* 227-85). Structurally, it is Racine's Oreste who takes up Pyrrhus' previous rôle in the Senecan quarrel. But while Racine's Pyrrhus resembles Seneca's Agamemnon in some ways and echoes some of his words, he does not recall an overall impression of the character - as Racine's careful alterations of his source to suit certain temperamental differences indicate. For example, consider the thinly-veiled defiance of the conclusion to Pyrrhus' first speech in Racine:

De mes inimitiés le cours est achevé;
 L'Epire sauvera ce que Troie a sauvé
 (*Andromaque* 219-20).

The last line recalls words from the parallel speech of Seneca's Agamemnon:

quidquid eversae potest
 superesse Troiae, maneat
 (*Troades* 285-6)³³.

31 "people-devouring king, you rule over worthless men: or else, Atreides, this insult would have been your last"; see also 203-5, 302-5.

32 Traits in their turn drawn from Homer's Achilles; compare the accusations of *Troades* 302-3 and 305, and the threats of 307-9, with their counterparts in *Iliad* 1.226-8, 229-30 and 203-5.

33 "whatever can survive from Troy overthrown, let it remain". Garnier omits the sentiment in his version; Sallebray renders it as "Il faut donc à présent conserver ce qui reste" (p.64).

But by transposing the expression from the impersonal, third person imperative to a definite statement of intent: "L'Épire sauvera", Racine changes the whole tone of the utterance. Seneca's Agamemnon, reluctant to involve himself in personal action, is pronouncing in favour of the status quo; Racine's Pyrrhus is nailing his personal involvement in Astyanax's cause to the mast, and daring the Greeks to try to stop him.

Thus the dominant image behind Pyrrhus and his conduct in Racine's scene is the Iliadic picture of the quarrelling Achilles. Through the superficially courteous veneer of Pyrrhus' language, the Homeric image of his father still shines brightly. In the quickness of his pride and indignation, in his readiness to insult and to challenge, in the way the suggestion of imposed authority immediately causes him to bridle, in the instant insistence on his own rights, in his confidence that the future holds no threat to his will, in his defiant and threatening stance when he *is* menaced; even in the admission of a possibly too high temper in the past³⁴, and in the more generous attitude towards the weak and unprotected when his head is cooler (as Achilles showed with Calchas in Book 1 and Priam in Book 24), Pyrrhus is most like the Homeric image of his father. And all of this, *pace* Knight and Mesnard, belongs to the Pyrrhus of the present.

5.1.2.6: The images of Pyrrhus elsewhere

If this is the impression of Pyrrhus created at the outset, how is it sustained throughout the rest of the play? I would not wish to deny that on many occasions Pyrrhus is presented in a thoroughly 17th-century manner, in his present behaviour. II sc.iv, II sc.vii, IV sc.v, at least, show Pyrrhus in an almost exclusively modern light: suave and courtly with a double-edged politeness to Oreste, enveloping his ultimatum to Andromaque in "Poésie bien raffinée, bien civilisée" (Knight 1951, p.276), composed and eloquent in both self-condemnation and ironic counter-attack with Hermione. Nor would I deny the presence of the "grand seigneur, beau parleur" in Pyrrhus' other appearances, or the thoroughly modern "comédie amoureuse" aspects of his portrayal in II sc.v and III sc.vi. But alongside these elements there exist echoes of ancient texts and ancient images giving another side to the

34 "Mon courroux aux vaincus ne fut que trop sévère" (213); cp. the Homeric Achilles to Agamemnon, *Iliad* 19.56-8: "'Ατρείδη, ἦ ἄρ' τι τόδ' ἀμφοτέροισιν ἄρειον/ ἔπλετο, σοὶ καὶ ἐμοί, ὅτε νῶϊ περ ἄχρυσμένῳ κῆρ/ θυμοβόρῳ ἔριδι μενεήναμεν εἴνεκα κόρης;": "Atreides, was this indeed better for us, you and me, when, even in the anger of our hearts, we fought in heart-devouring strife over a girl?"

picture: sometimes in Pyrrhus' character as revealed through his words and behaviour, sometimes in the remarks by himself and others reminding us of his links to his father and their implications. All affect the way we view Pyrrhus' relations with Andromaque and her reaction to him.

Let us begin with I sc.iv, Pyrrhus' first encounter with Andromaque. Firstly, the verbal evidence that Racine is concerned to relate Pyrrhus to his father's literary and legendary past. Both Mesnard and the Larousse edition note a similarity between the conclusion to Pyrrhus' exasperated threats:

Je n'épargnerai rien dans ma juste colère:
Le fils me répondra des mépris de la mère;
La Grèce me le demande: *et je ne prétends pas*
Mettre toujours ma gloire à sauver des ingrats
(369-72)

and the analogous threats delivered to Corneille's Rodelinde by Grimoalde, in *Pertharite*:

Puisqu'on me méprise,
Je deviendrai tyran de qui me tyrannise,
Et ne souffrirai plus qu'une indigne fierté
Se joue impunément de mon trop de bonté
(727-30).

There seems to me, however, to be a rather stronger resemblance between Pyrrhus' final statement and the defiant conclusion to a speech his father once made:

οὐδέ σ' ὀίω
ἐνθάδ' ἄτιμος ἔων ἄφενος καὶ πλοῦτον ἀφύξειν
(*Iliad* 1.170-77)³⁵.

Secondly, we may consider the evidence of the way Racine has chosen to adapt his sources in Pyrrhus' central speech offering help for Astyanax in return for kinder regard from his mother. Overall, this part of Pyrrhus'

³⁵ "I do not mean to stay in this place deprived of honour and heap up possessions and wealth for you."

speech is a skilful adaptation of a refrain we have encountered many times in tracing Andromache's story through literary history.

Je l'instruirai moi-même à venger les Troyens;
 J'irai punir les Grecs de vos maux et des miens.
 Animé d'un regard, je puis tout entreprendre:
 Votre Ilion encore peut sortir de sa cendre,
 Je puis, en moins de temps que les Grecs ne l'ont pris,
 Dans ses murs relevés couronner votre fils

(327-32).

We first encountered these aspirations as Hecuba's hopes in Euripides' *Troades* 699-705 (notice that Hecuba's speech links the idea of Andromache 'pleasing' her new master with Astyanax's future hopes - as in a different way Pyrrhus does here). Seneca in turn took these and transformed them into Andromache's hopes (*Troades* 469-74), adding the element of vengeance: "Troici defensor et vindex soli", 471: "defender and avenger of the Trojan land". Garnier follows Seneca (671-8), omitting the vengeance idea at this stage. Sallebray follows suit³⁶, restoring the vengeance motif (*La Troade* pp.29-30). Racine clearly has Sallebray in mind ("ses murs relevés", 323, cp. "relever nos murailles", *La Troade* p.29), as he does Andromache's chastened revision of her ambitions following immediately in all three passages. His boldest and most original stroke, as we shall discuss later when considering Andromaque's attitude to Pyrrhus' offer, is to split the rise and fall of ambition between Pyrrhus on one side, all fire and zeal for these castles in the air, and Andromaque on the other, who refuses (unlike so many other Racinian characters) to allow illusory hopes to delude her, and has long since dismissed this particular castle as pure air. But Racine has also skilfully adapted Andromache's former thoughts to the requirements of Pyrrhus' character and intentions. There is, on the one hand, the romantic, 'modern' element inserted in the gallant:

Animé d'un regard je puis tout entreprendre

(329)

³⁶ Drawing directly on Garnier, e.g. Garnier 675-6 "Qui doit être le Roy de nos peuples épars ..."etc, cp. Sallebray p.29.

and in the first condition before Pyrrhus launches into his catalogue of future hopes, which alters the purport of the whole passage: "Madame, dites-moi seulement que j'espère" (325). On the other hand, there is the peculiar *élan* with which Pyrrhus makes his undertaking: a certain snapping of the fingers at ordinary considerations of time and difficulty:

Je puis, en moins de temps que les Grecs ne l'ont pris,
Dans ses murs relevés couronner votre fils

(331-2).

The thought may owe something to that of Agamemnon in Seneca, Garnier and Sallebray:

casus haec rapiet brevis,
nec mille forsán ratibus aut annis decem:
non omnibus fortuna tam lenta imminet

(*Troades* 273-5)³⁷.

But there is a world of difference in the moods, between Agamemnon's glancing-over-the-shoulder cautiousness, and Pyrrhus' blazing confidence in his own ability to reverse fate, or history. The sentiment is reminiscent of the similar attitude of his father in the *Iliad*: pervading particularly the lofty superiority of his assumption of his importance to the war:

οὐ γὰρ πρὶν πολέμοιο μεδήσομαι αἱματόεντος,
πρὶν γ' ὑἶόν Πριάμοιο δαΐφρονος, Ἕκτορα δῖον,
Μυρμιδόνων ἐπὶ τε κλισίας καὶ νῆας ἰκέσθαι
κτείνοντ' Ἀργείους, [...]

ἀμφὶ δέ τοι τῇ ἐμῇ κλισίῃ καὶ νηὶ μελαίνῃ
Ἕκτορα καὶ μεμαῶτα μάχης σχῆσεσθαι οἶω

(9.650-55)³⁸.

37 "Any fleeting mischance will sweep them [kingly glories] away, and perhaps without a thousand ships or ten years: fate does not hang so reluctant over everyone"; cp. also Garnier 1415-6, Sallebray p.64.

38 "I will not take thought of blood-stained warfare, before the son of warlike Priam, godlike Hector, has reached the tents and ships of the Myrmidons, killing Argives... *But by my tent and dark ship I think that Hector, however raging in battle, will be stayed.*"

Without claiming a direct link between the two specific passages, I would suggest that Racine, who has deliberately given a new twist to a well-established tradition to suit the dramatic situation between Pyrrhus and Andromaque, in doing so ascribes to Pyrrhus an attitude parallel to one ascribed to the Homeric Achilles.

Having considered the evidence in this light, we may go on to consider whether generally, in terms of ideas and images, the portrayal of Pyrrhus invites this connection with ancient literature. The main point is that Pyrrhus, for all his *galanterie* and 17th-century polish, still reveals an *extremity* of attitude and behaviour that does break the mould of contemporary heroes and brings him closer to ancient images of his father. The best example comes in Pyrrhus' very first offer of help, 283-7:

Mais, dussent-ils encore, en repassant les eaux,
Demander votre fils avec mille vaisseaux,
Coutât-il tout le sang qu'Hélène a fait répandre,
Dussé-je après dix ans voir mon palais en cendre,
Je ne balance point, je vole à son secours.

This is more of the 'grand carelessness' we noted earlier: the grand disregard or recklessness of consequences, combining pride, defiance, confidence and enthusiasm keyed up to a high pitch. Pyrrhus forgets that this picture he paints of the magnitude of the sacrifice he is prepared to make would involve not just himself but many others, Andromaque included, in a repeat of the Trojan misery she has all-too-recently lived through. "[T]out le sang qu'Hélène a fait répandre" is a lot of blood to offer up in the cause of his passion. Now, Achilles in the *Iliad* often reveal a similar taking-on-the-world-and-blow-the-consequences-to-anyone-else attitude, notably in *Iliad* 16 when he declares passionately to Patroclus:

αἶ γάρ, Ζεῦ τε πάτερ καὶ Ἀθηναίη καὶ Ἄπολλον,
μήτε τις οὔν Τρώων θάνατον φύγοι, ὅσοι ἔασι,
μήτε τις Ἀργείων, νῶν δ' ἐκδῦμεν ὄλεθρον,
ὄφρ' οἴοι Τροίης ἱερά κρήδεμνα λύωμεν

(97-100)³⁹.

³⁹ "Father Zeus and Athene and Apollo, would that indeed none of the Trojans, as many as they are, should escape death, nor any of the Argives, but that we two should escape destruction, so that alone we might loose the holy coronal [i.e. walls] of Troy!"

The opening lines of the poem attach this image memorably to Achilles and his anger:

Μῆνιν ἄειδε, θεά, Πηληϊάδεω Ἀχιλῆος
 οὐλομένην, ἣ μυρὶ Ἀχαιοῖς ἄλγε' ἔθηκεν,
 πολλὰς δ' ἰφθίμους ψυχὰς Ἄϊδι προΐαψεν
 ἡρώων

(1.1-3)⁴⁰.

To do Pyrrhus credit he is also reckless of the consequences to himself (288). It is, though, the carelessness with which Pyrrhus talks of the destruction of all around him in the pursuit of his object that is most striking; and this, to use Knight's phrase, "est bien d'Achille":

ὁ δέ τοι μέγας ἔσσεται ὄρκος·
 ἦ ποτ' Ἀχιλλῆος ποθὴ ἴξεται ὕλας Ἀχαιῶν
 σύμπαντας· τότε δ' οὐ τι δυνήσεται ἀχλύμενός περ
 χραισμέϊν, εἴτ' ἂν πολλοὶ ὑφ' Ἑκτορος ἀνδροφόνοιο
 θνήσκοντες πίπτωσι·

(1. 239-43)⁴¹.

In II sc.v we find a different approach to the matter of relating Pyrrhus to the past in the shape of his father. His own conduct in the scene, betraying his passion while vehemently denying it, belongs to the thoroughly modern realm of *comédie amoureuse*⁴². But certain of the things that are said nonetheless recall ideas and images from Greek literature. As noted earlier, in this scene the "son of Achilles" motif (derived from Euripides' *Andromache*) makes some of its most telling appearances. There is Pyrrhus' own explicit formulation of all that the title implies:

40 "Sing, goddess, the destructive wrath of Achilles Peleides, which caused myriad griefs to the Achaeans, and sent forth many mighty souls of heroes to Hades."

41 "This will be a great oath [that I swear]: a longing for Achilles will one day surely come upon all the sons of the Achaeans together; but at that time however much you are grieved you will find no measure of help [from me], even when many fall dying before man-slaying Hector...."

42 Mesnard (Mesnard 1865-73, III, p.73) lists the criticisms of Racine's contemporaries - Boileau, l'Abbé du Bos, Jean-Baptiste Rousseau - who felt the scene more appropriate to comedy than tragedy.

Elle est veuve d'Hector, et je suis fils d'Achille;
Trop de haine sépare Andromaque et Pyrrhus
(662-3).

There is also Phoenix's unconsciously poignant use of the title, at the beginning of the scene:

Ce n'est plus le jouet d'une flamme servile,
C'est Pyrrhus, c'est le fils et le rival d'Achille
(629-30)⁴³.

In Pyrrhus' speech of 686-699 come two further significant echoes. Pyrrhus declares indignantly of Andromaque: "Sans parents, sans amis, sans espoir que sur moi" (687). In the famous scene between Hector and Andromache in *Iliad* 6, Andromache had declared:

οὐ γὰρ ἔτ' ἄλλη
ἔσται θαλπωρή, ἐπεὶ ἂν σύ γε πότμον ἐπίσπης,
[...] οὐδέ μοι ἔστι πατήρ καὶ πότνια μήτηρ. [...]
Ἔκτορ, ἀτὰρ σύ μοί ἐσσι πατήρ καὶ πότνια μήτηρ
ἠδὲ κασίγητος
(6.411-3, 429-30)⁴⁴.

Racine knew this passage well and admired it greatly (4.1.1.1); I think there can be little doubt that he had it in mind⁴⁵. A startling effect, to apply the idea to Pyrrhus rather than to Hector, and turn the lines 'inside out' so that instead of a moving statement of dependency tragically foreshadowing Andromache's future, we have Pyrrhus' own angry and baffled view of that plight: when all else has deserted her, why should the woman be so set against him, her only possible support? If any of the spectators remembered

43 See 5.1.1.3.

44 "When you meet with your fate, there will be no other comfort for me... I have neither father nor lady mother... but Hector, you are for me father, mother and brother..."

45 The case for the Homeric reminiscence holds good, I believe, despite the verbal echo noted in Knight and Barnwell 1977 (p.171) of phrases from a play by Racine's friend La Fontaine:

Vous, épouser Thaïs! Une femme inconnue,
Sans amis, sans parents, de tous biens dépourvue...
(*L'Eunuque*, I, 1).

The "que sur moi" element in Racine's line at once distinguishes the *idea* from that in the French verbal 'source', and links it closely to the idea of the *Iliad* passage.

Homer's original they might be conscious of the striking irony of Pyrrhus' appropriating the rôle of Hector to himself; Racine himself certainly would be.

Secondly, just two line later, Pyrrhus remarks in the same vein:

Etrangère... que dis-je? esclave dans l'Epire...
(689).

The echo this time is of Euripides' *Andromache*, where the sympathetic but mildly reproving chorus reminded the 'heroine':

γνώθι δ' οὖσ' ἐπὶ ξένας
δμῶς ἐπ' ἀλλοτρίας
πόλεος, ἔνθ' οὐ φίλων τιν' εἰσορᾶς σῶν
(136-9)⁴⁶.

Euripides' Hermione expresses the same reproof in terms neither sympathetic nor mild in 168-9; her words are less close to Racine's, although, like Pyrrhus here, she intends the lines as an angry reflection on the pride of Andromache's attitude.

The words of the chorus (and Hermione) in *Andromache*, along with those of Homer's Andromache considered above, all touch the same topic: Andromache's isolation, vulnerability and dependency. Racine, in adapting such reflections for Pyrrhus' own use, achieves a threefold effect. First of all, he conveys the 'mind-set' of Pyrrhus, that his own conduct towards Andromaque is purely generous and heroic and worthy of her deepest gratitude, combining the above reflections on the desperate nature of her position, and the subtle effect of taking on Hector's mantle, with original sentiments born of the new situation Racine has created.

Sans parents, sans amis, sans espoir que sur moi,
Je puis perdre son fils, peut-être je le doi:
(687-8)

introduces into the description of Andromaque's plight the element of the power Racine's new plot gives Pyrrhus in the fate of her child.

46 "Know that you are a slave in a foreign land, in a strange city, where you see not one of your friends (kin?)"; 138-9 may also have contributed to "sans amis" (Racine, 687).

Etrangère.. que dis-je? esclave dans l'Epire,
 Je lui donne son fils, mon âme, mon empire;
 Et je ne puis gagner dans son perfide coeur
 D'autre rang que celui de son persécuteur?
 (689-92)

sets the warning of Euripides' chorus in the context of Pyrrhus' passion and his bafflement that in spite of all he is offering her in her hopeless position, Andromaque wants none of his suit. Secondly, the lines retain something of the angry resentment shown by Hermione in Euripides - there is behind Pyrrhus' words an air of "how dare she?"; though this is not incompatible, and here of course is combined, with the impression that 'the fellow doth protest too much'. Thirdly, the lines deriving from Euripides and Homer, when transferred to this speaker, subtly undermine Pyrrhus' protestations of gross ingratitude from Andromaque: after all, who is responsible for her being: "Etrangère.. que dis-je? esclave dans l'Epire" or "Sans parents, sans amis, sans espoir...", if not Pyrrhus himself, his countrymen, above all his father? This consideration is at the root of Andromaque's rejection of him; it is a consideration that never quite seems to penetrate with Pyrrhus, and therefore lies at the heart of their conflict. It is possible that Pyrrhus' echo of words originally applied by Andromache to Hector deliberately makes this effect even more poignant. What Pyrrhus says here is a 'turning inside-out' not only of the words of Hector's Andromache but also of the earlier words of Andromaque herself, likewise recalling the *Iliad* passage:

II [Astyanax] m'aurait tenu lieu d'un père et d'un époux;
 Mais il me faut tout perdre, et toujours par vous coups
 (279-80).

If this last point stands up, then once more Pyrrhus, for all his appearance of a 17th-century *grand seigneur* in love in this scene, is again being related, in a subtle and complex way, to the past careers of himself and his father Achilles.

III sc.vi, Pyrrhus' next appearance, has a certain amount in common with II sc.iv, in that it too has elements of 17th-century comedy in the *dépit amoureux*-type exchanges in 890-924. Structurally, Pyrrhus plays the rôle of the offended lover (it is an open question as to whether he is also

consciously playing this part, in other words hoping to goad Andromaque into an appeal), while to Phoenix, Andromaque and probably himself he plays the part of the proudly implacable lover-turned-enemy; up to 911 he plays both to perfection and with strict control. In all this he remains very much a man of Racine's century. Yet there is one definite linking of Pyrrhus with Achilles in this scene:

Jadis Priam soumis fut respecté d'Achille.
J'attendais de son fils encor plus de bonté
(938-9).

Andromaque's words here recall a famous gesture of Achilles' (from *Iliad* 24); and relate Pyrrhus to it, partly by contrast, but partly also by equation - she had believed (and may still do so) that Pyrrhus was capable of living up to the memory of his father's magnanimity.

Finally, there are certain 'reported appearances' of Pyrrhus to take into account. The first concerns what Céphise and Andromaque have to say about him in IV sc.i. Andromaque having remarked on Pyrrhus' promise to protect her son on marrying her, concludes:

Il suffit: je veux bien m'en reposer sur lui.
Je sais quel est Pyrrhus. Violent, mais sincère,
Céphise, il fera plus qu'il n'a promis de faire
(1084-6).

Euripides' *Andromache*, taunted by Hermione as to her hopes of safety from the absent Neoptolemos, replies simply: "πέποιθα" (*Andromache* 269: "I trust him"). This expresses rather more concisely the essence of Andromaque's attitude here ("je veux bien m'en reposer sur lui"). It may be instructive to note that both Greek and French *Andromaches* are willing to trust Pyrrhus/Neoptolemos under certain circumstances; and that their assessment of his character in those circumstances is similar. Here is what Euripides' *Andromache* says to Menelaos a little later, concerning her master's attitude towards their slave-child.

κᾶτα πῶς πατήρ
 τέκνου θάνοντος ῥαδίως ἀνέξεται;
 οὐχ ᾧδ' ἄνανδρον αὐτὸν ἢ Τροία καλεῖ·
 ἀλλ' εἶσιν οἱ χρῆ - Πηλέως γὰρ ἄξια
 πατρός τ' Ἀχιλλέως ἔργα δρῶν φανήσεται
 (339-43)⁴⁷.

Both "violence" and "sincérité" are involved in that assessment. Racine's *Andromaque* in 1087-8 refers to another quality of Pyrrhus':

Sur le courroux des Grecs je m'en repose encor:
 Leur haine va donner un père au fils d'Hector.

This depicts the tendency Pyrrhus demonstrated in I sc.ii to react strongly the other way in the face of opposition or any attempt to bring him into line. In Euripides' *Andromache*, the anger and hatred of Menelaos and Hermione similarly provoked Pyrrhus' grandfather Peleus into determined protection of the child, Molossos (722-4). The qualities of pride and defiant independence that this reaction bespeaks are characteristics of Racine's Pyrrhus; they show through in Euripides' Peleus (and in what is said of his Neoptolemos, too), and were besides noted characteristics of Homer's Achilles. This point refers to images and ideas rather than specific echos; but "violent, mais sincere", good summary as it is of Racine's Pyrrhus, would also be a good working definition of the Homeric image of Achilles.

While on the subject of 'images', we may also note that *Andromaque* expresses a belief in Pyrrhus' habit of doing nothing by halves: "Céphise, il fera plus qu'il n'a promis de faire" (1086). Céphise herself referred to this quality at greater length in her earlier speech:

Déjà contre les Grecs plein d'un noble courroux,
 Le soin de votre fils le touche autant que vous:
 Il prévient leur fureur; il lui laisse sa garde:
 Pour ne pas l'exposer, lui-même se hasarde..
 (1059-62).

47 "Then [if you kill my son] how, when his child has died, could his father bear it lightly? Troy did not call him so cowardly; but he will do what he ought - he will be seen performing deeds worthy of Peleus and of his father Achilles."

Doing nothing by halves was also typical of Achilles; as was the quality of disregard for personal safety when there was an all-consuming object to be pursued (*Iliad* 16.94-8, 22.365-6). The same quality lies behind Cléone's depiction of Pyrrhus in his penultimate 'appearance' in V sc.ii:

Madame, il ne voit rien: son salut et sa gloire
 Semblent être avec vous sortis de sa mémoire
 Sans songer qui le suit, ennemis ou sujets,
 Il poursuit seulement ses amoureux projets
 (1449-52).

Racine's contemporary Subligny caustically described Pyrrhus' behaviour in so exposing himself as an "insupportable bévüe"⁴⁸. A modern critic, Antoine Soare, has opined that the current widely-held view of Pyrrhus' being "'aveuglé' par son amour pour sa future épouse" (Soare 1984, p.158) is only a more sympathetic version of this judgement and still attributes Pyrrhus with "la privation de l'intelligence". Soare puts forward his own controversial view that Pyrrhus in behaving thus is deliberately inviting death, as a voluntary self-sacrifice offered to Andromaque. This seems somewhat extreme when there are simpler explanations to hand. Earlier, we noticed that in offering his protection to Astyanax and in defying Oreste, Pyrrhus, while aware of the consequences, showed a grand disregard for them; not so much "*aveuglement*" as a sort of tunnel-vision, brushing everything else aside in the single-minded drive towards the desired goal. In this he seemed to reflect the Iliadic image of Achilles, who had a similar tendency to 'snap his fingers' in grand disregard of any considerations getting in the way of his single-minded pursuit of an all-consuming passion⁴⁹. The same sort of 'tunnel vision', and the same resemblance to his father, seems to be in operation at the climax. Certainly it is likely that, on seeing the Greeks in the temple, Pyrrhus is being deliberately provocative; he may not suspect the precise danger, but he know the Greeks will be infuriated by what he is doing and what he will say and that some

⁴⁸ *La folle querelle ou la critique d'Andromaque*; quoted in Soare 1984, p.158.

⁴⁹ When bent on the satisfaction of his injured honour by Agamemnon's utter humiliation, Achilles brushes aside with equal lightness all the wealth the world could offer in compensation (*Iliad* 9.385-7), and all the Achaean deaths attendant on his withdrawal from battle (9.650-53); when bent on vengeance for Patroclus' death, he will not have the weary Greek army pause even for rest and food (9.199-214), and it is nothing to him how much blood is shed (19.213-4); nor does he care that his own death will follow: not because he wants to die, but because killing Hector is all that matters to him at the moment.

danger will ensue (282-296, 627-642, 962), and the impression is that he does not care, that he confidently dares his enemies to do what he thinks will be their worst:

Pyrrhus m'a reconnu. Mais sans changer de face,
 Il semblait que ma vue excitât son audace,
 Que tous les Grecs, bravés en leur ambassadeur,
 Dussent de son hymen relever la splendeur...
 'Je voue à votre fils une amitié de père...
 Pour tous mes ennemis je déclare les siens,
 Et je le reconnais pour le roi des Troyens'
 (1501-4, 1509-12).

This is, after all, only the repetition at a more critical moment of his earlier reaction to Oreste. It only took one suggestion of a threat from Oreste (228-9) for Pyrrhus to ignite into total defiance of the worst the Greeks could throw at him - and into provocation in the same vein as 1511-12:

Non, non. J'y consens avec joie:
 Qu'ils cherchent dans l'Epire une seconde Troie [...]
 Aussi bien ce n'est pas la première injustice
 Dont la Grèce d'Achille a payé le service.
 Hector en profita, seigneur; *et quelque jour*
Son fils en pourroit bien profiter à son tour.
 (229-36).

Pyrrhus himself, on that occasion, compared himself with his father. And the defiance, the daring of all-comers in the face of threat, shown by Pyrrhus in both I sc.i and the V sc.iii *récit*, would be characteristic of the Homeric Achilles, too, who in *Iliad* 1 responds to Agamemnon's general threat (1.137-9) with immediate and outright defiance (1.148-71).

5.1.2.7: Pyrrhus, past and present: conclusions

What, then, can we conclude about Pyrrhus? We may agree with Knight that Racine's portrait is a "diptyque", divided between the 'modern' "grand seigneur, beau parleur", and the 'ancient' "son of Achilles". We may also agree that there is a dichotomy between the Pyrrhus of the past and the Pyrrhus of the present. But the two dichotomies do not coincide: the

division 'Pyrrhus of the past' = 'son of Achilles' aspect, 'Pyrrhus of the present' = 'modern' Pyrrhus is too clear-cut. Portraying Pyrrhus as "the son of Achilles" involves more than that part of Horace's definition of Achilles which Racine paraphrases as "farouche, inexorable, violent". The Greek Achilles was all that, but he was also proud and hot-tempered: prone to extremity of language, impulses and deed, impetuous, doing nothing by halves, defiantly independent, unboundedly confident in his ability to take on the world, and - furthermore - capable of outbursts of sincerity, of generosity, of noble chivalry. If anything is confined to Racine's pictures of Pyrrhus from the past, it is the 'Latin' image of Pyrrhus (to adopt a very crude categorisation) - the figure who is solely "farouche, inexorable, violent". Moreover, the Pyrrhus of the past, in *Andromaque*, resembles his father *only* in these points - and in his pre-eminence as a warrior, of course. The 'Greek' image of Achilles gives a more rounded picture, and it is this image that, although combined with more modern traits, is used by Racine to characterise the Pyrrhus of the present and to provide support for the connection that is so frequently made between him and his father.

5.1.3 Hector

If Racine has portrayed Pyrrhus in this way as a calculated effect, there is a new depth to be found in the conflict between *Andromaque* and Pyrrhus. The force of *Andromaque's* emotional logic in shrinking from marriage to Pyrrhus with such intensity of feeling comes home to us if we begin to see that Pyrrhus is in himself a living reminder of Achilles. How could she bring herself, then, to accept him for the rest of her life in the place that once was Hector's? Thus, having taken up Euripides' idea of an aversion to the "son of Achilles" based on association and even identification of the son with his father, Racine enriches his portrayal of the trait and strengthens its impact by calculated reference to the words and images of Greek literature.

Andromaque's determination not to marry Pyrrhus, however, is rooted in positive aspects of the past too. Her loyalty to Hector's memory also influences her response to Pyrrhus' suit, as, in Euripides' *Troades*, it inspired *Andromache's* anguish at the prospect of a new relationship with Neoptolemos and her dilemma over how to respond to it. It is time to consider the positive influence of the past on *Andromaque*: her relationship with Hector.

5.1.3.1: Andromaque's relationship to Hector

Andromaque's relationship to Hector is central to Racine's dramatic conflict. What inspiration does Racine gain here from his sources? Leaving III sc.viii and IV sc.i - the 'dilemma' and 'decision' scenes - for a later section, we will consider Andromaque's references to the relationship throughout the play. These all occur in the context of her reactions to Pyrrhus' suit, and her feelings towards Hector are often expressed to indicate her adverse feelings towards her captor. For instance, in 356-8 she flashes out against Pyrrhus:

Aurait-elle oublié vos services passés?
Troie, Hector, contre vous révoltent-ils son âme?
Aux cendres d'un époux doit-elle enfin sa flamme?

358 may echo *Aeneid* 4.552 (see later discussion at [5.2.3.2\(b\)](#) of 1080, which owes a fuller debt to Virgil's line). "cendres d'un époux" may well recall the ashes of Hector so important to Andromache in Seneca's *Troades* and the two earlier French *Troade* plays⁵⁰ For 357, Racine may owe something to Sallebray's *Cassandra* for the *sense* (*La Troade* p.24; see [3.3.2](#)); while the more personal idea of conjugal fidelity also contained in "Hector contre vous [*révolte-t-il*] son âme?" may derive from the anguish of Euripides' *Andromache* in *Troades*:

κεῖ μὲν παρώσασ' Ἐκτορος φίλον κάρα
πρὸς τὸν παρόντα πόσιν ἀναπτύξω φρένα,
κακῆ φανοῦμαι τῷ θανόντι [...]
ἀπέπτυσ' αὐτήν, ἥτις ἄνδρα τὸν πάρος
καινοῖσι λέκτροις ἀποβαλοῦσ' ἄλλον φιλεῖ
(661-3. 667-8)⁵¹.

Euripides' lines, like Racine's, render these sentiments in "verse that suggests (but only suggests) torment of spirit" (Moore 1971, p.94); Racine's chosen form of expression, though, is all his own. As elsewhere, it carries

50 "coniugis cari cinis", Seneca *Troades* 643: "ashes of my dear husband", also 502, 638, 677, etc.; Garnier: "sauve ton enfant en ta tombe cendreuse" (726), "d'Hector la cendre" (932); Sallebray: "une cendre si chère" (p.47), "la cendre de mon fidelle époux" (p.46).

51 "And if, thrusting aside dear Hector, I open my heart to my new husband [Neoptolemos/Pyrrhus], I shall appear false to the dead....I *loathe* [lit."spit out"] a woman who, casting aside her former husband, loves another in a new marriage."

the heightened romantic colouring born of the French 17th century: "Aux cendres d'un époux doit-elle enfin *sa flamme*?". But the passage as a whole, from 355 to 362, vitalised by forceful allusion to past history, sometimes ironic (356), sometimes anguished (357), sometimes defiant (360), breathes new life into whatever might be conventional. The well-worn metaphor "sa flamme" itself gains new poetic force from the antithetical balance with the quite literal "cendres d'un époux".

Andromaque continues this speech in lines which express her pride in her husband:

Et quel époux encore! Ah! souvenir cruel!
 Sa mort seule a rendu votre père immortel:
 Il doit au sang d'Hector tout l'éclat de ses armes;
 Et vous n'êtes tous deux connus que par mes larmes
 (359-62).

Andromache's pride in Hector was a trait that struck Racine on reading Homer (see 4.1.1.1). For this particular expression of it, Racine has drawn on a number of sources. Seneca's Pyrrhus in *Troades* 234-6:

ut alia sileam merita, non unus satis
 Hector fuisset? Ilium vicit pater,
 vos diruistis⁵²

contributes to 360; behind "et quel époux encore!" there may be something of Andromache's apostrophe in Euripides' *Troades*:

σὲ δ', ὦ φίλ' Ἐκτορ, εἶχον ἄνδρ' ἀρκοῦντά μοι
 ξυνέσει γένει πλούτῳ τε κἀνδρεία μέγαν
 (673-4)⁵³.

Racine takes such elements and makes something more and something original out of them. The Euripides passage suited perfectly the aim of expressing Andromaque's esteem, devotion and anguish; yet by

52 "To keep silent on his other achievements, would not Hector alone have been enough? My father conquered Troy, you merely plundered it."

53 "But in you, dear Hector, I had a husband all-sufficient to me, great in understanding, in birth, in wealth and in manly courage."

having her utter the exclamation in the company and under the circumstances she does, Racine injects further significance into these sentiments. Spoken to Pyrrhus, when being pressed to accept his love, the line is also both challenge and insult. Racine then develops the three succeeding lines in tune with this complex combination of effect. Pyrrhus' challenging (and insulting) words to Agamemnon in Seneca are given to Andromaque, with a subtle twist that makes them emphasise the high estimate of Hector's death rather than the high estimate of his killer's prowess, and somehow renders their 'praise' of Achilles defiant and deprecating: "It's only because of Hector's death that your father has such a high reputation". 361-2 are original elaboration on this idea, ending with an assertion that belittles particularly Pyrrhus, in its implication that his glory is a reflected one: "Et vous n'êtes tous deux connus que par mes larmes". The lines involve an exaggeration similar to that employed by Hermione in 840-42 (see [5.1.2.3](#)). Hector's death is not *all* Achilles (or Pyrrhus) is celebrated for - though it is certainly regarded, throughout literature, as the pinnacle of Achilles' achievements and, beginning with the *Iliad*, as equivalent to bringing down Troy itself. As with Hermione, the exaggeration is suited to the particular character and temperament Racine wishes to depict. It is natural that Andromaque should feel that her loved husband's death was surpassingly important in establishing his foe's reputation, or that she should at this juncture brush Pyrrhus off with an uncompromising and impassioned assessment of the relative merits of her former husband and the man now before her. Racine may indeed imply both at once - as often with Andromaque's words to Pyrrhus there is a tension between sincere feeling and calculated effect. Furthermore, while the death of Hector is the high point in Achilles' career, in the *Iliad* it also in another sense represents the low point, as his vengeance sinks into futile savagery ([1.4.1.1\(a\)](#)). Racine was aware of this (cf. 930, 993-4); the consideration may render 360-62 double-edged in a further sense. Thus we begin to see that Racine integrates his presentation of the relationship between Andromaque and Hector into the dramatic conflicts of his play in a way that reflects on the relations between Andromaque and Pyrrhus.

Reference to Andromaque's relationship with her dead husband is similarly worked into the action even when Pyrrhus is not present. For example, consider Andromaque's plea to Hermione in III sc.iv:

Par une main cruelle, hélas! j'ai vu percer
 Le seul où mes regards prétendaient s'adresser:
 Ma flamme par Hector fut jadis allumée;
 Avec lui dans la tombe elle s'est enfermée
 (863-6).

These lines derive from a specific classical source: Virgil's *Aeneid* 4, where Dido declares of her first husband Sychaeus:

ille meos, primus qui me sibi iunxit, amores
 abstulit; ille habeat secum servetque sepulcro
 (28-9)⁵⁴.

Yet the 'chain of inspiration' may be at work here. Dido's relationship to Sychaeus (see 2.1.1.4) was probably inspired by that of Euripides' *Andromache* to Hector: the similarity of outline in the reluctance to betray a dead partner is supported by a direct verbal connection (*Aeneid* 1.345-6 cp. *Troades* 675-6). So Racine may, in this sense, be taking Virgil's lines back to the source from whence they came.

There is, too, a similarity of sense between the progression of ideas in Racine's 864-6: "Hector was the only man I ever wanted - my love was engaged to him once - now he is dead", and in the passage of *Troades* just referred to: *Andromache*, having declared her reluctance to give herself to a new partner, continues:

σὲ δ', ὦ φίλ' Ἐκτορ, εἶχον ἄνδρ' ἀρκούντά μοι [...]
 πρῶτος τὸ παρθένειον ἐζεύξω λέχος.
 καὶ νῦν ὄλωλας μὲν σύ [...]
 (673-7)⁵⁵.

In *Andromache*, Euripides' heroine also voiced, though in defiant rather than elegiac vein, the sentiment that on Hector's death she ceased fully to live:

54 "The one who first united me with him, took away my love; it is he who should keep it close to his heart, and guard it even in the grave."

55 "But in you, dear Hector, I had a husband sufficient for me...you were the first to join in marriage with me, a virgin. And now you have perished..."

κείνα γάρ μ' ἀπώλεσεν
 ὅθ' ἡ τάλαινα πόλις ἀνηλώθη Φρυγῶν
 πόσις θ' ὁ κλεινός

(455-6)⁵⁶.

The idea that Andromache is inextricably bound to Hector's lost shade, and that something of her died with him, recurs in all the writers of the Andromache tradition (see e.g. *Iliad* 6.410-13, Seneca *Troades* 416-7, Garnier 590-94). Racine most likely takes the idea from his overall knowledge of the tradition, borrowing some words of Virgil's Dido for this particular expression of it, and clothing the Latin in the love-language of his own time ("mes regards prétendaient s'adresser", "Ma flamme [...] fut [...] allumée"). Contemporary language and traditional image are combined to fresh poetic effect: the metaphor of "ma flamme" - the emblem of life and passion - becoming engulfed in "la tombe" - emblem of death and nothingness - revitalises the love-image much as the oxymoron "cendres/flamme" did in 358.

The association of Andromaque with Hector's tomb recurs in her famous line in III sc.viii: "Allons sur son tombeau consulter mon époux" (1048). Whatever imagined or real consultation (1050, 1098) is thus announced is Racine's own invention; as is the ambiguity with which he cloaks the exact nature of the event occurring *entr'acte* that leads to Andromaque's decision in IV sc.i. But the importance of the tomb as an image in her relationship with Hector after his death is received from the literary tradition. And Andromaque calling to Hector from beyond the tomb stretches back from Sallebray to Euripides (Sallebray II sc.iv, p.50: "Ha revien des enfers..." ff.; Garnier 723-6, 994-6; Seneca 486, 500-502, 519-21, 681-5; Virgil, *Aeneid* 3.303-4; Euripides' *Troades* 587-90, 1132-3; *Andromache* 523-5). All of these except the Virgil and second Eur. *Troades* references are calling (or at least wishing) for help: most striking, perhaps, is Andromache's cry in *Andromache*, simply because Hector is so long dead:

56 "That day [or "those things"] killed me, when the unhappy city of the Phrygians was destroyed, and my famed husband."

ὦ πόσις πόσις, εἴθε σὰν
 χεῖρα καὶ δόρυ σύμμαχον
 κτησαίμαν, Πριάμου παῖ
 (523-5)⁵⁷.

In 2.1.1.1 it was argued that, although Virgil's memorable cameo in *Aeneid* 3 *crystallises* the image of Andromache the faithful and inconsolable widow, the essential elements and even the association with the tomb (Eur. *Troades* 1131-3) appeared before this in Euripides. So Virgil is not the sole influence on Racine here; particularly as it is in the Greek plays and elsewhere that we find Andromache asking her dead husband for help.

5.1.3.2: The image of Hector

As with Pyrrhus, Racine bases much of what he wishes to convey about the relationship between Andromaque and Hector on the image he projects of the man himself. Our sympathy for Andromaque's uncompromising loyalty will be strongly influenced by our sense of the worth of what she is loyal to. Peter France talks of two possible images we may have of Hector: one, as "the embodiment of justice" (France 1989, p.33), the other "Hector, burner of ships", whose influence over Andromaque is part of an "old feud [taking] its toll" on Pyrrhus' attempt to break free of the "inflexible and disastrous power of the past" (*ibid.*, pp.33-4). In outlining the latter case, he refers to Oreste's words in I sc.ii:

Ne vous souvient-il plus, Seigneur, quel fut Hector?
 Son nom seul fait frémir nos veuves et nos filles,
 Et dans toute la Grèce il n'est point de familles
 Qui ne demandent pas compte à ce malheureux fils
 D'un père ou d'un époux qu'Hector leur a ravis.
 (156-60).

Oreste puts forward the view that Hector has caused fear and grief to Greek families, as much as any Greek warrior had to Trojan wives and children, and that this is reason for fear, enmity and vengeance. His words paint a picture of Greek women suffering a grief similar, though not identical, to Andromaque's. Is it, then, true that to this extent Hector is conceived by

57 "My husband, my husband, would that I had your strong arm and helping spear by me, son of Priam."

Racine, and presented to us, as Achilles' 'mirror-image', a soldier who fought and killed the enemy, making their women-folk widows, orphans and childless, as his job and for his honour, with the sole difference that we feel more sympathy for Hector and the Trojan women because they were on the losing side?

This has been the view of some modern critics⁵⁸. There are, however, reasons for doubting whether Racine intended to imply any equivalence between Hector and Achilles in this respect; and, indeed, for concluding that he intended the balance of his presentation to lean heavily towards the favourable image of Hector. To begin with, there is the evidence of his own reactions to Homer. Racine appeared in his marginal notes (4.1.1.1) to be more interested in Hector than in Achilles. The *Iliad* presents the two men rather differently: Achilles, an individualist at odds with his society, extreme in his passions, fighting for personal honour and glory and, latterly, for personal vengeance, but precious little concerned with his army's 'cause'; Hector, a family man with the responsibility for a city on his shoulders, fighting for honour, certainly, but largely at his city's need⁵⁹. For the Trojans, by this stage, defeat would mean the irrevocable obliteration of themselves and their civilization. To that extent, Hector fights because he has to; whereas Achilles fights, or does not fight, according to his own desire - be it for fame, restitution or vengeance.

We cannot be sure that this was how Racine read the difference between the two characters. But Racine's notes on the *Iliad* certainly suggest an admiration and liking for Hector (4.1.1.1). Moreover, the balance of his own presentation of Hector through Andromaque's reminiscences bears strong traces of the view of his character from the *Iliad* just outlined.

Firstly, there is his rôle as Troy's defender and sole hope. Andromaque refers to this in dismissing Pyrrhus' proffered hopes for Astyanax:

58 e.g. Barthes 1963 (pp.81, 85): "Pour Andromaque, Hector et Pyrrhus se répondaient, comme meurtriers, l'un des femmes grecques, l'autre des femmes troyennes" (p.85). This is flawed: as the pictures of *Pyrrhus'* past are presented to us, he was at Troy more than just a soldier doing his job - the killing of the aged Priam at the altar was no military necessity but a personal crime. Had Barthes put "Achille" for "Pyrrhus", the statement could perhaps claim more validity.

59 Compare, e.g., the different motivation and attitude to their task suggested by *Iliad* 1.240-42 (Achilles) and *Iliad* 6.361-2 (Hector).

Seigneur, tant de grandeurs ne nous touchent plus guère:
 Je les lui promettais tant qu'a vécu son père.
 Non, vous n'espérez pas de nous revoir encor,
 Sacrés murs, que n'a pu conserver mon Hector!
 (333-6).

The idea that, since even Hector could not preserve Troy, there is no hope for her now goes back to Hecuba's lament for Astyanax in Euripides' *Troades*, 1160-65:

μη Τροίαν ποτέ
 πεσοῦσαν ὀρθώσειεν; οἰδὲν ἦτ' ἄρα,
 ὅθ' Ἐκτορος μὲν εὐτυχοῦντος ἐς δόρυ
 διωλλύμεσθα μυρίας τ' ἄλλης χερός,
 πόλεως δ' ἀλούσης καὶ Φρυγῶν ἐφθαρμένων
 βρέφος τοσόνδε ἐδείσατ';⁶⁰

Virgil in the *Aeneid* expresses a similar idea in the words of Hector's shade to Aeneas:

si Pergama dextra
 defendi possent, etiam hac defensa fuissent
 (2.291-2)⁶¹.

The general idea that Hector was Troy's sole defender originates with the *Iliad*: "οἶος γὰρ ἐρύετο Ἴλιον Ἐκτωρ" (6.403: "for Hector alone guarded Troy"); as does the idea that without Hector Troy has no hope:

πρὶν γὰρ πόλις ἦδε κατ' ἄκρης
 πέρσεται· ἦ γὰρ ὄλωλας ἐπίσκοπος, ὅς τέ μιν αὐτὴν
 ῥύσκει, ἔχεις δ' ἀλόχους κεδνὰς καὶ νήπια τέκνα·
 (24.728-30)⁶².

60 "[Did you fear] lest Troy fallen should one day be restored? Yet this fear was nothing, since even when Hector was prospering with his spear, and a countless host besides, we used to perish in battle, yet now, with the city captured and the Phrygians destroyed, did you fear such a tiny child?"

61 "If any strong arm could have defended Pergamum, surely mine would have defended it."

62 "Ere that this city will be sacked from top to bottom; for you, her guardian, have been destroyed, who protected her, and kept safe her noble wives and infant children."

Racine's familiarity with these concepts is clear from his *marginalia*; he remarks on *Iliad* 6.402-3:

Hector modeste avait nommé simplement son fils du nom
du fleuve Scamandre; mais les Troyens l'appelèrent
Astyanax, parce que son père défendait leur ville.

(Mesnard, 1865-73, VI p.202).

Racine here takes up the idea of Hector as the only mainstay of his city and his family, a constant throughout the tradition⁶³, to add to the expression of Andromaque's abandoned ambitions a sense both of wistful pride in Hector and a corresponding hopelessness without him. Her surrender of ambition is here focussed specifically for the first time on the loss of Hector. Dramatically, too, whether or not Racine intends this as deliberate on Andromaque's part, the renewed demonstration of her devotion to Hector, and the unflattering comparison implicit as she dismisses hopes proffered by *Pyrrhus* by saying that only while *Hector* lived could she entertain them, have a particular effect in this context as likely to frustrate *Pyrrhus* still further in his passion.

Secondly, there is the portrayal of Hector as devoted husband and father. Most of III sc.viii will be dealt with separately later; but the reminiscence of 1018-26 belongs to the present discussion:

Hélas! je m'en souviens, le jour que son courage
Lui fit chercher Achille, ou plutôt le trépas,
Il demanda son fils et le prit dans ses bras:
'Chère épouse, dit-il en essuyant mes larmes,
J'ignore quel succès le sort garde à mes armes:
Je te laisse mon fils pour gage de ma foi:
S'il me perd, je prétends qu'il me retrouve en toi.
Si d'un heureux hymen la mémoire t'est chère,
Montre au fils à quel point tu chérissais le père'.

⁶³ See, for instance, Seneca *Troades* 31, 124-9; Virgil *Aeneid* 2.281-3; Garnier 577-84; Sallebray pp.14-5.

The scene thus described comes essentially from *Iliad* 6, and from Racine's reading of it⁶⁴. Racine echoes certain details from Homer: e.g. Hector's tenderness to his son (*Iliad* 6.466,474 c.p. *Andromaque* 1020). There is also a close 'sense' echo, in Hector's 'foreboding': "J'ignore quel succès le sort garde à mes armes", of his equally unassuming words in *Iliad* 6.487-8:

οὐ γάρ τις μ' ὑπὲρ αἴσαν ἀνὴρ "Αἰδι προΐάψει·
μοῖραν δ' οὐ τίνα φημι πεφυγμένον ἔμμεναι ἀνδρῶν⁶⁵.

This particular trait, inherited from Homer's Hector, contrasts with the enthusiastic, occasionally brash confidence Racine ascribes to his Pyrrhus.

At the same time, Racine has given the picture extensive original development. Hector's words in Racine bear little resemblance to his words in Homer; they perhaps contain elements from other sources. For instance, *Andromaque's* reference to Astyanax in Sallebray: "Mais de ce même amour le cher et noble gage" (p.47)⁶⁶ is probably echoed in Hector's words here: "Je vous laisse mon fils pour gage de ma foi" (as in 1017, shortly before: "Ce fils, que de sa flamme il me laissa pour gage!"). Providing Racine with the substance of the injunction here - 'look after our son' - may be the sense of Hector's message to Andromache in her dream in Seneca (452-6), Garnier (653-7) and Sallebray (p.32), but particularly Creusa's last words to Aeneas in *Aeneid* 2.789: "iamque vale et nati serva communis amorem"⁶⁷. Racine, like Sallebray (see [3.2.1.1](#), [3.2.1.1](#)), has heightened the 'romantic' colouring of Hector and Andromache's relationship:

Si d'un heureux hymen la mémoire t'est chère,
Montre au fils à quel point tu chérissais le père
(1025-6).

1026 may owe something to the recurrent idea of 'conserving Hector in/through Astyanax', particularly as expressed by Sallebray: "Et je puis dans

⁶⁴ The 'inaccuracy' in 1018-9 (in the *Iliad* Hector lives another four days and returns once to Troy (7.310)) is reflected in Racine's marginal notes: "v.371...Leur conversation ...se passe à la porte de la ville, par où Hector va sortir *pour n'y plus rentrer*" (Mesnard 1865-73, VI, p.202).

⁶⁵ "For no man shall send me prematurely forth to Hades beyond my fate; but I say that no-one of men can escape his fated end."

⁶⁶ Itself perhaps echoing Seneca's "o dulce pignus", *Troades* 766.

⁶⁷ "And now, farewell; and cherish your love for our son." For Greek antecedents behind Creusa's appearance here, see [2.1.1.3](#).

son fils conserver ce Héros!" (Andromaque; *La Troade*, II sc.iv, p.48), and above all as we find it in the reported desires of Hector's ghost:

Mais ton père par toi veut prolonger son sort
(Andromaque; II sc.iii, p.37);

Cachés-le en quelque endroit, secondés aujourd'huy
L'espérance que j'ay de revivre par luy
(Hector; *ibid.*, p.32).

The words of Racine's Hector, though, seem more tender and less self-centered. Racine gives one further twist to this idea of Andromache finding Hector again in her son (e.g. Seneca 646-8) by 'turning the idea round': "S'il me perd, je prétends qu'il *me* retrouve en *toi*": this expresses the family closeness of the three in a new, highly poignant idea. Furthermore, by highlighting, through his bequest, that loyalty to Hector also demands that Andromaque save Astyanax, the cameo suits perfectly the requirements of the dramatic dilemma Racine has to portray.

Finally, Racine shows the generosity, gentleness and 'chivalry' of Hector in the recollection of his protection of Helen:

Hélas! lorsque, lassés de dix ans de misère,
Les Troyens en courroux menaçaient votre mère,
J'ai su de mon Hector lui procurer l'appui
(873-5).

Racine has invented the incident, and Andromaque's rôle in it; the invention seems to spring from Helen's account of Hector's defence of her against his family's reproaches in *Iliad* 24.768-72. Racine has adapted this basic idea so that Helen's danger is more serious and the stress is on Andromaque's intercession more than on her husband's action: this suits his aim of providing Andromaque with a cogent argument for Hermione's coming to her aid. But Hector's rôle is not eclipsed:

J'ai su de mon Hector lui procurer l'appui:
Vous pouvez sur Pyrrhus ce que j'ai pu sur lui.
(875-6).

The impression of *his*, as well as his wife's, generous support of the woman at the root of their troubles registers, I think.

5.1.3.3: Conclusion

Thus it seems clear that, through reminiscences of him not merely as a glorious warrior but as Troy's only hope and defender, as dedicated family man, as protector of women, Racine took trouble to present Hector, in a way he did not for Achilles and Pyrrhus, as rather more than just a hero-soldier. Furthermore, the image thus created does seem particularly attractive. This renders Andromaque's refusal to forget or betray Hector the more sympathetic: something to be kept in mind when Racine integrates Andromaque's attitude into the conflict between her and Pyrrhus, between the prospect of the present and future he offers her and the past she refuses to abandon.

5.2: Andromaque and the past-present conflict

5.2.1: Andromaque and Pyrrhus

Having looked at these two crucial relationships with figures from the past: Pyrrhus' with Achilles, and Andromaque's with Hector, we may now consider the way these relationships are worked into the dramatic conflict between Andromaque and Pyrrhus, where Andromaque's view of the past and present is confronted with Pyrrhus' present demands. How are Andromaque's reaction to Pyrrhus presented?

The first view we are given of Andromaque's reactions is an external one, from Pylade:

Il l'aime: mais enfin cette veuve inhumaine
N'a payé jusqu' ici son amour que de haine
(109-10).

This poses the problem that has exercised much critical energy over the years: what are we to make of the apparent "haine" of Andromaque for Pyrrhus? On the one hand, there are critics like J. Pommier and Butler who accept this without qualification as Andromaque's consistent attitude towards her captor:

All through the play what we see, displayed with
overpowering force towards Pyrrhus, can be called by no
other name than hate
(J. Pommier 1962, p.191).

[Andromaque] feels nothing but hatred for the destroyer of
her city
(Butler 1974, p.20).

On the other hand there are those who point out a more positive side to her attitude: Paul Bénichou (Bénichou 1967, p.223) talks, with reference to IV sc.i, of "Cet acte de confiance, cette estime avouée pour Pyrrhus", and the same term is taken up by Verhoeff: "au moment de sa décision de se tuer après le mariage, elle avait manifesté une certaine estime pour Pyrrhus" (Verhoeff 1986, p.233). Some see a change of attitude in Andromaque's transformation after his death into Pyrrhus' "veuve fidèle" (1590) (see e.g.

Soare 1984 and Barthes 1963); others read back from this into her fairer words about him earlier in the play the growth of a secret, involuntary love¹. R. Pommier, while accepting Lemaître's distinction: "Andromaque peut haïr le fils d'Achille et celui qui a tué tant de Troyens: mais la personne même de Pyrrhus... Andromaque ne la haït point" (Lemaître. p.144), rejects the idea of 'love' for Pyrrhus and resolves the question by applying the distinction to an "haine/estime" split instead. Andromaque has "une certaine estime" for the Pyrrhus of the present, although she is unable to forget her hatred for the Pyrrhus of the past (R. Pommier 1988, p.73). Yet Andromaque's objections to Pyrrhus are to a large extent based on his present self: in the first place, because he insists on making himself her suitor when she doesn't wish to marry, in the second because she sees him *now* as Achilles son. Thus the indications both of the negative and of the positive sides to her attitude need to be more closely examined to find a more satisfactory resolution of these ambivalences.

5.2.2.1: The negative side

In II sc.1, Cléone tries to convince Hermione that Andromaque's conduct indicates that she has neither any passionate interest in nor any designs on Pyrrhus. Cléone's opinion is that Andromaque is too absorbed in her grief for Pyrrhus to touch her. In the prologue to Euripides' *Andromache*, Andromache recounts her own similar and futile attempt to persuade Hermione of the state of her emotions (36-8); there are, furthermore, resemblances in the reported charges each writer has Hermione make, though these are couched in the different terms of the divergent societies and situations.

Vous pensez que des yeux toujours ouverts aux larmes
 Se plaisent à troubler le pouvoir de vos charmes,
 Et qu'un coeur accablé de tant de déplaisirs
 De son persécuteur ait *brigué les soupirs*?
 Voyez si sa douleur en paraît soulagée.
 Pourquoi donc les chagrins où son âme est plongée?
 Contre un amant qui plaît pourquoi tant de fierté?
(Andromaque, 449-55);

¹ Jules Lemaître, *Jean Racine*, Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1908, pp.144 ff.; cited in R. Pommier 1988, pp.68-9.

λέγει γὰρ ὥς νιν φαρμάκοις κεκρυμμένοις
 τίθημ' ἄπαιδα καὶ πόσει μισουμένην,
 αὐτῇ δὲ ναίειν οἶκον ἀντ' αὐτῆς θέλω
 τόνδ', ἐκβαλοῦσα λέκτρα τάκεινης βία.
 ἀγῶ τὸ πρῶτον οὐχ ἔκοῦσ' ἔδεξάμην,
 νῦν δ' ἐκλέλοιπα· Ζεὺς τάδ' εἰδείη μέγας,
 ὥς οὐχ ἔκοῦσα τῶδ' ἐκοινώθην λέχει

(*Andromache* 32-8)².

We might also notice a correspondence between the sense, at least, of 452: "*De son persécuteur ait brigué les soupirs?*" and Andromache's later refutation to Menelaos:

ἐκοιμήθην βία
 σὺν δεσπότηισ· κᾶτ' ἔμ', οὐ κείνον κτενεῖς,
 τὸν αἴτιον τῶνδ'

(*Andromache*, 390-92)³.

As argued in the discussion of *Andromache*, Andromache does - though this reaction co-exists with the acceptance of him as protector - still see Neoptolemos/Pyrhus as her 'persecutor', at least with reference to his past actions. This trait is apparent in Racine's presentation too. Pyrrhus describes Andromaque's attitude explicitly in these terms, conveying it as an all-consuming present view of him:

Et je ne puis gagner dans son perfide coeur
 D'autre rang que celui de son persécuteur?
 (691-2).

Here, however, Racine has adapted the expression of the idea to suit his portrayal of Pyrrhus' frustrated exasperation.

From Pylade, Cléone and Pyrrhus we have the 'external' view of Andromaque's aversion. Andromaque's own statements of it also convey a

² "She says that I, with *secret* potions, make her childless and an object of hate to her husband, and that I wish to make this my household instead of hers, casting out her bridal couch by force. That couch I accepted at first not willingly, and now I have left it; great Zeus bear me witness in this, that I did not *share in that man's bed by my own choice*."

³ "I lay with my master *by force*; yet it is me whom you wish to kill, not him, *the one responsible for these things*."

(less extreme) view of Pyrrhus as her 'persecutor', at least in his past responsibility for her present state.

Et que veux-tu que je lui dise encore?
 Auteur de tous mes maux, crois-tu qu'il les ignore?
 (*A Pyrrhus*) Seigneur, voyez l'état où vous me réduisez...
 (925-7).

"Auteur de tous mes maux" relates specifically to the passage of Euripides just referred to:

κᾶτ' ἔμ', οὐ κείνον κτενεῖς,
 τὸν αἴτιον τῶνδ', ἀλλὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀφείς
 πρὸς τὴν τελευτὴν ὑστέραν οὔσαν φέρῃ;
 οἴμοι κακῶν τῶνδ' [...]
 (*Andromache*, 391-4)⁴.

Both the Racinian and the Euripidean passages continue with a series of parallel observations:

J'ai vu mon père mort, *et nos murs embrasés*;
 J'ai vu trancher les jours de ma famille entière,
 Et mon époux sanglant traîné sur la poussière,
 Son fils seul avec moi, réservé pour les fers...
 (926-31).

ὦ τάλαιν' ἐμὴ πατρίς,
 ὡς δεινὰ πάσχω [...]
 ἦτις σφαγὰς μὲν Ἑκτορος τροχηλάτους
 κατέιδον οἰκτρῶς τ' Ἴλιον πυρούμενον,
 αὐτὴ δὲ δούλη ναῦς ἐπ' Ἀργείων ἔβην [...]
 εἷς παῖς ὄδ' ἦν μοι λοιπὸς
 (394-5, 399-401, 406)⁵.

⁴ "And yet you are to kill me, not *that man who was responsible for these things*, but leaving aside *the beginning/first cause* do you bear hard upon the end result that came after? Alas for *these evils* .."

⁵ "o my unhappy homeland, what dread things I suffer....who saw *the wheel-dragged slaughter of Hector*, and *Ilion piteously burning*, and went *myself a slave* on board an Argive ship...*This one child* was left to me..."

At the same time, the speech of Sallebray's *Cassandre* (to Agamemnon) considered at [3.3.2](#) could also be claimed as a source:

Quand je ne verrois pas *ces flames* criminelles...
 Quand *notre grand Hector* cedant aux lois du sort
 N'auroit pas éprouvé la honte dans la mort...
 Qu'une mere et des soeurs que l'on destine aux fers,
 Ne metroient pas le comble a mes tourmens divers,..
 Que vous ne seriés pas l'auteur de ces malheurs,
 N'y la source fatale et de sang, et des pleurs...

(*La Troade*, Act II sc.ii, p.24).

In fact, "Auteur de tous mes maux" is most likely to derive in the first instance from Sallebray's "l'auteur de ces malheurs". But Sallebray's passage as a whole does not totally eclipse the claims of the Euripidean passage; moreover the similarities between the Greek and Sallebray's lines themselves lead me to believe it quite possible that the earlier French writer in his turn is drawing on Euripides here (see [3.3.2](#))⁶. One aspect in which the Greek does seem closer to Racine is the description of Hector's end: compare "mon époux sanglant traîné sur la poussière" with "σφαγὰς μὲν Ἑκτορος τροχηλάτους" ("Hector's wheel-dragged slaughter"). To this we should add, as a possible contributory source to the French line, Eur. *Andromache* 107-8, 111-2:

⁶ Rudler (Rudler 1917, pp.442-3) argues the case for a tirade of Iole's in *Hercule mourant* I sc.3 being a main source for Racine's passage. There are certainly resemblances, though the strongest is between the idea of Iole's final couplet:

Heureuse si nos corps n'eussent eu qu' un cercueil,
 Si nous n'eussions tous deux causé qu'un même deuil

and the conclusion to Andromaque's speech some dozen lines later (943-6). But Iole is talking of only one death, and that not a husband's; and Rudler dismisses too lightly the claims of *Andromache* in this and other respects (p.442 footnote 1). May (May 1947(b)) points out the similarity between 929-30 and certain fragments of Ennius: "Haec omnia uidi inflammari", "Vide, uidere quad me passa aeqerrume,/Hectorem curru quadriiugo raptarier.." ("There I saw all in flames", "I saw what was beyond sorrow for me to see, Hector dragged away by a chariot drawn by four horses"). Ennius in his turn, however, is indebted to Euripides here, as May recognises: "Evidemment, le tableau... d'Ennius [vient] partiellement d'Euripide" (p.464).

καὶ τὸν ἐμὸν [...] πόσιν Ἔκτορα, τὸν περὶ τείχη
 ἔλκυσε διφρεύων παῖς ἄλιος Θέτιδος [...]
 [...] ἔλειπον
 [...] πόσιν ἐν κοίαις ⁷;

and Sallebray's:

Je pleure seulement Hector assassiné,
 Hector devant ces murs cruellement traîné...
 (*La Troade*, I sc.iii, p.14).

There may, for the passage as a whole, be a debt too to Garnier:

J'ay perdu père et mère, et frères et mari;
 Royaumes, libertez, tout mon bien est péri;
 Rien ne m'est demeuré que ceste petite âme...
 Laissez-le moy, Ulysse, et qu'il serve avec moy
 (*La Troade*, 1031-5).

Racine's adapts his sources to create a passage that is both a lament, dignified and haunting as that of Euripides' figure, and, spoken to Pyrrhus, an indictment: "Seigneur, voyez l'état où vous me réduisez". Possibly, too - the ambiguities of Andromaque's procedures come into question here - they involve a veiled appeal for sympathy. While Andromache's words to Menelaos in Euripides probably do not involve a similar appeal, they too are an indictment, more directly: not so much of her interlocutor, but of Neoptolemos and his father ("φονεῦσιν Ἔκτορος νυμφεύομαι", 403: "I am wedded to Hector's murderers"). In Euripides, however, such an indictment adds only to the depth, complexity and pathos of the portrayal of Andromache's feelings and situation; it is not related, as Racine relates his, to a central issue and conflict of the plot.

When Andromaque talks of Pyrrhus in this light, she usually gives the reasons for her aversion at the same time. Firstly, Pyrrhus is one of an enemy race, the race that destroyed her city and people (267-8). Secondly, Pyrrhus was himself a prime mover and played a large part in the destruction of Troy and Andromaque's own consequent enslavement

⁷ "...and my husband Hector, whom the son of sea-born Thetis dragged from his chariot around the walls...I left behind...my husband in the dust."

("Hector tomba sous lui, Troie expira sous vous", 148). This, Andromaque recalls in varying states of emotion. In 301-4 she does so with a relatively mild melancholy:

Captive, toujours triste, importune à moi-même,
 Pouvez-vous souhaiter qu'Andromaque vous aime?
 Quels charmes ont pour vous des yeux infortunés
 Qu'à des pleurs éternels vous avez condamnés?
 (301-4).

This draws on the tradition of Andromache forever desolate and in tears, going back through Sallebray: "Si je n'écris mon deuil avec des pleurs de sang" (p.15) and Garnier (585ff.) to Virgil (*Aeneid* 3. 304-5, 312-4, 344-5) and finally to Homer's *Iliad* (6.454-9, 22.483-4, 24.744-5). Garnier's passage has probably served as a direct inspiration for Racine here:

Depuis j'ay respandu *des larmes continues*;
 Depuis, mille soupirs j'ay poussé dans les nues;
 J'ay fait mille regrets, et le soleil doré
 M'a depuis misérable, *ennuyeux*, éclairé.
 Mon âme s'est depuis de tristesses repeuë,
 Séjournant à regret sous la grand' voûte bleue...
 (*La Troade*, 585-90).

Garnier's passage in its turn, however, bears a close relationship to the elegy in Euripides' *Andromache* 111-14 (2.2.2.1); unlike Garnier's lines, the latter mentions the slavery element present in Racine's "Captive". Some of the other passages listed in the 'everlasting grief' connection above - particularly those from Homer - may also have contributed to Racine's delineation of Andromaque's state of mind. Racine, though, gives his version of the traditional lament an explicit edge of accusation: "Qu'à des pleurs éternels *vous avez condamnés*". Once more, he combines inherited elements with his own love-plot and its language, to create a speech in which Andromaque's insistence on her absorption in the griefs of the past is not only a moving expression of feeling - as in earlier writers - but also an intimation of her reactions to Pyrrhus' suit. The lines thus contribute to the central conflict between Andromaque and Pyrrhus, outlining

Andromaque's position in that conflict and advancing the action by 'warning Pyrrhus off' and thereby implying her refusal of his offer.

In 356-6 Andromaque's tone is more impassioned:

Aurait-elle oublié vos services passés?
Troie, Hector contre vous révoltent-ils son âme?

These lines were discussed above (5.1.3.1), in terms of the "Hector" motive. The lines convey revulsion on account of "Troie" also: 356 conveys the blame attached to Pyrrhus on her city's account with particularly biting irony. No previous Andromache has ever expressly applied this particular basis for aversion to her captor himself. Sallebray's *Cassandre* provides the closest parallel as she lists her objections to Agamemnon:

Quand les Grecs obstinés à perdre les Troyens
N'auroient pas employé tant de lâches moyens,...ff.⁸

Even if the sentiment "Troie...contre vous [révolte-t'-elle] son âme?" is taken from Sallebray's *Cassandre*, Racine has personalised it to Andromaque by balancing it with the other half of the equation: "Troie, Hector...". This gives us the third basis for Andromaque's repugnance: Pyrrhus is the son of Achilles, her husband's killer. It was argued in 4.3.2 that such a repugnance was clearly a part of Euripides' portrayals of Andromache, so that its fleeting evocation in Virgil's *Aeneid* and Sallebray's *La Troade* (p.77; see 5.1.1.2 above) and its much fuller development in Racine, stem from the conception of the Greek writer. We have considered (5.1.3.1) the possible link between 357 here and Euripides' *Troades* 661-3, 667-8. This basis for aversion, too, is evoked in different ways. In 4.3.2 we referred to Andromaque's identification of Pyrrhus with his father's deeds in 279-80 and 1031, matching that of Euripides' Andromache: "I am wedded to Hector's murderers" (*Andromache* 403). On one occasion, Racine employs this aspect of Andromaque's attitude to Pyrrhus as a subtle point of persuasion in Andromaque's attempt to win over Hermione. She declares:

⁸ A last reason for Andromaque's aversion to Pyrrhus is also connected with the destruction of Troy: his murder of Priam. Andromaque recalls this only once, but that at a moment of high emotion and poetry, in 995-6(ff). The relation of *that* description to prior literature, Latin especially but with some influence from the Greek, was discussed at 5.1.2.1.

Par *une main cruelle*, hélas! j'ai vu percer
 Le seul où mes regards prétendaient s'adresser
 (863-4).

The "main cruelle" is of course Achilles; Andromaque may be reinforcing her point that she has no interest in Pyrrhus by reminding Hermione how she feels about his father, with the consequent effect on her reaction to the son⁹.

5.1.1.2: The positive side

Indications of a more positive reaction to Pyrrhus are rather fewer. 938-42, with their reminiscence of the *Iliad* 24 episode, have already been mentioned on several occasions:

Jadis Priam soumis fut respecté d'Achille.
 J'attendais de son fils encor plus de bonté..
 Malgré lui-même enfin je l'ai cru magnanime.

The lines involve a recognition of the noble and generous qualities Achilles - and his son - could display. There need not be a contradiction between that recognition and the more negative feelings revealed in Andromaque's less complimentary references to Pyrrhus and Achilles elsewhere. Certain of Andromache's references to Pyrrhus/Neoptolemos and Achilles in Greek literature involve recognition of their positive qualities yet do not contradict or banish the consciousness of a negative side to Andromache's experience of them. Consider this from Euripides' *Andromache*: "οὐχ ὦδ' ἀνανδρον αὐτὸν ἢ Τροία καλεῖ" (*Andromache*, 341)¹⁰; and this from Homer's:

ἦ τοι γὰρ πατέρ' ἀμὸν ἀπέκτανε δῖος Ἀχιλλεύς,
 ἐκ δὲ πόλιν πέρσεν [...]
 [...] κατὰ δ' ἔκτανεν Ἡετίωνα,
 οὐδέ μιν ἐξενάριξε, σεβάσσατο γὰρ τό γε θυμῷ,
 ἀλλ' ἄρα [...] ἐπὶ σῆμ' ἔχεεν

(*Iliad* 6.414-20)¹¹.

⁹ This is rendered more likely by the original form of 863 in the 1668 and 1676 editions: "Par les mains de son père, hélas, j'ai vu percer..." (Bordas edition, p.76).

¹⁰ "Troy did not call him [Neoptolemos] so lacking in courage."

¹¹ "for god-like Achilles killed my father and sacked [our] city from top to bottom... he slew Aetion, yet did not despoil him, for he felt a reverent shame in his heart at that, but indeed...he heaped up a funeral mound for him...."

In similar vein to all this are 305-10:

Non, non, d'un ennemi respecter la misère,
Sauver des malheureux, rendre un fils à sa mère,
De cent peuples pour lui combattre la rigueur,
Sans me faire payer son salut de mon cœur,
Malgré moi, s'il le faut, lui donner un asile:
Seigneur, voilà des soins dignes du fils d'Achille.

This applies to Pyrrhus images of generous respect to enemies, such as that shown by his father Achilles to Priam (305), and of the bold courage that is willing to take on vast odds (307). The last was a characteristic of the Homeric Achilles we noticed earlier (pp.224-5), and recurs in Euripides' portrayal of Achilles in *Iphigeneia at Aulis*:

ΑΧΙΛΛΕΥΣ: ἀλλ' ὅμως ἀρήξομέν σοι. ΚΛΥΤΗΜΑΙΣΤΡΑ: καὶ μαχῆ
πολλοῖσιν εἶς;
ΑΧΙΛΛΕΥΣ: εἰσορῶς τεύχη φέροντας τούσδε;
(1358-9)¹².

All of this contributes a positive meaning to "fils d'Achille" in "des soins dignes du fils d'Achille", relating to the recollection of his father's nobler side. This is not incompatible with a more negative undertone to the patronymic: as suggested elsewhere, "fils d'Achille" is also Andromaque's way of 'warning off' Pyrrhus from pursuing his suit of her. We have a precedent for this double-edged use of a patronymic (or to be precise a 'patronymic allusion') in Euripides' *Andromache*:

ἀλλ' εἶσιν οἱ χρή - Πηλέως γὰρ ἄξια
πατρός τ' Ἀχιλλέως ἔργα δρῶν φανήσεται
(342-3)¹³

(see 1.4.1.2(a)). Since Andromache here is talking about what Neoptolemos could be expected to do in a child's cause (admittedly *his* child, in this case),

¹² "But nonetheless I shall defend you. -CL: Yet will you fight, one man against many?
-ACH: Do you see these men bringing many arms?"

¹³ "But he will do what he ought - for he will be seen doing *deeds worthy* of Peleus and of *his father Achilles*."

Racine may in 310 be directly echoing Euripides. Thus it is possible to allow Andromaque's rejection of Pyrrhus to be genuine, and yet still to see her as sincere when she says (933-42) that she has taken some comfort in ending up Pyrrhus' captive - on her son's account if not on her own (see [5.2.2.4](#)).

5.2.1.3: Andromaque and Pyrrhus: conclusion

I am inclined, therefore, to think that translators are wrong to render "haine" or "haïr" - only once applied by Andromaque to her own feelings, in any case: "Si je vous hais, est-il coupable de ma haine?" (1030) - always in terms of our English "hatred". "Hatred" implies a deep-rooted, raging and absolute hostility and rejection not necessarily expressed by the French words in their 17th-century usage¹⁴. "Haine" can mean "hate" as we understand it - as for instance when Pyrrhus (a biased commentator) applies it to Andromaque in 917-24; but it can also imply other less virulent or impassioned shades of emotional aversion. Andromaque's "haine", whatever it is, is neither one side of a passionate and unstable love-hate equation like Hermoine's, nor the absolute hostility that can see no good in its object. It is not necessary for Andromaque to hate Pyrrhus in the absolute sense for her to be as passionately opposed to marrying him as she is. That passion would be adequately accounted for by her continuing devotion to Hector and her absolute horror at giving his place to the son of his killer. Certainly the level of Andromaque's emotions fluctuates throughout the play, and her words in her most anguished moments express anger and bitterness; certainly her memories of Pyrrhus at Troy inspire hatred for what he did and was then (995-108). But her attitude to Pyrrhus in the present is largely ruled by her struggle against his desire to marry her, by her perception of him as a living reminder of Achilles, and by her conviction of the past as a barrier not to be pushed aside: motivated not so much by hatred but by an aversion based on an absolute sense of separation. For Andromaque, Pyrrhus is Hector's enemy ("cher Hector [...] *ton ennemi*", 940-41) and therefore hers - not in a vindictive sense but in a sense that nonetheless cut him off from her affection as he wants it, because nothing can change what he and his have done to her and hers - the history that prohibits any possibility of her love, though not necessarily of her esteem.

The combination of a deep-seated aversion to Pyrrhus on the one hand, at times expressed in anger, accusation and reproach, with an

¹⁴ cp. Lexicon in N.C.L. edition of *Andromaque*, p.25.

admission of his qualities and a willingness¹⁵ to trust him for protection (when that protection has no price on it) on the other, is a curious one. But it is not unprecedented: for Euripides' portrayal of Andromache in her relationship to Neoptolemos, in *Andromache*, is marked by a similar combination of traits (1.4.1.1(c), 1.4.1.3). There are, of course, significant differences in the situations. Notably, Andromache's perceived sense of obligation and duty to her master, as slave-concubine and (more especially) mother of his child, is not in the same way part of Andromaque's experience or psychology, simply because she is presented as Pyrrhus' *captive* but nothing more. The ties and obligations of *φιλία* that go with the Greek Andromache's position and to which she responds in her own particular way (1.4.1.3) are not for most of the play part of her French counterpart's relationship with Pyrrhus. Equally, Andromache's motive for entertaining 'softer' feelings towards Neoptolemos, of his being the father to her child (however double-edged this consideration may be), obviously cannot operate with Andromaque. By extension, Andromaque's belief (assuming it to be genuine) that in Pyrrhus her child could find a defender involves a higher estimate of his generosity than Andromache's assurance that Neoptolemos would protect and avenge their child - since he has a personal interest in his own son's survival. Pyrrhus' motives are, of course, 'interested' on different grounds; but it remains true that Andromaque urges, and may believe him capable of, a more disinterested protection. On the other hand, Pyrrhus is offering himself as a sort of adoptive father to Astyanax (326, 1509), and in her final resolution to the situation Andromaque accepts this (1082-4, 1092, 1112, 1120). It is also true that all the 'obligation' Andromaque does express or show to Pyrrhus comes into the text after she has decided to become his wife (if only for a few hours) - which, if we were to transpose it into Greek terms, would mean after she has contracted ties of *φιλία* with him. Since we know that Racine was familiar with *Andromache* before writing *Andromaque*, it is possible - and personally I think the possibility a strong one - that as regards the particular combination of components Racine has put into his portrayal of Andromaque's attitude to Pyrrhus, the French writer found inspiration in her portrayal by his Greek predecessor.

There is, then, no need to see an inconsistency or even a *volte-face* in the more positive attitude Andromaque adopts towards Pyrrhus in IV sc.i, nor even in her behaviour after his death. Andromaque has a strong sense

¹⁵ See 5.1.2.6.

of duty and honour, and however she may have felt about the prospect of being Pyrrhus' wife, it is surely quite in character for her to act as his "veuve fidèle" after his death; just as Euripides' Andromache, though her union to Achilles' son was still repellent, could feel a sense of duty towards him because that union, however much forced upon her, carried obligations with it. Moreover if Andromaque's violent opposition to the idea of marrying Pyrrhus arises not from hatred but from the sort of aversion outlined above, it is not so surprising that once the spectre of that marriage as a living reality ceases to haunt her, Andromaque is capable of grieving as widow for the man she has always expressed some respect for, though she could not bear to live with him as his wife¹⁶.

5.2.2: Andromaque and Astyanax

The conflict between past and present also makes itself felt in Andromaque's relationship with her son, on two levels. Firstly, it is involved in the different lights in which Astyanax may be viewed: a legacy of the past (Troy and Hector), or a child with a present and future, for whom Andromaque is concerned in himself? Secondly, it is involved in Andromaque's reluctance, rooted in the way she feels about the past, to pay the price Pyrrhus demands for Astyanax's survival. It has been argued above that Racine invites sympathy for this reluctance: but a strong sympathy is required if her hesitations are not to cast a negative reflection on her maternal concern. Some critics have been unwilling to grant that sympathy: Verhoeff: "Le refus d'Andromaque est celui d'une mauvaise mère, il met en péril le sort d'Astyanax..." (Verhoeff 1986, p.241); Barthes: "elle ... résiste...pendant trois actes, ce qui est beaucoup pour une mère" (Barthes 1963, p.82). It is time to consider Racine's portrayal of Andromaque's relationship with her son, and of the conflict between that relationship and her attachment to Hector and the past.

Racine's 'portrayal' of the relationship fits readily enough into the pattern built up by Euripides, Virgil and the others. Astyanax is regarded, by Andromache or others, in three lights: as a representative of Hector, an 'emotional' legacy from the past; as a royal child carrying the pride, virtues and hopes of his ancestors and his city in the present; as Andromache's son, making present demands on maternal love in and for himself. The relationship of Racine's Andromaque with Astyanax involves all three, in

¹⁶ The view of the relationship taken here might also prove a useful approach to Andromaque's problematic final speech in the original version of Act V sc.3; but there is not the space to pursue this question properly in this study.

an ever-shifting balance and with subtle and complex intertwining between them. These diverse feelings are most sharply and dramatically presented in III sc.viii and IV sc.i, when they are finally shown in head-on collision with Andromaque's aversion to marrying Pyrrhus. These scenes of 'crisis' will be dealt with in a section of their own; but they may be referred to here where necessary to bring out a point about Racine's overall picture of the mother-son relationship not clearly demonstrable from elsewhere.

5.2.2.1: "Le seul bien qui me reste et d'Hector et de Troie"

Firstly, then, there is Astyanax regarded as all that is left to Andromaque of her beloved husband and her former life. This has been a strong element in portrayals of the relationship from Seneca onwards; Racine brings it out in Andromaque's very first speech:

Le seul bien qui me reste et d'Hector et de Troie,
J'allais, seigneur, pleurer un moment avec lui
(262-3).

"Le seul bien qui me reste" comes from a refrain running throughout our sources. In *Andromache* the heroine says of her second son: "εἷς παῖς ὄδ' ἦν μοι λοιπὸς ὀφθαλμὸς βίου" (406)¹⁷; in *Hecuba* the old queen says of Polyxena:

ταύτη γέγηθα κάπιλήθομαι κακῶν·
ἦδ' ἀντὶ πολλῶν ἐστὶ μοι παραψυχή,
πόλις
(279-81)¹⁸.

Seneca, following this last, has Andromache say: "unicum adflictae mihi/ solamen hic est" (*Troades* 703-4: "this boy is my only comfort in affliction"); Garnier in turn expands on this:

O le seul réconfort de ta mère affligée!
O lustre de l'Asie! ô l'espoir des Troyens!
O sang hectoréan!...
(*La Troade*, 1082-4).

¹⁷ "This one child was left to me, the light of my life."

¹⁸ "In her I rejoice and forget my woes; she is my comfort in the face of their multitude, [she is] my city..."

Closest of all to Racine's line, though, are the words of Virgil's Andromache to Ascanius in *Aeneid* 3.489: "o mihi solo mei super Astyanactis imago"¹⁹.

The Virgil passage goes on to work out the resemblance in physical detail in 490-91, in words which echo *Odyssey* 4.149-50 and - just possibly - Euripides' *Troades* 1178-9; words, too, which are picked up by Seneca and transferred to the Astyanax-Hector resemblance in *Troades* 464-8, a change possibly influenced by the Euripides passage (see 2.1.1.2.). Seneca develops the identification idea into a pervading peculiarity of Andromache's relationship with her son: so that she can say, for example:

non aliud, Hector, in meo nato mihi
placere quam te - vivat, ut possit tuos
referre vultus...

(646-8)²⁰.

Seneca's version of the idea became definitive for the European tradition: Garnier: "Voire, mais cet enfant est mon Hector aussi" (*La Troade* 972); Sallebray: "L'un et l'autre est Hector, et l'un et l'autre est mien" (*La Troade* p.49). Racine, though adopting the form of the Virgilian line here, follows Seneca in relating it to the mother-father-son triangle. Andromaque, like her dramatic predecessors, finds Hector again in her son: "Le seul bien qui me reste [...] d'Hector". On this occasion, though, Racine chooses to have her express the idea in a less extreme way than those predecessors; furthermore he widens the scope of what Astyanax represents for Andromaque to include the whole her former life: "Le seul bien qui me reste et d'Hector *et de Troie*". Racine expands on this in Andromaque's account of the time spent with her son: "J'allais, seigneur, pleurer un moment avec lui". In Seneca, Garnier and Sallebray Astyanax was the "sole hope of Troy"²¹: comfort was supported by ambition. In Racine Andromaque has next-to-no ambition for her son, but Astyanax provides comfort by 'bringing back Troy' in an emotional and psychological sense. He is a legacy of Troy, not to rebuild it, but to recall and remember it.

¹⁹ "For you are the only picture I have left now of my Astyanax."

²⁰ "Hector, there is nothing that pleases me in my child except you. Let him live, to bring back to life your features."

²¹ *Troades*, 462; Garnier, 664; Sallebray, p.49: "l'espoir de nôtre Empire".

Figure 5.2.2.1: Development of 'identification motif'

WORK	SPEAKER	SUBJECT OF COMPARISON	OBJECT OF COMPARISON	QUOTATION
Homer, <i>Odyssey</i>	Menelaos	Telemachus	Odysseus	κείνου γὰρ τοιοῖδε πόδες τοιαῖδε τε χεῖρες ὀφθαλμῶν τε βολαὶ κεφαλῇ τ' ἐφ' ὑπερθέ τε χαίται (4.149-50) ²²
Euripides, <i>Troades</i>	Hecuba	Astyanax	Hector	ὦ χεῖρες, ὡς εἰκοῦς μὲν ἠδείας πατρὸς κέκτησθ' (1178-9) ²³
Virgil, <i>Aeneid</i>	Andromache	Ascanius	Astyanax	sic oculos, sic ille manus, sic ora ferebat (3.490) ²⁴
Seneca, <i>Troades</i>	Andromache	Astyanax	Hector	hos vultus meus habebat Hector; talis incessu fuit, habitque talis, sic tulit fortes manus; sic celsus humeris, fronte sic torva minax cervice fusam dissipans iacto comam (464-8) ²⁵
Garnier, <i>La Troade</i>	Andromache	Astyanax	Hector	Tel, tel Hector estoit, il avoit un tel port;/ Il demarchoit ainsi; il estoit ainsi fort/ D'espaules et de bras; semblable estoit sa grâce;/ Il portoit ainsi haut sa belliqueuse face (667-70)
Sallebray, <i>La Troade</i>	Andromaque	Astyanax	Hector	C'est ainsi chère soeur que ce grand Capitaine/ Conservoit la grandeur de son âme hautaine (p.35)
Racine, <i>Andromaque</i>	Andromaque	Astyanax	Hector	Voilà ses yeux, sa bouche, et déjà son audace! (653)
Pradon, <i>La Troade</i>	Andromaque	Astyanax	Hector	Le seul Astyanax d'une noble fierté/ Libre soutient le poids de sa captivité/ [...] [Je voyais] mon Hector tout entier éclater sur son front (pp.10-11)

²² "For of that man [i.e. Odysseus], the feet and hands were just like these, and the glances of his eyes, and his head and the hair atop it."

²³ "Dear hands, what sweet likeness you bore to your father's."

²⁴ "Just so did he move his eyes, just so his hands, just so his face."

²⁵ "My Hector had these features; his walk and bearing were like this; he held his strong hands just so; just so he carried his shoulders high and seemed to threaten with frowning brow, shaking his streaming hair with the toss of his neck."

On other occasions, Astyanax is more starkly and completely presented as Hector's representation for Andromaque. The clearest case of all is Pyrrhus' report in II sc.v of Andromaque's meeting with her son:

Tu l'as vu comme elle m'a traité.
 Je pensais, en voyant sa tendresse alarmée,
 Que son fils me la dût renvoyer désarmée:
 J'allais voir le succès de ses embrassements;
 Je n'ai trouvé que pleurs mêlés d'emportements [...]
 Cent fois le nom d'Hector est sorti de sa bouche.
 Vainement à son fils j'assurais mon secours:
 'C'est Hector, disait-elle, en l'embrassant toujours;
 Voilà ses yeux, sa bouche, et déjà son audace;
 C'est lui-même, c'est toi, cher époux, que j'embrasse.'
 (644-54).

Andromaque calling her son Hector (652) comes through Sallebray: "L'un et l'autre est Hector" (p.34) and Garnier: "cet enfant est mon Hector aussi" (972) from Seneca: "utrimque est Hector" (*Troades* 659: "Hector is on both sides"). As for the 'physical identification' of 653, we have already considered the development of this idea through the various sources (see Figure 5.2.2.1). It is hard to tell which source Racine is directly drawing on here: possibly he is reacting to the series as a whole, taking the physical likeness from the ancient tradition, and the temperamental likeness from Sallebray, who probably developed it from the descriptions of Garnier and Seneca. Racine in fact returns to the physical resemblance element, neglected by Sallebray and later to be subordinated by Pradon, too, to the resemblance of spirit and mettle. The identification here is made the more intense by its being linked to a physical embrace, something Racine develops even to the point of having Andromaque embrace and address Astyanax *as if he were Hector himself*: "C'est lui-même, c'est toi, cher époux, que j'embrasse". This may owe something to the last speech of Seneca's Andromache bidding her son farewell:

sume nunc iterum comas
 et sume lacrimas [...]
 [...] sume quae reddas tua
 oscula parenti

(*Troades* 806-9)²⁶.

where, as here, the child seems for the moment to be eclipsed by his father. In its way, Racine's passage is as disturbing in its implications for our view of Andromaque's purely maternal love as any of the more explicit references of Seneca and Garnier ("Que rien qu'Hector je n'aime en cette créature", Garnier 946, etc.). Pyrrhus' assessment, coloured by frustration though it is, gives a telling summary of a side to Andromaque's relationship with her son in which the boy is of secondary importance: "Attend-elle.../ Que je lui laisse un fils pour nourrir son amour?" (55-6). The original stroke of setting the identification motif in the context of a hostile and infuriated report also makes dramatic capital by underlining the present danger to Astyanax against which this equivocal feeling for the child is offset. Racine's additions to the reported scene make clear the tension between Andromaque's love for Hector - even when that love is 'transferred' to his son - and her concern for Astyanax:

Sa misère l'aigrit, et, toujours plus farouche,
 Cent fois le nom d'Hector est sorti de sa bouche.
 Vainement à son fils j'assurais mon secours
 (649-51).

5.2.2.2: Astyanax: "pour voir avec lui renâitre tant de rois!"

Secondly, there is Astyanax's rôle as the last survivor of Troy's royal line, preserving their virtues, their blood and their city's hopes. The concern with Astyanax as the sole hope for Troy's future dates back to Euripides' *Troades* (Hecuba, 702-5); it recurred in Seneca's *Troades*: "spes una Phrygibus" (462: "sole hope of the Trojans") and in Garnier's *La Troade* ("ô l'espoir des Troyens", 1083, "l'espoir de notre race", 657); also in Sallebray's *La Troade* ("Tu sauves tes parents, ton Empire et ta vie", Cassandre, p.38). In Racine, the most positive statement of this idea

²⁶ "Now take again my locks and take my tears....and take these kisses to deliver to your father."

(Pyrrhus' promises apart) comes from Céphise, rejoicing in the counsel Andromaque has apparently received from her husband's shade:

Il veut que Troie encor se puisse relever
Avec cet heureux fils qu'il te fait conserver
(1051-2).

This echoes Pyrrhus' earlier words:

Votre Ilion encore peut sortir de sa cendre,
Je puis [...]
Dans ses murs relevés couronner votre fils
(330-32)

(see [5.1.2.6](#), p.223). Troy's resurrection with Astyanax crops up within the 'sole hope of Troy' motif throughout the Andromache tradition. It starts with Euripides' Hecuba:

ἔξ οὗ γενόμενοι παῖδες Ἴλιον πάλιν
κατοικήσειαν, καὶ πόλις γένοιτ' ἔτι
(704-5)²⁷;

recurs with Seneca's Andromache: "recidiva ponas Pergama" (*Troades* 472)²⁸. Garnier's Andromache continues the sequence:

Vous redressez les tours [...]
Du flambant Ilion, les Pergames troïques?
[...] la gloire et le nom ressusciter je voye
Par vos armes, mon fils, d'une nouvelle Troye?
(*La Troade*, 673-8),

²⁷ "[Your son] from whom children being born *may settle Ilion once more, and the city may again have her being.*"

²⁸ "You may found a Troy renewed"; itself probably echoing Virgil *Aeneid* 4.344 and/or 10.58 (of Aeneas).

as does Sallebray's *Andromaque*:

Luy qui doit relever nos superbes murailles [...]

Ressusciter l'Empire et la gloire de Troie

(*La Troade*, pp.29-30).

Céphise goes on to paint Astyanax as the heir of the royal line, rejoicing in his future prospects:

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!

(1169-71).

Astyanax will no longer be a slave, but a royal child again. Racine's is the only version of the story in which any such up-turn in Astyanax's fortunes is realistically possible. Yet there may be echoes of the similar change that befell Andromache's second child, in Euripides' *Andromache*:

γυναῖκα δ' αἰχμάλωτον, [...]

Μολοσσίαν γῆν χρὴ κατοικῆσαι, γέρον, [...]

καὶ παῖδα τόνδε, [...] βασιλέα δ' ἐκ τοῦδε χρὴ

ἄλλον δι' ἄλλου διαπερᾶν Μολοσσίας

εὐδαιμονοῦντας

(1243-9)²⁹,

particularly as Thetis (the speaker) goes on to say that this is what the gods have ordained to keep not just Achilles' race, but also that of Troy, alive through the years. Just possibly, too, Racine's phrasing of the idea:

Non plus comme un esclave élevé pour son maître,

Mais pour voir avec lui renaître tant de rois!

owes something to the similarly-phrased contrast expressed - though in a completely different mood - by Euripides' *Andromache* in *Troades*:

²⁹ "The captive woman must settle in the Molossian land, old man, and this [her] child...from him shall come kings of Molossia one after another to pass through [life] in prosperity..."

οὐ σφάγιον υἷον Δαναΐδαις τέξουσ' ἔμόν,
 ἀλλ' ὡς τύραννον Ἰασηδὸς πολυσπόρου
 (747-8)³⁰.

These ambitions reflect those traditionally associated with Astyanax. But Racine has broken away from the previous tradition (Seneca, Garnier and Sallebray) in having Andromaque herself indulge in no such ambitions, however fleetingly. The 'rise' of ambition voiced by Andromache in those previous portrayals is here transferred to Pyrrhus (5.1.2.6, p.223); the subsequent 'fall' remains with Andromaque:

Seigneur, tant de grandeurs ne nous touchent plus guère:
 Je les lui promettais tant qu'a vécu son père.
 Non, vous n'espérez plus de nous revoir encor,
 Sacrés murs, que n'a pu conserver mon Hector!

(330-36).

In Seneca, Garnier and Sallebray the renunciation of ambition was portrayed as a 'change of mind' on Andromache's part (*Troades* 474-6; Garnier's *La Troade* 679-82; Sallebray's *La Troade* p.30). Racine's Andromaque also renounces ambition for her son, but the renunciation was made long ago, at Hector's death - just as in *Iliad* 22 and 24, her hopes for Astyanax's future clearly die with Hector. Moreover, her resignation of ambition is based not only on a consciousness of the practicalities and dangers of their situation, but also, one feels, on the fact that royal pomp no longer interests her (333; she will accept it if necessary, as she does at the end of the play, but not seek after it). Whether or not this is a point in favour of her maternal sentiment is slightly ambiguous. It removes from Andromaque's concern for her son the rather calculating element, in Seneca and Sallebray in particular, of cherishing him for the future he offers their city. On the other hand, if her love and grief for Hector have drowned all maternal ambition for Astyanax, even that degree which would be natural, then Astyanax's place in his mother's regard is still 'in the shadow', of his father if not of his city's future. The practicalities of the situation, however, are clearly on Andromaque's side.

Andromaque spends in any case a fair amount of time in the play trying to assure various people that her son is no threat precisely because

³⁰ "Not bearing my son as a slaughter-victim for the Danaans, but as a king of fruitful Asia."

she has no aspirations for a future grandeur she considers impossible. On one such occasion, early on, she replies to Pyrrhus' account of the Greek fears:

PYRRHUS: Ils redoutent son fils. -ANDROMAQUE: Digne objet de leur crainte!
 Un enfant malheureux, qui ne sait pas encor
 Que Pyrrhus est son maître, et qu'il est fils d'Hector!
 (270-72).

But Andromaque is not just being defensive, she is being scornful. 270 picks up a motif that has sounded throughout Astyanax's literary career: beginning with Hecuba's words in Euripides' *Troades*: "βρέφος τοσόνδ' ἐδέισατ'"; (1165)³¹, "Τὸν παῖδα τόνδ' ἔκτειναν Ἄργεῖοί ποτε / δέισαντες" (1190-91)³², echoed at various points by Seneca's Andromache, e.g. "occidis parvus quidem, / sed iam timendus" (*Troades*, 789-90)³³, and in turn by Garnier's Andromache:

O la gentille crainte! [...]
 Redouter un enfant? [...]
 En un âge si tendre?
 (*La Troade* 758, 771-3)

and Sallebray's Andromaque: "Redouter un enfant!" (*La Troade* p.41). There is scorn in all of these; in some, as in the Seneca quotation, there is also an element of pride in her son. And this last seems to colour Racine's 271-2 as well. The lines recall some words of Virgil's Andromache about Ascanius:

ecqua tamen puero est amissae cura parentis?
 ecquid in antiquam virtutem animosque virilis
 et pater Aeneas et avunculus excitat Hector?
 (*Aeneid* 3.341-3)³⁴.

³¹ "Did you fear such a little child?"

³² "This child the Argives killed because they were afraid."

³³ "You die a little child indeed, but already to be feared."

³⁴ "Does he remember at all the mother whom he lost, although he was so young? Is he stirred on at all to heroic valour and manly courage by his father Aeneas and the thought of his uncle Hector?"

Racine seasons the pride inherent in Virgil's lines with a certain bitterness; his expression of the thought suggests that Andromaque is not after all so indifferent to her son's rightful rank. The boy is too young to realise that he is Hector's son (with all that that means) or to resent his servitude, in particular his servitude to *Pyrrhus*; but Andromaque clearly does both, on his account. Of course there is in this an element of Andromaque's own repugnance for the son of Hector's killer, transferred onto their son ("qu'il est fils d'Hector"), and the reference to Hector in itself indicates that we are not being presented with straightforward maternal pride. But "fils d'Hector", like the other 'patronymics' already considered, has a range of connotations: not just "son of the man Pyrrhus' father killed" but also "son of the great Hector, a prince who may carry his father's virtues and pride". Both senses are, I think, brought into play by Racine here.

If Andromaque lacks positive ambition for her son as the rebuilders or avenger of Troy, she still bases some of her regard for him on the other aspect of his importance to posterity: his continuance of the royal family line. This aspect emerges from Racine's portrayal in the crisis of III sc.viii, making a significant contribution to her dilemma:

Et je puis voir répandre un sang si précieux!
Et je laisse avec lui périr tous ses aïeux!
(1027-8).

The first line may draw on Sallebray, who gives his Andromaque the following exclamation in her IV sc.iii lament:

Sans me donner encor *un enfant précieux*
Pour le voir exposé tout sanglant à mes yeux
(*La Troade* p.83);

but by using "sang" in both the literal *and* the 'hereditary' sense Racine is able to combine Andromaque's terror at the idea of losing her son (the life so precious to her and her husband - 1015-26) with her anguished desire to preserve the lineage of her husband (the heredity so precious to her) and of all the royal ancestors behind him (the blood-line so precious to Troy and Troy's posterity). The concern with lineage features in some form throughout the history of the Andromache story. Euripides applies the deep-seated Greek concern with the 'continuation of the house' to Troy as

well as to Peleus' family when he has Thetis decree the fate of Andromache's second child at the end of *Andromache*:

οὐ γὰρ ᾧδ' ἀνάστατον
γένος γενέσθαι δεῖ τὸ σὸν κάμὸν, γέρον,
Τροίας τε
(1249-51)³⁵.

Seneca's Andromache calls Astyanax "spes...unica afflictæ domus,/ veterisque suboles sanguinis" (462-3)³⁶; Garnier echoes this: "Le germe d'une race antique et vénérable" (*La Troade* 665) and later applies to the boy the epithet: "O sang hectoréan!" (1084). Sallebray (3.2.2.3) refers this to the idea of maintaining the royal succession, on the one hand:

[Le trône] du vieux Priam prest à choir aujourd'huy,
Veut ton corps inclinant pour luy servir d'apuy
(*La Troade* p.35);

and to the idea of Astyanax as Hector's posterity, on the other:

[...] secondés aujourd'huy
L'esperance que j'ay de revivre par luy
(Hector, p.32),

[...] mânes d'Hector...
Gardés en ce cercueil et son sang et sa cendre
(Andromaque, p.47).

There may be a slight shift in emphasis, within this, from the concern with posterity that is primarily forward-looking, stressing the importance of future generations - their existence, their rank, their achievements - that characterises the Greek concept and (largely) the Roman (for Seneca's Astyanax is the "hope" of the ancient blood-line he represents), to the concern with posterity that is partly backward-looking, stressing past generations and the desire to *preserve* their blood-line, to let one's ancestors live on. Sallebray, for instance, though confining the idea mostly to the

³⁵ "For, old man, your seed and mine is not to be utterly laid waste, nor that of Troy" ("γένος" means "race, descent" or "a descendant").

³⁶ "sole hope of your shattered house, scion of an ancient blood-line."

personal level of Hector's desire to live on in Astyanax, lays more stress on the 'preserving past generations' side of the lineage question: "Mais ton père par toi veut prolonger son sort". Of course the idea is always closely linked to, and often confused with, Andromache's individual desire for Hector to live on in his son. Racine's rendering of the 'blood-line' concept is no exception: witness the three possible significances underlying "un sang si précieux" in 1027: my/our beloved Astyanax; Hector's son and blood; the royal blood of Troy. But his version develops Sallebray's particularised concept (Hector living on in Astyanax), widening the scope to include specifically *all* the boy's ancestors, for whom he is in a sense the repository: "Et je laisse avec lui périr tous ses aïeux!" (1028). The contrast with her lack of any grand ambition for rebuilding Troy's posterity and royalty, as opposed to simply preserving it, makes this particular aspect of her concern for Astyanax the more noticeable.

5.2.2.3: Astyanax: "Il m'aurait tenu lieu d'un père et d'un époux"

Certain modern critics have asked whether, between her regard for her son as the last legacy of her royal family, and more especially her love for him as her only legacy of Hector, Andromache's maternal tenderness for Astyanax in and for himself does not get somewhat lost³⁷. The confusion between her love for Hector and her love for Astyanax, that began when Seneca finalised the identification motif so that saving Astyanax became in part a service to Hector, does render ambiguous much of the feeling and resolution she expresses in Astyanax's favour. In Homer, Euripides and Virgil, Andromache's love for her son retained a clear independent existence of its own, even when it was closely related to her love for Hector: Homer's Andromache, in her laments for Hector's death, thinks as much of its effect on her son as on herself; Euripides' Andromache grieves over her lost toils of motherhood spent on her "νέον ὑπαγκάλισμα μητρὶ φίλτατον" (*Troades*, 757: "little infant armful, most dear to your mother"); Virgil's Andromache cherishes Ascanius for his likeness to her lost child. In Seneca, Garnier and Sallebray, such an 'autonomous' love for Astyanax is not so easily divined:

³⁷ Barthes declares roundly: "c'est vraiment l'un des paradoxes du mythe racinien que toute une critique ait pu voir en [Andromaque] la figure idéale d'une mère. Le dit-elle assez qu' Astyanax n'est pour elle que l'image (physique) d'Hector" (Barthes 1963, p.80). Cp. also Moravcevic 1982, p.646: "Saint-Girons.. concluded that Racine did not paint mother love in any of his mother figures, including Andromaque, for whom Astyanax counts only as *le reste*", referring to C.Saint-Girons, 'Racine et l'amour maternel', *17ème Siècle*, 1 (1950), 229-237.

non aliud, Hector, in meo nato mihi
placere quam te

(*Troades* 646-7)³⁸;

[...] rien qu'Hector je n'aime en ceste créature

(Garnier, *La Troade* 946);

Et je puis dans son fils conserver ce Héros

(Sallebray, *La Troade* p.48).

Nonetheless, even there, glimpses of maternal feeling pure and simple do occasionally show through: once or twice in Seneca (e.g. *Troades* 655-6); more often in Garnier (e.g. *La Troade* 722); in Sallebray, too: "Et toy mon cher enfant pour qui seul je souûpire" (p.30). These indications are often combined or juxtaposed with Andromache's other interests and feelings bound up with Astyanax: for example:

Ma tendresse d'ailleurs, mon sang, et mon espoir,
Pour nôtre fils vivant oposit leur pouvoir,
Rendons nous à l'amour d'un époux qui m'engage...
Mais de ce même amour le cher et noble gage...

(Sallebray, *La Troade* p.47).

Racine has both of these schools of presentation to draw on; and while many of the indications of maternal tenderness in his *Andromaque* are ambiguous because intertwined with expressions of other interests and feelings, not a few take something from the more straightforward picture of mother-love of the Greek writers and Virgil. For example, there is *Andromaque's* exclamation on first hearing what the Greeks plan for her son:

Est-ce mon intérêt qui le rend criminel?
Hélas! on ne craint point qu'il venge un jour son père:
On craint qu'il n'essuyât les larmes de sa mère.
Il m'aurait tenu lieu d'un père et d'un époux...

(276-9).

³⁸ "there is nothing, Hector, that pleases me in my child except you."

Some elements here seem to be drawn from Euripides' rendition of the situation surrounding Andromache and her son by Neoptolemos, Molossos. Consider, for example, the link between:

Est-ce mon intérêt qui le rend criminel?

and Menelaos' ultimatum in *Andromache*:

ταῦτ' οὖν λογίζου, πότερα κατθανεῖν θέλεις
ἢ τονδ' ὀλέσθαι σῆς ἀμαρτίας ὑπερ
(*Andromache*, 316-7)³⁹,

along with other references to the child dying 'on his mother's account' though not being 'guilty' (αἴτιος is as much a legal term as "criminel" in French):

τλήμον δὲ σὺ παῖ,
μητρὸς λεχέων ὅς ὑπερθνήσκεις
οὐδὲν μετέχων
οὐδ' αἴτιος ὦν
(Chorus, 497-500)⁴⁰;

[τέκνον τόνδε] ὃν οὐδὲν αἴτιον
μέλλουσι σὺν ἐμοὶ τῇ ταλαιπώρῳ κτενεῖν
(*Andromache*, 570-71)⁴¹.

The stress on the child's innocence is appropriate to portrayals or occasions where *Andromache's* concern is focussed on the child himself. *Andromaque's* later desperate lines in III sc.viii, also perhaps recalling the Euripidean idea, pick up on this:

Roi barbare, faut-il que mon crime l'entraîne?
Si je te hais, est-il coupable de ma haine?
(1029-30).

³⁹ "Therefore consider this, whether you wish to die, or *whether you wish this [child] to die for your fault.*"

⁴⁰ "unhappy child, you are dying though you have no share in your mother's 'marriage', nor are guilty..."

⁴¹ "[this child] whom, guilty of nothing, they intend to kill along with my ill-fated self."

There may, too, be a link between Andromaque's and Andromache's hopes of future solace from their respective sons:

On craint qu'il n'essuyât les larmes de sa mère
Il m'aurait tenu lieu d'un père...

(278-9);

ἐλπίς μ' ἀεὶ προσῆγε σωθέντος τέκνου
ἀλκήν τιν' εὐρεῖν κάπικούρησιν κακῶν

(*Andromache*, 27-8)⁴².

All of this concentrates on aspects of the *mother-son* relationship: the child entangled in his mother's fate, the mother's complaint against this; the child seen as a comfort in himself to his mother (278). This being followed by "Il m'aurait tenu lieu d'un père et d'un époux", however, some ambiguity persists. Certainly the line could express the simple emotion of a mother finding comfort in her son for the loss of her family; and no doubt in part it does. On the other hand, Barthes cites this line as an illustration of his view that:

La fidélité au mari est si dévorante, et l'assimilation du fils à
époux si étroite, que la maternité en devient incontentueuse

(Barthes 1963, p.31).

This overlooks the fact that Andromaque calls Astyanax a replacement not just for Hector but also for her father - so even if what Barthes says is true, this cannot be *all* that the line signifies. Nonetheless, "Il m'aurait tenu lieu...d'un époux" does reintroduce the question of the complicating confusion of love for Hector with love for Astyanax. Line 279, in fact, is yet another touch that Racine has derived from the *Iliad* 6 farewell between Hector and Andromache:

⁴² "A hope always led me on, that if my child survived I might find some succour and a protection against my evils"; see [1.2.1.2](#).

Ἔκτορ, ἀτὰρ σύ μοί ἐσαι πατήρ καὶ πότνια μήτηρ
 ἠδὲ κασίγνητος, σὺ δέ μοι θαλερὸς παρακοίτης
 (429-30)⁴³.

Racine's *Andromaque* says of Astyanax what Homer's *Andromache* said of Hector himself. This transposition gives rise to two inferences. Firstly, that since in the original context the words were an expression of dependence, for comfort and support and for an object of love, on one survivor when the rest of her family had been torn from her, something of this more straightforward meaning survives when Racine has *Andromaque* apply them to Astyanax. Secondly, that there is obviously a difference between Homer's *Andromache* calling Hector her "θαλερὸς παρακοίτης" ("vigorous young husband"), which is a statement of fact, and Racine's *Andromaque* picking up the term to say that Astyanax would "take a husband's place". The new application invites - and Racine must have been aware of this - the interpretation that for *Andromaque* her son specifically takes *Hector's* place, so that again there is confusion as to whether he would be loved for himself or for his father. Thus we may conclude that these lines indicate *both* that *Andromaque* cares for and finds comfort in her son in himself, *and* that her love for Astyanax is an off-shoot of her love for Hector. That these two bases for her maternal regard are juxtaposed, intertwined or even intermingled does not mean that either one is any less true than the other.

In all of this it has to be kept in mind that *Andromaque's* words are also calculated as subtle forms of persuasion to be brought to bear on Pyrrhus. This need not prevent us from seeing her as sincere: real feeling may co-exist with a calculated purpose and be expressed accordingly. The same is true of the next set of remarks by *Andromaque* we have to consider, all uttered on occasions when she is (apparently) accepting the inevitability of her son's death and coupling her own with it:

Mais enfin sur ses pas j'irai revoir son père.
 Ainsi tous trois, Seigneur, par vos soins réunis,
 Nous vous....

(378-80);

⁴³ "Hector, but you are to me father and lady mother and brother, and you are my vigorous young husband". Garnier had adapted this passage: "J'ay perdu père et mère, et frères et mari:.../Rien ne m'est demeuré que ceste petite âme.." (*La Troade*, 1031-3); Racine may have consulted this version.

Allons rejoindre mon époux

(924);

Ah! s'il l'était assez pour nous laisser du moins
 Au tombeau qu'à ta cendre ont élevé mes soins,
 Et que, finissant là sa haine et nos misères,
 Il ne séparât point des dépouilles si chères!

(943-6).

This certainly suggests that Andromaque's love for Hector heavily overshadows even her conception of Astyanax's death. The 'reunion in death' idea was one which first came into its own in Garnier's version of Andromache's story (2.2.2.1), though indications of such an idea were to be found in ancient literature (e.g. Euripides' *Troades* 459-61; see 3.2.2.5). In neither Greek nor Latin versions, though, does Andromache ever explicitly state either the desire or the intention to rejoin her husband (or son) by suicide⁴⁴. Garnier's Andromache does not talk of suicide either, but she does invite death:

Accable, accable-moy. Vien me broyer la teste [...]

Pour me faire revoir sur les rivages coys

Mon fils et mon espoux, meurtris par les Grégeois

(*La Troade*, 1833-6).

This wish depends to some degree on a more positive conception of the after-life than Greek (or Latin) tradition admitted. The reunion evoked by Garnier is a threefold, family one and expresses at least as much love for Astyanax as for Hector. The same is true of Sallebray's extended rendition of the idea, in passages which seem directly to have influenced Racine:

Là, si leur cruauté te persecute encor,

Tu mourras pour le moins entre les bras d'Hector

(Cassandra, *La Troade* II sc.iii, p.38);

⁴⁴ Possibly this is because suicide involves some power of personal choice, and Euripides wishes to portray Andromache along with the other royal women of Troy as having even that power taken from them by their enslavement: it is true that, generally speaking, in the Greek (and possibly the Roman) conception suicide is the free man's option.

Rens la mère à l'enfant, rends à l'époux sa femme,
 Et rejoins nos trois corps [où] ne fût rien qu'une âme...
 (Andromaque, IV, sc.iii, p.78);

Et m'envoyer bien tost dans les demeures sombres
 D'Hector et de mon fils joindre les tristes ombres
 (*ibid.*, p.79);

Atens, je te vey mettre *en sa tombe* funeste [...]
 Là j'entreray vivante aussi bien comme toy,
 Tu reposera mort entre ton père et moy,
 Ainsi de tous côtés ton sort s'égale au nôtre...
 (*ibid.*, p.83).

Racine's references to the reunion theme are weighted rather more in Hector's favour than Sallebray's or Garnier's: "j'irai revoir son père", "Allons rejoindre mon époux", "nous laisser [...] / Au tombeau qu'à ta cendre ont élevé mes soins". The impression is heightened by the consciousness that Andromaque's acceptance of Astyanax's death involves her putting loyalty to Hector above the possibility of saving her son's life. In 943-6, in particular, Racine, by echoing various elements of the tradition concerning Andromache's attachment to Hector's remains⁴⁵ further brings into the spotlight Andromaque's love for Hector even as she faces her son's death.

Yet Racine retains from Garnier and Sallebray something of the idea of *family* reunion that was present in their lines. If Astyanax is to die, the comfort Andromaque claims to find in the prospect of death involves *all three* of the family finding each other again, not just her finding Hector:

Ainsi tous trois, seigneur, par vos soins réunis,...
 (*Andromaque* 379)

cp.:

Et rejoins nos trois corps [où] ne fut rien qu'une âme...
 Tu reposeras mort entre ton père et moy,
 Ainsi de tous côtés ton sort s'égale au nôtre..
 (Sallebray, *La Troade* IV sc.iii, pp.78,83)⁴⁶

⁴⁵ e.g. Virgil's account of her building a tomb for him, in 994; Seneca's presentation of her devotion to his tomb and ashes (*Troades*, 676-7, 809-12, in "à ta cendre...mes soins" and 946.

⁴⁶ See [3.2.2.5](#) concerning probable Euripidean influence on Sallebray's lines.

Admittedly Andromaque talks *more* in terms of rejoining Hector than of accompanying her son: "Mais enfin sur ses pas j'irai revoir son père". But the fact is clearly stated that her death will be a direct consequence of *Astyanax's* death, whereas she had kept herself alive after *Hector's* death for her son's sake.

Andromaque's very first words in the play present us with a different sort of 'double sidedness', stemming here from a fluctuation between two different brands of feeling.

Je passais jusqu'aux lieux où l'on garde mon fils
 Puisq'une fois le jour vous permettez que je voie
 Le seul bien qui me reste et d'Hector et de Troie
 J'allais, seigneur, pleurer un moment avec lui;
 Je ne l'ai point encore embrassé d'aujourd'hui!

(260-64).

"Le seul bien qui me reste et d'Hector et de Troie" is one of the more explicit formulations of the confusion of motives underlying Andromaque's attachment to Astyanax. Because of this, too, 263 retains overtones of Andromaque's devotion of her son along with herself to the memory and the grief of the past. On the other hand, 264 relates to a more straightforward motherly tenderness. It was on this line that Châteaubriand based his view of Andromaque as an ideal (and essentially Christian) mother:

ce vers simple et si aimable:

Je ne l'ai point encore embrassé d'aujourd'hui
 est le mot d'une femme chrétienne..la mère, sous notre culte,
 plus tendre, sans être moins prévoyante, oublie quelquefois
 ses chagrins, en donnant un baiser à son fils.

(Châteaubriand 1870, p.119).

Châteaubriand perhaps lets himself be carried away by his argument; all the same, he makes an important point in highlighting the tender regard of a mother's simple desire to embrace her son expressed in 264. This was something that came through also in Garnier's last farewell of mother and son:

Permets, permets qu'aumoins je le puisse embrasser..
 Permettez moy, pour Dieu, que mon enfant je pleure,
 Que je le baise encore. O mon mignon, tu meurs...
 Mais devant que partir que je te baise encore,
 Que ce dernier baiser gloutonne je dévore

(*La Troade* 1075, 1106-7, 1113-4).

Garnier is softening, by such lavish endearments, the harsher lines of the portrait he has taken over from Seneca of Andromache as mother, whose regard for Astyanax in the Roman play is dominated by her blighted future hopes for him on the one hand, and her intense attachment to Hector on the other (see 2.1.3.4). The warmth of Racine's "je ne l'ai point encore embrassé d'aujourd'hui!", though applied to a different context, follows Garnier rather than Seneca. We should notice that, despite Châteaubriand's contention that such maternal tenderness is absent from the Greek portrayals, we meet with similar expressions from the lips of Euripides' Andromache:

ὦ νέον ὑπαγκάλισμα μητρὶ φίλτατον [...]
 νῦν [...] πρόσπιτνε τὴν τεκοῦσαν, ἀμφὶ δ' ὠλένας
 ἔλισσ' ἐμοῖς νώτοισι καὶ στόμ' ἄρμοσον
 (*Troades*, 757-63)⁴⁷.

Racine had behind him a series of portrayals of Andromache, especially in Euripides, that included an uncluttered maternal tenderness; it was one of the aspects of Andromache he would have come across in his reading of previous literature about her, and was therefore one of the inherited elements at his disposal to weld into his own portrait.

On this particular occasion, this indication of pure mother-love sits alongside an indication of love based on more complex motives. The line in-between, "J'allais, seigneur, pleurer un moment avec lui", admits, therefore, something of the colouring of both. It may express Andromaque's dedication to past loss and grief, on the one hand, yet seems to have the touching quality of a mother's desire to share her sorrows with her son, on the other. The fluctuation between these different sides to

⁴⁷ "O little infant armful [ὑπαγκάλισμα comes from a verb meaning 'to take in the arms, embrace'] most dear to your mother...now...embrace her who bore you, twine your arms around my back and join your lips to mine..."

Andromaque's way of thinking is the particular use to which Racine has put the various elements received from the portrayals of his predecessors. It serves to make his portrait of Andromaque subtle and complex, with a shifting and changing light on the three main aspects of her personality: mother, widow and princess. We should not forget that Racine has again added his own original stamp to 260-64 and to his portrait of Andromaque by making them also part of her tactical armoury in the verbal duel with Pyrrhus: so that even 264 is a shaft of reproach as well as an expression of maternal love.

We can see the same principle at work in Andromaque's later words to Hermione concerning her son:

Laissez-moi le cacher en quelque île déserte;
 Sur les soins de sa mère on peut s'en assurer,
 Et mon fils avec moi n'apprendra qu'à pleurer
 (878-80).

This involves the simple desire to save her son ("Laissez-moi le cacher") and references to a mother's instinctive protectiveness ("les soins de sa mère"). It also bespeaks the involvement of Astyanax in Andromaque's dedication of her life and feeling to the past ("Et mon fils avec moi n'apprendra qu'à pleurer"). It is, furthermore, a calculated attempt to relieve her son's enemies of any apprehension of danger. So Andromaque's intention and assurance that Astyanax will be brought up to harbour no threatening ambitions bespeaks astuteness in her 'political' nature; devoted absorption in her grieving war-widow's nature; and solicitude in her maternal nature, in the desire to get her son out of danger now and keep him out of it in future.

5.2.2.4: "Pour un fils jusqu'où va notre amour"

There remain instances of more straightforward evidence of simple maternal feeling on Andromaque's part. Here again the influence and inspiration of previous portrayals is at work. We may begin with Andromaque's simplest account of motherly feeling, in the same speech to Hermione as just quoted:

Mais il me reste un fils. Vous saurez quelque jour,
 Madame, pour un fils jusqu'où va notre amour;
 Mais vous ne saurez pas, du moins je le souhaite,
 En quel trouble mortel son intérêt nous jette,
 Lorsque, de tant de biens qui pouvaient nous flatter,
 C'est le seul qui nous reste, et qu'on veut nous l'ôter
 (867-72).

There is a close correspondence between:

Mais il me reste un fils [...]
 Lorsque de tant de biens qui pouvaient nous flatter,
 C'est le seul qui nous reste, et qu'on veut nous l'ôter
 (867, 871-2)

and this remark of Euripides' *Andromache* in *Andromache*:

εἷς παῖς ὄδ' ἦν μοι λοιπὸς ὀφθαλμὸς βίου·
 τοῦτον κτενεῖν μέλλουσιν οἷς δοκεῖ τάδε
 (406-7)⁴⁸.

In the same speech *Andromache* makes her own assessment of the strength of natural parental feeling:

ἐμοὶ δ' ὄνειδος μὴ θανεῖν ὑπὲρ τέκνου [...]
 [...] πᾶσι δ' ἀνθρώποις ἄρ' ἦν
 ψυχὴ τέκν'· ὅστις δ' αὐτ' ἄπειρος ὦν ψέγει,
 ἦρσον μὲν ἀλγεί, δυστυχῶν δ' εὐδαιμονεῖ
 (410, 418-20)⁴⁹.

While not echoed verbally in Racine's 867-70, this may well have contributed something to the underlying idea. We should add as a possible contributory source of 871-2 some words given by Garnier to *Andromache*:

⁴⁸ "This one son was left to me, the light of my life; and those to whom this seems good intend to kill him..."

⁴⁹ "But it would be a reproach to me not to die for my child's sake...indeed to all men their children are their life; and if anyone decries this, having no experience of it, well, he suffers less pain, but yet in this 'good fortune' suffers an unhappy fate."

Royaumes, libertez, tout mon bien est péri;
 Rien ne m'est demeuré que ceste petite âme
 (*La Troade*, 1032-3)

and to Hecuba:

Ne doit de *tant de* morts Achille estre contant
 Sans *m'oster* ceste-ci qui seule *m'est* restant?
 (*ibid.*, 1559-60).

Garnier may in his turn have drawn on the *Andromache* passage; and although it is likely that Racine was influenced by the French lines, the link between the speeches of the Greek *Andromache* and his own *Andromaque*, both passages fundamentally concerned with the essential feelings that go with being a mother, remains important.

Appeals to common parental feelings made in Astyanax's behalf have previously been used by *Andromache* in Seneca and Garnier (*Troades* 700-702, *La Troade* 1027-8), and by Sallebray's *Cassandra* (*La Troade* III sc.iii, p.60); Euripides' *Hecuba*, in similar circumstances, urges this means of persuasion in *Polyxena's* cause:

καὶ πείθῃ - ἔχεις δὲ πρόφασιν· ἔστι γὰρ τέκνα
 καὶ τῷδε - τὴν σὴν ὥστ' ἐποικτίραι τύχην
 (*Hecuba*, 340-41)⁵⁰.

Characteristically, Racine takes the idea a stage further, for *Andromaque* not only appeals to *Hermione's* pity on the common ground that *Hermione's* potential motherhood gives them, but also plays on and flatters her love for *Pyrrhus* by discreetly suggesting the certainty of a future marital bliss sealed by the production of children: "Vous saurez quelque jour,/Madame...". Even in her consciousness of the force of motherhood, Racine's *Andromaque* shows more subtlety, even more guile, than any of her prototypes.

The combination of maternal feeling with calculation is also evident in the last speech of *Andromaque's* first confrontation with *Pyrrhus*:

⁵⁰ "And persuade him - you have grounds; for he too has children - so that he may take pity on your misfortune."

Hélas! il mourra donc! Il n'a pour sa défense
 Que les pleurs de sa mère et que son innocence
 Et peut-être après tout, en l'état où je suis
 Sa mort avancera la fin de mes ennuis

(373-6).

This might or might not be a threat of suicide, and the ambiguity may well be intended by Racine. If such a threat *were* implied (and Andromaque's later definite resolution to kill herself argues in favour of the possibility), it would be the first time in extant literature that Andromache, under any provocation, has embraced the idea of actually taking her own life. There are sound dramatic reasons why Racine might do what none of his predecessors has. In Euripides, Seneca, Garnier and Sallebray, it is probable that Andromache's inability to escape the anguish and degradation that are all her life now holds is an essential part of the overall conception of her plight and of the emotional logic of the drama. In Racine, on the other hand, the possibility of Andromaque's suicide if Astyanax is taken from her is useful to the emotional balance of the play. It gives Pyrrhus an especially strong motive for protecting Astyanax against mighty opposition - not just to please his love but to keep her alive for him; and it gives Andromaque her 'final card' to play in the battle to save her son without agreeing to Pyrrhus' price - if he refuses to save her son at no other he risks losing her forever. 375-6 are as likely as not a tactical gambit on Andromaque's part. At the same time, this is unlikely to be all they are. In 373-4, although the reference to "les pleurs de sa mère" might also be calculated to play on Pyrrhus' feelings for Andromaque, the reference to Astyanax's defenceless innocence is not, bearing in mind Pyrrhus' last speech, either a consideration likely to persuade him or one that Andromaque would see as such. An anguished stress on her son's innocence at such a critical point is to be found with Euripides' Andromache in *Andromache* (5.2.2.3) and in *Troades*: "τί τόνδε παῖδα κτείνειτ' οὐδέν αἴτιον;" (756: "why are you killing this child, who is *guilty of nothing?*"). Euripides' portrayal is among those in which Andromache's mother-love is most straightforward (and often most moving). If Racine is echoing a reaction coming from that portrayal, the fact speaks in favour of his intending Andromaque to be seen as responding with her heart as well as her head in this speech. Consequently, I think we are justified in seeing Andromaque's suggestion that losing

Astyanax will be the death of her not only as a move to persuade Pyrrhus but as the expression of a deep and intense attachment to her son.

The corollary to such a feeling is the fact that, though she would herself have preferred death after the loss of her husband, city and liberty, Andromaque has stayed alive for Astyanax's sake:

Je prolongeais pour lui ma vie et ma misère
Mais enfin sur ses pas j'irai revour son père
(377-8).

Racine draws these lines from Andromache's rather joyless remark in Seneca:

iam erepta Danai coniugem sequerer meum,
nisis hic teneret: hic meos animos domat
morique prohibet [...]
[...] tempus aerumnae addidit
(*Troades* 418-20)⁵¹,

faithfully adapted by Garnier in his turn:

Je l'eusse [Hector] jà suivi, des Grègeois arrachée,
Si ce petit enfant ne m'en eust empeschée;
Il me contraint de vivre...
(*La Troade* 629-31).

Placing this remark in a context where Astyanax's death is spoken of as an accepted fact takes away from Racine's version much of what impressed as negative in the original. Andromaque's words are a reaction to the imminent prospect of his death, finding a crumb of comfort in that the end of his life frees her to end her own sufferings, not a complaint, while he is still alive, that her son keeps her from what she would do. The context Racine has created thereby reduces the impression that Andromaque begrudges the effort.

Of course, the fact that Andromaque expresses the slight comfort she finds in her son's death in terms of its freeing her to join her husband does

⁵¹ "I would escape from Greek hands and follow my husband even now, if this child did not hold me back. It is he who curbs my spirit and bars me from death. He...has prolonged my time of suffering..."

temper our view of her motives as pure concern for Astyanax. This is less true of the other occasion where she expresses her reason for staying alive:

Son fils seul avec moi réservé pour les fers.
Mais que ne peut un fils? Je respire, je sers,
 J'ai fait plus: je me suis quelquefois consolée
 Qui'ici, plutôt qu'ailleurs, le sort m'eût exilée;
 Qu'heureux dans son malheur, le fils de tant de rois,
 Puisqu'il devait server, fût tombé sous vos lois:
 J'ai cru que sa prison deviendrait son asile

(931-7).

Racine's possible debt for 931 and the lines preceding it to Euripides' *Andromache* (107-8, 111-2, and especially 391-5, 399-401, 406) and Garnier's *La Troade* (1033) was discussed earlier (5.2.1.1). 932 again bases itself on the passages of Seneca and Garnier we saw above. Here, though, Racine has made some deft alterations that reflect more credit on Andromaque's maternal feeling. The first is to generalise the inherited statement "this child of mine is all that keeps me alive" into a question: "Would not *any* mother stay alive for her child, at any price?": "Mais que ne peut *un fils?* Je respire...", thus relating the idea to the depths of a mother's natural feeling for her child and removing (for the present) any overtones of Andromaque staying alive for Astyanax because he is *Hector's* son. The second is to turn around the sense of Seneca's "iam erepta Danais" and Garnier's "des Grégeois arrachée", so that instead of the negative concept "I would escape from Greek slavery, were it not for my son" we have the positive "For the sake of my son I accept even slavery": "Mais que ne peut un fils? Je respire, *je sers*". Finally, Racine relates the idea to his central Pyrrhus-Andromaque conflict and has her say that, on her son's account, she could even be glad that she had ended up Pyrrhus' captive - which, considering the feelings she has previously expressed on her own account about the matter, is a strong statement: well might she say: "Je respire, je sers,/J'ai fait plus..."

How far what Andromaque says in 933-7 is totally sincere is another matter. In working out this last development to the sacrifices-accepted-for-my-son idea, Racine has fitted in a sentiment coming probably from Sallebray's *Cassandre*:

Je suis vôtre captive, et le ciel rigoureux
 En cela seulement rend mon destin heureux
 (*La Troade* II sc.iii, p.60).

Like Racine's *Andromaque*, Cassandre is using this favourable comment on her captor (Agamemnon) to try to dispose him to intervene in her family's favour. Cassandre is also being deliberately and unashamedly insincere ("Je ne te flate ainsi qu'à fin de t'outrager", II sc.ii, p.28, in soliloquy). Is the same true of Racine's *Andromaque* when she makes the parallel remark to Pyrrhus? The possibility remains, and the ambiguity may be deliberate on Racine's part; but a comparison between the words of Sallebray's Cassandre and Racine's *Andromaque* may give some guidance. Cassandre refers the positive assessment of being assigned to Agamemnon's share to her own interests and her own feelings ("rend *mon* destin heureux"). Although her words have a double meaning - she is glad to be this man's captive for he will not live long, and she will taste a sort of vengeance by supplying one motive for his destined murder - they are obviously meant to convey only one impression to Agamemnon. *Andromaque* refers her 'positive' assessment of being assigned to Pyrrhus to her son's interests; her own feelings towards Pyrrhus, beyond her indication of a belief in his capacity for generosity, do not enter the question. "Je respire, je sers,/J'ai fait plus..." tends rather to recall her own personal aversion ("on my son's account I have accepted life and slavery; I have even accepted being enslaved to *you*"). Cassandre's praise of Agamemnon goes a long way further than *Andromaque*'s: "Par votre piété qui fait qu'on vous adore", she flatters a few lines after the passage just quoted. *Andromaque* confines herself to the sentiment that from her experience of Pyrrhus' family (and himself?) she had expected magnanimity:

J'ai cru que sa prison deviendrait son asile,
 Jadis Priam soumis fut respecté d'Achille.
 J'attendais de son fils encor plus de bonté...
 (937-9).

On the whole, I incline to believe that *Andromaque* is certainly more sincere than Sallebray's Cassandre whom she echoes, and may in fact mean exactly what she says; though this is not to deny that she says it in the awareness that remarks expressing even this degree of esteem for Pyrrhus

may be persuasive to him in his enamoured state. If this is so, it has implications not just for our assessment of Andromaque's reactions to Pyrrhus but also, as we have seen, for our view of Andromaque's relationship with her son. Even if Andromaque does not truly mean what she says, the fact that she brings herself to speak fairer words to Pyrrhus, against the grain, as a last hope of inducing him to save Astyanax's life, still speaks for the sacrifice of feeling she is prepared to make in her son's cause, in the same way that Cassandre's adoption of the procedure bespoke her devotion to her family's interests.

5.2.2.5: Conclusions

Andromaque's feelings for Astyanax are, then, more complex than is suggested either by Châteaubriand's assessment (5.2.2.3, p.278) or by the contrary view represented by Barthes (5.2.2.3, p.271). In comparison to the Andromache of Seneca, Racine's Andromaque may say as much that depicts a propensity for her love for Astyanax to be overshadowed and dictated by her love for Hector. But she says considerably less that indicates a tendency to cherish and mourn him in terms of the future he could give Troy, and rather more that suggests a store of straightforward, natural maternal instinct and concern. The same could, largely speaking, be said on comparing Racine's figure with that of Sallebray; and the verdict would retain some validity even in the case of Garnier - though his Andromache probably at least matches Racine's in that last respect of maternal regard, and shows perhaps a less pronounced tendency in respect of Astyanax's eclipse by Hector. Racine has drawn, in places, on Euripides' (and Homer's) portrayals of Andromache as mother, with the result that elements of their more uncomplicated view of her relationship with her son take their place in the pattern Racine is building up for his own portrayal of that relationship, however complex that pattern overall may be.

5.2.3: The crisis of the past-present conflict

5.2.3.1: Dilemma: Act III sc.viii

We come, at last, to the two 'climactic' scenes of the play as far as Andromaque is concerned, III sc.viii and IV sc.i. The first of these articulates the crisis facing Andromaque, by bringing together all the different elements in her feelings, experience and relationships we have examined as contributing to her dilemma. The second presents the

resolution to that dilemma, shaping the various elements into a final pattern as Andromaque outlines the way she has found to reconcile all the conflicting demands within and without. III sc. viii, the 'dilemma' scene, is the first to be considered.

5.2.3.1(a): Céphise's advice (997-9)

In her dilemma, Andromaque has a 'counsellor', her *confidente* Céphise. In only one other presentation of her story does another character 'discuss' with Andromache the issue of fidelity to Hector versus Astyanax's interests. In Seneca and Garnier, when she has to decide between her son and Hector's tomb, Andromache is to all intents and purposes alone with her decision under her antagonist's watchful eye; in Sallebray, although she converses with Cassandre in her agony of indecision, the latter declines to pronounce on the issue (*La Troade*, p.48). But in Euripides' *Troades*, although the dilemma is less immediate, Andromache's thoughts on fidelity to Hector are set off against the advice of Hecuba:

δουλεύσω δ' ἐν αὐθεντῶν δόμοις.
 κεί μὲν παρώσασ' Ἔκτορος φίλον κάρα
 πρὸς τὸν παρόντα πόσιν ἀναπτύξω φρένα, [...]
 ἀπέπτυσ' αὐτὴν, ἥτις ἄνδρα τὸν πάρος
 καινοῖσι λέκτροις ἀποβαλοῦσ' ἄλλον φιλεῖ

(660-8)⁵²;

ἀλλ', ὦ φίλη παῖ, τὰς μὲν Ἔκτορος τύχας
 ἔασον· οὐ μὴ δάκρυά νιν σώση τὰ σά·
 τίμα δὲ τὸν παρόντα δεσπότην σέθεν,
 φίλον διδοῦσα δέλεαρ ἀνδρὶ σῶν τρόπων.
 κἂν δρῶς τάδ', ἐς τὸ κοινὸν εὐφρανεῖς φίλους
 καὶ παῖδα τόνδε παιδὸς ἐκθρέψειας ἄν

(697-702)⁵³.

This seems pretty close to the advice Racine's Céphise gives in 981-5, and to Andromaque's response to it:

⁵² "I shall be a slave in the house of murderers. And if, casting out all thought for dear Hector, I open my heart to my present husband...I loathe her who, casting aside her former husband, loves another in a new bed."

⁵³ "But, my dear child, let be the fortunes of Hector; for your tears cannot save him. Honour your present master, offering to the man a pleasing bait of your ways. And if you do this, you will at once give joy to your friends and rear up, it may be, this child of my son..."

Madame, à votre époux c'est être assez fidèle:
(cp. *Tro.* 697-8)

Trop de vertu pourrait vous rendre criminelle.
Lui-même il porterait votre âme à la *douceur*.

(cp. *Tro.* 699-700)

ANDROMAQUE: Quoi! je lui donnerais Pyrrhus pour successeur?

(cp. *Tro.* 660-8)

CEPHISE: *Ainsi le veut son fils*, que les Grecs vous ravissent

(cp. *Tro.* 701-2)⁵⁴.

It is not impossible that the "douceur" Céphise advocates is Racine's equivalent of Hecuba's "φίλον [...] δέλεαρ". Despite the differences in the situation, it does seem clear that Hecuba in this respect served as a model for Céphise.

5.2.3.1(b): Rejection of Pyrrhus (992-1001)

The element of Andromaque's thinking which is first seen in the ascendancy is her aversion to Pyrrhus, coupled with her devotion to Hector. These two combined are in the first stage of the scene so strong that she cannot see she has any choice: "Il ne me restait plus qu'à condamner mon fils" (980). Lines 995-1006, in which the basis of her aversion to Pyrrhus in himself is conveyed, together with the intensity of experience and feeling behind it, were discussed earlier (above, 5.1.2.1). The opening lines to that powerful speech by Andromaque also seek to convey strength of feeling by calling on the images of Greek legend and Greek and Latin literature:

CEPHISE: [Pyrrhus...]

Qui ne se souvient plus qu'Achille était son père,
Qui dément ses exploits et les rend superflus?

ANDROMAQUE: Dois-je les oublier, s'il ne s'en souvient plus?

Dois-je oublier Hector privé de funérailles
Et trainé sans honneur autour de nos murailles?

(990-94).

⁵⁴ See 4.1.2.

The image comes originally from *Iliad* 22:

ἦ ῥα καὶ Ἔκτορα Διὸν ἀεικέα μῆδετο ἔργα [...]

ἐκ δίφροιο δ' ἔδησε κάρη δ' ἔλκεσθαι ἔασεν· [...]

[...] τότε δὲ Ζεὺς δυσμενέεσσι

δῶκεν ἀεικίσσασθαι ἐῆ ἔν πατρίδι γαίῃ

(395-8, 403-4)⁵⁵;

ἔστη παπτήνας' ἐπὶ τείχεϊ, τὸν δὲ νόησεν

ἐλκόμενον πρόσθεν πόλιος· ταχέες δέ μιν ἵπποι

ἔλκον ἀκηδέστωσ κοίλας ἐπὶ νῆας Ἀχαιῶν

(462-4)⁵⁶.

Euripides adapts this for his heroine's lament in *Andromache* 399-400:

ἦτις σφαγὰς μὲν Ἔκτορος τροχηλάτους

κατείδον⁵⁷,

retaining the important and affecting 'eye-witness' element; the image also occurred in 107-8:

καὶ τὸν ἐμὸν [...] πόσιν Ἔκτορα, τὸν περὶ τείχη

εἴλκυσε διφρέων παῖς ἄλιος Θέτιδος⁵⁸.

The detail "περὶ τείχη" ("around the walls") is a post-Homeric tradition, perhaps arising from Homer's picture of Achilles' dragging of Hector's body around Patroclus' tomb (*Iliad* 24.14-16); Euripides supplies the first extant occurrence, but it later becomes the dominant version. Virgil takes it up in *Aeneid* 1:

⁵⁵ "Then indeed he purposed shameful deeds for godlike Hector...he bound him from the chariot, and let his head be dragged...for Zeus had given him over then to his enemies to suffer disgrace on his native soil."

⁵⁶ "She [Andromache] stood looking fixedly from the city wall, and saw him being dragged before the city; the swift horses dragged him unrelentingly towards the hollow ships of the Achaians."

⁵⁷ "[I] who saw the wheel-dragged slaughter of Hector."

⁵⁸ "and my husband Hector, whom the son of sea-born Thetis dragged from his chariot around the [city-]walls."

ter circum Iliacos raptaverat Hectora muros
exanimumque auro corpus....

(483-4)⁵⁹.

Virgil probably also drew on the Homeric version, though, as "ter circum" matches "τρὶς [...] περὶ σῆμα" ("three times around the mound") in *Iliad* 24.16. Williams says that this "later Greek version...emphasises even more the cruelty of Achilles" (Williams 1972, p.198, note on 1. 483f.); it also reinforces the idea that Hector's family, friends and city were *onlookers*, eye-witnesses. Garnier's version is slightly equivocal: "...Achille/ Traîna le corps d'Hector trois fois devant la ville" (*La Troade* 565-6), but the point, that Achilles deliberately lingered to display Hector's trailing corpse in the sight of Troy, is the same. Sallebray follows Garnier though with increasing vagueness: "Hector devant ces murs cruellement traîné" (*La Troade*, p.14). Racine, on the other hand, returns to the specific "autour de nos murailles", deriving this perhaps from Virgil, perhaps from Euripides. Considering the general purport of the speech, it is likely that this phrase has a 'visual' significance, and that, like the recollections of Priam's death and the fall of Troy, this reminiscence too is to be seen as carrying the intensity of an eye-witness report.

Notice that Racine has Andromaque concentrate only on one part of the story of Hector's end. Her words ignore that later part of the story referred to in her last speech in III sc.vi (938), and Racine himself underlines the fact by including the phrase "privé de funérailles" (993). Hector may be so described only in a temporary sense. This makes it all the clearer that it is an image that is in Andromaque's mind: the image of Hector's death as it was impressed on her when she saw Achilles gallop off with her husband's body hanging from his chariot-rail. Her aversion to Pyrrhus expressed here ("Dois-je oublier") is a response both to the fact of Hector's death at Achilles' hands - in other words to her love for Hector - and to the brutal attendant circumstances - in other words her horror of Achilles inspired by his dark side shown in the dispatch of his enemy. Certainly it is the latter element that Racine highlights in this presentation of Andromaque's responses: but the sense remains that these images are presented to us as those burned into her memory as inseparable from the simple facts of what happened, and as those calculated to bring home the intensity of her experience of those facts.

⁵⁹ "the lifeless body of Hector [which had been] dragged three times round the walls of Ilion behind [Achilles'] chariot..."

Similarly the prolonged tableau of the fall of Troy is a reminiscence both of Pyrrhus' bloodthirstiness and of the fact that he was instrumental in the irretrievable loss of her home: "pour tout un peuple une nuit éternelle", "Andromaque éperdue". Both considerations - though with the emphasis *here* more on the former - motivate her refusal to accept Pyrrhus as husband.

As the speech concludes, however, Andromaque's revulsion from Pyrrhus and his record dominates her thoughts almost exclusively:

Voilà comme Pyrrhus vint s'offrir à ma vue;
Voilà par quels exploits il sut se couronner;
Enfin voilà l'époux que tu me veux donner.
Non, je ne serai point complice de ses crimes;
Qu'il nous prenne, s'il veut, pour dernières victimes.
Tous mes ressentiments lui seraient asservis

(1006-11).

This resembles the attitude and words of Sallebray's *Cassandre vis-à-vis Agamemnon*: compare in particular 1008-9 with:

Vous voulés que mon coeur d'une flame serville,
Brûle pour vous complaire avecque notre ville,
Et flatés mes malheurs de fausses dignités,
Pour me faire aprouver d'infames lâchetés...

(*La Troade* II sc.i, p.23).

There may be shades, too, of Andromache's defiance of Menelaos in *Andromache*:

κτείνεις μ'. ἀπόκτειν' ὡς ἀθώπευτόν γέ σε
γλώσσης ἀφήσω τῆς ἐμῆς καὶ παῖδα σὴν

(459-60)⁶⁰

in the sequence of thought of 1010-1011:

⁶⁰ "You [wish to] kill me. Kill on, then; since I shall send forth you and your daughter with no flattering appeal from my tongue."

Qu'il nous prenne, s'il veut, pour dernières victimes
Tous mes ressentiments lui seraient asservis.

But as regards the reaction of Euripides' Andromache to Neoptolemos/Pyrhus, in Euripides' portrayal her aversion is less concerned with his own record than with his being his father's son - for instance, nowhere in either *Andromache* or *Troades* does Andromache refer to the murder of Priam⁶¹, or make more than a couple of general allusions - however double-edged - to his career at Troy. Cassandre's objection in Sallebray, on the other hand, is very much to Agamemnon himself as bearing overall responsibility for Troy's catastrophe. At the same time, she also charges to his account all the individual deeds and crimes of his army (see her speech in II sc.i, p.24, quoted at [3.3.2](#) and [5.2.2.1](#)), much as Racine's Andromaque charges Achilles' deeds to Pyrrhus' account, though the grounds for doing so are different in each case. Probably, like Sallebray's Cassandre, Andromaque includes in "Tous mes ressentiments" of 1011 *all* that she associates in her own mind and heart with Pyrrhus - the death of Hector as well as the murder of Priam and the blood-bespattered fall of Troy she has just recalled. So the love-for-Hector aspect to her impassioned rejection of Pyrrhus is still given a voice - though a small one - even in the passage where her objections to her suitor in himself are most dominant and expressed with most ferocity.

5.2.3.1(c): Second thoughts: Astyanax, Hector's son (1012-37)

A blunt intimation of the fatal consequences for Astyanax of the resolution Andromaque has just stated triggers off a sudden *revirement*. The visual factor and the images of memory noted in 993-1006 continue to be important in Andromaque's *revirement* speech. Elsewhere we have considered the Iliadic image of Hector and Andromache's farewell scene, adapted by Racine in 1018-26 into a commission laid on Andromaque by her husband to look after Astyanax ([5.1.3.2](#)), presented in a vivid *tableau* of memory expressive of Hector's love for her, her love for Hector, and Hector's love for Astyanax providing a strong incentive and motive for her own. The 'visual' theme continues as Andromaque leads up to the *Iliad* 6 reminiscence:

⁶¹ Except perhaps obliquely in *Troades* 660; see [1.4.2.1](#).

Quoi! Céphise, j'irai voir expirer encor
 Ce fils, ma seule joie et l'image d'Hector!
 Ce fils, que de sa flamme il me laissa pour gage!
 (1015-7).

Seneca and Garnier have very probably contributed to "Ce fils [...] l'image d'Hector!" in 1016:

non aliud, Hector, in meo nato mihi
 placere quam te. vivat, ut possit tuos
 referre vultus...
 (*Troades* 646-8)⁶²;

Que rien qu'Hector je n'aime en ceste créature:
 Je l'aime pour luy voir de sa face les traits,
 Et pour ses membres voir des siens les vrais pourtraits
 (*La Troade* 946-8).

A phrase from the first stage of Andromaque's 'dilemma speech' in Sallebray (p.44) is almost undoubtedly behind 1017: "Mais de ce même amour le cher et noble gage [i.e. Astyanax]" (see above, [5.1.3.2](#)). The "image d'Hector" idea echoes passages elsewhere in the play contributing to the portrayal of this side to Andromaque's love for Astyanax (e.g. 262, 650-6), and relates to a long literary tradition ([5.2.2.1](#)). In this speech, the side to Andromaque's love for her son that is chiefly a by-product of her love for Hector comes through particularly strongly. Racine uses his recreation of the *Iliad* reminiscence, and the echo from Sallebray, to add a new dimension. Previously the idea has referred almost exclusively to Astyanax's rôle as mirror image and reminder of his father; but here we see that Astyanax is Hector's legacy to Andromaque in the fullest sense of the word, entrusted to her as a symbol of their relationship, outlasting separation by death, to be cherished in the name of that relationship.

At the same time, elements of a 'purer' parental love for Astyanax in himself may subsist. I would say that they almost certainly do in what Racine has Hector say: *pace* Barthes, who states:

⁶² "Hector, there is nothing which pleases me in my son except you. Let him live, to bring back to life your features..."

Hector veut à la fois vivre comme mort et comme substitut,
 Hector lui a enjoint à la fois la fidélité à la tombe et le salut
 du fils parce que le fils c'est lui

(Barthes 1963, pp.80-81).

Racine has in fact *altered* lines that originally expressed that sentiment - e.g. Sallebray's "Secondés aujourd'hui/ L'espérance que j'ay de revivre par luy" - to express a quite different and far more disinterested idea. If her son loses his father, may he find in Andromaque both mother and father (to protect and look after him, the implication is): "S'il me perd, je prétends qu'il me retrouve en toi" (see [5.1.3.2](#)). It is, further, possible that a more Astyanax-centred love is also to be glimpsed in 1016: "Ce fils, ma seule joie...". True, the interpretation of this depends on how closely we take "ma seule joie" with "l'image d'Hector". Yet it may be that we can relate the former phrase specifically to two passages of Greek literature where love for a child in themselves is all that is in question. In looking at "le seul bien qui me reste..." (262), "Son fils seul avec moi" (931), "De tant de biens [...] / C'est le seul qui nous reste" (871-2) ([5.2.1.1](#), [5.2.2.1](#), [5.2.2.4](#)), we considered a number of passages that might have contributed to this "only" theme: Euripides' *Andromache* 406, *Hecuba* 279-81; Virgil's *Aeneid* 3. 489; Seneca's *Troades* 703-4; Garnier's *La Traode* 1033, 1082, 1560; Sallebray's *La Troade* p.30. Some of these referred to Astyanax as Andromache's "sole comfort" (Seneca 703-4; Garnier 1003, 1083); but only the two Greek passages talk of 'joy' as such: Andromache metaphorically, of Molossos: "εἷς παῖς ὃδ' ἦν μοι λοιπὸς ὀφθαλμὸς βίου" (*And.* 406)⁶³; Hecuba more directly, of Polyxena:

ταύτη γέγηθα κάπιλήθομαι κακῶν·
 ἦδ' ἀντὶ πολλῶν ἐστὶ μοι παραψυχή
 (*Hec.* 279-80)⁶⁴.

If Racine had these in mind, it would strengthen the case for giving "ma seule joie" some independent force: "Ma seule joie *et* l'image d'Hector".

We have already considered the ambivalence of 1027, and the question of the importance of royal lineage that, coupled with 1028, it introduces ([5.2.2.2](#)). In 1029-37 a different movement of emotion starts:

⁶³ "This one child was left to me, the light [lit."eye": the word can carry the same meaning as our English image 'the apple of one's eye'] of my life."

⁶⁴ "In her *I rejoice* and forget my woes; she is my comfort in the face of their multitude"- the 'only one' idea, though, is implied rather than explicit here.

reminded of the need and desire to save her son, Andromaque first breaks out into anguished rebellion at the injustice of Pyrrhus' threat, then, facing up to its intractability, resolves to submit to it.

Roi barbare, faut-il que mon crime l'entraîne?
 Si je te hais, est-il coupable de ma haine?
 T'a-t-il de tous les siens reproché le trépas?
 S'est-il plaint à tes yeux des maux qu'il ne sent pas?
 (1029-32).

It seems likely that Racine took the 'not guilty' refrain regarding the child from Euripides' *Andromache* (316-7, 497-500, 570-71; see 5.2.2.3). His passage gains a new dimension from the fact that Racine has Andromaque speak of as Pyrrhus' possible grievances those things that elsewhere she consistently presents as *her* grievances against him. She *has* "de tous le siens [lui] reproché le trépas" and "plaint à [ses] yeux des maux...". In dissociating Astyanax, at this moment of despair, from her own battle with Pyrrhus (centering as it does on her attachment to Hector and the past), she accords her child a place in her concern outwith the tight circle of herself, Hector and his son in Troy, within which her feeling for Astyanax has so often appeared to be bound.

It is, then, appropriate that, after this complaint against the injustice of Astyanax's death, Racine has Andromaque turn to the imperative of saving her son in terms which have no reference to anything except maternal concern.

Mais cependant, mon fils, tu meurs si je n'arrête
 Le fer que le cruel tient levé sur ta tête.
 Je l'en puis détourner, et je t'y vais offrir?
 Non, tu ne mourras point: je ne le puis souffrir.
 Allons trouver Pyrrhus.
 (1033-7).

Andromache, despite its different situation, has very probably played a part in shaping this: compare 1035-6, and especially "Non, tu ne mourras point", with:

τοῦτον κτενεῖν μέλλουσιν [...]
 οὐ δῆτα τοῦμοῦ γ' εἴνεκ' ἀθλίου βίου· [...]
 ἐμοὶ δ' ὄνειδος μὴ θανεῖν ὑπὲρ τέκνου
 (*Andromache*, 407-10)⁶⁵.

Andromache's conclusion in both cases has a similarly definitive ring. Sallebray's *Andromaque* may also have contributed something to the phrasing of 1035-6 with:

Je verrois [...] écraser
 Le corps de mon enfant et si tendre et si cher.
Souffrir l'un, offrir l'autre, Ha ma soeur je retombe,
 Dans ma premiere peine...
 (*La Troade*, p.48).

But the closest echo of Sallebray, applying to 1035, is of something Ulysse says, with the propositions reversed:

[...] estes vous resoluë
 De nous *souffrir* plustost abattre à votre veuë
 Ce tombeau qui sur tout vous devoit être cher
Que d'offrir vôtre enfant qui le peut empêcher?
 (*ibid.*, p.47).

So a line which originally insinuated, for obvious reasons, that loyalty to Hector was the paramount consideration has been - deliberately? - turned round by Racine into one from *Andromaque* implying that saving Astyanax by any means in her power is paramount. That *Andromaque* vacillates again after this should not detract from the strength of maternal feeling such lines - and such a passage - expresses. *Andromaque's* maternity, like her personality as a whole, is presented as a battleground of diverse and sometimes warring impulses. At this crisis the love for Hector that underlies her concern for Astyanax blazes out strongly in 1014-28; but so too, in the lines that follow, does her simple mother's desire to save her son.

⁶⁵ "They intend to kill this [child]...No: not for the sake of my unhappy life they shall not;...it would be a reproach to me not to die for my child."

5.2.3.1(d): Indecision (1037-48)

In 1037-48, after the two great and contrary tides of feeling, incertitude takes over, as all three considerations - devotion to Hector, love for Astyanax, aversion to Pyrrhus - tear Andromaque at once in their different directions. She begins to waver in 1037-8:

Allons trouver Pyrrhus. Mais non, chère Céphise,
Va le trouver pour moi ,

and in 1039-43 each time her love for her son leads her to begin making a positive statement of concurrence with Pyrrhus' wishes, Racine pulls her up short with expressive *points de suspension*, leaving us to imagine the conflicting forces that throw her off course (1039, 1043).

In 1043, that force, as revealed by the sequel, is her love and loyalty to Hector:

Hé bien! va l'assurer.. -CEPHISE: De quoi? de votre foi?
ANDROMAQUE: Hélas! pour la promettre est-elle encore à moi?
(1043-4).

The formulation of 1044 is unique to Racine, but encapsulates in one brief, telling question a sentiment we have met with earlier in the play (865-6, 357-8) and elsewhere in literature: most notably from Virgil's Dido: in *Aeneid* 4.28-9; also from Euripides' *Andromache* in *Troades* 661-3 (see [5.1.3.1](#)). Andromaque, like her Euripidean ancestor, committed her loyalty to Hector and feels strongly that that loyalty still binds her.

1045-6 form the climax of Andromaque's *déchirements*, expressing in one couplet the essence of the conflict she has faced throughout the play:

O cendres d'un époux! ô Troyens! ô mon père!
O mon fils, que tes jours coûtent cher à ta mère!

All the elements of the conflict are there: loyalty to her dead Hector, the shadow of her lost homeland and decimated family that counts so heavily against Pyrrhus in her feelings, love for the son she is desperate to save. Again there is a highly skilful adjustment of sources here. The form of 1045 appears to derive from a line of Ennius (see [4.2](#), p.183): "o pater o patria o Priami domus" ("O my father, o my homeland, o house of Priam!"). But

the ideas involved in the Racinian line are more subtle and complex than those in Ennius'. The phrase "cendres d'un époux" derives from Andromache's indecision soliloquies in Seneca, Garnier and Sallebray, whence it also derives the anguished tone: Andromache there is also torn between loyalty to Hector and loyalty to her son. Compare, in particular, Seneca *Troades* 642-4:

animum distrahit geminus timor:
hinc natus, illinc coniugis cari cinis.
pars ultra vincet?⁶⁶

and Sallebray *La Troade* p.47:

La voix de mon amour parle en faveur du père,
Et veux que je conserve *une cendre si chère*.

But Racine takes this phrase, whose meaning in the context is quite literal, and transfers it to a conflict where the 'threat' to Hector is entirely abstract and his ashes are no longer a concrete entity. "O cendres d'un époux!" is then an apostrophe to Hector's memory, to a dead past, to a private world and happiness reduced to ashes: remember Sallebray's: "Hector n'est plus qu'un peu de poudre [...] Tous les jours ce peu diminué" (3.2.1.2(b)). Yet for Racine's Andromaque these things that exist only as shadows and ghosts of a once-vital existence are still a living force: they live on in her memory and emotions and exert a crucial influence over her current actions and thinking. She would not echo those words of Sallebray's Andromaque, one feels.

The other crucial echo is of Andromache's words to her son in Euripides' *Andromache*:

ὦ τέκνον, ἢ τεκοῦσά σ', ὡς σὺ μὴ θάνῃς,
στείχω πρὸς "Αἰδην

(413-4)⁶⁷:

cp. "O mon fils, que tes jours coûtent cher à ta mère!". Again, Racine has transposed something that referred to concrete reality onto an abstract plane:

⁶⁶ "A double fear tears my spirit apart: on this side for my son, on that for *the ashes of my dear husband*. Which cause shall win?"

⁶⁷ "O child, I who bore you, so that you may not die, am going down to Hades..."

Euripides' Andromache is to die for her son, and speaks of this as the high price she will pay for saving his life; Racine's Andromaque is also conscious of a dread price to be paid, but the price here is not physical but emotional. Both passages express the love that strongly desires to save her son; both express suffering over the cost of doing so; but they refer to two quite different situations, two quite different sacrifices.

It is perhaps in this pair of lines that we see most clearly the transformation Racine has wrought on the stories and situations he received. From the physical danger Andromache faces in Euripides, from the physical threat of violation and desecration against Hector's remains she faces in Seneca and company, Racine has created a force that is purely psychological to weigh in the scales against her son's safety. Yet he has not entirely created it: for that force is there in essence in Andromache's first speech in Euripides' *Troades*. What Racine has done, with some help from *Andromache*, Seneca and his own compatriots, is to actualise the conflict that is only sketched in as potential in the Greek *Troades*, making the physical threat to Astyanax turn on that 'psychological force' in Andromaque by having Pyrrhus both hold the scales of the boy's fate and conceive a passion that desires the 'opening of the heart' (*Troades* 662) that she is so reluctant to yield.

5.2.3.2: Decision: Act IV sc.i

By whatever process this comes about, Andromaque between Acts III and IV comes to her decision as to how she will resolve this conflict of irreconcilable imperatives. IV sc.i presents this resolution in three separate stages: firstly, in a kind of 'false start' as the decision is partially communicated through Céphise's relieved reaction to her agreement to Pyrrhus' marriage proposal, secondly in Andromaque's own statement of her decision, thirdly in Andromaque's dispositions for the future attendant on that decision (1102-24). Both of the latter stages reveal the same combination of motives behind Andromaque's thinking and conduct that we have seen in conflict throughout the play.

5.2.3.2(a): Announcement: 1049-71

We have already considered most of what Céphise has to say in her initial reactions to Andromaque's apparent decision, and the material this draws on (see [5.1.2.6](#) pp.231-2, [5.2.2.2](#)). In the context of this scene, though, we can see how Racine's adaptation of that material is again employed for

particular dramatic effect. Transferring both the account of Hector's interest in Astyanax's future, and the delineation of the hopes Astyanax carries with him (for his city and his royal blood-line) to Céphise at this point, Racine gives us an observer's partial view of the situation which is wholly cheerful because uncomplicated by the personal difficulties of emotion and loyalty that beset Andromaque. The resulting loquacious relief and pleasure creates an effective contrast with the sober mood and utterance of Andromaque. It also carries a latent irony in its incomprehension of Andromaque's true state of mind and its easy acceptance of a decision that has cost the latter so much (e.g. 1059), an irony which becomes increasingly apparent as Andromaque's next speech unfolds. By both of these means, and by simply delaying the revelation of the whole truth, Céphise's remarks build up the suspense, thus endowing the brief stark statement by which Andromaque cuts short Céphise's voluble joy (1072) with a particular sense of climax. Furthermore, having Céphise attribute particular desires and ambitions to Hector (1049-52) and Andromaque (1069-71) which in previous representations they actually voiced themselves, and then revealing through Andromaque's own words that she does not quite see things in that light, creates a contrast that highlights Andromaque's own position. We distinguish her concern with remembrance from a concern with restitution (5.2.2.2) because it is offset, in mood as well as in precise 'slant', against a different view. This, of course, has not been so with the issue of Astyanax and the future in other representations of Andromache. Something similar happens with the Hecuba and Andromache scene in Euripides' *Troades*, but there the 'remembrance/restoration' contrast is not based on two views of Astyanax's significance: Andromache talks of the tensions of the future arising from her desire to stay true in remembering Hector, Hecuba in reply introduces Astyanax's own prospects as a completely new side to the case, a hope of restoration that should outweigh the pains and restraints of remembrance. The real contrast as regards Astyanax's future is between Hecuba's half-born hopes and the immediate announcement that his future is to be curtailed. This creates an abrupt switch of mood and a painful irony similar to that of 1069-72 here, although the substance of the shock in either case is entirely different - in Euripides, Astyanax's death, in Racine, Andromaque's intended suicide.

5.2.3.2(b): Explanation: Resolving the past and the present: 1072-1110

Céphise's words have told us that Andromaque has agreed to marry Pyrrhus; Andromaque's brief intimation of 1072 lets us glimpse the second part and condition of her decision: that it entails her own imminent demise. The speech that follows is an explanation by Andromaque of her case, bringing together the different elements previously at war within her.

After the opening remonstrance with her *confidente* (1073-6), Andromaque recalls the griefs and attachments of the past that prevent the solution to her dilemma being as easy as it seemed to Céphise:

Quoi donc? as-tu pensé qu'Andromaque infidèle
Pût trahir un époux qui croit revivre en elle;
Et que, de tant de morts réveillant la douleur,
Le soin de mon repos me fit troubler le leur?
Est-ce là cette ardeur tant promis à sa cendre?
(1077-81).

For the form of the question, Racine appears indebted to Sallebray, whose Cassandra repulses Agamemnon's suit by insisting likewise that acceptance would be betrayal of her family and the dead, and asks:

Croiriés vous bien, Seigneur, que je fusse insensée
Jusqu'au point d'avoir eu cette lâche pensée?
(*La Troade* p.27).

The feeling of betrayal specific to Andromache as regards Hector, though, comes from Euripides' *Troades* (661-3, 667-8; above, [5.1.3.1](#))- perhaps, on this occasion, directly: compare 1077-78 with the anxiety in Euripides 663 that "κακή φανοῦμαι τῷ θανόντι" ("I shall appear false to him who is dead"). But in expressing this idea of betrayal Racine has also drawn directly on Virgil's portrayal of Dido's relationship to her dead husband Sychaeus: "non servata fides cineri promissa Sychaeo" (*Aeneid* 4.552)⁶⁸. In applying this to Andromache, Racine may also be influenced by the picture of her in *Aeneid* 3:

⁶⁸ "I have not kept the faith which I promised to the ashes of Sychaeus"; see, however, earlier notes on the relationship of Dido to Euripides' Andromache, [5.1.3.1](#).

sollemnis cum forte dapes et tristia dona [...]
 libabat cineri Andromache manisque vocabat
 Hectoreum ad tumulum, viridi quem caespite inanem
 et geminas, causam lacrimis, sacra verat aras

(301-5)⁶⁹;

compare "Est-ce là cette ardeur tant promise à sa cendre?". Racine has expanded the idea of individual fidelity in his own way, to express Andromaque's sense of attachment and obligation to the whole past: to all her dead, perhaps even to all the fallen of Troy:

Et que, de tant de morts réveillant la douleur,
 Le soin de mon repos me fît troubler le leur?

(1079-80).

That is what we might call the 'past imperative' in Andromaque's case. She details the 'present imperative' rather more briefly: "mais son fils périssait, il l'a fallu défendre" (1082). Put like that, it sounds almost business-like; we might compare Andromaque's stated resolution in Sallebray:

Abandonnons celui [Hector] qui n'est plus presque rien
 Et sauvons dans son fils l'espoir de nôtre Empire

(*La Troade* p.49).

The appellation "*son* fils" is significant in both cases. In Sallebray, the desire to save Astyanax (besides being 'politically' motivated) is explicitly in large measure due to Andromaque's feeling for Hector, and for Astyanax as Hector's representative: witness the line immediately preceding the couplet just quoted: "L'un et l'autre est Hector, et l'un et l'autre est mien". In Racine, "*son* fils" could well carry this latter implication, if more subtly than in Sallebray; though admittedly the choice of pronoun might simply be rhetorically natural when broaching the subject that has forced a compromise on the fidelity so strongly protested in 1077-81 ("I must do this in spite of my vow to Hector, but it is for *his* son"). On the other hand, flat though the statement is, the very curtness with which it assumes that in the

⁶⁹ "with ritual feasts and gifts of sorrow...Andromache was making libation to the ashes and calling on the shades of Hector at the tomb, a cenotaph of green turf where she had consecrated twin altars, there to shed her tears."

end, saving Astyanax comes before all other considerations reveals something about Andromaque's feelings on the matter that with all her agonisings we may not have known before; and in this it can be distinguished from Andromaque's words in Sallebray.

Andromaque gives rather more time to outlining, in 1083-8, the solution to this present imperative that Pyrrhus' suit offers (or demands). The assessment she gives of Pyrrhus and his motivation, and thus her reasons for relying on him, were discussed earlier (5.1.2.6, pp.230-31). This passage constitutes a resolution of another of Andromaque's conflicts: her fluctuating attitude towards Pyrrhus. The dispassionate, objective but on the whole positive weighing up of his character contrasts strikingly with the impassioned indictments of III sc.viii. Now that Andromaque has found a way out of her dilemma, but also now that she can detach herself from Pyrrhus as a dreaded and unwanted suitor, she can speak of him without violence. Certain critics⁷⁰ have expressed doubts as to the wisdom or logic of Andromaque's judgement: desperate for a way out, is not Andromaque indulging in wishful thinking? But in looking at the apparently deliberate linking of Andromaque's character assessment to the images of ancient literature (pp.230-31, 5.1.2.6.), I would conclude on the contrary that Racine has provided support in his portrayal of Pyrrhus for Andromaque's view. Certainly he has shown us a Pyrrhus reacting to Greek threats in exactly the contra-suggestive way Andromaque has perceived and counts on in 1087-8. In the end, Andromaque trusts Pyrrhus as her son's protector, as Euripides' Andromache had trusted Neoptolemos as hers, in part at least for the same reasons (see 5.2.1.2, 5.2.1.3).

The two imperatives, and the only possible solution, thus set out, Andromaque proceeds to explain in detail the resolution she has found to the situation, hinted at in 1072. First Andromaque simply details her decision to meet the present imperatives:

Je vais donc, puisqu'il faut que je me sacrifie
Assurer à Pyrrhus le reste de ma vie,
Je vais, en recevant sa foi sur les autels,
L'engager à mon fils par des liens immortels
(1089-92).

⁷⁰ e.g. Goldmann 1971, p.53; Bénichou 1967, p.223; R. Pommier 1988, pp.116-7.

Not suprisingly, since this part of Andromaque's choice is unique to Racine's presentation of her story, these lines are all his own, as are the teasing ambivalences of "il faut que je me sacrifie" and "le reste de ma vie". The resolution to solve her other problems by killing herself is likewise unique to Racine (see [5.2.2.3](#), [5.2.2.4](#)):

Mais aussitôt ma main, à moi seule funeste,
 D'une infidèle vie abrégera le reste,
 Et, sauvant ma vertu, rendra ce que je doi
 A Pyrrhus, à mon fils, à mon époux, à moi
 (1093-6).

Though the expression here, too, is largely original, Racine has woven into his picture certain ideas from earlier presentations. Andromaque presents this resolution, in 1095-6, as a reconciliation of obligations. The first of these is the obligation of honour and virtue - a large part if not all of what she means by "ce que je doi...à moi", "sauvant ma vertu". This is not an uncommon attitude amongst 17th-century tragic heroes and heroines. But it was also an anxiety of Euripides' *Andromache*, who reflects in *Troades* that it would have been better for her to have died with Polyxena:

κείνη δ' [...]
 [...] κούδεν οἶδε τῶν αὐτῆς κακῶν.
 ἐγὼ δὲ τοξεύσασα τῆς εὐδοξίας
 λαχοῦσα πλείον τῆς τύχης ἡμάρτανον [...]
 καὶ τῶνδε κληδῶν ἐς στράτευμ' Ἀχαιϊκὸν
 ἔλθοῦσ' ἀπώλεσέν μ'· ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἠρέθην,
 Ἀχιλλέως με παῖς ἐβουλήθη λαβεῖν
 (641-44. 657-9)⁷¹.

The obligation to her son - to save him - is clear enough and is part of Andromache's presentation from Euripides' *Andromache* (410) onwards, when her child's life is endangered. Only in Euripides' play, however, is the *obligation* spoken of as the pure obligation of motherhood; in Seneca, Garnier and Sallebray, though Andromache is open to maternal feeling,

⁷¹ "for she...knows nothing of her own ills; but I, having arrived at a good repute and gained a more than ordinary share, have failed of the good fortune [that would have enabled me to keep it] ...And the fame of these things [my wifely virtue], reaching the Achaean camp, ruined me; for when I was captured, Achilles' son desired to take me..."

when she talks of obligation or duty in saving Astyanax it is always with reference to Hector's injunctions or to a responsibility to Troy and posterity. "[Ce] que je doi...à mon fils" seems to imply Euripides' concept more than the Latin and French one. As for her duty to her husband, enough has already been said on all that that means; notice, however, that the last writer to have Andromache talk about loyalty to Hector in the context of an impending new relationship with another man, and with Neoptolemos/Pyrhus in particular, was Euripides (*Troades* 661-72).

The most curious part of Andromaque's summary of her position and resolution is her inclusion of Pyrrhus in the list of those to whom she feels she 'owes' something: "Et..rendra ce que je doi/ A Pyrrhus...". Presumably this means that, since to save her son's life she has had to promise to marry Pyrrhus (1063), she must in the solution she finds stay scrupulously true to her word: which she has found a way to do, though with the aid of an *équivoque*: "Assurer à Pyrrhus le reste de ma vie". Odd that in such a crisis she should feel that pledging her word to Pyrrhus renders her under an obligation to him; this is far from being a typical attitude in Racine's play. Yet, as suggested at [5.2.1.3](#), the portrayal of Andromaque here may owe something to Euripides. It was argued in ch. 1 that Euripides portrayed Andromache as having a highly developed sense of duty, even towards her master ([1.4.1.2](#), [1.4.1.3](#); see e.g. *And.* 355-60). The senses and situations in which Euripides' Andromache and Racine's Andromaque feel and say they owe something to Neoptolemos/Pyrhus are entirely different. But the attitude portrayed by Euripides may shed light on Racine's intentions regarding this aspect of Andromaque's thinking.

Though Andromaque talks in terms of obligation here we are not to imagine that no emotion is involved in any of these considerations of 'duty'. It is clear throughout her statement, despite the general calmness of tone, that her resolution is one of conflicting emotions as well as of conflicting responsibilities. "[Ce] que je doi...à mon époux", for instance, involves Andromaque's own *sense* of loyalty to Hector, and her own conviction of the particular betrayal involved in giving herself to Achilles' son. "[Ce] que je doi...à moi" involves not just what she owes to her self-respect and 'sense of honour' but what she owes to her own feelings - devoted love for Hector, aversion to Pyrrhus. It is largely these, after all, which make the decision to marry Pyrrhus an issue of self-respect and honour. This becomes clear in the conclusion of her speech:

Voilà *de mon amour* l'innocent stratagème:
 Voilà ce qu'un époux m'a commandé lui-même.
 J'irai seule rejoindre Hector et mes aïeux

(1097-9).

Her love for her husband is her prime motive for killing herself: this is the way she resolves the issues and emotions of the past; just as her concern for Astyanax was the over-riding imperative in going through with the marriage ceremony. The famous "innocent stratagème" of 1097 is the way of reconciling the two motives: quite possibly "de mon amour" carries two meanings ("love for Hector" is probably the primary surface meaning, but "love for Astyanax" might also be understood). We have encountered oxymorons similar to "innocent stratagème" in earlier versions of Andromache's battle to save her son. Seneca's heroine, in entrusting Astyanax to Hector's tomb, calls him "coniugis furtum piae" (*Troades* 501: "your wife's pious fraud/deceit"). Sallebray's *Cassandre*, commenting on Andromaque's ambiguous oath to Ulysse that Astyanax is with his father, calls this initiative "Sainte subtilité/Piété frauduleuse" (*La Troade* p.43). These verbal contrasts may have helped inspire Racine's choice of phrase here. At the same time Racine's application of the phrase is entirely original: it refers primarily to Andromaque's suicide and the formula of words with which she will 'trick' Pyrrhus into accepting her promise and making the required reciprocal vow (1090-92). Although the "innocent stratagème" is involved in the battle to save Astyanax, the stress at this stage is on its importance in her struggle to save her loyalty to Hector. The same is true of 1098, in which Andromaque refers her decision to her husband's injunction. This seems to stem from Seneca's idea of Hector bidding Andromache in a dream to save her son⁷², but again Racine refers this 'command' of Hector's as much to the preservation of Andromaque's loyalty to him and to the past as to the preservation of Astyanax.

In fact the conclusion to the speech as a whole, 1093-1100, is dominated by Andromaque's concern to square things with the past rather than by the saving of Astyanax. 1097-8 in the first instance concern Andromaque's relationship with Hector; and in 1099-1110 she finishes by describing how she will finally go to be at rest with her past:

⁷² *Troades* 452-6, cp. Garnier *La Troade* 653-7; Sallebray *La Troade* p.39: later in this last play Andromaque bids her reluctant son to save himself by entering the tomb: "Le Ciel en est content, Hector te le commande", p.35.

J'irai seule rejoindre Hector et mes aïeux
Céphise, c'est à toi de me fermer les yeux.

This desire for reunion in death, and its antecedents, we have discussed with reference to 378-80 and 945-6 (see [5.2.2.3](#)). In contrast to 378-80 and 945-6, however, Racine here has Andromaque talk of going to a reunion in death alone: "J'irai *seule*...". The point underlined by that "seule" seems to be deliberate (cp. "Mais aussitôt ma main, à moi *seule funeste*...", 1093): Andromaque has now found a way to go to her death without Astyanax. This, like so much else, is ambiguous in its significance. It might be taken as indicating Andromaque's determination that her son should stay alive even when she feels she cannot live on; or it might be taken as showing that Andromaque is going to a death, a rest and a reunion she has longed for, having at last found a way of ensuring Astyanax's survival and prosperity that does not require her continued existence in grief and dishonour. That death in some respects has its attractions for Racine's Andromaque is suggested throughout the play (375-80, 865-6, 924, 932, 943-6, 1010); this is supported by Andromache's longing for death after the loss of Hector throughout the tradition (Homer *Iliad* 6.410-11; Eur. *Andromache* 113-4,404, *Troades* 630-31, 679-83; Virgil *Aeneid* 3.321-1; Seneca *Troades* 416-20; Garnier *La Troade* 587-90; Sallebray *La Troade* p.14: "A ce ressouvenir, Dieux faites que j'expire").

At the same time, there are indications that this solution is far from being an 'easy way out' for Andromaque, and that death is no mere welcome release. Returning to 1072, Racine there makes it clear at once that this, after all the agonisings of III sc.viii, is no easy resolution:

Céphise, allons le voir pour la dernière fois.

With the situation reversed, in that the anticipated departure is hers and not her son's, this may relate to two of the more moving farewells to Astyanax written for Andromache elsewhere: one from Euripides' *Troades*:

νῦν - οὐποτ' αἰθις - μητέρ' ἀσπάζου σέθεν
(761)⁷³;

⁷³ "Now - for never again! - embrace your mother..."

one from Garnier's *La Troade*:

Mais devant que partir que je te baise encore,
 Que ce dernier baiser gloutonne je dévore
 (1113-4).

If we may conclude that 1072 expresses a motherly longing similar to those passages, then the line bespeaks a two-fold cost to Andromaque of her decision: not merely the loss of her own life but also the anguish of parting from her son. The indications of this side of the case are brief, in this scene, and low-key in expression; but they have their own impact.

It is also important to notice that although by this arrangement Andromaque hopes to preserve both her son and her loyalty to Hector, she is still, in her own eyes, sacrificing something of the latter to her son's interests. This is paradoxical, for she talks in 1095 of suicide "sauvant [sa] vertu", but also, in the previous line, of cutting short "une *infidèle* vie". This echoes the terms she used in disabusing Céphise of the idea that she could consent to live as Pyrrhus' wife:

Quoi donc? as-tu pensé qu'Andromaque *infidèle*
 Pût trahir un epoux...
 (1077-8),

which in turn had echoed the words and attitude of Euripides' Andromache in *Troades* (661-72), in a situation where she dreaded but could not avoid becoming Pyrrhus/Neoptolemos' partner. Andromaque is similarly being forced into that partnership against her will; although she is to give the ultimate proof of her 'innocence' of any willing betrayal by eliminating herself from the relationship once the necessary end is gained (hence "sauvant ma vertu"), she seems in that phrase "une *infidèle* vie" to reveal the same state of conscience as Euripides' Andromache in *Andromache*, whose position makes her 'guilty in fact though innocent in intention' and who appears to feel this:

ἀγὼ τὸ πρῶτον οὐχ ἔκοῦσ' ἔδεξάμην,
 νῦν δ' ἐκλέλοιπα· Ζεὺς τὰδ' εἰδείη μέγας,
 ὥς οὐχ ἔκοῦσα τῷδ' ἐκοινώθην λέχει

(36-8)⁷⁴.

Racine's *Andromaque* is referring to the abstract idea of union, Euripides to physical union, but the fundamental point is the same. Racine makes original capital out of the idea: it not only expresses the sensitive state of *Andromaque's* conscience but also provides another slight but telling indication of the price she is willing to pay for her son's life.

5.2.3.2(c): Resolution of the future: 'Testament': 1102-1124

Having disposed of the past, *Andromaque* looks towards the future and the outworkings of her decision in that future. This speech has been called *Andromaque's 'testament'*; it presents us with yet another resolution of her different motives and emotions, this time into their final pattern. *Astyanax* is the object of all *Andromaque's* dispositions and injunctions here; and naturally the speech gives us a last overview of *Andromaque's* attitude towards him. At the same time, in dictating a future 'strategy' *Andromaque* also has to deal with the question of *Pyrrhus*, and thus we also catch some further glimpses of her attitude towards him in this resolution of the crisis.

We will begin with this question of *Andromaque's* attitude and strategy regarding *Pyrrhus*. Delivering her last behests to *Céphise*, *Andromaque* recommends the following procedure:

Veille auprès de Pyrrhus; fais-lui garder sa foi:
 S'il le faut, je consens qu'on lui parle de moi.
 Fais-lui valoir l'hymen où je me suis rangée;
 Dis-lui qu'avant ma mort je lui fus engagée,
 Que ses ressentiments doivent être effacés,
 Qu'en lui laissant mon fils, c'est l'estimer assez
 (1107-1112).

In Euripides' *Andromache*, the heroine, likewise facing death, takes leave of her son with recommendations that may have inspired Racine's passage:

⁷⁴ "[a bed] which in the first place I did not accept willingly, and now have left; great Zeus bear me witness in this, that not willingly did I share in that man's bed."

οἶα τλᾶσ' ἀπωλόμην,
καὶ πατρὶ τῷ σῶ διὰ φιλημάτων ἰῶν
δάκρυά τε λείβων καὶ περιπτύσσων χέρας
λέγ' οἶ' ἔπραξα

(415-8)⁷⁵.

In my view, these recommendations of Andromache are intended as a way of ensuring Neoptolemos' future protection of their son (see [1.2.1.3](#), [1.4.1.2\(b\)](#)); particularly in the respect that, since she has given her life for the boy, the father is bound to honour her sacrifice by doing his utmost for him too. It is possible that this was how Racine interpreted the passage so that, when he adapted to the situation of his own *Andromaque* the general idea of Andromache adjuring someone to talk to her son's protector after her death of her and of all she has done, he seized on the persuasive potential he perceived as underlying the Greek to shape his expansion of the basic idea. *Andromaque* values what she will do in the same way as Andromache valued her sacrifice; though she can be less certain than her predecessor that Pyrrhus (Neoptolemos) will value it. The Greek Andromache is aware of the strong inducement for Neoptolemos to honour her sacrifice constituted by the fact that the child for whom it was accepted is his own son; this inducement is of course missing in *Andromaque*, but may be balanced by the heroine's consciousness of Pyrrhus' love *for her* as a possible, and very strong, incentive. Moreover, involved in *Andromaque's* resolution is an acceptance of Pyrrhus as her son's adoptive father, which places him in her mind in more-or-less the same relation to her son in this farewell intimation as Neoptolemos' actual paternity did in Andromache's farewell instructions to Molossos. Finally, Euripides' Andromache believes in Neoptolemos - or says she does - as her child's protector or avenger, and on that account can talk of him with more warmth (as here) or more esteem (as in 339-43) than is customary with her; an attitude that Racine's *Andromaque* seems to share, and at least urges as an argument here: "Qu'en lui laissant mon fils, c'est l'estimer assez".

That said, his love-plot both requires and allows Racine to adapt the idea of the recommendation "qu'on lui parle de moi". Though there is, as we have seen, a sacrificial element in what *Andromaque* resolves to do, she lays no stress here on the sacrifice of killing herself (her motives for suicide are scarcely flattering to Pyrrhus), and very little on marrying Pyrrhus *being*

⁷⁵ "...how I endured to die, and going to your father with kisses, and shedding tears and folding your arms about him, *tell him what* [sort of things] *I did*."

as a sacrifice (any insistence on the sacrificial nature of marriage to him could only be wounding to Pyrrhus). Instead she elaborates on *what* she will have done (independent of its cost and motive), in a way suited to the fact that Pyrrhus has loved her, making the most of the fact that she will (however briefly) have given herself to him:

Fais-lui *valoir l'hymen où je me suis rangée;*
 Dis-lui qu'avant ma mort *je lui fus engagée*
 (1109-10)

and that even in death she is giving him her son (1112). Moreover this "talking of her to Pyrrhus" must involve some measure of appeasement: unlike her Greek counterpart, Andromaque has reason to believe that her death may arouse Pyrrhus' resentment against *her*; hence 1111: "Que ses ressentiments doivent être effacés". Finally, the conflict Racine has rendered between Andromaque and Pyrrhus, as regards his love for her and her aversion to it, gives him the opportunity to add a final touch to his portrait of Andromaque in introducing a note of reluctance into the instructions: "*S'il le faut, je consens qu'on lui parle de moi*". This reveals both that Andromaque *is* conscious of the effect of her own words, and of others' about her, on Pyrrhus in his state of mind and is prepared if necessary to calculate on this - a principle that has been important in all their scenes together; *and* that she retains certain scruples about this. Slipping that brief phrase "S'il le faut" into a line inspired (probably) by Euripides, Racine is able at the last to suggest how far from easily his Andromaque resorts to the sort of subterfuge we have so often felt her to be engaged in. Compare this to the frank, unrepentant avowal of Sallebray's Cassandre, whose procedure with Agamemnon otherwise bears so many resemblances to Andromaque's with Pyrrhus: "Je ne te flate ainsi qu'à fin de t'outrager" (*La Troade* p.28).

The rest of this speech is concerned with Astyanax. We see the three bases of Andromaque's feeling for her son in her opening command to Céphise:

Je confie à tes soins *mon unique trésor*:
 Si tu vivais pour moi, vis pour *le fils d'Hector*.
 De *l'espoir de Troyens* seule dépositaire,
 Songe à combien de rois tu deviens nécessaire

(1103-6).

"Mon unique trésor", like "ma seule joie" in III sc.viii, while retaining the ambivalence that may admit aspects of both "le fils d'Hector" and "l'espoir de Troyens" into the regard it expresses, refers also to maternal love pure and simple. Let us look again at these three lights in which Astyanax is seen, at this our last view of him through Andromaque's eyes.

First, the aspect on which Andromaque actually says the most: "l'espoir des Troyens". What, exactly, does she mean by this phrase at this turning-point in her son's life? It becomes clear that she does *not* mean quite what Céphise was talking about in the earlier part of the scene (1051-2, 1070-71). Earlier, responding to Pyrrhus' grand schemes for restoring Astyanax as Troy's king, she had definitively resigned such ambition (333-7); here in a more private setting her attitude remains consistent:

Mais qu'il ne songe plus, Céphise, à nous venger:
 Nous lui laissons un maître, il le doit ménager,
 Qu'il ait de ses aïeux un souvenir modeste

(1119-21).

1119 answers to Pyrrhus' 327 and may well refer to the same passage of Seneca as does the earlier line, but condensing the hope and the rejection of it into one feeling:

eritne tempus [...]
 quo Troici defensor et *vindex soli*
 recidiva ponas Pergama [...]? sed mei fati memor
 tam magna timeo vota - quod captis sat est,
 vivamus

(*Troades* 470-76)⁷⁶.

⁷⁶ "Will a time ever come...when you, as defender and *avenger of the Trojan land*, will found a Troy renewed....? But remembering my own lot, I fear the greatness of my prayers - let us survive, which is enough for prisoners."

Racine has here, however, applied this idea - giving up hopes of restitution and vengeance if only they may live - to a specific issue of survival: keeping on-side with one's master (the master who in this case would be Astyanax's sole protector and hope). To this extent he is probably, in 1120, again making use of Hecuba's advice to Andromache in Euripides' *Troades*: "τίμα δὲ τὸν παρόντα δεσπότην σέθεν" (699: "Honour your present master...."). That advice had as its main end in view the survival and prosperity of Astyanax; having the advice addressed *to* Astyanax alters the thrust, in that "ménager un maître" now involves the surrender of such ambitions as Hecuba's speech went on to suggest. Finally, 1121 in particular may recall the instructions given by Andromache to her son in the slightly different circumstances of pleading for his life, in Seneca's *Troades* 712ff.: "pone ex animo reges atavos..."⁷⁷, words echoed by Garnier's Andromache in *La Troade*: "Oubliez vostre ayeul..." etc. (1045ff.). Yet there is an important difference: for Racine has Andromaque recommend not 'forgetfulness' but "un souvenir modeste". If Racine's Andromaque is not interested in either revenge or restoration for Troy through her son, she *is* interested in remembrance. We see this in her instructions for Astyanax's 'education':

Fais connaître à mon fils les héros de sa race;
 Autant que tu pourras, conduis-le sur leur trace:
 Dis-lui par quels exploits leurs noms ont éclaté,
 Plutôt ce qu'ils ont fait que ce qu'ils ont été

(1113-6).

Astyanax is both to remember Troy and his kingly ancestors and to fill the rôle of a living reminder of them, by imitating their virtues. This is a largely original thought from Racine, particularly in the emphasis on Astyanax's ancestors' nobility in practice as opposed to mere nobility of rank or blood (1116). Both in her wish that her son should remember his ancestors, and in her wish that he should 're-embodify' them (1114), Andromaque reveals the same basic interest: preservation. It is in this sense that she calls Astyanax "l'espoir des Troyens"- as distinct from the more ambitious meaning behind her predecessors' use of the phrase (Seneca *Troades* 462, Garnier 1083). She may, nonetheless, be simultaneously

⁷⁷ "Put from your heart your royal ancestors," etc.; acknowledgements to Mesnard 1865-73 Vol.III, note on *Andromaque* 1121.

playing on the hopes *Céphise* attaches to the phrase to ensure her *confidente's* fidelity to her instructions.

The second light in which Andromaque views Astyanax is as "le fils d'Hector". Although this has appeared throughout the play as considerably more influential in Andromaque's thinking and feeling than the 'ancestry' element, she devotes far fewer words to it here. The two are, however, closely linked. We see this in her very last reference to the matter: "Il est du sang d'Hector, mais il en est le reste" (1122) - "Hector's blood" being both "her husband's blood" and "the royal blood of Troy". Once again, the ideal of preservation lies behind this line. Notice, however, that if Andromaque is still motivated by a desire to preserve Hector in her son this is no longer something she wants to do for her own sake (as it was, partly, in Seneca (646-8), Garnier (946-8) and Sallebray (p.49)). Keeping Hector alive through Astyanax will very soon no longer be able to touch her, for she will be dead to her son. Preserving Astyanax is, as we have seen, in part something she wishes to do or to be done for Troy; for the rest it may be something she wishes for her husband's sake, or her child's own sake, or both: it is not - by now - something she wishes for herself, "pour nourrir son amour" (656). How far the desire is to be referred to her conjugal love, and how far to her maternal love, is left to be inferred from two crucial couplets.

The first is concerned with the 'remembrance' side of Andromaque's hopes for her son:

Parle-lui tous les jours des vertus de son père
Et quelquefois aussi parle-lui de sa mère
(1117-8).

In 1117 the idea elaborated in 1113-6 of Astyanax being shown, and taught to imitate, the exploits and virtues of "les héros de sa race" is applied to the specific case of Hector's memory. At one level, Andromaque simply wants Hector to live on in his son's memory, to be esteemed and (perhaps) loved by Astyanax as he was by herself. This certainly has something to do with the wish to preserve Hector in Astyanax by ensuring her son is given her husband as an example, but the following reference to herself points beyond that. The couplet as a whole seems to involve a caring *that* her son think of his parents as well as a caring *what* he thinks of them. 1118 recalls Andromache's poignant words to her other son in Euripides:

ὦ τέκνον [...]
 [...] ἦν δ' ὑπεκδράμης μόρον,
 μέμνησο μητρός

(*Andromache* 413-5)⁷⁸.

The simple wish to be remembered by her son (both for what she did and in herself, 1.2.1.4) is echoed in Racine's line; in both cases the 'instruction' is logically superfluous as regards the specific end in view, be it survival, preservation of the royal line, preservation of Hector. In Racine in particular the line pierces through Andromaque's careful arrangement of her son's future with a sudden sense of the sorrow of parting from him, expressed in the wish to still, in a small way, be part of his life. At the last, Racine gives us one of the clearest of the admittedly rare glimpses of unalloyed maternal feeling on Andromaque's part, the third light in which she views him. She cares for Astyanax not just because he is Hector's son but because he is hers.

The second 'conclusive' couplet for assessing the balance of Andromaque's regard for Astyanax comes at the very end of the 'testament' speech:

Et pour ce reste enfin j'ai moi-même, en un jour,
 Sacrifié mon sang, ma haine et mon amour

(1123-4)⁷⁹.

This may relate, like 1046 a scene earlier, to Andromache's statement of sacrifice in Euripides:

ὦ τέκνον, ἢ τεκοῦσά σ', ὡς σὺ μὴ θάνῃς,
 στείχω πρὸς Ἄϊδην

(413-4).

It differs in two ways, however. The first is that the sacrifice is of more than Andromaque's life: it is a double sacrifice of suicide preceded by marriage, the surrender of her "sang" following that of her "haine" and "amour". We may find another link to the Hecuba/Andromache scene in Euripides' *Troades* in "Sacrifié...ma haine et mon amour", in that when the Trojan

⁷⁸ "Dear child...if you escape a fateful end, *remember your mother*, how I endured to die..."

⁷⁹ "O child, I who bore you, so that you may not die, am going down to Hades."

queen urges her daughter-in-law to "honour her present master" and so on (699-700) this would involve a sacrifice of the hostile feelings the latter had earlier mentioned, and that surrender of her former love she had shrunk from:

κεί μὲν παρώσασ' Ἐκτορος φίλον κᾶρα
 πρὸς τὸν παρόντα πόσιν ἀναπτύξω φρένα,
 κακῆ φανοῦμαι τῷ θανόντι· τόνδε δ' αὖ
 στυγοῦσ' ἑμαυτῆς δεσπότηις μισήσομαι

(661-4)⁸⁰.

If Racine drew on this, he has 'tightened up' the idea so that instead of the loose and implied connection between Andromache setting her feelings aside and Astyanax's future we have a connection that has the full rigour of a life-or-death choice. He has then gone further by linking the sacrifice of feeling to the sacrifice of life. We have seen, particularly in III sc,viii, the intensity of the "haine" and "amour" that Andromaque is suppressing in agreeing to marry Pyrrhus; we have caught glimpses, in this scene, of how much the surrender of her life, despite its advantages, may also cost; combining, as it were, the anguish of the *Troades* Andromache with the grief of the *Andromache* heroine. This is a lot to give up for her son; and insofar as it involves the surrender of the feelings both negative and positive based on her love and attachment to Hector and the past, it seems that in the end her love for Astyanax triumphs over all other loves.

But it is not of course quite as simple as that. The second difference from Andromache's statement of sacrifice in *Andromache* 413-4 is the ambivalence of the way the child himself is referred to. This is straightforward in the Greek; but Racine's "ce reste" reminds us once again that Andromaque's love or regard for Astyanax is based on a complex motivation. Astyanax is the "reste" of the "sang d'Hector", which in turn has two possible significances, so that 1123-4 could imply: "I make these sacrifices for the last of the royal breed of Troy", or "I make these sacrifices for all that remains of Hector", and probably implies both at once. And yet "ce reste" may remain partly just a mentonym for "this child, our son". Nonetheless, it appears, in this very last statement of all, that while Andromaque's love, concern and sacrifice for her son have a strong basis of

⁸⁰ "And if, casting aside all thought for dear Hector, I open my heart to my present husband, I shall appear false to him who is dead; if on the other hand I abhor the other, I shall be hated by my master."

simple maternity, they are inseparable from, though not totally conditioned by, her love, concern and sacrifice for Troy and above all Hector.

Andromaque's resolution involves, in her eyes, the temporary sacrifice of her feelings for the past in order to save her son: but at the same time the sacrifice enables that past to live on, though without her, for if Astyanax lives there will be a future for the past, in terms of imitation, preservation and remembrance.

**CHAPTER 6: PRADON'S LA TROADE:
GENERAL INTRODUCTION**

6.1: La Troade and the author's reputation

The final author we are concerned with is Jacques Pradon, contemporary and sometime rival of Racine, who in 1679 - a dozen years after *Andromaque* - produced a play entitled *La Troade*, dealing once more with the fate of Hector's widow and child. Pradon's reputation is not of the highest; the ill-judged attempt to mount a rival play to Racine's *Phèdre* in 1677 has earned him lasting notoriety but scant regard, and as Thomas Bussom put it:

...in the minds of most students of the period his name recalls a ridiculous play of some three months' labor [*Phèdre et Hippolyte*] set up to rival Racine's masterpiece and nothing more

(Bussom 1922, p.67).

Yet in his day Pradon was a moderately successful dramatist; his *Pirame et Thisbé* (1674), *La Troade* (1679) and in particular *Regulus* (1688) seem to have gained no little favour with the public¹.

La Troade, with which we are concerned, has not been reprinted since 1744. It seems to have enjoyed some success when first performed²; and the frères Parfaict, in their *Histoire du Théâtre* of 1747-8 (XII, 140), consider the play, "malgré les défauts", to be "une des plus passables de l'Auteur" and "le rôle d'Andromaque ...assez beau" (quoted Bussom 1922, p.97). The play may merit more attention than it has been favoured with for a number of reasons. Firstly, within the terms of this study, it comes at the end of the series of works portraying Andromache that we have been considering. It develops out of the works preceding it as each had developed from those before them, giving still another new account of Andromache and her story, explored and off-set in a way different from all the others yet owing something to them. In fact *La Troade*, certainly as far as the 17th century is concerned, represents the final stage in the closely interlinked 'chain of inspiration' through which Andromache's literary career has progressed

¹ See Bussom's citations from the *Mercure Galant*, January 1688 p.341, Jan. 1698 p. 268 (Bussom 1922, pp.38, 50).

² Bussom cites the *Mercure Galant* article of Jan. 1679 as giving "the impression that the play attracted some attention" (Bussom 1922, p.32).

since Euripides. The play offers the interest of seeing how far the story has come, and tracing how it got here from its starting point(s). Secondly, *La Troade*, while by no means another *Andromaque*, has some potential despite its contemporary detractors. Returning to the well-travelled ground of the immediate aftermath of the fall of Troy, it is the first play to attempt a true integration of the Andromache/Astyanax and Polyxena stories, constructing a plot where the two interact on each other. In terms of dramatic unity and economy it might thus be considered structurally superior to Sallebray's *La Troade* and indeed arguably to Garnier's *La Troade* or Seneca's *Troades*. It uses many diverse elements taken from other works to bring certain interesting ideas latent in its particular story to fruition: some of these are worked through better than others but they show, I think, that Pradon had some instinct for what could make good theatre. Thirdly, Pradon, like Racine before him, openly claims for this play a debt to Seneca and Euripides in terms that have a bearing on one of the main concerns of this study: the incentive and inspiration that a previous author's work may provide for a new work of the imagination:

...j'ay beaucoup emprunté de Sénèque, et même d'Euripide.
Leurs peintures m'ont paru si belles et si vives qu'en ayant
d'abord traduit quelques unes, cela m'a engagé insensiblement
à faire la pièce entière

(Préface, p.iii).

Like all prefatorial statements this must be handled carefully; but with that proviso it offers a potentially illuminating perspective in which to view *La Troade* and its relationship to its predecessors.

6.2: The sources

6.2.1: Evidence

It is necessary first to establish with which of his predecessors' works Pradon was in direct contact. The basic framework of Pradon's plot is that of Seneca's *Troades*, and of Garnier's and Sallebray's *La Troade* plays in so far as they follow Seneca's plot. The often very close correspondence between those three works makes it difficult to disentangle the influence of each from that of the others; but it is at any rate clear that Pradon does owe something to all three.

Sallebray's *La Troade* appears to be a secondary source used to furnish details rather than a primary contributor to the main outlines of the play; distinctive verbal echoes are therefore rare, though certain correspondences of ideas will emerge in the course of the discussion (see e.g. 7.1.4, p.355). Seneca's *Troades* is, as we have seen, claimed by Pradon as a primary source. It is doubtful whether the Latin work really takes precedence over Garnier's close adaptation as the main source of the plot, but the alleged debt is well-supported from the text. Consider, for example, Pyrrhus' defiant shaft delivered to Ulysse: "Achille seul prit Troye, et vous l'avez détruite" (p.32), echoing that of Seneca's Pyrrhus to Agamemnon: "Ilium vicit pater,/ vos diruistis" (*Troades* 235-6: "My father conquered Troy, you merely plundered it"). As for Garnier, Pradon does not claim him as a source; but the older *La Troade* has undoubtedly contributed:

Au superbe tombeau que Priam fist construire,
Que l'ennemy respecte et qu'il n'ose détruire
(Pradon, p.37),

echoing Garnier's:

Le sépulchre est icy, que Priam fist construire
[...] on ne l'ose détruire,
L'ennemy le révère...
(693-5),

is only one of many instances proving the point. In fact it is probable, despite Pradon's statement in his preface that: "J'ay suivi l'ordre de Sénèque, qui a compris l'*Hécube* et la *Troade* [sic] d'Euripide dans [sa pièce]", that he really followed Garnier in the first instance for his plot outline. Pradon's fuller treatment of the Polyxena story at least probably derives from Garnier (who follows Euripides' *Hecuba* in the length and prominence accorded it) rather than from Seneca's more compressed version in *Troades* (where Polyxena has no speaking part).

If Pradon returns to the somewhat well-worn *Troades* plot, he has not neglected Racine's more original treatment of the Andromache story as a source of ideas for his own innovations. Somewhat ironically, Pradon pays Racine the sincerest of all homage in imitating a great deal from *Andromaque* (and not, as with *Phèdre et Hippolyte*, in a context of direct

competition). The correlations of idea and plot will be discussed later; here it will suffice to demonstrate the relationship with one example from the text. Pradon's Pyrrhus comments approvingly of Andromaque:

A peine, à peine mesme alors que je la voy
Ses superbes regards daignent tomber sur moy [...]
Son orgueil et le mien s'accordent bien ensemble
(p.16)

where Racine's Pyrrhus had commented (less than approvingly, admittedly):

Daigne-t-elle sur nous tourner au moins la vue?
Quel orgueil!
(898-9).

Clearly, the fact that Pradon does not admit a particular work as having contributed to his own is not a trustworthy indication that it did not.

This consideration is worth bearing in mind when we consider Pradon's possible debt to the works of Euripides, which present the most difficult case. In his preface Pradon mentions Euripides' *Troades* and *Hecuba*, which would be the natural plays for him to consult given the story he chooses to treat. By the same token it is natural that there should be no mention of *Andromache*. How far is either positive statement or silence to be trusted? While we have enough information on Pradon and his life³ to know that he was trained as a lawyer and could therefore presumably claim a good education, nothing tells us for certain whether his acquaintance with Greek was sufficient for him to be inspired by Homer and Euripides in the original. Pradon does, however, refer to his knowledge of Greek in the preface to *La Troade* (6.1). Although it is wise to be wary of taking prefatorial claims for ancient inspiration at face value, it is unlikely that Pradon is telling an outright lie in saying that he had "traduit quelques-unes [des peintures de Sénèque et d'Euripide]", a statement necessarily implying a certain command of both Latin and Greek which we have no reason to disbelieve. We should, however, have to rely on direct textual evidence to ascertain *which* of Euripides' plays Pradon had consulted and drew on in composing *La Troade*. As regards *Hecuba*, it almost impossible to distill

³ Documented in Bussom 1922.

evidence of direct and distinctive textual echoes of the Greek play out of the great volume of material Pradon owes to Garnier's close adaptation of Euripides in the Polyxena/Hecuba component of *his La Troade*. The case of *Troades*, which overall Garnier adapts less closely, is a little easier to tackle: of passages which are definitely distinguishable from anything else in the tangled mass of source material we are dealing with, we may here cite two that might claim to derive from this later Greek play. Firstly there is the admonition of Pradon's Hésione as she recalls Andromaque from her grief over Hector to the present interests of her son:

Ah Ciel! que faites-vous rapellant vos douleurs
Hélas! vous vous noyez vous-mesme dans vos pleurs
(p.39)

as compared to this of Euripides' Hecuba to Andromache in analogous circumstances:

ἀλλ', ὦ φίλη παῖ, τὰς μὲν Ἑκτορος τύχας
ἔασον· οὐ μὴ δάκρυά νιν σώσῃ τὰ σά
(*Troades*, 697-8)⁴.

Secondly, the following words of Pradon's Andromaque:

Et si du fier Pyrrhus je demandois l'appuy
Hector défavouroit Andromaque aujourd'huy
(p.10)

may correspond to those of her Greek ancestor:

κεῖ μὲν παρώσασ' Ἑκτορος φίλον κᾶρα
πρὸς τὸν παρόντα πόσιν ἀναπτύξω φρένα,
κακὴ φανούμαι τῷ θανόντι
(*Troades*, 661-3)⁵

While neither of these is a *close* verbal echo, and neither by itself is conclusive, they may be sufficient to back up Pradon's claim for direct

⁴ "But, dear child, leave the misfortunes of Hector be; your tears cannot save him..."

⁵ "And if, thrusting aside dear Hector, I open my heart to my present husband, I shall appear to him who is dead as a traitor" (see [1.3.2.4](#)).

acquaintance with and use of Euripides' *Troades*, at least, in the composition of *La Troade*.

It is, though, for the play that Pradon does not mention, *Andromache*, that there is the best textual evidence for a specific and immediate link. In the 'tomb scene', Pradon gives his Andromaque the following outburst against Ulysse:

O! subtil artisan de la fraude et du crime,
 Qui voulois d'un enfant te faire une victime,
 Contre son père mort t'oses-tu hazarder,
 Toy, qui n'osas jamais vivant le regarder?
 (p.44).

The general lines of this outburst are by now familiar (see [2.1.3.2](#), [2.3.1.1](#)); but the specific idea of the last two lines may parallel a detail from Andromache's diatribe against Menelaos in *Andromache* 446-59:

Σπάρτης ἔνοικοι, δόλια βουλευτήρια,
 ψευδῶν ἄνακτες, μηχανορράφοι κακῶν [...]
 πόσις θ' ὁ κλεινός, ὅς σε πολλάκις δορὶ
 ναύτην ἔθηκεν ἀντὶ χερσαίου κακόν.
 νῦν δ' εἰς γυναῖκα γοργὸς ὀπλίτης φανεῖς⁶

The scornful contrast between her antagonist's ability to stand up to Hector in his prime and their willingness to attack him or his in their present defenceless state is the same in both cases, though the parallel is not exact. This correspondence distinguishes the *Andromache* passage from the other possible sources for the invective in general: Garnier's *La Troade* 1067-8, Sallebray *La Troade* p.49, and in particular Seneca's *Troades* 750-56 (see table at Figure [7.1.4\(a\)](#))⁷.

Clear instances of a direct debt owed by Pradon to Euripides in precise verbal terms are, admittedly, not very common. There are, however, several important similarities in the broader terms of ideas and scene

⁶ " dwellers in Sparta, counsellors of deceit, lords of lies, manufacturers of evil.....; my famed husband, who many times with his spear drove you in cowardly flight to your ship. But now, appearing as a fearsome warrior against a woman [or, just possibly, "his wife"?]..."

⁷ The *Andromache* passage may well be the original source of all these; both Garnier's and Sallebray's passages derive from Seneca's invective, which shows very close links with the words of Euripides' heroine ([2.1.3.2](#)). It is possible, as argued in [3.1.1](#), that Sallebray's passage also reveals direct contact with Euripides.

structure. And there is much more that Pradon owes to Euripides at one, two or several more removes through the 'chain of inspiration'. This is the cardinal point about Euripides' influence on Pradon. After all, by this stage Pradon has behind him so many writers who have directly adapted or echoed Euripides that it is scarcely surprising that what he may owe directly to Greek literature is often indistinguishable from what he may equally well owe directly to its adaptations.

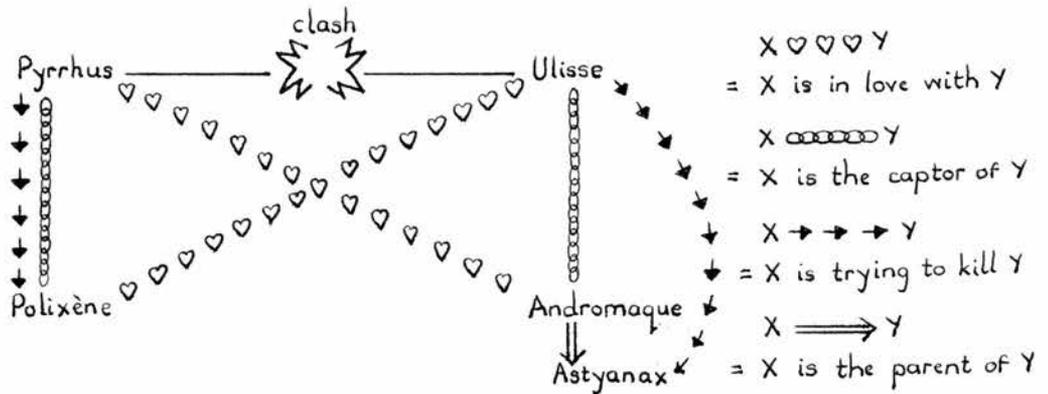
6.2.2: The sources: Elements of the plot

The next question is the use Pradon has made of his sources, first of all in the broad terms of plot and situation. The action of Pradon's plot centres around the concealment and death of Astyanax, Hector's son, and the sacrifice of Polyxena, both probably modelled in the first instance on the equivalent episodes in Garnier's *La Troade* (derived from Seneca and Euripides respectively). In Garnier and Seneca, Andromache was the central figure of the former action, Hecuba of the latter. Pradon keeps Andromaque centre-stage in the Astyanax plot, centering that plot on the Senecan 'tomb-scene' but deviating from Seneca, Garnier and Sallebray in situating this away from the tomb and thus removing Astyanax from sight. Much of what was 'acted out' in previous versions is thus represented here in reported action and speech. Pradon then extends Andromaque's rôle by adding a presentation of her aversion to Pyrrhus in her first scene (I sc.iii). The scene, taking the form of a conversation between herself and Hécube, is strongly reminiscent of the Andromache-Hecuba exchanges in Euripides' *Troades* (568-705, esp.634-705). At the same time we must concede the possibility that Pradon could have gleaned the material for this solely from Racine's *Andromaque*: Hécube's rôle is reminiscent of Céphise's (just as Céphise's was strongly reminiscent of the Greek Hecuba's), so the element could as well be a second-hand derivation through Racine from Euripides⁸ as a direct derivation from the Greek itself.

To this, Pradon adds the element of Pyrrhus' passion for Andromaque; this at least is definitely derived in the first instance from Racine. Pradon uses this as the starting point for knitting his two plots together. If Polyxena's and Astyanax's fates are to react dramatically on each other, it must be possible for each to precipitate or prevent the other. In Garnier and Seneca (and Sallebray), it is Pyrrhus who is responsible for demanding the sacrifice of Polyxena, Ulysses who is the chief mover in the

⁸ See 4.2.

detection and death of Astyanax. Pradon, taking this situation, and Pyrrhus' desire to save Astyanax in the service of Andromaque, as the basis of his plot, completes the *quadrille* by ascribing to Ulisse an equal desire to save Polixène, and tightens up the plot structure by having Andromaque and her son the allotted captives of their persecutor Ulisse, and Polixène that of *her* persecutor Pyrrhus. This alters the previously consistent tradition by which Andromache was Pyrrhus' allotted or chosen captive, but brings the conflict into sharper focus by giving Pyrrhus and Ulisse no direct control over the fate of their beloved object but absolute control over the fate of the 'bargaining counter' each holds against the other.



The central conflict serving as the catalyst for the plot thus becomes that between Pyrrhus and Ulisse (as opposed to that between Andromaque and Pyrrhus in *Andromaque*). Pradon builds the enactment of this conflict around a transposition of the Pyrrhus-Agamemnon quarrel scenes in Seneca and Garnier, supplemented by attitudes and insults drawn from other related clashes in the French *Iphigénie* plays, such as those between Ulysse and Achille in Rotrou and Leclerc and between Agamemnon and Achille in those two and in Racine. He also possibly adds reminiscences of the Achilles of ancient literature.

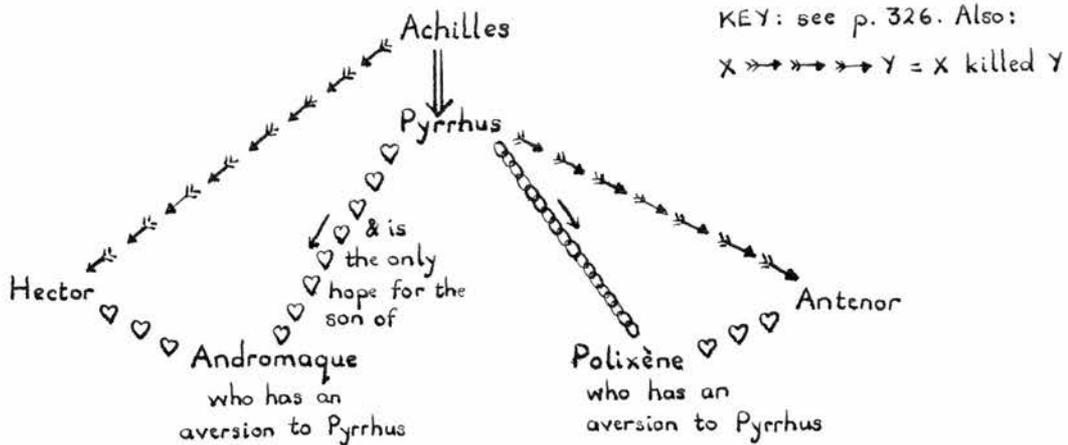
Like Garnier and Seneca (and Euripides) before him, Pradon frames all this with the experience and commentary of the Trojan queen, Hecuba. She opens, closes and interjects the play with her laments (as in Greek and Latin *Troades* and Garnier's *La Troade*); advises her daughter-in-law Andromaque (as in Euripides' *Troades*); pleads with Pyrrhus for Polixène's life (as in Euripides' *Hecuba* - though there it was with Odysseus - and Garnier's *La Troade*). Sallebray, we may remember, made Cassandre his 'continuity character': Pradon, while eliminating her part, supplements Hécube's rôle with scenes reminiscent of her daughter's rôle in the earlier play - notably her supplication of Pyrrhus on Astyanax's behalf (III sc. vi and

vii, balancing Sallebray's II sc.v (end) and III sc.iii). This gives him the opportunity for some effective irony both in Hécube's unconsciousness of the mortal danger the threat to Astyanax is likely to bring on her own child Polixène, and in the fact that, as the only counter Pyrrhus has to bargain with for Astyanax's safety is Polixène's life, when Hécube begs for his help she is actually inviting a threat to her daughter.

Although Hécube remains as active and important in the Polyxena story as she has always been, Pradon has given to Polixène a greater prominence than hitherto. In Euripides and Garnier, although Polyxena's heroism and solicitude for her mother gave her no little status and prominence within the drama, she appeared only in one scene, in which Hecuba took the more active part⁹. In Sallebray, Polixène's part is considerably cut, and reduced in impact, by the virtual removal of her chance to brave her executioner with her acceptance of death. In Seneca her part, within a treatment of her story already much compressed, is limited to a silent presence and the reports of other characters. Pradon not only restores her importance in the climactic scenes with Pyrrhus and Hécube, but also extends her part throughout the rest of the play: partly through her concern for Astyanax and Andromaque, partly through the presentation of Ulisse's suit to her, but most strikingly of all by a deepening of her motivation and experience through the innovation of an active aversion to Pyrrhus of her own. Pyrrhus, we learn in I sc.ii, had killed in battle and in Polixène's sight the young Trojan, Antenor, with whom she was in love. This puts Polixène in the plight suffered by Andromache elsewhere: captive to a man stained with the blood of the man she had loved. Polixène's aversion has a more straightforward motivation than Andromache's, since in the latter's case it was Pyrrhus' father, not himself, who was the actual killer. On the other hand, Polixène is spared the yet crueller irony of facing Pyrrhus as lover or physical possessor, as Andromache had. Despite these differences, it seems clear that Pradon conceived this aspect of his Polixène as a 'doubling' of Andromaque's position as portrayed in Racine's *Andromaque* (see [7.4.1](#)). Thus, superimposed on the *quadrille* framework

⁹ In Garnier Polyxena has 34 lines as opposed to Hecuba's 60 1/2, in Euripides 64 as against Hecuba's 97; in both plays it might be fair to say that as a whole they are chiefly concerned with the effect of the events on Hecuba.

outlined on p.326, centering on the physical danger arising from the captors' passion, is this other schema of emotional or psychological pressures and conflicts:



In all this, the only elements that Pradon has *totally* invented for himself are the existence of Antenor as Polixène's lover, and the love of Ulysse for Polixène; but out of his combination of a number of elements, ideas and suggestions from other plays, he has forged a unified plot of much potential interest.

6.3: Plot construction: the effect on Pradon's portrayal of Andromaque

What is the effect of this refashioning of the plot on the presentation of Andromaque's story? First of all, it means that the conflict between Pyrrhus and Andromaque that was at the heart of Racine's play is no longer central to the action. Pyrrhus has no direct power over Andromaque and her son: he may grant help to Astyanax or withhold it, but does not have the final say in the boy's life or death. Thus he may seek to advance his cause with Andromaque by service but not by threats. A conflict between the two is still sketched in as a potential part of the situation, by Hécube then Andromaque in I sc.i and iii, and by Pyrrhus in I sc.vi; but this is swallowed up in the Pyrrhus/Ulysse conflict, and Andromaque's resistance collapses in the face of her son's peril. Nor does Pyrrhus try to make capital out of Astyanax's danger by driving a bargain. Pradon, then, seems to be interested in the psychological idiosyncracies of the relations between the two, but not in bringing the latent possibilities of conflict to a head. This is because, were he to do so, his plot would collapse. Conflict between Ulysse and Pyrrhus depends on Pyrrhus doing something to avert the fate of Astyanax; if Pyrrhus did nothing, which as things stand would be all he

could threaten Andromaque with if she were to resist him, there would be no plot. Even a scene of argument would be misplaced. In Racine, Pyrrhus and Andromaque were at leisure to argue since nothing could happen to Astyanax until Pyrrhus gave the word; in Pradon, with Astyanax in Ulisse's hands, every moment Pyrrhus and Andromaque spend in argument would be a moment lost, and the situation would verge on the absurd.

This forces a choice between the plot as Pradon seems to have wanted it, and the clear dramatic potential of adapting Racine's powerful rendition of the Pyrrhus-Andromaque relationship. Racine had combined elements from Euripides and Seneca to create a conflict within his *Andromaque* (5.2.3.4), between the psychological threat to her loyalty to Hector on the one hand and the immediate physical threat to her son on the other, and had made this the heart of Andromaque's clash with Pyrrhus, the dramatic centre of the play. Pradon retains the essence of this refined version of Andromaque's conflict of loyalties, but declines to apply it with the full rigour of his contemporary. We are given a view of Andromaque's determination not to treat with Pyrrhus in Act I and are allowed to believe for a time that conflict may flare up over this, but the flame of potential conflict flickers then dies in III sc.i and IV sc.iii. To develop such a conflict fully is simply incompatible with Pradon's plot. As things stand, the conflict does rather fizzle out; on the other hand, Pradon's exploitation of the conflict in Andromaque's rôle is often both interesting and effective. But as Andromaque is in fact never asked to surrender her loyalty to Hector in this respect, the pathos and emotional power of her position *vis-à-vis* Pyrrhus are dimmed. Our sense of her suffering is further blunted by her being spared allocation to Pyrrhus, so that even as she talks of her aversion in I sc.iii it is mostly as a retrospective horror avoided, not as an anticipated anguish to be faced with dread. This being so, Pradon has to return to the practice of Sallebray and Garnier, and rely on the less original and more concrete conflict of loyalties inherent in the Senecan tomb scene to raise Andromaque's rôle to its emotional and emotive heights. How successfully he does this will be one of the questions to examine in our detailed analysis of Andromaque's part.

The second major effect of Pradon's reshuffling of the plot on the presentation of Andromaque arises from the increased prominence of Polixène. It was said at 3.2.4.1 that whenever Andromache's story is presented alongside Polyxena's, we have to ask ourselves whether the prominence afforded to one affects the attention we give to the other. In

Pradon, the expansions and deepening of Polixène's rôle, particularly where these mirror traits in the experience of Andromaque herself, mean that Andromaque must share the limelight with her sister-in-law in a way she has never shared it with any other character (except to some extent Sallebray's Cassandre), since both are on many occasions regarded in the same light, as victims under a similar fate. Furthermore, the plot so closely intertwines Polixène's story with Andromaque's that they inevitably invite comparison. Both young princesses have lost a lover in the ruin of Troy; both as a result have a deep emotional repugnance for Achilles' son; both are pursued by the love of one of their captors; and if Polixène seems slightly more fortunate in this than Andromaque, since her suitor is not the man she particularly shrinks from, Andromaque is more fortunate in that she has been spared enslavement to the object of her aversion. In scenes ii and iii of Act I we hear first Polixène's account of her dread of Pyrrhus, then Andromaque's: and since Polixène laments as actually to be endured what Andromaque talks of as a horror escaped, it is likely that our sympathy for Andromaque will be modified in comparison. Moreover Polixène's qualities as they are presented *throughout* the play of devotion, courage, solicitude and a general effacement of self demand to share the attention and sympathy of the audience with Andromaque: much as the qualities of Sallebray's Cassandre propelled her to a rank in the audience's regard at least equal to that of Astyanax's mother. And both young women, of course, stand in peril: Polixène of her own life, Andromaque of losing her son's. This does introduce a difference. Andromaque's suffering is as a mother, Polixène's is on her own account - and there is a very real sense in which this suffering of early death is welcome to her. It is Hécube who will most suffer from Polixène's death; and this brings us to a second point about the effect of the intertwining of plots.

It has generally been true throughout the literary careers of Hecuba and Andromache that the maternal sufferings of the older and the younger mother have not intruded upon each other: with two minor exceptions¹⁰, at any given time only one or the other will have been placed in the spotlight, not both. In Pradon, however, the interlinking of the two deaths within the plot creates moments when the way we feel about Hécube's situation has a significant effect on the way we feel about Andromaque's (and vice versa). This is particularly telling in III sc.vii, where Hécube pleads with Pyrrhus to

¹⁰ A very short passage at the beginning of Act IV of Garnier's *La Troade* (about 20 lines) and the brief IV sc.ii of Sallebray's *La Troade* (24 lines).

rescue Astyanax only to receive as his response the new blow of the threat to Polixène, and IV sc.iii, where Andromaque's joyful hope that Astyanax may be saved contrasts painfully with Hécube's anxiety for her own daughter, the more so as Andromaque seems both uninformed and unconscious of Hécube's plight. Audience response is further complicated by the plot arrangement that makes each threatened death hasten on the other. We see this at moments such as III sc.iv, when Ulysse, leaving a distraught Andromaque in order to go and seize her son, justifies himself to Polixène on the grounds that this is necessary to save *her* life; or IV sc.vi, when Pyrrhus, having softened in the face of Polixène's bravery, is driven by an urgent intimation from Andromaque of her son's danger to a renewed determination to take the girl to the altar. Thus it is not always possible to respond to Andromaque's plight (or to Polixène's or Hécube's) with the undivided sympathy it invited in plays where at any one time the drama of impending death or bereavement had a single focus.

Dramatically, this conflict of sympathies is highly effective. It does, however, modify the overall impact of Andromaque's rôle. When at the end of Act III Hécube is brought to realise the full situation, and her daughter's peril, we notice, as in her speech in IV sc.i, that her sympathies naturally swing slightly away from her grandson Astyanax in favour of her concern for her daughter. And, in fact, from this point on, the audience's sympathy *is* more strongly invited for Polixène's and Hécube's situation. From this point on, the pathetic force of Andromaque's rôle fades slightly and she herself begins to disappear from the main action. In her next and final appearance (IV sc.iii: see [7.2.1.1](#)), she enters and converses in a mood of hopeful confidence. Although there is irony here in the sense that these hopes are to be dashed, and her lines are by no means devoid of pathos, the main focus of the irony is on the contrast with Hécube's painful despair, and it the pathos of the latter's situation that is likely most forcibly to strike us. After this scene, the stage, as far as the Trojan women are concerned, is left to Polixène and her mother, throughout all that remains of Act IV and most of Act V. Not that sympathy is *discouraged* for Andromaque: far from it. But from here on she is no longer present before our eyes to bring home her tragedy to us. Although Pradon gives her one last reported scene in which the full pathos of her position as mother returns (V sc.v), the main tragic and dramatic focus until the final catastrophe is concentrated on the other mother, and her daughter, who act out their story before us to the end.

Within this complex of competing sympathies, Pradon presents a Polixène whose own sympathies are firmly devoted to the other side:

Au malheur d'Andromaque elle donne des larmes,
Sa secourable main veut essayer ses pleurs...

(p.55).

Undoubtedly Pradon is exploiting Polixène's ignorance of her danger for the fruitful dramatic irony it contributes¹¹; by extension, his description of Polixène's sympathy for Astyanax is also intended as part of this overall irony: "Elle...ne sçait pas/ Que celui qu'elle plaint va causer son trépas" (p.55). But Polixène does have some intimation of her danger (see III sc.iv-v, pp.47-8), and under these conditions is portrayed with a certain amount of selfless heroism, praying that Astyanax may be protected even at her expense (p.48). This degree and quality of regard for others is not a part of Pradon's portrayal of Andromaque (though she is certainly willing to sacrifice herself for her son), and at this point, though our sympathy certainly goes out to Andromaque, our warmest admiration is likely to be claimed by Polixène. This stems from a particular positive quality involved in Pradon's conception of Polixène rather than from a negative quality in his portrayal of Andromaque, who has plenty of opportunity to claim our admiration as well as our sympathy on other grounds. Nonetheless, the comparison between them on this point should lead us to realise that Andromaque, her experience and her character are not the only focus of Pradon's interest, and that there may be at least as much interest in Polixène. In considering Andromaque's part in Pradon's play, all of these factors arising out of his arrangement of the play as a whole need to be kept in mind.

¹¹ This is evident from her ensuing conversation with Hécube in IV sc.ii.

CHAPTER 7: PRADON'S *LA TROADE* DETAILED DISCUSSION

We may now analyse in detail Pradon's portrayal of Andromaque. The subject divides into a number of headings according to the various relationships by which Andromaque's experience is defined, and those which influence her portrayal in dramatic terms. In the first category come the relationships with Hector and Astyanax, and that with Pyrrhus. In the second category comes the dramatic relationship with Polixène outlined above. The examination of the rôle of Pradon's sources in the play will proceed according to the order of enquiry laid down in chapter 3:

- (a) to consider aspects taken over directly from previous writers, noting any variations that give new touches or different emphases to the picture;
- (b) to consider aspects of Pradon's portrayal showing larger-scale innovation in the basic story he adopts, attempting to ascertain where he has used ideas or suggestions in earlier writers as a starting point;
- (c) to attempt an assessment of the overall presentation of Andromaque in each respect, noting particular differences from previous portrayals, and considering how this presentation affects and is affected by the dramatic structure and impact of the play in its entirety.

7.1: Andromaque and Hector

Seneca, in *Troades*, revealed Andromache's relationship with Hector through a number of dramatic elements: the lament for his death, the apparition of his ghost, the appeal to Hector's shade for help, the devotion to and struggle to save his tomb. These remained more-or-less constant in both Garnier's and Sallebray's adaptations of Seneca's plot. Of these, Pradon discards the apparition as part of a deliberate rearrangement (see [7.1.2](#), [7.1.3](#) below), but retains the lament, the appeal and the tomb component. Each element as he renders it reveals important alterations.

7.1.1: Andromaque: invocation of Hector

Andromaque's appeals or statements of entrustment to her dead husband derive from a tradition, beginning with Euripides, of Andromache appealing to her husband beyond the tomb. The progressive instances of this developing tradition can be compared in [Figure 7.1.1](#).

Figure 7.1.1: Calling on Hector beyond the tomb¹

WORK	QUOTATION
Euripides' <i>Andromache</i>	1) ὦ πόσις, πόσις, εἴθε σὰν χεῖρα καὶ δόρυ σύμμαχον κτησαίμαν, Πριάμου παῖ ² (523-5)
Euripides' <i>Troades</i>	2) μόλοις, ὦ πόσις, μοι [...] σᾶς δάμαρτος ἄλκαρ ³ (587-90) 3) οὐκ εἶσιν Ἔκτωρ κλεινὸν ἀρπάσας δόρυ, γῆς ἐξανελθῶν σοὶ φέρων σωτηρίαν ⁴ (752-3) 4) φροῦδος, μετ' αὐτοῦ δ' Ἀνδρομάχη, [...] πάτραν τ' ἀναστένουσα καὶ τὸν Ἔκτορος τύμβον προσεννέπουσα ⁵ (1130-33)
Virgil's <i>Aeneid</i> 3	5) libabat cineri Andromache manisque vocabat Hectoreum ad tumulum ⁶ (303-4)
Seneca's <i>Troades</i>	6) qui semper, etiam nunc tuos, Hector, tuere: coniugis furtum piae serva et fideli cinere victurum excipe ⁷ (500-02) 7) Dehisce tellus, tuque, coniunx, ultimo specu revulsam scinde tellurem et Stygis sinu profundo conde depositum meum ⁸ (519-21) 8) ..rumpe fatorum moras, molire terras, Hector, ut Ulixem domes, vel umbra satis es - arma concussit manu, iaculatur ignes - cernitis, Danaï, Hectorem? ⁹ (681-4)

¹ For a discussion of this 'tradition' up until Racine, see 5.1.3.1, pp.239-40.

² "My husband, my husband, would that I might have your strong arm and helping spear, son of Priam."

³ "Would that you might come to me, husband...your wife's defender."

⁴ "Hector will not come to you, snatching up his famous spear and rising up out of the earth..."

⁵ "...he has gone, and with him Andromache,...bemoaning her fatherland and calling on Hector's tomb by name."

⁶ "Andromache was pouring a libation to Hector's ashes and calling on his spirit at his cenotaph."

⁷ "You who always watched over your family, watch over us even now, Hector: keep safe the stolen treasure of your loving wife, and with trusty ashes welcome him so that he may live."

⁸ "Earth, open up, and you, my husband, rend the earth away from its farthest cavern and bury my dear treasure in the deep gulf of Styx."

⁹ "Break down the barrier of the fates, heave up the earth, Hector: to defeat Ulysses a shade is enough - he brandished his weapons in his hand, he is hurling firebrands - Greeks, do you see Hector?"

Garnier's *La Troade*

9) Toy, toy, vaillant Hector, qui les tiens as
tousjours
Des Grégeois défendus, vien nous donner
secours.
Garde le cher larcin de ta femme piteuse,
Et sauve ton enfant en ta tombe cendreuse
(723-6)

10) Que la terre ne s'ouvre et l'Enfer ne se fend
Pour enclorre en son sein le corps de mon
enfant!
Sus, Hector, lève toy, fay séparer la terre
Dessous Astyanax, puis soudain la resserre
(743-6)

11) Sors, Hector, lève toy du plutonique gouffre;
Vien défendre ton corps de ce laertien:
Ton ombre suffira...
(994-6)

Sallebray's *La Troade*

12) Mais de ce même amour le cher et noble gage,
Dieux des sombres manoirs et des lieux
aszurés,
Et vous mânes d'Hector saintement reverés,
Jettés icy les yeux, songés à le deffendre
(p.47)

13) Ha revien des enfers mon genereux époux,
Quand ces fiers ennemis seroient en plus
grand nombre,
Pour deffendre ton corps il ne faut que ton
ombre
(p.50)

Racine's *Andromaque*

14) Allons sur son tombeau consulter mon époux
(1048)

15) Voilà de mon amour l'innocent stratagème:
Voilà ce qu'un époux m'a commandé lui-même
(1097-8)

Pradon's *La Troade*

16) Mon fils, je te remets dans les mains de ton
père,
Si ce Héros te sauve au nom de nostre amour,
Une seconde fois tu luy devras le jour
(p.37)

17) O Dieux! Ciel..ou plutôt l'ombre de mon
époux,
Pour cacher vostre fils faites fendre la terre
Et que son vaste sein aussi-tost se resserre
(p.40)

18). Ah! sors du gouffre sombre
Pour défendre ta cendre il suffit de ton ombre,
Cher époux, ou plutôt viens défendre ton fils
(p.46)

Thus, while Pradon's direct verbal debts appear to be to Seneca, Garnier and Sallebray, at the level of ideas there is an *indirect* debt, through the chain of inspiration, to Euripides. Pradon's adaptations of this motif, while verbally among the closest to his sources, involve subtle variations in the attitude they convey. Andromaque's breathless prayer as Ulysse enters in III sc.ii:

O Dieux! Ciel...ou plutôt ombre de mon époux,
 Pour cacher vostre fils faites fendre la terre,
 Et que son vaste sein aussi-tost se resserre
 (*La Troade*, p.40)

comes more-or-less straight from Garnier (*La Troade*, 743-6 see Figure 7.1.1, no.10) and Seneca (*Troades* 519-21; Figure 7.1.1 no.7). Pradon introduces, however, a slight but telling twist by transferring the burden of the whole prayer onto Hector in an opening line drawn from a different passage of Seneca's:

testor immites deos,
deosque veros coniugis manes mei
 (*Troades*, 644-5)¹⁰.

Like Seneca's Andromache, Pradon's Andromaque in calling on the heavenly powers and then on her husband finds the latter more trustworthy; but she goes further and rejects her first appeal in favour of one to Hector: "Ciel...ou plutôt ombre de mon époux". This is distinct from the general 'toning down' of the 'divine' and supernatural elements of the story in this play: here the reference to the heavenly powers is not omitted but deliberately set off against the reference to Hector. The general effect is to underline the depth of Andromaque's trust in Hector: while not introducing a new sentiment the passage effectively heightens the expression of one we have met before in its sources.

In a similar case are the words with which Andromaque commits her son to his hiding-place.

Mon fils, je te remets dans les mains de ton père,
 Si ce héros te sauve au nom de nostre amour,
 Une seconde fois tu luy devras le jour,

¹⁰ "I call the merciless gods to witness, and the true gods, spirits of my dead husband..."

Que si par un destin à ta mère funeste
 Les Grecs d'un si beau sang veulent prendre le reste,
 Cet illustre tombeau te peut servir encor
 A réunir ta cendre avec celle d'Hector
 (p.37).

The balancing of two possible outcomes derives from Seneca:

sanctas parentis conditi sedes age
 aude subire. fata si mios iuvant,
 habes salutem; fata si vitam negant,
 habes sepulcrum
 (*Troades*, 509-12)¹¹,

probably via Garnier:

Là, si des immortels la haine est assouvie
 Et leur plaist nous aider, vous sauvez vostre vie.
 Que si le malheur dure et veut que vous mourez,
 Dans ce larval sépulchre un tombeau vous aurez
 (*La Troade*, 737-40)

and Sallebray:

Là, si des Immortels la haine est assouvie,
 Tu sauves tes parents, ton Empire et ta vie,
 Là, si leur cruauté te persecute encor,
 Tu mourras pour le moins entre les bras d'Hector
 (*La Troade*, p.38: Cassandre).

Pradon's passage may show a particular correspondence with the Sallebray passage: compare "dans les mains de ton père" with "entre les bras d'Hector". Pradon, however, applies the phrase in a sense of positive protection: Andromaque couches the 'positive' alternative in terms of Hector coming to the rescue. Moreover, Pradon's choice of expression emphasises the 'romantic' side

¹¹ "Come, resolve to enter the holy burial place of your father. If the fates support the unfortunate, you will have survival; if the fates deny a path, you will have burial."

of the question: "Si ce héros te sauve *au nom de notre amour*". This may owe something to Racine's rendition of Hector's last words to Andromaque:

Je te laisse mon fils pour gage de ma foi...
Si d'un heureux hymen la mémoire t'est chère,
Montre au fils à quel point tu chérissais le père
(*Andromaque*, 1023, 1025-6);

or to the lines of Sallebray on which Racine himself possibly drew (*La Troade* p.47: Fig. 7.1.1 no.12). But while the idea of Hector's feeling for *Andromache* being a motive for his saving Astyanax has been hovering under the surface in most portrayals, and is implied perhaps particularly in Sallebray and in Seneca (500-2, 519-21), Pradon's line expresses this idea clearly for the first time. Like the touches added to Sallebray's account of Hector's apparition to his wife (3.2.1.1), such a line lays a slightly increased emphasis on the romantic feeling between husband and wife - there it was from Andromaque's side, here from both: Hector's in the first instance, but Andromaque's also in that she names this the basis of her expectation.

The final passage in this category of 'appeals for help' is Andromaque's desperate appeal when the destruction of Hector's tomb is about to commence.

Ah! sors du gouffre sombre
Pour défendre ta cendre il suffit de ton ombre,
Cher époux, ou plutôt viens défendre ton fils
(p.46).

At first sight this appears to be a simple transference of the prayers in Sallebray (*La Troade*, p.50; Fig. 7.1.1, no.13) and Garnier (994-6, Fig. 7.1.1, no.11). Neither in these two passages, however, nor in that from whence they derive, Seneca's *Troades* 681-3 (Fig. 7.1.1, no.8), is there any mention of the child; at this point attention is on Andromache's (and thus Hector's) defence of the tomb. Pradon, while keeping the neat antithesis: "Pour défendre ta cendre il suffit de ton ombre" and the expression of pride in her husband the motif supplies, again alters the conclusion to switch attention back from the tomb to the child: "ou plutôt viens défendre ton fils". This may have something to do with the fact that Pradon's Andromaque is perfectly aware, probably from the start, that it is not a case of *choosing between* the tomb and the child because the destruction of the former necessarily entails the destruction of the latter (7.1.4, below).

Nonetheless, the line does reassert, at this juncture, the prior importance of Astyanax as the object to be saved - not just from Andromaque's point of view but from Hector's, as she perceives it.

The pride and trust in Hector of Pradon's *Andromaque* are unchanged from Sallebray, Garnier and Seneca, from whom he derives most of her expressions of it in this scene. But there is a heightened impression of an exclusive confidence in him (as opposed to the gods or fate), and a sense that Andromaque's view of his rôle is more integrally centred on their son than has hitherto been the case.

7.1.2: Andromaque and Hector: Lament

All the literary presentations of Andromache examined have included a lament for the death of Hector, and Pradon's is no exception. His lament comes in III sc.i, and is delivered to the Trojan *confidente* Hésione (p.39). The lament derives originally from that of Andromache over her husband's body in *Iliad* 24.723-45; but Pradon's version could equally well derive from Garnier's close adaptation of the Homeric passage in *La Troade* 591-628). On the structural level, whereas in Homer the passage was part of a formal setting of general mourning, and in Garnier the lament was more-or-less a soliloquy, Pradon has turned it to a more strictly dramatic purpose, involving a dialogue with Hésione. Andromaque's reminiscence here is motivated, as Garnier's excursus was not and Homer's lament did not need to be, by a process of thought possibly drawn from Sallebray's *Andromaque*: she had urged the Trojan attendant to recount every detail of Astyanax's death:

Dy nous sa triste fin [...]
 Je veux aprendre tout, *puis que tout peut servir*
 A m'exenter du joug qui me doit asservir,
 Et m'envoyer bien tost dans les demeures sombres
 D'Hector et de mon fils joindre les tristes ombres
 (*La Troade* p.79).

Compare with this the first four lines of the passage in Pradon:

Hésione, rappelle à mon ame abbatuë
 Le triste souvenir dont l'image me tuë,
 Afin que ramassant les traits de mon malheur
 Je puisse, pour les joindre, expirer de douleur
 (p.39).

Astyanax is of course still alive at this stage in Pradon; this implies a certain difference for Pradon's presentation of the reunion motif. But we may note that, like Sallebray's *Andromaque* (*La Troade* pp.33-4), Pradon's heroine feels her grief for Hector can be fatal; and, like the *Andromaches* of Racine, Sallebray, Garnier, Seneca and Homer, she yearns to join her husband in death.

In this new context, the lament is part of a conversation with Hésione, and therefore elicits a response from the latter.

Ah Ciel! que faites-vous rapellant vos douleurs
 Hélas! vous vous noyez vous-mesme dans vos pleurs.
 Madame, oubliez-vous cette ferme constance [...]
 Pour cacher vostre fils il faut la rapeller
 (p.39).

Delivered just before Ulisse's entrance, this admonition parallels that of Seneca's 'Old Man':

quem ne tuus producat in medium timor,
 procul hinc recede teque diversam amove [...]
 Cohibe parumper ora *questusque opprime*
 (*Troades*, 513-7)¹².

Sallebray's *Cassandre*, at a slightly earlier point in the action, delivered the following exhortation:

Le voicy, hàtons nous ma soeur, le temps nous presse,
 Faites tréve a present avec vôtre tendresse,
 Enfermés cet enfant [...]
 Ça, vite, dépêchons, vos discours superflus...
 (*La Troade*, p.34),

¹² " in case your fear should make him public, step from here and take yourself away...Silence your speech a moment and *suppress your laments*."

which, with its greater element of reproof, is perhaps closer to Hésione's words here. In Racine's *Andromaque*, the heroine is reproved by Céphise for what the latter sees as too great concentration on Hector at a moment of crisis:

Madame, à votre époux c'est être assez fidèle:
Trop de vertu pourrait vous rendre criminel...
Ainsi le veut son fils, que les Grecs vous ravissent
(981-2, 985).

None of these passages, however, answers an actual lament of Andromache's, nor do they reprove her for "too many tears", as is the case in Pradon. The admonition delivered to Andromache by Euripides' Hecuba does both:

ἀλλ', ὦ φίλη παῖ, τὰς μὲν Ἑκτορος τύχας
ἔασον· οὐ μὴ δάκρυά νιν σώσῃ τὰ σά [...]
κὰν δρῶς τάδ', [...]
καὶ παῖδ' τόνδε παιδὸς ἐκθρέψειας ἂν
(*Troades* 697-8, 701-2)¹³.

I am therefore inclined to conclude that Pradon did draw directly on the Greek play here. Whatever the case, this is Pradon's rendition of the image of Andromache devoted to tears and grief for the past following Hector's death that we have traced through its appearances in virtually all the works concerning her (compare *Andromaque* 303-4, 449; Sallebray p.15; Garnier 585-90, 625-6; Virgil *Aeneid* 3.303-5; Euripides' *Andromache* 111-2; Homer *Iliad* 24.744-5).

Although there is much in this lament that derives from earlier versions, Pradon has shifted *Andromaque's* lament for Hector to an entirely different position to that which it held in other *Troade/Troades* plays. In Seneca, Garnier and Sallebray, it constituted Andromache's first words. It was followed by an account of the apparition of Hector and some anxious reflections on Astyanax and his future; and thus led into the decision to hide her son in the tomb, with all that ensues. Pradon relocates the lament for Hector *after* the hiding of Astyanax has been described. In its new position, the passage balances the account of *Andromaque's* efforts on Astyanax's behalf which makes up the first part of III sc.i by 'foregrounding' her relationship with Hector, thus fulfilling

¹³ "But, dear child, leave aside the misfortunes of Hector; for your tears will not save him....and if you do this...you may rear up this child of my son..."

something of the purpose of the apparition account which Pradon has discarded. It also provides, in the exchange with Hésione, an intimation of the conflict between the interests of son and husband that is to come; and makes a workable, if not a totally smooth, transition into the conflict scene with Ulisse, as Hésione's anxieties about Andromaque's emotion focus on her fitness to meet the threat of the wily Greek's observation.

7.1.3: Loyalty, love and pride

The reason for this shift is clear if we look at the content of Andromaque's opening speech as it now stands in Pradon's version. The speech is almost exclusively devoted to the question of Andromaque's relations with Pyrrhus. Act I as a whole is concerned with an exposition of the situation between the captives Polixène and Andromaque and their captors Pyrrhus and (to a lesser extent at this stage) Ulisse. It begins with Hésione and Hécube discussing the interest of the two Greek warriors in the two young Trojan women (sc.i). Then we hear, in turn, Polixène and Andromaque describe their reactions to Pyrrhus (sc.ii and iii). Finally (sc.vi) we are given Pyrrhus' side of the story, including his plan to exploit Ulisse's passion for Polixène to save Andromaque and her son. The ground is thus prepared for the various 'intrigues' that make up the action of the play. Within this, Andromaque's first speech needs to focus more on the problem of Pyrrhus than on the simple grief and anxiety for husband and son which supplied its content in Seneca, Garnier and Sallebray. At the same time, in discussing her aversion to Pyrrhus, the question of her relationship with Hector, which after all motivates that aversion, is bound to be important.

As a result, the closest parallel to these opening remarks of Pradon's Andromaque is the first *rhexis* of Euripides' Andromache in *Troades*. This likewise dealt primarily with the emotional implications of Andromache's having to accept Pyrrhus as a factor in her future. Euripides too brings in the question of Hector's place in the conflict, on one occasion at least in terms that may have their echo in Pradon (*Troades* 661-3 as compared to "Et si du fier Pyrrhus...", p.10; see [6.2.1](#)). There are differences: Euripides' Andromache is *primarily* talking of the general betrayal of transferring her allegiance from one lord to another, whereas Pradon's Andromaque is talking of the specific 'betrayal' of accepting Pyrrhus of all people as protector (though it is probable, in view of 657-660, that this implication also underlies the Euripidean passage). The same sentiment, probably carrying both significances, occurs also in Racine in slightly different terms:

Quoi donc? as-tu pensé qu'Andromaque infidèle
Pût trahir un époux qui croit revivre en elle...?

(*Andromaque*, 1077-8).

Pradon may have developed his Andromaque's statement from Racine's lines, which probably draw in their turn on Euripides (5.2.3.2(b)); or he may have derived it more directly from Euripides. Pradon's speech overall does share with the Greek one a focus not apparent in any of the other comparable passages. In any case, the motive referred to here for Andromaque's unwillingness to treat with Pyrrhus - her feeling that this would displease or distress her dead husband - originates with Euripides' presentation.

There is, though, more to this feeling in Pradon's rendition than simple loyalty; and here we come to an original element in his portrait of the relations between Andromaque and Hector. Having vigorously rebutted Hécube's contention that Pyrrhus as a master could be preferable to Ulysse, Andromaque goes on to explain:

Andromaque eut rougy d'un si cruel partage,
Je suis veuve d'Hector et j'en ay le courage,
On ne me verra point, d'un esprit plus soûmis,
Embrasser les genoux de nos fiers ennemis
(p.10).

Now, pride has usually been apparent in previous portrayals of Andromache. We encounter it most commonly at moments where it has to be swallowed: Seneca, *Troades* 691-2:

Ad genua accido
supplex, Ulixè, quamque nullus pedes
novere dextram pedibus admoveo tuis¹⁴;

Garnier, *La Troade* 1013-6:

Ulysse, bon Ulysse, ores vos piés j'embrasse,
Qui fus d'un roy l'espouse et de royale race.

¹⁴ "I fall a suppliant at your knees, Ulysses, and stretch out to your feet the hand that no man's feet have known as petitioner."

Ces mains aux piés d'aucun ne touchèrent jamais
Et n'espèrent encore y toucher désormais;

Racine, *Andromaque* 915-6:

Vous ne l'ignorez pas: Andromaque, sans vous,
N'aurait jamais d'un maître embrassé les genoux.

On at least one occasion we have encountered a similar statement in its positive form, as here: Euripides' *Andromache* to Menelaos in *Andromache* 459-60:

ἀπόκτειν' ὡς ἀθώπευτόν γέ σε
γλώσσης ἀφήσω τῆς ἐμῆς καὶ παῖδα σήν¹⁵.

In Pradon, however, such a trait is for the first time specifically related to a temperamental correspondence with her husband (as distinct from the pride due to her status as Hector's wife). Such a correspondence has previously been reserved for her son; and indeed Pradon intersperses this speech with Andromaque's evocation of her child's budding heroic spirit. He integrates this into the general topic through this extension of the family resemblance to the wife and mother:

Mais j'ay comme mon fils la fierté de son père,
Et nous irons plutôt à la mort resolu
Dans le tombeau d'Hector qu'aux genoux de Pyrrhus
(p.11).

The sentiments conveyed in the last two lines here correspond to the resolution of Racine's *Andromaque*: death before surrender to Pyrrhus (*Andromaque* 378-80, 1009-1011). In Racine this has to do with emotional aversion as much as with pride; in Pradon too the pride appears to be related to the aversion: because of who Pyrrhus is, and all that means for Hector and herself, Andromaque will not bow the knee to him. Only Pradon, unlike Racine, states the case with pride uppermost. The trait itself is not new; but the emphasis on it in this context is, as is its relation to another form of bond between Andromaque and her dead husband: that of temperament.

¹⁵ "Kill me then; since I shall send away you and your daughter unfawned-upon from my tongue."

7.1.4: The defence of the tomb

All the elements we have been discussing - pride, loyalty, abiding grief, devoted mutual love, trust - come into the final inherited component in the portrayal of Andromaque's relationship with Hector: her devotion to and struggle to save Hector's tomb. The 'tomb scene' (III sc.ii-iii) is at first sight very similar in outline to Seneca's prototype and the subsequent versions of Garnier and Sallebray. After the initial exchanges in which Ulysse breaks down Andromaque's attempts to convince him her son is dead, attention moves, via a threat to her own person which leaves her unmoved, onto the threat to Hector's tomb:

He bien, donc puis que rien ne sçauroit vous toucher
 Nous verrons à quel point vostre époux vous est cher
 On va briser sa tombe et profaner sa cendre

(p.43).

Sallebray's Ulysse, it may be remembered, had for the first time (see [3.2.1.3](#)) openly traded on Andromaque's love in an explicit formulation of blackmail:

[...] estes vous resoluë
 De nous souffrir plustost abattre à vôtre veuë
 Ce tombeau qui sur tout vous devoit être cher
 Que d'offrir vôtre enfant...

(Sallebray, *La Troade*, p.47).

There is also a verbal similarity between Pradon's lines and the reported words of Hector in Racine (*Andromaque* 1026): "Montre au fils à quel point tu chérissais le père". In all three cases the phrase encapsulates the pressure applied on one or other side of Andromaque's dilemma by her love for Hector. At this point in the action in Pradon, it switches the focus definitively from Andromaque's relationship with her son to her relationship with her husband.

From here, where previous versions had swung attention back and forth between tomb and child, Pradon removes Astyanax from the foreground of consideration until the climax of the scene some 35 lines later. A series of rearrangements and subtle shifts made in the familiar pattern of the scene maintain this shift of focus. In Seneca, the ultimatum calls forth from Andromache first the dilemma speech, weighing up the competing claims of

son and husband; then protest at the sacrilege involved, followed by fierce, desperate physical defiance and the call on Hector's shade to join the fight; then she suddenly realises that tomb and son will share the same fate, capitulates, and falls to supplication for her son. When this is rejected she breaks into invective against Ulysses; finally she says farewell to her son. Garnier follows this pattern exactly; Sallebray joins the invective to the physical defiance and cuts short Andromaque's part in the scene after her realisation that the tomb will crush her son, but otherwise again follows Seneca. Pradon, by contrast, retains the familiar elements but reshapes them for his own rather different purposes. The protest over the sacrilege becomes the initial reaction, and is extended into a 'discussion' of the tomb as a memorial for Hector. The invective, as in Sallebray, is transferred to Andromaque's access of maddened defiance mid-scene as the order is given to attack the tomb: but the grounds for charging Ulysses with cowardice are extended from his attacking a defenceless child to his attacking Hector's defenceless remains. This is followed by a *ravisement* similar to that of Seneca's Andromache: "Quid agis?" (*Troades* 686: "What are you doing?"), cp. "Mais hélas! où m'emporte un intérêt si tendre?" (p.45). What comes next, however, is not the realisation and capitulation that ensue in Seneca and in Garnier, but a supplication of some thirteen lines whose object is not Astyanax's life but the sanctity of Hector's ashes. Clearly, then, Andromaque's defence for two thirds of the scene centres almost exclusively on Hector's tomb.

Yet at the end of all this Pradon adapts Andromaque's prayer to Hector's shade to make an equally definite shift back to Astyanax (see above, [7.1.1](#)).

Pour défendre ta cendre il suffit de ton ombre,
 Cher époux, ou plutôt viens défendre ton fils

(p.46).

And from here on the scene progresses into capitulation and supplication for her son, as impassioned as any in her literary career. So what should we conclude concerning Pradon's intention for the portrayal of the balance between father and son? Certainly, there is in this new disposition of material an element of increased emphasis on Andromaque's feelings for Hector - the supplication for her husband's ashes, for instance, 'takes over' certain ideas and phrases elsewhere applied to Astyanax. Certainly, too, the new arrangement allows Andromaque's reactions and emotions to be considered in tidy, integrated blocks that follow one another in coherent sequence, centering first

on Astyanax, then on Hector, then on Astyanax again. But there is, I believe, a further dimension to Pradon's choice of arrangement. The dilemma speech, at the heart of the portrayal of Andromache's crisis in Seneca, Garnier and Sallebray, and so influential in its articulation of the conflict of loyalties she faces, is entirely omitted by Pradon. Further, while his *Andromaque* states her realisation that the fates of the tomb and of her son are inextricable in almost exactly the same terms as her counterpart in Garnier: "Ils vont perdre le pere et le fils tout ensemble" (p.44), cp. "Ils vont perdre le père et l'enfant tout ensemble" (Garnier 998), this statement comes very much earlier than in either Garnier or Seneca and Sallebray. Elsewhere it came at the climactic moment immediately preceding the final capitulation. Here it occurs very near the beginning of the phase of the conflict triggered by Ulysse's ultimatum. Unlike her predecessors, then, *Andromaque* is, at least from this moment on (a dozen-or-so lines into the conflict) and probably from the start, fully aware that there is no conflict between loyalty to her husband's tomb and loyalty to her son because if she allows the former to be destroyed the latter will necessarily be lost with it. And she does not, as elsewhere, respond to this 'realisation' with immediate capitulation. It is, then, possible that in all he has *Andromaque* say and do in defence of Hector's ashes, Pradon leaves a double purpose to be understood: *Andromaque*, in arguing and fighting to save the tomb, is *at the same time* surreptitiously fighting to save her son. Such an ambiguity could not be read into Seneca, Garnier and Sallebray, where it is clear that for most of the scene *Andromache* believes it is a straight choice between Hector and Astyanax: "utrique parci non potest" (*Troades* 661: "Yet it is impossible to spare both"); "ne les pouvant tous deux garder d'outrage" (Garnier, 973); "Souffrir l'un, offrir l'autre, Ha ma soeur je retombe/ Dans ma première peine..." (Sallebray, p.48). Not only *can* it be understood in Pradon, but the clearly deliberate rearrangement of the scene seems to invite such a reading. This is not to say that *Andromaque* is to be seen as *more* concerned with saving her son than with preserving what is left of Hector at this stage, or to deny that her defence of Hector has the first claim on our attention while it is the main subject of almost all she actually *says*. But I believe that Pradon has arranged the scene to include this undercurrent of double-meaning, and that this lends an original piquancy to a version of the scene that already makes more consistent sense than the Senecan presentation of a dilemma which, in terms of strict logic, does not exist.

A drawback of all this, however, is that the scene cannot draw on the emotive force inherent in a portrayal of *Andromache* as torn this way and that

between her love for her husband and her love for her son. While in Seneca the simple fact that the threat to Hector's tomb weighed so strongly in the balance against her son's life spoke louder than any words, Pradon needs to present the force of Andromaque's devotion to Hector's memory and ashes verbally. We may, then, turn to consider in detail the three distinct aspects of her defence in which these elements of the relationship are portrayed.

Firstly, there is the discussion of the tomb as Hector's memorial:

ULISSE: Elle sera détruite. Hé quoy? donc pensez-vous
 Qu'on laisse un tel trophée à vostre fier époux?
 Que l'ennemy des Grecs dans un tombeau superbe
 Foule mille Heros ensevelis sous l'herbe,
 Et qu'Hector à l'abry d'un pompeux monument
 En dépit de la mort vive éternellement.

ANDROMAQUE: Pour conserver d'Hector l'éternelle mémoire
 Les Grecs savent assez qu'il suffit de sa gloire;
 Ce Heros immortel par cent exploits divers
 Au défaut d'un tombeau aura tout l'Univers

(p.44).

This motive that Ulisse gives for destroying the tomb is an entirely new one, and - since he has no reason to offer further explanations of his intentions - seems designed solely to give Andromaque the cue for the statement of pride in Hector she makes in response. Nonetheless it is a credible sentiment to be attributed to the Greeks; and it may be reminiscent, though turned the other way out, of the curious line of reasoning with which Euripides' Cassandra, considering the relative merits of the Greek and Trojan fates, upheld her own pride in her countrymen and her brother:

[τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς] οὓς δ' Ἄρης ἔλοι,
 [...] οὐ δάμαρτος ἐν χερσῶν
 πέπλοις συνεστάλησαν, ἐν ξένη δὲ γῆ
 κέινται [...]
 Τρῶες δὲ [...]
 [...] οὓς δ' ἔλοι δόρυ,
 νεκροὶ γ' ἐς οἴκους φερόμενοι φίλων ὑπο
 ἐν γῆ πατρώα περιβολὰς εἶχον χθονός,
 χερσῶν περισταλέντες ὧν ἐχρῆν ὑπο [...]

τὰ δ' Ἑκτορος [...]

δόξας ἀνὴρ ἄριστος οἴχεται θανῶν,

καὶ τοῦτ' Ἀχαιῶν ἕξις ἐξεργάζεται·

εἰ δ' ἦσαν οἴκοι, χρηστὸς ὦν ἐλάνθανεν

(Troades 376-9, 386-90, 394-7)¹⁶.

Andromaque's response, too, is an original thought from her lips: here again Pradon has found an innovatory expression of an already well-established sentiment, her pride in her husband. Her conclusion:

Ce Heros immortel par cent exploits divers
 Au défaut d'une tombe aura tout l'Univers¹⁷

may encapsulate what had become a well known saying or *lieu commun*, but it is a ringing statement. By turning the sentiment to the use of his Andromaque, Pradon makes a powerful contribution to the portrayal of her defiance of the Greeks with a pride and esteem for her husband that survives defeat and death.

The second aspect to be considered is also related to pride in Hector, though here of a more aggressive sort. Pradon's Andromaque echoes the challenge her predecessors issued against the man who is about to attack the tomb:

Ah! barbare arrêtez, et craignez un Heros
 Dont les manes sacrez vangeront le repos.
 O! subtil artisan de la fraude et du crime,
 Qui voulois d'un enfant te faire une victime,
 Contre son pere mort t'oses-tu hazarder
 Toy, qui n'osas jamais vivant le regarder?
 (p.44)¹⁸.

¹⁶ "Those Achaeans whom Ares slew...they were not arrayed in robes by their wives' hands, but lie in strange earth... but the Trojans whom the spear slew, their corpses being borne home by friendly hands they have a heaping up of earth around them in their native soil, having been arrayed for death by the hands of those who should...as for Hector, he has gone down to death with the reputation of the best/bravest of men, and this the might of the Achaeans has wrought: for if they were still at home, though he were noble he would be unknown."

¹⁷ cp. Thucydides ii.43.3: "ajndrw'n ga;r ejpifanwn pa'sa gh' tafo"" : "for of illustrious men the whole earth is their tomb/burial mound".

¹⁸ See 7.1.1 and Fig. 7.1.1. nos. 8,11 and 13.

Figure 7.1.4(a): Andromache, Ulysses and the tradition of invective

WORK	SPEAKER	OBJECT OF INSULT	QUOTATION
Euripides, <i>Andromache</i>	Andromache	Menelaos/ Spartans	ὦ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποισιν ἔχθιστοι βροτῶν Σπάρτης ἔνοικοι, δόλια βουλευτήρια, ψευδῶν ἄνακτες, μηχανορράφοι κακῶν, ἐλικτὰ κούδεν ὑγιές, ἀλλὰ πᾶν πέριξ φρονούντες ¹⁹ (445-9) πόσις θ' ὁ κλεινός, ὃς σε πολλάκις δορὶ ναύτην ἔθηκεν ἀντὶ χερσαίου κακόν. νῦν δ' εἰς γυναῖκα γοργὸς ὀπλίτης φανεῖς ²⁰ (456-8)
Euripides, <i>Troades</i>	Hecuba	Odysseus (Ulysses)	ἰὼ μοί μοι. μυσαρῶ δολίῳ λέλογχα φωτὶ δουλεύειν, πολεμίῳ δίκας, παρανόμῳ δάκει, ὃς πάντα τὰκεῖθεν ἐνθάδε στρέφει, τὰ δ' ἀντίπαλ' αὐθις ἐκέισε διπτύχῳ γλώσσα φίλα τὰ πρότερ' ἄφιλα τιθέμενος πάντων ²¹ (281-7)
Seneca, <i>Troades</i>	Andromache	Ulysses	O machinator fraudis et scelerum artifex,/ virtute cuius bellica nemo occidit,/ dolis et astu maleficae mentis iacent/ etiam Pelasgi, .../nocturne miles, fortis in pueri necem/ iam solus audes aliquid et claro die ²² (750-6)

¹⁹ "Inhabitants of Sparta, counsellors of cunning, lords of lies, craft-contrivers of evil, twisted in mind and in no way sound, but always with devious thoughts..."

²⁰ "...my famed husband, who many times drove you in cowardly flight to your ship. Now against a woman/his wife you appear a fearsome warrior".

²¹ "Woe to me! I am allotted as slave to a man of foul cunning, enemy of justice, a lawless poisonous creature, who by double-talk turns all things inside out and then back again, turning former like to dislike."

²² "O you contriver of deceit, you engineer of crimes: no man ever died from your warlike valour, but even Greeks lie betrayed by your guile and by the cunning of your evil mind...You soldier of the night, brave in devising a child's murder, at last you dare to act unaided, by the light of day."

WORK	SPEAKER	OBJECT OF INSULT	QUOTATION
Garnier, <i>La Troade</i>	Andromache	Ulysse	O parjure, méchant, desloyal, affronteur, / Cauteleux, desguisé, de fraudes inventeur, / ...Tu masques ton forfait, tu couvres ta malice (1067-9)
Sallebray, <i>La Troade</i>	Andromaque	Ulysse	Avance le premier lâche coeur, feble corps, / Vaillant contre un enfant, hardi contre une femme (p.49)
Pradon, <i>La Troade</i>	Andromaque	Ulisse	O! subtil artisan de la fraude et du crime, / Qui voulois d'un enfant te faire une victime, / Contre son père mort t'oses-tu hazarder, / Toy, qui n'osas jamais vivant le regarder? (p.44)

In Seneca and Garnier, the equivalent outburst against Ulysses was provoked by his later refusal to listen to her plea for Astyanax; in Sallebray, as here, it was provoked by the order to attack the tomb. But in none of the three is Ulysses castigated for cowardice in attacking the remains of a dead man whom he had never been able to stand up to alive. (See Figure 7.1.4(a).) As argued in 6.2.1, the thrust of Andromaque's taunt here may stem from the scornful remarks of Euripides' Andromache to Menelaos in *Andromache* 456-9. The effect of making this the burden of Andromaque's charge is that the expression of contempt for Ulisse also indirectly proclaims a high regard for Hector's prowess.

Finally, and perhaps most strikingly, there is the extended plea for Hector's ashes to be left alone with which Pradon follows Andromaque's outburst. In examining this we should bear in mind what has already been suggested about the double-edged nature of this speech, which is part of its effectiveness. But it will be considered here principally in terms of its portrayal of Andromaque's relationship to Hector.

a Mais hélas! où m'emporte un intérêt si tendre,
b Seigneur, au nom des Dieux laissez en paix sa cendre,
c Et n'allez point ternir tant de fameux exploits
d Faisant périr Hector une seconde fois
e Que le tombeau du moins soit son dernier azile,
f Des Thresors de Priam il fut fait par Achille
g Voyez l'état funeste où nous sommes réduits,
h A peine l'Univers connoistra qui je suis,
i Il ne me reste plus pour comble de misere
j Que les noms douloureux et d'épouse et de mere.
k Ouy, d'un si grand Empire il ne me reste encor
l Pour mon unique bien que la tombe d'Hector,
m Et de tant de grandeurs que j'avois en partage,
n Seigneur, un peu de cendre est mon seul heritage
(p.45).

In no other version of the story does Andromache plead so eloquently to save her husband's tomb, though on various occasions she has tried moral protest, reasoning, threats of divine retribution and physical opposition. Lines *b* and *d-e* refer to Andromache's distress as expressed in prior versions of the 'dilemma speech':

dum non meus post fata victoris manu
iactetur Hector

(Seneca, *Troades* 654-5)²³;

Je craignois seulement que l'on troubla la cendre
De mon fidelle époux

(Sallebray, *La Troade*, p.46).

Whereas before she has reproached Ulysses for the intention to "prolong enmity beyond death" (e.g. Sallebray, p.46), this is the first time that she has begged him to stay that intention in these terms. Emotive pleading - a simple request to be left in peace - takes the place of moral indignation. The moral dimension is not, however, neglected: lines *c* and *f* both involve arguments of obligation to a past standard of honour or generosity. The essence of these arguments can be found in Seneca: compare line *f* with *Troades* 665-7 and *c-d*

²³ "So long as my dear Hector is not abused after his death by the victor's violence."

with *Troades* 255-7. Pradon keeps the tone of these arguments, and of this whole first section of pleading and reasoning, on the low-key side. Most of what is emphatic or spectacular has been edited from the arguments received from Seneca; the emotion is there, but remains, on the whole, understated.

The same is generally true of the second part of Andromaque's supplication, whose main object is to win Ulisse's sympathy for the pathos of her plight. This, too, combines a number of elements from previous portrayals. "Voyez l'état funeste où nous sommes réduits" echoes the opening line of an analogous passage in Racine's *Andromaque*: "Seigneur, voyez l'état où vous me réduisez" (927). The motif of the lamented fall from "grandeurs" to this "état funeste" recalls the theme of various of Hecuba's speeches in Euripides, Seneca and Garnier (e.g. Euripides' *Troades* 108-9, 472ff; Seneca *Troades* 1-27; Garnier *La Troade* 1-18), and also some of Andromache's own words in earlier works: Euripides' *Andromache*:

ζηλωτὸς ἔν γε τῷ πρὶν Ἀνδρομάχῃ χρόνῳ,
 νῦν δ', εἴ τις ἄλλη, δυστυχεστάτῃ γυνή
 (5-6)²⁴;

Sallebray's *La Troade*:

Grandes Reines, vaines Princesses,
 Qui vous fiés en vos richesses...
 Venés voir l'état où nous sommes...
 Ce sont les rigueurs que j'éprouve,...
 Je pers mon rang, mes biens, mon fils et mon pouvoir;...
 A quel sort me voy-je asservie?
 Tout meurt, jusques à mon espoir...
 (IV sc.i, p.75).

The motif is, of course, a commonplace of tragic drama, and an obvious one for the context. Stock theme or not, Pradon has added his own touches to the idea. The rather moving:

²⁴ "Andromache, enviable in time past, but now, if ever any other was, the most ill-starred of women."

A peine l'Univers connoistra qui je suis,
 Il ne me reste plus pour comble de misere
 Que les noms douloureux et d'épouse et de mere
 (p.45),

despite the somewhat disingenuous ingenuity on Pradon's part (quite clearly "l'Univers" knows all about Andromaque and her story - or he would not be writing about her!), leaves us with a poignantly apt summary of Andromache's place in literature and legend, delivered from her own wistful point of view.

Other writers had also personalised the idea of the fall from high estate to Andromache with the by now familiar *leitmotif* of 'out of all I had, only my child remains to me'. If we look at figure [7.1.4\(b\)](#) (overleaf), we can see the progress of this motif through the various versions of Troy's story, starting with Euripides. Pradon in his turn takes up the "unique bien" refrain (possibly from Garnier and/or Racine in the first instance, although it is hard to pin this down to any one source), but gives it a completely new application:

Ouy, d'un si grand Empire il ne me reste encor,
 Pour mon unique bien que la tombe d'Hector,
 Et de tant de grandeurs que j'avois en partage,
 Seigneur, un peu de cendre est mon seul heritage.

This adjustment is perhaps the most startling demonstration of the shift of focus to Hector at this stage. Words and sentiments traditionally and consistently applied to Astyanax are taken over to express in a new way Andromaque's devotion to the relics of her past life and love as epitomised in the ashes of Hector. She will plead for Astyanax later, but this element will be removed from her supplication. This adaptation shows Pradon at pains to give heightened emphasis to Hector's importance to Andromaque. These lines do so very effectively: particularly the last: "Seigneur, un peu de cendre est mon seul heritage". This contains something of the idea of Seneca's phrase "cineris socia" (*Troades* 677: "wedded to ashes"), and even more of the substance of Andromaque's lament in Sallebray: "Hector n'est plus qu'un peu de poudre" (*La Troade* IV sc.i, p.74; see [3.2.1.2\(b\)](#)). Pradon's version carries all the best qualities of chastened, wistful pathos apparent in Sallebray's line and elsewhere in the *stances* of Act IV sc.i. It makes a fitting and moving conclusion not just to Andromaque's plea but to the evocation of her relationship with Hector in this

scene overall: a quiet restatement of Andromaque's emotional commitment to a past world reduced to ashes, and to the husband who for her was that world.

Figure 7.1.4(b): "mon unique bien"

WORK	SPEAKER	OBJECT OF REFERENCE	QUOTATION
Euripides, <i>Andromache</i>	Andromache	Molossos	εἷς παῖς ὅδ' ἦν μοι λοιπὸς ὀφθαλμὸς βίου· τοῦτον κτενεῖν μέλλουσιν οἷς δοκεῖ τάδε (406-7) ²⁵
Euripides, <i>Hecuba</i>	Hecuba	Polyxena	ταύτη γέγηθα κάπιλήθομαι κακῶν· ἥδ' ἀντὶ πολλῶν ἐστί μοι παραψυχή, πόλις, τιθήνη (279-81) ²⁶
Ovid, <i>Metamorphoses</i>	Hecuba	Polyxena	..tu nunc, quae sola levabas/ maternos luctus (XIII 514-5) ²⁷
Virgil, <i>Aeneid</i> 3	Andromache	Ascanius	o mihi sola mei super Astyanactis imago (3.489) ²⁸
Seneca, <i>Troades</i>	Andromache	Astyanax	unicum adflictae mihi solamen hic est (703-4) ²⁹
Garnier, <i>La Troade</i>	Andromache	Astyanax	L'unique réconfort des Troyens malheureux (664) Que pour mon réconfort, hélas! il me demeure.../ Royaumes, libertez, tout mon bien est péri;/ Rien ne m'est demeuré que ceste petite âme (1030-33)
Garnier, <i>La Troade</i>	Hécube	Polyxène	Ne doit de tant de morts Achille estre contant,/ Sans m'oster ceste-ci qui seule m'est restant?/[...] C'est mon seul réconfort en ce lugubre esmoy (1559-60,1576)

²⁵ "This one child was left to me, the light of my life; and they to whom this seems good intend to kill him."

²⁶ "In her I rejoice and forget my woes; she is my comfort in the face of their multitude, my city, my nurse..."

²⁷ "...and now you, who alone alleviated your mother's distress."

²⁸ "...for you are the sole image left to me of my Astyanax..."

²⁹ "this [boy] is my only comfort in affliction."

WORK	SPEAKER	OBJECT OF REFERENCE	QUOTATION
Sallebray, <i>La Troade</i>	Andromaque	Astyanax	Et toy mon cher enfant pour qui seul je souûpire (p.30)
Racine, <i>Andromaque</i>	Andromaque	Astyanax	Le seul bien qui me reste et d'Hector et de Troie (262) Lorsque de tant de biens qui pouvaient nous flatter,/ C'est le seul qui nous reste, et qu'on veut nous l'ôter (871-2) Ce fils, ma seule joie...! (1016)
Pradon, <i>La Troade</i>	Andromaque	Hector	Ouy, d'un si grand Empire il ne me reste encor,/ Pour mon unique bien que la tombe d'Hector,/ Et de tant de grandeurs que j'avois en partage,/ Seigneur, un peu de cendre est mon seul heritage (p.45)

7.1.5: Andromaque and Hector: Conclusions

How, then, may we sum up Pradon's portrayal of Andromaque as Hector's widow? She has her traditional unwavering regard for her husband. In terms of her pride in Hector, Pradon has forged new expressions for this out of inherited traditional material. In terms of her 'trust' in him, he has presented Hector more consistently through Andromaque's words as her *sole* hope for her son; her requests, hopes and yearnings for Hector's intervention likewise focus almost entirely on an image of him as Astyanax's protector. The carefully chosen calibration of this aspect may have something to do with a desire to offset the Andromaque-Hector relationship with the Andromaque-Pyrrhus one. Hécube views *Pyrrhus* as the sole hope for Astyanax: indeed throughout the play his help is presented as the only realistic chance for the boy's survival. When finally Andromaque comes to treat with him, it is in this capacity. The way Pradon presents her relationship with Hector in the tomb scene may be meant to emphasise both that Pyrrhus' rôle, from Andromaque's point of view, assimilates to that of Hector, *and* that it is from Hector himself, and him alone, that Andromaque had first sought the help that she eventually accepts from her 'enemy'.

Pradon's *Andromaque* retains, of course, her abiding love and loyalty and the grief these provoke. Pradon's one true innovation in his portrayal of *Andromaque's* relationship with Hector is the setting of her own pride within a bond of matching temperament between her and Hector. *Andromaque's* pride is applied particularly to her loyalty to Hector as expressed in her aversion to Pyrrhus: a new balance in the presentation of a question of loyalty derived from Racine or Euripides or both. In the speeches where Pradon's *Andromaque* sets out her position on this, pride, aversion and loyalty to Hector appear as predominant over Astyanax's life: "Mais si mon fils m'est cher ma gloire m'est plus chere"; and in the moment of crisis in the tomb scene, Pradon's rearrangements mean that for a long time there is an increased concentration on *Andromaque's* feelings for and pride in Hector, while Astyanax all but disappears from the verbal conflict. While there may very well be sound dramatic reasons for - and mitigations of - this latter circumstance, questions concerning the balance between Hector and Astyanax in *Andromaque's* regard do, as ever, remain. But it is only in the context of an overall discussion of Pradon's portrayal of the *Andromaque/Astyanax* relationship that such questions can be properly discussed.

7.2: *Andromaque and Astyanax*

Most portrayals of *Andromache's* relationship with her son have been characterised by various sorts of tension. On the one hand there has been a tension between three views of Astyanax's significance: as the hope of Troy, as Hector's son and representative, as *Andromache's* child. On the other hand there has been tension between concern for Astyanax and concern for Hector and the past. This latter tension has been articulated in two distinct dramatic traditions: the Senecan conflict between Hector's remains and Astyanax's life, where loyalty to Hector finds a concrete expression, and the Racinian (and Euripidean) conflict between *Andromaque's* aversion to Pyrrhus and her son's interests (or life), where loyalty to Hector remains a psychological consideration. In this latter domain Pradon ambitiously takes on board *both* traditions; we have seen in the introduction the reasons for and problems with this, and shall discuss in detail how successfully he handles his inherited material.

7.2.1: Attitudes to Astyanax

First, however, we shall consider the tension between the three different views of Astyanax himself that have recurred as constants in previous

portrayals of Andromache's relationship with her son. Does Pradon, like his predecessors, relate all three views of the child to Andromache's attitude to Astyanax and if so what balance between the various elements does he settle on?

7.2.1.1: " l'espoir des Troyens "

The hope for Troy embodied by Astyanax throughout his literary history underwent with Racine's *Andromaque* a shift away from the 'restoration' aspect towards a more passive rôle of 'remembrance' (5.2.2.2). Whichever aspect of the case carried greater emphasis, however, in most portrayals Andromache said quite a lot on the issue. In Euripides' *Troades*, however, Andromache makes but one, 'negative' reference to the idea (747-8). Pradon, like Euripides, has *Andromaque* refer to her son in this light on just one occasion, when finally confessing to Ulisse her son's whereabouts:

Mettez dans vos liens
Et la crainte des Grecs et *l'espoir des Troyens*
(p.46).

"l'espoir des Troyens" as applied to Astyanax is a refrain we have met before: Racine's *Andromaque* uses it: "De l'espoir des Troyens seule dépositaire" (*Andromaque* 1106), as did the *Andromaches* of Garnier:

O lustre de l'Asie! ô l'espoir des Troyens!
O sang hectoréan! ô peur des Argiens!
(*La Troade* 1083-4)

and Seneca: "spes una Phrygibus" (*Troades* 462: "sole hope of Troy"). In Pradon, "l'espoir des Troyens", in antithesis with "la crainte des Grecs", undoubtedly carries more of the active sense of possible future restoration intended in Garnier and Seneca than of the passive sense of continuing remembrance uppermost in the concerns of Racine's *Andromaque* (5.2.3.2(c)). Yet if we are to take the phrase as referring to real aspirations, this sole reference sits oddly in a context where she is throwing herself and her son on Ulisse's mercy. Moreover, any hint of such aspirations is absent from other contexts where they might naturally appear: most notably, from the speech in IV sc.iii: "Madame, quel plaisir de sauver un tel fils?", where Pradon gives *Andromaque* an interval of much more sanguine confidence over her son's future than we find in any other

work, yet includes not one mention of anything Astyanax might achieve for his city and people. "l'espoir des Troyens" in III sc.iii is thus more likely to be a rhetorical thrust. It is certainly possible that Andromaque delivers "Et la crainte des Grecs" proudly even in her resignation, with an edge of that slighting irony with which other Andromaches have delivered similar remarks³⁰. "l'espoir des Troyens" may also be an ironic thrust, making the same point as made by Pyrrhus in Racine:

Un enfant dans les fers; et je ne puis songer
Que Troie en cet état aspire à se venger
(*Andromaque* 203-4),

by Andromache in Garnier:

Vrayment si d'autre espoir Troye n'est soutenue
Que de ce beau guerrier, son attente est bien nue!
(*La Troade* 1061-2)

and in Seneca:

hae manus Troiam erigent?
nulle habet spes Troia, si tales habet
(*Troades* 740-41)³¹,

and by Hecuba in Euripides' *Troades*:

μη Τροίαν ποτε
πεσοῦσαν ὀρθώσειεν [...]
[...] Φρυγῶν ἐφθαρμένων
βρέφος τοσόνδ' ἐδείσατ'
(1160-65)³².

³⁰ "Digne objet de leur crainte!" (Racine, 270); "Redouter un enfant!" (Sallebray, p.41); "Redouter un enfant?" (Garnier, 771); "hic est terror, Ulixes, mille carinis" (Seneca, 707-8: "this, Ulysses, is the terror of a thousand ships"); and cp. Hecuba in Euripides' *Troades*: "τὸν παῖδα τόνδε ἔκτειναν Ἀργεῖοί ποτε δέισαντες" (1190-91: "This child the Argives feared once and slew).

³¹ "Will [this child's] hands rebuild Troy? Troy has no hope, if these are all her hopes."

³² "Lest he should rebuild fallen Troy...with all the Phrygians destroyed, you feared such an infant."

Pradon, even more than his predecessors, generally discourages the view that Astyanax could realistically have raised Troy to greatness again. The view is mentioned only once elsewhere by a Trojan: Hécube, in I sc.i, refers to the 'retribution' side of the traditional hopes for Astyanax: "un fils qui pourroit nous vanger" (p.4). She makes, however, no mention of any ambition for the boy in her subsequent debate with Andromaque (I sc.iii). Of the Greeks, not only Pyrrhus but Ulisse himself denies the reality of Greek fears about Astyanax's future:

Quand je dis qu'un enfant peut troubler nos états
Je persuade aux Grecs ce que je ne croy pas

(p.19).

This directly contradicts his views in every other version of the story (see Sallebray pp.4-5, Garnier 759-86, Seneca 529-35, 550-51, Euripides *Troades* 721-5). The reason for this denial is clear: Pradon wishes to base Ulisse's motivation, and thus centre the tragic action of the play, purely on the central 'romantic' conflict with Pyrrhus. This version of Ulisse's beliefs moreover allows his attempted reversal of the decree he had instigated, which is an integral part of Pradon's preparation for the final catastrophe, and introduces the tragic element of Ulisse's having set in motion something which he cannot check when he wishes to. This overall purpose accounts in large measure for the general 'playing down' of ambitious hopes for Astyanax as Troy's king.

Instead of a view of Astyanax as the redeemer or repository of his people and lineage, Pradon lays increased emphasis on Andromaque's pride in her son. Maternal pride was portrayed by Seneca, Garnier, Racine and especially Sallebray, but Pradon develops this further. If the attitudes of royalty in the matter of Astyanax's future have been brushed aside, they find a place here in the *hauteur* of Andromaque's pride in her child's distinction: "Vils esclaves des Grecs...*Le seul Astyanax d'une noble fierté*", "dans leur foule inconnuë/ *Son orgueil*...". Where Seneca, Garnier and Sallebray had restricted depiction of Andromaque's pride in Astyanax to the scene of concealment³³, Pradon brings the idea into his portrayal of her attitude at other apposite moments. Pradon's arrangement of his plot gives him new opportunities for expressing this pride. This is especially true of Andromaque's outpouring of joyous relief after Pyrrhus has promised to help:

³³ Except for one fleeting indication in the scene recounting his death in Sallebray, "Dy nous sa triste fin, s'il eut quelque constance" p.79.

Madame, quel plaisir de sauver un tel fils?
 Du coeur d'Asryanax tous les Grecs sont surpris,
 Et tantost quand [...]
 [...] entourré d'ennemis, d'armes et de soldats,
 Ce lugubre appareil annonçoit son trépas
 Il a gardé toûjours sa contenance fiere,
 Et n'a paru touché que des pleurs de sa mere
 (p.59).

In situation this moment is reminiscent of the beginning of Racine's Act IV, where Andromaque has likewise secured a promise from Pyrrhus to save her son. The resemblance is confirmed by Pradon's opening line, which echoes Céphise's complacent words:

*Quel plaisir d' élever un enfant qu'on voit croître
 Non plus comme un esclave [...]
 Mais pour voir avec lui renaître tant de rois!*
 (*Andromaque* 1069-71).

Andromaque's pride here, though, is distinct from Céphise's in that it is in Astyanax's personal qualities rather than in the position, rightfully his, that he is returning to. Pradon makes use of previous descriptions of Astyanax's fearless conduct as he goes to his actual death, delivered by anonymous messengers: (Seneca, *Troades* 1090-9, 1097-110; Garnier, *La Troade*, 1895-1914; Sallebray, *La Troade*, p.81). He has, however, personalised the admiration of Astyanax by giving it to his own mother, so that it conveys something about the speaker as well as about the child. Almost, Andromaque seems more caught up with her pleasure and pride in "un *tel* fils" than with the simple joy of saving a son - contrast the "Mais que ne peut *un fils*?" of Racine's Andromaque (*Andromaque* 932). Yet maternal emotion does steal back into the picture in the final line: "Et n'a paru touché que des pleurs de sa mère". This may be a more human variation on Seneca's heroic antithesis: "non flet e turba omnium/ qui fletur" (*Troades* 1099-1100)³⁴. It at once 'humanises' Astyanax, substitutes for

³⁴ "Out of the whole throng he alone does not weep for whom all are weeping."

the slightly distant emotion of the momentarily sympathetic Greeks an indication of his mother's more affecting distress, and perhaps suggests a mother's gladness that her son, while heroic, is yet not insensible to her own distress.

7.2.1.2: "le fils d'Hector"

Throughout the tradition of portrayals of Andromache since Seneca, there have been questions over how far Andromache's regard for her son is really founded in himself, and how far in the links he provides with her dead husband. In Sallebray, Andromaque's pride in Astyanax was closely bound up with her perception of his temperamental resemblance to Hector:

Tu recules mon fils, ha noble connessance,
 Déjà cette action prouve bien ta naissance,
 Par là tu paroïs bien le digne fils d'Hector,
 Et par toy ce Heros me semble vivre encor;/
 C'est ainsi chere soeur que ce grand Capitaine
 Conservoit la grandeur de son ame hautaine...

(*La Troade*, pp.34-5).

This is true too of the one brief indication of Astyanax as a personality, and thus of Andromaque's pride in him as such, in Racine: "'C'est Hector [...] Voilà [...] déjà son audace'" (652-3). In Garnier and Seneca, Andromaque's regard for Astyanax as stemming from her love for and pride in Hector had tended to concentrate on the physical resemblance (Seneca, *Troades* 464-8; Garnier, *La Troade* 666-670; see [5.2.2.2](#)). While eliminating all reference to the physical resemblance, Pradon bases Andromaque's pride in Astyanax squarely on this temperamental resemblance:

Je voyois [...]
 Son orgueil [...]
 Mon Hector tout entier éclater sur son front
(p.10-11);

Déjà le fils d'Hector a honte de la peur
(p.37).

Later, at the moment of crisis with Ulisse, she exclaims:

Et mon Astyanax est mon Hector vivant
(p.46);

as Racine's *Andromaque* had exclaimed of her son "C'est Hector" (*Andromaque* 652), "Ce fils, ma seule joie et l'image d'Hector!" (1016); as Sallebray's heroine had said: "Et par toy ce Heros *me semble vivre encor*" (*La Troade*, p.34), "L'un et l'autre est Hector, et l'un et l'autre est mien" (p.49); and as previous *Andromaches* had declared:

Que rien qu'Hector je n'aime en ceste créature:
Je l'aime pour luy voir de sa face les traits...
(Garnier, *La Troade* 946-7),

non aliud, Hector, in meo nato mihi
placere quam te. vivat, *ut possit tuos*
referre vultus
(Seneca, *Troades* 646-8)³⁵.

Pradon's single line encapsulates rather well this whole tradition of *Andromache* finding Hector again in her son. It should raise questions - as all those other passages have done - as to how far *Andromaque* really loves *Astyanax* for himself, and how far for the reminder of Hector he provides. To consider this we must look more closely at the passages describing *Astyanax*'s resemblance to his father, and *Andromaque*'s reactions to this.

The first comes in *Andromaque*'s first reference to her son, in I sc.iii:

De joye et de douleur ensemble prévenuë
Je voyois en tremblant dans leur foule inconnuë
Son orgueil, de ses fers reparant tout l'affront,
Mon Hector tout entier éclater sur son front, [...]
Il prent aveque audace un tranquile repos,
Et je crains qu'un enfant ne découvre un Heros
(pp.10-11).

³⁵ "Hector, there is nothing that pleases me in my son except you. Let him live, *to bring back your features*."

This probably draws on the expression in Sallebray of Andromaque's pride and pleasure (*La Troade*, p.35; see below). Pradon also makes use of the climactic messenger reports of Astyanax's conduct in other versions, notably those of Garnier:

[...] et la ferocité
De son père luisoit en son front irrité
(*La Troade*, 1911-12)

and Sallebray:

Il écrit sur son front le depit de son ame,
Bref il parut Hector...
(*La Troade*, p.81).

These remarks by less involved spectators have been transferred here to Andromaque's characteristic perception of Hector in her son. Racine's rendition of this latter trait has also possibly contributed:

'C'est Hector, disait-elle [...]
Voilà ses yeux, sa bouche, et déjà son audace'
(*Andromaque*, 652-3).

In all this Pradon seems firmly within the tradition of Andromache's regard for her son being to a large degree conditioned by his status as Hector's son.

Yet there is more to Pradon's picture. Perhaps from Sallebray, Pradon, who describes Andromaque as "De joye et de douleur ensemble prèvenueë" (p.10), has also taken the bitter-sweet nature of her feelings when confronted with her son's heroic pride - anxiety as well as pleasure:

Tu marches sur ses pas, ton ame est genereuse,
Je le vois bien mon fils, mais elle est malheureuse,
Et c'est pour ce sujet que tu dois te cacher
(Sallebray, *La Troade*, p.35).

Pradon has expanded the reference to this feeling from its relevance to a particular context - Astyanax's reluctance to hide himself in his father's tomb - to cover a wider anxiety existing in Andromaque from the outset. His version

of Seneca's plot is the only one to have Andromache work to conceal her son from the beginning. This gives the first stage of her later resistance of Ulysse, when she pretends Astyanax is dead, more credibility. But it also provides the opportunity for showing a new response of Andromaque to her son's shining temperamental resemblance to Hector - fear that this will betray his identity:

Je voyois en tremblant [...]
 Son orgueil [...]
 Et je crains qu'un enfant ne découvre un Heros
 (pp.10-11).

Clearly this fear springs from a motherly feeling purely concerned with Astyanax himself. Indeed this response actually conflicts with Andromaque's feeling for Hector: the resemblance to her husband that she cherishes, she also dreads - by implication wishing it were not so after all. The two strands of feeling are presented in this passage side-by-side and, I think, in equal balance. As a result, the strong maternal emotion revealed offsets the impression of Astyanax's being loved for Hector's sake. Of course the whole passage has to be considered in the context of Andromaque's assertion of pride above all else (7.2.3.2), which she reiterates directly after these lines. Nonetheless, the transitional line between:

Et je crains qu'un enfant ne découvre un Héros

and:

Mais j'ai comme mon fils la fierté de son pere

is oddly defensive in tone:

Cette crainte, Madame, est digne d'une mere.

This may be meant to hint that Andromaque's maternal emotion is stronger than she admits, thus preparing us for her abrupt surrender to that emotion in Act III.

A loving anxiety also infuses the second passage where Andromaque takes pride in Astyanax's resemblance to his father, as he hesitates before the tomb.

Hélas! il dédaignoit dans ces lieux si funebres
 D'emprunter le secours de honteuses tenebres,
 L'obscurité l'irrite et j'ay veu tout son coeur,
 Déjà le fils d'Hector a honte de la peur.
 Sa fierté me donnant de nouvelles allarmes
 Je l'ay mis dans mes bras et baigné de mes larmes
 Fils d'Hector (ai-je dit) vray sang d'un demy-Dieux, [...]
 Cache dans ce tombeau ta vie et ta misere...

(p.37).

The portrayal of Astyanax at this point is thoroughly traditional. We meet with Andromache's description of an Astyanax 'ashamed of fear' in both Seneca and Garnier: "pudet timere" (*Troades* 505: "you are ashamed to show fear"), "vostre âme [...] / Dédaigne [...] ceste cache honteuse / Il vous fasche de craindre" (*La Troade*, 729-31). Sallebray's Andromaque had made the connection between this trait of Astyanax's and his parentage explicit:

Déjà cette action prouve bien ta naissance,
 Par là tu paroïs bien *le digne fils d'Hector* [...]
 C'est ainsi que jamais *une honteuse peur*
 Ne pût meme à sa mort s'emparer de son coeur

(*La Troade*, pp.33-4).

Andromaque's reactions of both pride and anxiety at this point are also traditional (see the context of each of the passages just quoted). But Pradon lays greater explicit emphasis on Andromaque's motherly emotion than Seneca, Garnier and Sallebray at this point - the reported format gives him more opportunity for this - and in so doing takes up what in the discussion of Racine we termed the 'Greek' tradition in portrayals of Andromache's relationship with her son: simple maternal distress expressed in tears and desperate embraces. And here again, that which gives Andromaque pride also brings her dread: "Sa fierté me donnant de nouvelles allarmes". This time, such anxiety is implicit in the sources too; but Pradon is the first to spell it out.

Furthermore, Pradon also gives us - for the first time since Euripides - a consistently softened portrait of Astyanax himself. We found indications of this in Andromaque's description of him as he was led away by Ulisse's soldiers (7.2.1.1). In contrast to the brief moments of humanity allowed at a similar juncture by Seneca and Garnier to their otherwise unbendingly heroic

Astyanax figures (Seneca, *Troades* 792-5; Garnier, *La Troade* 1115-1119), in Pradon this is part of an overall strategy of adding occasional touches to make the boy human again (cp. his penultimate 'appearance', V.sc.v). Moreover, in Seneca and Garnier Astyanax's moment of 'weakness' is one of simple fear; whereas the softer moments of Pradon's Astyanax derive rather from a warmth of feeling towards his mother. This is most evident in Pradon's conclusion to the mother-son exchange at the mouth of Hector's tomb:

A ces mots, il m'embrasse, et malgré son courage
 J'ay senty quelques pleurs couler sur son visage,/
 Et les miens redoublant en ces tristes momens,
 Que n'ais-je pû mourir dans ces embrassemens!
 (p.37).

Racine had shed most of the trappings that had made Astyanax a mini adult hero instead of a child, but then he had given virtually nothing about Astyanax's personality and behaviour in his own right at all. Pradon may, then, in part be taking up the portrayal of Euripides which allowed Andromache's child to be a child. It is Euripides' portrayal that Seneca - and thus Garnier - echo on that one occasion in each of their plays where Astyanax does act like a frightened child:

ὦ παῖ, δακρύεις; αἰσθάνη κακῶν σέθεν;
 τί μου δέδραξαι χερσὶ κἀντέχη πέπλων,
 νεοσσὸς ὡσεὶ πτέρυγας ἐσπίτνων ἐμάς;
 (Euripides, *Troades*, 749-51)³⁶;

μᾶτερ μᾶτερ, ἐγὼ δὲ σῶ
 πτέρυγι συγκαταβαίνω
 (Euripides, *Andromache*, 504-5: Molossos)³⁷.

Of preceding portrayals, only Euripides' gave any indication of a reciprocal childish tenderness from Astyanax to his mother:

³⁶ "My child, are you weeping? Do you understand your woes? Why do you clutch with your hands and cling to my robes, sheltering like a nestling under my wings?"

³⁷ "Mother, mother, I go down with you under your wing..."

νῦν - οὔ ποτ' αὖθις - μητέρ' ἀσπάζου σέθεν,
 [...] ἀμφὶ δ' ὠλένας
 ἔλισσ' ἐμοῖς νώτοισι καὶ στόμ' ἄρμοσον
 (Euripides, *Troades*, 761-3)³⁸;

ΤΑΛΘΥΒΙΟΣ: ἄγε παῖ, φίλιον πρόσπτυγμα μεθεῖς
 μητρὸς μογεράς
 (*ibid.*, 782-3)³⁹.

In all other versions, the emphasis has been firmly on *Andromache's* embrace of her son, with no mention of his response.

Thus, while Pradon certainly does present Astyanax as Hector's son, and puts forward that relationship as the basis of one important side of Andromaque's regard for him, he *simultaneously* presents us with clear indications of her concern and love for her son in himself. This is supported by a corresponding softening of Astyanax, often suggested within passages concerned overall with depicting his heroism; so that even while we see him as Hector's heroic offspring we also see him as Andromaque's child. Consequently, Andromaque's remarks suggesting a preoccupation with what Astyanax represents rather than what he is, which have so often throughout her literary history struck a disturbing note, seem less jarring. For Pradon's Andromaque, Astyanax may still be "[son] Hector vivant"; but, in the way Pradon has chosen to present this as causing anxiety as well as pleasure, he makes it clear that her son means a great deal more to her than just that.

7.2.1.3: Andromaque and Astyanax: "des tendresses de mere"

It remains to look in more detail at Pradon's portrayal of Andromaque's relationship with Astyanax as her own son. This has always tended to divide into two broad areas: the 'passive' realm of her feelings for him and emotional reactions to his plight, usually conveyed with a deep sense of pathos; and the 'active' realm of the qualities she shows in striving to protect him. We have considered certain examples in the former realm already; it has become clear that, when Andromaque concedes in her first proud speech (I sc.i): "J'ay pour Astyanax des tendresses de mere", this is no empty concession. The very last picture we are given of Andromaque upholds this statement. The context is

³⁸ "Now - for never again - greet your mother...twine your arms around my back and join your mouth to mine."

³⁹ "TALTHYBIOS: Come, child, forsake the dear embrace (πρόσπτυγμα actually means 'that which is embraced', so strictly = Andromache herself) of your unhappy mother."

Hésione's description of the moment Ulysse comes to lead Astyanax away to his eventual death:

Luy-mesme il est venu l'arracher à sa mere
 (Car les pleurs d'Andromaque avoient eu le pouvoir
 D'obtenir des soldats la douceur de le voir);
 (p.76).

This seems to be inspired on the one hand by Andromache's plea to Ulysses in Seneca and Garnier to be allowed time to bid her son farewell:

Brevem moram largire, dum...amplexus ultimo
 avidos dolores satio...
 (Seneca, *Troades* 760-62)⁴⁰;

Permetts, permetts qu'aumoins je le puisse embrasser,
 Et pleurer dessus luy devant que trespasser
 (Garnier, *La Troade* 1075-6);

and on the other by Racine's evocation of the 'douceur' Andromaque finds in seeing her son (*Andromaque*, 260-64, 1065-8). Pradon's "douceur" here probably refers to this mother's simple pleasure in her child, a trait that derives from the Euripidean rather than from the Senecan tradition (see Euripides *Andromache* 406, 418-9, *Troades* 757-8, 1175-6).

The sweetness in motherhood for Andromaque, however, goes along with distress, anxiety and fear. These 'weaker' emotions conflict with her desire and efforts to protect her son. This is apparent throughout her dogged if doomed defensive campaign in Act III. From the outset Andromaque fears her emotion:

Et mes pleurs vont trahir cet innocent larcin
 Qu'Andromaque en veut faire aux fureurs du destin
 (p.35).

This, like the lines preceding it (see below, [7.2.3.3](#), p.393), refers to the Senecan idea of Andromache's fears or emotions betraying her son (*Troades* 513-4), taken up especially by Sallebray (pp.34, 39). Sallebray's version may be echoed here:

⁴⁰ "Grant me a brief moment, while I sate my ravening grief with a last embrace."

his Andromaque formulated her fear of approaching Hector's tomb to hide Astyanax thus:

Mais j'ay peur d'y laisser une vie ennuyeuse
 Et par là découvrir *nôtre fraude pieuse*
 (*La Troade*, p.34).

"*nôtre fraude pieuse*", as discussed at [5.2.3.2\(b\)](#) when considering the genesis of Racine's "innocent stratagème", was Sallebray's rendition of an oxymoron applied to the protection of Astyanax ever since Seneca first coined it: "coniugis furtum piae" (*Troades* 501-2). Pradon picks up the oxymoron here with "innocent larcin". Verbally, Pradon's version is closest on the one hand to Racine, on the other to Garnier, who has Andromache call Astyanax "le cher larcin de ta femme" (*La Troade* 725). The phrase has always been a striking expression of Andromache's 'initiative' in her son's defence, encompassing even deceit and trickery where necessary. Pradon, like Sallebray, sets it in a context where such efforts are described as under threat from within Andromaque herself. Pradon conveys the tension between the two sides of Andromache more effectively than Sallebray, partly because his Andromaque gives us much more evidence of *fermeté* and initiative, partly because he gives fuller expression to the contrast, laying stress on the enormous odds stacked against Andromaque in her efforts to save Astyanax: "cet innocent larcin/
 Qu'Andromaque en veut faire *aux fureurs du destin*", and setting against this heroic opposition the simple threat posed by "mes pleurs".

This tension continues throughout the scene. Andromaque concludes her narrative:

Auprès de ce tombeau toujours trop attachée
 Malgré tous mes transports je m'en suis arrachée,
 Mes yeux incessamment tournez de toutes parts
 Auroient trop fait parler mes timides regards,
 Et parmy les horreurs dont je me sens atteinte
 Je redoute mes pleurs et fremis de ma crainte
 (pp.38-9).

This draws on the whole series of portrayals of Andromache's reactions in the vicinity of the tomb: Seneca, *Troades* 513-5, 615-8, 625-6; Sallebray, *La Troade*, pp.44-5; and especially Garnier, *La Troade* 899-902, 916-8:

Elle pleure, gémist,
Se tourne çà et là, la face luy blemist;
 [...] bref elle a plus de crainte
 Que son âme ne semble estre de deuil atteinte...
 Je luy voy, je luy voy le visage muer,
 [...] *la fremissante crainte*
 De ceste pauvre mère a decouvert la feinte.

But while Pradon is drawing on a well-established tradition for Andromaque's anxiety, he is the first to show her as recognising this danger of self-betrayal before the event herself, and trying to take preventive measures⁴¹. Pradon's resiting of the confrontation with Ulysse away from the tomb certainly allows the resolve to leave the 'danger zone' to be carried out; in other versions the setting of the scene denied Andromache that chance. But Pradon has made the resolve to tear herself away Andromache's own idea, and gives some attention to her battle to minimise the risks imposed by her own emotion: "Malgré tous mes transports *je m'en suis arrachée*". In this *Troade* the tension between motherly concern as expressed in anxiety, emotion and distress on the one hand and motherly concern as expressed in the will and ability to protect by fighting all enemies including oneself on the other is more fully explored than in any previous portrayal.

7.2.1.4: "ma tendresse et...mes efforts"

The presentation of Andromaque's active qualities in defending her son is worth a closer look, both because it is easy to assume that a rôle like Andromaque's would naturally be dominated by an exploitation of its pathos, and because these qualities belong to a long-established tradition going back to Euripides. Firstly, there is the initiative displayed in trying to conceal her son from the Greeks. Pradon develops this quality to a greater extent than Seneca, Garnier and Sallebray. Their heroines were prompted into action by a special warning dream. Pradon's Andromaque, from the start and without any external stimulus, is already engaged in the attempt to conceal her son's whereabouts:

⁴¹ In other versions she is advised or urged by others to guard against self-betrayal: Seneca's 'Old Man', Garnier's Helenus, Sallebray's Cassandre.

HÉCUBE: Ce fils que vous cachez avec tant d'artifice
 Pourra-t-il échaper à l'adresse d'Ulysse?
 (I sc.iii, p.9);

ANDROMAQUE: Pour cacher de mon fils et le nom et la race
 Je le fais élever parmi la populace,
 Les Grecs, vous le sçavez, incertains de son sort
 Doutent s'il est vivant encore ou s'il est mort
 (p.10).

This is reminiscent of the qualities of intelligent foresight reported of Andromaque in Racine (without, however, any of the questions of scruple that the latter's act of substitution (*Andromaque* 73-4, 221-2) has often raised). Most of all, it resembles Andromache's extra-dramatic actions in Euripides' *Andromache*:

ὅς δ' ἔστι πᾶσι μοι μόνος, ὑπεκπέμπω λάθρα
 ἄλλους ἐς οἴκους, μὴ θάνη φοβουμένη
 (47-8)⁴²;

MENEΛΑΟΣ: ἦκω λαβὼν σὸν παῖδ', ὃν εἰς ἄλλους δόμους
 λάθρα [...] ὑπεξέθευ [...] ἀλλ' ἐφηυρέθης
 ἦσσον φρονούσα τοῦδε Μενέλεω, γύναι
 (309-13)⁴³.

In Euripides, Andromache must rely on her own wits, though others may help her carry out her resolutions. In Pradon, likewise, it is Andromaque who finds out the one possible hiding-place for her son, though she receives help from other Trojan women in putting the concealment into effect:

Je cherchois dans les murs d'une Ville détruite [...]
 Apres avoir tenté d'inutiles efforts
 Je n'ay trouvé pour nous que la tombe et les morts [...]
 Ainsi, lors que les Grecs occupez d'autres soins
 Sur le declin du jour nous observoient le moins,

⁴² "He who is my only son, I have secretly sent him away to another house, fearing lest he should die."

⁴³ "MENELAOS: I have come having seized your son, whom you had had carried away in secret...but you have been discovered, woman, being out-thought by Menelaos."

Quelques femmes et moy sortant hors de nos tentes
 Nous avons pris mon fils, et là toutes tremblantes
 Nous l'avons (regardant cent fois autour de nous)
 Conduit secrettement auprès de mon époux,
 Au superbe tombeau que Priam fist construire,
 Que l'ennemy repecte et qu'il n'ose détruire

(pp.36-7).

The narrative format gives Pradon the opportunity for an effectively atmospheric piece of description, with its elements of darkness, secrecy, fearfulness, apprehension and an impression of the courage of the captive women who thus brave the enemy and their fears.

The second quality we may note is Andromaque's sacrificial courage in the face of her son's danger. Little need be said on this: the element has been constant in her portrayal from Euripides on (*Andromache* 410, 413-5), and Pradon's evocations of it closely echo the standard representations. Andromaque's defiance of Ulysses' threats of death if she will not co-operate (Seneca *Troades* 576-7, Garnier 853-5 and Sallebray p.43: "Menacés moy de vivre..." etc) recurs in Pradon: "Pour m'ébranler / C'est trop peu que la mort..." (p.43). So does her wish to die in her son's place (Garnier 722, Sallebray p.34: "Juste Ciel pers la mere..."): "Eh! sauvez-le, Seigneur, au dépens de sa mere" (Pradon p.46).

More original is Pradon's development of Andromaque's quality of intellect, in terms of calculated speech and eloquence. Other Andromaches have displayed these qualities to various degrees, but only those of Racine and Euripides (*Andromache*) have been particularly outstanding for intelligent, persuasive and occasionally artful use of speech. While Pradon's portrayal of Andromaque's abilities in these areas may not possess the complex subtlety of ambiguity, irony and insinuation that distinguishes the speeches of Racine's heroine, he nonetheless gives his Andromaque speeches which deserve to be considered alongside those in Racine and Euripides as demonstrating a particular level of intellectual and rhetorical quality inherent in his conception of Andromaque.

As regards the employment of this quality in Astyanax's cause, this claim may be based on two speeches in particular⁴⁴. Firstly, there is Andromaque's response to Ulysse's opening attack, which here for the first time

⁴⁴ The rhetorical qualities of Andromaque's defence of Hector's tomb have already been considered (7.1.4).

is based on guile and dissimulation, pretending to offer Astyanax support and protection. Andromaque responds in kind:

a Andromaque, Seigneur, vous est trop redevable
b De cet empressement si tendre et pitoyable
c Qui vous fait, mais trop tard, prendre soin de son fils,
d Et vos pieux desseins par malheur sont trahis
e Ne dissimulons point, il n'est plus temps de feindre
f Je n'ay plus rien à perdre et n'ay plus rien à craindre,
g Grâce au débris de Troye, et grâce aux Dieux cruels
h Nos mains ne versent plus d'encens sur leurs Autels,
i Et nostre bouche enfin, déplorant nos miseres,
j Est ouverte â la plainte et non pas aux prières,
k Oüy, malgré ma tendresse et malgré mes efforts,
l Mon cher Astyanax est au nombre des morts,
m J'en atteste ces Dieux qui doivent le connoistre
n Il n'est plus en état de recevoir un maistre,
o Et le cruel destin me ravit aujourd'huy
p La funeste douceur de craindre encor pour luy

(p.41).

The substance of this derives from Andromache's feigned admission of Astyanax's death occurring at a slightly later stage in Seneca (595-604), Garnier (787-800, 871-2) and Sallebray (pp.42-3). Each version found its own ambiguous phrase for Andromache's oath taken to persuade Ulysses of Astyanax's demise. There is little, then, to choose between the various versions of the 'core' of each of these speeches. It is what is built up around that core that makes the difference. Admittedly, not all of what Pradon does construct is equally successful. Besides the oath, the speech is mainly concerned with developing the theme of 'no more hope or fear, but only grief' in connection with Astyanax's death. This derives from an inversion of an idea expressed by Seneca's Andromache:

cogit hic aliquid deos
adhuc rogare [...]
hic mihi malorum maximum fructum abstulit,
nihil timere

(*Troades*, 420-23)⁴⁵,

picked up by Garnier (*La Troade* 630-36); possibly also from the similar sentiment of Euripides' *Andromache*, though not specifically applied to her son, in *Troades*:

ἐμοὶ γὰρ οὐδ' ὃ πᾶσι λείπεται βροτοῖς
ξύνεστιν ἐλπίς, οὐδὲ κλέπτομαι φρένας
πράξειν τι κεδνόν· ἦδὺ δ' ἐστὶ καὶ δοκεῖν
(681-3)⁴⁶.

Pradon's main development of this theme (*g-j*) is on the long-winded and ponderous side. On the other hand, this is almost redeemed by the ringing introductory line:

Je n'ay plus rien à perdre et n'ay plus rien à craindre.

This effectively conveys the proper tone of the recklessness induced by despair, while at the same time the audience is aware that the feeling so resoundingly stated is a simulation, that *Andromaque* is putting on an act. If we compare this with its possible source, Seneca's 610-12:

ULIXE: auspicia metuunt, qui nihil maius timent...
si peierat, timere quid gravius potest?⁴⁷

and with the verbally similar couplet from *Astianax* in *Sallebray*:

Le fils du grand Hector se peut-il voir contraindre,
Et se doit-il cacher n'ayant plus rien à craindre?

(*La Troade*, p.38),

⁴⁵ "He [my son] makes me still crave favours of the gods...He has taken from me the greatest reward of my sorrows, that I had nothing to fear."

⁴⁶ "For with me there is not even what remains to all mortals, hope, nor can I deceive my mind that I shall fare any better; yet even to delude oneself is sweet."

⁴⁷ "Men fear oaths who fear nothing worse...Yet if she forswears herself, what more dreadful blow has she to fear?"

we can see to what good use Pradon has put his more or less sententious source material. The same, I believe, is true of the parallel sentiment expressed in the closing couplet:

Et le cruel destin me ravit aujourd'huy
La funeste douceur de craindre encor pour luy.

This again draws on and inverts those observations of Andromache in Seneca and Garnier that Astyanax's continuing survival takes from her despair the consolation of having nothing worse to fear. Pradon's *Andromaque* regards this fear as double-edged but also far preferable to the absence of all need for maternal emotion. In this we may find a parallel with the views of Euripides' *Andromache*:

πᾶσι δ' ἀνθρώποις ἄρ' ἦν
ψυχὴ τέκνῳ· ὅστις δ' αὐτ' ἄπειρος ὦν ψέγει,
ἦσσον μὲν ἀλγεί, δυστυχῶν δ' εὐδαιμονεῖ
(*Andromache*, 418-20)⁴⁸.

The oxymoron in 420 makes a similar point to Pradon's "funeste douceur". There is a perhaps closer verbal parallel with the disingenuous rejoinder of Seneca's *Andromache* when Ulysses is trying to force a betrayal of her fear: "Utinam timerem" (*Troades* 632: "I wish there were reason to fear"). Pradon's couplet fulfils the same purpose as Seneca's two words: expressing a simulated emotion in order to maintain a deception. But the way that that emotion is phrased, particularly in the felicitous choice of "funeste douceur" to encapsulate the state of *Andromaque*'s feelings towards her son, coupled with the consistency of the emotion with what we have seen of her reactions earlier in the act, gives the lines an emotive power in their own right as an expression of feeling and pathos. Pradon combines the poignant conviction evident in the words of Euripides' *Andromache* with the calculated dissimulation called forth from Seneca's *Andromache* by the plot. As a result, there is a stronger impression that the emotion *Andromaque* refers to is real even though the underlying factual premise is not; and that therefore, as is possible with Racine's *Andromaque* in passages such as *Andromaque* 375-80 and 943-6, this *Andromaque* is voicing and exploiting a genuine feeling for disingenuous

⁴⁸ "For to all men their children are as life itself; and whoever, having no experience of this [i.e. having children], finds fault with it, well, he may have less distress, but fares evilly even in his 'good fortune'."

purposes. The positioning of these statements speaks in favour of viewing them as intended to indicate something about Andromaque's capacities. They occur in Andromaque's first speech of the scene, before Ulysse has begun to try to frighten her into self-betrayal. Pradon has altered his sources to have Andromaque take the initiative in the battle of wits with Ulysse.

The second speech offering evidence that Pradon's conception of Andromaque as mother involves a particular intellectual and rhetorical ability involves persuasion of a more straightforward kind: supplication rather than dissimulation. This is the conclusion of the speech in which she is finally forced to reveal Astyanax's whereabouts to Ulysse:

[...] Mettez dans vos liens
Et la crainte des Grecs et l'espoir des Troyens,
Vous voyez que les Dieux en bornant leur vengeance
De la flame de Troye ont sauvé son enfance,
Tout le reste a passé par le glaive ou les feux,
Ne soyez pas, Seigneur, plus cruel que les Dieux
(p.46).

The probable rhetorical thrust of "Et la crainte des Grecs et l'espoir des Troyens", involving an irony at once slighting her enemies and insisting on Astyanax's harmlessness, was discussed at [7.2.1.1](#). Andromaque's final plea reveals an eloquence that is equally effective. This turns on an argument recurring throughout the literary tradition of the aftermath of Troy: that the war has caused enough Trojan blood to be shed. We meet the idea in its earliest form in Euripides' *Hecuba*, when the queen pleads for her daughter's life:

τῶν τεθνηκότων ἄλις
[...] ἀποκτείνειν φθόνος
γυναῖκας, ἃς τὸ πρῶτον οὐκ ἐκτείνατε
βωμῶν ἀποσπάσαντες, ἀλλ' ὤκτίρατε
(278, 288-90)⁴⁹.

⁴⁹ "Sufficient is the number of the slain...it would be a deed arousing the resentment of the gods to kill women whom at first you did not kill when dragging them from the altars, but spared."

Seneca's Agamemnon, also speaking of Polyxena's proposed death, develops this to formulate a positive principle:

quidquid eversae potest
superesse Troiae, maneat: exactum satis
poenarum et ultra est

(287-9)⁵⁰;

Racine's Pyrrhus took up this principle with reference to Astyanax as part of his defiance: " L'Epire sauvera ce que Troie a sauvé" (*Andromaque* 220). The expression of this idea that is closest to Pradon's, however, occurs in the prayer of Garnier's Andromache as she commits her son to the tomb:

Dieux, si quelque pitié vos courages repaist...
Hélas! pardonnez-nous, et pardonnez à ceux
A qui ont pardonné les glaives et les feux

(*La Troade*, 715-20).

Garnier's lines express with great pathos Andromache's chastened humility in the face of catastrophe falling from heaven. Pradon does not neglect this note of pathos: his *Andromaque* too accepts in her words the position of one who advances no claim before her heavenly judges, but can only hope in their clemency: "les Dieux en bornant leur vangeance", cf. "Hélas! pardonnez-nous...". In the respect of evoking her shattered world, Pradon's *Andromaque* actually goes further: she speaks of all else save only Astyanax having been swept away, in a line of fine poignancy:

Tout le reste a passé par le glaive ou les feux.

Garnier's line, with its vague plural, impresses us less with this sense of total loss: "*ceux/ A qui ont pardonné les glaives et les feux*", though it has its own poignancy in the personification of insensate elements of destruction as having spared those who now survive. Pradon abandons this latter touch, not merely to vary the pathetic effect. He shifts Garnier's idea into a context of persuasion directed at man, rather than pure supplication directed at the gods. Applying the argument to Ulysse, his *Andromaque* transfers the gods from the position of

⁵⁰ "Whatever can survive from Troy overthrown, let it remain: enough punishment and more has been imposed."

having to grant Astyanax's future survival to that of having already granted his life, thus making the boy's survival the result of divine disposition rather than an incidental felicity of the fortunes of war. This gives Andromaque a strong moral centre to her argument and allows her to argue from a stronger rhetorical standpoint than usual: she may be a helpless captive pleading for mercy, but her words also cast her in the rôle of one not entirely bereft of support - the gods are on her side. The transferal paves the way for her climactic injunction, which has both pathos and moral force, and a touch of simple eloquence besides:

Ne soyez pas, Seigneur, plus cruel que les Dieux.

7.2.2: The conflict between Andromaque's regard for Astyanax and her regard for Hector

The other sort of tension apparent in the portrayal of Andromaque's relationship with her son involves two other relationships: those between Andromaque and Hector and Andromaque and Pyrrhus. This tension lies at the heart of the two major components of Andromaque's rôle in the action: the struggle to save her son in Hector's tomb, and her reactions to the possibility of enlisting Pyrrhus' help to save Astyanax.

In terms of actual dramatic action, Pradon centres his version of the conflict in Andromaque's regard between son and husband on the Senecan tomb scene. Yet as already seen, Pradon's Andromaque faces no real dilemma as to whether to abandon Hector's remains or her son. Instead, Pradon presents the conflict as a question of attention: when the crisis comes, who is more on Andromaque's mind? He maintains tension here mostly by the comparatively simple device of shifting the centre of attention back and forth between Astyanax and Hector in clearly marked stages. Attention is drawn to questions of a conflict of interests in the transition passages between the various stages. For example, the exchange with Hésione (considered above, [7.1.2](#)) which marks the shift of focus from Hector (in Andromaque's lament) to Astyanax (with Ulisse's entrance to demand the child) contains the view that Andromaque's concentration on Hector is *at the present moment* endangering Astyanax:

Ah Ciel! que faites-vous rapellant vos douleurs [...]
 Madame, oubliez-vous cette ferme constance [...]
 Pour cacher vostre fils il faut la rappeler
 (p.39).

Similarly, the switch between the early exchanges with Ulysse concerning Astyanax's fate and the passage concentrating on the defence of Hector's tomb is effected by Ulysse's ultimatum:

Hé bien, donc puis que rien ne sçauroit vous toucher
 Nous verrons à quel point vostre époux vous est cher,
 Puis que du fils d'Hector on ne peut rien apprendre,
 On va briser sa tombe et profaner sa cendre...
 (p.43).

Thus Pradon does appear concerned to keep a sense of tension alive. It is, however, probably true that the tension has an almost purely 'theatrical' purpose: it is not meant, as in *Andromaque* or Seneca's *Troades*, to convey any deep-seated ambivalence within Andromache's personality or outlook. There are strong suggestions throughout that this *Andromaque's* feelings for husband and son are very much more integrated than has elsewhere been the case. One such indication is the fact that, in Pradon's version, we can read her whole response to Ulysse's ultimatum as a consistent defence of the interests of both husband and son. As argued earlier, in attempting to dissuade Ulysse from destruction of the tomb, she is also shielding its precious contents; once this proves fruitless, she admits her son's whereabouts as the only course left to her and pleads for Astyanax instead.

Another indication of Pradon's more integrated approach to *Andromaque's* relationships with husband and son is to be seen in the lines linking the account of hiding Astyanax to the lament for Hector:

Astyanax mon fils, Hector mon cher époux,
 Qu'Andromaque n'est-elle enfermée avec vous?
 Hesione, [...]
 Afin que ramassant les traits de mon malheur
 Je puisse, pour les joindre, expirer de douleur,
 Fay moy d'un époux mort des peintures vivantes
 (p.39).

Pradon's Andromaque laments Hector at a moment of crisis for Astyanax, but does so in the stated wish to join *both* of them in the tomb. When Sallebray's Andromaque talked of dying of grief at her husband's tomb, it was presented as a danger to Astyanax (*La Troade* p.34); elsewhere the idea of reunion with Hector, when invoked while her son yet lived, is set in opposition to the child's interests:

iam [...] coniugem sequerer meum,
nisi hic teneret
(Seneca, *Troades* 418-9)⁵¹;

Je l'eusse [Hector] jà suivi [...]
Si ce petit enfant ne m'en eust empeschée
(Garnier, 629-30).

Clearly this is no part of Pradon's conception: instead, he sets the lament for Hector in a context where Andromaque's love for husband and son are spoken of as in harmony with each other. We might say, then, that Pradon 'tones down' much of the internal conflict which elsewhere is so important in Andromache's portrayal, though keeping alive a sense of that conflict in its external manifestations so as not to lose its dramatic advantages.

7.2.3: The conflict between Andromaque's regard for Astyanax and her attitude to Pyrrhus

The second conflict represented between Astyanax and Hector in Andromaque's regard appears in Pradon's portrayal, adapted from Racine, of Andromaque as a woman torn between her love for her son and her repugnance for the man who holds the child's safety in his hands. The complexities of the Pyrrhus-Andromaque relationship will be examined later; here we are concerned with the way that relationship interacts with Andromaque's concern for Astyanax.

7.2.3.1: Aversion

We first hear of Andromaque's aversion and its implications from Hécube in the opening scene of the play:

⁵¹ "I would follow my husband even now, if this [child] did not keep me back."

Ah! ma chere Hesione, Andromaque est trop fiere,
 Je tremble pour son fils de son humeur austere,
 Elle abhorre Pyrrhus, et doit le menager
 Pour conserver un fils qui pourroit nous vanger...
 (p.4).

In terms of content we may compare the lines with those of Racine's *Céphise* in *Andromaque*:

Madame, à votre époux c'est être assez fidèle:
Trop de vertu pourrait vous rendre criminelle.
 Lui-même il porterait votre âme à la douceur
 (*ibid.*, 981-3).

Céphise's advice - "[porter] votre âme à la douceur" - is somewhat more specific and commits Andromaque somewhat further than Hécube's more nebulous "menager", but then it is a specific and highly committed response that Pyrrhus demands of Andromaque in Racine's play. The position in Pradon, except for the undercurrents of romantic interest, is perhaps more similar to that evoked by Euripides in *Troades*, in lines which quite possibly lay behind Racine's depiction of Andromaque's position:

ΑΝΔΡΟΜΑΧΗ: κεί μὲν [...]

πρὸς τὸν παρόντα πόσιν ἀναπτύξω φρένα,
 κακῆ φανοῦμαι [...] τόνδε δ' αὖ
 στυγοῦσ' ἐμαυτῆς δεσπότης μισήσομαι.
 καίτοι λέγουσιν ὡς μί' εὐφρόνη χαλᾶ
 τὸ δυσμενὲς γυναικὸς εἰς ἀνδρὸς λέχος
 [...]

ΕΚΑΒΗ: τίμα δὲ τὸν παρόντα δεσπότην σέθεν,
 φίλον διδοῦσα δέλεαρ ἀνδρὶ σῶν τρόπων.
 κὰν δρᾶς τὰδ' [...]

[...] παῖδα τόνδε [...] ἐκθρέψειας ἄν

(661-6, 699-702)⁵².

⁵² "ANDROMACHE: And if..I open up my mind/heart to my present 'husband', I shall appear a traitress...; but if, on the other hand, I abhor him, I shall be hated by my master(s). And yet they say that one night in a man's bed loosens a woman's hostility... -HECUBA: Honour/respect your present master, offering to the man a pleasing bait of your ways/manners...And if you do this...you may rear up this child."

Hécube's reference to Andromaque's reaction to Pyrrhus and his passion seems particularly close to Euripides' lines:

Elle abhorre Pyrrhus, et doit le menager
Pour conserver un fils [...]

(p.4).

This 'aversion' idea is given full development when Andromaque makes her first appearance in I sc.iii:

Nous sommes vous et moy le partage d'Ulisse,
Le sort [l'a] resolu, Madame, et grace aux Dieux
J'evite de Pyrrhus l'esclavage odieux,
Oüy, du courroux du Ciel j'auray moins à me plaindre,
Pour la veuve d'Hector Ulisse est moins à craindre.
J'aprehendois Pyrrhus et dans mon juste effroy
J'aurois crû toûjours voir Achille devant moy

(p.9).

Here, there are both similarities and slight but telling differences to Andromaque's feelings in Racine. The basic aversion is the same and has the same motivation: evoked here by the designation "la veuve d'Hector": "Pour la veuve d'Hector Ulisse est moins à craindre/ J'aprehendois Pyrrhus...", with which compare Racine's:

Elle est veuve d'Hector et je suis fils d'Achille:
Trop de haine sépare Andromaque et Pyrrhus
(*Andromaque* 662-3)

and its antecedents in Sallebray:

Quel barbare Démon [...]
Mele le fils d'Achille à la veufve d'Hector?
(*La Troade*, p.77)

and Euripides *Troades*:

τί δ' ἄ τοῦ Ἑκτορος δάμαρ, [...] ...
καὶ τήνδ' Ἀχιλλέως ἔλαβε παῖς
(271-3)⁵³.

Pradon does not here exploit the potentially significant title "fils d'Achille", which perhaps makes his evocation of Andromaque's reactions in such a phrase as "de Pyrrhus l'esclavage odieux" less trenchant than Euripides' description of the same condition:

Ἀχιλλέως με παῖς ἐβουλήθη λαβεῖν
δάμαρτα· δουλεύσω δ' ἐν αὐθεντῶν δόμοις
(*Troades*, 659-60)⁵⁴,

which he may have had in mind. On the other hand, the motivation that Pyrrhus' being Achilles' son provides for Andromaque's aversion is given new and rather striking expression:

[...] et dans mon juste effroy
J'aurois crû toûjours voir Achille devant moy
(p.9).

The identification of Pyrrhus with his father that we saw at work in Racine on a 'psychological' level - 'psychological' both in Andromache's own mental equation of father and son, and in the resemblance of temperament suggested between Pyrrhus and Achilles - becomes in Pradon a partly physical phenomenon. The line suggests that Andromaque would *see* in Pyrrhus the image of his father: the thought of life with Pyrrhus was intolerable to her because he would thus present her husband's killer forever before her eyes.

In this scene, Pradon portrays Andromaque's aversion to the son of Achilles with lucidity and conviction. His portrayal may lack the subtlety that characterised Racine's rendition of the same psychological case, which depended on allusion and suggestion rather than straightforward statement, or even Euripides', which, although involving more direct indications (e.g. *Andromache* 403) more often relied on the undertones of patronymic reference.

⁵³ "What of Hector's wife?...The son of Achilles has taken her..."

⁵⁴ "Achilles' son wished to take me as 'wife'; I shall be a slave in the house of murderers."

Pradon's version may lack, too, the poignant, painful force of the reality in Euripides of Neoptolemos' possession of Andromache, or in Racine of Pyrrhus' demands for it. Nonetheless, Andromaque's direct statement of the case in Pradon's words has its own effectiveness:

Dans les mains de Pyrrhus, Madame, quel azile?
 C'est un monstre pour moy que le seul nom d'Achille
 Et je pourrois me voir dans les mains de son fils?
 Grace au Ciel tous mes voeux n'ont point esté trahis,
 Andromaque eut rougy d'un si cruel partage,
 Je suis veuve d'Hector et j'en ay le courage

(p.10).

Here, Pradon does make expanded and expository use of the significant patronymic "fils d'Achille", spelling out its full meaning for Andromaque as that meaning has been implied and alluded to in Euripides' and Racine's recurrent use of the title. The terms, as regards the impact of a name, perhaps recall the words of Racine's Cléone to Hermione in *Andromaque*:

Vous qu'on voyait frémir au *seul nom d'Andromaque*
 (1134)

or those of his Ériphile in *Iphigénie*:

[Achille] De qui jusques au nom tout doit m'être odieux
 (475).

Pradon's Andromaque shudders at the name of Achilles for reasons similar to Ériphile's; but whereas Ériphile's reference to Achilles' name is a means of rhetorical emphasis for the point that everything about this man she loves ought to repel her, in Pradon the 'name of Achilles' is in itself at the heart of Andromaque's emotional reactions. Andromaque is reacting to Achilles' relationship to the man who presently confronts her, summed up in the title "fils d'Achille"⁵⁵. Pradon's: "C'est un monstre pour moy que le seul nom d'Achille" is therefore more literal than Racine's line in *Iphigénie*, and this helps to support the highly-coloured epithet "monstre"; the line gains in force from its

⁵⁵ The assimilation involved in this reaction corresponds to that evoked in Racine, 279-80, 1031 (4.3.2) and Eur. *And.* 403.

very literalness. In fact the insistently explicatory straightforwardness of the couplet as a whole:

C'est un monstre pour moy que le seul nom d'Achille,
Et je pourrois me voir dans les mains de son fils?,

while gaining its point by means rather different from the power of suggestion employed by Racine and Euripides, does so effectively nonetheless.

7.2.3.2: Pride

Effective and interesting though Pradon's evocation of Andromaque's emotional aversion to Achilles' son is, it is, in his portrayal, only one side of her motivation in shunning Pyrrhus' help for Astyanax. "Veuve d'Hector", which is used as a finishing touch to the description of Andromaque's reactions to Pyrrhus: "Je suis veuve d'Hector et j'en ay le courage" (p.10), in Pradon takes on a further significance. The previous line, "Andromaque eut rougy d'un si cruel partage" spells out the meaning implicit in other writers' use of "Hector's widow", when talking of the "son of Achilles'" desire for her. But the precise nature of the sentiment involved in "rougy" prepares for the second significance of "veuve d'Hector": the mirror-image pride Andromaque shares with her husband. "Veuve d'Hector" here serves as a transition. On one level it looks back to all that Andromaque has said about the influence on her reactions to Pyrrhus of his being the son of Achilles, Hector's killer. On another it looks forward to what Andromaque will go on to say about the sheer pride that will not let her bow the knee to her enemy.

This motive of pride had been indicated earlier, in Hécube's account of Andromaque's reactions (I sc.i, p.4). It is necessary to distinguish here between two sorts of pride. That which Pradon's Hécube worries about appears to be largely a 'temperamental' pride, a general characteristic pattern of behaviour - and this is supported by the way Andromaque herself (pp.10,11) and Pyrrhus (p.16) talk about the trait. That which may in part motivate Euripides' Andromache (who expresses a certain pride in virtue, 643-56) and certainly in part motivates Racine's Andromaque is more an 'ethical' concept: the unwillingness to compromise one's perceived virtue or duty. This 'ethical' concept of pride is in Andromache's experiences closely inter-related with her 'emotional' responses concerning loyalty to Hector: she was his wife, she loved him, she wants no second husband, she shrinks from the son of the man who

killed him. Now, certainly this 'ethical' pride is important in Pradon's portrayal of Andromaque:

Mais si mon fils m'est cher ma gloire m'est plus chere
 Et si du fier Pyrrhus je demandois l'appuy
 Hector defavoüroit Andromaque aujourd'huy
 (p.11).

This involves personal, 'emotional' loyalty within a statement concerned with the pride of honour and with duty (7.1.3, above). A similar response is possibly involved in the last statement of Andromaque's speech here:

Et nous irons plutôt à la mort resolu
 Dans le tombeau d'Hector qu'aux genoux de Pyrrhus
 (p.11).

The personal aversion to Pyrrhus referred to here relates, as in Racine and Euripides, to the 'ethical' sort of pride. At the same time that latter couplet strikes one also as a defiance of proud conquering enemies that is independent of personal conceptions of loyalty and honour: Andromaque is a princess who refuses to bow the knee. The context makes it quite clear that this is a strong influence in Andromaque's response:

Mais j'ay comme mon fils la fierté de son pere,
 Et nous irons plutôt à la mort resolu
 (p.11);

and on this occasion the case is stated with this sort of pride uppermost. Likewise, the context lends a similar ambiguity to Andromaque's earlier remarks:

On ne me verra point d'un esprit plus soûmis
 Embrasser les genoux de nos fiers ennemis,
 J'ay pour Astyanax des tendresses de mere,
 Mais si mon fils m'est cher ma gloire m'est plus chere...
 (p.10).

The reference to "[le] *fier* Pyrrhus" in the following line introduces something of the colouring of this pride of a princess's temperament into the fabric of her statement of loyalty itself.

We have already noted that this differs from the evocation of such 'temperamental' pride in Seneca, Garnier and Racine (7.1.3). Pradon is here making the trait a living part of the conflict between Astyanax's survival and his mother's personal priorities. Moreover the stated emphasis on pride, whether temperamental or ethical, as a factor in that conflict, both in Andromaque's speech and in Hécube's remonstrances, is much greater than in Euripides or in Racine. Euripides' Hecuba censures Andromache for useless grief, Racine's Céphise for excessive *vertu*; even the exaggerated criticisms of Racine's Pyrrhus accuse her of excessive hatred rather than excessive pride. No character has ever censured Andromache for her attitude to her son's interests in quite the same terms as Pradon's Hécube does:

Andromaque est trop fiere,
Je tremble pour son fils de son humeur austere,

nor has any other Andromache given such credence to this view as Pradon's Andromaque gives: "Mais si mon fils m'est cher ma gloire m'est plus chere". So in Pradon's version Astyanax has to struggle in his mother's regard not just against her love for Hector and the aversion to Pyrrhus arising from it, nor just her sense of honour and loyalty to Hector and the avoidance of Pyrrhus it demands, but perhaps above all with her own pride. Pradon's individual stress on that pride is his own addition to and amplification of Andromaque's internal conflict. It still, though, relates back to the basic idea of a conflict between Astyanax and Hector: as already pointed out, Andromaque's own pride is presented as an expression of the closeness of her relationship with her husband: " Je suis veuve d'Hector et j'en ay le courage... ", " Mais j'ay comme son fils la fierté de son pere". The essential conflict is the same; only the area found in which to express that conflict is new, Pradon's original contribution.

7.2.3.3: Collapse of the conflict

So, while the conflict suggested in the tomb scene was a 'phantom' conflict, Pradon has here set up a real struggle, based on previous approaches but highlighting an original aspect of the case, between Astyanax and Andromaque's other preoccupations. Yet after all this careful preparation and exposition, ending with the issue up in the air so that we are left in suspense as

to Andromaque's response, the dilemma is squashed flat in the early lines of each of her two subsequent appearances, III sc.i and IV sc.iii. We never see Andromaque agonising between the surrender of her pride, loyalty or love and the surrender of Astyanax. Instead, on each occasion the victory of maternal concern for her son over every other consideration is immediately proclaimed.

The *récit* in IV sc.iii of the critical encounter between Andromaque and Pyrrhus probably shows most clearly the awkwardness of this abrupt victory. Here Andromaque recounts her surrender to the necessity of entreating Pyrrhus, and we see at once that the 'ethical' pride and the emotional aversion to Pyrrhus that drove her to shun his help have undergone a total collapse.

Le hazard [m'a] conduit sur ses pas, et mes pleurs,
 Ont rendu son grand coeur sensible à mes malheurs,
 Je n'ay pû soutenir un trop fier caractere,
 Il m'a veuë éperduë et telle qu'une mere,
 Qui tremble pour son fils du plus cruel trépas...

(p.58).

This is obviously entirely different from the final tortuous acquiescence of Racine's Andromaque in Pyrrhus' demands; and no interval of conflict is either shown or suggested. Andromaque's reservations about accepting help from Pyrrhus are dismissed in a line: "Je n'ay pû soutenir un trop fier caractere". Under pressure she simply yields to her maternity: "Il m'a veuë éperduë et telle qu'une mere/ Qui tremble pour son fils...". It has to be said, moreover, that Pradon and Pyrrhus between them have removed from her yielding virtually everything that made it part of a real conflict, and that rendered this such a tortuous surrender in Racine. Andromaque is relieved of the responsibility of having to seek out Pyrrhus for help and even of the necessity of having to speak to him (p.58).

Pyrrhus, for his part, while his passionate susceptibility to Andromaque's tears is the same as in Racine, is also actuated by pity ("Et grâce à la pitié de son couer prévenue", p.58), and is thus prepared to act for Andromaque without requiring a return. The last line of Andromaque's account gives the crucial difference from the situation in Racine.

Sans luy rien demander j'en ay tout obtenu

(p.58).

Racine's *Andromaque* had to ask and to bargain for what she needed from Pyrrhus; Pradon's *Andromaque* does not even, in the end, have to ask, and nothing is required from her except acceptance of the help offered. Nothing could be further from the impassioned, often both wounded and wounding, exchanges of Pyrrhus and *Andromaque* in their confrontations in Racine.

The account of *Andromaque's* motherly distress is indeed effectively done:

Je n'ay pû soutenir un trop fier caractere
 Il m'a veüe éperduë et telle qu'une mere
 Qui tremble pour son fils du plus cruel trépas,
 On venoit d'arracher ce fils d'entre mes bras...
 (p.58).

And Pradon has certainly succeeded in writing *Andromaque* out of the corner into which his portrayal of her unbendingly proud attitude towards Pyrrhus had driven her, so that her maternal concern emerges intact at virtually no cost to her honour. But one is left with the impression that the obstacles, both *Andromaque's* extreme pride and the potential threat to her loyalty and devotion to Hector that Pyrrhus' passion poses, have been tidied away in a manner that is rather too tame and much too abrupt. Pradon's *Andromaque* talks without apparent trouble of the "amour" in Pyrrhus' eyes as promising help; in sharp contrast to Racine's *Andromaque* who never mentions Pyrrhus' "amour" without deploring it (*Andromaque* 300, 341, 1041). This does not trouble our image of *Andromaque* here, since matters have clearly been arranged so that Pyrrhus' love poses no real threat to her. But the evaporation of that threat, after all that *Andromaque's* words in Act I conveyed to us of the depth to which she felt it, seems a rather disappointing way to finish off the conflict. *Andromaque's* uncomplicated appreciation of Pyrrhus' qualities at this point: "mes pleurs/ Ont rendu son grand coeur sensible à mes malheurs", is somewhat too warm as set against her earlier outright refusal to treat with him, when such a transition has been unprepared for. In Racine, *Andromaque's* more positive reflections on Pyrrhus appeared from the outset as well as towards the end, could usually be justified as having a strategic underlying rhetorical purpose in her campaign to get Pyrrhus onside, and remained compatible both with her utter denial of what he hoped from her and with her wary consciousness of his less attractive side: as can be seen early in

the play when she applies to Pyrrhus a parallel epithet to that used by Pradon here:

Faut-il qu'*un si grand coeur* montre tant de faiblesse!
 Voulez-vous qu'un dessein si beau, si généreux,
 Passe pour le transport d'un esprit amoureux?
 (*Andromaque* 298-300).

There are no such subtleties or gradations at work in Pradon's portrayal here.

In III sc.i, similarly, we saw that the 'temperamental' pride that preferred death even for her son to any hint of weakness or surrender has crumbled:

Dans la juste douleur dont mon ame est atteinte
 Toute ma fierté cede à l'horreur de ma crainte,...
 (p.35; see below, p.393).

This abrupt abandonment of pride is nothing new, of course. In attempted defence of Astyanax Andromache has done the same in Seneca (*Troades* 691-2), Garnier (1013-6; for both, see above, p.29), and Racine (*Andromaque* 913-6). Where the difference lies with Pradon is that the pride abandoned here was among the most prominently expressed of the feelings she would have to sacrifice, affirmed as positively as any other consideration and more positively than was ever the case in Seneca and Garnier (where it is mentioned for the first time at the moment of surrender) or even in Racine (where it is always overshadowed by *Andromaque's* other feelings of 'haine' for Pyrrhus and 'amour' for Hector).

In neither III sc.i nor IV sc.iii is any period of conflict or dilemma portrayed, such as we have in Seneca, Garnier, Sallebray and Racine centering on the other strong emotions whose sacrifice the preservation of Astyanax's life demands. Thus the only tension arising out of Pradon's initial presentation of *Andromaque's* conflict between pride and aversion on the one hand and maternity on the other, comes from the length of time we have to wait to find out which side will have its way with *Andromaque*: from the end of I sc.iii to the beginning of III sc.i in the case of the general pride of no surrender to the enemy or to her own emotions; from the end of I sc.iii to the beginning of IV sc.iii in the case of the particular pride and loyalty of no compromise with Pyrrhus. But that tension depends solely on theatrical timing; it is quite independent of the portrayal of *Andromaque* herself. We are informed of a

change in her attitude as soon as she appears in each scene where we need to know of it; and that is that.

This might lead to the conclusion that Pradon's portrayal of Andromaque's reactions is entirely conditioned by his own theatrical requirements. At one point he wants her to provide a good argument with Hécube and raise a sense of tension that can be maintained by simple delayed resolution; at another he wants her to move the audience with the full pathos of a mother's distress; at a third he needs to have her operate on the sensibilities of Pyrrhus to move the plot to its climax. But this view cannot fully account for the initial highlighted presentation of Andromaque's unswerving pride and loyalty to Hector opposing the practical inducements of a relationship with Pyrrhus. Pradon has *chosen* to include this aspect, derived from Racine and probably Euripides, within a basic plot from which it has been banished since Seneca; has *chosen* to give an original thrust and increased emphasis to the element of pride in her aversion. Granted that he wanted the idea included for its dramatic potential of conflict, his development of Andromaque's motivation goes beyond what would be needed simply to fulfil that potential. This is borne out by the interest sustained in Andromaque's pride after the exchange with Hécube, through Pyrrhus' largely approving discussion of it in I sc.vi in a context which may concern the tensions and ironies bound up in the suit of Achilles' son for Hector's widow (see [7.3.1](#)), but does not really concern the conflict between that issue and Astyanax's safety, since Pyrrhus shows himself ready to defend the boy without any encouragement from his mother. The treatment of the issue in Pyrrhus' scene does not contribute to the tension generated in I sc.iii as to whether Andromaque will really allow her pride and aversion to jeopardise her son, while it does contribute to an interest generated in the Pyrrhus/Andromaque relationship itself and the reactions of each within that relationship.

The fact remains that, when it comes to the crunch, Pradon abandons a clear interest in this aspect of Andromaque and the inner tension and conflicts it could involve, in favour of her maternal concern. There are sound dramatic and theatrical reasons for this (see [6.3](#)). Yet, while conflict between Andromaque and Pyrrhus on the issue, similar to that in Racine, is really incompatible with the forward movement of the plot, representation of a struggle within Andromaque herself before she is brought to deal with Pyrrhus would not have the same disadvantage, nor would it injure - in fact it might enhance - the emotive effect. The discrepancy between Pradon's clear interest in Andromaque's reactions at the outset to her son's danger and to Pyrrhus as a

potential protector, and the fact that he could have maintained that interest in terms of his portrayal of Andromaque's thinking longer than he does, seems to require some explanation. My own conclusion is that Pradon has an interest both in Andromaque as the fiercely proud and loyal widow of Hector who rejects Pyrrhus, and in Andromaque as the devoted mother of Astyanax, and pursues each of these fully wherever possible but pursues them individually, not attempting to integrate them in a finely-balanced tension as Racine did. Euripides did the same with the loyal widow/devoted grieving mother in *Troades* - the difference being that his plot did not require the two to come into conflict. Pradon has chosen a plot which does make that requirement, though not as urgently as Racine's did, and also a plot that requires the final victory of maternal concern. His response to a complicating conflict of his two interests seems to be to pursue each as far as he can, then shelve the first as economically as possible, when occasion demands, to make room for a full treatment of the second. The fact that Pradon 'writes Andromaque out of a corner' in IV sc.iii, preserving the integrity of her loyalty to Hector whilst giving her the opportunity to do all she can to save Astyanax, also supports this view. Pradon is interested in sustaining both sides wherever possible, though not in creating a complex conflict and resolution between them on Racinian lines. Hence the full and striking treatment of Andromaque's determination not to give an inch let the worst betide, followed by the immediate folding or compromise of that determination when the moment of actual crisis comes.

This leaves behind some awkwardness and anti-climax. On the other hand the presentation of the resolute widowed princess on one side and of the devoted and distraught mother on the other is in each case well-handled, and it would seem a pity to lose the stimulating development of Andromaque's character evidenced in the former aspect, even for the sake of consistency in the pursuit of ideas. Besides, despite the drawbacks of this approach, the contrast between Andromaque's uncompromising first speeches in Pradon and the abruptness with which her defences are lowered may serve as a new device to highlight the force of her maternal concern. In this conflict, Andromaque's concern for Astyanax appears to win a landslide victory. When admitting the defeat of her past resolutions, Pradon has her say as much herself:

Dans la juste douleur dont mon ame est atteinte,
 Toute ma fierté cede à l'horreur de ma crainte,
 Quand je verray le coup tout prest à l'accabler,
 Je ne pourray jamais m'empescher de trembler,

Et si pour l'ébloüir je veux paroistre fiere,
 Hesione, après tout je sens que je suis mere,
 Et mes pleurs vont trahir cet innocent larcin
 Qu'Andromaque en veut faire aux fureurs du destin
 (p.35);

Je n'ay pû souûtenir un trop fier caractere,
 Il m'a veüé éperduë et telle qu'une mere...
 (p.58).

In the first of these passages at least, the strength of Andromaque's maternal emotion in spite of herself is rather well conveyed. Notice the emphasis on the effect of *seeing* her son's danger or death ("Quand je verray le coup..."). It may be that in this respect Pradon's presentation of the swing of Andromaque's responses relates to the calculation of Racine's Pyrrhus:

Allez, Madame, allez *voir* votre fils.
 Peut-être, en le *voyant*, votre amour plus timide
 Ne prendra toujours sa colère pour guide...
 (*Andromaque* 380-82);

Je pensais, en *voyant* sa tendresse alarmée,
 Que son fils me la dût renvoyer désarmée
 (645-6).

His expectations at this stage are of course disappointed; but Racine's Andromaque, like Pradon's, does eventually find the full rigour of her resolution giving way when she finally confronts the inescapable imminence of Astyanax's peril. Compare "Quand je verray le coup tout prest à l'accabler..." (Pradon p.35) with these lines from *Andromaque* 1033-4:

Mais cependant, mon fils, tu meurs si je n'arrête
 Le fer que le cruel tient levé sur ta tête.

Pradon's heroine simply yields to her maternal emotion sooner, more suddenly and with less complication. And there is, certainly, something oddly moving in the way this Andromaque comes to discover humility:

Et si pour l'ébloüir je veux paroistre fiere,
Hesione, après tout je sens que je suis mere.

7.2.4: Andromaque and Astyanax: conclusions

Pradon's portrayal of Andromaque as mother, then, combines an ambitiously wide range of elements from previous portrayals, attempting to fit them into a coherent overall pattern of his own. Despite Pradon's adoption within his plot of both the conflict centering around Hector's tomb and that centering around Pyrrhus, his guiding interests in shaping the portrayal of Andromaque's maternal nature seem to have involved the playing down of any serious internal conflict of divided loyalties raging within her. This does not prevent him from exploiting the theatrical possibilities of keeping Andromaque's attention divided between Hector and Astyanax in the tomb scene; nor from exploring an interest in Andromaque's resistance to Pyrrhus, based on Racine's and Euripides' portrayals but developing the situation with his own emphasis on her 'temperamental' pride. But his presentation is not concerned, in terms of psychological portrayal, with the actual struggle between this latter resistance, or her regard for Hector, and the demands of her concern for Astyanax; in this it differs from almost all other presentations of Andromache where these dilemmas are raised. The overall effect of this dissolution of conflict varies. The integration of Andromaque's concern for husband and son in the tomb scene is rather well and plausibly done; what may be lost in terms of dramatic tension over Andromaque's internal dilemma is compensated for by the interesting ambivalence of Andromaque's campaign in the scene - the possibility of reading the purpose of her words on two levels. On the other hand there is some awkwardness, and in the description of the later meeting with Pyrrhus a certain air of contrivance, about the abrupt and startling turn-around involved in Andromaque's surrender to her maternity. Andromaque's maternal feelings still emerge strongly from the conflict, and it is possible to read her in Pradon's portrayal as a woman of fierce pride and loyalty who finds she has underestimated the strength of her emotion and concern for her son. It should be admitted, however, that not much attention is paid to the process of this realisation.

Within the portrayal of Andromaque's maternal feelings, Pradon comes up with a more consistently worked-out combination of the various inherited elements. The guiding principle seems to be that Andromaque should appear as a devoted mother at bay, at once pathetic and admirable. While Pradon keeps certain of the traits within Andromaque's regard for her son that in other portrayals are in tension with pure motherly feeling, these tend to be mitigated in order to blend them into the overall design. Thus regard for Astyanax as a royal child sheds the aspect of seeing him as Troy's representative and centres instead on a development of Andromaque's pride in her son's lineage, and more especially in his nature. This already concentrates attention more on the boy as a person in himself. Furthermore, in respect of Astyanax's resemblance to Hector (closely related to the matter of maternal pride) there is a deliberate intertwining of Andromaque's regard for Astyanax on this count and her love, grief and anxiety for him as her own son, which softens much in the former attitude that might otherwise jar. This is particularly seen in Pradon's innovatory rendition of a conflict between pride in the resemblance and fear of the danger it might bring.

Finally, Pradon integrates in his own way the two distinct forms of maternal concern that in different proportions have characterised Andromache throughout her literary career: concern that expresses itself in anxiety, emotion and distress, and concern that expresses itself in the will and ability to protect by fighting against all dangers, from without and from within. Pradon gives Andromaque on the one hand the sort of sustained and consistent campaign, lucidity, foresight, initiative, eloquence and guile in defence of her son that we meet in Racine and to some extent Euripides; on the other, the tremulous emotion that threatened as a weakness in Seneca, Garnier and especially Sallebray. He combines the two by making Andromaque aware of the dangers of her emotions and attempting to limit the harm any betrayal by them might do. Likewise he combines emotions of great pathos drawn or adapted from those evoked in previous portrayals, with a vigorous capacity for verbal tactical defence, so that Andromaque calls forth both sympathy for powerfully conveyed feeling and admiration for her channelling of that feeling in Astyanax's defence.

Portrayals of Andromache as mother have not infrequently rested on an ambivalence between pathos and admiration, emotion and effort: the balance very much in favour of the former in Sallebray, for instance, tipping perhaps slightly towards the latter in Euripides' *Andromache* and Racine's *Andromaque*. Pradon manages to combine elements from portrayals at both ends of the scale,

each of which tends to give the characteristics it stresses in a heightened form, and manages to do so effectively and persuasively. His portrayal of Andromaque as a mother who is both weak and strong and can make the best of both can stand as a finely-conceived and coherent artistic project, a carefully constructed blend of tradition and original interpretation. The overall rendition of Andromaque's character with regard to her relationship with her son may occasionally suffer from excess of ambition on Pradon's part; it may lack the spark of real internal conflict that electrified Racine's portrayal and lit up special depths of anguish to Andromache's experience in many of her other previous appearances. But it involves much that is psychologically interesting, much that is dramatically effective, and much that is emotionally moving. As with so much else in Pradon's play, this portrayal of Andromaque as mother deserves to be taken more seriously as a successor to the long and distinguished line of tradition it inherits than has usually been the case.

7.3: Andromaque and Pyrrhus

We may come to similar conclusions about Pradon's portrayal of Andromaque's relationship with Pyrrhus. We have seen how, in IV. sc.iii, this comes to a rather disappointing conclusion; but Pradon's exploration of it prior to this point has much to commend it, as already suggested in relation to I. sc.iii (7.2.3.1). Here we shall explore the way Pradon seeks to maintain the interest of the relationship after that first introduction of it into the drama.

In Pradon, Andromaque and Pyrrhus are shown meeting only once in an exchange lasting a mere ten lines, of which only a hemistich belongs to Andromaque. To that extent, then, Pradon's portrayal of the relationship is clearly not of quite the same order as Racine's in *Andromaque*: on Andromaque's side it has more in common with Euripides' approach in *Andromache* and *Troades*, of giving us Andromache's reactions to Pyrrhus/Neoptolemos through her own report of them and through the discussion of others. At the same time, Pradon's approach to Pyrrhus, giving us *his* view of his position with Andromaque, and the dilemma this creates, in monologues addressed to his *confident*, is much more in line with what we find in Racine. It has already been suggested, in the introduction, that Pradon picked up the idea for Pyrrhus' passion for Andromaque from Racine. It is time now to consider in detail the links between his version of the relationship and Racine's, along with the strengths as well as the weaknesses of Pradon's approach revealed in the way he adapts or develops what he has received from his predecessor.

7.3.1: Similarity and opposition: "Et par là, je la voy digne du fils d'Achille"

Towards the end of Act I, Pyrrhus opens his heart to his *confident* Lycus:

J'en ay crû la conquête illustre et difficile,
 Et par là, je la voy digne du fils d'Achille,
 Les vulgaires amans adorent la beauté,
 Mais Pyrrhus d'Andromaque adore la fierté,
 Cette veuve d'Hector n'eut jamais de foiblesse,
 A nos yeux dans les fers elle est toûjours Princesse,
 A peine, à peine mesme alors que je la voy
 Ses superbes regards daignent tomber sur moy,
 Et pour te dire enfin, Lycus, ce qui m'en semble
 Son orgueil et le mien s'accordent bien ensemble

(p.16).

The echoes of Racine's portrayal of Pyrrhus' dealings with Andromaque make it clear that Pradon is deriving his version of the relationship from his predecessor: compare "A peine, à peine mesme..." with *Andromaque* 898-9 (see [6.2.1](#)), and:

[...] du fils d'Achille [...]
 Mais Pyrrhus d'Andromaque adore la fierté,
 Cette veuve d'Hector...

with:

Elle est veuve d'Hector et je suis fils d'Achille;
 Trop de haine sépare Andromaque et Pyrrhus
 (*Andromaque* 662-3)

But the differences in context and attitude behind these pairs of quotations point to differences in the way Pradon has developed this relationship. Pyrrhus' comment on Andromaque's pride is no longer a bitter, perhaps goading reflection, but a reflection of an enthusiastic admiration. In Racine, pride of the sort referred to by Pyrrhus exists in Andromaque for the most part in Pyrrhus' perception; in Pradon, as we have seen, this sort of "superbe" pride is a real and major facet of Andromaque's personality. Thus there is a correlation of temperament not just between Andromaque and Hector, as she

says, but also between Andromaque and Pyrrhus, as he notices. This gives the suit of Pradon's Pyrrhus a motivation more reasonable, if we like, than the blind passion that drives Racine's Pyrrhus: in one sense the couple do not seem so ill-matched. Similarly, the tone of Pyrrhus' use of the 'patronymics' here is entirely different from that in Racine's 662-3. There, Pyrrhus was flatly stating the insurmountable division between him and his beloved, and whereas one felt that his heart and conviction were not truly in his words, one also knew that in a rare moment of lucidity he was saying something more deeply true than he could admit. Here, by contrast, Pyrrhus seems completely and blithely unconscious of the more sombre implications of the titles he uses for himself and for Andromaque. He uses them as reflections of their proud family lineage, applying "fils d'Achille" much as Phoenix did in *Andromaque* 630 or as the messenger did in *Andromache* 1149-50, "veuve d'Hector" much as Andromache calls herself "δάμαρ [...] παιδοποιὸς Ἑκτορι" ("child-bearing wedded wife of Hector") in *Andromache* 4. Does this mean, then, that Pradon, in borrowing Racine's words, pays no attention to the tragic ironies underlying them, and merely wishes to suggest that there is, after all, an interesting compatibility between Pyrrhus and Andromaque?

I believe not. In Pradon's line "Et par là je la voy digne du fils d'Achille", the second hemistich echoes almost exactly one delivered by Racine's Andromaque:

Seigneur, voilà des soins dignes du fils d'Achille
(*Andromaque* 310).

This is almost certainly intended as a subtle reminder to Pyrrhus of the implications for Andromaque of his parentage (5.1.1.3, 5.2.1.2). Pradon's borrowing of the phrase "digne[s] du fils d'Achille" therefore seems to me to provide a clue to his intentions. Just as on the surface level the words of Racine's Andromaque mean "such disinterested and noble magnanimity would be worthy of your father's son", so on the surface level the words of Pradon's Pyrrhus mean: "Andromaque's honourable pride is a worthy object of conquest for the proud son of proud Achilles". But whereas clearly Pradon's Pyrrhus himself, unlike Racine's Andromaque, does not intend any further meaning to "digne du fils d'Achille", I think it likely that Pradon, understanding the underlying implications of the phrase in Racine, intended to transfer these to his own use of it and therefore meant to give an unconsciously ironic edge to all that Pyrrhus says. If this is so, an ironic interplay is set up between the real

correspondence of temperament between Pyrrhus and Andromaque that Pyrrhus sees, and the 'historical' and emotional incompatibility of the "fils d'Achille" and the "veuve d'Hector" that Pyrrhus fails to see and that Andromaque has explained in I sc.iii. The contrast between the close correlation of pride and the immutable emotional barriers may, indeed, highlight the tragic irony of Pyrrhus' intentions. In this light, there is a painful edge to Pyrrhus' blithe unconsciousness as he enthuses about his beloved in this scene.

As in Racine, such irony is supported by the portrayal of Pyrrhus himself, who, here as in *Andromaque*, is, for all his courtliness, very decidedly Achilles' son. We see this, for example, in his furious reaction to Ulisse's machinations against Astyanax, which reveal both the extremity:

Allons dans son païs répandre ma fureur,
Et remplir tout d'effroy, de carnage et d'horreur...
(p.15)

Et si son ombre [Achille] encor demande quelque proie
Cherchons luy, s'il le faut, une nouvelle Troye
(p.17)

and the outraged pride:

Quoy Lycus? le barbare ose donc attenter
Sur les jours des captifs qu'il m'a vûs respecter?
Le lâche n'osant pas s'attaquer à moy-mesme
A le front d'insulter la Princesse que j'aime
(p.14)

that we noted in Racine's Pyrrhus (*Andromaque* 285-6,230,183-4,238) as deriving from the Homeric portrait. These traits also echo Racine's portrait of Achilles himself:

Une juste fureur s'empare de mon âme [...]
Le bûcher, par mes mains détruit et renversé,
Dans le sang des bourreaux nagera dispersé;
Et si dans les horreurs de ce désordre extrême...
(*Iphigénie* 1607, 1613-5);

Quoy! Madame, un barbare osera m'insulter?
(*ibid.*, 964),

with Racine in his turn possibly going back to Euripides:

ἀλλ' ὕβριν ἐς ἡμᾶς ὕβρις Ἀγαμέμνων ἄναξ
(*Iphigeneia at Aulis*, 961)⁵⁶.

In fact, Pradon's Pyrrhus is often very much more extreme than ever Racine's was, particularly in his threats of bloodshed. The exultant confidence, too, which Racine's Pyrrhus showed:

Votre Iliou encore peut sortir de sa cendre,
Je puis, en moins de temps que les Grecs ne l'ont pris,
Dans ses murs relevés couronner votre fils
(*Andromaque* 330-32)

is not just reflected in Pradon; it is amplified into outright arrogance:

Je rougis pour la Grèce d'une crainte semblable.
Hé quoy? donc cet Hector estoit bien redoutable?
Qu'on me laisse élever un si jeune lion,
Que renaisse avec luy la superbe Iliou,
Qu'ont-ils à craindre? Quoy? que peut-on entreprendre,
N'avons-nous pas les feux qui les mirent en cendre?
Oüy, qu'Asryanax vive et nous combatte encor,
Quand les Troyens un jour auroient le fils d'Hector
Pour défendre les murs de leur superbe Ville,
Ne craignez rien, les Grecs auront le fils d'Achille
(p.31).

This is the assurance demonstrated by Homer's Achilles:

ἀμφὶ δέ τοι τῆ ἐμῆ κλισίῃ καὶ νηὶ μελαίνῃ
Ἔκτορα καὶ μεμαῶτα μάχης σχήσεσθαι οἶω
(*Iliad* 9.654-5)⁵⁷;

⁵⁶ "But Lord Agamemnon has insulted me with wanton outrage."

⁵⁷ "But around *my* tent and black ship, I think that Hector, howsoever raging for battle he be, will be stayed."

ἄφρα δ' ἐγὼ μετ' Ἀχαιοῖσιν πολέμιζον,
οὐκ ἐθέλεσκε μάχην ἀπὸ τείχεος ὀρνύμεν Ἐκτωρ
(*ibid.*, 352-3)⁵⁸.

Pradon here makes new, effective and interesting use of the recurrent theme of Astyanax's future (see 5.1.2.6, 5.2.2.2). He echoes certain of the words of his predecessors (e.g. Racine 329-32, 193-204), but, instead of having the speaker either evoke illusory hopes or pour the cold water of reality on them, he has Pyrrhus dismiss those hopes not as impossible but as irrelevant. This characterises Pyrrhus' boundless confidence in himself in a different way from Racine's version. And here again Pradon makes further use of the "fils d'Achille" motif, making the link - allusive and implicit in Racine - between Pyrrhus' confidence and his parentage explicit.

7.3.2: "veuve d'Hector"/"fils d'Achille": an opposition sustained?

We see, then, that Pradon is interested in portraying Pyrrhus as Achilles' son, and that this helps to play up the ironies of such a speech as that on p.16 (I sc.vi), in which Pyrrhus refers to himself as Achilles' son when talking of his relationship with Andromaque. But how fully does Pradon work out this effect in the actual encounters of Pyrrhus with the Trojan women, and especially Andromaque?

After their brief encounter in Act I, Andromaque and Pyrrhus are never shown meeting each other, although we are given one detailed report of their coming face-to-face by Andromaque in IV sc.iii. In *that* encounter, though, it appears that they do not actually speak to each other; instead, the job of actually appealing to Pyrrhus to save Astyanax is transferred to Hécube in III sc.vii. Now, in III sc.vi and vii, Hécube expresses a confidence and trust in Pyrrhus' help, occasionally echoing prior literature, that given the legendary relations between the two seems ironic indeed. To Polixène in III sc.vi she says:

Il faut chercher Pyrrhus, c'est en luy que j'espere,
Luy seul peut nous prester son invincible appuy,
Et je dois en ce jour tout attendre de luy

(p.49).

⁵⁸ "But while I fought among the Achaeans, Hector never desired to urge on battle far from the city wall.."

From Priam's widow to his murderer this seems peculiar. Yet the lines have something of the appreciation of Pyrrhus' better qualities shown by Racine's *Andromaque*: "J'attendais de son fils encor plus de bonté" (*Andromaque* 939). They may also involve the sense of Pyrrhus as a *faute de mieux*, expressive of the Trojan women's isolated dependancy, that underlay the ironies of Hermione's taunt to Andromache and the latter's response in Euripides' *Andromache*:

πρὶν ᾧ πέποιθας, παῖδ' Ἀχιλλέως μολεῖν
 ANΔΡΟΜΑΧΗ: πέποιθα
 (268-9)⁵⁹.

In neither respect, however, are Hécube's words as effective as those two passages, because in contrast to Racine's and Euripides' versions there is no real suggestion of the reasons the *current* speaker might have for *not* appealing to or trusting in Pyrrhus, set in apposition to their stated resolve to do so. In Racine, *Andromaque* had outlined her sufferings at Pyrrhus' hands (926-31) just a dozen lines earlier; in Euripides, Hermione had spelled out earlier in the scene, in hostile vein, the full implications of Andromache's relationship with Achilles' son. But Pradon has given both appeal and statement of trust to Hécube, and nowhere in this play does Hécube mention Pyrrhus' rôle in her husband's death, nor is the deed referred to at all anywhere in Act III. It is possible that, remembering the murder as recalled by Ulysse in Act II and (very briefly) by Polixène in Act I, we might be aware of a lurking incongruity in the situation; but it would still be true that no effort is made in III sc.vi to emphasise the irony of *Hécube* making an appeal to Pyrrhus, in a way personal to her.

A general sense of the irony of Hécube's appeal may be brought out more strongly at the start of III sc. vii in Hécube's opening address to Pyrrhus:

Ah Seigneur quelle joye?
 De voir le fils d'Achille en ce funeste jour
 Et d'implorer pour nous sa haine et son amour;
 Si la veuve d'Hector, Seigneur, vous estoit chere...
 (p.50).

It is indeed strange that Hécube should talk of her "joye" in meeting and pleading with Pyrrhus, particularly when she calls him "fils d'Achille", son of Troy's greatest enemy, the killer of her son. Once again, though, there is little

⁵⁹ "Before the one you trust in, Achilles' son, comes. -ANDROMACHE: I do trust him..."

linguistic or textual support given to the irony as it affects Hécube herself. Hécube's potential objections to Pyrrhus are not fought against or surrendered, they are simply passed over. Throughout the play, Hécube has been presented as in favour of dealing with Pyrrhus. As a result, the title "le fils d'Achille" affects the question of Andromaque's relations with Pyrrhus far more than it does the question of Hécube's, and this is borne out by the juxtaposition of the title (yet again) with "la veuve d'Hector". Like Pyrrhus in I sc.vi, Hécube is surely unconscious of the irony: it is not in her interests to recall the problems with Pyrrhus' suit of Andromaque, in the way that it was to some extent in the interests of Racine's Andromaque, to warn Pyrrhus off. The irony is still there, however. It is, though, by no means as effective or as painful as in Racine, because on the one hand we have no indication that Pyrrhus is going to demand any encouragement from Andromaque in return for his help, and on the other it is not Andromaque, whom the irony would emotionally concern, but Hécube, who does not appear to count it as very important, who is made to raise it. So, while Pradon does appear to wish to keep up our interest in this aspect of the Pyrrhus/ Andromaque relationship, he has once more avoided bringing it to the point of conflict.

The potential conflict between Andromaque's desire to save her son as well as maintain loyalty to Hector on the one hand, and Pyrrhus' intentions in her direction overshadowed by the implications of his parentage on the other, is thus diffused by having Hécube make the necessary appeal. While there are other reasons for giving this rôle to Hécube - such as dramatic variation, and the potential for irony supplied by the playing off of the sacrifice of Astyanax against that of Polixène - the attribution serves two purposes with respect to Andromaque. It enables Pradon to gain the necessary intervention of Pyrrhus on Andromaque's behalf without compromising her honour or loyalty to Hector; and it allows that loyalty to stay intact, and its consequences for Andromaque's relationship with Pyrrhus to be evoked, without compromising her maternal devotion. In other words, Pradon attempts to keep the relationship interesting with undertones of tragic irony, without letting that aspect of the case interfere with the progress of his plot, or with the overall picture of Andromaque's character he wishes to convey. Insofar as keeping the "veuve d'Hector"/"fils d'Achille" opposition alive is concerned, he may be said to succeed. But his desire to divert open conflict, to avoid raising the opposition directly when both Andromaque and Pyrrhus are on stage, is already blunting the effects that pierced so poignantly through Racine's presentation of the relationship.

7.3.3. "veuve d'Hector" / "fils d'Achille": a conflict truncated

As argued in 7.2.3, in IV sc.iii Pradon is finally forced to sacrifice his interest in the ironies and tensions of the Pyrrhus-Andromaque relationship to the demands of his plot. Consequently, as the climactic 'scene' of Andromaque's relationship with Pyrrhus, Pradon's description of the encounter is rather disappointing. The fact seems to be that Andromaque's aversion to Pyrrhus and the conflict it implies, interesting though Pradon's development of the theme in earlier scenes may be, was simply too awkward to sustain into the climax of his plot (see 6.3, 7.2.3.3). As a result Pradon tidies the matter away with as little fuss as possible in this scene, abandons the "fils d'Achille"/"veuve d'Hector" motif from here on as far as Andromaque is concerned, and in fact drops the whole question of any difficulties in her dealings with Pyrrhus from Andromaque's portrayal entirely. The next we hear of her after this last actual appearance (IV sc.iii), she is directly and unreservedly appealing to Pyrrhus to come to her aid: "Andromaque, Seigneur,/Vous apprend que du camp redouble la fureur..." (IV sc.vi, p.66). To be honest, Andromaque herself rather fades out of the play after this point (the mention of her just quoted, and one last brief reported description of her farewell to her son (pp.76-7), are all that remain of her rôle). She remains, of course, part of Pyrrhus' motivation and dilemma and is frequently invoked as such, but this becomes simply 'the love that drives Pyrrhus on' in one particular direction, no longer a love that is of particular interest in itself⁶⁰. We may again contrast the situation in *Andromaque*. Although Andromaque there likewise disappears from the stage⁶¹ some time before the *dénouement*, the mentions of her that follow her last appearance all relate in one way or another to the conflicts, contradictions and ironies inherent in her relationship with Pyrrhus and in his passion for her. The question is still there in Pylade's final picture of her:

Andromaque elle-même, à Pyrrhus si rebelle,
Lui rend tous les devoirs d'une veuve fidèle...
(1589-90 ff.),

⁶⁰ For instance, when Pyrrhus deplors the fact that his filial service to Achilles has been fuelled to a large degree by his love for Andromaque (because threatening to sacrifice Polixène could help save Astyanax), what invites his remorse is less the fact that love for *the widow of Achilles' enemy* has claimed some of the pre-eminence as a motive due to his duty to his father than the fact that love at all should have done so (pp.62-3).

⁶¹ Not, however, in the original version; although her original final appearance in V sc.iii was cut in the 1673 edition.

whereas in Pradon it has long since been banished from all we see and hear of Andromaque's actions and reactions.

Within the limitations imposed by his plot, nonetheless, Pradon shows himself to be capable of developing his interest in the relations between Andromaque and Pyrrhus in ways that are at times arresting. He presents Andromaque's aversion to Pyrrhus, along the lines suggested by Racine and originally by Euripides, in terms that are clear, bold and striking, if lacking the subtlety of his predecessors' approach. He develops the aversion in his own way by increasing the part played by 'temperamental' pride in Andromaque's refusal to deal with Pyrrhus; then uses this idea in its turn to add a new light to their relationship by having Pyrrhus appreciate this pride as a mirror of his own and thus claim it, and the glory attendant on its conquest, as a 'reasonable' motive for his passion. Taking his cue from his predecessors' allusive and ironic use of the "fils d'Achille"/"veuve d'Hector" motifs, Pradon throws Andromaque's aversion into relief by setting up an ironic contrast and interplay between the apparent promise for the relationship that Pyrrhus sees in the correspondence of pride, and the utter hopelessness of that relationship in the light of the facts of past history and the way Andromaque feels about them. Pradon is moreover at some pains to support this by his presentation of Pyrrhus throughout as inextricably linked to his father Achilles by both duty and temperament. The eventual failure of all this, after Act I, to achieve its full effect, due first to a removal of Andromaque from scenes where the "fils d'Achille" irony is being recalled, and then to the excision of this aspect to her portrayal within the relationship altogether, seems to be a consequence of the pressures of plot, and of Pradon's desire to invite no lasting doubts about Andromaque's maternal virtues. In the end, the sorry nature of the way Pradon's portrayal of the relations between Andromaque and Pyrrhus comes to a conclusion may not outweigh the effectiveness and interest of the way it is introduced initially and sustained in the earlier stages of the play.

7:4 Andromaque and Polixène

We have now dealt with the three principal relationships that define Andromaque's experience. What is left to consider is her dramatic relationship with Polixène. Pradon's enlargement of Polixène's rôle was discussed in general terms in [6.2.2](#). Her part is probably not as extensive as Andromaque's - she has no 'scene' comparable to III sc.i-iii, for the whole considerable length of which Andromaque holds centre stage. But she remains important throughout that section of the play from which Andromaque is faded out, and makes a

series of far from negligible appearances (I sc.ii, II sc.ii, III sc.iv-vi, IV sc.ii) before her story truly comes into its own in IV sc.v. It may therefore be true to say that her rôle is more evenly balanced than Andromaque's, and more consistent in the sense that the attention invited for her is maintained at a generally consistent level throughout.

Polixène's rôle in Pradon to a marked extent reflects that of Andromaque (see 6.2.2, 6.2.3). This 'reflection' is important to our study of the 'Andromache tradition' in two ways. Firstly, it obviously affects our reactions to this particular member in the series of portrayals of Andromache, to have set alongside Andromaque a figure whose position balances hers. Secondly, Polixène's rôle is itself a further development of the Andromache tradition, in that inherited aspects of Andromache's portrayal are transferred to hers: much as the rôle of Sallebray's Cassandre involved the transferal of certain aspects from previous portrayals of Andromache.

7.4.1: Polixène: Dédoublément of Andromaque

In the discussion of Sallebray's *La Troade*, we noted that his Cassandre actually took over a lot of what had been Andromache's own part in previous versions. In Pradon, the parts of Polixène and Andromaque are related in a more subtle way: Polixène's rôle *echoes* aspects both of Andromaque's rôle in this play and of her rôle in earlier portrayals - notably Racine's. Andromaque is pursued by the love of one of her Greek captors, but has given her heart to the dead; so is, and so has, Polixène. Andromaque had a Trojan husband she loved and recoils from Pyrrhus as the son of the man who killed him; Polixène had a Trojan suitor *she* loved and recoils from Pyrrhus as the one who himself killed him. Let us consider this 'doubling' in more detail.

At the heart of it is Pradon's innovation of Ulisse's love for Polixène. This is central and essential to his newly-reworked plot (6.2.2). But it is not merely something that Pradon has invented to complete his *quadrille* as outlined on p.326, nor merely an idea that he picked up from a number of similar Trojan-Greek pairings: Achille and Polyxena in Hardy and Benserade, Agamemnon and Cassandre in Sallebray. His Ulisse-Polixène relationship shows clear evidence of deriving specifically from Racine's Pyrrhus-Andromaque couple. The clearest correspondences, and the most important, are to be found on Polixène's side. For example, like Racine's Andromaque, she asks permission to leave her heart with her dead love:

Si vous m'aimez, souffrez que dans mon humeur sombre
 Je pousse des soupirs que j'envoie à son ombre,
 Et que loin de Pyrrhus, et près de vous, Seigneur,
 Avec ma mere hélas! je pleure mon malheur

(p.26)

cp.:

Seigneur; c'est un exil que mes pleurs vous demandent.
 Souffrez que, loin des Grecs, et même loin de vous,
 J'aïlle cacher mon fils et pleurer mon époux

(*Andromaque* 338-40).

That said, there is a noteworthy difference between the two relationships, and this is in fact pointed to by Pradon's variation of the Racinian line he has adapted most closely: "Et que loin de Pyrrhus, et *près de vous*, Seigneur", cp. "Et que, loin des Grecs et même *loin de vous*". Unlike *Andromaque* with Pyrrhus in Racine, Polixène has no particular objection to Ulisse - not that she is interested in his love for her, but his suit does not disturb her in the way that Pyrrhus' disturbed *Andromaque*. In fact at this point in the action, Polixène is actually *asking* Ulisse to take over control of her fate, as compared to Racine's *Andromaque* who is trying to induce Pyrrhus to let her go. Polixène's motives in this are that she be able to stay with her mother, and that she get away at all costs from Pyrrhus. So the conqueror's love by which Polixène is pursued is not one in the first instance that she has any reason to deplore. Indeed in a sense she welcomes the way out of her situation it offers. This is, of course, quite different from *Andromaque's* emotional position *vis-à-vis* Pyrrhus in Racine.

There is, though, another and a deeper way in which Polixène's position doubles *Andromaque's*, and this is her 'triangular' relationship with Antenor and Pyrrhus, reflecting *Andromaque's* with Hector and Pyrrhus. Like *Andromaque* in Racine (and throughout the tradition *except* in Pradon) Polixène is Pyrrhus' captive; like *Andromaque* she has a deep emotional repugnance for him; like *Andromaque* this is based on her love for a man in whose death Pyrrhus is implicated. In all these aspects Polixène's position and feelings are clearly meant to mirror *Andromaque's*, both as portrayed elsewhere and as portrayed in this play. This is true firstly in her relationship with her lover Antenor. He is deliberately presented as a counterpart to Hector: "Il marchoit à grands pas sur les traces d'Hector" (p.7). Polixène's

description of his death echoes certain of the things that Racine's Andromaque said about Hector, more or less clearly:

Mais le jeune Antenor, *ah! souvenir funeste*
 Sortit, *trouva Pyrrhus*, et vous sçavez le reste
 Après un long combat on le vit succomber
 Et moy-mesme *je vis* ce cher Prince tomber
 (p.8)

cp.:

Et quel époux encore! *Ah! souvenir cruel!*
 Sa mort seule...
 (*Andromaque* 359-60);

J'ai vu. [...] mon époux sanglant traîné sur la poussière
 (*ibid.*, 929-30);

Hélas! je m'en souviens, le jour que son courage
 Lui fit chercher *Achille*, ou plutôt le trépas
 (*ibid.*, 1018-9).

Polixène's wish that Antenor might at least have been able to hear her admit her love as his dying consolation:

(Heureux, s'il avait sçeu terminant sa misere
 Cet aveu que jamais je n'ay voulu luy faire)
 (p.26)

seems to relate to Andromache's own anguished wish, in Homer and Garnier, that she might at least have received some dying words of comfort from her husband:

οὐ γάρ μοι θνήσκων λεχέων ἐκ χείρας ὄρεξας,
 οὐδέ τί μοι εἶπες πυκινὸν ἔπος, οὐδέ κεν αἰεὶ
 μεμνήμην
 (*Iliad* 24.743-5)⁶²;

⁶² "You did not in dying stretch out your hand from your bed to me, nor did you speak to me any wise word, which I would always have remembered..."

Ne m'avez consolée, et d'un sage discours
 Mon esprit conforté, qu'il retiendrait tousjours
 (Garnier, *La Troade* 623-4),

particularly since Pradon will himself later adapt those words for his own *Andromaque* in a version that brings them close to what Polixène says here:

Ou du moins en mourant s'il m'eût tendu la main,
 S'il eut veu la douleur dont mon coeur se consume
 Il eut quité la vie avec moins d'amertume
 (p.39).

And Polixène's expression of her abiding love for Antenor:

Antenor a pery par les mains de Pyrrhus,
 Et je cheris encor ce Heros qui n'est plus
 (p.26)

not only repeats the sense of what Racine's *Andromaque* says to Pyrrhus (in e.g. 358) but also echoes her words on this subject to Hermione in linking that sentiment to her reasons for shunning Pyrrhus:

Par une main cruelle, hélas! j'ai vu percer
 Le seul où mes regards prétendaient s'adresser:
 Ma flamme par Hector fut jadis allumée;
 Avec lui dans la tombe elle s'est enfermée
 (*Andromaque* 863-6).

Thus Polixène's relationship to Antenor is related both to the previous portrayals of *Andromaque's* relationship with Hector inherited by Pradon, and to his *own* presentation of that latter relationship.

The same is true of the resultant emotion against Pyrrhus. The link between Pradon's evocation of Polixène's aversion and past portrayals of *Andromaque's* feelings is apparent in Polixène's very first explanation of her reactions:

Helas! j'ay pour Pyrrhus une trop juste horreur,
 Aux pieds de nos Autels il egorgea mon pere,
 Et si j'ose avoüer ce que je voulois taire,
 Trois jours auparavant ce Pyrrhus furieux
 Venoit de massacrer mon amant à mes yeux
 (p.7).

This echoes most closely Racine's accounts of reactions to Priam's murder, by Hermione:

Du vieux pere d'Hector la valeur abattue
 Aux pieds de sa famille expirante à sa vue [...]
 De votre propre main Polyxène égorgée
 (*Andromaque* 1333-8)

and by Andromaque:

Dois-je oublier son père à mes pieds renversé,
 Ensanglantant l'autel qu'il tenait embrassé?
 (995-6)⁶³.

At the same time, the 'eye-witness' element in seeing her *lover's* death also relates to an idea important in Racine:

J'ai vu [...] mon époux sanglant traîné sur la poussière
 (*Andromaque* 929-30);

Dois-je oublier Hector [...] [...] traîné sans honneur autour de nos murailles?
 (993-4)⁶⁴.

The idea is to be found in Euripides' *Andromache* too: compare "ce Pyrrhus furieux/ Venoit de massacrer mon amant à mes yeux" with:

⁶³ See 5.1.2.1 for an account of the importance of the 'eye-witness' element here.

⁶⁴ See 5.2.3.2.

ἥτις πόσιν μὲν Ἑκτορ' ἐξ Ἀχιλλέως
θανόντ' ἐσείδον

(8-9)⁶⁵

and especially:

ἥτις σφαγὰς μὲν Ἑκτορος τροχηλάτους
κατείδον

(399-400)⁶⁶.

Polixène's later defiance of death to Pyrrhus' face likewise echoes Racine's Andromaque, in the latter's similarly couched though at once quieter and more calculating defiance:

Vous devez satisfaire un pere et vostre envie,
Vous devez m'arracher une importune vie,
Envoyez Polixène avec Priam, Hector,
Et si j'ose le dire à son cher Antenor,
Vostre barbare main en fist un sacrifice,
Mais il faut en ce jour qu'elle nous réunisse

(Pradon Iv sc.v, p.64);

cp.:

Je prolongeais pour lui [Astyanax] ma vie et ma misère;
Mais enfin sur ses pas j'irai revoir son père.
Ainsi tous trois, seigneur, par vos soins réunis,
Nous vous...

(Racine, *Andromaque* I sc.iv, 377-80).

We should also note the possible correlation of "une importune vie" with the "importune à moi-même" of Racine's *Andromaque* (301) and of "Vostre barbare main en fist un sacrifice" with "Par une main cruelle, hélas! j'ai vu percer..." (*ibid.*, 863). Finally, Polixène's statement exclaiming more specifically on her allocation as slave to Pyrrhus in I sc.ii:

⁶⁵ "I who looked on my husband Hector dying by Achilles' hand."

⁶⁶ "I who saw the wheel-dragged slaughter of Hector."

Je vais estre à Pyrrhus, Madame, il faut périr...
 Madame, de Pyrrhus je deviens le partage
 Quel supplice pour moy? quel affreux esclavage?
 Le seul nom de Pyrrhus...

(p.6)

may echo Andromache's rather similar statement in Euripides' *Troades*:

ἀπώλεσέν μ' ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἤρέθην,
 Ἀχιλλέως με παῖς ἐβουλήθη λαβεῖν
 δάμαρτα· δουλεύσω δ' ἐν αὐθεντῶν δόμοις
 (658-60)⁶⁷.

At the same time, Polixène's last half-line here "Le seul nom de Pyrrhus" (a rhetorical but powerful expression of the depth of her dread of him) will be directly echoed in the following scene by Pradon's own Andromaque: "C'est un monstre pour moi que le seul nom d'Achille" (p.10). So, while the latter line also relates to previous literature (see [7.2.3.1](#)), it provides very clear evidence not just that Pradon has derived his Polixène's position from Andromache's, but that he deliberately relates the two in his own presentation of the story.

Both of these considerations lead us to see not only that the positions of Andromaque and Polixène *vis-a-vis* their captor-suitors *can* be seen as parallel and thus compared, but also that Pradon intends them to be. This is supported by the swift succession of the scenes presenting Polixène's and Andromaque's feelings on the Pyrrhus question in I sc.ii and I sc.iii. How does the comparison affect our reactions to them and to their situations? First of all we may note that Polixène's aversion has a 'direct' motivation - Pyrrhus himself killed her lover - while Andromaque's is based on an indirect subjective identification - Pyrrhus' father killed her husband: consider the difference between "Le seul nom de Pyrrhus" and "le seul nom d'Achille", in the light of the force of the latter discussed at [7.2.3.1](#). I am not sure that this greatly affects our view of the validity of Andromaque's motivation, however: as argued in [7.2.3.1](#) and [7.3](#), the way Pradon evokes her feelings and their contributory factors (particularly the "son of Achilles" idea) carries conviction. Secondly, we may see that in one sense Andromaque escapes more lightly in that she is spared actual enslavement to Pyrrhus, whereas Polixène is doomed to be bound to him. We

⁶⁷ "[This] has destroyed me; for when I was chosen out, the son of Achilles wished to take me as 'wife'; I shall be a slave in the house of murderers."

may, then, feel a deeper sympathy for Polixène than for Andromaque. The difference between the tragic tone of Polixène's despairing comments on the fate that has actually befallen her, and the proud, impassioned but in the end relieved tone of Andromaque's subsequent comments on the fate she has avoided, is likely to create a difference in the quality of the sympathy we extend to Polixène and to Andromaque. The quality of sympathy invited by Andromaque here differs also, on this count, from that invited by Andromache in Euripides, Virgil, Seneca and Racine. In the end this difference is a consequence of Pradon's chosen plot (6.2.2); but as remarked in 6.3, it does mean that Pradon's Andromaque does not reach full tragic stature in this respect, whereas we probably feel that his Polixène does. And it remains true that the plot could perfectly well have survived without an aversion to Pyrrhus on Polixène's part. It is not even necessary as the motivation for her appeal to Ulisse to try to exchange her with Andromaque (II sc.ii), since a sufficient additional motive for this is actually supplied - the desire to remain with her mother, also Ulisse's captive. Thus the plot dictated that some of the tragic force be removed from Andromaque's initial situation with regard to Pyrrhus; Pradon's interest in Polixène leads to the tragic force Andromaque loses being transferred to another character whose position is held up alongside hers. As a result of Pradon's doubling of Andromaque's situation with respect to Pyrrhus in Polixène's part, the depth of the audience's response to Andromaque's situation is modified, perhaps even in Polixène's favour.

On the other hand, Polixène might in another sense be said to have the lighter yoke to bear in that she is not loved by the very man who inspires her with this horror and who deprived her of her love, nor is the man who *does* love her one she particularly shrinks from; while Andromaque is pursued passionately by the object of her deepest repugnance, against whom emotion, loyalty and pride alike rise up within her. As we have seen, Pradon does to some extent develop our sense of the painful ironies of Andromaque's position, in Pyrrhus' and Hécube's use of the "fils d'Achille" / "veuve d'Hector" motif in I sc.vi and III sc.vii. But Andromaque herself never directly refers to Pyrrhus' love (except in IV sc.iii after she has decided to accept his help and the 'obstacle' of his passion appears to have been sidelined), nor is she ever portrayed as either fighting or having to fight against it, as she was in Racine. In fact, as we saw in our discussions in 7.2.3.1 and 7.3, Pradon, though certainly interested both in Pyrrhus' passion for Andromaque and in the complex of Andromaque's reactions to him set within that context, never fully develops the potential of the conflict he sets up between them, because other considerations intervene.

Even in this respect, then, the full tragedy and dramatic power of Andromaque's experiences and character have not been exploited. The passion of Ulisse for Polixène is of course itself not tragic in the way that Pyrrhus' for Andromaque is in Racine. But given that Polixène's claim to call forth a sense of tragedy and a corresponding sympathy is probably greater in respect of her allocation to Pyrrhus, Andromaque's counter-claims in this other respect are not really strong enough to restore the balance.

7.4.2: Polixène and Andromaque: overall conclusions on *La Troade*

All this refers to the two women's portrayal as regards their relationship with Pyrrhus (and in Polixène's case its mirror image with Ulisse). I do not for a moment mean to detract from Andromaque's claims to tragic stature and full sympathy in respect of the Astyanax action, nor to imply that overall Polixène is a more truly powerful tragic figure than Andromaque and claims a deeper emotional response. But it is probably true to say that Pradon maintains his interest in Polixène at a more consistent level than he does his interest in Andromaque. Throughout this whole discussion we have seen ample evidence of that latter interest in various forms: his development of both Andromaque's emotional and 'intellectual', passive and active, qualities within her devotion to and defence of Hector and Astyanax; his exploration of her quality of pride; his decision to retain, and to attempt to sustain as long as possible, his own presentation of her aversion to Pyrrhus, its motivation and its implications, all the inconveniences for plot and dramatic consistency notwithstanding. But we have also seen ample evidence of unevenness in his portrayal: ideas taken up and too abruptly disposed of; a fading out of Andromaque from the proceedings in a way that does not allow her rôle a satisfactory conclusion⁶⁸. Polixène's rôle is both more evenly distributed and more consistently maintained in that the ideas raised at the beginning are maintained at the same profile throughout.

But if Pradon's portrayal of Andromaque is uneven, it is also innovative, in some of its aspects impressively coherent, powerful, moving and stimulating. If the development of some of its aspects is dictated to a large degree by the plot, it is never a character portrayal entirely determined by plot: the very unevenness and inconsistencies indicate that it was something

⁶⁸ Contrast this with the case in Racine, where despite the absence of Andromaque from the last third of the play, which many have found unfortunate (though she did of course reappear in V sc.iii in the original version), her final actual appearance and even her final reported appearance leave us with much more of a sense that her part has been rounded off, of a sense of proper conclusion.

claiming Pradon's attention and care in its own right. And we should consider, too, that, in terms of his reflection of the Andromache tradition, Pradon gives us *two* new versions of the figure of Andromache: one in *Andromaque*, one, so far as the relationship with Pyrrhus is concerned, in *Polixène*. Each is different; both, in their own way, are effective. They are part of what makes this *La Troade*, for all its awkwardnesses and conventionalities, very far from being a negligible play.

CHAPTER 8: CONCLUSIONS

The central questions of this thesis have been: what was Euripides' influence on the dramatists of 17th-century France? and what contribution did that influence make to their work? Our answers derive from the study of one restricted area - three dramatists, one character - but that area serves as a case in point, yielding findings with important implications for the wider study of Euripides' influence.

8.1: Identification of extent of Euripides' influence

8.1.1: Influential elements of Euripides' portrayal

The elements of Euripides' portrayals of Andromache and her story found to be most influential are as follows.

I: In terms of the portrayal of Andromache:

- (a) Her relationship to Hector: particularly in the continuing power of that relationship over her affections, loyalties and aspirations.
- (b) Her feelings towards her children, Astyanax and Molossos, along with other views of them mentioned in the plays: their dynastic significance, importance for any future hopes for Troy, and in Astyanax's case the reminder and legacy of Hector he provides.
- (c) Her relationship with and attitude to Neoptolemos (Pyrrhus), involving in particular an identification of him with Achilles in responsibility for Hector's death, and a resultant dilemma between the practicalities of 'belonging to him' and the personal repugnance he inspires.
- (d) The intensity with which she remembers the past and with which its attachments still haunt her.
- (e) Her more active and forceful side, revealed in her impassioned defiance, and in *Andromache* in her pride and the practical clear-sightedness she applies in defence of herself and her child.

II: In terms of the portrayal of Andromache's situation:

- (f) The danger to her child.
- (g) Her attempt to protect her child by concealment.
- (h) Blackmail applied to her where an ultimatum is delivered requiring a personal sacrifice if she is to save her child.
- (i) Her attempts to save her child by persuasion and supplication.

- (j) A dilemma for her involving the conflicting demands of loyalty to Hector and of survival.

It is on the response to and development of these features by Euripides' successors that investigation of his influence has focussed.

8.1.2: Direct influence

Evidence of direct contact with Euripides' 'Andromache plays' was found for each of Sallebray's *La Troade*, Racine's *Andromaque* and Pradon's *La Troade*. Although verbal reminiscence of Euripides usually occurred on a small scale, often the phrase or line echoed related to a significant idea in Euripides' portrayal of Andromache that the author was working into the scheme of his own play. The most distinctive elements taken directly from Euripides concerned Andromache's view of Neoptolemos/Pyrrihus; the conflict between personal loyalty based in the past and present necessity with which her relationship to him was charged; and her uncluttered maternal attachment and devotion to her child for his own sake. In Racine, the first two elements made a substantial contribution to the central dramatic conflict, while the third constituted one vital factor in *Andromaque's* response to that conflict. In Sallebray, while the first and second elements were referred to in relation to *Andromaque* only in passing, that reference supported the case for the apparent transfer of aspects of at least the first and possibly the second to Sallebray's central development of *Cassandre's* relationship with Agamemnon. In Pradon, the scene in Euripides where the first and second ideas are most clearly articulated appeared to be adapted at the outset of *Andromaque's* rôle to set up a highly promising dramatic conflict; the element of maternal attachment was richly exploited in the development of *Andromaque's* conflicting reactions of pride and anxiety to her son and his peril. Such cases of direct influence at times either were modified by or worked in combination with elements having undergone some transformation in the intervening tradition since Euripides. For example, in Pradon, the pride in her son with which *Andromaque's* maternal tenderness conflicts derives from the reactions of previous *Andromaches* to *Astyanax's* resemblance to Hector, transmuted from an idea in *Hecuba's* lament for *Astyanax* in Euripides.

8.1.3: Indirect influence

An appreciation of the indirect operation of Euripides' influence showed the three French writers to owe an even more extensive debt to the Greek dramatist. The 'chain of inspiration' concept enabled us to see how the Latin and intervening French source works often did not so much compete with Euripides' influence as contribute to it, transmitting his words and ideas in more or less modified form. With Virgil and Seneca, many of the definitive traits of character and situation they passed on to successive writers were either more fully developed versions of traits present in Euripides, or innovative ideas and situations inspired by and developed out of suggestions in Euripides' portrayal of the Andromache story. Seneca's work combined this operation of direct Euripidean influence with the second-hand operation of Euripides' influence through certain of Virgil's transformations. Garnier's treatment of Andromache was largely defined by Seneca's 'recreation' in this sense, and thus transmitted a second- and third-hand operation of Euripides' influence to his later compatriots. Simultaneously, his direct contact with Euripides affected his portrayal of Andromache in some significant details, and introduced into his play a treatment of the fates of Cassandra and Polyxena which influenced his successors' versions of the whole story in ways affecting their presentation of Andromache.

The works of Sallebray, Racine and Pradon stand in the face of this complex nexus of first, second and third-hand Euripidean influence, comprising elements transformed, modified or essentially unchanged from their original state. With respect to any one element, these writers may respond to the overall tradition in whole or in part, picking and choosing their own selection among the expressions, aspects and overall balances in which each preceding writer rendered that element; in so doing they combine instances of Euripides' influence at various removes and in varying degrees of transformation. Or they may respond to the rendition of that element by one particular writer, taking on board what that particular predecessor owed directly to Euripides, what he owed to the successive intervening recreations of Euripides, and whatever he himself had contributed, in development, transformation or innovation, in his use of his sources. In turn, each of Sallebray's, Racine's and Pradon's own works add to the 'Andromache tradition', further contributing to the intricacies of the operation of Euripides' influence for their successors.

Figure 8.1.3

CHAIN	→ Sallebray	→ Racine	→ Pradon
ONE STEP			
Euripides	Significance of And.'s allocation to Pyrrhus. Hector's widow/ Achilles' son juxtaposition. Cassandre's aversion to Agamemnon (from Andromache's to Neoptolemos). Elements of the 'reunion with her son in death' idea.	Basic framework of Pyrrhus' 'desire' for Andromaque. And.'s aversion to Pyrrhus, including her identification of Pyrrhus with Achilles. Pattern of 'significant patronymics', especially 'Achilles' son' and 'Hector's widow'. Idea for portraying Pyrrhus as 'Achilles' son'. Psychological basis for dilemma between marrying Pyrrhus and losing her son. Discussion of issues of loyalty. And.'s concern for Astyanax in himself - 'only joy' and 'remember me' elements. And.'s self-sacrifice for her child. Andromaque's pride. Elements of And.'s laments for the past.	Debate between Hécube and Andromaque on attitudes to Pyrrhus as new master; discussion of issues of loyalty. Andromache's invective against Ulysse; the pride in Hector involved here.
TWO STEPS			
Euripides ↓ Virgil	Idea for And.'s desire to rebuild Hector's tomb?	And.'s loyalty to Hector's memory and abiding grief for him. Expressions of And.'s fidelity to dead partner (And./Hector→ Dido/ Sychaeus→ And./Hector). Details of the sack of Troy - especially 'eye witness' element re Priam's murder.	
Euripides ↓ Seneca	Details of invective against Ulysse (from And. → Menelaos originally).	Dilemma with ultimatum setting child's life against loyalty to Hector. Attitude to Astyanax as heir and preserver of his ancestral line (adapted from ambitions for Astyanax entertained by And. in Seneca, by Hecuba in Eur.). Ambitions for Astyanax (transferred from Hecuba → Andromache → Pyrrhus). Plea that Astyanax will never be a danger.	[See Euripides → Seneca → Garnier → Pradon.]

CHAIN	→Sallebray	→Racine	→Pradon
Euripides ↓ Garnier	Importance of Cassandre and fact of her relationship with Agamemnon. Polyxena component. Idea of family reunion in death. Details of lament for Hector. Lament over Hector's shield. Elements of final lament for Astyanax. Desire to die in her son's place. Scorn of Greek fear of Astyanax.	Lament at prospect of losing Astyanax. Some details of lament for Hector in expressions of inconsolable grief.	Prominence of Polyxena.
Euripides ↓ Sallebray		Juxtaposition of "fils d'Achille"/"veuve d'Hector" (though see Eur. → Racine). Aspects of Andromaque's reaction to Pyrrhus (from Cassandre's to Agamemnon - see Eur. → Sallebray).	
Euripides ↓ Racine			Andromaque's aversion to Pyrrhus, including identification of him with his father Achilles. Pyrrhus' desire for Andromaque. Idea for portraying Pyrrhus as 'son of Achilles'. Significant use throughout of "veuve d'Hector" and "fils d'Achille". Dilemma between kindly response to Pyrrhus and risk to her son. Andromaque's pride. Andromaque's verbal resourcefulness? Polyxena's love for Antenor and aversion to Pyrrhus.
THREE STEPS			
Euripides ↓ Virgil ↓ Seneca	[nothing significant to add to Eur. → Virgil → Seneca → Garnier → Sallebray; see below.]	Identification of Astyanax with Hector (Seneca combining Hecuba's words in Eur. <i>Tro.</i> and And.'s identification of Ascanius with Astyanax in <i>Aeneid</i> 3). And.'s loyalty to Hector's memory and abiding grief.	[little significant to add to Eur. → Virgil → Seneca → Garnier → Pradon.]
Euripides ↓ Virgil ↓ Racine			Some details of expression of And.'s attachment and loyalty to Hector's memory.

CHAIN	→Sallebray	→Racine	→Pradon
Euripides ↓ Seneca ↓ Garnier	Tomb-scene (concealment, ultimatum, dilemma). Ambitions for Astyanax. "Only hope/comfort" motif. Threats against And. herself, to get enemies' way. And.'s more 'fierce' side. Elements of And.'s lament for Hector. View of and wish for Hector as continuing defender. Details of maternal tenderness. Plea that it is foolish to fear Astyanax. Argument in favour of hiding Astyanax in tomb (from And.'s reason for taking refuge at Thetis' altar in <i>Andromache</i>).	[see Eur. → Seneca → Racine. Priority of E → S → R or E → S → G → R determined in each case by relative closeness of verbal echoes: e.g. "only hope/comfort" motif probably derived from Garnier in the first instance.]	Tomb-scene (concealment, ultimatum, dilemma). Ambitions for Astyanax. "Only hope/comfort" motif. Threats against And. herself to get enemies' way. And.'s more 'fierce' side. Elements of And.'s lament for Hector. View of and wish for Hector as continuing defender. Details of maternal tenderness. Plea that it is foolish to fear Astyanax. Argument in favour of hiding Astyanax in tomb (from And.'s reason for taking refuge at Thetis' altar in <i>Andromache</i>).
Euripides ↓ Seneca ↓ Sallebray		[see E → S → G → Sall. → R.]	Details of invective against Ulisse.
Euripides ↓ Seneca ↓ Racine			Dilemma with ultimatum setting child's life against loyalty to Hector.
Euripides ↓ Garnier ↓ Sallebray		Idea of family reunion in death. Pyrrhus' suit of Andromaque (from Agamemnon's of Cassandra, undergoing major development from Garnier to Sallebray then elements being transferred to Pyrrhus in Racine).	Family reunion in death, as here linked to And. dying of grief. And.'s desire to die in her son's place.
Euripides ↓ Sallebray ↓ Racine			Juxtaposition of "fils d'Achille"/ "veuve d'Hector" motifs (although see Eur. → Racine → Pradon). Aspects of Andromaque's aversion to Pyrrhus and his suit. Aspects of Polixène's aversion to Pyrrhus and relationship with Ulisse (though more through Eur. → Racine → Pradon).

CHAIN	→Sallebray	→Racine	→Pradon
FOUR STEPS			
Euripides ↓ Virgil ↓ Seneca ↓ Garnier	Identification of Astyanax with Hector. And.'s attachment to Hector's tomb, her loyalty and abiding grief.	'Eye-witness of Priam's murder' element. [Otherwise not much to add to E → V → Sen. → R.]	Identification of Astyanax with Hector. And.'s attachment to Hector's tomb, her loyalty and abiding grief.
Euripides ↓ Seneca ↓ Garnier ↓ Sallebray		Some of the 'shared' elements (see E → Sen. → R) may derive their particular expression from this; especially: Ambitions for Astyanax's future/ Troy's restoration (transferred from And. in earlier versions to Pyrrhus here).	Pride in Astyanax.
Euripides ↓ Garnier ↓ Sallebray ↓ Racine			Polyxena's request for Pyrrhus to reunite her with her family and Antenor, deriving from And.'s expressions in Racine of 'family reunion in death' idea. Ulisse's suit of Polixene and Pyrrhus' of And. (from Pyrrhus' suit of And. in Racine - see E → G → Sall. → R).
FIVE STEPS			
Euripides ↓ Virgil ↓ Seneca ↓ Garnier ↓ Sallebray		Some of the 'shared' elements may derive their particular expression in Racine from Sallebray. Otherwise little to add to E → V → S → R.	"un peu de cendre est mon seul héritage" - combining 'only good thing left' motif with expression of grief for Hector in Sallebray (itself deriving from the 'ashes of my husband' motif).
Euripides ↓ Seneca ↓ Garnier ↓ Sallebray ↓ Racine			Attitude to Astyanax preserving family inheritance, and to his noble lineage. Pride in Astyanax (from Céphise in Racine to And. here).

CHAIN	→Sallebray	→Racine	→Pradon
SIX STEPS			
Euripides ↓ Virgil ↓ Seneca ↓ Garnier ↓ Sallebray ↓ Racine			See E → V → S → G → Sall. → R; compare E → V → S → R → P.

In the 'chain of inspiration', therefore, the chain of influence passing through all seven of the principal works operates alongside various shorter chains where one or more of the individual intermediary links 'misses out' a particular element. Figure 8.1.3 identifies the significant chains of influence starting from Euripides that operate on each of the 17th-century dramatists, and attempts to classify which elements each French writer appears to derive in the first instance from which of these 'chains'.

Some elements here involve more-or-less the whole tradition:

- (a) individual recurring 'motifs' whose expression remains very similar throughout, usually encapsulating a wider character trait or attitude;
- (b) individual and constant 'ideas': e.g. ambitions for Astyanax;
- (c) various components of action, character and plot that remain essentially constant though appearing in different guises: e.g. the blackmail concerning her child applied to Andromache.

Other elements develop from a later writer picking up an idea that had previously lain dormant. Occasionally this is straightforward, as with Garnier's reinclusion of the Cassandra episode from Euripides in his version of Seneca's plot. In other cases, as with Racine's rendition of Andromaque's dilemma, an element previously neglected by the tradition (Andromache's psychological dilemma over her attitude to her new master in Euripides' *Troades*) is combined with one involved throughout the intervening tradition (the blackmail scenario setting up a conflict of loyalties between son and husband).

With both types of element, an individual author's original input can cause a 'great leap forward'. Seneca, for instance, transformed once and for all the significance of the 'motif' of Astyanax's resemblance to Hector from moving elegy to driving motive. Likewise, he redefined the 'dramatic

centre' of all Andromache's subsequent appearances by crystallising into one central action the disparate elements inherited from Euripides (concealment, blackmail (*Andromache*), potential conflict of loyalties (*Troades*)) and from Euripides through Virgil (devotion to Hector's memory in the shape of his tomb). Such 'surges' in the development of the tradition may be the result of more intricate processes. Racine's rendition of the Pyrrhus-Andromaque relationship fundamentally affects Pradon's version of the standard Senecan plot. Racine's rendition owes much to his own contact with Euripides, and much to Seneca's recreation of Euripides just outlined. But it also owes something to Sallebray's innovative presentation of the Agamemnon-Cassandre relationship; which may well be influenced in its turn by Euripides' *Andromache*, almost certainly derives from Garnier's treatment of Cassandra's fate, and may, in the prominence it gives to Cassandre within the play, represent Sallebray's *inspiration* by the vivid figure Cassandre cut in Garnier. Garnier's *Cassandre*, however, is a straightforward transferal from Euripides. Thus the operation of Euripides' influence within the 'chain of inspiration' depends on a complex process, involving simple borrowing, original input to, or application and complication of, ideas inherited directly or indirectly, and the more elusive 'sparking off' of new ideas by something found interesting in a previous portrayal.

8.2: Effect of Euripides' influence

These complex patterns of influence also have consequences for each author's individual work as a literary creation. An author's response in the face of such a 'chain of inspiration', and the use he makes of it, provide criteria on which the merit of his work, and his intentions within it, may be judged.

Each of the French dramatists had at their disposal the components of *Andromache*'s story listed at 8.1.1. Throughout this study we have identified the various conflicts latent in the original components: conflicts between personal safety and personal loyalty, between different personal loyalties, between pride and the pressure of imminent danger, between feelings about the past and the practicalities of the present; tension between more and less disinterested attitudes *Andromache* has towards her child and the necessity of saving him. When Sallebray, Racine and Pradon come to create their own versions of the *Andromache* story, they have behind them a number of different renditions of these conflicts. Comparing their

versions with the previous ones has helped to reveal their capacity for invention and their skill in recasting traditional elements into an original but still dramatically viable pattern. On the largest scale, it is commonly agreed that the dramatic situation between Pyrrhus and Andromaque, created by Racine to stand at the heart of his plot in *Andromaque*, shows a high level of inventiveness and skill in the combination of elements drawn from previous authors with certain crucial original touches. But Pradon too shows a great deal of inventiveness in the way he combines the Senecan plot with new situations between the characters, drawing on the Pyrrhus-Andromaque situation in Racine to creating new, potentially rewarding forms of the familiar conflicts. Consideration of the re-arrangement of the inherited constituent parts of a major stage of the action can also show where, how and how successfully a writer is trying to be original, as with Sallebray's and Pradon's individual reshapings of the Senecan tomb-scene. This comparative approach can also prove fruitful at a very detailed level: the difference in application or significance of a phrase verbally similar to one used in a parallel context in an earlier work can provide an index to the originality of what an author is doing: for example, the abstract significance, in Racine, of the Senecan-derived phrase: "O cendres d'un époux!", used to articulate Andromaque's dilemma. Finally, this approach allows us to view apparently entirely new elements as new ways found to express inherited attributes of character, attitude or situation. One may then assess them for the fresh impact with which they convey the particular attribute, and for the dramatic effectiveness of the new application of that attribute in its particular context. In all the above cases, studying what a particular author chooses to do with the material in comparison to what his predecessors chose to do may, further, shed light on what he was personally interested in doing with the characters and the story.

The similarities as well as the differences between inherited material and a later author's use of it have also proved significant. The imitation of a predecessor's phrase, line, image or even speech can always carry resonances of its meaning and impact in the original work: for the author at least, occasionally also for the audience. This can be an important consideration for assessing what a character's words at a particular juncture indicate of the overall conception of them the author wishes to convey. The creative process here involves setting up an interplay between the transferred phrase or image and its new context. The meaning and impact of the phrase in the original context may be set off ironically with its impact

in the new context (e.g. Pyrrhus echoing words of Hector, in Racine). They may be used in such a way as to support a particular aspect of character or situation which the dramatist wishes to emphasise (as with the use of 'significant patronymics' for Pyrrhus and Andromache, transferred from Euripides to Racine and perhaps to Pradon). Or they may be used to tilt a balance of sympathy, as Racine's Homeric and Euripidean images of Hector as devoted family man and brave defender add weight to Andromaque's devotion to his memory. Direct imitation of a predecessor in the expression of any element of Andromache's character or story often, furthermore, involves choosing between the different expressions of that element in the various preceding works in the 'chain'. The choices an author makes may provide helpful clues to his intentions. Verbal echoes relating to one previous portrayal of a given element, preferred for its particular balance and emphasis, may be applied so as to highlight at a given moment one particular aspect of the central tensions and conflicts of the Andromache story: perhaps resolving the tension at that moment in favour of that particular aspect, perhaps marking the moment in the action where an aspect previously overshadowed returns to prominence. In all these ways, study of an author's use of the field of reference provided by predecessors' work reveals his skill in applying inherited material to enrich the range of impact and expression in his own work.

8.3: Conclusion

Andromaque nous touche...parce qu'Andromaque a pour
son époux et pour son enfant l'amour qui a été dépeint par
Euripide et Virgile

(Knight 1962, p.38).

Knight's comment on Racine's *Andromaque* sums up in many ways what this study has aimed to show of the effect of Euripides' influence on Sallebray, Racine and Pradon. Their 'Andromache plays' are a response to an Andromache tradition instigated by Euripides and comprising numerous elements charged with dramatic and emotive potential. The power and richness of their works depends to a large degree on their skill in mobilising those elements to serve their own creative purposes. Complex and diffuse though the operation on these writers of Euripides' influence and inspiration may be, it has been shown to lie behind the most convincing

and interesting aspects of their presentations of Andromache, and possibly to have 'sparked off', directly or indirectly, certain of the most fruitful 'new ideas' which distinguish each of their contributions to the tradition.

Studying these works in relation to that influence has shed light on what the authors had to work with, what they were aiming to do, the details of how they set about achieving that, and the level of effectiveness they attained in comparison to what had gone before. It has also shown us something of how an imitative, reactive and creative relationship between a writer and his successors, however remote in time and culture, may work.

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