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de Pierre Troterel

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Introduction to *The Tragedy of Saint Agnes and The Life and Holy Conversion of Saint Guillaume, Duke of Aquitaine*

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When a specialist of French theatre history has rigorously set out the known circumstances of a work's creation and traced its aesthetic affiliations, as Pierre Pasquier has done in introducing his editions—the first in modern times—of Pierre Troterel's two hagiographic plays, there seems little point in introducing a translation by going over the same ground. It is the working premise of bilingual volumes in this series that Anglophone readers sufficiently interested in contemporary context of this kind will have no difficulty with the introductions in French.[1] The main business of an introduction to the English version then becomes something different—to suggest parallels and contrasts with more familiar phenomena on the other side of the Channel. In the present case, this objective might seem to pose a particular challenge.

It is hardly surprising that the French Counter-Reformation *théâtre dévot* of the early to mid-seventeenth century, as represented by the two works of Pierre Troterel in this volume, has no equivalent across the Channel. Of the several kinds of religious drama known in England in the Middle Ages, those plays stemming from the hagiographic tradition—or traditions—had the least carrying power beyond the Reformation, for obvious reasons. Only a meagre handful of what are variously termed saint, miracle, mystery or conversion plays—for, as is increasingly recognised, their generic boundaries were far from rigid—have survived, and only in manuscript. Still, the manuscripts of the most notable survivals, *The Conversion of St Paul* and *Mary Magdalen*, are relatively late, dating from the first decades of the sixteenth century, and attest to

1 Likewise with *Coriolan*, by Alexandre Hardy, French ed. with Introduction and Notes by Fabien Cavaillé, English trans. with Introduction and Notes by Richard Hillman, Scène Européenne - Traductions Introuvables (Tours: Presses Universitaires François-Rabelais, 2019).

such theatrical activity at least in late-medieval (or early-Renaissance, if one prefers) East Anglia.[2] Moreover, the form proved surprisingly adaptable to Protestant treatments, at least one of which—Lewis Wager's *The Life and Repauntance of Mary Magdalene* (pub. 1566)—actually dared to rework traditional Catholic hagiographic material.[3]

More generally, the structural attraction for the Elizabeth and Jacobean theatre of the typical saint play pattern—with protagonists undergoing (more-or-less justified) trials, acknowledging their faults (if any) and being (more or less) absolved—is evident in plots with both pagan and Christian settings and across all the genres of the public and private theatres. The effect is especially marked in the romantic tragicomedies—hence, for instance, the approach of F. D. Hoeniger to *Pericles* (by Shakespeare and, probably, George Wilkins) as a virtual saint play.[4]

Beyond this broad parallel, *Pericles* actually provides one case, as I have proposed elsewhere, in which the French hagiographic tradition at least glancingly intersects with that of English tragicomedy. Remarkably, this happens to operate in the opposite direction—English to French—and it happens to involve the first of Troterel's plays included here: *The Tragedy of Saint Agnes* (*Tragédie de Sainte Agnès*), seemingly composed around 1614 and published in 1615, hence shortly after the two quarto editions of *Pericles* (1609, 1611).[5] That argument is beside the point for the present purpose, and while it sheds further light on cross-connections between the English and French theatres in the early seventeenth century, it does not alter the fact that such connections are limited and indirect when it comes to explicitly religious drama. Proving the rule is a notable exception, whose implications remain subject to debate and (inevitably) speculation: *The Virgin Martyr*

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2 See *The Late Medieval Religious Plays of Bodleian MSS Digby 133 and e Museo 160*, ed. Donald C. Baker, John L. Murphy, and Louis B. Hall, Jr., Early English Text Society Original Series, 283 (Oxford: Oxford University Press for the Early English Text Society, 1982), Introduction, pp. x-xcix, esp. xviii, xxii, xxviii, xxx, and xlviii.

3 On this phenomenon generally, see Peter Happé, "The Protestant Adaptation of the Saint Play", *The Saint Play in Medieval Europe*, ed. Clifford Davidson, Early Drama, Art, and Music Monograph Series (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, Western Michigan University, 1986), pp. 205–40. For Wager's play, see *Reformation Biblical Drama in England: An Old-spelling Critical Edition*, ed. Paul Whitfield White (New York: Garland Publishing, 1992), pp. xxii-xxiii. Adaptation in that case may have been facilitated by the influence of a French Protestant allegory; see Henri de Barran, *Mankind Justified by Faith: Tragicomedy (1554)*, ed. and trans. Richard Hillman, Scène Européenne - Traductions Introuvables (Tours: Presses Universitaires François-Rabelais, 2021), p. 12, n. 11, *et passim*.

4 See F. D. Hoeniger, ed., *Pericles*, by William Shakespeare, The Arden Shakespeare, 2nd ser. (London: Methuen, 1963), Introduction, pp. lxxxviii-xci.

5 See Richard Hillman, "Laughing (Last) in the Brothel: Comedy and Sanctity across the Channel in the Wake of *Pericles*", *Notes and Queries*, 68.1(2021): 121-27.

(pub. 1622), the dramatisation by Thomas Dekker and Philip Massinger of the legend of Saint Dorothea of Caesaria.[6] That play, as its title indicates, shares with Troterel's *Saint Agnes* one of the major thematic preoccupations of French *théâtre dévot*—that is, until such subjects were essentially banished as incompatible with true piety.[7]

Troterel's much later devotional piece, *The Life and Holy Conversion of Guillaume, Duke of Aquitaine* (*La vie et sainte conversion de Guillaume duc d'Aquitaine*; pub. 1632), departs from the virgin martyr theme as such, focusing on a male saint and one who achieved sanctity, not as a martyr, but as a hermit—another privileged route. Still, it effectively recuperates the motif of chastity corrupted from the opposite angle, in effect associating itself backhandedly with the sub-genre. The legend of Guillaume of Aquitaine (or Guyenne), as retailed in Pedro de Ribadeneira's hagiographic compendium, *Flos Sanctorum*—Troterel's main source for both *Saint Agnes* and *Saint Guillaume*, as Pasquier explains[8]—relegates to a single sentence what Troterel, over three acts, presents as the ultimate expression of Guillaume's pre-conversion violence and debauchery: the ravishing of his brother's wife (unnamed in the source), whom the duke sequestered and abused for three years. In his brief address to the reader, Troterel claims to have

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6 For a persuasive treatment of this work as *tragedia sacra*, especially on the Italian model, see Louise George Clubb, *Italian Drama in Shakespeare's Time* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1989), pp. 205-29. Less convincing is the argument of Robert S. Miola, "Jesuit Drama in Early Modern England", *Theatre and Religion: Lancastrian Shakespeare*, ed. Richard Dutton, Alison Gail Findlay and Richard Wilson (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003), pp. 71–86, who claims that *The Virgin Martyr* offers "a precise, structural counterpart" to the neo-Latin martyr-tragedy *Mercia* of the Jesuit Joseph Simon. Apart from the improbability of a direct link on chronological grounds (Simon's play was published in 1648), *Mercia* deals with male martyrs—a fact that highlights the reticence of the Jesuit drama, intended for productions in their schools, with respect to female characters.

7 On the contradictions which ensured the demise of that theatre, see Christian Biet, "La Sainte, la prostituée, l'actrice: l'impossible modèle religieux dans *Théodore Vierge et Martyr* de Corneille", *Littératures Classiques*, 39 (2000): 81–103, and, in the context of a broader analytical survey including the Spanish hagiographic theatre, Anne Teulade, *Le saint mise en scène. Un personnage paradoxal*, Cerf Littérature (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 2012).

8 See Pasquier, Introduction, *Sainte Agnès*, p. 9. I adopt the most common form of the name, although it has been standardised by the Bibliothèque Nationale de France as "Ribadeneyra"; my edition of reference is *Les fleurs des vies des saints et fêtes . . . par le R. P. Ribadeneira, . . . auxquelles ont été ajoutées les vies de plusieurs saints de France par M. André Du Val, . . . Revues . . . et remises en état de perfection selon la traduction d'espagnol en français de M. René Gautier, etc.*, 2 vols (Rouen: Jean de la Mare, 1645-46). "La Vie de Saincte Agnès, Vierge & Martyr" figures in vol. I: 219 (col. b)-224 (col. a); "La Vie de Sainct Gvillavme, Duc, Comte & Hermite", which is explicitly attributed to the theologian André du Val, in vol. I: 347 (col. b)-352 (col. b). On the contribution of Du Val, which Troterel does not mention, see Pasquier, Introduction, *Guillaume duc d'Aquitaine*, p. 7, n. 21. For convenience, the work is nevertheless cited below under Ribadeneira.

followed Ribadeneira's account closely, except that he has added "poetic inventions that greatly embellish it, if it is represented in the theatre [*inuentions Poëtiques qui l'embellissent beaucoup, si on la represente sur le theatre*]".[9] In fact, the supposed ornamentation is substantial and dramatically functional.

Thus also, in developing the episode of the ravishment, Troterel foregrounds and insists on the crime of incest, not mentioned as such by Du Val. This is the keynote of the demonic prompting of Asmodeus—"abhorrent incest [*un inceste horrible*]" (I.i.8)—and the theme of the self-justifying biblical instances evoked by Guillaume himself (I.ii.82-91). Indeed, here (and at a few other points) it is difficult not to suspect Troterel's knowledge of the narrative which lay behind the *Flos Sanctorum*: the life of Guillaume de Maleval composed in Latin by the German church historian and hagiographer Laurentius Surius (i.e., Lorenz Sauer, 1523-78), who himself was adapting the thirteenth-century account of the bishop Theobaldus. Surius' work was part of a vast hagiographic collection, *De Probatis sanctorum historiis*, which circulated in several editions in the latter part of the sixteenth century. There, in the equivalent passage, incest is very much to the point, and the biblical example given is unequivocally admonitory:

> *Denique proprii germani vxorem, Herodiana rabie debacchatus, ad instar Herodis contra ius & fas incestu impudentissimo fertur per triennium & amplius tenuisse violenter.*
>
> [Finally, raging with Herodian madness, following the example of Herod, he was moved to detain with violence his own brother's wife for three years and more, contrary to law and right, in the most shameless incest.][10]

Moreover, as if to distance the victim radically from this biblical precedent, Troterel attributes to the sister-in-law the name of the virgin martyr Dorotée (Dorothea, etymologically "gift of God"), and she lives up to her nominal legacy not only by her martyr-like suffering at Guillaume's hands and her unshakeable fidelity in spirit to her husband, but perhaps chiefly by forgiving her aggressor in a thoroughly Christian spirit when, not without difficulty, he finally convinces her of his repentance (III.vii.1049-54).

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9 Translation, p. 4; Pasquier, ed., p. 5.

10 Laurentius Surius, "De beato wilhelmi ducis, comitis et eremitae, authore Theobaldo episcopo", *De Probatis sanctorum historiis, partim ex tomis Aloysii Lipomani,... partim etiam ex egregiis manuscriptis codicibus...collectis et nunc recens recognitis, atque aliquot vitarum accessione auctis, per F. Laurentium Surium, etc.*, 7 vols, vol. I (Cologne: apud G. Calenium et haeredes Quentelios, 1576), pp. 957-80, p. 957, where he is likewise termed "*incestuoso*".

If the beginning and end of Troterel's foray into *théâtre dévot* (as far as is known), widely separated as they are, thus have more in common than might be supposed, both are also linked to diverse aspects of his substantial secular dramatic output. His known production of ten plays ranged across the genres popular in the so-called *âge baroque*, including pastoral, comedy and tragicomedy, and if *Saint Agnes* assumes the label of tragedy (unlike its companion piece here), it frankly partakes, as Pierre Pasquier documents, of elements borrowed from the other genres.[11] Such flexibility was possible in France during the early to mid-seventeenth century, that is, between the more rigid models of what French theatre history typically deems the Renaissance and the strictures of the *âge classique*. What remains anomalous in the context of the French *théâtre dévot* is that Troterel allows a substantial touch of farce into the brothel scenes.

If the latter element may actually reflect English influence,[12] historians of the English theatre will also be able to relate Troterel's deployment of pastoral, comic and tragicomic motifs to contemporary practices across the Channel. These affinities, however, by no means diminish the Counter-Reformation devotional thrust of the plays, and in this sense, it may be argued that the medieval dramatic heritage, which was diverted from its original object and context in post-Reformation England, albeit not made wholly unrecognisable, is effectively being reclaimed. It is as if Troterel's plays supplement contemporary English drama with an image of what an explicitly religious theatre might have developed into, *mutatis mutandis*.

As for the devotional thrust itself, it would be unmistakable in both texts from the high seriousness with which the central events are presented: respectively, the miracles associated with Agnes and her ultimate martyrdom; Guillaume's brutality, followed by his spectacular conversion and penitence. Pasquier, moreover, elicits the circumstances of their creation, as fully as can be known, in terms which put the author's pious intentions beyond doubt in both cases. Especially conclusive is his evidence concerning the dedicatees and putative sponsors of both plays, who had strong religious associations (in the case of *Saint Agnes*) or outright connections (in the case of *Guillaume*). Any critical temptation to detach from such intentions those secular elements that most immediately impress modern sensibilities—comic business, ribaldry, sensationalism—entails distortion of their impact on contemporary audiences.[13] Indeed, their combination here

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11 Pasquier, Introduction, *Sainte Agnès*, pp. 9-16.

12 As argued by Hillman, "Laughing (Last) in the Brothel".

13 *Pace* the reading of *Saint Agnes* as near-pornographic popular theatre proposed by Michael Meere, "Staging Sanctity: Moral Confusion in Pierre Troterel's *Tragédie de Sainte Agnès*", *L'Esprit Créateur*, 50.1: Sanctity (2010): 49–61.

serves as evidence that those audiences were still open to the mutual reinforcement of the pious and the profane which was the medieval dramatic heritage. After all, tragedies of devotion in this period still regularly shared the stage with farces, in which bawdy elements were *de rigueur*.[14] In thus appropriating the tonal licence of English theatrical practice, then, Troterel was not producing a new dissonance but integrating a familiar one, and rendering it dramatically functional. That he was quite conscious of his procedure is evident from a rare metadramatic touch, when one of the lechers in *Saint Agnes* exclaims, "What is this farce? [*Quelle farce voicy ?*]" (IV.i.1373).

The Tragedy of Saint Agnes: Purging the Profanely Comic

The most obvious medieval holdover in *Saint Agnes* has already been mentioned: its low comic and farcical business, of a kind which traditionally functions, in a way akin to the gargoyles and obscene visual humour of the Middle Ages, as a reminder of sin in general and of two of its interrelated aspects in particular—namely, its dangerous attractiveness in this world and its consequences in the next, which fulfil its diabolic origin. In this context, when spectators laugh, they identify themselves unwittingly with the darkness of evil, as they are made to recognise when struck by the light of divine truth, in forms ranging from the cathedral's stained glass to the *exempla* of sermons or holy stories.

In the *Flos Sanctorum* narrative, there is no crude comedy grotesquely attached to Agnès's arrival at the brothel, while the room in which she is confined is merely described as dirty and dark, until miraculously "*remply d'un si grande clarté que la langue ne la sçauroit exprimer, ni les yeux la regarder* [filled with such intense brilliance that the tongue could not express it nor the eyes behold it]".[15] Troterel evokes the blindness of sin, then, not only through the crude humour itself, but also through the supposed attractiveness of her chamber, according to the repulsive bawds:

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14 I am grateful for this observation to Pierre Pasquier (private communication).

15 Ribadeneira, I: 221 (col. a). Ribadeneira's account seems calculated to resonate with I Corinthians 2:9: "Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of man, the things which God hath prepared for them that love him" (Authorised Version). Evidently, the verse was as well known for evoking the divine mystery in the Catholic devotional milieu as it seems to have been in the England of Shakespeare, to judge from that playwright's famous parody—"The eye of man hath not heard, the ear of man hath not seen, man's hand is not able to taste, his tongue to conceive, nor his heart to report"—when Bottom awakens from his sensual "dream" (William Shakespeare, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, *The Riverside Shakespeare*, gen. eds G. Blakemore Evans and J. J. M. Tobin, 2nd ed. [Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1997], V.i.211-13; unless otherwise indicated, Shakespeare is cited from this edition throughout the present volume).

We'll lead you to a little room you'll find most sweet;
It is so exquisitely pleasant, clean and neat,
And finely furnished, with both bed and couch purveyed.
There you will be put on view, just as you were made.

[*Nous vous allons mener dedans un cabinet,*
Lequel est fort gentil, bien agreable et net,
Il est fort bien meublé de lict, et de couchette,
L'on vous y monstrera, comme vous fustes faitte.] (IV.i.1435-38)

The whiter-than-snow garment that will be miraculously supplied to hide her nakedness, according to Ribadeneira[16] (along with her abundant growth of hair), is thus also ironically evoked.

But the most direct refutation of sinful darkness is light itself, and Troterel transforms the dazzling illumination in his source, where the two lechers are not only deterred but converted, into a veritable fount of wrathful lightning, which merely sends them scurrying:

. . . being on the point of getting to our sport,
A blazing spark—strange, but that's the only word for it—
Loomed up in front of us to bedazzle our eyes,
Such, neither more nor less, as one sees in the skies,
Tracing with long lightning-flashes the thunderbolt
That crashes seconds later to earth with a jolt,
Or falls upon some tower, or upon some rock,
The fear of which makes everyone flee from the shock.
So, when in her chamber we saw flaming such fire,
We speedily took flight to circumvent her ire.

[*Mais estant sur le point de ioüer auecque elle,*
(Cas estrange à conter) vne ardante estincelle,
Est venue bluetter au deuant de nos yeux,
Telle ne plus ne moins que l'on void pres des cieux,
Briller à longs esclairs, la flame du tonnerre,
Qui puis apres descend rudement sur la terre,
Ou dessus quelque tour, ou sur quelque rocher,
Qui fait de grande peur vn chacun se cacher.
Ainsi voyant ce feu dans sa chambre reluire,
Nous sommes eschappez pour euiter son ire.] (IV.iii.1609-18)[17]

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16 Ribadeneira, I: 221 (col. a).

17 Cf. Ribadeneira, I: 221 (col. b):
Les jeunes hommes laseifs entroient dans la chambre de la Saincte, & tous émerueillez de ce

Their cowardly performance gains them the ridicule of the great warrior Martian (himself about to be miraculously slain, but then revived and truly converted), for Troterel transforms Ribadeneira's simple "*jeunes hommes laseifs* [lustful young men]" into the stock stage-type of the *miles gloriosus*:

> What brave champions! O what valiant warriors!
> O my goodness, what hot-blooded adventurers!
> A few more such and we'd bring Carthage to its knees.
>
> [*Les braues champions ! ô les vaillans guerriers,*
> *O digne vertubieu quels chauds aduanturiers,*
> *Combien il en faudroit pour conquerir Cartage.*] (ll. 1619-21)

Troterel's deployment of recognisable low-comedy gambits in the scenes leading up to the presentation of divine truth in the form of miracle and martyrdom concludes a virtual process, arguably at work from the opening scene, by which familiar generic markers are successively introduced and subverted. The overall effect of the cross-generic borrowing detailed by Pasquier is therefore to intimate the hollowness of the values normally associated with those profane forms—after all, the legacy of paganism—when confronted by Christian revelation. This procedure becomes an integral part of the play's method and message.

Thus the supportive friendship offered by Censorin to the love-stricken Martian initially carries positive neo-Platonic overtones, as he seeks out his friend to comfort him, first in the typically pastoral cave to which he has withdrawn, then in his sick-bed, where he lies languishing with love-melancholy, to the despair of his father, the governor Simphorian. But Censorin's comfort converts to incitement to rape, while Martian's *amour courtois* degenerates into lust with a decided vindictive edge. Finally, Censorin eagerly accompanies Martian to the brothel, where the principle of shared experience associated with ideal friendship metamorphoses into desire to second Martian in enjoying Agnes's body. Meanwhile, the father's initially sympathetic engagement in his son's amorous cause turns to enraged imposition of sexual degradation and humiliation on the love-object. The pivotal element in these transformations—the rock, as it

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qu'il voyoient, s'en retournoient tous chastes, & changez: ils entroient sales & abominables, & en sortoient nets & mortifiez: & ceux qui venoient servir au diable, & à l'appetit déreglé de la chair, s'en retournoient modestes, connoissans & loüans Dieu.
[The lustful young men entered the room of the Saint, and wholly wonder-struck by what they saw, returned quite chaste and transformed: they entered it filthy and abominable, and left it cleansed and mortified: and those who came to serve the devil, and the unruly appetite of the flesh, returned from there modest, knowing and praising God.]

were, on which the pastoral and comic trajectories founder—is the discovery of Agnes's Christianity, with the revelation that the "spouse" to whom she has vowed exclusive fidelity is a heavenly one.

These plot elements all figure in outline in Ribadeneira's hagiographic summary. In effect, Troterel, as an experienced playwright, is taking them up and making them resonate with contemporary dramatic practices. In turn, those practices are made to give way to a resounding specimen of Counter-Reformation *théâtre dévot*, from the point when Martian's lust shatters against Agnes's supernatural defence and the mechanism opposing Christian miracle to pagan persecution begins in earnest. That dramatic culmination thus emerges from and across the contemporary theatrical landscape, dominated by well-worn pagan-humanist conventions—and indeed draws power meta-theatrically from the process. It is not possible, as Pasquier points out, to establish the circumstances of performance of the *Tragedy of Saint Agnes*—or to be sure that it was performed at all. At the same time, such a sophisticated interweaving of generic effects presumes active spectatorship and, added to the more technical internal evidence that Pasquier brings to bear, confirms that performance was an essential part of Troterel's conception.

The Conversion of Guillaume of Aquitaine: Tragicomic Redemption

If Agnes's martyrdom is highlighted as an ultimate *witnessing* of truth by the exposure of the false pagan values attached to pastoral, comedy and farce—and, for that matter, tragedy itself—Troterel's dramatic method in *The Conversion of Guillaume of Aquitaine* more than fifteen years later entails, in a sense, the inverse. For in the universe of Christian values which Duke Guillaume doubly betrays—institutionally, by abetting schism with his support for the "Anti-Pope" Anaclet, and personally, by his cruel debauchery—the well-established pattern of tragicomedy offers a foothold for redemption.

Such an appropriation of tragicomic form is hardly incongruous: romance structures of tribulation, quest, adventure and fulfilment lent themselves readily to conversion narratives, and hagiographic dramatisations along these lines date from the Middle Ages. The fifteenth-century *Mary Magdalen* is a striking case in point on the English side: that sprawling text makes the most of the fantastic elements added to the sketchy biblical premise by Jacobus Voraginus in the thirteenth-century *Legenda Aurea* and adds others still more extravagant. Mary is diabolically tempted into sin, then undergoes a spectacular supernatural conversion (the casting-out of the seven devils), which opens into a series of fantastic voyages and supernatural encounters before she ends (prior to her ascension to heaven) as a holy hermit—like Guillaume.

In analysing the sources and contexts for Troterel's *Guillaume*, Pasquier observes that the emphasis on miraculous conversion, as a function of divine grace, is essential to Counter-Reformation thinking—hence the prominent place of Guillaume's exam-

ple in the influential 1644 compendium of Jean Baudoin, *Les Saintes Métamorphoses, ou les Changemens miraculeux de quelques grands saints, tirez de leurs Vies* [The Holy Metamorphoses, or, The Miraculous Changes of Several Great Saints, Drawn from Their Lives].[18] For Pasquier, the dramatist faced the practical challenge of squaring such a representation of miraculous conversion with the increasingly narrow strictures imposed in France in the 1630s and 1640s on the representation of changes in dramatic character, especially in the shadow of the neo-Aristotelian "unity of time", even if the "rules", especially in the provinces, were still the subject of debate when Troterel was writing.

As with *Saint Agnes*, however, comparison with the *Flos Sanctorum* shows that Troterel approached his raw material with an acute sense of dramatic possibility. This could only have led him to tragicomedy, given the scope and variety of the events narrated, many of which lend themselves to spectacular presentation, although, as an ecclesiastic, Du Val naturally dwells on institutional implications (the schism, the role of the Pope, Guillaume's reform of a holy order). Most of these elements Troterel incorporated, including the pivotal roles of St Barnard and the hermit who dictates Guillaume's penitence. To these are added the "embellishments" referred to in Troterel's introductory letter, which further develop the tragicomic structure, and indeed enhance its coherence.

Thus, notably, while the *Flos Sanctorum* gives short shrift (as it were) to Guillaume's abuse of his sister-in-law and does not return to the subject after the conversion, Troterel not only develops the relation between abuser and victim with lengthy attention to Dorotée's emotional state, but invents a failed siege of the castle by her husband in typical tragicomic style. Her reconciliation with her tormentor, all the more moving because of her plausibly human hesitancy about believing his repentance—especially in view of his previous cynical manipulation of courtly-love rhetoric—brings the entire protracted episode to a close significant in both spiritual and generic terms: in a way that recalls the structures of Shakespeare's late tragicomedies (especially *The Winter's Tale*), comic redemption is made to emerge through and across a tragedy of sinfulness and suffering.

Troterel also develops a through-line involving the Duke's previously complicit followers ("Gentlemen" [*Gentilshimmes*]), who undergo a conversion of their own and surmount a series of diabolic obstacles to make their way to his hermitage. Their symbolically resonant trials include temptation by beautiful women—devils in disguise—and an illusory forest fire, which they are able to put out with their bare hands. Finally, on being

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18 Paris: Pierre Moreau, 1644; Baudoin's title clearly points up a contrast with the pagan *Metamorphoses* of Ovid. It is not impossible, according to Pasquier, that Baudoin actually drew inspiration from Troterel, whose earlier work he certainly knew, although his account cleaves closely to Troterel's own source, the *Flos Sanctorum*. See Pasquier, Introduction, *Guillaume duc d'Aquitaine*, p. 31.

reunited with Guillaume after fifteen years of searching—a time-scale regardless of "unity" but conforming to that of romance quest—they join him in renouncing the world.

The most immediately striking innovation in Troterel's re-working of his source, however, is his invention of the demon Asmodeus ("*Asmodée*"), identified among the *Dramatis Personae* as the "Demon of Concupiscence [*Demon de la concupiscence*]", to represent the diabolic forces that initially impel Guillaume to sin and subsequently strive to thwart his penitence. Asmadeus, too, springs most directly from a passing but potent suggestion in Du Val's account. The *Flos Sanctorum* introduces Guillaume, physically imposing and bellicose, as "*cruel, déloyal & adonné à toutes sortes de vices* [cruel, treacherous and given to all sorts of vices]".[19] Yet at the core of his sinfulness lay a "*sale concupiscence* [filthy concupiscence]", epitomised by his shameless sexual abuse of his brother's wife ("*A la face de son peuple*" [In front of his people]). Tellingly, moreover, that vice "*allumait en son cœur le feu d'vne estrange colere* [kindled in his heart the fire of a strange anger]," which in turn led him to tyrannise over his subjects, even to kill them, although in all this he was "*sur tout ennemy de soy-mesme* [above all his own enemy]".

It thus becomes clear that "concupiscence", while closely associated with sins of the flesh, extends to those of the spirit, and indeed to worldliness in general, as is theologically warranted. And accordingly, over the course of the play, Asmodeus effectively comes to unite the three traditional deadly enemies of mankind: the World, the Flesh and the Devil. Might Troterel have been responding on this point to an established iconography? Suggestive in this regard is a 1588 account by Samson de la Haye of the origins of the Guillemite order of hermits, a work which otherwise has few links with Troterel's dramatic version. The volume displays the following epigraph on its title page beneath an illustration displaying a Madonna with child between a warlike figure on the left, a saintly figure on the right:

> *Armipotens Diuus Gulielmus Dux Aquitanus,*
> *Pictauusque Comes totum perterruit orbem.*
> *Caside, lorica, metanœa, numine fultus,*
> *Fortiter euicit mundum, cacadæmona, carnem.*
>
> [In arms, saint William, Duke of Aquitaine, Count of Poitiers, terrified the whole world. With helmet, cuirass and repentance, supported by divine force, he vigorously overcame the world, the devil, the flesh.][20]

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19 Rabideneyra, p. 348 (col. a).

20 Samson de la Haye, *De veritate vitæ et ordinis divi Gulielmi quondam Aquitanorum & Pictorum principiis* ([Paris: 1588]).

The armour said to enable Guillaume to defeat his spiritual enemies must be that prescribed by the hermit to be worn tight against his body in the biographies, as in Troterel's play, where Guillaume explicitly distinguishes his new armour from his old (IV.i.1154-58).[21]

Such a perspective illuminates the reformed Guillaume's relapse into sin, when he is tempted, no longer by lust, but by a thirst for vainglory, to renew his former penchant for martial aggression.[22] He then dons outward armour, like the warrior he once was, in the place of that which he was instructed to wear as penitence (surely a version of the symbolic "whole armour of God",[23] duly fitted by the mysterious mute Armourer[24]) and boastfully insists on joining the soldiers of Lucca in their siege. For failing to keep his eye on his holy obligation, he is fittingly punished by blindness, as the *Flos Sanctorum* affirms.[25] It is as the agent of concupiscence in the broad sense, then, committed by all

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21 Surius has, as a section heading: "*De lorica ad eius carnem adstricta* [Of the cuirass clasped tight against his flesh]".

22 Thus Rabindenayra, p. 351 (col. a): "*Le diable l'attaqua lors tres-furieusement, & le fit souvenir des delices passées* [Then the devil attacked him most furiously, and caused him to remember his former pleasures]". (At this point, Surius again evokes his "*concupiscentia*" [p. 969].) Cf. also Satan speaking to his "daughter" Concupiscence about hypocritically self-satisfied *L'Homme* (Mankind), supposing himself already sanctified, in Henri de Barran, *Tragique comedie francoise de l'homme iustifié par Foy* (Geneva: [Zachary Durant], 1554):

Tu es la source de tout vice,
Tu es de ces gens la nourrice:
Parquoy il faut bien gouuerner
Ce beau Saint, & tousiours mener
Ces desirs, à chercher honneur:
Il faut tousiours tirer son cœur
A vaine gloire. (sig. d3[v] [III.vi])

[Of every vice you are the source,
The nurse that feeds such men their force—
Wherefore it's needful well to govern
This splendid saint and always turn
Him to what honour may impart:
All must be done to draw his heart
To vainglory.] (*Mankind Justified by Faith*, trans. and ed. Hillman, III.vi.1065-71)

23 Cf. Ephesians 6:11-12:
11 Put on the whole armour of God, that ye may be able to stand against the wiles of the devil.
12 For we wrestle not against flesh and blood, but against principalities, against powers, against the rulers of the darkness of this world, against spiritual wickedness in high places. (Authorised Version)
Cf. the translation, IV.i.1154-58.

24 See the translation, IV.i.1129-61, and n. 47.

25 Ribadeneira, I: 351 (col. b).

means to Guillaume's damnation, that Asmodeus continues to function as a highly dramatic through-line, capable of intervening in disguise to give the Gentlemen false directions and later devising the diabolical temptations enumerated in the sources. Thus he appears in the likeness of Guillaume's father to urge his return to worldliness and finally produces further devils to tempt and persecute him.

This invention of Troterel's would arguably have been perceived by readers and audiences as a generic marker, akin to those introduced to supplement the representation of Agnes. For the immediate and dominant association of the devil's name would surely have been with the demon of the Old Testament Book of Tobit (or Tobias, Fr. "Tobie"—one of the Apocrypha for Protestants). In that romance-like narrative of journeys, marvellous adventures and divine intervention, all tending to the redemption of the older generation by the younger, Asmodeus is the blocking figure, who must be defeated if Tobit's son Tobias is to fulfil his divinely mandated destiny by marrying Sara. For Asmodeus had previously killed seven husbands of hers before their marriages could be consummated—a hint of destructive and obsessive control of sexuality not alien to Guillaume's attitude to Dorotée. Tobias is naturally afraid, but the angel Raphaël, who (in disguise) guides his steps, gives him a magical remedy and also explains that the demon draws his power from human concupiscence:

> *hii namque qui coniugium ita suscipiunt ut Deum a se sua mente excludant et suae libidini ita vacent sicut equus et mulus in quibus non est intellectus habet potestatem daemonium super eos.* (Tob. 6:17; Vulgate)
>
> [For they that so receiue matrimonie, that they exclude God from them selues, and from their mind, and so geue them selues to their lust, as horse and mule, which haue not vnderstanding, ouer them the diuel hath power.] (Douay-Rheims translation[26])

Such an interrelation between diabolic influence and human inclination accords well enough with the successive opening monologues of Asmodeus and Guillaume.

Tobit, as divinely tested by blindness and subjected, Job-like, to insults from erstwhile friends, is implicitly introduced by Surius as comparable to Guillaume.[27] More

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26 *The holie Bible faithfully translated into English, out of the authentical Latin, etc.* [Old Testament], 2 vols (Douai: Laurence Kellam, 1609-10); STC 2207.

27 Surius, p. 969, marginal note ("Tobiae 2"). Cf. Tobit 2:12-16:

Hanc autem tentationem ideo permisit Dominus evenire illi, ut posteris daretur exemplum patientiae eius, sicut ei sancti Iob. Nam eum ab infantia sua semper Deum timuerit, et mandata eius custodierit, non est contristatus contre Deum quot plaga caecitatis evenerit ei, sed immobilis in Dei timore permansit, agens gratias Deo omnibus diebus vitae suae. Namsicut beato Iob insultabant

broadly to the generic point is the fact that the story of Tobit had twice been adapted dramatically in French (also at least twice in English, although the texts are lost)—by Catherine Des Roches and Jacques Ovyn, successively—and published in multiple editions by 1606.[28] In both cases, the label applied is tragicomedy, and while Asmodeus does not actually figure as a character, he is presented by name in the introductory summaries of the action. Obviously, the legend of Tobit cannot deal with conversion or trace a progression from sinfulness to sanctity, but its episodic structure, its free handling of time and place, and its deployment of the marvellous to mediate an unfolding relation between the human and the divine lend it the potential for dramatic adaptation of a kind compatible with traditional saint plays. So, indeed, Hoeniger recognised in mentioning the lost English plays on the subject, as well as the tragicomedy of Des Roches, as part of his argument regarding *Pericles*.[29]

A remarkable corollary of Troterel's effective transformation of Guillaume's story into tragicomedy is a tendency, in contrast with *The Tragedy of Saint Agnes*, to recuperate the natural world as a source of positive spiritual influence. Pasquier notes the pronounced evidence of the playwright's experience as a composer of pastorals.[30] One commonplace feature of that genre, the contrast between courtly corruption and natural virtue, is certainly developed here, and insistently attached to that between sin and piety. Guillaume's Gentlemen, at first his willing abettors in evil, had aimed to bring him back to his dukedom, by force if persuasion failed, but their wanderings in search of him, and their own successive triumphs over the diabolic, take on the colouring of a spiritual quest willy-nilly and lead to their collective repudiation of courtly vice. This furnishes the play's concluding note, as the Gentlemen respond to Guillaume's exhortation to join him:

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reges, ita isti parentes et cognati eius irridebant vitam eius . . .

[And this tentation therfore our Lord permitted to chance vnto him, that an example might be geuen to posteritie of his patience, also of holie Iob. For whereas he feared God alwaies from his infancie, and kept his commandmentes, he grudged not agaynst God for that the plague of blindnes had chanced to him, but continewed immoueable in the feare of God, geuing thanks to God al the dayes of his life. For as the kinges insulted against blessed Iob: so his parentes and cosins derided his life . . . (Vulgate; Douai-Reims translation)

28 For the details, in the context of tragicomic backgrounds to Shakespeare's late plays, see Richard Hillman, *The Shakespearean Comic and Tragicomic: French Inflections* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2020), p. 154.

29 Hoeniger, ed., Introduction, p. xci and n. 1.

30 Pasquier, Introduction, *Guillaume duc d'Aquitaine*, p. 18.

Let us go, good father—how your words do us please!
Adieu, world of illusion! Adieu, vanities!
Adieu, the courts of princes, where one lives in
pleasure;
Adieu, you courtiers, spreading vice beyond measure
(At least most of you); adieu, women fair and young,
Who whole troops of adoring lovers string along,
Making them consume the best years that they are sent,
Which in service to Jesus would be better spent.
Above all, adieu to all you objects diverse
That claim our attention in this great universe.
With all such frivolous love we part company,
Which caused our souls in folly you to accompany:
For to love you we cannot from this danger sever—
Of falling in the gulf where fire burns forever.

[*Allons bon pere, allons : que vous nous contentiez !*
Adieu monde pipeur, adieu vanitez,
Adieu la Cour des Rois, où l'on vit en delices,
Adieu les Courtisans, les fomenteurs des vices,
Au moins pour la plupart. Adieu ieunes beautez
Qui des trouppes d'amants apres vous arrestez,
Leur faisant consommer leurs plus belles années,
Qui pour seruir Iesus seroyent mieux destinées.
Adieu le grand adieu, tous les obiects diuers
Que l'on va contemplant dans ce grand uniuers :
Nous faussons compagnie à cet amour friuole
Qui faisoit que de vous nostre ame estoit trop fole.
L'on ne peut vous aimer, sans courre le hazard
De descendre en l'abisme, où le feu tousiours ard.]
(V.vii.1969-82)

The provision for exception here—"[a]t least most of you"—structurally fulfils the early episode (adapted from the *Flos Sanctorum*) in which the virtuous courtier Valerian, who will not flatter, is beaten and banished by Guillaume, then moralises his rejection of the court in similar terms (Act II, Scenes One and Three). Notable, too, is the rejection of "frivolous love" for this world's "objects diverse"—confirmation that the "concupiscence" of the demon carries its larger significance.

As elsewhere in tales of conversion or repentance, a hermit, occupying the middle ground both between man and God and between civilisation and nature, serves as a pivotal figure in Guillaume's spiritual journey. That Guillaume himself becomes such a one is attested by the power of his prayers in drawing the Gentlemen to him and effecting their conversion from the world: "Oh, how it gives a thrill / To see you here, for such

indeed has been my will! [*O que i'ay souhaité / De vous voir en ce lieu selon ma volonté.*]" (1945-46). As he was once prayed for to good effect, Guillaume's prayers bring his erstwhile henchmen to repentance.

The sources, however, concentrate this potential for conversion in his disciple Reinald, "*homme de bien, sage & riche* [a virtuous man, wise and wealthy]", who, according to the *Flos Sanctorum*, promised Guillaume, when the saint was near death, "*d'abandonner le monde & de vivre en ce desert le reste de ses jours* [to abandon the world and live in that desert for the rest of his days]".[31] Troterel, by contrast, makes Reinald both an example of, and a spokesman for, the continuing power of Guillaume's saintliness:

> . . . inspiration led me to these woods so dense,
> Where at present resides the pious Duke Guillaume:
> A dwelling more dear to him than his paltry fiefdom,
> Which he gave up in order better Him to serve
> Who daily makes us miracles through him observe
> Jesus, I mean, who by Duke Guillaume sets such store
> That one sees at all hours arrive at the door
> Of his isolated cave religious men, full
> Of piety, thus adding to his flock of faithful.
>
> [. . . *ie fus inspiré de venir dans ces bois*
> *Où reside à present le devot Duc Guillaume :*
> *Seiour, qu'il cherit plus que son petit royaume,*
> *Lequel il a quitté, pour mieux seruir celuy*
> *Qui fait iournellement des miracles par luy.*
> *Ie veux dire Iesus, qui le cherit de sorte,*
> *Que l'on void à toute heure arriuer à la porte*
> *De son antre écarté, des hommes, qui pieux,*
> *Accroissent le troupeau de ses religieux.*] (V.vi.1870-78)

Reinald thus mediates the larger conversion that brings the dramatic structure full circle: "And I think that here come more who are likewise prone: / Great God be praised, who honours Himself through His own! [*Et ie croy qu'en voicy qui nous viennent encore, / Le grand Dieu soit loüé, qui par les siens s'honore.*]" (ll. 1879-80).

Some English Analogues—and Traces?

For early modern English readers and audiences, the association between pastoral and conversion lay ready to hand, thanks notably to nominally French texts by William

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31 Ribadaneira, p. 352 (col. b).

Shakespeare and Thomas Lodge. Indeed, that association may cast a shadow, in a way not always appreciated, over the ending of Shakespeare's most thoroughly pastoral comedy, *As You Like It*. That play's joyous conclusion depends on the fact that the brutal usurper Duke Frederick comes under miraculous influence at once natural and holy. He had set out with an army to exterminate his banished brother, along with the virtuous court the rightful Duke has established in the forest of Arden, where "many young gentlemen flock to him every day" (I.i.117)—a "golden world" (118-19) whose transformative influence over the impetuous Orlando and his villainous brother Oliver has already been shown. Now, as with Guillaume, the transformation is mediated by a hermit and issues in a radical conversion:

> And to the skirts of this wild wood he came;
> Where, meeting with an old religious man,
> After some question with him, was converted
> Both from his enterprise and from the world. (V.iv.159-62)

This outcome constitutes a notable swerving from the play's well-known principal source, Lodge's novel *Rosalynde, Euphues Golden Legacie* (pub. 1590), where a pitched battle in chivalric style ensues to defeat the usurping king (not a duke). On the other hand, it recalls aspects of the conversion of the central figure of another novel by Lodge, Duke Robert of Normandy, whose wickedness was such as to earn him the sobriquet of "the devil".[32] Lodge developed this narrative from a medieval legend widely diffused in French and English, and in both narrative and dramatic forms.[33] The protagonist follows a trajectory that aligns him roughly with both Shakespeare's Duke Senior and Orlando and imparts a general resemblance to Duke Guillaume of Aquitaine. For Duke Robert, as part of the penance assigned him by a hermit before regaining his dukedom as a redeemed chivalric hero, traverses forests as a pilgrim in a hair shirt—he has first

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32 Thomas Lodge, *The Famous, true and historicall life of Robert second Duke of Normandy, surnamed for his monstrous birth and behaviour, Robin the Diuell. Wherein is contained his dissolute life in his youth, his deuout reconcilement and vertues in his age: Interlaced with many straunge and miraculous aduentures, etc.* (London: for N. L. and Iohn Busbie, 1591); STC 16657.

33 See Élisabeth Gaucher, *Robert le diable: histoire d'une légende*, Essais sur le Moyen Âge, 29 (Paris: H. Champion, 2003). What is presumably the original romance can be found in *Robert le Diable: Édition bilingue*, ed. Élisabeth Gaucher, Champion Classiques, série Moyen Âge (Paris: H. Champion, 2006); a dramatic version is the *Miracle de Robert le dyable*, *Miracles de Nostre Dame par personnages. Publiés d'après le manuscrit de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, ed. Gaston Paris, Ulysse Robert and François Bonnardot, 8 vols, Publications de la Société des anciens textes français (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1876-97), vol. VI (no. 33).

been enjoined, "arme thee with the shield of faith"[34]—overcomes diabolical trials and temptations, and indeed carves poems on the bark of trees, although they are poems celebrating divine, not secular love.[35]

While Shakespeare's play fulfils the promise of its title, with comedy reclaiming its rights in an eminently *natural* way, in the conventional form of multiple marriages and a return to a reformed civilisation, the typical Shakespearean hint of reservation at the comic close extends to a suggestion of generic bifurcation. The "melancholy Jacques" (II.i.26), in refusing to join the celebratory—worldly—dance, emerges as the vehicle of a serious undertone, as he interrupts the festivities to question the bearer of good news:

> Sir, by your patience.—If I heard you rightly,
> The Duke hath put on a religious life
> And thrown into neglect the pompous court?
> . . . . . .
> To him will I. Out of these convertites
> There is much matter to be heard and learn'd. (V.iv.180-85)

These terms at least marginally qualify the romance trajectory that prevails in both of Lodge's pertinent fictions and anticipate the final choice made by Guillaume's Gentlemen, crucially following the lead, of course, of Guillaume himself.

No evidence, I hasten to add, connects Shakespeare's play with any known version of the life of Guillaume of Aquitaine, who was in any case, as Pasquier documents, a composite saint with a complex legendary heritage. Certainly, however, Surius' account was potentially available to both Lodge (known to have Catholic sympathies) and Shakespeare (sometimes suspected of the same, and certainly familiar with much Catholic lore). The story of Robert the Devil may have been the most widespread and accessible conversion tale in Elizabethan cultural circulation, but it was not the only one, and the story of Guillaume attaches the pattern more thoroughly to the motif of the pastoral-made-marvellous. A principal miraculous effect of Guillaume's spirituality, mentioned by Surius and taken up in the *Flos Sanctorum*, is the fact that "*Ferae bell-uae & bruta animantia eum verentur* [Wild beasts and brutish living things reverenced him]".[36] Du Val explains: "*Dieu montrant par là comme sa penitence l'auoit fait monter à*

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34 Lodge, fol. 15^{v}.

35 See Lodge, fols 17^{v}-21^{r}, recounting the penitential pilgrimage, with the diabolical trials associated with "*Le bois du temptation*" (*sic*), which Robert successfully overcomes before finding succour and refreshment in the homely cottage ("hermitage") of a holy old man.

36 Surius, p. 979.

l'estat d'innocence [God showing by this how his penitence had raised him to the state of innocence]."[37] A "golden world" indeed.

In any case, the serious, if hardly tragic, reverberations of Shakespeare's pastoral world "as you like it" make themselves felt keenly enough, given the conversion intertexts, to produce what I have elsewhere termed an "inflection" of the comic structure by an oblique, if not quite contrary, paradigm.[38] And it at least matches this effect, if nothing more, that the paradigm in question, like others I have attempted to identify elsewhere, carries (multiple) French colouration.

At the same time, what may be termed the exclusivist tendency of the conversion undercurrent in the play, which entails turning away from the world, rejection of "dancing measures" (V.iv.193), is obviously more than counterbalanced by its broad movement of inclusiveness. On this point, the contrast with the Guillaume of the sources, who simply turns away from his former associates as from the "world" at large, is striking, and there is also a divergence from the legend of Robert the Devil, according to Lodge. One of the first acts of Lodge's converted Duke Robert is to try to convert his "dissolute mates"; when they refuse, he has them summarily put to death (a somewhat eccentric form of atonement, one might have thought).[39]

And on this basis, a final twist in this tangle of intertexts may be very tentatively teased out. Might it be possible that Troterel found inspiration in *As You Like It* for one of his most striking "poetic inventions" in adapting Guillaume's story to the stage—an innovation notably inclusivist? For it was evidently he who chose to have Guillaume's former followers pursue their quest for him, overcoming diabolical obstacles on the way, then spontaneously renounce the world on encountering him in his retreat. This ending, which reinforces, not merely the miraculous effect as such, but also the tragicomic form that serves as its dramatic vehicle, conspicuously departs from both the *Flos Sanctorum* and its original in Surius, where Guillaume's followers are simply left out of the picture after he foils their plot to kidnap him. Du Val, following Surius, clearly distinguishes between the erstwhile henchmen of Guillaume, whom he baffled in their attempt to bring him back to his dukedom against his will, and those later disciples attracted by his holiness, with whom he sometimes came into conflict—an element distantly recalled by the play's Guillaume (V.v.1697-1700). And the sources close with the conversion of Reinald just prior to Guillaume's death.

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37 Ribadeneira, I: 352 (col. a).

38 Hillman, *The Shakespearean Comic and Tragicomic*; on the interplay of romance and "realistic" tendencies in *As You Like It*, see pp. 88-94.

39 See Lodge, fol. 16[r].

Troterel's pointed demonstration of his pastoral setting's power of spiritual transformation particularly recalls the mechanism of *As You Like It*, where the Duke, turning his loss of worldly power and position into spiritual strength, profits with his "co-mates and brothers in exile" (II.i.1) from a life far from the "envious court" (4), one which "Finds tongues in trees, books in the running brooks / Sermons in stones, and good in every thing" (16-17). And in transmuting Orlando's threatened aggression ("I thought that all things had been savage here" [II.vii.107]) into submissive gentleness, he notably anticipates the welcome extended by Troterel's former Duke, who likewise highlights, by his gently ironic tone, the contrast between the courtly and pastoral milieux:

> Go back and find them, and with an affable air
> Say my palace of pleasure is this rustic lair,
> And that I'm at home at present if convenient.
>
> [*Retournez les trouuer, et d'un accueil affable*
> *Dittes-leur que cet antre est mon Palais aimable :*
> *Et qu'à present i'y suis qu'ils entrent s'il leur*
> *plaist.*] (V.vii.1919-21)

Displayed through both dukes is a contrast between worldly and spiritual power, which *As You Like It* couches in terms of true legitimacy. From this point of view, it becomes plausible, at least, that Troterel, whose knowledge of *Pericles* around 1614 seems demonstrable, later found in *As You Like It* both a precedent for integrating the conversion motif into tragicomic pastoralism and inspiration for grafting onto the legend of his duke-become-saint a novel plot element that fulfils it both structurally and thematically.

Note on the Translations

In keeping with my usual practice, I have translated the Alexandrines of Troterel's texts—the exclusive metre in both cases—into hexameter couplets. The names of characters have generally been normalised to approximate English equivalents (or Latin, in the case of *The Tragedy of Saint Agnes*), but with sufficient French forms retained to preserve the flavour of the originals. Punctuation has been freely modernised. The occasional additions to the editions of reference are indicated in square brackets, including some proposed stage directions; original stage directions are in parentheses. The complete paratextual apparatus of each play may be found in Pierre Pasquier's editions; I have included only the elements bearing directly on the dramaturgy: the "Argument" of *The Tragedy of Saint Agnes* and the "Note to the Reader" preceding *The Life and Holy Conversion of Guillaume, Duke of Aquitaine*.