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Hector: Tragedy

by Antoine de Montchrestien

Translated, with Introduction and Notes, by Richard Hillman

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Introduction

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The reasons for proposing an English translation of this tragedy by Antoine de Montchrestien are less salient than for the same author's *The Scottish Queen* (1601, 1604), which presents particular politico-dramatic interest from the perspective of French-English connections. *Hector* can lay claim to no such distinction. It is, however, the most accomplished French dramatic treatment, according to the conventions of the late-Humanist theatre, of material that was attracting dramatists on both sides of the Channel—the so-called "Matter of Troy", which the Middle Ages had deployed in multiple narrative forms. On the English side, the ineluctable dramatic instance is Shakespeare's *Troilus and Cressida* (c. 1602), but there were many more, including Thomas Heywood's *The Iron Age* (1611-13) and others now lost, dating mainly from the 1590s.² On the French side, the dramatic tradition dates back to the mid-fifteenth century

See Antoine de Montchrestien, *The Queen of Scotland (La reine d'Escosse*), introd. and trans. Richard Hillman, online publication, Centre d'Études Supérieures de la Renaissance, Scène Européenne-Traductions Introuvables, Tours, 2018: https://sceneeuropeenne.univ-tours.fr/traductions/queen-scotland (accessed 28/01/2019).

For a summary, see Geoffrey Bullough, "Introduction to *Troilus and Cressida*", *Narrative and Dramatic Sources of Shakespeare*, ed. Geoffrey Bullough, 8 vols, vol. 6: Other "Classical" Plays: *Titus Andronicus, Troilus and Cressida, Timon of Athens, Pericles, Prince of Tyre* (London: Routledge; New York: Columbia University Press, 1966), pp. 97-100. See also John S. P. Tatlock, "The Siege of Troy in Elizabethan Literature, Especially in Shakespeare and Heywood", *PMLA* 30.4 (1915): 673-770 *passim*.

For the French plays, the present overview is indebted to Françoise Charpentier, *Les débuts de la tragédie héroique: Antoine de Montchrestien (1575-1621)* (Lille: Service de Reproduction des Thèses, Université de Lille III, 1981), pp. 420-21, which is still the most extensive study of Montchrestien's work. For a thorough survey of relevant plays from the mid-sixteenth century through the Classical Age, see Tiphaine Karsenti, *Le mythe de Troie dans le théâtre français (1562-1715)*, Lumière Classique, 90 (Paris: H. Champion, 2012).

with *La destruction de Troye la grande*, by Jacques Milet (1425?-68), a sprawling dramatisation, in the free-wheeling style of the French mysteries (multiple scaffolds, spectacular action, octosyllabic quatrains), of a vital common source for numerous European authors: the twelfth-century verse *Roman de Troie* of Benoît de Sainte-Maure.³ In the late sixteenth century, the influence of Euripides (*Hecuba*, *The Trojan Women*, *Andromache*) and Seneca (*The Trojan Women*) gave rise to several neo-classical adaptations, most notably *La Troade* (1579), by Robert Garnier, who was Montchrestien's chief dramaturgical model. A further sprinkling of French plays on Trojan themes appeared between 1563 and 1605. It would appear, however, that Montchrestien's was original in concentrating its action and emotion on the theme of the death of Hector.⁴

That concentration results in considerable dramatic power, which arguably remains accessible across the constraints of late-Humanist theatre (and I hope, to some extent, even in translation). The process begins with reduction of an essentially familiar plot-segment to its basic elements: the hero's failure to heed an ill-omen, despite the pleas of his family, especially his wife Andromache, followed by his death at the hands of Achilles and the mourning that ensues. Attached to the key moments are lengthy expressions of intense emotion, as well as debates about the nature of heroism and the relative roles of divinity and human action in mortal affairs.

Since little of this will self-evidently seem "dramatic" by early modern English theatrical standards—despite a parallel penchant for rhetorical elaboration in the early years of Senecan influence—it is worth insisting that contemporary French audiences, as well as readers, accepted such elements as the basic characteristics of neo-Humanist tragedy, which the play shares with *The Scottish Queen* and Montchrestien's other four tragedies. Invariably, the premise is a tragically charged situation, unrelieved (or otherwise varied) by comic elements, which in this case is heightened by especially heavy irony, with the universally known outcome reinforced by its classically mandated mechanism. Developing the emotional responses and the metaphysical framework in which to place them depends on rhetorical skill, deployed in extended monologues, stichomythia

Behind Benoît's romance lay legends transmitted under the names of Dares the Phrygian and Dictys of Crete, but these subsequently had little independent influence. There were editions available in Montchrestien's time, including a faithful translation of Dares into French by Charles de Bourgueville (*L'histoire véritable de la guerre des Grecs et des Troyens, etc.* [Caen: B. Macé, 1572]), but to claim that Dares and Homer virtually account for Montchrestien's basic material appears exaggerated and askew (*pace* Christopher Norman Smith, Introduction, *Two Tragedies: Hector and La Reine d'Escosse*, by Antoine de Montchrestien, Athlone Renaissance Library [London: Athlone Press, 1972], pp. 1-24, 18-19). Smith does, however, provide a useful discussion of theatrical and intellectual backgrounds.

⁴ Charpentier, p. 421.

(adapted to presenting contrasting points of view), and moralising choric commentary. Alexandrine couplets constitute the basic verbal medium (subject to lyric variation for the choruses). Action on stage is largely limited to entrances and exits (whose staging is sometimes problematic, as will be seen)—although Hector's affectionate interplay with his infant son as he arms himself (ll. 281-301 [Act I]) stands out as a supplementary interlude. As for the potentially spectacular events—the panicked populace in the street (ll. 1605 ff. [Act IV], ll. 2041 ff. [Act V]), and especially the scenes of warfare—they are evoked, however vividly, through narrative reports.

Given the restrictive formal conditions, the disposition and manipulation of such elements in *Hector* may be seen as highly accomplished. Indeed, largely on these grounds, Charpentier unequivocally pronounces the play Montchrestien's "chef-d'œuvre [masterpiece]". She does so, it is notable, on the widely shared assumption that *Hector* constitutes the author's final work, since it is the only one of the tragedies not to have appeared in some form in the first collected edition of 1601, figuring for the first time in that of 1604. Reasonably, then, she dates composition between these dates. More questionable, for reasons to be expounded below, is her confident proposal (of whose radical nature she appears oblivious) that *Hector* shows the influence of Shakespeare's *Troilus and Cressida*. In support of this idea, she recalls that Montchrestien's self-imposed exile in England (reputedly the consequence of a fatal duel) might have begun prior to 1604. I will return to the questions of chronology and influence, but it is also important to note that this placement of *Hector* within Montchrestien's œuvre serves a highly teleological reading, whereby his presumably final play marks the culmination of an evolution from a "tragédie

This is one of several details derived directly from the *Iliad*; see the translation, l. 281 (Act I), n. 47.

⁶ Charpentier, p. 416.

Charpentier, p. 700. The two editions in question are Les tragédies de Ant. de Montchrestien, sieur de Vasteville, plus une Bergerie et un poème de Susane (Rouen: J. Petit, 1601), and Les Tragédies d'Anthoine de Montchrestien, sieur de Vasteville. ... Edition nouvelle augmentee par l'auteur (Rouen: Jean Osmont, 1604); a second edition including Hector appeared two years later: Les Tragédies d'Anthoine de Montchrestien, sieur de Vasteville. ... Dernière édition reveüe et augmentée par l'autheur (Nyort: J. Vaultrier, 1606). Exceptionally, and without explanation, Hector is dated prior to La Reine d'Escosse by Jeff Rufo, "La Tragédie Politique: Antoine de Montchrestien's La Reine d'Escosse, Reconsidered", Modern Philology 111.3 (2014): 437-56, 443.

Charpentier, pp. 422-23, virtually takes Montchrestien's use of *Troilus and Cressida* for granted ("sans doute [undoubtedly]" [p. 422]); acquaintance with Shakespeare's work on the part of a French dramatist has never, to my knowledge, been claimed for such an early date. (Cf., however, Richard Hillman, "Setting Scottish History Straight: *La Stuartide* of Jean de Schélandre as Corrective of *Macbeth*", *Modern Language Review* 113.2 [2018]: 289-306.)

Charpentier, p. 423, n. 7. The dates of his sojourn in England remain uncertain. For discussion of Montchrestien's life, see Charpentier, pp. 1-53, as well as my introduction to *The Queen of Scotland* in the present series, pp. 3-5.

renaissante qui a surtout été celle du malheur [Renaissance tragedy which was chiefly one of woe]" towards a new aesthetic of "courage"; Charpentier thus concludes: "Cette pièce ouvre largement la voie à la tragédie héroïque [This play opens wide the route to heroic tragedy]". It is essentially from the same literary-historical perspective that Montchrestien's first (and still principal) editor, Louis Petit de Julleville, detects anticipations of Pierre Corneille in Montchrestien's poetic expression. It

Certainly, the idea of *Hector* as a tragedy of "courage" exalting the prevailing neo-Stoic ethic matches a number of expressions within the text, such as the following, which is invested with choric authority:

O happy is the state of mind
That hope eschews along with care,
And likewise which avoids despair,
Unable to be undermined
When human chance seems to conspire
From its hands to snatch its desire.

[O bien-heureuse la pensée Qui n'espere rien en souci, Et qui ne desespere aussi; Ne pouuant estre trauersée De vois les accidens humain Luy voler ses desirs des mains.] (ll. 1847-52 [Act IV]; pp. 54-55)

Still greater authority is lent by Montchrestien himself in the dedicatory Epistle addressed to his patron (also for the 1601 volume and in his political life): the powerful Henri II de Bourbon, Prince of Condé, first prince of the blood and possible heir to the throne. There Montchrestien explains his placement of *Hector* at the beginning of the collection—incidentally, he says nothing about its being a new play—on the grounds that its hero deserves to march first in the heroic line as a prime example of noble blood (indeed royal, like Condé's), showing the qualities that distinguish it from the vulgar. The playwright elaborates as follows:

¹⁰ Charpentier, p. 471.

I retain as my edition of reference Antoine de Montchrestien, *Les tragédies*, ed. Louis Petit de Julleville, new ed. (Paris: E. Plot, Norrit et Cie., 1891), from which I have supplied page numbers for quotations from the original. The 1972 edition of Smith does not differ significantly from that of Petit de Julleville, which is still more widely available.

Aussi remarquerez vous en luy cest air releué de courage et de gloire, non susceptible d'alteration, ains ferme et demeurant immuable en vn calme et serain perpetuel de constance.

[Thus you will observe in him that elevated quality of courage and glory, not subject to alteration but firm and remaining unchangeable in a perpetual calm and serenity of constancy.]
(Épistre [1604], unpaginated)

If such "glory" (decidedly one of the play's keynotes) reaches a kind of paroxysm at the point of extinction, as with a torch, such, we are told, is the intrinsic quality of "vertu [virtue]"—another recurrent term, which, as its etymology warrants (from "vir"/"man"), comprises "manhood" in both the physical and moral senses (though it is often inflected by context towards one or the other).

Yet if it was Montchrestien's intention to exalt Hector's uncompromising thirst for personal "glory" as an exclusive ideal of manly behaviour and to offer Stoical courage as the only response to adversity, the text effectively opens up another perspective revealing the cost to others—most comprehensively (self-defeatingly, in a real sense) to all of Troy, but most immediately and intensely to the hero's entourage. That Troy is doomed appears an irrevocable decree of destiny; the audience knows enough to trust Cassandra, the play's first speaker, on this point. But mitigation and inflection of that destiny's realisation through human actions, notably Hector's own, may remain possible within the system: otherwise, it would simply not matter whether he went out to fight or not on the fatal day, whether or not he exercised "prudence". And if his lapse of prudence, too, is inevitable, then one draws close to the principle of Heraclitus of Ephesus—blasphemous, surely, within this play-world—that "a person's character is his fate (divinity)". 12

In fact, the terms "prudence" and "prudent" (identical in French), with variants of "wisdom" ("sagesse", "sage"), resound through the play as moderators of reckless action for glory's sake, and the application to Hector in particular comes with contemporary resonance: this is the premise of Christine de Pizan's widely disseminated Epistre Othea—a supposed letter of advice written to the young Trojan hero by "Othea, deesse de prudence / Qui adrece les bons cuers en vaillance [Othea, goddess of prudence, / Who edifies hearts stout in valour]". I will be suggesting that the Epistre marks Montchrestien's work in fur-

Heraclitus, *Fragments: A Text and Translation*, ed. and trans. T. M. Robinson (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987), Fragment 119 (pp. 68-69), in which the Greek term for "fate (divinity)" is δαίμων.

¹³ Examples occur in ll. 311, 516, 709, 744, 756, 764, 775, 1031, 1130, 1638, 1648, 1859 and 1864.

Christine de Pizan, *Epistre Othea*, ed. Gabriella Parussa (Geneva: Droz, 1999), section 1 (texte 1, ll. 14-15 [p. 107]). (The structure of this work is complex, with three distinct parts comprised within each of one hundred sections; I will normally refer only to sections and the page numbers in

ther ways. In any case, at least by way of the consequences of an act presented as imprudent, this "tragedy of courage" may surely lay claim to double credentials as a "tragedy of woe".

Apart from Hector's intuitions of his wife's own dismal fate (ll. 324 ff. [Act I])—for "history", as is also well known, will not grant her final wish to follow him in death—abundance of "woe" is amply displayed from the start by anticipation, and it is brought out most strongly, as the tradition warrants, through laments by Andromache and Hecuba, although the personal devastation of Priam legitimises the response as more than feminine weakness. As both king and father, Priam had initially aligned himself reflexively with the ideal of glory, before becoming an insistent advocate for prudence in the face of the ill omens. Andromache's feminine grief is allowed, within the constraints of Alexandrines, to veer into outbursts of convincingly poignant grievance—directed against Priam, against Hector himself—before she returns to more conventional objects of blame: destiny and its instrument, the treacherous Achilles, who strikes Hector down contrary to all dictates of chivalric honour. He treacherous Achilles, who strikes Hector down contrary to all dictates of chivalric honour.

By this route, paradoxically, Achilles partially transcends his primary role as emblem of perfidy to become a *de facto* figure of death's arbitrary and irresistible power.¹⁷ The con-

Parussa, ed.). On the *Epistre*'s broad diffusion in manuscript and print, see Parussa, ed., p. 11 and n. 22. The titles of early printed editions highlighted the basic moral point—e.g., *Les cent hystoires de Troye. Lepistre de Othea deesse de prudence envoyee a lesperit chevalereux Hector de Troye avec cent hystoires* (Paris: Philippe Le Noir, 1522).

- See esp. ll. 881-82 (Act II); p. 28: "When the thirst for glory is excessively strong, / The soundest judgement becomes altered and goes wrong [Quand le desir de gloire et trop immoderé, / Le plus sain iugement en deuient alteré]." The following Chorus, however (ll. 897 ff.), uncompromisingly affirms glory as the supreme value.
- See her dynamic peroration, ll. 2325-74 (Act V). Karsenti, p. 327, perceptively identifies the central importance of Andromache in transforming the story of Hector into tragedy "[p]arce qu'elle incarne le refus de la fatalité [because she incarnates the refusal of fatality]" and offers this persuasive summary:
 - La résistance d'Andromaque [sic] ouvre un espace de mise en question de l'action dans le cadre tragique d'un monde soumis à la nécessité de la mort, et c'est dans cet espace que s'élabore et se formule d'éthique radicale d'Hector, qui dessine un mouvement inverse d'acceptation du destin.
 - [The resistance of Andromache opens a space where action is called in question within the tragic framework of a world subject to the necessity of death, and it is in this space that the radical ethic of Hector, which traces a contrary movement of accepting destiny, is elaborated and formulated.]
- The certainty of death by uncertain means is indeed one (commonplace) lesson that Pizan in the *Epistre* draws from Hector's killing; another is the need to obey one's father, one's sovereign and, more generally, to follow wise advice. She does not present the death-blow as such as treacherous but rather as proof that one should always be properly armed, both literally and spiritually. See sections 90-91 (pp. 327-29). On the death of Hector within a French tragic tradition of representing the assassination of an otherwise invincible hero, see Antoine Soare, "Les tragédies de l'assassinat et

cluding lucubrations of the Chorus on universal mortality (ll. 2382-84) thereby emerge as something more than the standard clichés. And even that Chorus, in adding a practical warning against allowing a state to depend on one man's strength ("The welfare of a state is feeble and unstable, / If it depends on one alone, though brave and able [*Que le bonheur publique est foible est vacillant*, / *S'il depend de la main d'vn seul homme vaillant*]) (ll. 2379-80 [Act V]; p. 68), remains equivocal on the mechanisms of destiny with respect to human actions.

Finally, then, despite Montchrestien's claim to be presenting an unequivocal paean to heroic glory, a more sceptical (if not quite contrary) reading is also made available. Such ambiguous duality has a rough parallel in *The Scottish Queen*, which swings radically from condemnation to transcendent eulogy with regard to its heroine. But in *Hector*, where human politics give way to questions of human possibilities in the face of destiny (if there are any), the doubleness is built into the situation and developed throughout, producing destabilising shifts of ground that define debating positions impossible to resolve in the face of the secrets of the gods.

I

It is the detail of Achilles' flagrantly ignoble killing of the hero, surprised when unable to defend himself, that leads Charpentier to deduce Shakespearean influence. This would be, then, a borrowing of a quite straightforward and limited nature. Certainly, Montchrestien's play does not deal at all with the love-story at the centre of Shakespeare's: Troilus appears only once (l. 823 [Act II]) as a non-speaking character, and when he is mentioned elsewhere, it is likewise simply as one valiant prince amongst others.

In comparing the two texts on the key point, it should also be stipulated that Achilles' stealthy killing of Hector while the latter has his guard down, busy with an opponent he has just overcome, usually one whose armour appeals to him, is a recurrent motif in one form or another across the sources and analogues;¹⁸ it is sometimes moralised as a lesson against covetousness. Behind it, moreover, may lie an episode from a prominent work in the common heritage of European literature. Somewhat curiously, there is

l'Hector d'Antoine de Montchrestien", Renaissance and Reformation/Renaissance et Réforme ns 7.3 (1983): 173-91.

A rare exception is the account of Dares Phrygius, which Smith, ed., nevertheless claims as a major source for the French playwright. There, while he does surprise Hector engaged in despoiling the slain Polybete of his armour, Achilles engages him in a fair fight; see Bourgueville, trans., p. 46.

a fairly close parallel with the death in the heat of battle of the Volscian warrior-princess Camilla, according to Book XI of the *Aeneid* (ll. 768-804). Otherwise invincible, she is imprudently distracted by the resplendent armour and accoutrements of Chloreus—a weak moment that Virgil explicitly characterises as a lapse from her otherwise masculine character. This enables Arruns, fearful of confronting her directly, to cast a spear surreptitiously, with fatal results.

Some details do especially tie together the versions in the two plays: in both Hector is surprised on foot, unarmed, when he is occupied with the slain warrior's armour, and killed by sword-stroke.²⁰ Most accounts have him thrust through with a spear on horse-back while attempting to carry off his dead prize from the press of battle.²¹ In *Troilus and Cressida*, the hero's attraction to his opponent's armour, which carries an intertextual trace of the covetousness strenuously condemned in John Lydgate's *The Hystorye Sege and Dystruccyon of Troye*,²² is mitigated by his ensuing remark on the contradiction between inward and outward value—a fitting insight to achieve, ironically, at the moment of death (*Tro.*, V.ix.1-2).²³ Montchrestien makes Hector's adversary more formidable physically—

- "[F]emineo praedae et spoliorum ardebat amore [she was burning with a woman's love of booty and spoils]" (Virgil, Aeneid, XI.782).
- Montchrestien's account has him first ordering a subordinate to remove the rest of the armour (ll. 2182-84 [Act V]), then turning his attention to the magnificent head-covering; in Shakespeare's version, he may well also be dealing with the helmet: he at least reveals enough to be struck by the "putrified core" (V.ix.1). References to *Troilus and Cressida* (as *Tro.*) are to David Bevington, ed., The Arden Shakespeare, 3rd ser. (London: Thomson Learning, 1998).
- The absence of the horse from a version destined for staging, such as *Tro.*, explains itself (although horses are apparently admitted in Milet's mystery play); in the successive narratives employed by Montchrestien, the medievalised horse-back encounters initially reported by Antenor (ll. 1747 ff. [Act IV]) shift to neo-Homeric foot combats with the account of the Messenger (ll. 2113 ff. [Act V]), and the hero's vulnerability is thereby accentuated, as in Shakespeare.
- For Lydgate, I cite the excerpts in Bullough, ed., pp. 157-86, and for Shakespeare's main "historical" source, Raoul Le Fèvre, *Recueil des histoires de Troye* (c. 1474), trans. and first pub. William Caxton, *The recuile of the histories of Troie, etc.* (London: William Copland, 1553; STC 15378). In Le Fèvre, trans. Caxton, Hector is said to have "coueyted" the arms of Patroclus after he had slain him, "for they were ryght queynte and ryche" (bk. III, fol. xxi^r); there he is prevented by Ydumeus (Idonomeus) and "the king Menon" (not Homeric, not to be confused with Agamenmon or with the Trojan Menon, on whom see the translation, l. 228 [Act I], n. 37).
- Le Fèvre, trans. Caxton, speaks merely of a "moche noble baron of Grece moche queyntly and rychely armed" (bk III, fol. xxx'). Lydgate is far more prolix (Bullough, ed., pp. 177-78 [esp. ll. 5334-72]). On this point, he is evidently indebted to Benoît de Sainte-Maure, *Le roman de Troie*, ed. Léopold Constans, 4 vols (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1904-12), vol. III, ll. 16155, who names the character, like Montchrestien (and Dares), "Polibetès"/"Polybete". Benoît also, like Lydgate but not Montchrestien, specifies that Hector was "coveitos [covetous]" (l. 16178), though he does not moralise the point. Finally, it is notable that the dramatisation by Milet, despite its indebtedness to Benoît, omits the encounter with the richly armoured knight, substituting Hector's non-violent

indeed, vaguely larger-than-life²⁴—rather than vacuously glittering, but there is agreement with Shakespeare's Hector that glorious armour should betoken a glorious hero:

Hector with a ravished eye measured out his height, Brandished the feathered crest in the air clear and bright That belonged to the shining helmet on the ground, Which longed to have that star of war with it be crowned.

[Hector d'vn œil ravi mesure sa grandeur, Fait branler son pennache en la claire splendeur Du casque flamboyant qui gist dessus la terre Et veut s'orner le chef de cet astre de guerre.] (ll. 2175-78 [Act V]; p. 63)

The conspicuous lack of such concordance in *Troilus* thus stands out more sharply as part of Shakespeare's general subversion of pretensions in war as in love.

What most radically distinguishes the two texts, however, is more than a matter of detail: among the extant versions, only Shakespeare compounds Achilles' violation of chivalry, and the concomitant imputation of cowardice to him, by having Hector surrounded and rendered helpless by the Myrmidons, then at least partly slaughtered by them, according to Achilles' prior instructions.²⁵ It is a fact not always given due weight that this element is imported by the playwright from the subsequent death of Troilus, as narrated in Caxton's translation of Le Fèvre and elsewhere. (The protagonist's fate, laconically anticipated by Chaucer, is left indefinitely, and ironically, suspended at the conclusion of Shakespeare's play.²⁶)

Paradoxically, this difference may prove a point of convergence after all. For while Montchrestien restricts the factual account, as reported by Antenor, to the basics of Hector's death, he charges it insistently with bitter condemnation of Achilles, such as, in the sources, is attached rather to the even more obviously treacherous death of Troilus. The process begins with Priam's expostulation:

meeting with his kinsman, Telemonian Ajax (Jacques Milet, *La destruction de Troye la grande, etc.* [Lyons: Denys de Harsy, 1544], fol. 92^{r-v}).

²⁴ See the translation, ll. 2155, n. 207, and 2172-75 (Act V).

Achilles presumably makes it a "point of honour" to get in at least one blow ("[m]y half-supped sword" [V.ix.19]).

Geoffrey Chaucer, *Troilus and Criseyde*, *The Riverside Chaucer*, ed. Larry D. Benson, 3rd ed. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1987), V.1806: "Despitously hym slough the fierse Achille". In Le Fèvre, trans. Caxton, the killing of Troilus is described in bk. III, fol. xxxv."

O treason of the Greeks! Breech of the law of arms! Was it Hector's lot to incur his fatal harms, Not in fair combat but by the stroke perfidious Of a brutal butcher less strong than treacherous?

[O Grecque trahison! ô desloyales armes! Falloit-il donc qu'Hector tombast dans les alarmes Non par vn combat iuste, ains par le lasche effort D'un meutrier inhumain plus perfide que fort?] (ll. 2193-96 [Act V]; p. 64)

And if the dragging of Hector's corpse around the walls is Homeric, the mutilation of his head is not, and this degradation too is given added impact intertextually by recalling descriptions of the treatment of Troilus, whom Achilles decapitated before dragging the body through the field at his horse's tail. (The latter detail is likewise adapted for Hector by Shakespeare [*Tro.*, V.xi.4-5].) Again, Priam's outrage is powerfully aroused by an element extraneous to the previous accounts of Hector's fate:

What sense has honour now? The Manes violate! Without respect or shame, cadavers mutilate! To slaughter him, crush him and disfigure him so That his features no longer as human we know! Now you may truly say, O coward cruelty, That you surpass yourself in inhumanity.

[Qu'est deuenu l'honneur? les Manes violer! Sans honte, sans respect vn Cadavre fouler! Le meutrir, le derompre et le gaster en sorte Que plus d'vn corps humain la figure il ne porte! Maintenant peux-tu dire, ô lasche cruauté, Que tu passes toy-mesme en inhumanité.] (ll. 2207-12 [Act V]; p. 64)

If this perspective implicitly refutes the heroism of Homer's Achilles in triumphing over Hector, it does so by echoing a number of the post-Homeric accounts of the treatment of Troilus—witness the exclamatory comment in Raoul Le Fèvre's *Receuil*, the original of Caxton's narrative:

O quelle vilonnie de trayner ain si le filz de si noble roy qui estoit si preu et si hardy[!] Certes se noblesse eust este en achilles Il neust point fait ceste vilonnie.

[O what vylonnye was hit to drawe so the sonne of so noble a kynge, that was so worthy and so hardye[!] Certes yf anye noblesse had ben in achilles he wold not haue done this vylony.]²⁷

But it is in the thirteenth-century prose narrative of Guido della Colonna, as a postscript to his description of Troilus' death, that one finds an extended indignant apostrophe to Homer linking Achilles' treachery to the fates of both Trojan heroes; the passage is worth citing at length because it tends to confirm that the violent condemnation of Achilles in Montcrestien's play stems from a collapsing of two notorious acts of villainy in the sources—perhaps the ultimate evidence of intensity through concentration:

Sed O Homere, qui in libris tuis Achillem tot laudibus, tot preconiis extulisti, que probabilis ratio te induxit ut Achillem tantis probitatis titulis exaltasses, ex eo precipue quod dixeris Achillem ipsum in suis uiribus duos Hectores peremisse, ipsum uidelicet et Troilum, fratrem eius fortissimum? Sane si te induxit Grecorum affeccio ... verum non motus diceris racione sed pocius ex furore. Nonne Achilles fortissimum Hectorem, cui nullus in strennuitate fuit similis neque erit, proditorie morti dedit, cum Hector tunc regem quem in bello ceperat ipsum a bello extrahere tota intencione vacabat, scuto suo tunc post terga reiecto ... ? ... Sic et fortissimum Troilum, quem non ipse in sua uirtute peremit sed ab aliis mille militibus expugnatum et victum interficere non erubuit, in quo resistenciam nullius defensionis inuenit et ideo non uiuum sed quasi mortuum hominem interfecit amplius. Nunquid Achilles dignus est laude, quem scripsisti multa nobilitate decorum, qui nobilissimi regis filium, uirum tanta nobilitate et strennuitate uigentem, non captum neque deuictum ab eo, ad caudam sui equi, dimisso pudore, detraxit? Sane si nobilitas eum mouisset, si strennuitas eum duxisset, compassione motus nunquam ad tam uilia crudeliter declinasset.

[But O Homer, you who in your books extol Achilles with so many praises, so many commendations, what credible reason led you to exalt Achilles with such great titles of approbation, especially on the grounds that Achilles himself with his own strength killed two Hectors, namely himself and his most formidable brother Troilus? Indeed, if affection for the Greeks induced you ... truly you will be said to be moved not by reason but rather by furor. For did he not do the mighty Hector to death by treachery, whose vigour never was, nor ever will be, equalled, at a moment when Hector had all his mind on a king whom he was

Raoul Le Fèvre, *Recueil des histoires de Troye* (Bruges: William Caxton, [c. 1474]), bk. III, unpaginated; trans. Caxton, bk. III, fol. xxxv^v.

beginning to lead out of the combat, having slung his shield beyond his back ... ? ... And thus it was with the most mighty Troilus, whom he did not himself slay in exercising his manhood, but did not blush to kill by means of a thousand other soldiers once he was subdued and overcome, in whom he found no resistance in defence, and therefore, not a living man but a nearly dead one, he killed more thoroughly? Is Achilles really deserving of praise, whom you endow with great nobility, for having shamelessly dragged at his horse's tail a man of such great nobility and flourishing vigour, not captured or subdued by himself? Truly if nobility had moved him, if manly vigour had inspired him, moved by compassion he would never have cruelly stooped to such vile deeds.]²⁸

From an intertextual perspective, it is as if Shakespeare, deploying the freedoms available in his theatre, recreates, in his staging of the death of Hector, Montchrestien's symbolic and imaginary conflation, itself amply authorised by Guido. A good part of the English audience might have been expected to have recognised at least the manipulation of Caxton—and found it to be ironic at the still-living Troilus's expense.

II

All in all, Charpentier's supposition of a direct connection between the French and English plays is worth taking up, and taking seriously, with circumspect attention to context and circumstances—insofar as is possible. For the contexts and circumstances are not clear-cut for either play. What we do know without a doubt is that Montchrestien could not have read Shakespeare's prior to 1604, as Charpentier casually proposes, ²⁹ since it did not appear in print prior to the (two-state) Quarto of 1609. As for seeing a performance, if the usual date of the English play's composition is accepted (1601-2), that is conceivable (though we have no documentation of performances)—provided, of course, that Montchrestien did indeed come to England in time to compose his work for 1604 publication. That could not have been prior to 1603, however, since his purpose was to seek the good-will of the royal father of the late Scottish Queen, as would make no sense

29 Charpentier, p. 423.

Guido de Colomnis [Guido delle Colonne], *Historia destructionis Troiae*, ed. Nathaniel Edward Griffin, Mediaeval Academy of America Publication 26 (Cambridge, MA: Mediaeval Academy of America, 1936), bk. XXVI, fols 99°-100°; pp. 204-5. I cite the version online at https://cdn.ymaws.com/www.medievalacademy.org/resource/resmgr/maa_books_online/griffin_0026.htm (accessed 6 September 2018) but also give the page numbers of the print edition as indicated there.

prior to James's accession. The opportunity for influence by *Troilus and Cressida* appears narrow indeed.

A further possibility exists, which I present with due diffidence. It seems to have been almost universally accepted, given its first appearance in the 1604 collection, that *Hector* must have been composed shortly before that date. But might it have been in existence, perhaps even in print, closer to the 1601 *terminus a quo* posited by Charpentier and others? Again, it is worth recalling that Montchrestien's 1604 letter to Condé makes no claim for *Hector* as a new play, or even as one his patron does not know, but merely asserts its claim to priority of placement within the volume on the grounds of its exemplary content.³⁰

A brief bibliographical digression may be in order here, if only to confirm that the full picture is not securely in place regarding even the play's contemporary accessibility in print. A provocative, if hardly decisive, document exists in the Arsenal library of the BnF (Ars. GD-11404) – namely, a stand-alone edition in 24° format carrying two title pages. The first bears the imprint of La Petite Bibliothèque des Théâtres, a series produced by the Parisian publisher Belin and Brunet in the late eighteenth century (although the precise date on the page is impossible to decipher); the second is written out in a late-nineteenth century hand31 and reads as follows: Hector,//Tragedie par A. Montchretien, representée à Paris en 1603//Rouen Jean Osmont 1604. In fact, however, while the text, typographical layout and page numbering conform to the version included in Osmont's 1604 duodecimo collection, in which Hector is usually supposed to have first appeared, the catchwords, signature numbers (in Arabic, not Roman) and printer's devices confirm identity instead with the tragedy as printed in the successor collection produced in Niort by J. Vaultier in 1606. The mystery (and the interest) are enhanced by a number of manuscript modifications added in an early seventeenth-century hand, which has corrected the list of speakers at the opening of several acts and supplied a missing speech-heading ("Heleine" on p. 43, in turn miscorrected to "Hecube"). Finally, the same corrector has appended to the last page (though without specifying the play's title) the "Personnages" of The Scottish Queen, which indeed follows Hector in the collections of both 1604 and 1606. Yet against the obvious possibility that this text was being prepared for integration

Not only is there no claim that Condé will be discovering *Hector* for the first time, but Montchrestien does not exclude it from his claim to have revised all his plays for this occasion.

This according to my colleague, Pierre Aquilon, on whose expert dating of the manuscript interventions I gratefully rely.

into the latter stands the stubborn fact that none of these corrections has made its way into any extant edition.³²

One way or another, the apparent circulation of the individual edition, with its early seventeenth-century corrections, must be accommodated, as well as the claim for 1603 performance, which might well have taken place in the provinces as well as in Paris.³³ Thanks to the censorship question, we have evidence that *The Scottish Queen*, in its earlier version, was being acted in both Paris and Orléans (if not elsewhere as well) between 1601 and 1604; further, its "book" (in whatever form) was simultaneously in circulation—hence subject to suppression.³⁴ It was usual for French plays of the period (like English ones) to be published as a supplement to performance, if at all.

The further the date of Hector may be pushed back, the less plausible Shakespearean influence would be. On the other hand, it begins to become conceivable that the influence went the other way. The dates of *Toilus and Cressida* are not definite enough to confirm this as possible—or, again, to rule it out. But the hypothesis is consistent with what we are increasingly recognising as the responsiveness of English playwrights, including Shakespeare, to contemporary French material.³⁵ The currency of a contemporary Matter-of-Troy play from across the Channel might well have added impetus to the vogue in England. Moreover, to carry conjecture a step further, the ambivalence of *Hector* concerning personal glory and its destructive consequences, even in a work which by generic definition has no place for a Thersites, might have fed naturally into the mixture of idealism and cynicism that distinguishes *Troilus and Cressida*. But then the tragic human costs

The 1627 Rouen volume published by P. de La Motte, Les Tragédies d'Anthoine de Montchrestien, sieur de Vasteville. ... Édition nouvelle, augmentée par l'autheur, is out of the running: while it prints the dedicatory epistle to Condé in its latest version, notably including the mention of Hector, the play itself is not included. (Despite this volume's claim to be a new edition, its texts, to judge from the presence of the earlier form of The Scottish Queen, including its first title, L'Escossoise, ou le disastre, are taken over from Les Tragédies of 1601.)

For what it may be worth, representation in 1603 is also indicated by Antoine de Léris, *Dictionnaire* portatif historique et littéraire des théâtres, etc., 2nd ed. (1763; fac. rpt. Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1970), s.v. "Hector" (p. 227).

On the censorship, see Frances A. Yates, "Some New Light on L'Écossaise of Antoine de Montchrestien", Modern Language Review 22.3 (1927): 285-97, 285-88. The BnF holds a copy entitled L'écossaise (Marie Stuard Reyne d'Ecosse): tragédie issued in Rouen in 1603, the British Library what is described as the second edition, Ecossoise, ou le Desastre ... Tragedie (Rouen: Iean Petit, 1603).

I have developed this subject elsewhere from various angles. See especially Richard Hillman, Shakespeare, Marlowe and the Politics of France (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave, 2002); "A Midsummer Night's Dream and La Diane of Nicolas de Montreux", Review of English Studies 61.248 (2010): 34-54; and "Mercy Unjustified: A Reformation Intertext for The Merchant of Venice", Shakespeare Jahrbuch 154 (2018): 91-105.

of the downfall of Troy were also a commonplace, as is highlighted by *Hamlet's* request to the Players for a Troy speech (albeit by way of Virgil's Aeneas) and his eagerness to have them "come to Hecuba" (*Hamlet*, II.ii.501)³⁶—the latter a stock figure of desperate grieving. Montchrestien, without explicitly going as far as the ultimate catastrophe, concludes with a progression from Priam to Hecuba, then finally—most movingly, with a discourse that, in a convincingly distracted and conflicted way, goes to the heart of the central issue—to Andromache.

As the broader perspective confirms, the crowded discursive field of late medieval and early modern Troy material is notably polyglot and multi-cultural, with a recurrent French presence.³⁷ Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyda*, of course, came most immediately by way of Giovanni Boccaccio's *Il Filostrato*, but ultimately through precursors writing in Latin and French (Guido delle Colonna, Benoît de Sainte-Maure). Shakespeare may well have supplemented with various extant French translations a partial acquaintance with the *Iliad* obtained through George Chapman's 1598 version of seven books.³⁸ Guido's Latin prose (and to some extent Benoît's French verse) lay behind the English of Lydgate's poem, which Shakespeare may (or may not) have used.³⁹ And of course the ineluctable history commonly referred to as Caxton's was actually his translation of Le Fèvre. Somewhat surprisingly, even the mystery-play version of Milet was in print, with an edition as recent as 1544.

What reason might there finally be to admit Montchrestien's *Hector* within this discursive field as a potential fount of dramatic ideas, in accordance with Shakespeare's eclectic practice, rather than a supplementary intertext presenting a few more or less tangential points of contact with a play whose main business lies in the love-story, which has its own distinct tradition? A starting point might be the innovative choice and treatment of its subject, which effectively identifies the tragedy of the fall of Troy, both symbolically and practically, with that of its ultimate hero. So much can be inferred from the *Iliad* itself, which ends with the burial of Hector. The identification is also intuitively reflected in the title of the (anonymous) 1614 adaptation of Lydgate, *The Life and Death*

With the exception of *Troilus and Cressida*, I cite Shakespeare's plays from William Shakespeare, *The Riverside Shakespeare*, gen. eds G. Blakemore Evans and J. J. M. Tobin, 2nd ed. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1997).

Among the many discussions of the Troy material lying behind Shakespeare's play, especially useful overviews are provided by Bullough, ed., pp. 82-111, and Bevington, "'Instructed by the Antiquary Times': Shakespeare's Sources", *Troilus and Cressida*, ed. Bevington, pp. 375-97.

³⁸ See Bullough, ed., p. 87, and Bevington, p. 376.

Bevington, "Shakespeare's Sources", comes to a broadly sceptical conclusion (p. 392), but there is no critical consensus to deny some use of Lydgate, whose text, like Caxton's, was available in print.

of Hector,⁴⁰ which nevertheless, like its original and the other "historical" sources, begins well before and ends well after the Hector sequence isolated by Montchrestien.

The Trojan-war framework supplied by Shakespeare for his version of the love-story adopts this perspective, beginning with a telling remark introducing Ulysses' famous speech on order. That speech is widely recognised as adapted from a hint in Homer by way of Chapman—"The rule of many is absurd"⁴¹—then enriched by Elizabethan homilies on order and obedience, but it is Shakespeare who makes Ulysses begin by evoking the preeminent Trojan hero:⁴² "Troy, yet upon his basis, had been down, / And the great Hector's sword had lacked a master…" (*Tro.*, I.i.75-76). The defeat of Troy is thus from the outset made commensurate with Hector's elimination.

For his part, Montchrestien, with an irony of which he could not have been unaware—and which might conceivably have struck Shakespeare—recognisably transfers the same Homeric affirmation of the need for discipline to Hector himself. At the point where the latter has reluctantly accepted his royal father's formal injunction (rather than the women's pleas) not to go forth to fight on the ominous day, he suddenly speaks (rather surprisingly), not as a seeker of personal glory, but as a *prudent* general, giving advice and encouragement to those who go in his place. The Chorus (at this point no doubt comprised of venerable counsellors⁴³) has just asked heaven's aid in renewing the Trojans' will to fight after ten years. The situation thus mirrors that of the Greeks in Homer and Shakespeare, in need of an injunction to maintain order. Hector acknowledges the need for the gods' favour, but then urges, like Ulysses in Shakespeare, collaborative effort subordinating individual to general interest. The passage is worth quoting at length for the parallel to Ulysses' instance of the foraging bees who work together to bring honey to the hive (*Tro.*, I.iii.81-83):

But reflect, as well, on the perils we sustain
When order is not kept and a strong arm is vain.
Let him command who ought, and him who should obey:
No little honour lies in serving in that way.
Multiple commands are naturally confused;
But as one sole spirit through the body diffused

⁴⁰ The life and death of Hector (London: Thomas Purfoot, 1614); STC 5581.5.

Homer, *The Seaven Bookes of Homers Iliads*, trans. George Chapman (1598), ed. Bullough, pp. 112-50, p. 120. The original is *Iliad*, II.204: "Lordship for many is no good thing. Let there be one ruler." (References are to *The Iliad of Homer*, trans. Richmond Lattimore [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, Phoenix Books, 1951].)

On the homiletic elaborations, see Bevington, ed., *Tro.*, Longer Note to I.iii.78-108.

On the composition of the play's choruses, see below, pp. 25-27.

Variously moves it, so your men, motivated By a single will, find their forces animated. Great warriors, in passing I address you thus, For if destiny, which in all things governs us, Conjoins its favour to your conduct in the fight, Today the sun will look down upon Greece in flight And you safe-returned, honoured to your hearts' contents By the populace and your worthy agèd parents.

[Mais au reste pensez gu'aux per11eux combats
Où l'ordre n'a point lieu, peu sert l'effort du bras.
Commande qui le doit, qui le doit obeisse:
Ce n'est pas peu d'honneur de faire vn bon seruice.
L'Empire de plusieurs esf volontiers confus;
Mais comme vn seul esprit est par le corps diffus,
Qui le meut en tous sens, de mesme vostre armée
D'vne volonté seule ait la force animée.
Grands Guerriers, ie vous tien ce discours en passant,
Car si le sort fatal en nos faits tout puissant
Adiouste sa faueur àuec vostre conduite,
Auiourd'huy le Soleil verra la Grece en fuite,
Et vous reuenus sains, honorez à l'enui
De vos bons vieux parens et du peuple raui.]
(ll. 861-74 [Act II]; p. 28)

Hector wishes that he could sally out with his fellow-warrors so as to help bring back "of honour a great harvest [grande moisson d'honneur]" (l. 878; p. 28). The gross irony, of course, is that he will finally bring home nothing but death and despair, having yielded to the temptation of individual initiative. More subtly, in preaching the lesson, like Shakespeare's Ulysses, of the value of "order" over "a strong arm", he implicitly declines the role of Troy's only hope, of which his family and countrymen remain as convinced as does Ulysses in the English play: "my one and only hope [mon vnique esperance]" (l. 827 [Act II]; p. 27), as Priam puts it, just prior to the speech. Hector's rhetorical exercise, then, is in line with his earlier excuse for risk-taking when he enumerated the supposedly adequate substitutes for himself in ll. 227-30 (Act I)—substitutes including Troilus, who is present on stage for the speech in Act II. On the one hand, then, his appropriation of the Homeric "order" speech offers a rare moment when his obsession with personal glory is eclipsed; on the other, this is clearly under duress and has the effect of sending a contrary signal.

In fact, the idea of a substitute-in-waiting is briefly attached to Troilus by Shakespeare's Ulysses himself (*Tro.*, IV.v.97-113), when the latter, with an uncharacteristic suspension of scepticism, repeats the eulogistic character reference he has received from Aeneas, which does not necessarily accord with our direct observation. In this conspicuously idealised

portrait, it is as if the prudence and recklessness that Montchrestien's Hector cannot finally reconcile are blended into a perfect heroic harmony. Troilus' supposed self-mastery, measured by the modesty and judgement accompanying his valiant deeds, is made to coexist with a disposition to greater violent rage on the battlefield than Hector himself displays, and which makes him "more dangerous" (105). The upshot is that the Trojans "on him erect / A second hope, as fairly built as Hector" (109-10). The passage has been seen as drawing on Lydgate's encomium of Troilus as "[t]he seconde Ector for his worthynesse". More dynamically pertinent may be the account found in Caxton of the Greek debate, following the death of Hector and a two months' truce, about pursuing the war. There Menelaus argues that with Hector (and Deiphobus) gone, "the troyans repute them as vainquisshed"; Ulysses and Nestor counter that

troye was not so disgarnisshed but that they had a newe Hector, that was Troyllus, that was a litle lasse stronge & worthye than Hector.⁴⁵

Such intertexts help set the stage for the precarious assumption by Shakespeare's Troilus—in the ironic context of the catastrophes universally known to be looming both for himself and for Troy—of his role of "second hope", hope which is palpably inseparable from despair:

Frown on, you heavens, effect your rage with speed! Sit, gods, upon your thrones and smite at Troy! I say at once, let your brief plagues be mercy, And linger not our sure destructions on! (*Tro.*, V.xi.6-9).

This is the authentic note of Montchrestien's Hecuba, who explicitly affirms that no hope remains:

Hector, our champion, is dead: nothing defends us. Let us therefore be agreed that death-dealing Fate Ourselves with Hector the infernal boat should freight,

Bullough, ed., p. 160 (bk. II, chap. 15, l. 4871). Bullough, p. 93, suggests Shakespeare's general indebtedness to this passage.

Le Fèvre, trans. Caxton, bk. III, fols xxxiiii^v-xxxv^r. Behind this appears to lie Benoît's *Roman*, where Diomedes, in the same circumstances, presents Troilus as taking Hector's place ("*N'est pas meins forz d'Ector son frere* [He is no less strong than Hector his brother]") and lacking in no knightly quality (l. 19911). The general idea was widespread; hence Cassandra, in Milet's mystery play, laments the death of Troilus, "le thresor / De Troye, le second Hector" (fol. 120°).

And not wait for the swords of Greek malignity. For since he has been killed, what better hope have we?

[Le preux Hector est mort, rien plus ne nous deffend. Faison donc d'vn accord que la fatale Parque Nous charge quand et luy dans l'infernale barque, Sans attendre les fers des Grec iniurieux; Car puis qu'il est occis qu'esperon nous de mieux?] (ll. 2280-84 [Act V]; p. 66)

And if Troilus at once, rebuked by Aeneas ("My lord, you do discomfort all the host" [*Tro.*, V.xi.10]), ostentatiously rechannels despair into a fore-doomed "[h] ope of revenge" that "shall hide our inward woe" (31), he effectively traces the mental trajectory of the French playwright's Andromache, who prays to the gods for vengeance, so she may quickly pass below and communicate the good news to her husband's shade. (Here, too, the contrary fate of the "historical" Andromache is left ironically hanging in the dramatic air. (The object of vengeance in both cases is, of course, Achilles—similarly apostrophised: "thou great-sized coward..." (*Tro.*, V.xi.26); "O cowardly foe of the bravest man of war / Who ever the proud laurel on his forehead wore [*O coüard ennemy du plus braue Guerrier*, / *Qui iamais sur la teste ait porté le Laurier*]" (Montchrestien, Il. 2351-52 [Act V]; p. 67).

All in all, Troilus' concluding speeches intertextually pre-empt the Messenger's report and sequence of laments that conclude *Hector*. So much is virtually signalled by a *praeteritio*, which closely corresponds to the Messenger's initial words (ll. 2065-76 [Act V]):

Hector is gone.

Who shall tell Priam so, or Hecuba? Let him that will a screech-owl aye be called Go into Troy, and say their Hector's dead. There is a word will Priam turn to stone, Make wells and Niobes of the maids and wives, Cold statues of the youth, and, in a word, Scare Troy out of itself. (*Tro.*, V.xi.14-21)

In *Hector*, the Trojan population is indeed portrayed as transfixed with terror. Montchrestien's Priam might as well, moreover, be turned to stone, speaking only two lines when the Messenger has told the worst: "The infinite suffering that lays my soul waste / So presses on my heart that words far off are chased [*Le torment infini qui mon*

⁴⁶ Cf. the translation, ll. 322 ff. (Act I), and l. 324, n. 51.

ame désole / M'estraint si fort le cœur qu'il m'oste la parole]" (Il. 2253-54 [Act V]; p. 65). Hecuba supplies the gap with thirty-three lines of eloquent despair, in keeping with that character's traditional function. But it is Andromache whose nearly two hundred lines of lamentation comprehensively record twists and turns of feeling, conflicts and contradictions, a sense of what is inexorable and what might not be, in a way that delineates the tragic in profound, quasi-Shakespearean, terms. Such a response remains beyond the reach of a Troilus whose capacity to fathom the devastation of another, beginning with his beloved Cressida, is circumscribed within egocentric limits, and who rides roughshod over human complexities: "I with great truth catch mere simplicity" (*Tro.*, IV.iv.103). For someone who knows both plays—by whatever means such knowledge might have been acquired in the first years of the seventeenth century—Montchrestien's heroine hovers intertextually at the margins of Troilus' *praeteritio* in a way that might prompt the reader/spectator to intervene with "come to Andromache".

III

Enough has been said to confirm that, despite its highly rhetorical and "actionless" quality—and even setting aside the claims for performance—*Hector*, like Montchrestien's other tragedies (and indeed French Humanist drama generally, as is now generally accepted), was written with representation in mind. The printed text is completely lacking in stage directions, however, as is the case with all Montchrestien's tragedies in both the 1601 and 1604 collections, and indeed with many early dramatic publications. Moreover, the acts, which are normally (if irregularly) prefaced by a list of the participants in each, are not divided into scenes, so that points of entrance and exit are occasionally hard to identify. Besides these, which sometimes seem to call for editorial intervention, as the translation records, there are a few moments when issues of staging may benefit from commentary.

I have already mentioned Hector's tender encounter with his infant son (ll. 281-301 [Act I]), who is not included among the "Speakers [*Entreparlevrs*]" (trans., p. 5; Petit de Julleville, ed., p. 2). Apart from the obvious fact that he does not speak, this might also reflect the fact that he was represented, not by a person, but by a doll. That so much was part of theatrical convention is supported, for instance, by the representation of the title character's infant son in *Coriolan* (c. 1607), by Alexandre Hardy.⁴⁷ In that play, however,

⁴⁷ See Alexandre Hardy, *Coriolan*, ed. with introd. by Fabien Cavaillé, English trans. with introd. by Richard Hillman, 2nd ed., online publication, Scène Européenne–Traductions Introuvables,

the baby is merely displayed passively on two occasions (V.iii, iv), whereas the active interplay in Montchestien's scene, closely modelled on its Homeric original, might be seen as stretching the convention to the limit, requiring especially adroit responses from the actor and increased "suspension of disbelief" from the audience. It can be argued, I think, that Montchrestien takes the risk as part of a sustained and ironic evocation, across the presentation of Hector's arming, of the equivocal symbolism widely associated in the Renaissance with women's arming of heroes. The archetypal pattern is reproduced in numerous illustrations of Venus helping to arm Mars, sometimes with the assistance of their child Cupid,⁴⁸ a figure suggested here by the infant, at once loving and fearful. We know from l. 585 (Act II) that it was Andromache's custom to help Hector put on his armour. Her refusal on this occasion is thus thrown visibly into relief; so are his ostentatious disarming at his father's command (ll. 836-37 [Act II]) and his hasty seizing of arms as described at ll. 1621-25 (Act IV). Montchrestien employs, then, the unusual onstage animation centred on an inanimate doll in active support of the play's central thematic duality—the glories of heroism versus its costs—and reinforces a differentiation between masculine and feminine perspectives.

The differentiation, it should be stipulated, is not absolute or stable. That might imply a more subversive treatment of heroic glory than would be consistent with the play's ideological premises, broadly endorsed by the Choruses—or, presumptively, those of its author. But female endorsement of those premises is conspicuously made contingent on circumstances. A striking instance comes in the highly ironic opening of Act V, as Priam and Hecuba, almost convinced that their son has escaped the threat hanging over him, engage in a joint paean to martial glory. Hecuba regrets that this ultimate masculine experience was not directly accessible to her but reports that she has experienced it vicariously, privileging it over what she presents as the ultimate feminine one:⁴⁹

... when I perceive him to his house coming back, Soaked with sweat mingled with dust from the battlefield, I feel more pleasure than the wedding rites would yield

Centre d'Études Supérieures de la Renaissance, Tours, 2018: https://sceneeuropeenne.univ-tours. fr/traductions/coriolan> (accessed 12 September 2018), Cavaillé, ed., n. 134; translation, n. 56.

On such symbolism, see Edgar Wind, *Pagan Mysteries in the Renaissance*, rev. ed. (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1967), pp. 85-96. Shakespeare draws ironically on this symbolism in *Antony and Cleopatra*, IV.iv, when he shows Cleopatra awkwardly helping to arm Antony for his last deceptively successful combat.

Here, as on other occasions in the play, the future weighs ironically, since an audience is bound to think of the grim fate of her daughter Polyxena, familiar from the Trojan tragedies of Euripides and Seneca.

Of my dearest daughter, were happy fate to grant Her marriage with a prince agreeable and valiant.

[... quand je l'appercoy regagner sa maison Trempé d'une sueur meslée à la poussiere, Ie sen plus de plaisir qu'à la pompe nopciere De ma plus chere fille, à qui le sort heureux Accoupleroit vn Prince aimable et valeureux.] (ll. 1956-60 [Act V]; p. 57)

The element of blood is missing, but even so one can hardly keep from wondering whether Shakespeare recalled these lines in having Volumnia in *Coriolanus* employ this comparison to justify her own delight in her son's heroic exploits:

The breasts of Hecuba, When she did suckle Hector look'd not lovelier Than Hector's forehead when it spit forth blood At Grecian sword, contemning. (*Coriolanus*, I.ii.40-43)

Hecuba's discursive mode shifts abruptly, of course, when the truth dawns concerning Hector's fate.

That discovery, invested with great poignancy, is made through disclosure of the true reason for the uproar in the public streets, which they have wished to assimilate to Hector's triumphant return, promising reunion with their heroic son: "Listen to that tumult of confusion in the street—/ It's the applause with which his arrival they greet [Oyez le bruit confus qui tonne par la ruë: / C'est l'applaudissement qu'on fait à sa venü]" (Il. 2041-42 [Act V]; p. 59). And prior to the Messenger's appearance, it is, fittingly, through the prescient Andromache that the discovery is made. Her role as harbinger, previously on the level of the imaginary, now takes concrete form on stage, although she still, at first, both poses and faces the challenge of interpretation. It is by noting her physical reaction at a distance that Priam and Hecuba first begin to interpret correctly. When she enters, she replies to questions by affirming ignorance of the details but certainty of some disaster. And at the Messenger's first announcement, she faints.

An internal stage-direction at this point (l. 2080) makes the action clear: she is carried offstage by the women of the Chorus (an easier feat to manage gracefully if they, too, were played by men). Yet it is not clear at what point she returns. Logic may not be the chief consideration, but she later shows herself fully conscious of Achilles' treachery, and this may imply her silent presence on stage through a part of the Messenger's narration. (I have tentatively made her re-enter at l. 2182, but this is nearly arbitrary.) In any case, she stays silent until Priam and Hecuba have both exhausted their capacities for lamentation, and it is only

when Hecuba remarks on that silence (ll. 2285-86) that she breaks it. The silence is thus revealed, partly through staging, as a register of all the delusive hopes and inexorable disillusions that have culminated in Act III. As these now gush forth in distracted form, they carry with them a multi-vocal mixture of successive attitudes, from the seductive attraction of a hero's glory to the brutal realisation of his loss, to thirst for revenge, and ultimately to the vanity of all human experience in the face, or the shadow, of death. The rhetorical force with which these "natural" attitudes are presented implicitly imparts a legitimacy to them as constituting a tragic experience not simply invalidated by the Stoic ideal.

IV

Finally, the problematic question of the play's choruses (listed merely as "Chorus" among the "Speakers", and sometimes omitted in the list at the beginning of an act) needs to be addressed. As in The Scottish Queen, Montchrestien uses choruses both to intervene in the dramatic situation and to provide the usual sort of philosophical and moral commentary—the latter at the end of each act and crafted in various verse forms. While in that play, however, it is fairly easy to distinguish three distinct choruses, and while one of them, consisting of the Queen of Scotland's waiting-women, is unequivocally female (even if intended for male actors), the situation is not so clear-cut in *Hector*. Charpentier, although she has reservations about the size of troupe required to stage both a masculine and a feminine chorus (assuming that the former modulates into the mode of lyric commentary when called for), must nevertheless allow that a chorus of women is required in Act V to tend Andromache, since they refer to themselves as "sisters [sœurs]" (l. 2080 [Act V]; p. 61). Similarly decisive, surely, is Priam's address to the chorus that has been trying to comfort and reassure Andromache in Act IV as a "chaste flock [chaste troupeau]" (l. 1597 [Act IV]; p. 47). Otherwise, there seems no reason to doubt that the Chorus which engages characters (including Cassandra) in dialogue is comprised of wise old counsellors, as might be expected.50 But there remains one point of uncertainty, which is especially revealing about Montchrestien's adaptation of his material.

Nevertheless, Charpentier (p. 438) is perhaps overhasty in assuming that Hector's reference to the "grave counsels old reverend men provide [graves conseils des vieillards reverez]" (l. 1051 [Act III]; p. 33]) refers to the chorusus, which are not notable for urging restraint of the heroic impulse such as Hector complains of; more immediately evoked, I propose, is Antenor, who has just been presenting this point of view in conversation with him.

At the end of Act III, beginning at l. 1274, there is an unusual sequence involving shifts of choric mode at least, if nothing more. Left alone on stage, the Chorus that has been discussing events with the Messenger appears to modulate into a commentator-moraliser, delivering the commonplace lesson of mortal uncertainty in all things, except the fact of mortality itself. He then, however, announces the entrance of Helen, whom he identifies, in a neutral way, as the source of all their ills, then proposes, "Let us listen to these sighs: it brings some content / In one's unhappiness to hear a sweet lament [Entendons ces soupirs: c'est vn contentement / D'oüir en son malheur lamenter doucement]" (ll. 1294-96 [Act III]; p. 39). Indeed, Helen then launches into ninety or so lines of sorrrowful self-blame, culminating in a desire for death, whereupon the Chorus—or some Chorus—responds to her with consoling sympathy in three octosyllabic quatrains (ll. 1365-76). Finally, a choric commentator concludes the act with the typical reaffirmation of reputation and glory as the ultimate masculine virtues.

A strong case can be made, I believe, given the feminine choruses elsewhere, that the one consoling Helen is also made up of women, in which case it would presumably accompany her entrance and exit. Charpentier (p. 438, n. 27) is sceptical about this possibility on the grounds of the episode's derivation from a celebrated Homeric episode (Iliad, III.139 ff.), in which a sadly reflective Helen is observed by old men, including Priam, although she delivers no lament as such. That episode is indeed doubly recalled in Montchrestien's scene—first by the Chorus introducing her, which echoes Homer's elders (III.156-57) in admitting that "Such beauty of an age's wars might be the ground [On debatroit mille ans vne beauté pareille]" (l. 1294 [Act III]; p. 39), then by the second Chorus's reassurance that she is blameless, which echoes Priam's own words to Helen in the *Iliad* (III.164-65). Conspicuously absent is the old men's comment in Homer that she should be given up to the Greeks for the sake of peace (III.159-60). (That is itself milder, moreover, than the wish of Montchrestien's first-act Chorus as expressed to Cassandra: "Great gods, to dampen the ardour of our long fight, / Extinguish, in the lasting night of death, her light! [Grands Dieux, pour amortir l'ardeur de nos combats / Esteignez sa lumiere en la nuict du trespas]" [ll. 145-46] (Act I); p. 7]).

Evidently, Montchrestien has rearranged his inherited material so as to set off Helen's regrets and the consolation she receives, and it makes sense that the latter should be offered in a feminine voice, contrasting with a framework of masculine choruses. For this idea too, indeed, he may have taken his hint from Homer, who stipulates that when Helen walked out in her pensive sadness,

... wrapping herself about in shimmering garments, she went forth from the chamber, letting fall a light tear;

not by herself, since two handmaidens went to attend her. (*Iliad*, III.141-43)

After reflection, then, I have taken the risk of specifying a "Chorus of Women" in this case, as in the two unambiguous instances, while designating simply as "Chorus" the other choric figures, evidently masculine, who appear to shift between engagement in the dialogue and external commentary.

As a final note to the pathetic solitary appearance of Helen in *Hector*, which comes, appropriately enough, virtually at the centre of the tragedy and serves as a highly concentrated illustration of the human costs of heroism, it is worth adding that the contrast is striking with Shakespeare's Helen in the single scene where that character figures—again virtually at the play's centre (Tro., III.i). Far from alone or introspective, she is seamlessly integrated into bawdy dialogue with Pandarus and Paris, eager to keep "melancholy" (III.i.67) at bay with the song, "This love will undo us all" (104), and sighing, with mock complaint, "O Cupid, Cupid, Cupid!" (105). The scene ends with her gratefully accepting the honour, presented in sensuous terms by Paris, of disarming Hector (142-53)—a radical displacement of the motif invested with such tragic overtones by Montchrestien. Again, if one posits influence, as opposed to pure coincidence, it is inconceivable that the French playwright would have recast in high tragic terms such a radically contrary Shakespearean element. On the other hand, the latter might plausibly stand as a characteristic bitter-sweet parody of a precursor's subtle dramatic development of the Homeric original. Thus the personage who, for Shakespeare's idealising Troilus, as for Montchrestien, is "a theme of honour and renown" (Tro., II.ii.199), effectively becomes grist to the relentlessly reductive mill of Thersites: "All the argument is a whore and a cuckold" (II.iii.69-70). Shakespeare's sequence of scenes, in a sense, resolves these alternatives by suddenly, in a unique appearance, presenting Helen "herself", or, at least, as she has been constructed by her society and circumstances. And in the light of the intertexts, including—perhaps most immediately— Montchrestien's adaptation of Homer, she appears, beneath her ostentatious frivolity and lightness of heart, inexorably haunted by melancholy.



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by Antoine de Montchrestien

Translated, with Introduction and Notes, by Richard Hillman

Référence électronique ____

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Translation

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HECTOR: TRAGEDY (c. 1601-1604)

By Antoine de Montchrestien

Note on the Translation

The translation is based on the edition of Louis Petit de Julleville, which is still the only modern edition of the complete tragedies.¹

As with my previous translations of French Renaissance tragedy, I employ hexameter couplets, which, however less at home in English than iambic pentameter, provide a more faithful impression of the original Alexandrines. That is the form consistently used by Montchrestien, except in certain choruses, which present variations in line-length and rhyme-scheme. These I have attempted to reproduce. I give the name "Andromache" its common English pronunciation (four syllables, with primary stress on the second), although Montchrestien's verse, while employing the same spelling, which approximates the Greek, anticipates the three-syllable pronunciation mandated by the later spelling "Andromaque" (as in the tragedy of Racine [1667]).

There are no stage directions in the early text, and I have occasionally supplied the lack where this seemed useful, at the risk of sometimes intervening arbitrarily. I have also attempted to distinguish the different choruses where appropriate. All additions to the text of reference are in square brackets.

A single setting serves throughout the play (which also strictly respects the "unities" of time and action) of a flexible kind common in contemporary stagings. The dialogue all takes place within an outer chamber in the palace of Priam, from which entrances lead to other parts of the palace and from which, through a window or gallery, sections of the city may be seen by the characters (as is necessary when, in ll. 2045-48 [Act V], Andromache is described returning from her encounter with the distraught populace).

Antoine de Montchrestien, *Les tragédies*, ed. Louis Petit de Julleville, new ed. (Paris: E. Plot, Norrit et Cie., 1891), from which page numbers are given for quotations in the original. The edition by Christopher Norman Smith of *Two Tragedies: Hector and La Reine d'Escosse*, by Antoine de Montchrestien, Athlone Renaissance Library (London: Athlone Press, 1972) is less readily available and presents no significant variants.

² See below, n. 5.

I have doubts concerning the opinion of Tiphaine Karsenti, *Le mythe de Troie dans le théâtre français (1562-1715)*, Lumière Classique (Paris: H. Champion, 2012), p. 325, n. 2, that the meeting of the Nurse and Andromache with Priam (ll. 579-82 [Act II]) requires a division into two distinct playing spaces. It is possible to envisage variant stagings here, and in general the imaginary division of a single space into multiple centres of action is an established convention. Cf. the possible placements and movements implied by l. 1561 and ll. 1578-80 (Act IV).

TRANSLATION HECTOR: TRAGEDY

Speakers⁴

- 1. Priam
- 2. Hector
- 3. Hecuba
- 4. Andromache
- 5. Cassandra
- 6. Antenor
- 7. Chorus
- 8. [Chorus of Women]⁵
- 9. Messenger
- 10. [Nurse]
- 11. [Helen]

[Non-speaking: infant son of Hector and Andromache, several Trojan princes]

- Orig. "Entreparlevrs" (p. 2). The reason for the order given is not clear, as noted by Françoise Charpentier, Les débuts de la tragédie héroique: Antoine de Montchrestien (1575-1621) (Lille: Service de Reproduction des Thèses, Université de Lille III, 1981), p. 437, who also proposes that the two female parts omitted (the Nurse and Helen) were doubled by the actors (probably male) playing Hecuba and Cassandra—a hypothesis suggesting the text's at least partially theatrical origins. "Speakers" would then be equivalent to "actors". See also below, n. 106.
- For a Chorus (or choruses) of Women in the context of the choric functions generally, see the Introduction, pp. 25-27.

Act I

[Cassandra, Chorus, Andromache, Hector, Nurse, Infant son of Hector and Andromache]⁶

Cassandra

	William Control of the Control of th
I	What fatal undertow is sweeping you to sea,
2	Where many a boiling gulf gapes destructively?
3	O vessel, stay at anchor, see your lines are sure,
4	Which now to this tranquil shore tie you up secure.
5	So many treacherous straits traversed at great peril,
6	So many rocks avoided, using strength and skill,
7	By your wise ancestors, who with both head and hand
8	With difficulty could the first tempest withstand—
9	These should have been your lesson that your risky course
10	Is guided by these seas ruled by a fatal force.
11	With no lighthouse on land and a pole star that fails,
12	Do you really dare once again to set your sails?
13	Do you foresee at all what is bound to occur
14	If you embark in the depth of such a dread winter?
15	There no further Halcyon days for you remain,
16	And the sceptre of Aeolus ⁷ decrees free rein
17	To those rebel spirits who, as they fiercely blow,
18	Cause to tremble and groan the elements below,
19	And even have the heavens in their fury sharing:
20	Where but to shipwreck is now destined your sea-faring?
2.1	I'm speaking all in vain: Trojans, you do not hear—
22	No more than the breeze where these speeches disappear.
23	No, I can urge without cease your coming distress:
24	You never will believe Cassandra, prophetess.
25	O senseless warriors, what sort of ardent furor,
26	Blinded to the harm it does, engenders this error?
27	What good are all your combats? O vain arrogance
28	To think you can surmount the supreme ordinance—
29	With a mere mortal arm, by mere human designs,

⁶ There is no list of characters in the original text.

Aeolus, keeper of the winds, retrained them for seven days in the year so that Alcyone, transformed into a seabird, could lay her eggs.

TRANSLATION HECTOR: TRAGEDY

30	To think that you can breach the high decrees' confines,
31	Since the god of gods who is father of us all,
32	To whom the earth, the sea and heaven are in thrall,
33	Takes the part of those strict laws of Fatality
34	He carved in adamant of his Eternity.
35	I sense that the Demon ⁸ maddens me more and more:
36	Note well that voice he causes from my mouth to pour;
37	Lodge it within your hearts; it carries less deceit
38	Than you in Phoebus' tripod oracles9 will meet.
39	You ¹⁰ run all full of furor fresh quarrel to seek,
40	But your towers are topped by the treacherous Greek;"
41	A sombre mist troubles the quiet of your day,
42	And your destiny turns its kindest face away.
43	The lion, overthrown upon a field soaked through
44	With tears and blood, and now by the timorous crew
45	Of hares assailed, as they assemble without fear,
46	Shows that with his failing life hope must disappear.
47	We must flee—I see the flames. Haughty Pergamum,12
48	Swallowed by fire as it falls, to ruin is come,
49	And in thick swirls sweeping along, the heavy smoke
50	Clouds the gilded temples, triumphing at the joke.13
51	But what direction can we give our rapid course
52	In trying to take cover from the foreign force,
53	If our trembling foot, though transported here and there,
54	Stumbles on death or captivity everywhere ¹⁴ —

- 8 Orig. "Démon" (p. 4), that is, the spirit of prophecy that possesses her.
- **9** The reference is to the famous Oracle of Apollo at Delphi, who spoke from a tripod.
- The second-person pronoun shifts here from the plural to the singular, as if she were now addressing Troy as such, rather than the Trojans. This may reflect her increasing oracular frenzy.
- Orig.: "Mais ton Fort est vaincu par la fraude Gregoise" (p. 4). "Fort" seems to refer most immediately to the walled city, but also implied is the familiar contrast between Trojan strength and Greek guile. The translation attempts to convey a sense of distraction.
- "Haughty Pergamum": orig. "Les orgueilleux Pergames" (p. 4)—presumably, the citadel of Troy, imagined, as often, with multiple towers; it is clear from what follows that the structure is meant.
- The obvious "joke" ("en se joüant" [p. 4]) would be destiny's "last laugh" at Trojan arrogance. More specifically implied, perhaps, are the fouling of the rich decor and the inversion of the normal function of temples, that is, to send the smoke of sacrifices upward.
- An audience might have recognised the ironic adumbration of Cassandra's own fate: she will become the captive mistress of Agamemnon, then be murdered with him by Clytemnestra and Aegisthus; this is the subject of Aeschylus' *Agamemnon*.

55	If a gulf gapes equally for the innocent		
56	As for the causers of this criminal event		
57	Consuming Priam, his house with him burning quite		
58	In the flames that his fatal brand had set alight?15		
59	Would, as his father prayed, at his birth he had died!		
60	But you, O iron Fate,16 did otherwise decide.		
	Chorus		
61	Mouth too truthful in predicting unhappiness,		
62	You never open but to make us feel distress:		
63	Yet, for the mortal race, it is a worthy thing		
64	To be advised in time of heaven's threatening,		
65	So that what is foreseen may be provided for.		
66	The blow that strikes one unprepared harms all the more, ¹⁷		
67	But that which one expects has so little effect		
68	That its true evil is less than the fearful prospect.		
	Cassandra		
69	It is not for no reason I make you afraid.		
70	If ever my oracle the truth so betrayed		
71	As it seems to these Trojans who lack all belief,		
72	Even now in these ills, I'd feel hopeful relief.		
73	But what? Can I blind that inner sight by negation		
74	Which espies in the future a sad conflagration?		
	Chorus		
75	O Cassandra divine, no such presage display!		
	Cassandra		
76	What use pretending? Troy will be ashes one day,		
77	And all its high palaces, tumbled to the ground,		
78	Will be stony heaps where a little grass is found.		
/ =			

The reference is to Priam's son Paris, whose mother Hecuba dreamt she would be delivered of a firebrand that would cause the city's destruction. He was exposed at birth but rescued and nurtured by a shepherd. Eventually, his ravishing of Helen triggered the Trojan war. See William Smith, *The Smaller Classical Dictionary*, rev. E. H. Blakeney and John Warrington (New York: Dutton, 1958), s.v. "Paris".

"[I]ron Fate": orig. "Destin de fer" (p. 4). I reserve capitals in such abstractions for clear cases of personification.

Ll. 62-68 are marked for emphasis.

79	You do not believe me; that's your old custom still—
80	And of that god who animates my mind, the will;18
81	All you'll gain in the end—here my sorrow is great—
82	Is that it will be said of you, "Wise ¹⁹ but too late".
	Chorus
83	So many good citizens hope for the contrary.
	Cassandra
84	The best judgement is blind to its own misery.
	Chorus
85	They say that the Greeks are meeting with small success.
	Cassandra
86	If I spoke of human things, I would say no less.
	Chorus
87	And that they are intending to embark their army.
	Cassandra
88	Can you still ignore their accustomed trickery? ²⁰
	Chorus
89	That if we just hold out this is their final effort.
	Cassandra
90	Often the final blow is the most deadly sort. ²¹
	Chorus
91	That to the winds we'll send their fortune and their sails.

"[A]nimates my mind": orig. "m'allume" (p. 5). Responsible for both the prophetic gift and the disbelief was Apollo, supposed to have punished her thus because she refused him.

[&]quot;Wise": orig. "Sages" (p. 5). The plural form matches most immediately the collective nature of the Chorus, more largely the Trojans generally.

Obviously evoked is the climactic sleight of the Trojan horse, but more subtly foreshadowed is Achilles' treacherous killing of Hector.

The line is marked for emphasis.

Casssandra So to dupe the common people one forges tales.²² 92 That hope within our hearts has long since been sustained, 93 And yet their siege is still as stubbornly maintained. 94 **Chorus** What have we to fear, protected by Hector's arm? 95 Cassandra His death at last, while exposing himself to harm.²³ 96 **Chorus** None of the Argive leaders in valour can match him. 97 Cassandra I fear only that his own misfortune may catch him. 98 **CHORUS** He is cherished by the gods and by men respected. 99 Cassandra But like the rest of us, he is to Fate subjected. 100 **CHORUS** God, who gave him to us, can cause his preservation. 101 Cassandra God, who gave him to us, could cause our deprivation. 102 Chorus For the public welfare, he keeps in place good princes.²⁴ 103 Cassandra Some he removes himself from hated provinces. 104

²² Another single line marked for emphasis.

This line is marked for emphasis.

Ll. 103 and 104 are marked for emphasis.

	Chorus
105	Our destinies, when justly weighed in heaven's scale,
106	Against those of the Greeks sufficiently avail.
	Cassandra
107	The monarch whose hand holds that scale up in the sky, ²⁵
108	Just as it pleases him, hurtles them low or high.
	Chorus
109	He makes himself the saviour of peoples oppressed:
IIO	By the good that follows his favour is expressed.
	Cassandra
III	Those most favoured he comes finally to despise,
112	When they lend their hands to an unjust enterprise.
	Chorus
113	To arm for one's country and the gods' sacredness
114	Is an action that both God and all mortals bless.
	Cassandra
115	Oh, too gross error: in thinking one does no ill,
116	One gives the enemy equal reason to kill.26
	Chorus
117	The outraged Trojans still have vivid memories
118	Of how they were sacked by the tyrant Hercules. ²⁷

Ll. 107-16 are marked for emphasis.

Orig. of ll 115-16: "O trop grosse erreur si l'on ne croit mal faire, / Par en donner subiet à son propre aduersaire" (p. 6). The expression is elliptical, but the gist seems to be that anyone can claim to be on the side of right—a fairly unusual perspective in the period.

This occurred twice, initially after the hero rescued Hesione from a monster and obtained from her father Laomedon the promise of horses received from Zeus; Laomedon's failure to keep his promise provoked Hercules' war against Troy. See Smith, s.v. "Heracles" (p. 145). Versions of this became a standard part of the medieval Troy stories. See, e.g., Guido de Colomnis [Guido delle Colonne], *Historia destructionis Troiae*, ed. Nathaniel Edward Griffin, Mediaeval Academy of America Publication 26 (Cambridge, MA: Mediaeval Academy of America, 1936); online at https://cdn.ymaws.com/www.medievalacademy.org/resource/resmgr/maa_books_online/griffin_oo26.htm (accessed 6 September 2018), bk. IV (print ed. pp. 33-42). See also Raoul Le Fèvre, *Recueil des histoires de Troye* (c. 1474), trans. and first pub. William Caxton, *The recuile of the histories of Troie, etc.* (London: William Copland, 1553; STC 15378), bks. I and II.

Cassandra Ilium was razed, a great and shameful offence: 119 But an evil was done, and war the consequence. 120 **CHORUS** And why this war? Surely, there was great need compelling 121 An errant thief²⁸ to snatch her from her distant dwelling! 122 CASSANDRA The fault is wholly ours, so we must bear the blame. 123 **Chorus** Now the Greeks are at fault, armed in a women's name. 124 Cassandra Instead, your fellow-citizen should be accused. 125 **Chorus** By what the Greek endures, the Trojan's been abused: 126 What is a fault for us, for him is privilege.29 127 Cassandra He never committed rapine or sacrilege. 128 **Chorus** Let one woman count like the other: that is reason. 129 Cassandra One was taken in war, but the other by treason. 130

²⁸ "An errant thief": orig. "vn voleur vagabond" (p. 6)—again, a less than complimentary reference to Paris. The Chorus's expression here is mordantly ironic.

Doubtless a reference to the legend that the Greeks were dishonest first in detaining Exione (Hesione), sister of Priam. This element figures throughout the sources: see Guido, bk. IV (p. 42) and bk. V (pp. 50 ff.); Le Fèvre, trans. Caxton, bk. III, fol. vi^v; and Jacques Milet, *La destruction de Troye la grande, etc.* (Lyons: Denys de Harsy, 1544), fol. 4^v (La Première Journée).

	Chorus
131	One came of free will; the other left by constraint.
	Cassandra
132	One case did sacred hospitality attaint.
	Chorus
133	The other affronted all righteous honesty.
	Cassandra
134	Victory brings with it such ranging liberty.
	Chorus
135	Among the spoils of war, women do not belong.
	Cassandra
136	Yes, great ladies do—only not the common throng.
	Chorus
137	Whose behaviour but the Greeks' manifests such flaws?
	Cassandra
138	No people can be found that lives wholly by laws. ³⁰
	Chorus
139	We should even less, for against an adversary,
140	All defences are just when they are necessary.
	Cassandra
141	In a quarrel, he is always more highly prized
142	Who seeks out his revenge through valour exercised. ³¹
	Chorus
143	So they do pretend. But if, for this Helen's sake,
144	Upon us still more painful hardship we must take,

³⁰

Ll. 138-42 are marked for emphasis. It is difficult not to think here of Montchrestien's seeming personal penchant for affairs of "honour".

145	Great gods, to dampen the ardour of our long fight,
146	Extinguish, in the lasting night of death, her light!
147	But is this not Hector? He himself, without fail,
148	Followed by Andromache, dishevelled and pale.
	A
	Andromache
149	Oh please, dear husband, will you do nothing for me?
150	Will your death, then, recompense my fidelity?
	Hector
151	Honour once safe, Andromache, I grant you all,
152	For I consider that no person is your equal.
153	But just for a vain dream one's duty to neglect—
154	Such an extreme request, dear heart, I must reject.
	ANDROMACHE
	ANDROMACHE
155	Ah, my own faithful Hector, my dear life, my all,
156	Go freely, for my part, where you hear honour call,
157	But since to go forth today you are not compelled,
158	Let this mortal anguish from my mind be dispelled.
159	This dream is not vain at all, as you must agree
160	If past ones of mine you recall to memory,
161	Some of them, alas, confirmed at our dear expense:
162	Not otherwise do men God's voice experience. ³²
	Hector
163	If we found a motive for doing well or ill
164	In these impressions that would trouble common people,
165	All the high designs of a spirit without defect
166	Would perish at their birth or live to no effect.
167	No, the hardy man who will as his guide prefer
168	That duty which serves us as bridle and as spur,
169	Will always follow its course and, ever the same,
170	Will seek to compass what he first set as his aim,
171	While nothing that follows, with accidents combined,
172	Will be able to make him change a doubtful mind.
	Č

³² Ll. 162-84 are marked for emphasis.

	ANDROMACHE
173	Because our reasoning is liable to error,
174	It constitutes impiety, conjoined with furor,
175	Which moves the gods to turn on us their fiercest ire,
176	If in contempt we hold them, counting ourselves higher
177	We blind mortals, whose mind has such limited scope
178	That even with human cases it cannot cope.
	Hector
179	That which we experience by natural cause
180	We should not lend the stature of eternal laws,
181	And it is true furor, not just impiety,
182	To impute to the gods our mere frivolity,
183	Which holds the soul fast, in the grip of fear and pain,
184	For monstrous forgeries of a fantastic brain.
	Andromache
185	Whatever the case, you will soon see pass one day.
	Hector
186	Occasion is all; once the moment slips away,33
187	No longer her encouraging laughter do we find:
188	One must seize her forelock, for she is bald behind. ³⁴
	Andromache
189	Nearly twice five years have circled above our head
190	Since that great host has its obstinate strength exerted
191	In combatting our fortune, and the confluence
192	Of all proud Asia's forces come to its defence
193	Has not managed from these towers to push it back.
	Hector
194	When I hear of that slowness, all patience I lack.
195	Before night I want, with that army at my feet,
196	To see going up in smoke its hope and its fleet.

³³

Ll. 186-88 are marked for emphasis. The iconography and moral are widespread, notably in early modern emblem books.

	Andromache
197	O heaven! Gods in your eternal dwelling-place!
198	What ten years could not do can be in one day's space?
	Hector
199	What ten years could not do, a single moment may.
	Andromache
200	And what if that moment runs the enemy's way?
201	For that is up to heaven; and then, doubtful chance,35
202	Courted by each side, cannot wed both supplicants;
203	But right until the very end one cannot know
204	To whom the favour of happy fortune will go.
	Hector
205	I agree with that reasoning, endorse it quite.
206	Thus I must either vanquish or die in the fight,
207	Fully content if I to my dear homeland bring,
208	To gain its safety, my life as an offering.
	Andromache
209	But since it is your life that keeps alive its grandeur,
210	Make sure your death does not eradicate its splendour.
	Hector
211	It's given me so much, I can't render its due.
	Andromache
212	The welfare of all here seems to depend on you.
	Hector
213	As if thanks just to me the Trojans hold out now.
	Andromache
214	And what would they do without you? Without you how
215	Would they defend these walls from those Greeks merciless

³⁵ Ll. 201-4 are marked for emphasis.

216	With no shepherd what use the feeble shepherdess?
217	The driver-less wagon, the ship no pilot steers?
	Hector
218	Many another leader could comfort their fears.
219	For thanks to our gods, this city impregnable
220	Bears a rich harvest of warriors redoubtable.
	Andromache
221	You show above them all—you are their paragon.
	Hector
222	Love makes you think so: no one has so brightly shone ³⁶
223	That he has no equal, or none that him exceeds.
	Andromache
224	I base it on your far-and-wide admired deeds,
225	Which your brothers, your father and those fighters praise
226	Whom merit amongst our loftiest ranks arrays.
	Нестог
227	Is not Aeneas there? And Troilus? Deiphobus?
228	Polidamas? Menon,37 whose souls and bodies grace us?
229	Not to mention thousands more, allies and relations,
230	Who for the prize of honour would take up their stations?
	Andromache
231	You also forget that our adversaries' host
232	Great chiefs in number, skilled in doing well, can boast,
233	Such that their actions beyond their high names have gone:

³⁶ Ll. 222-23 are marked for emphasis.

Polidamas (thus in most analogues; orig. "Polidame" [p. 10], properly "Poulydamas"): in Homer a voice of prudence, sometimes in conflict with Hector (see *The Iliad of Homer*, trans. Richmond Lattimore [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, Phoenix Books, 1951], XII.210-29), figuring also in the tradition from Guido to Le Fèvre and Milet. "Menon" (orig. "Memnon" [p. 10]): a Trojan by this name figures passingly in *Iliad*, XII.93; his role is developed in Le Fèvre, where, as below (ll. 2106), he intervenes after Achilles' killing of Hector (Le Fèvre, trans. Caxton, bk. III, fol. xxxr); in Guido (bk. XXI, p. 175), he deals a fatal wound to Achilles; Milet (fol. 113^{r-v}) has him killed by Achilles' Myrmidons in the same disloyal fashion as Troilus. See also below, ll. 2244-46 (Act V).

234	Brave Diomedes, Ajax, son of Telamon
235	(Ajax, crafty forger of frauds and subtle lies);
236	Then old Nestor of Pylos, admirably wise,
237	The just Idomeneus and strong Meriones,
238	Courageous instigator of hostilities; ³⁸
239	The king of many kings, who makes the plans for battles,
240	Presides among the Argives over their war-councils;39
241	At last, he whom pride of place I should have allowed:
242	That great son of Peleus, as valiant as proud.40
243	For ever since Patroclus fell beneath your sword,
244	With no endeavour can his grieving soul accord
245	But to revenge his death, whose bitter memory
246	Causes Patroclus' shade to haunt him visibly,
247	Which, in plaintive accents, urges him to the fight,
248	Both by the dear respect his own worth should excite
249	And by the sacred love, like adamantine chain,
250	That seemed their destinies together to maintain.
	Hector
251	Now you ⁴¹ bring it fresh to mind—My arms! My arms, here! ⁴²
252	No, I see him amidst his armed troop disappear,
253	Where, without glory and distinction he'll lie low;
254	Soiled with shame, may his name forever that stain show
255	For not appearing at the place I designated
256	By my bloody challenge, which fixed the moment fated

- Orig.: "Le courageux autheur des combats d'Ilion" (p. 10). This implies a more significant role in the larger scheme than is warranted by Homer, although Meriones, in association with Idonomeus, displays notable initiative in one battle-scene (*Iliad*, XIII.246-338). It may be pertinent that in Guido, bk. XV (p. 134), Meriones prevents Hector from taking the body of the slain Patroclus.
- **39** I.e., Agamemnon.
- The culminating presentation of Achilles, and the emphasis on his valour and pride, are ironic, given the sequel.
- The first *tutoiement* on his part, presumably a mark of excitement. Andromache uses "tu" to him only in pleading with him to think of their son (ll. 273 ff.). It is ironic that her mention of Achilles inadvertently rouses Hector to action.
- I have not presumed to impose a staging here by adding directions, but I take it that he gives an order to an on- or offstage servant or servants, at least the "page" of l. 287, who appear with armour over the following lines; the lance of l. 260 might be one of the items carried on (presumably more than one servant would be needed for all), or Hector might find it missing and call for it.

257	To grant to the better man, to both camps made known,
258	The palm contested by his valour and my own.
259	Yes, now I hear my horse neighing, thirsting for combat-
260	That's a good sign. Oh, my lance!—I'll down him with that!
	Andromache
261	These whirling motions, my Hector, must be withstood.
262	Warriors may well be too brave for their own good.43
263	Didn't you once say that if a man is not wise,
264	His very courage will be the cause of his demise?
265	That to seek out the foe and misfortune produce
266	Is to put the best valour to very poor use?
267	Be wise, then, in yourself and for yourself at once:
268	He who is so for others is a kind of dunce.
	Hector
269	The question has been decided—lace up the harness.44
270	This time that presumptuous Greek's flesh will bear
	witness,
271	If he stays to meet me and the shock of my lance,
272	That I have more manhood45 than he has arrogance.
	[Enter the Nurse with Hector's infant son.]46
	Andromache
273	Hector, here's your son. Ah, where are you going to
274	Before you have put him upon the path of virtue?
275	Reject all my prayers, your way to destruction take,
276	So that him, by your death, an orphan you may make
277	And I may in your tomb without delay arrive.

43 Ll. 262-68 are marked for emphasis.

Orig.: "lacez moy le harnois" (p. 11). This is surely addressed to the servant who has been arming him, no doubt the "page" of l. 287, not to Andromache, who has refused. Cf. l. 585 below. On the symbolism, see the Introduction, p. 23.

[&]quot;[M]anhood": orig. "vertu" (p. 11). The word (from Lat. "vir", "virtus") carried two distinct (if imbricated) meanings: "manly strength", clearly intended here, and "moral strength". When Andromache uses it in l. 274 ("virtue"/"virtu" [p. 11]), she is effectively broadening the meaning.

⁴⁶ See below, ll. 285-86.

278	Could I see myself a widow and stay alive?
279	No, no, I have so joined my spirit with your soul
280	That the same fatal blow needs must sever the whole.
	HECTOR [taking the child]
281	Come here, dear little child, sweetest burden to hold, ⁴⁷
282	My rough armoured neck with your tender arms enfold.
283	What, you're afraid, my son? You turn your face aside?
284	He fears this fierce helmet, which serves my head to
	hide.
285	See, see how with his tiny hand he clings so tight
286	To his nurse's arm, presses to her breast in fright.
287	Here, page, hold my headgear ⁴⁸ —I must give him a kiss.
288	Now that he knows me, how he fidgets, filled with bliss!
289	Grant me, great gods, that this offspring of royalty
290	May become just in peace, in war gain victory;
291	That he may ever seek to win glory eternal,
292	Pardoning the subject, overcoming the rebel;
293	Make him the governor of Troy's nobility,
294	And to his people a star of prosperity.
295	Grant to his virtue fortune that so greatly swells
296	They'll say with a boast the son the father excels.
297	When one day, if it happens, his conquering arm
298	A foe's spoils consecrates as tokens of their harm,
299	His mother to console and fill with happiness,
300	Gods I have so reverenced, cause her to be the witness.
301	Nurse, take back your charge now; and you,49 my precious
	care,
302	Come, sweet Andromache, yourself such sorrow spare.

This sequence involving Hector's infant son is closely modelled on *Iliad*, VI.466-81. The child's fear of the helmet seems to have posed a minor problem for Montchrestien, since in Homer it is explicitly the waving horse-hair crest that frightens the child, as would not be in keeping with the early modern armour evoked in l. 287 (see below, n. 48) and obviously envisaged for performance. Montchrestien's solution is to make the helmet more generally fierce-looking ("fier"), and the translation follows suit.

⁴⁸ "[H]eadgear": orig. "salade" (p. 11), a helmet (15th-16th cent.) that included a neck-covering, thus probably accounting also for l. 282, "rough-armoured neck [col armé]". See *Le trésor de la langue française informatisée*, s.v. "salade²» (online at http://atilf.atilf.fr/ [accessed 29 August 2018]).

⁴⁹ At this tender moment he begins again to *tutoyer* Andromache.

303	Whether I'm at Troy or fighting strenuously,
304	The thought of my son and you accompanies me,
305	To lead me from the dense blows the enemy aims,
306	And softens me with a father's and husband's names.
307	But I fear shame, which must always reproach attract;
308	I fear to be by a false people's darts attacked—
309	Fickle, presumptuous, without respect or law,
310	Which, deploying its tongue to fabricate a flaw,
311	Into base cowardice would turn my careful prudence:
312	Soon lost is glory gained at great labour's expense.
313	Then, my heart, seen always as dauntless when I fought,
314	Declines to forfeit the stature my arm has brought,
315	My sweat and travail, as I forged for it a trophy
316	No length of time will see expunged from memory.
317	The day will come at last—to my grief, I am sure -50
318	That will see the conniving Greeks our city capture,
319	And cousins and brothers, good old Priam my sire,
320	Will fall before the furor of the Argive ire,
321	And deeply their poor sufferings my feelings touch.
322	But I swear by heaven, I do not feel as much
323	For them all as for you, Andromache, my dear:
324	My mind's eye can see some youthful braggart appear,51
325	Haughtily leading you, as his share of the booty,
326	To his father's lodging, where it will be your duty
327	To work the loom for weaving cloth, his wool to spin,
328	Bright-sparkling water from his fountain to bring in,
329	To sweep the place, while bearing with their signs of
	scorn—
330	Mean occupations for a woman so well born;
331	Perhaps some passer-by, touched to the inmost life,
332	Will say: of valiant Hector she was the wife.
333	Then what rancour will flow in your heart full of care,
334	Hearing my name so glorious remembered there,
335	While yourself stripped of rank and possessions remained,
336	Forever in that dismal servitude retained.

⁵⁰ Ll. 317-40 closely follow *Iliad*, VI.447-65.

In Euripides' *Andromache*, she has become the slave and concubine of Neoptolemos.

337	If so the fates decree, surely I would prefer,
338	So as not to see you, that death my eyes should cover
339	With an eternal blindfold, that the grave should keep me
340	From hearing the sighs of your soul's captivity.
	Andromache
341	Well, then, my dear Hector, hold out your hand to me.
342	Only on our couple does your heart show no pity:
343	Alas, your valour destroys us! Its heritage52
344	Is a hard death met in the flower of your age.
345	Say, what will you do? Would not marble pitiless
346	Soften at all, my loving sentiments to witness?
347	Think at least, I beg you, of that death full of pain
348	Which you yourself will make your wretched wife sustain,
349	If she becomes your widow by a hostile sword,
350	And your ardour with my faith will perhaps accord.
351	Alas, it is against your head their arms conspire;
352	It is your noble blood their deadly points desire;
353	This aim seems even vulgar darts to animate,
354	And you'll run blindly into dangers that await!
355	No, before fate makes me abandon your embrace,53
356	Let the earth swallow me; myself for all I brace:
357	For so much pain would it cause me the sun to spy,
358	If it saw me but not the brilliance of your eye.
359	If I remain behind—oh, wretched woman!—sole,
360	Who will be able my heart's anguish to console?
361	Go to my relations? Alas, they are all dead:
362	At long last Peleus' barbarous son succeeded
363	In razing my fair Thebes, teeming with families,
364	Whose top rose up over the loftiest of cities—
365	A pine to a briar; his hands in that dear flood
366	He bathed of my father's and seven brothers's4 blood.

⁵² Ll. 343-77 adapt, sometimes quite closely, *Iliad*, VI.406-32.

^{*[}A]bandon your embrace": orig. "de ton col me separe [separate me from your neck]" (p. 13). She seems likely to be embracing him here.

[&]quot;[B] rothers": orig. "germains" (p. 13), seemingly based on the 1545 translation by Hugues Salel, "freres germains". The Greek word ("κασίγνητος") can mean "cousin" as well as "brother", but that sense is not indicated for this occurrence (*Iliad*, VI.421), and I follow standard modern translation practice; see Georg Autenrieth, A Homeric Dictionary, trans. Robert P. Keep, rev. Isaac Glagg (Nor-

367	My mother he confined, with cruelty not sated,
368	Her miseries with austere treatment aggravated
369	Unworthy of her sex and of her lofty station.
370	There her growing troubles by no means found cessation:
371	Fortune when contrary is never solitary:"
372	For Diana, become her vengeful adversary,
373	After so many torments deprived us of her,
374	And only to satisfy her rancorous anger.
375	So that is why without relations I remain—
376	Without father, mother, brother, assailed with pain
377	At every moment for their deaths. O my dear spouse,
378	In future, take their places: you are my all house.
379	Remain, my sweet soul; cease resisting, my life's light;
380	Give more weight to my love than to your thirst for fight.
381	I ask very little; you wouldn't have the heart
382	To crush my wishes with your rigour and depart.
	Hector
383	Hope for my triumph, O my dear and sweet companion,
384	And take off this mourning, not fitting to put on.
385	If I die in the midst of combat, bear the blow:
386	We are all destined to perish, as you well know.
387	Surely of no immortal seed was I engendered;
388	And if the sons of gods that vessel have encumbered
389	With which the vile ferryman the Acheron plies,56
390	If we others come to die, why should that surprise?
391	It is the self-same law that dictates death and birth;57
392	Since fleeing to the right or left is of no worth,
393	Far better to advance while marching straight ahead,
394	Seek what one should, though wanting something else
	instead;
395	Just so reigns destiny, invincible and firm:
396	It does not shorten, nor does it prolong our term.

man: University of Oklahoma Press, 1958), s.v.

The line is marked for emphasis.

⁵⁶ Charon, who ferried souls across the Acheron, or Styx, was supposed to be physically repulsive as well as foul-tempered.

⁵⁷ Ll. 391-96 are marked for emphasis.

397	Embrace me. The future is heaven's to produce.
398	I tell you again, this weeping is of no use.
399	To beguile your distress, your household tasks resume:
400	Summon up your spirits to ply distaff and loom.
401	For those of us Troy summons to serve otherwise,
402	We will lend our swords—and our lives, if need arise.
403	Adieu, my sweet love. Ardour is kindling within me,58
404	A courage that boils up more than usually:
405	Mars's vehement ardour. Those brave deeds we do
406	Of noble and vigorous transports are the issue,
407	Which are awakened in the soul when it is spurred
408	By high desires for honour, raised up and stirred,
409	As a fire arranged around a cauldron urges
410	Water within to flow upward in boiling surges.
411	The man who these daring impulsions does not know
412	Always has his hands in striking sluggish and slow,
413	As when a ship across a dead-calm sea is going,
414	Served little by the strength, less by the art of rowing.
415	But if the sudden stroke of courage his spirit shakes,
416	Across a thousand deaths a bold passage he makes,
417	And for that his strong arms can such distinction boast
418	He enters the ranks of heroes among the foremost.
	Chorus ⁵⁹
419	Let the expert mariner pronounce on the storm-cloud,
420	The ploughman on what soil is fitting to be ploughed,
421	The shepherd upon flocks, and upon dogs the hunter,
422	The merchant upon trade, on value the usurer:
423	But the bold discourses which deal with bravery
424	Are suitable for spirits whose sage certainty
425	Unites what is discussed with that which is effected:
426	For it is by action that manhood ⁶⁰ is perfected.

⁵⁸ Ll. 403-17 are marked for emphasis (with l. 418, it seems, omitted inadvertently).

All the lines of the following double chorus are marked for emphasis.

⁶⁰ "[M]anhood": orig. "vertu" (p. 14).

427	Giving her gifts to all,61
428	Nature employs no even hand,
429	Denies it should befall
430	Her favours equally should stand
431	In men who greatly differ
432	In rank just as in manner.
433	One has a heart that trembles
434	When dangers in his sight appear;
435	A woman he resembles
436	Whom everything torments with fear.
437	Another, never afraid,
438	Is always calm and staid.
439	The anger of the sea,
440	Having a tempest bred,
441	May threaten soon to bury
442	In the watery depths his head;
443	Still his forehead will fail
444	To become deathly pale.
445	The collapse he will outface
446	Of the world's roof upon his head,
447	Before he will displace
448	The foot on which his stance is founded:
449	It's steady as a rock
450	Not to be moved by shock.
451	Pikes and darts in their swarms
452	His boldness will never efface;
453	To Mars's fiercest storms
454	He proudly will hold up his face;
455	Should he be overcome,
456	His heart will not succumb.

The original text provides a second heading of "Chœvr" (p. 14), typographically more prominent, for the lyrical, as opposed to sententious, passage running from this point to the end of the act. Presuming that the same chorus is involved, this would seem to mark a shift in mode from chorus-as-participant to chorus-as-commentator, although the contrast here is more in form than in content.

457	His knee always steadfast
458	In the breach will not buckle under,
459	If knocked down by the blast
460	When a lighted fuse sets off thunder.62
461	Sooner than rank to lose
462	Loss of all blood he'll choose.
463	The good he will instate
464	As what he most dearly desires;
465	His soul in constant state
466	Whatever change life requires.
467	At work or in repose,
468	The same heart's ease he knows.
469	Happy or not his part,
470	His lifetime will be free of anguish,
47I	And his vigorous heart
472	Will not ever have cause to languish;
473	For a good or a bad thing
474	To him will be less than nothing.
475	That mutability
476	Which rules all things beneath the moon ⁶³
477	He'll meet with cold sagacity
478	Mocking the might of adverse Fortune,
479	Those darts of hers deflected ⁶⁴
480	That were at him directed.
481	Should one seek to defile him,
482	Mingling him with the multitude,

Other (equally anachronistic) scenarios are possible, but the likeliest is the explosion of a mine to make a breach in ramparts under siege. The anachronism is more flagrant than in the details of Hector's armour and definitively sets this choric commentary outside the play-world.

64 "[D]eflected": orig. "rebouchez" (p. 16). The word is rare in this sense, but A. J. Greimas, *Dictionnaire de l'ancien français* (Paris: Larousse, 1999), s.v. "reboucher", cites a usage equivalent to "rebondir".

According to traditional cosmology, the realms above the sphere of the moon were immune to change.

483	Or far off to exile him
484	In some bare desert's solitude,
485	To him in every place
486	The same is the sun's face.
487	Seeing himself created
488	A simple soldier or a captain,
489	His duty estimated
490	By virtue's rule (the only certain),
491	All things he will effect
492	Cannot be less than perfect.
493	He whom heavenly dictate
494	Has furnished with such quality
495	As darling of the gods must rate;
496	He can be dealt no injury,
497	Since stronger far is he
498	Than man or Fate can be.

Act II

Andromache, Nurse, Priam, Hector, [Chorus]

[Enter Andromache and Nurse.]

Andromache

499	Although my soul is trying itself to distract
500	From thinking of its woe, the thought remains intact
501	Amid this misery, all efforts still are vain:
502	All within me weakens except only my pain.
503	Wherever I may turn, I can take no delight;
504	Then, if anywhere I remain, my mind takes flight
505	And, spinning fantasies, does nothing but collect
506	Disturbing presages that I cannot neglect.
507	If only you could see how many cruel cares
508	Your Andromache hidden in her bosom bears,
509	Your spirit, Hector, would less obstinacy show!
	Nurse
510	But let him go out if he has determined so.
	Andromache
511	If he goes out, it's the end of him, Nurse—he'll die.
	Nurse
512	What vain fear has managed your soul to occupy?
513	After combats galore, is it a novelty
514	To see Hector trading blows? One who goes to sea ⁶⁵
515	Need not drown; to put oneself in the way of harms,
516	Judging the risks wisely, wins one respect in arms:
517	There if some coward by running escapes today,
518	Tomorrow unawares he'll be caught in the fray.66
519	You do him great wrong to question his manly virtue

⁶⁵ Ll. 514-18 are marked for emphasis.

Orig.: "Demain sans y penser l'escart tombe sus luy" (p. 17), "l'escart" referring, it seems, to his previous cowardly withdrawal.

	Andromache
520	Ah, that's just what will make my sad presage come true!
	Nurse
521	Who has ever seen in you such fears multiplying?
	Andromache
522	Oh, my evil fortune approaches, Nurse—I'm dying!
	Nurse
523	Madam, what seizes you? Tell me, by heaven's grace,
524	Where this strange sorrow comes from that darkens your face?
	Andromache
525	Alas, it's a dream portending horror and grief.
	Nurse
526	A dream is mere wind—you need lend it no belief.
	Andromache
527	Now that my eyes again with that dread vision fill,
528	I feel my spirits freezing with an icy chill;
529	My whole body commences slowly to perspire,
530	And my slackened nerves languish, threaten to expire.
531	Lend your hand quickly, Nurse, or I'll be on the ground.
	Nurse
532	Never does fear master a body that is sound. ⁶⁷
533	The anguish that carries you along like a torrent
534	Has a hidden source, though an effect too apparent.
535	But tell me—let me know of that distress the cause
536	Which is crushing your desolate heart in its claws;
537	Speak out boldly, Madam, with urgency I pray:
538	No dream of any kind can frighten in this way.

⁶⁷ A line marked for emphasis.

	Andromache
539	Moreover, it is not alone: other ill portents
540	Tell us loudly and clearly of dire events.
	Nurse
541	It is a grave error to trust implicitly ⁶⁸
542	In one who can for us, but not himself, foresee.
	Andromache
543	It is the most flagrant madness to close one's ears,
544	When heaven speaking through the marvellous one hears.
	Nurse
545	Tell me your troubles—they'll be easier to bear:
546	Sorrow becomes lighter when exposed to the air. ⁶⁹
	Andromache
547	The sun had no sooner given light to the day
548	Than I rose up from my bed and, turning his way,
549	Told him my dream and begged him in humility
550	To keep far off all sad eventuality.
	Nurse
551	That was well done. When heaven shows a frowning face,70
552	Let us have timely recourse to its divine grace,
553	To obtain by our prayers some assurance of rescue
554	From the imminent evil that to us is due.
	Andromache
555	Phoebus grew dark then, shedding light upon my sorrow,
556	And, shining uncertainly on my certain woe,
557	Showed himself sometimes red and again sometimes pale,
558	The same as my dream, with regret announcing bale.
559	But let's cease to talk more of the frightening portent
560	Which forms within my grieving heart such fearful torment,

Ll. 541-42 are marked for emphasis. A line marked for emphasis. Ll. 551-52 are marked for emphasis. 68

⁶⁹

⁷⁰

561	And run to Priam as a last resort to see
562	If Hector can be stopped by his authority.
563	Prayers can do much; but only to one who takes action ⁷¹
564	Does the power of good supreme grant satisfaction.
	Nurse
565	I approve your judgement. If Priam once forbade,
566	Even if he were then in armour fully clad,
567	There is no doubt that he would readily comply:
568	Never does an upright man his father defy.72
	Andromache
569	Let's go and supplicate him—quick now, not so slow!
570	He might be already where he may take a blow.
	Nurse
571	Cease to be afraid, for here and there I've caught sight
572	Of warriors of ours arming for the fight,
573	And the hollow trumpet with its boisterous call
574	Has not sounded the third order to cross the wall.
	Andromache
575	No more delay! In a matter of urgent need,73
576	If one acts too late, the business is dead indeed.
577	And then, if he has plunged into the combat's heat,
578	I'll never believe he'll be induced to retreat.
	[As they go, they meet with Priam, accompanied.]
	Nurse
579	Here's Priam, two of your brothers,74 in timely fashion.

⁷¹ Ll. 563-64 are marked for emphasis.

⁷² This line is marked for emphasis.

Ll. 575-76 are marked for emphasis. "In a matter ... dead indeed": orig. "La chose necessaire / Trop tard executée est la mort d'vn affaire" (p. 19). The figurative use of "mort" carries particular weight in the context.

⁷⁴ Unidentified, non-speaking.

Andromache Good tutelary gods, I invoke your compassion! 580 PRIAM Andromache, daughter, I'm surprised to see you. 581 Andromache I wanted to come see you, and my brothers, too. 582 **PRIAM** Just as for everything else, I praise you for that. 583 But since your Hector is getting ready for combat, 584 Why don't you help arm him as you did formerly? 585 Andromache The moment that the sun rose up out of the sea, 586 He cried out three times, his armour at once desired. 587 **PRIAM** Just such diligence of warriors is required. 588 Andromache Never did I see his heart so burn for the fight. 589 **PRIAM** That's where the noble prince places his whole delight. 590 Andromache But such eagerness I have good cause to suspect. 591 PRIAM Andromache, a leader who covets respect,75 592 In action everywhere, all chances prompt to meet, 593 Does not sleep through the night, and must die on his 594 feet.

⁷⁵ Ll. 592-94 are marked for emphasis.

	Andromache
595	What unhappy words! How you my spirit appal,
596	Consenting to my loss, and to his funeral.
	Priam
597	What's the cause, I pray you, of her outburst of sorrow?
598	What's the source of those tears which her eyes overflow?
	Andromache
599	Henceforth may you despise, O proud Hector, despise
600	A vision that the heavens grimly authorise!
	Priam
601	I cannot judge, but I see in her countenance
602	Her heart is affected by grievous sufferance.
	Andromache
603	Neglect, wretched man, neglect till the harm you find,
604	The omen of death that your father stands behind!76
	Priam
605	Chaste spouse of Hector, tell me of that suffering
606	Which causes your eyes to pour forth this tearful spring.
	Andromache
607	O reverend father, so your goodness invites me,
608	But to solace the torment that with such force smites me,
609	Command for my sake that they go right now and try
610	To find your wretched Hector, determined to die.
	Priam
611	To die! Go on, my sons, bring your brother to me;
612	Let him come; invoke a father's authority.
	[Exeunt the sons.]

[&]quot;[T]hat your father stands behind": orig. "dont ton Pere t'asseure" (p. 20). She is evidently being sarcastic in her distraction, but the phrase remains ambiguous: she might be stating either that Priam is protecting Hector from the omen or that he is ensuring it will be fulfilled. The translation opts for the latter.

[to Andromache] Yet lift me out of that profound abyss of 613 doubt Where troubled thoughts by feelings are stirred all about. 614 Andromache Although my torment is increased by your behest, 615 How can I ever refuse such a just request? 616 I dreamt last night, at the very moment when slumber 617 Comes most soothingly the pupils to disencumber, 618 That I was embracing Hector—pale, cold and lifeless; 619 I embraced him—alas, I will lose consciousness!— 620 With his wounds' blood all sullied, and with dusty grime: 621 I sensed my knees begin to shake at the same time, 622 The spirits lapsed that my arteries animated, 623 And my nerves from their ordinary force abated. 624 With difficulty waking, I felt strength subside, 625 Such that a long time after all aloud I sighed. 626 Yet in my arms my Hector I hastened to press, 627 Asked him to hold me tight, to kiss me and caress, 628 And not rebuke me, and my voice for a long moment 629 With sobbing only gave his speech acknowledgement, 630 For the object that filled my soul with thoughts of death 631 Within the hollow of my lungs retained my breath. 632 One further time thereafter that unlucky dream 633 Reiterated to my mind its dismal theme; 634 Alas, and I still seem to see its wretched shape 635 Fly before my eyes beneath a shadowy drape. 636 Priam If with spirit devout your altar-flames I kindle, 637 Vouchsafe to hear my prayer, O great gods immortal; 638 Hear, of Ilium and Troy, O patrons divine, 639 The humble accent of the prayer that is mine. 640 If the mortal dream that I have just heard narrated 641 From heaven was sent down to see communicated 642 My son's impending death, then do such grace instead 643 As to deflect the blow that menaces his head. 644 Or if the god of sleep, abuser of the mind, 645 Has gone a fickle phantom in his cave to find 646

647	To trouble Andromache and fill me with pain,
648	Efface her fear, for both of us render it vain.
	Andromache
649	May it please cruel heaven to grant its consent—
650	But I don't believe it: that is not its intent.
651	The morning light of bright Phoebus I saw concealed,
652	When my dream, with my prayer, to him I revealed.
653	Running to the altar, a sacred flame I lit,
654	But the gods, heads averted, did not favour it:
655	At once it went out, and the sacrifice proposed
656	Seethed beneath the coals in which it became enclosed,
657	And nothing came of the efforts I made by blowing
658	To excite a bit of bright flame from sluggish glowing:
659	Consumed on the altar, my offering did choke, ⁷⁷
660	And, like all of my vows, converted into smoke.
	Priam
661	What is our destiny? Gods, be less rigorous
662	And preserve Hector safe for himself and for us:
663	For since your grace as yet does not us so disdain
664	But that by such messengers you herald our pain,
665	Permit us to hope that if you show us such care,
666	Some mercy for the Trojans you still may prepare.
	Andromache
667	Well to know one's evil, but not the remedy,78
668	Is the worst form, Priam, of infelicity.
	Priam
669	It is to the gods that we must have recourse now,
670	Injury or cure to work—only they know how.
	Andromache
671	Their righteous wills reflect their power's privilege;

Orig.: "De sorte qu'elle reste à l'autel consommée" (p. 21)—that is, to judge from the context, the flesh merely shrivelled and fumed in place, failing to burn clearly and vigorously as a token of acceptance.

⁷⁸ Ll. 667-84 are marked for emphasis.

672	Nothing that is can escape their sovereign knowledge.
673	But to reveal events to humankind so they
674	May be protected—that is by no means their way.
	Priam
675	The nature of the gods is to do all men good,
676	And they would not leave us in dangers where we stood
677	If with a suppliant heart we implored their rescue;
678	But when they are disdained, the contrary they do.
	Andromache
679	It is indeed to disdain them not to give weight
680	To the foreboding, faithful and legitimate,
681	That comes to us from them, but by excess of pride
682	To have as steadfast law our own will dignified.
	Priam
683	He who ignores the gods because of self-belief
684	Rushes blind to utter ruin and extreme grief.
	Andromache
685	Soon we will know; we will see today discomfited
686	This stubborn man, who'll come to feel it on his head. ⁷⁹
687	Restrain his ardour, for if on the field he's found,
688	A Greek lance will see to his measuring the ground.
	Priam
689	It is not up to him to decide anything:
690	It's I who am his father and, what's more, his king,
691	And I can, if I please, prevent his going there.
692	But I wish by reason to manage the affair.

[Enter Hector, with Trojan warriors. $^{8\circ}]$

The precise moment of Hector's entrance is open to stage interpretation, but it obviously occurs before he is addressed at l. 694. It seems likely that Andromache and Priam see him approaching from l. 686 and finish their conversation in anticipation.

⁸⁰ It is not clear where else the other warriors might enter who figure explicitly in ll. 819 ff., and it would be logical to have them accompany Hector. Again, alternative stagings are possible.

693	[to Hector] O my staunchest support, so your
	armour is on.
	Hector
694	My lord, too weary a delay I've undergone.
	Priam
695	The enemy camp thirsts the fight to be renewing.
	Hector
696	If our camp is backward, it will not be my doing.
	Priam
697	I'm fearful that good fortune your blows will not second.
	Hector
698	At least, to combat and die well we will be reckoned.81
	Priam
699	How can man advance if heaven will him impede?
	Hector
700	Heaven favours someone who attempts to succeed.
	Priam
701	Many a battle is lost for some secret cause,
702	When valour, with wise counsel joined, deserves applause.
	Hector
703	One who for good reason has armed his hand for war
704	Must march straight into combat, look only before.
	Priam
705	When a righteous cause is not properly defended.
706	It is greatly at risk, and all hope may be ended.

⁸¹ Ll. 698-726 are marked for emphasis, with the exception (erroneously?) of l. 721.

	Hector
707	When one defends it by manifest force of arms,
708	The gain cannot come without suffering some harms.
	Priam
709	One assures it with less danger by being prudent,
710	And not the smallest part is choosing the right moment.
	Hector
711	When some event occurs that our knowledge exceeds,
712	Then must reason seek the cause from which it proceeds;
713	And if we are convinced, let us without delay
714	As far as the Greek ships our valour's flames display.
	Priam
715	That hollow chimera, which with false shows deludes,
716	Like another Proteus our grasping eludes;
717	Then, when suddenly its form changes in our sight,
718	Our judgement clouds over when danger's at its height!82
	Hector
719	The spirit of our soldiers, enkindled to glory,
720	Assures us now or never of the victory.
	Priam
721	With valiant ardour they have combatted indeed,
722	But to win, more good luck than manly strength ⁸³ they need.
	Hector
723	A courage resolute good luck hardly deserts.
	Priam
724	When it flatters us the most, its face it averts.
	Hector
725	It is the gods' custom the best to recompense.

⁸² Proteus, the sea-dwelling herdsman and prophet, could be forced to tell the future only when held firmly until he ceased to change his shape; see Smith, s.v.

⁸³ "[M]anly strength": orig. "vertu" (p. 23), as elsewhere.

	Priam
726	To all the good and bad some evils they dispense.
	Hector
727	Let us do as we must and leave to them the rest.
	Priam
728	But let us not tempt either their wrath manifest.
	Hector
729	We need not fear their wrath when duty we fulfil.84
	Priam
730	It is to be feared in failing to do their will.
	Hector
731	From them comes the heat that boils in our men-at-arms.
	Priam
732	From them comes, too, the fear that mingles with alarms.
	Hector
733	Of their secrets we mortals must not seek the sense.
	Priam
734	They make them known all too well—and at my expense.
	Hector
735	There is nothing our mishap to prognosticate.
	Priam
736	Yet all, if you see clearly, augurs an ill fate.
	Hector
737	To defend one's country is in itself auspicious.85

⁸⁴ Ll. 29-33 are marked for emphasis.

Petit de Julleville, ed., p. 282, n. to p. 24, points out the close echo of the *Iliad* (correct ref. XII.243), where Hector is likewise arguing (though not with Priam) against not fighting because of negative

PRIAM And to ruin it an act lamentable and vicious.86 738 **HECTOR** Does he not serve it well who risks himself therefor? 739 Priam Badly he serves indeed when he can do much more. 740 **HECTOR** And what more can a man of valour ever do? 74^I PRIAM Live for love of it, and see its ill-fortune through. 742 **HECTOR** And is it not my arm that renders me of use? 743 **PRIAM** Prudence can do more a town's safety to produce.87 744 **HECTOR** Counsel without the hand is a bodyless soul. 745 Priam Uncounselled, the hand's efforts fly out of control. 746 **HECTOR** Have I not put the army in an ordered state? 747 PRIAM Order on ill-starred days like smoke will dissipate. 748 **HECTOR** If I am to do well, then, what course shall I take? 749

auguries. Ll. 737-40 are marked for emphasis.

⁸⁶ "[L]amentable and vicious": orig. "infame et douloureux" (p. 24).

⁸⁷ Ll. 744-46 are marked for emphasis.

PRIAM Simply remain in place and nothing undertake. 750 Несток All our men with one voice are spoiling for a fight. 751 Priam The leader who lends too much credence does not right.88 752 **HECTOR** And what will the Greeks say, when they see him go back? 753 Priam Just look out for yourself—let them with words attack. 754 **HECTOR** What vulgar insults will their mocking gullets vent? 755 **PRIAM** Such blame counts for little, if only we stay prudent. 756 **HECTOR** Their ridicule will cause our hearts' ardour to dwindle. 757 Priam Their futile bitterness your anger will rekindle. 758 **HECTOR** A noble soul's reduced to bastardy by shame⁸⁹— 759 **PRIAM** Which rouses it to vengeance and a fiercer flame. 760 **HECTOR** So shall we thus huddled beneath these ramparts live? 761

⁸⁸ The line is marked for emphasis.

⁸⁹ Ll. 759-60 are marked for emphasis.

	Priam
762	Don't underrate the shelter from dangers they give.9°
	Hector
763	Good advice for a coward's heart, afraid to dare.
	Priam
764	Better for a mind that proceeds with prudent care.
	Hector
765	Will so long a pause not make our absence a fault?
	Priam
766	To defend onself rarely requires assault.91
	Hector
767	It's as if the besiegers' hope we reinforce.
	Priam
768	It's as if the besieged resist with greater force.
	Hector
769	Can you endure in your own home yourself to find
770	As in a prison by such cowardice confined?
	Priam
771	When Troy no longer can by combat be preserved,
772	By means of its strong walls must its interests be served.
	Hector
773	A valiant knight, a soldier whose bold spirits press,92
774	Cannot agree to live enclosed within a fortress.
	Priam
775	The governor rich in wisdom, the prudent captain,

⁹⁰

The line is marked for emphasis. Ll. 766-68 are marked for emphasis. 91

Ll. 773-76 are marked for emphasis.

776	Makes no use of his hand when he knows its strength vain
	Hector
777	Fine, give over the campaign, and you will soon see,
778	Pouring over our walls, the Greeks with their whole army.
	Priam
779	Well said, my son, and so spread out in their attack,
780	Our towering ramparts will send them pouring back—
781	No more nor less than seem the efforts of the sea,
782	Foaming against the shores in sheer futility:
783	The surges may swell to double their roaring strength—
784	It all becomes silent and languorous at length;
785	For the rocks in their place always upright remain,
786	The fury that boils in the wild waves to contain.
	Hector
787	I would hardly that cheerful hope discountenance,
788	But for as long as Hector lives, beneath this lance,
789	Not behind bulwarks, he will choose to stand his ground:
790	The hope of a valiant heart in itself is found.93
	[Enter Hecuba, behind.]94
	Priam
791	My dear son, my Hector, sweet centre of my thought,
792	Do not by the lure of senseless ardour be caught,
793	Which guides you to your death with a glorious face:
794	You don't here occupy a simple soldier's place,
795	One who must seek in combat, for lack of renown,
796	Some vulgar laurel his virtue in arms to crown;
797	Your glory has now climbed to such a noble height,
798	You are a demi-god in all the Trojans' sight;
799	Yet please you still respect, with fitting courtesy,

93 This line is marked for emphasis.

The placement of this stage direction is especially uncertain; Hecuba's presence would surely have been acknowledged at the meeting of Andromache and Priam, yet she must be on stage by l. 800; arbitrarily, I suggest that she enters in time to hear Priam's more personal plea.

800	Your white-haired father, your mother reverend to see,	
801	Who urge you strongly not today to let the sun	
802	Glimpse you in combat. O hero second to none,	
803	Yield to our will: he is doubly esteemed a treasure95	
804	Who can do his family service, also pleasure.	
	Unovny [somina former]	
0	HECUBA [coming forward]	
805	If some little part, my son, within you remains	
806	Of the natural respect that a man retains	
807	Who is born for honour and the good of his race,	
808	I am sure that I, as well, could obtain that grace;	
809	But your father's wishes carry such weight with you,	
810	They have no need of seconding by my voice, too.	
Hector		
811	The gods have not formed me with such a wretched96 nature—	
812	I have not been given by you so little nurture—	
813	That I do not know at least all that should be known	
814	To have my duty to you quite properly shown:	
815	But permit that rather in fortune's hands I place me,	
816	Than that any stain on my honour should disgrace me.	
817	What will the Greek declare, to mockery so prone,	
818	If, from concern for myself, we leave him alone?	
	Priam	
819	These brave men here, all well brought up in arms and	
01)	young,	
820	Will check the chattering of his impudent tongue:	
821	For though it is my wish that we do not allow	
822	You to try ⁹⁷ the vicissitudes of combat now,	
823	You—Aeneas and Paris, Deiphobus, Troilus,	
824	Menon, Polidamas—lead out the troops for us	
825	And bring them to the fields. Myself I'll give the task	
826	Of sending you support if you have need to ask.	
827	But for you, my Hector, my one and only hope,	
	, , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , ,	

⁹⁵ Ll. 803-4 are marked for emphasis.

⁹⁶ "[W]retched": orig. "triste" (p. 26).

[&]quot;You to try": Petit de Julleville, ed., maintains the original's "D'esprouuer" (p. 27), but it seems rather a simple error for "T'esprouuer".

828	Sole sacred anchor to give our assurance scope,
829	Remove that armour and withdraw, within remaining:
830	I wish it as your father, order it as king.
	Hector
831	O sacred law, which as holy I always prize—
832	I could not disobey, while you I recognise;
833	I fear the celestial wrath on me will fall,
834	If, to please myself alone, I should displease all!
835	Let then, O my heart, your burning for battle fail:
836	Since it pleases you, friends, I shed this coat of mail,
837	This helmet and this shield, with arm-guard and with
	greave,
838	And as a sacrifice, of Mars I take my leave.
839	Strive, then, all of you, for me. You of noble race,
840	Who the honour of the lance amorously chase,
841	Prevent the Greeks from being able to suppose
842	That Hector, instead of arming, bleeds from the nose.98
843	You see what the cause is that I hang up my arms
844	And cannot sally forth: run, follow the alarms,
845	And if of tomorrow I gain the happy sight,
846	You will know my hand in the fiercest of the fight.
847	Go now, my companions, march forward, seize the
	moment,
848	And do not return till you have made Greece lament
849	Many of their great leaders by the sword laid low,
850	On Mars's altar offered to the gods below.
	Chorus
851	May kind heaven its aid in this fight not refuse,
852	Which after myriad combats our camp renews,
853	But so well reinforce its sinews and its strength
854	That the Greek army returns defeated at length,
855	Vanquished, in despair at having wasted its pains,
856	Pursuing for ten years an effort with no gains,
857	Whose fruit is the shame and perpetual remorse

⁹⁸ Presumably as a claim to be wounded or as a sign of impending ill-luck, which would obviously not deter someone courageous.

858	Born of letting a rash oath determine their course.99
	Hector
859	That is just how we should the battle-plan first draw:100
860	Ardour without the gods is mere fire in straw. ¹⁰¹
861	But reflect, as well, on the perils we sustain
862	When order is not kept and a strong arm is vain.102
863	Let him command who ought, and him who should obey:
864	No little honour lies in serving in that way.
865	Multiple commands are naturally confused;
866	But as one sole spirit through the body diffused
867	Variously moves it, so your men, motivated
868	By a single will, find their forces animated.
869	Great warriors, in passing I address you thus,
870	For if destiny, which in all things governs us,
871	Conjoins its favour to your conduct in the fight,
872	Today the sun will look down upon Greece in flight
873	And you safe-returned, honoured to your hearts' contents
874	By the populace and your worthy aged parents.
875	For myself, who stay within these two walls confined,
876	A secret fire burning inwardly I find
877	That by this coming benefit I can't be blest,
878	Which promises you all of honour a great harvest.
	Priam
879	You must be, Hector, one those trophies satiate
880	Which may be seen gleaming on your well-garnished gate.
881	When the thirst for glory is excessively strong,103
882	The soundest judgement becomes altered and goes wrong.
883	To wish to do all is to wish the impossible;
884	Indeed, it is still more harmful than it is painful.

The Greek leaders had sworn to avenge the dishonour suffered by Menelaus on account of Helen—see Guido, bk. VIII (pp. 80-81), and Le Fèvre, trans. Caxton, bk. III, fol. ix.

¹⁰⁰ I.e., by imploring the gods' favour, as the Chorus has just done.

¹⁰¹ Ll. 860-65 are marked for emphasis.

Hector rather abruptly introduces the theme of his previous exchange with his father (ll. 743-48), in which he took the side of his own "strong arm". See the Introduction, pp. 18-19.

¹⁰³ Ll. 881-84 are marked for emphasis.

Andromache

885	My spirit begins to breathe, if ever so slightly,
886	Since Hector, won over, will remain enclosed tightly
887	Today, and will not the risks of combat endure.
888	The sacred knot of respect that keeps him secure
889	Anchors my heart in the midst of those tossing seas
890	That seem to conspire against our future ease.
891	It is no small feat, when faced with a stubborn soul,104
892	For a single day to bring it under control.
893	For it may be that the fatal moment which bears
894	A danger within it flows past us unawares,
895	Never to return: ill-luck neither stays in place
896	Nor does it, as the saying goes, its steps retrace.
	Chorus ¹⁰⁵
897	One tires of all things, except of doing well.
898	Who love of glory knows
899	Takes pleasure in such deeds, which for him are usual;
900	The greatest work he finds is also his repose.
901	The more the soul tastes of glory the luscious fruit,
902	The greater its desire,
903	A philtre so pleasant, to drink it spurs pursuit,
904	And the pleasure, the more one drinks it, mounts the higher.
905	If anything to noble manhood can excite
906	It is brilliance of name,
907	Which pierces all shadowy cloud with rays of light
908	And speaks itself through the sky on the wing of fame.
909	The pomp that goes with greatness gives our senses joy;
910	Gold always charms our eyes;
911	Pleasure tempts us laughingly; good cheer we enjoy;
912	But desire for honour more deeply we prize.

¹⁰⁴ Ll. 891-96 are marked for emphasis.

¹⁰⁵ The Chorus's entire speech is marked for emphasis.

913	Desirable nectar, delicious source of health,
914	Who from true good ensue,
915	Do not before those vulgar souls profane your wealth
916	Who of themselves think highly, yet possess no value.
917	What valour newly gains you at the battle's height-
918	From there the laurels spring.
919	What use to dust off medals from an ancient fight,
920	Or triumphs of famous old precursors to sing?
921	For virtue's own sake our efforts we must esteem,
922	Endure both heat and cold,
923	Spurn shame underfoot, as well as danger extreme,
924	And courage maintain as constant as it is bold.
925	When glory fits itself with sturdy feathered wings,
926	In every place it flies;
927	It raises itself then far above mortal things
928	And with rays of divinity inflames the skies.
929	He who amidst a coward's softness falls asleep,
930	Lulled by idleness,
931	To earth a burden, noble rank not fit to keep—
932	That he has ever lived at all, how can he witness?
933	Hidden within his life, just as within a tomb,
934	Never would he be known;
935	All but his indistinct effigy would consume,
936	Melting into the nothing from which it had grown.
937	It goes against all reason that vice should constrain
938	One who is virtuous—
939	Who never sold himself, whether from greed for gain
940	Or for the empty pride of those presumptuous.

Act III

Hector, Antenor, Messenger, Chorus, Hecuba, Priam, Andromache, [Helen],¹⁰⁶ [Chorus of Women]

[Enter Hector and Antenor.]

HECTOR

941	All of the arts, in truth, are hard to exercise,107
942	But this to a noble captain's proud role applies
943	By so much more than to the others we recall
944	That it should be granted honour ¹⁰⁸ beyond them all.
945	When the craftsman goes wrong in something he is making,
946	Guided by experience and rules, his mistaking
947	He corrects, restores the object he had prepared.
948	But the faults of honour cannot be so repaired:
949	One error, however slight, one detail untold,
950	One consequence neglected, puts him in the hold
951	Of crowds of cowardly carpers by envy stirred,109
952	Whose eyes and soul by his splendour have wounds incurred:
953	Such flies,110 who never are attached to brilliant things,
954	With wanton impudence discharge their sharpened stings
955	Against an innocent heart, and to multiply
956	The hurt prefer themselves within its wound to die.
957	Slanderous tongues already seem to fill my ears,
958	Pricking my honour with a hundred little spears;
959	And I see already the Greeks with insolence
960	Joining to their blows words of blasphemous offence
961	Against the glory I, at their lives' cost, acquire:

- In the place of Helen, the original text (p. 30) lists Cassandra, who does not speak; Charpentier, p. 437, plausibly suggests that the reference is to the actor who doubled the roles—indirect evidence, in that case, of performance prior to printing. The issue bears on the dating of the play and thus on its possible relation to Shakespeare's *Troilus and Cressida*: see the Indroduction, pp. 14-16.
- 107 Ll. 941-56 are marked for emphasis.
- 108 I retain the original's term "honour"/"honneur" (p. 30) here and in l. 948 below, although in the first case it evidently means something like "distinction", in the second "reputation".
- "[C]owardly carpers by envy stirred": orig. "plus lasches qu'enuieux" (p. 30)—but envy dominates in the following lines.
- "[F]ies": orig. "mouches", a term which could historically apply to various stinging insects, as is the case here; see *Trésor de la langue française informatisé* s.v. "mouche".

962	But if tomorrow comes, I'll uproot their desire
963	To slight my courage, or ever again to blame
964	This arm of mine, which fear has never put to shame.
	Antenor
965	Although our men prevail and keep them occupied,
966	Pretend it is so: no shame, I think, can betide"
967	The man who remains in his deeds quite innocent,
968	If someone cuts him to pieces112 when he is absent.
969	So duty dictates, the sole rule infallible
970	That measures honour, except the impossible.
971	And from this I conclude, O knight beyond compare,
972	The offence does not touch one who is unaware,
973	And he alone we take to swallow ¹¹³ the affront
974	Who hears and says nothing, knows it and bears the brunt.
	Hector
975	He'll die without renown who no care for it shows.
	Antenor
976	He who torments himself will live without repose.
	Hector
977	He deserves abuse who stays silent out of fear.
	Antenor
978	And blame, who speaks ill when his foe does not appear.
	Hector
979	Aspersions against us we should never abide.
	Antenor
980	One may do all well—some will not be satisfied.

¹¹¹ Ll. 966-96 are marked for emphasis, with the exception of ll. 981 and 994.

[&]quot;[C]uts him to pieces": orig. "decoupe" (p. 31); here figurative but with irony deriving from the sense of "massacre", especially on the battlefield. See *Dictionnaire du Moyen Français* [1330-1500], s.v.; online at http://www.atilf.fr/dmf/definition/découper (accessed 14 June 2018).

¹¹³ "[S]wallow": orig. "boire" (p. 31).

	Hector
981	Just let them keep quiet, whether or not they're pleased.
	Antenor
982	The boisterous winds are sooner than tongues appeased.
	Hector
983	The valour of a mighty prince intimidates.
	Antenor
984	Such a one speaks out, though fear his heart agitates.
	Hector
985	But one's glory languishes if injured it feels.
	Antenor
986	A wound that is so inflicted soon enough heals. $^{\scriptscriptstyle \rm II4}$
	Hector
987	A scar on the forehead is always there to see.
	Antenor
988	It may appear, but not tell how it came to be.
989	Thus a great warrior, whom honour deifies,
990	Himself for his comrades by his scars glorifies.
	Hector
991	Because it is a token that he has fought well.
	Antenor
992	And, besides that, his store of virtue one can tell,
993	Which may be flawless yet never from blame is free.
	Hector
994	What then can be considered a noble soul's duty?

[&]quot;[H]eals": orig. "est ... passée" (p. 31); Petit de Julleville, ed., (p. 282, n. to p. 31) proposes to read "pansée" ("bandaged"). The translation is not affected.

ANTENOR To show his courage entire and wholly perfect, 995 Whether it must be used in word or in effect: 996 In sum, such that it shines in a valour so ample 997 As to serve beyond all doubt as its own example. 998 **HECTOR** Not knowing in myself that degree of perfection, 999 I prefer to suppose that to your own affection, 1000 Not my desert, your praise of my honour is due: 1001 If sometimes I do well, in that I follow you. 1002 But let us break off there, father, 115 and rather see 1003 What fortune, good or ill, has befallen our army. 1004 ANTENOR I learnt from the wounded who made it back to us 1005 That Alexander,116 Menon, Deiphobus, Troilus 1006 In emulation strive each other to outdo, 1007 While on the other side, the Greeks, audacious too, 1008 Rudely assailed them, rudely their effort deterred. 1009 As one views the sea by two winds to fury stirred, With their contrary force upraising swells by turns, As wave against foaming wave in violence churns, In just this way one may perceive the two strong armies, 1013 Each driven by the will to charge their enemies, 1014 Compelled now to draw back, now once again advanced: 1015 Victory above them in the air hovers balanced, 1016 And there is no telling from her wavering flight 1017 On which side her casual favour¹¹⁷ will alight. 1018 HECTOR Look kindly upon Troy, O gods, and her flight guide 1019

To take up a constant station above our side,

1020

[&]quot;[F]ather" (orig. "mon Pere"): in deference to Antenor's age, which is what keeps him from the battlefield (and implicitly lends him his wisdom).

¹¹⁶ Alexander: the other name of Paris.

[&]quot;[C] asual favour": orig. "faveur paresseuse" (p. 32). Evoked is the traditional notion of the winged goddess Victory flitting over the battlefield and making her choice arbitrarily.

1021	After fierce Mars has intervened with a sharp thrust—
1022	For your just will provides the determining gust.118
	Antenor
1023	I will go out and discover with my own eyes
1024	Which of the hostile camps will bear away the prize;
1025	Then, when from the top of our massive ramparts' height,
1026	Of the combatants' ranks I have had a good sight,
1027	I will report to you, so that, by your good sense,
1028	Of your unequalled arm you may avenge the absence.
	Hector
1029	Go, my dear Antenor, and instantly devise
1030	The best means of advancing our just enterprise;
1031	For the sage discourses forged by your mind so prudent
1032	Have thwarted many times some dire accident.
	[Exit Antenor.119]
1033	How a noble heart its condition will deplore, 120
1034	Which burns for greater glory and cherishes more
1035	Exacting labour than desolate empty days,
1036	When his high manliness, all amorous of praise,
1037	Rests in the coward bosom of soft idleness,
1038	Whose chilling languor puts a damper on its prowess.
1039	True manhood on the action it engenders thrives,
1040	And the audacious soul, in which ambition strives
1041	To spread its reputation universally,
1042	Assaults the basis of our thinking secretly,121
1043	Believes that failing of one's valour to make use
1044	Must to reproach or extreme misfortune conduce.
1045	Oh, him thrice-happy over others I esteem
1046	Who pursues as he will a magnanimous dream,
1047	And neither the disturbing exhortations faces

¹¹⁸ With this line, marked for emphasis, I take it that Hector shifts to addressing Mars directly ("your just will"/"vostre vouloir juste"). The controlling image remains the flight of Victory, subject to the winds—hence "the determining gust"/"le vent qui le pousse".

Antenor's promised report is pre-empted by that of the Messenger; his observatory function is deferred to his account in Act IV, ll. 1747 ff.

¹²⁰ Ll. 1033-52 are marked for emphasis.

¹²¹ Orig.: "Assaut tous les pensers d'vne secrete guerre" (p. 33).

1048	Of an apprehensive father, nor the embraces
1049	Of a fair woman mingling kisses and caresses,
1050	Nor the wishes a respected mother expresses,
1051	Nor the grave counsels old reverend men provide—
1052	When to virtue, then, all his efforts are applied;
1053	While I, by these bonds forced in the town to remain,
1054	Am at home with unhappiness, exist in vain.
1055	I may believe my best course lies in staying here,
1056	But in staying, great ill I also do, I fear.
1057	Brilliance is not brilliance unless it's clearly
	shown;
1058	To be good is very well—better if it's known:122
1059	For from that the heart derives so constant a pleasure
1060	It continues in itself its own happy measure.
1061	If good men have always found by experience
1062	That there exists no rampart more secure than conscience,
1063	My spirit without qualms, my heart with no remorse,
1064	Are ready and disposed outside to set my course.
	Chorus
1065	One who would blame you, knight, who no reproach has
,	known,
1066	Beneath a brow of steel he'd bear a heart of stone.
1067	Your glorious renown shines on us with such light
1068	It pierces like the sun's bright rays the darkest night.
1069	Mycenae's ¹²³ great leaders have felt your valour's strength:
1070	Many beneath your lance have measured out their length,
1071	Whose names are testimony of your dazzling virtue;
1072	It is, though, greater honour to have fought with you
1073	And be deprived forever of life and of glory
1074	Than over any other to gain victory.
1075	For it argues a heart that won't easily quail1124

¹²² Cf. Ulysses' seductive exposition to Achilles in William Shakespeare, *Troilus and Cressida*, ed. David Bevington, The Arden Shakespeare, 3rd ser. (London: Thomson Learning, 1998). III.ii.96 ff.; hereafter cited as *Tro*.

Mycenae: according to legend, the Greek state associated with the House of Atreus, which included Agamemnon and Menelaus; here, metonymic for Greece more generally.

¹²⁴ Ll. 1075-84 are marked for emphasis.

1076	To dare a man renowned for valour to assail.
1077	Bold lions of Africa, under the fierce sun,
1078	Against a bull as enemy joyfully run
1079	And of chasing flitting butterflies have no notions.
1080	One whose spirits are exalted by lofty motions
1081	A thousand pangs of scorn within his bosom knows
1082	When a base lowly person wishes to trade blows. ¹²⁵
1083	But if some great warrior proposes to fight,
1084	Sprightliness and zeal raise his mettle to its height.
1085	O warrior-thunderbolt, dread of the most daring,
1086	If to a single mortal you merit comparing,
1087	Ajax could tell us—that Ajax whose strong arm holds
1088	A broad shield covered with ox-hide in seven folds;
1089	Teucer ¹²⁶ will speak of it, who with potent force throws,
1090	And just aim, the flying spear, and shoots true-made
	arrows;
1091	By great Agamemnon one will be told the same,
1092	Who all the Greeks surpasses in rank and in name;
1093	Tydeus' courageous son ¹²⁷ will likewise bear witness,
1094	Whose man-killing arm caused the gods themselves distress;
1095	Corroborated by prince Nestor wise and old,
1096	Whose speeches in council pour forth rivers of gold;
1097	Reported by Ulysses, sly-minded and clever,
1098	Whose craft one fears more than his battlefield
	endeavour;
1099	And even by Achilles confirmed, though his view
1100	Is blurred by jealous hatred when it comes to you.
IIOI	Also, it is said, wherever the news is brought
1102	Of those combats which for Helen the fair are fought,
1103	That you are to the Trojans as a brazen wall,
1104	Behind which from assaults they are protected all.
1105	Not men alone, but even things insensible

The same point is satirically illustrated by Hector's encounter with Thersites in *Tro.*, V.iv.25-29.

Orig. "Thenere" (p. 34), probably the compositor's error. Teucer (Τεϋκρος) was the half-brother of Ajax who specialised in shooting arrows from behind the latter's enormous shield. He was seriously wounded by Hector. See *Iliad*, VIII.266-324. Petit de Julleville, ed., comes to the same conclusion (p. 283, n. to p. 34).

¹²⁷ I.e., Diomedes. In *Iliad*, bk. V, Diomedes attacks (with Athena's assistance) Aphrodite (327-51) and Ares (825-63).

1106	Hold in admiration your forces invincible:
1107	How many times has great Cybele's sacred mount,
1108	Seeing beneath it people slaughtered without count
1109	Who only of your killing complained as they died,
1110	Trembled awestruck, with fear and wonder horrified?
IIII	How many times have the fields it looks on below
1112	Been shaken by your arms dealing many a blow?
1113	How often have Simois and Scamandre,128 what's more,
1114	Seeing in ample torrents the blood of Greeks pour
1115	Into their waters—at their colour's change astounded,
1116	In their deep palaces by angry grief confounded—
1117	Feared that the dead with which the waves you populate
1118	Might block their vagabond Nymphs in a stagnant state?
1119	Amid these rival testimonies, mute and spoken,
1120	Which of your manhood furnish such a brilliant token,
1121	Lively Fame with a spring into the air upsurges,
1122	And with a mouth that the truth unceasingly urges
1123	Proclaims to all comers that in valour and counsel,
1124	Beneath the whole course of the sun you have no equal.
	Hector
1125	If, then, my exploits some marks in memory leave,
1126	Honour the gods for that! For I could not believe
1127	That success in combat is due to our own hand:
1128	Without Heaven's blessing, man's works can never stand. 129
	Chorus
1129	The greatness of men most shows its divinity
1130	When glory mingles with wisdom and modesty.
	Hector
1131	He who knows himself, of God is surely aware,
1132	Who disposes of all and presides everywhere.

Simois and Scamander: as the imagery develops, the qualities of the rivers are conflated with their respective divinities.

¹²⁹ Ll. 1128-78 are marked for emphasis.

	Chorus
1133	One may without offence, although that may be true,
1134	Honour, with the maker, work and instrument, too.
1135	When someone has received divine collaboration,
1136	He should not forfeit a glorious reputation:
1137	For sweet praise gives incentive and causes to swell
1138	Every excellent soul's desire to do well.
	Hector
1139	He who does good service deserves a decent wage;130
1140	Otherwise he'll prove more reluctant to engage.
	Chorus
1141	The only true and proper payment is renown,
1142	Which praiseworthy deeds in men can fittingly crown.
	Hector
1143	All those other treasures one hungers to possess,
1144	Compared to Fame's report, are futile emptiness.
	Chorus
1145	And it is on that same wing that warriors glide
1146	For all the time they live all round the world so wide.
	Hector
1147	And more, one can say that, as their valour is known,
1148	It gives them another life in losing their own.
	Chorus
1149	For if just to gain a few days, sad and unsure,
1150	Their bodies so suffered, their lot we must call poor.
	Hector
1151	Far better never to have here below descended
1152	Than still to be quite unknown when the play has ended. ¹³¹

¹³⁰ "[W]age": orig. "loyer" (p. 35). The language is monetary, even if the payment envisaged is intangible.

Orig.: "Que sortir du Theatre et n'estre point connu" (p. 36)—a rare metadramatic touch.

	CHURUS
1153	That desire which Nature on fair souls bestows,132
1154	To admonish us their immortality shows.
	Несток
1155	It is from that high hope that our integrity
1156	Assumes in all our projects chief authority.
	Chorus
1157	You see everyone attempting to live again
1158	In lifeless bronze and copper images of men.
	Hector
1159	Let him who pleases live in portraits inanimate—
1160	I choose instead by deeds my life to animate.
	Chorus
1161	It is they that preserve the features of our glory
1162	Much longer than can promise brass or ivory.
	Hector
1163	If to show the body takes such effort of art,
1164	How much is needed to make visible the heart?
	Chorus
1165	Life for death we exchange—that is the simple bargain,
1166	When once in that way we determine praise to gain.
	Hector
1167	I have always resolved, when such things have been said,
1168	One should do much, though it means being sooner dead
	Chorus
1169	Even the length of life does not merely amount
1170	To the years that nature assigns us as our count.

"[B]estows": orig. "ente" (p. 36), lit. "grafts".

	Hector
1171	Far better it is to live well one single day
1172	Than last many years and in idleness decay.
	Chorus
1173	By laziness weak and wilting133 of any kind
1174	Is a living man in a dead one's tomb confined.
	Hector
1175	He who, by Heaven's favour, in good is sustained,
1176	Within those unhappy bonds is never enchained.
	Chorus
1177	Also, when that poison comes our soul to entice,
1178	It charms and lulls it to sleep in the filth of vice.
	Hector
1179	May it never come close to the walls of a city
1180	Whose morals conform to the rules of equity.
1181	—But what tumultuous noises my ears confuse?
1182	Are those new reinforcements Priam plans to use
1183	For our men's aid? What distress to my hearing draws?
1184	No, of such commotion soldiers can't be the cause:
1185	They are most frightful voices and pitiful cries,
1186	Shrieks of lamentation, intermingled with sighs,
1187	Whose roaring resembles the sound of those wild raves
1188	Screamed by the mutinous wind at the white-tossed waves,
1189	Which, as they fight each other, foretell the dread shock
1190	Of a ship doomed to shatter on the shore's hard rock.
1191	Let us go and find out.
	Chorus
	Advance no further—stay:
1192	Here is one of your own people coming our way.

[&]quot;[W]ilting": orig. "langarde" (p. 36). The word seem to be attested only as a derivative from "langue", meaning talkative in an unpleasant manner. This hardly matches the context here, however, and I posit a derivation from "languir" ("languish", "droop"), again with the negative connotation of the suffix "ard".

[Enter Messenger.]

	Hector
1193	What tumults are those that with such violence seethe?
1194	Tell us, my friend—it seems that you can hardly breathe.
	Messenger
1195	O great-minded Hector, I've run from far away
1196	To beg you in great need your valour to display.
	Hector
1197	What, then, has happened? For our fortune to revive
1198	Must a further pledge assist our army to thrive?
/-	rg- manay to manay
	Messenger
1199	Your camp barely survives—the Greek warrior-bands
1200	Pursue what's left to Troy with both voices and hands.
	Hector
1201	Do your friends, your captains, not strive with might and
	main?
	Messenger
1202	They make a great effort, but they combat in vain.
1202	They make a great enore, but they combat in vain.
	Hector
1203	And the Trojan princes, are they not in the press?
	Messenger
1204	Each one would acquire the palm or else the cypress. 134
	I In amon
	HECTOR
1205	It takes just one coward disorder to instil.
	Messenger
1206	Alas, it was ill luck, not a failure of will.
1207	Troy in arms to the combat ran with eager pace,
,	, 0 1

¹³⁴ I.e., either the palm of victory or the cypress as token of mourning.

1208	There where the Argive host remained arrayed in place
1209	On the outspread fields, from which a thunderous sound
1210	Seemed to come of itself and roll across the ground:
1211	All Olympus ¹³⁵ trembled at it, and the earth, swaying,
1212	Lurched violently beneath our feet; the frenzied neighing
1213	Of the foaming horses resounded in the air,
1214	And Xanthus ¹³⁶ hid in his watery palace lair.
1215	No sooner had we passed through that horrible moment
1216	Than the enemy camps with a violent movement
1217	Rushed upon each other, and by ferocious outrage
1218	Of tongues as well as blows give venom to their rage.
1219	One at times repulsed, at others pressed the attack;
1220	The other twice the blows that he received gave back.
1221	Soldier to soldier, each man to another flying,
1222	Fiercely grappled himself, and not a tear in dying
1223	From his eye he shed, but, as he fell, the same death
1224	Threatened to those who had just robbed him of his breath.
1225	The chief men on both sides went searching through the
	crowd
1226	For some famous champion, of prowess allowed,
1227	For they were not willing to pluck on honour's field
1228	A victor's palm worth less than their valour would yield,
1229	So that in a thousand places, by sword and lance,
1230	Duels pushing to the utmost made their appearance.
1231	But when certain Greeks greater in strength and in
	pride
1232	Had marked successes because three or four had died,
1233	And no longer found anyone apt for a contest,
1234	They rolled through the army as if they were a tempest,
1235	And, nowhere perceiving in our battle array
1236	Your helmet gleaming, to most savage rage gave way—
1237	As wolves attack cattle ¹³⁷ left to graze themselves fat
1238	By the shepherd in the village having a chat. ¹³⁸
1239	"What?" they started shouting with an arrogant sneer,

¹³⁵ Olympus: here metonymic, evidently, of the heavens and the gods dwelling there.

¹³⁶ Xanthus: a name for the god of Scamander, the river of Troy.

¹³⁷ "[C]attle": orig. "bœufs" (p. 38), despite "shepherd"/"Pasteur" in l. 1238.

[&]quot;[I]n the village having a chat": the deflationary tone is there in the original: "cause au proche village" (p. 38).

1240	"Wherever is that Hector, that prince without peer?"
1241	That potent champion? That bragging man-at-arms?
1242	When it comes to close combat he stays clear of harms.
1243	Is that the bold intent he promised formerly?
1244	Think! Andromache keeps him at home cosily,140
1245	While these soldiers, lacking a leader, without courage,
1246	Victims of our own hands, are swallowed in this carnage.
1247	How these taunts of the Greeks, in terms so virulent,
1248	In the hearts of the Trojans caused astonishment!
1249	And although our leaders, whom this discourse appalled,
1250	By example and speech their duty soon recalled—
1251	Running to the foremost ranks, the good men to praise
1252	And loudly rebuke any cowardly displays—
1253	By a fatal design (for thus it seems to me),
1254	Our camp, enfeebled, is in dire difficulty;
1255	And if it does not soon see your bright star appear,
1256	It is planning its route, and will flee to the rear.
1257	What a pity it is to see our squadrons lessened
1258	By Dolopian ¹⁴¹ warriors, whose hands are reddened
1259	By the blood of Phrygians ¹⁴² flowing forth in streams;
1260	How horribly the field with heaps of soldiers teems,
1261	One piled on another, and those of highest rate
1262	Captive beneath their horses and their armour's weight.
1263	Yet that is little compared with the drawn-out groans,
1264	The shrilling outcries and the dismal sighing moans
1265	Which at the many funerals are heard from those
1266	Whose age or sex exempts them from the battle's throes.
1267	With these the town is shaken, and the population,
1268	Gathered in anguished groups, await their ruination.
	[Exit Hector.]
1269	Where is Hector running now with an angry air?
	=

Ll. 1239-40: orig.: "Comment? profèrent-ils d'vn accent orgueilleux, / Où est donc cet Hector? ce Prince merueilleux?" (p. 38).

¹⁴⁰ "[K]eeps him at home cosily": orig. "le mignarde en son sein" (p. 38).

¹⁴¹ I.e., from the Greek region of Dolopia, but here simply metonymic for Greek.

The Phrygians, from a region of Anatolia, were, strictly speaking, allies of the Trojans, but the name is used interchangeably with Trojans by Montchrestien, as in the sources and analogues (including *Tro*.).

	Chorus
1270	After learning the wretched state of our affair,
1271	He goes to have some rescue put in preparation.
	Messenger
1272	Go then and help him, for back to the camp I'll run
1273	To bring our men that hope and that encouraging word.
	[Exit Messenger.]
	Chorus
1274	O Fortune—inconstant, unruly and absurd!
1275	How far will this misery go? Is hope in vain
1276	That these combats may honour for our side obtain?
1277	Does this mean the heavens have turned in Greece's
	favour?
1278	At this blow, then, O Troy, increase your sad behaviour:
1279	Double your sighs; harsh and relentless Destiny
1280	Hastens the approach of your promised misery;
1281	These inhumane thieves are bound to make us their prey,
1282	It seems, one day. Here was Troy once, someone will say;
1283	There its great Ilium,143 with more towers enclosed
1284	Than of days a year's entire span is composed.
1285	All things must perish here below: men, families,14
1286	Houses, grand palaces, strong castles, likewise cities;
1287	And even empires within fixed bounds endure:
1288	The only thing that for eternity is sure
1289	Eternity is, its days the seasons that follow
1290	With their changes, which each new day in turn will
	swallow. ¹⁴⁵

As if Ilium were the actual citadel (also possibly the sense at l. 119), although there does not seem to be warrant for the distinction.

Ll. 1285-90 are marked for emphasis. The essential moral, with attendant imagery, is commonplace, as English parallels also attest, but the example of Troy was well established, and, in combination with Cassandra's vision in ll. 76-78 (Act I), the passage might suggest a particular reminiscence of Pierre Matthieu, *La Guisiade*, in which Henri III threatens rebellious Paris with reduction to ruins. See Pierre Matthieu, *La Guisiade*, Louis Lobbes, ed., *Théâtre complet*, Textes de la Renaissance, 121 (Paris: H. Champion, 2007), and *The Guisiade*, *The Tragedy of the Late Gaspard de Coligny* [by François de Chantelouve] *and The Guisiade*, trans. and ed. Richard Hillman, Carleton Renaissance Plays in Translation, 40 (Ottawa: Dovehouse Editions, 2005), II.i.205-32; the king presents his court as the city's "Ilion [Ilium]" (226).

¹⁴⁵ Orig. of ll. 1288-90:

1291	—But is this not Helen? She is coming our way.
1292	O sole reason why all of us are cast away,
1293	You bring about great harms, and that should not astound:
1294	Such beauty of an age's wars might be the ground.
1295	Let us listen to these sighs—it brings some content ¹⁴⁶
1296	In one's unhappiness to hear a sweet lament.
	HELEN [entering, with Chorus of Women]
1297	O wretched Helen, O lady unfortunate!
1298	You have good right to weep, since it has been your fate
1299	Merely to cause the death of many a brave man
1300	Battling before the walls of Troy as best he can.
1301	This flower of beauty, bound in few years to fall,
1302	These lilies quickly past, with roses faded all,
1303	This eye to be with darkness covered in a trice—
1304	Did this need to be, O gods, purchased at such price?
1305	So many stellar princes and lords of renown,
1306	Equally made enemies, equally cast down,
1307	All slain for my sake—do they count for less than I,
1308	I who neither honour nor faith exemplify?
1309	My soul to a strange confusion cannot but yield
1310	At the sight of Europe and Asia in one field
1311	In combat for me alone, wounding one another
1312	At my rivals' behest, each jealous of the other.
1313	How can I with assurance live among these widows
1314	Detesting Greece, who curse the swords that gave the
	blows
1315	By which their dear husbands, caused to fall in the fight,
1316	In the midst of combat have been lost to their sight?
1317	What glances, O gods, can I hope to be allowed
1318	By the faithful fiancée to her lover vowed,
1319	Who, succumbing to death when harsh destiny calls,
1320	Still sighs aloud for her, and names her as he falls?

Rien ne scauroit durer en toute eternité,

Que l'eternité seule, et les saisons qui changent

Font les iours, puis les iours l'vn par l'autre se mangent. (p. 39)

I attempt to translate both literally and clearly.

146 Ll. 1295-96 are marked for emphasis.

1321	What face to those desolate fathers can I show,
1322	Whom sorrow for their sons' death has made older grow,
1323	When their eye brimming with rage they cast upon me,
1324	Which insists I am the cause of their misery?
1325	How many bitter torments and painful afflictions
1326	Will I endure in hearing the harsh maledictions
1327	The family will direct at me, brothers and friends
1328	Of those that into the tomb the Grecian sword sends?
1329	O three and four times buried in unhappiness!
1330	The honour lost that woman glories to possess—
1331	Should I still desire life to perpetuate,
1332	To be an object at once of love and of hate?
1333	Rather, alas, let me hide in the earth's deep core
1334	Than serve to be the torch of an eternal war:
1335	Since I by my life these hostile flames set ablaze,
1336	Let me quickly douse them by the end of my days.
1337	O warrior enemies, pacify your feud,
1338	Since your mutual hatreds from my case ensued;
1339	Run here, all of you, to seize me with one accord,
1340	And before both your camps let death be my reward.
1341	Of your long sufferings I bear the guilt alone;
1342	Let me, as reason will, by punishment atone:
1343	By that means on both sides content we will remain—
1344	I in enduring, and you in escaping, pain.
1345	Above all your combats let this advice prevail:
1346	O Greeks, O Trojans, your fierce anger countervail,
1347	And if it is not from hate, at least out of kindness,
1348	Accord me death, so pitying your own distress.
1349	Eyes, for my own good too bright, seek obscurity:
1350	The days you render sepulchral no longer see;
1351	Alas, no more to gaze on fair green fields be led,
1352	Which for your sake with blood and death are overspread.
1353	Mouth, you who consented to the loving attention
1354	Of the handsomest shepherd, by whom I was won,147
1355	Now be closed, cease to breathe—the time has come for
	dying;

¹⁴⁷ Paris had been brought up as a shepherd.

	**** 1 1
1356	Wretched as you are, are you not weary of sighing?
1357	Ear, you who formerly the charming speeches heard
1358	By which I felt my amorous thoughts being stirred,
1359	Shut out the sound of voices, no longer disbursing
1360	To my tormented soul the agony of cursing.
1361	Let me lose love, with it all other consciousness,
1362	And show it was my destiny's unhappiness
1363	And not my own will from which these miseries came:
1364	A sin compelled by force must be exempt from blame.
	Chorus [of Women] ¹⁴⁸
1365	No further, Helen, should you grieve,
1366	Even if there is ample woe:
1367	When Heaven will in pain us leave,
1368	In vain one seeks the cause to know.
1369	Someone who has the best intents
1370	May well the greatest harm create,
1371	But he is free from all offence
1372	In case of accident of Fate.
1373	O beauty, no constraint compels you
1374	To vex your heart with care this way;
1375	Compassion rather is your due,
1376	Whatever words of guilt you say.
	[Exit Helen with Chorus of Women]
	Chorus ¹⁴⁹
1377	The soul that prompt virtue can claim
1378	Is daunted by nothing but shame.
1379	Shame has power to motivate:
1380	All other passions that pass by,
1381	When on duty one keeps one's eye,
1382	A spirit cannot penetrate.
1383	The man not puffed with arrogance
1384	Has tender heart and countenance;
1385	The wicked flaunts a brow of steel,

¹⁴⁸ On the probable intervention of a sympathetic female chorus here, see the Introduction, pp. 26-27.

This entire chorus is marked for emphasis. Again, the text typographically marks a shift from one sort of chorus to another.

1386	And far from being put to silence,
1387	His boastful mouth gives evidence,
1388	Refusing his crime's shameful seal.
1389	Of vice the slightest imputation
1390	Which comes to tarnish reputation
1391	By the deceit of others' judgement,
1392	With grief afflicts the noble soul
1393	In love with glory as its goal,
1394	And is to him a secret torment.
1395	He who for his renown lacks care,
1396	Better or worse spread everywhere,
1397	Is not by honour animated:
1398	What other reward—can you tell?—
1399	May one expect for doing well
1400	Than to be well appreciated?
1401	Why are so many worthy pains
1402	Expended freely by great captains?
1403	Why do men with audacity
1404	Rush in at the sound of alarms,
1405	Except for the glory of arms,
1406	Which promises celebrity.
1407	Is there any who does not long
1408	To be seen apart from the throng
1409	On the Theatre of Honour's stage?
1410	Who, drinking in the sweet ovations
1411	Served by his own and foreign nations,
1412	Does not enjoy that heritage?
1413	Not that a laudable soul must
1414	Stir at every accusing gust
1415	Which by others' envy is blown:
1416	The man whom constancy assures
1417	Forever like a cube ¹⁵⁰ endures,

Orig. "cube", which could already convey the metaphorical sense of completeness and resistance to fortune documented from the nineteenth century by Le trésor de la langue française informatisé (see s.v.). Another example occurs in Simon Belyard, Le Guysien ou perfidie tyrannique commise par Henry de Valois es personnes des illustriss. reverdiss. & tresgenereux Princes Loys de Loraine Cardinal, & Archeuesque de Rheims, & Henry de Loraine Duc de Guyse, grand Maistre de France (Troyes: Jean Moreau, 1592), p. 16 (Act II).

1418	Firm in his gravity alone. 151
1419	A man who too much feared that tempest
1420	With pain would have his head oppressed,
1421	And his heart would be agitated—
1422	Like the bark that, being too light,
1423	The north wind's anger puts to flight,
1424	To the salt billows relegated.
1425	Never did one make a good life
1426	Exempt from hate and envy's strife:
1427	The sun without shade ¹⁵² does not glow;
1428	To race is to stir up the dust;
1429	But always the true light robust
1430	After the night more clear will show.
1431	However dark is slander's stain,
1432	The power it cannot obtain
1433	To obscure a glory deserved:
1434	Though it arises from the fumes
1435	Of a flame that with force consumes,153
1436	The brilliance will still be preserved.
1437	The high spirit ¹⁵⁴ of reputation,
1438	Become a star by transformation,
1439	Like a fair sun illuminates
1440	From age to age with greater glow,
1441	And never the hint of a shadow
1442	Our sight of that flame obfuscates.
1443	Though Nature by its proper process
1444	Transforms mankind to rottenness
1445	Within the dark depth of his tomb,
1446	If he survives by memory
1447	And the radiance of his glory,
1448	His name will age and also bloom.

Orig.: "Ferme en sa propre grauité" (p. 42).

"[W]ithout shade": orig. "sans ombre" (p. 42), convincingly proposed by Petit de Julleville, ed. (p. 283, n. to p. 42) as an emendation of the text's obscure "sous ombre".

Orig.: "D'vne flamme bien allumée" (p. 43). 153

[&]quot;[S]pirit": orig. "vapeur" (p. 43).

Act IV

Andromache, Cassandra, Priam, Hecuba, [Chorus of Women], 155 [Chorus], [Antenor]

[Enter Andromache, Cassandra, Chorus of Women, Chorus¹⁵⁶]

Andromache

1449	So, then, the cruel villain has abandoned me!
1450	Implacable Fate! And you, day of infamy,
1451	Could you have passed without accomplishing an evil—
1452	One that never had its equal, and never will?
1453	Thus do your ¹⁵⁷ strokes become impossible to shun? ¹⁵⁸
1454	Turn, O wretched mortals, in every direction;
1455	Come try, if you can, to avoid its mortal blow.
1456	Alas, to whom can I turn, on whose mercy throw
1457	Myself? To what god must you pray in lamentation,
1458	Poor woman, your soul now stricken with devastation,
1459	All sad and grieving—rather, nothing else but grief?
1460	Only the final misery will bring relief.
1461	Withdraw your sweet lights, O heavens, into the air,
1462	Which deceive our desires, make light159 of our prayer.
1463	Will you thus cheat our hope? The brightness that you
	show—
1464	Must it serve no end but your cruelty to shadow?
1465	But must I only of your cruelty complain?
1466	No, but also of his who seems you to constrain,
1467	By the mad audacity with which his heart fills,
1468	To pour on him the harshest of your deadly ills.
1469	O wretched Hector! The furor, for vengeance pressing,
1470	Of some great Demon drives you, to our sad distressing.

Any doubt as to the sex of the Chorus that attempts to counsel and console Andromache is removed by Priam's addressing them as "chaste flock"/"chaste troupeau" (l. 1597; p. 47).

This Chorus, which I take to be distinct, is presumably that which witnessed Hector's reaction to the Messenger in the previous act (see ll. 1191-92, 1270-72) and informed Andromache. It is thus in a position to intervene below at ll. 1620 ff.

¹⁵⁷ The reference is logically to "Fate" (l. 1450; orig. "Destin" [p. 43]), looking forward also to l. 1455.

¹⁵⁸ Ll. 1453-55 are marked for emphasis.

¹⁵⁹ The pun is not in the original ("moquer" [p. 43]) but seems worth risking as aptly bitter.

1471	Willingly or not, with the enemy to brawl,
1472	To sacrifice yourself, and in their midst to fall.
1473	Is this how you have rendered your promise performed?
1474	Why, you broke it in the same instant it was formed.
1475	No sooner did the oath out of your mouth proceed
1476	Than it was proved a lie by a contrary deed.
1477	A reverend father's sacred and firm direction,
1478	An honourable mother's most tender affection,
1479	The wishes of your relations with friendship burning,
1480	The weeping and sighs of a chaste spouse in her yearning—
1481	In short, a country's prayers presaging storms ahead:
1482	Are these then merely toys for the wind in your head?
1483	Nothing, it's clear, the furor of your course abates:
1484	You run towards the precipice where death awaits.
1485	A hard destiny indeed, which against your nature,
1486	Against your gentle temperament, against your nurture,
1487	Makes you presumptuous, prejudiced, obstinate
1488	To accomplish on your own a predestined fate!
1489	When the dread dart of death comes to threaten our
	head,160
1490	We find that all at once our simple grace has fled,
1491	Our pleasing manners, the native charm we possessed,
1492	To make us rude, distant, furiously obsessed.
1493	O Cassandra, sister, our ruin is close at hand!
1494	You say it loud and clear, with a voice of command,
1495	Making tremble the laurel which adorns your brow.
1496	What was our profit, you as prophet to endow?161
1497	To incredulous Troy you would constantly say
1498	That a single man's loss would render it a prey.
1499	Your speech will take effect today, and it is grim:
1500	Hector goes off to die, and all will die with him.

¹⁶⁰ Ll. 1489-92 are marked for emphasis.

Again, she does not play on words in the original ("l'Oracle en vain pour nous te fut donné" [p. 44]), but this seems in keeping with her distraction.

Cassandra Andromache, cease: if the gods' own potencies162 1501 Lack power to prevent the sovereign destinies 1502 Of men born to mortality in their due season¹⁶³ 1503 From their accomplishment, we weep for no good reason. 1504 But tell yourself that the storm which thunders and 1505 lightens Is not yet ready to break out when most it frightens. 1506 Andromache Do you expect me with fancies to be consoled? 1507 Too well I retain in my heart what you foretold 1508 To nurture myself still with a foolish vain hope— 1509 As the criminal whom soothing speeches give scope 1510 For folly will not look his verdict in the face, 1511 While a judge is earnestly working on his case. 1512 Oh, mourning we all share! Oh, pain beyond belief! 1513 Oh, courage too rigid! Oh, fortune cursed with grief! 1514 Oh, fond hope that our gods would offer us their aid! 1515 Oh, evil too certain for the Trojans arrayed! 1516 Weep, weep, for your husbands and brothers, O you ladies; 1517 Weep for Troy in fetters, and your own miseries. 1518 CHORUS [OF WOMEN] Now to your passion you are giving too free rein, 1519 Chaste spouse of Hector, in this excess of your pain,164 1520 And render more bitter the wrath, by this vain transport, 1521 Of gods from whom we seek their succour and support. 1522 Andromache No more with hopeful charms impede my misery: 1523 All is lost for me; I never again will see 1524 Poor Hector, for whom my soul is seized with distress— 1525 Or if I'm fated to see him, he must be lifeless. 1526 Within me sorrows break like waves successively; 1527

¹⁶² Ll. 1501-6 are marked for emphasis.

^{163 &}quot;[I]n their due season": orig. "du soir au lendemain" (p. 44).

¹⁶⁴ Ll. 1520-22 are marked for emphasis.

1528	Within me pains enter like arrows piercingly;
1529	Like tempests within me wild griefs go whirling round;
1530	My heart is perfect hell: all rages there are found.
	Creary [ar Wayry]
	CHORUS [OF WOMEN]
1531	Bring these unruly transports into government;
1532	Return to yourself, get free of the violent torment
1533	Plaguing your spirit; when furor thus overflows,
1534	It is like a wild torrent which no pity knows,
1535	Sweeps off all before it, and never stops its course
1536	Until it has vanquished reason by dint of force.
	Andromache
1537	If as far as the tomb I'm carried by despair,
1538	That cruel rigour will prove sweet indeed to bear:
1539	For I am fully resolute to die before
1540	Hector—my treasure, my all—is living no more.
	Cycopys [or Woyry]
	CHORUS [OF WOMEN]
1541	Although that desire your soul may dominate,
1542	Do not act now, O lady magnanimous—wait
1543	To profit from the joy with which your eyes will thrill
1544	When soon, glorious in a chariot, he will,
1545	As the crowd acclaims him with warlike pomp, appear.
	Andromache
1546	Rather, he'll be stretched out upon a long-planked bier,
1547	Ready for the tomb, where he will forever lie.
1548	So have I not good reason if I wish to die?
	Chorus [of Women]
1549	Your great apprehension, in which you still persist,
1550	Casts over your spirit a dense and obscure mist
1551	Through which a peril that is trivial and slight
	Looms up as a terrible danger in your sight.
1552	Dooms up as a cerrible danger in your signe.
	Andromache
1553	The soul is not always ignorant of its fate.

	CHORUS [OF WOMEN]
1554	Such a one knows how to bring on a wretched state.
	Andromache
1555	Mine is of that order, for, to hold nothing back,
1556	Clearer sight of good than evil matters I lack.
	CHORUS [OF WOMEN]
1557	You need hope to moderate such trepidation;
1558	Therefore, if reason still in you maintains some station,
1559	Gather up all your hope and make those fears depart:
1560	Better to suffer ill than to be faint of heart. ¹⁶⁵
	Andromache
1561	Here I see Priam come. O father full of woe,
1562	What strength you have still that grief does not lay you
	low!
	[Enter Priam with Hecuba.]
	Priam
1563	Hecuba, our Hector chooses us to forsake.
	Hecuba
1564	So they have informed me, and with anger I quake.
	Priam
1565	I'm wary of this day, for setbacks we've incurred.
	Несива
1566	What a great pity that he could not be deterred!
	Priam
1567	That is also the point that preys most on my mind.
1)0/	mat is also the point that preys most on my mind.

The line is marked for emphasis.

НЕСИВА O good gods! Turn aside this threat of Fate unkind! 1568 Priam What can keep a noble spirit behind a fence?166 1569 Несива And yet at other times he seemed to have good sense. 1570 **PRIAM** He still does; it's only that for honour he burns. 1571 НЕСИВА It's by use of reason well-being one discerns. 167 1572 Priam He always holds out hope that Mars will be his friend. 1573 **HECUBA** Many in that hope come to a pitiful end. 1574 Priam Great author of combats, may it please you stand by him! 1575 Несива And may you, saviour Jupiter, your aid supply him! 1576 **PRIAM** Let us see if someone can surer news provide. 1577 HECUBA There's his Andromache, Cassandra at her side. 1578 Priam You're right, Hecuba, let's approach—they are well met. 1579

¹⁶⁶ This line is marked for emphasis.

¹⁶⁷ This line is marked for emphasis.

НЕСИВА My daughters, come and tell us: why are you upset? 1580 Andromache We mourn, O venerable queen, what we foresee: 1581 Our noble Hector's lamentable misery. 1582 Несива Why do you weep at the height of his happiness? 1583 Priam No one who lives with honour can be in distress. 168 1584 Andromache There is no greater misfortune than life to lose. 1585 PRIAM Still greater is to have a life that shame pursues. 1586 But what makes you conclude that this must be in store? 1587 Andromache I'm surer of it than I ever was before. 1588 **PRIAM** The hands of heaven the web of his fate control. 1589 Andromache You'll never see him again—or just without soul. 1590 **HECUBA** O gods, what do I hear? Is he already dead? 1591 Andromache No, but to bring relief to our camp he has sped. 1592

¹⁶⁸ Ll. 1584-86 are marked for emphasis.

HECUBA

1593	In this danger extreme, as extreme was the folly
1594	To have left him alone, replete with melancholy,
1595	Eating out his heart with regret and bitter envy.
	D
	PRIAM
1596	No one is to blame: in himself the fault we see.
1597	But you, chaste flock, change to prayers your tears of fright:
1598	It's hardly just now he finds himself in the fight.
1599	Then, those whom the gods have taken into their care
1600	Have not lacked support truly needed for their welfare.
1601	But how did he get out? Do you know what occurred?
	Andromache
1602	I went down to the temple; scarcely had I entered,
1603	To enquire of the gods if their bitter ire
1604	Toward Hector, and ourselves, continued still so dire,
1605	When suddenly my ears met with a roaring sound.
1606	I left, and the people in a frenzy I found
1607	As never before: their breasts ¹⁶⁹ they beat, beards they
	tear;
1608	Women, girls, and children petrified here and there,
1609	Imprinted with terrors, lamenting beyond bournes,
1610	Dashing wildly to touch the sacred altar-horns,
1611	Kissing the feet of the gods, soaking them with tears.
1612	I, whom a fresh inkling about these novel fears
1613	Struck on the instant, as soon as I heard some say
1614	That the Trojan camp was fleeing in disarray
1615	And, failing my Hector's aid, was sure to be crushed,
1616	Guessing he would likely leave, to our lodging rushed,
1617	So that, if anger risked carrying him away,
1618	He might by my tears be distracted from the fray.
1619	I arrived, but too late; he had already gone.
1620	Alas, I can speak no longer; please, you go on.170

[&]quot;[B]reasts": orig. "l'estomach" (p. 48), which gives as ridiculous an effect in modern French as it would if translated literally. Cf. Petit de Julleville, ed., p. 284, n. to p. 48.

¹⁷⁰ She presumably calls on the second Chorus; see above, n. 156.

	Chorus
1621	No sooner had your Hector heard the dismal message
1622	Of his men's rout than he boiled with violent rage
1623	And, speaking not a word, ran to the nearby rack
1624	Quickly and eagerly, then put upon his back
1625	Bright-glittering armour, in his hand took a spear.
	Несива
1626	You should have restrained his valour's fatal career. ¹⁷¹
	Chorus
1627	He appeared so formidable in that array
1628	That no one gave a thought to standing in his way.
1629	He ran straight to the stable, with his own hands deigned
1630	To equip his horse, then the open country gained.
	Priam
1631	What we can do, rather than stay lamenting here,
1632	Is to invoke for him the gods whom we revere.
	Andromache
1633	Priam, it is not enough when misfortunes press ¹⁷²
1634	To implore their favour and sleep in idleness,
1635	Head on a feather-pillow; they are deaf and mute
1636	To those who don't help themselves but to them make suit.
	Priam
1637	But in this situation, what more can I do?
	Andromache
1638	Make use of your sceptre, and his wisdom renew.
	Priam
1639	Have we not already that means employed in vain?
	• • •

[&]quot;[V]alour's fatal career": orig. "nuisible vaillance" (p. 48), which, translated literally ("harmful valour"), would not carry the same ominous charge.

¹⁷² Ll. 1633-36 are marked for emphasis.

PRIAM His feeble promise has brought us what benefit? ANDROMACHE His loss of control, not himself, transgresses it. PRIAM By my authority I could not hold him back. ANDROMACHE By your authority, countermand his attack.
His feeble promise has brought us what benefit? ANDROMACHE His loss of control, not himself, transgresses it. PRIAM By my authority I could not hold him back. ANDROMACHE
His feeble promise has brought us what benefit? ANDROMACHE His loss of control, not himself, transgresses it. PRIAM By my authority I could not hold him back. ANDROMACHE
ANDROMACHE 1642 His loss of control, not himself, transgresses it. PRIAM By my authority I could not hold him back. ANDROMACHE
PRIAM By my authority I could not hold him back. ANDROMACHE
PRIAM By my authority I could not hold him back. ANDROMACHE
Priam By my authority I could not hold him back. Andromache
By my authority I could not hold him back. Andromache
Andromache
by your authority, countermand his attack.
Priam
Reason's voice is drowned out by the clamour of arms. ¹⁷³
Avanovicova
ANDROMACHE The could be shalled with form at the count of alarms
The soul is chilled with fear at the sound of alarms.
Priam
Spirits strong and active to furor they enkindle.
A
Andromache
Danger makes the greatest boldness with wisdom dwindle.
Priam
He is always the last to withdraw in retreat.
Andromache
But see that he does not initiate defeat.
Priam
I hope Fate will not deal to me such grievous woe.

Ll. 1645-48 are marked for emphasis.

	Andromache
1652	Then hasten, Priam, to prevent his overthrow.
	Priam
1653	I fear I will be causing him eternal shame.
	Andromache
1654	Must his safety, I pray you, be called by that name?
	Priam
1655	Now that they've seen him appear, what will the Greeks say—?
	Andromache
1656	That they can see him again, and he'll make them pay.
	Priam
1657	—Then vanish at once, as a lightning flash is gone?
	Andromache
1658	That he reserves himself to fight them later on.
	Priam
1659	An act of cowardice it may well be esteemed.
	Andromache
1660	Whatever the price to pay, let him be redeemed!
	Priam
1661	But what constant spirit would consent to commit
1662	A real fault for a scarce-imagined benefit?
	Andromache
1663	All possible means we may certainly condone:
1664	His life is at stake, and the safety of his own.

	Priam
1665	One must maintain one's honour as a sacred thing. ¹⁷⁴
	Andromache
1666	The enemy's blows no disgrace to it can bring.
	Priam
1667	But someone who aspires thoroughly to please
1668	Cannot afford the blame of friends or enemies.
	Andromache
1669	The ardour to please all that glory gives someone
1670	Is often a reason he ends by pleasing none.
	Priam
1671	The wicked man has nothing but his self-contempt;
1672	The good man at all times remains from change exempt.
	Andromache
1673	A sound judgement does not consider it does ill
1674	In avoiding adroitly an imminent peril.
	Priam
1675	When judgement of many an action is proclaimed,
1676	Not knowing what the cause is, the effect is blamed.
	Andromache
1677	No commander to general scrutiny needs
1678	Disclose the inward reasons that govern his deeds.
	Priam
1679	Yes, for honour's sake: he who of that takes no care
1680	Must of sowing doubts in suspicious minds beware.
	Andromache
1681	Everyone knows Hector has too lofty a soul,

¹⁷⁴ Ll. 1165-80 are marked for emphasis.

1682	His retreat as a culpable fault to enrol.
	Priam
1683	The more a man for his perfections garners praises, ¹⁷⁵
1684	The more his actions attract penetrating gazes.
	Andromache
1685	Then they'll learn that to Destiny invincible
1686	He wisely yields: is this a fact so terrible?
	Priam
1687	Rather, they'll judge that his spirit, feeble and
,	trembling,
1688	Basely gives way to fear, its true motive dissembling.
	Andromache
1689	Unbelieving Priam! Is that how you refer
1690	To that form divine who deigns with men to confer,
1691	That genuine hero to whom the sun bears witness? ¹⁷⁶
1692	All right, so much for Hector: let my eye caress
1693	That face of his never again. Not me alone
1694	Does his life concern, but his father hard as stone,
1695	His mother, his relations, his obstinate friends,
1696	For their disdain of him will meet with wretched ends.
1697	And yet, O good gods, since his own father, no less,
1698	His mother and family, blind to their distress,
1699	Seem to outdo themselves in countering his welfare,
1700	Let my death precede his own—that is all my prayer!
	Priam
1701	I attribute these words to your tender intent,
1702	Which rate, however, as foolish and impudent;
1703	My love for your husband by all is recognised,
1704	That by Hecuba and his kin he is all-prized;
1705	My court respects, admires him, proud to embrace

<sup>Ll. 1683-84 are marked for emphasis.
"[T]o whom the sun bears witness": orig. "attesté du Soleil" (p. 51).</sup>

1706	The mainstay of Troy and the honour of his race.
1707	But consider a little what makes him so deemed,
1708	Sought out by the nobles, by the people esteemed:
1709	It is neither his beauty nor his grandeur royal;
1710	It is his rare virtue which marches without equal.
1711	So, spoiling the fruit from which his happiness springs,
1712	He would not reap that harvest of honour it brings.
1713	But, notwithstanding, let all be done as she would:
1714	I do not wish to spare anything for his good.
1715	Idaeus,177 run to the field178 where our bloody frays
1716	Spill lives, ¹⁷⁹ as fortune the hazard of combat sways,
1717	And there find Hector for me, who seeks by his prowess
1718	To renew the Trojans' will the Greeks back to press.
1719	When you have located him, summon him from me
1720	To try nothing further; cite the fell destiny
1721	With which this day threatens him; his wife to mind call,
1722	Who, with his mother and friends, foreseeing their downfall,
1723	Laments his departure, and all unite to conjure
1724	Him with thousands of prayers the combat to abjure.
1725	Afterwards, counsel him the army to revoke:
1726	Say that his effort might as well go up in smoke,
1727	And that in losing our men we would nothing earn
1728	Excepting our misfortune. Go, then, and return.
	Chorus
1729	It will take a stroke of luck to make him depart.
1730	When the spur ¹⁸⁰ of honour works on a valiant heart, ¹⁸¹
1731	Nothing can tear it from the combat's bloody throes,
1732	In case victory's palm to his enemy goes.

"Idaeus" (orig. "Ide") is the chief herald of Priam; see esp. *Iliad*, VII.381 ff.; he figures as well in bk. XXIV with regard to Hector's funeral arrangements, but without being named.

[&]quot;[T] o the field": orig. "sur le champ" (p. 51); the expression may simply mean "right away"—a usage that *Le trésor de la langue française informatisé* dates from 1538 (see s.v. "champ")—although the context suggests otherwise.

[&]quot;Spill lives": orig. "se vuident" (p. 51), which can be used of profuse bleeding (see *Le trésor de la langue française informatisé*, s.v. "vider").

¹⁸⁰ "[S]pur": orig. "aguillon [sic]" (p. 51)/"goad".

¹⁸¹ Ll. 1730-32 are marked for emphasis.

	Priam	
1733	Do I not see Antenor making his approach?	
	Несива	
1734	There he is indeed.	
	[Enter Antenor.]	
	Priam	
	O old man without reproach,	
1735	Where have you come from, I pray? Do you know her spouse,	
1736	To risk harm in combat, has slipped out of the house?	
	Antenor	
1737	No one informed me, but I knew by circumstance:	
1738	I quickly recognised the shaking of his lance	
1739	And the terrible feathered crest his helmet bore,	
1740	Which served at once our Trojans' courage to restore.	
	Priam	
1741	What, have you seen him already, there in the throng?	
	Antenor	
1742	No—plunging like lightning among the Greeks headlong.	
	Andromache	
1743	I fear that in the end, by such a lightning blow,	
1744	He also will be despatched to the shades below.	
	Antenor	
1745	Without him all is lost: it would be Troy's last day.	
	Priam	
1746	How did he appear to you? Tell us that, I pray.	
	Antenor	
1747	I was separated from him, slightly ahead;	
1747 1748	To go out today was the last thing in my head,	
1749	But I wanted to see the fortune of our army,	

1750	And how the bravest warriors performed their duty.
1751	A tower's height gave me an observation post:
1752	At once I sensed general stirring in our host;
1753	All was giving way in every place; I felt doubt,
1754	Fearing to see the Trojans in a shameful rout,
1755	Within myself swayed by something like the same movement
1756	As wafted our army in its astonishment—
1757	Then suddenly your magnanimous Hector spied,
1758	On a warhorse mounted with the spur well applied,
1759	Raising dust in the field and heading for the fray,
1760	With horror, fear and death companions on his way.
1761	Through our army with energy he thrust a passage,
1762	And they, inflamed instantly with rekindled courage,
1763	Repulsed the enemy, giving active pursuit.
1764	In the blink of an eye, in front I saw him shoot,
1765	Above all the Trojans, by head and shoulders highest,
1766	Streaking like lightning, likewise followed by a tempest—
1767	Or rather, a thunderbolt striking all with fears,
1768	And with his blows shattering lances, pikes and spears. ¹⁸²
1769	With strong Ajax and Diomedes, known for prowess,
1770	He fought hand-to-hand, but the skill of both proved less;
1771	Nestor and Meriones sought to block his blows:
1772	That was a weak rampart his fury to oppose.
1773	Against him then came the elder Atreides,183
1774	Whom he passed over like the wind upon the seas.
1775	Then he thrust himself in among the common sort:
1776	His mere looks made them scatter and to flight resort,
1777	As when a lion, driven by hunger and rage,
1778	Comes upon flocks that have been left to pasturage,
1779	Then drives them dashing off in terrified surprise,
1780	The moment their faces meet his furious eyes.
1781	Our men went with him, to their true valour restored,
1782	And through the field like a ravaging torrent poured.
1783	The most timid man any challenge can defy,

[&]quot;[L]ances, pikes and spears": orig. "lances, piques et dars" (p. 53). As is confirmed by ll. 1791 ff., the "lance" imagined is that of medieval warfare and jousting, in keeping with the recycling of Homeric material generally.

¹⁸³ I.e., Agamemnon, the younger son of Atreus being Menelaus.

1784	When that transcendent star of war gleams in his eye.
1785	After Hector had run a long while through the press,
1786	He perceived Achilles, whom he moved to address,
1787	Prepared his lance; Achilles, on the other hand,
1788	With half the field, as it happened, at his command,
1789	Ashamed to refuse terrain so apt for their fight,
1790	Sought to keep his shame hidden by seeming upright ¹⁸⁴
1791	And took up his position. They both rode direct
1792	To clash together, but it was to no effect:
1793	The wood flew up in splinters, and the stout grips broke,
1794	Left all alone in their hands, stunned by the great
	stroke.
1795	They tossed them in the air, urged their keen horses'
	pace,
1796	Turned short towards each other and finished face to face,
1797	Brandishing fearful swords already, firmly clenched,
1798	Which a thousand times an enemy's blood had drenched.
1799	Each goes at the other; at their resounding blows,
1800	A terrible clamour throughout the air then echoes.
1801	Four naked Cyclops hammering an iron bar
1802	With huge repeated strokes would not make such a jar. 185
1803	As one perceives two powerful bulls in the spring,
1804	Which want a heifer, outdo each other in roaring
1805	With anger, desire and ardent jealousy—
1806	One comes to claim possession, snorting raucously,
1807	The other opposes, but after a few blows,
1808	To the first the right of sole mate and master goes—
1809	So the great Hector, who was boiling hot with rage,
1810	At last stood victor, saw Achilles disengage,
1811	To his rival the field and the honour concede,
1812	And return to his troop at his horse's best speed.
1813	And unless he bore a wound, my eye was deceived,
1814	In either the lower belly or thigh received.
1815	Hector pursued, cried, "Achilles, where are you off to?
1816	So, turning away your face is an act of virtue?

¹⁸⁴ The imputation of "shame" (orig. "honte" [p. 53]) is evidently anticipatory.

According to a common legend, the Cyclops were the monstrous giants who assisted Hephaestus (or Vulcan) in his smithy, often imagined as located within Mt Aetna.

1817	At least avenge Menoitius' dear son ¹⁸⁶ —or try!—
1818	Who breaks the shades' silence with his complaining cry."
1819	Those were his words. Now everywhere his steps he bends,
1820	Then retraces them, so traversing from both ends
1821	The enemy and, not pausing in any place,
1822	Drives forth the fierce Myrmidons flight or death to face.
1823	From that comes my hope that, with aid the gods provide,
1824	Today will see the victory fall to our side.
	Priam
1825	O honourable old man, pray heaven may hear you,
1826	Lending its right arm to what we ourselves can do!
1827	As your sure report has never led me astray,
1828	So may my son have escaped from his fate today.
	Chorus
1829	God with an obscure mist conceals ¹⁸⁷
1830	All that is destined to occur.
1831	A fine day falls in dead of winter;
1832	A storm the summer's calm repeals.
1833	One cannot point at with one's finger
1834	That which within Time's womb may linger.
1835	The soul, at sudden moments struck
1836	With lively joy or trepidation,
1837	Always with fickle vacillation
1838	In between hope and fear is stuck,
1839	As the vessel rocked by the seas
1840	The anchor cannot put at ease.
1841	Sometimes its strength gives way to weakness;
1842	Sometimes too much vigour it shows;
1843	Sometimes the heart with its help grows;
1844	Sometimes it quite forgets its boldness,
1845	As a wind that favours, or not,
1846	Forward or back assigns its lot.

I.e., Achilles' favourite, Patroclus, killed by Hector.

The entire Chorus is marked for emphasis.

1847	O happy is the state of mind
1848	That hope eschews along with care,
1849	And likewise which avoids despair,
1850	Unable to be undermined
1851	When human chance seems to conspire
1852	From its hands to snatch its desire.
1853	For such, disaster makes no sense,
1854	Nor a rebel in mutiny,
1855	Nor diverse strokes of Destiny,
1856	Nor any ill star's influence:
1857	Although one may attempt to spite him
1858	To his own good all things invite him.
1859	His speeches, dictated by prudence,
1860	Pay attention to high and low,
1861	Though he can hardly fail to know
1862	The limited intelligence
1863	Of those whose knowledge and whose age
1864	May cause them to appear more sage.
1865	If a result thwarts his intent,
1866	That does not his conviction dull,
1867	Or unawares his spirit lull
1868	To match the evil newly present;
1869	But, never by surprise beguiled,
1870	To what he sees is reconciled.
1871	By stark contrast, a feeble soul
1872	At the first gust may be affected,
1873	And though he nothing has neglected,
1874	In his despair may lose control,
1875	As if the cleverest of men
1876	Of his fate could be sovereign.
1877	Blind in his knowledge's pretence,
1878	His inner peace perturbed by passion,
1879	He holds forth in digressive fashion
1880	On the bizarre experience,
1881	Thinking to some fixed law to bend
1882	What on himself does not depend.
1883	Thus locked in his vain stubbornness,
1884	Should it happen that his emotion
1885	Deceives him in his newfound notion,

1886	Now plunged into double distress,
1887	To all pressures he opens wide,
1888	Both those within and from outside.
1889	Truly man's is a wretched state,
1890	Man is the object of all sorrows,
1891	If he anticipates those woes
1892	He should with stable stance await,
1893	To suffer with no word opposed
1894	Whatever is on him imposed.

Act V

Priam, Hecuba, [Andromache], [Messenger], [Chorus of Women], [Chorus]

[Enter Priam and Hecuba.]

	Priam
1895	The end of our troubles, Hecuba, we can see:
1896	Hector by valour has escaped from Destiny;
1897	His arm meets no more obstacles; with ease it sped
1898	Through the Greek ranks, which it filled with masses of dead.
1899	Though this combat gave me many anxieties,
1900	My spirits now rejoice, thanks to hope's gentle breeze.
	Несива
1901	Our heart is very often prone to false alarms, 188
1902	And our eyes pour forth tears at the mere thought of harms;
1903	When it seizes our feelings, a fear based on fiction
1904	Is equal in its torments to a true affliction.
	Priam
1905	I have the proof today, for that imagined ill,
1906	From which my spirit frees itself little by little,
1907	More than any other trouble has caused me woe:
1908	It is just when one loves dearly that one fears so. ¹⁸⁹
	Несива
1909	When all is going well there is reason to fear.
1910	If rigorous Fate caused Hector to disappear,
1911	Either by the sword or grief our lot would be death,
1912	For as he has life from us, from him we have breath.

¹⁸⁸ Ll. 1901-4 are marked for emphasis.

¹⁸⁹ The line is marked for emphasis.

	Priam
1913	Good fortune and glory justly measure your worth
1914	Because to that great-minded hero you gave birth,
1915	Whose immortal name, carried to places far-flung,
1916	From one age to the next by mortals shall be sung.
	Несива
1917	Your fortune mine exceeds: the son by everyone
1918	Is judged by the father, the father by the son;
1919	One never thinks a man of noble quality
1920	Might be engendered by blood weak and cowardly.
	Priam
1921	Destiny him to us for all our safety sends:
1922	Ours is the honour, but to all Troy it extends;
1923	For not just his parents in his fortunes take part,
1924	But honour to the country at large they impart.
	Несива
1925	However would it manage without that great captain
1926	Who only for its restful peace endures such pain?
1927	And ourselves, Priam, what disaster would we court
1928	Without invincible Hector's faithful support?
	Priam
1929	I count my Troy truly fortunate among cities,
1930	Not for its many illustrious families,
1931	Nor its walls, which the gods' hands deigned to edify,
1932	Nor its lofty towers, which reach up to the sky,
1933	Nor its expanse of lands, nor treasures in great store,
1934	But for harbouring in it that great man of war,
1935	Who always as a blessèd flame will cheer the gloom,
1936	When Troy entire must be nothing but a tomb.
	Несива
1937	It gives extreme pleasure to fathers in old age ¹⁹⁰

"[F]athers in old age": orig. "bonnes gens de Peres" (p. 57), in which Petit de Julleville, ed., p. 285,

1938	That vigorous sons pursuing their heritage
1939	Should constantly the toilsome steps of duty trace,
1940	When, weak and infirm, they cannot keep up the pace.
1941	And I think the glory so many combats yield
1942	To your son, who best of all his weapons can wield,
1943	Tickles your heart ¹⁹¹ as much as those great honours do
1944	That your strong victorious arm once brought to you.
	Priam
1945	No, never so much pleasure my spirit obtained
1946	By having in open field advantages gained
1947	(Though from warriors well skilled, I took in my day
1948	A great number of laurels with my sword away),
1949	As when my dear Hector after some victory
1950	Returns within the walls filled with honour and glory,
1951	As in triumph, and after him are seen to trail
1952	A hundred captive men-at-arms with fear still pale.
	Несива
1953	I, who have never known what precious happiness
1954	Fills the soul's senses after victory's success,
1955	The means of such comparison am bound to lack;
1956	But when I perceive him to his house coming back,
1957	Soaked with sweat mingled with dust from the battlefield,
1958	I feel more pleasure than the wedding rites would yield
1959	Of my dearest daughter, were happy fate to grant
1960	Her marriage with a prince agreeable and valiant. 192
	Priam
1961	Sometimes a misfortune may prove profitable:193
1962	If the harsh hand of Destiny inevitable
1963	Had not poured so many troubles upon our head,

n. to p. 57, explains "bonnes gens" as a common locution simply indicating age.

[&]quot;Tickles your heart": orig. "Chatouille ... ton cœur" (p. 57), literally equivalent to the English.

If a specific daughter is in question, she is not identifiable, but Hecuba's daughters included Cassandra and Polyxena, who both suffered notably unhappy fates, while the verb in l. 1960 ("[a]ccoupleroit" [p. 57]) is open-endedly conditional. On Hecuba's lines in the context of the play's treatment of heroic values, see the Introduction, pp. 23-24.

¹⁹³ The line is marked for emphasis.

1964	Hector's full worth we would not have appreciated.
	Несива
1965	The pilot one neglects in weather fair and calm, 194
1966	And the warrior in peacetime garners no palm;
1967	By contrast, we reckon his strength and value just
1968	In a hard-fought field, his harvest of honour trust.
	Priam
1969	That life is truly fairer and more glorious
1970	Which divers accidents render laborious:
1971	For the torch of glory, though in the air raised higher,
1972	Unless strongly shaken, will never catch on fire.
	Несива
1973	A life that is lived in tempests of human stress,
1974	Amidst the fatal storms of manifold distress,
1975	Gives reason to be talked of more extensively
1976	Than another from such torment exempt and free.
1977	But my own desire rather my choice directs
1978	To fulfil an equable life in all respects,
1979	Than to travel a road rugged and tortuous,
1980	As is feigned to be the path of the virtuous:
1981	For man with a portion of grace divine is born,
1982	Which plucks, without being pricked, the rose on the thorn.
	Priam
1983	Subjected to corruption would be the great ocean
1984	If it were always sleeping without any motion;
1985	Thus the soul languishes, by idleness infected,
1986	If by cares and exertion it is not affected.
	Несива
1987	As a little exercise to health is conducive,
1988	While too much the body senses to be abusive,

¹⁹⁴ Ll. 1965-94 are marked for emphasis.

1989	A little ill benefits our experience,
1990	But to suffer too greatly overtaxes patience.
	Priam
1991	If the heart of mortals were not somewhat inured
1992	To the nature of the evils they here endured,
1993	To still more violent pains they would be exposed
1994	By their thoughts with the evils themselves juxtaposed.
1995	Examples abound—we offer one plain to see:
1996	The wrath implacable of adverse Destiny
1997	Has pursued us so doggedly for many years
1998	That to our miseries no hopeful end appears.
1999	Of a good many sons, my own glorious offspring,
2000	Whose promise seemed to the heavens it would them bring,
2001	The greater part, by the Grecian thunderbolts felled,
2002	In the dust before Troy before my eyes were quelled.
2003	My sons-in-law, whom my cause to the fight enticed,
2004	Their souls at the foot of Mount Ida sacrificed.
2005	The allied princes come my defence to assume
2006	Possess, almost all, Scamander's waves for a tomb,
2007	And of those brave captains, those soldiers admirable,
2008	Who once within our ramparts swarmed innumerable,
2009	There remain to us only the ones whom blind Fortune,
2010	By her favour, from the common loss kept immune—
2011	And possibly the urn by which Destiny chooses
2012	Reserves for evening those it earlier excuses.
2013	Of all vanities, the vainest of all is man:195
2014	His glory is a phantom, his life a short span.
	Несива
2015	O luminous fair eye of the vagabond sun,
2016	Have you even seen a fate equal to this one?
2017	But Priam, do not refresh my sad memory
2018	With our long sufferings' pitiful history.
2019	Allow me to savour a moment of repose,
2020	Since the Greek army to my Hector its back shows.

¹⁹⁵ Ll. 2013-14 are marked for emphasis.

2021	Enough by far we've had of other confrontations,
2022	Causes for sighing and for weeping lamentations,
2023	And since with this one a flower or two appears
2024	Of hope and pleasure, let us not drown them with tears.
2025	More evil than good by heaven to man is sent:196
2026	Let us never cut back on our passing enjoyment
2027	And foolishly add to sorrows of too long season;
2028	That would be to torment oneself without a reason.
	Priam
2029	Well, then, let us drive these sorrowful thoughts away,
2030	Which only serve the ulcer in our souls as prey:
2031	It is wise for man by such means to seek relief,197
2032	If not from his misfortune, at least from his grief.
	Несива
2033	I feel a trembling still in my mistrustful soul,
2034	Recalling that war's outcome is beyond control,
2035	And that danger still menaces my precious son:
2036	O gods, from such concern, come grant me liberation!
	Priam
2037	In my heart an ardent impulse again you've fanned
2038	To go and welcome him, to extend my right hand,
2039	To enfold him in these arms, to accord him honour
2040	For vanquishing Achilles in this last encounter.
	Несива
2041	Hear that tumultuous confusion in the street—
2042	It's the applause with which his arrival they greet.
2043	Now let us run forward, Priam, no longer stay.
	Priam
2044	But wait, there is Andromache, coming our way.

¹⁹⁶ Ll. 2025-28 are marked for emphasis.197 Ll. 2031-32 are marked for emphasis.

	Несива
2045	Oh, her quick paces show how the poor thing is pressed!
	D.
	PRIAM
2046	Good gods! She begins to lament and beat her breast!
	Несива
2047	Could the fortunes of Troy have done an about-face?
• /	, , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , ,
	Priam
2048	Her features are a certain sign that is the case.
	[Enter Andromache.]
	Andromache
2049	You, tumult, are the harbinger of some mischance!
	C C
	Несива
2050	Fortune has turned—it's in Andromache's appearance.
	Andromache
2051	Some evil from this sign of yours must be inferred. ¹⁹⁸
	Priam
2052	Alas, what new fatal disaster has occurred?
	Andromache
2053	But I cannot know whom it most closely concerns.
	Hecuba
2054	Daughter, what trouble so your temper overturns?
	Andromache
2055	Madam, the people in disorder one can spy,
2056	Scurrying here and there, with "All is lost!" their cry.

Orig.: "Vn malheur incertain par toy nous est connu" (p. 60). She is continuing to apostrophise the "Tumult"/"Tumulte" (p. 60). Arguably, she speaks ll. 2049, 2051 and 2053 aside.

	Priam
2057	Have you not enquired the cause of this dismay?
	Andromache
2058	Enough, but all in vain; for each one shrinks away.
	Priam
2059	This may amount to nothing but a baseless terror:
2060	False news can put the people in a state of furor. 199
	Andromache
2061	Such noisy sighing throughout the heavens resounds
2062	That one cannot suppose they lament on no grounds.
	[Enter Messenger.]
	Несива
2063	This man coming here the turmoil will clarify.
	Priam
2064	Listen, he's about to speak.
	Andromache
	Ah, Madam, I die!
	Messenger
2065	What stroke of bitter anguish transfixes my heart!
2066	I am wretched indeed the message to impart
2067	Of your new disaster, O—Troy no more I say,
2068	But of these cursed Greeks the booty and the prey!
2069	O agèd good King Priam, alas, with what ear
2070	Word of your loss incomparable could you hear?
2071	O honoured Hecuba, where will your spirits flee
2072	When you come to know him taken by Destiny?
2072 2073	When you come to know him taken by Destiny? Woeful Andromache, when of his death you know, As I tell it, what will you be? Trojans, let go,

¹⁹⁹ This line is marked for emphasis.

2075	From this moment let go the sinews of your strength:200
2076	Their life-source ²⁰¹ lies stretched out on the ground at full length.
	Несива
2077	Ah, I have no more son—O mother miserable!
	Priam
2078	What tremor freezes me, O father lamentable!
	[Andromache faints.]
	Chorus [of Women]
2079	Andromache, Andromache!—her force gives way;
2080	Let us take her inside, sisters, without delay.
2081	It is just as well: in this way she need not hear
2082	This message of death of which she has had such fear.
	[Andromache is carried off by the Chorus of Women]
	Priam
2083	At this instant, by sheer amazement staggered quite,
2084	I suddenly feel all my spirits taking flight!
	Messenger
2085	How is Andromache? Fainted, carried inside?
2086	Oh, three, four times happier for her to have died,
2087	That most prudent princess, before her mind was filled
2088	With dismal knowledge of how her dear spouse was killed!
	Несива
2089	O cruel report, by which I too feel struck down!
2090	Have the Greeks, then, not seized and occupied this town,
2091	After its strongest rampart they have overthrown,
2092	While he sighs out his wounded life somewhere unknown?

²⁰⁰ "[S]inews of your strength": orig. "nerfs de ta vertu" (p. 61), where the physicality of the image inclines "vertu", as often, toward the sense of "manly strength".

²⁰¹ "[L]ife-source]": orig. "Celui qui l'animoit" (p. 61).

Messenger What good would it do to grant your vain hope a chance? 2093 Hector is dead, the only source of Troy's assurance. 2094 **PRIAM** Into what abyss of cares has my heart been tossed! 2095 My son, my belovèd Hector, have I then lost?— 2096 My glory and support, security and joy, 2097 He who alone was the sword and buckler of Troy? 2098 Surely, the grief of mourning my heart finds so strong 2099 Must count as my reproach for having lived too long. 2.100 HECUBA Priam, poor Priam, what more is left for us two? 2101 We are ruined—only despair for me can ensue. 2102 Having laid in the tomb many a valiant son, 2103 Finally to lose the greatest, most able one 2104 Who ever wielded sword! O sorrow without end. 2105 Hector, dear Hector—but in vain my voice I send. 2106 You can hear me no longer; your ear and your eye 2107 An eternal sleep has come now to stupify. I suffocate with pain, and my soul's weakened state 2109 Its bodily ties begins to attenuate. 2110 PRIAM Messenger, let not your view of our dreadful pain 2111 Keep you from going on to tell how he was slain. 2112 Messenger Hector had already driven off the Greek forces, 2113 Which back to their ships were bending their fleeing 2114 courses, And even the strongest the boastful Greeks could claim 2115 Withdrew, without courage and without voice, in shame, 2116 Wounded in the thigh. Great numbers of men-at-arms, 2117 Trembling with cold fear, to the ground threw down their 2118 arms,202

²⁰² Ll. 2017-18: the rhyme in the original is on "Gendarmes"/"armes" (p. 62).

2119	Preferring by their flight survival to assure,
2120	Than to stand fast and then a sudden fall procure,
2121	When to the Phrygians these words he paused to state:
2122	"Summon up your courage, my friends: your ancient hate
2123	Itself must perish here; conclude, if you're unwilling,
2124	By a shameful rout, or else by the ruthless killing
2125	Of these Greeks in flight, who wrongly, with brutal hand,
2126	Already for twice five years have ravaged your land.
2127	Let's send these outlaws to shadowy Acheron
2128	To load up the feeble skiff of the boatman Charon,
2129	Till, as the masses pile on, his patience gives way,
2130	And rudely with his long pole he shoves them away.
2131	Lay on, strike and slaughter, courageous citizens,
2132	Earn for yourselves today the distinction of Trojans."
2133	He finished speaking; then, with utmost courage unfurled,
2134	Alone on the Achaians' camp himself he hurled
2135	And, with blows redoubled, dealt out a coffin's place
2136	To all that with his tongue or eye he could not chase.
2137	As when a falcon, borne upon his wings in flight,
2138	Finds a flock of feeble doves fixed within his sight,
2139	Returning from the fields with a sure sweeping movement,
2140	As they stir the waves of the windy element,
2141	Down upon the timid flock he lets himself fall:
2142	Most of them flee readily at their panic's call,
2143	Become prey to other birds, but those that he hits,
2144	Using beak and claws, on the ground he tears to bits:
2145	Just so, when Hector fell upon the Argive army,
2146	On the field it was scattered here and there to see,
2147	But those who encountered his steps as he swept by
2148	Were sure, by either his sword's edge or point, to die.
2149	Now strong Diomedes ²⁰³ and Hipponoos ²⁰⁴ the brave

If Diomedes (i.e., "Diomède") is indeed the personage intended by the original's "Diomène", as reasonably supposed by Petit de Julleville, ed., p. 385, n. to p. 63, all accounts appear to have him outliving Hector. But as the editor indicates, several names in this passage are deformed or merely fanciful. The sequence itself is invented, but behind it may lie the account in *Iliad*, XI.284 ff. of a Trojan triumph including an exhortation by Hector, a simile comparing him to a destructive force of nature (a storm), and a list of those he killed. Diomedes also plays a prominent role.

Orig. "Hippide" (p. 63). I borrow from the list in *Iliad*, XI.299-303, which also includes Autonoos (l. 2151), orig. "Antonoe" (p. 63).

2150	By his murderous arm had been sent to a grave;
2151	Autonoos and Ienteus,205 both in jousts distinguished,
2152	From the radiance of the heavens he had banished;
2153	And the brave Sthenelus,206 struck by his sword, in turning,
2154	A wound cut into his thigh felt painfully burning,
2155	When the skilled Polybetes ²⁰⁷ sought to interpose,
2156	Showed himself, resolute, and wished to try his blows.
2157	Then a fierce combat between them got underway,
2158	And their arms began an incessant interplay.
2159	Hector, by such a hindrance his wrath set alight,
2160	Summoned up his strength, threw still more into the fight;
2161	As for Polybetes, to vengeance self-ordained,
2162	All dangers like a raging lion he disdained,
2163	Leapt all around Hector, tried him, and again tried,
2164	Probed where defects in his gleaming armour might hide,
2165	Struck at the most noble places, but unaware
2166	That in that fierce conflict he left himself too bare,
2167	While Hector meanwhile did nothing else but consider
2168	In what part the most mortal stroke he might deliver.
2169	That done, at once his belly felt the blade applied,
2170	There where the navel upon itself turns inside.
2171	That instant he staggered, and nothing his fall broke,
2172	But his body, careening, did as the split oak
2173	When it hit the earth, provoking a greater jolt

205 "Ienteus": orig. "Ientée" (p. 63); unidentified.

206 "Sthenelus" (orig. "Stenelle [p. 63]), associated with Diomedes; see, e.g., *Iliad*, V.106 ff.

Orig. "Polybete" (p. 63), whom Petit de Julleville, ed., p. 385, n. to p. 63, identifies as the son of Pirithoos. The correct form would then be Polyoiptes, but no doubt Montchrestien simply took the name from other accounts of the episode. In Le Fèvre, trans. Caxton, the Greek "baron" is not named but "moche queyntly and richely armed" (bk. III, fol. xxx^r). In Benoît de Sainte-Maure, *Le roman de Troie*, ed. Léopold Constans, 4 vols (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1904-12), vol. III, ll. 16155 ff., Polybetès is a strong and valiant warrior from the Caucuses, arrayed in a fabulous armour which makes Hector "coveitos [covetous]" (l. 16178); Christine de Pizan, *Epistre Othea*, ed. Gabriella Parussa (Geneva: Droz, 1999), makes him a rich and powerful king and moralises covetousness as the cause of the death of Hector, as of many others (sect. 92 [pp. 329-30]). Dares the Phrygian does not mention the rich armour but specifies the perhaps pertinent physical detail of Polybete's soldierly agility—see Dares Phrygius, *L'histoire véritable de la guerre des Grecs et des Troyens, etc.*, trans. Charles de Bourgueville (Caen: B. Macé, 1572), p. 46: "Capitaine brusque, & vaillant"—cf. above, l. 2163. Montchrestien's account of his fall to earth and his size seems to carry a trace of gigantic stature: he would have known that Polybotes was one of the giants who rebelled against Zeus and was duly punished.

2174	Than a mountain spruce struck down by a thunderbolt.
2175	Hector with a ravished eye measured out his height,
2176	Brandished the feathered crest in the air clear and bright
2177	That belonged to the shining helmet on the ground,
2178	Which longed to have that star of war with it be
	crowned.
2179	He prodded several times the body stretched out dead
2180	To see if sprit and voice had forever fled;
2181	Then he had one of his soldiers recuperate
2182	The gleaming armour in all its glorious weight;
	[Andromache re-enters.] ²⁰⁸
2183	But as he bent down and the helmet went to take,
2184	Achilles loomed behind, a position to stake,
2185	Watched his every movement with minute observation
2186	And, spotting his body in an arching formation
2187	Above the ground, such force to a thrust did impart
2188	That the sword went through the side as far as the heart.
2189	Hector turned on the instant, attempted a blow,
2190	But through his wound he felt his soul already flow.
	Priam
2191	O disaster—calamity prepared by heaven!
2192	O death devised by the gods, as well as by men!
2193	O treason of the Greeks! Breech of the law of arms!
2194	Was it Hector's lot to incur his fatal harms,
2195	Not in fair combat, but by the stroke perfidious
2196	Of a brutal butcher less strong than treacherous?
2197	Juno, let your fury now at last be assuaged!209
	Messenger
2198	That is not all, Priam: so violently he raged,
2199	He practised such great cruelty—can I declare it?
2200	And as for you, grief-stricken father, can you bear it?—
220I	That he performed a crime which would seem horrible
	1

The moment of Andromache's re-entrance is not textually mandated. We know she is on stage at ll. 2285, but she seems to have assimilated the essentials of Achilles' treachery—hence my conjecture.

The implacable hatred of Juno (Greek Hera) for the Trojans originated with the so-called Judgement of Paris, who gave the prize for beauty to Venus (Aphrodite). Cf. *Iliad*, XXIV.25-30.

2202	To all that hell contains of the most terrible:
2203	Savage abuse his arm deals the corpse of his prize,
2204	Dishonouring ²¹⁰ the forehead, putting out the eyes—
2205	Indeed, he'd have kept up his bloody strokes of rage,
2206	Had knightly Menon not put a stop to that outrage. ²¹¹
	Priam
2207	What sense has honour now? The Manes ²¹² violate!
2208	Without respect or shame, cadavers mutilate!
2209	To slaughter him, crush him and disfigure him so
2210	That his features no longer as human we know!
2211	Now you may truly say, O coward cruelty,
2212	That you surpass yourself in inhumanity!
2213	So, heinous felon! ²¹³ Never did Thetis you bear,
2214	Although the cruel waves remain always your lair;
2215	Although by old Peleus as his son received,214
2216	In the heart of Caucasian rock you were conceived;
2217	And then a tigress, forgetting her proper race,
2218	Suckled you, not with milk, but with blood in its place.
	Messenger
2210	As a roaring torrent, spilling into the fields,
2219	Flows less violently if one to the water yields
2220	Than if villagers pile obstacles in its course;
222I 2222	In that case, its haughty flood flaunts its angry force,
	Strikes, shocks and rages, as it attempts to exceed
2223	The dike piled-up its wild career to impede—
2224	• •
2225	So Achilles, formerly to us Trojans daunting,
2226	Seems far more towering and more frightfully haunting
2227	Since that great chief, for strength in heart and hand renowned,
2228	Beneath the blows of his merciless arm was downed,

²¹⁰ The original ("deshonore" [p. 64]) is not more explicit.

²¹¹ See above l. 228 (Act I) and n. 37.

[&]quot;Manes": as in original (p. 64), the spirits of the dead in Roman mythology.

^{*[}F]elon": the term in the original (p. 64), which in early French connoted violation of socio-political codes or obligations.

²¹⁴ On the legendary parentage of Achilles, see Smith, s.v.

2229	Blows that like a huge hammer on an anvil beat,
2230	And beat incessantly: that Prince firm on his feet,
2231	Unmoving like a high rock, seated at its ease,
2232	Which mocks at the howling wind and the angry seas.215
2233	Our army, which death more than shame now filled with
	fright,
2234	Abandoned all meanwhile, and gave themselves to flight,
2235	With desperate hearts their weapons casting to the ground,
2236	Lest death they should encounter while to safety bound.
2237	One lies wholly still, with a mortal wound pierced
	through;
2238	Another, knocked down, gets up and would flee anew,
2239	But he has taken only four or five steps more
2240	Before he tumbles again, backwards or before,
2241	Depending on where the enemy's blow came from.
2242	Troy has yielded everywhere, Greece victors become,
2243	Regaining the field and so pursuing their own
2244	Advantage that none fought still but Menon alone,
2245	Who, when constrained by the numbers to turn his face,
2246	Returned frustrated, not in cowardly disgrace.
2247	Achilles, meanwhile, causer of great Hector's
	downfall,
2248	But who to his heart's fierce rage was himself in thrall,
2249	Returned to where the corpse lay on the field in place,
2250	Pierced the two heels, then bound them together with lace,
2251	Attached his chariot with the baldrick he wore,
2252	Then dragging him behind, around these walls he tore.
	Priam
2253	The infinite suffering that lays my soul waste
2254	So presses on my heart that words far off are chased.
	Несива
2255	O heaven far too harsh! O hostile Destiny!
2256	I have lost my dear son, and to this you agree!

²¹⁵ Ll. 2227-32: puzzling lines, here translated literally. The "prince" recalls Hector as he was before receiving Achilles' blows but might also suit Achilles' new stature, however falsely acquired and at odds with his subsequent "rage" (l. 2248).

2257	That Greek, blood-thirsty traitor, you brought here to feast,
2258	That cowardly assassin, that merciless beast!
2259	Well, then, henceforth let me witness complete commotion,
2260	The floating air plunged into earth, earth into ocean;
2261	Let all mix together, and let obscurest night
2262	Cover, as in the beginning, nature from sight.
2263	How it would please to see this world degenerate
2264	Back to the confusion of chaos's first state,
2265	Since my son Hector, since my cherished Troy, today
2266	Of Pluto and of the Greeks are the hapless prey.
2267	O old man, assailed by every hostile blast,
2268	Down from what great height of glory have you been cast!
2269	And for me, poor mother now sorrowful and frail,
2270	What oppression does Fortune, thus adverse, entail—
2271	Cruel, ever-changing, but in one thing consistent:
2272	In pouring on my heart fresh torment upon torment.
2273	Gather, Trojans—citizens, soldiers, men-at-arms; ²¹⁶
2274	Join your tears to my final ones mourning our harms;
2275	Sigh out along with me the pain we all have felt:
2276	Your heart is iron if this does not make it melt.
2277	O wretched Hecuba! O Priam lamentable!
2278	O poor Andromache! O people miserable—
2279	Alas, what will become of us? What fate attends us?
2280	Hector, our champion, is dead: nothing defends us.
2281	Let us therefore be agreed that death-dealing Fate ²¹⁷
2282	Ourselves with Hector the infernal boat should freight,
2283	And not await the swords of Greek malignity:
2284	For since he has been killed, what better hope have we?
2285	Andromache, daughter, for good reason your silence
2286	Betokens of our woes the cruel violence,
2287	And since words lack likewise adequate to my pain,
2288	Still to lament, except in sobs, for me is vain.

[&]quot;[C]itizens, soldiers, men-at-arms": orig. "peuple, soldats, Gensdarmes" (p. 65); the distinction between the latter two categories would doubtless have been clearer for Montchrestien's public.

^{*[}D]eath-dealing Fate": orig. "la fatale Parque", which, translated literally, seems tautological.

Andromache

2289	Let my sorrows, in turn, be openly expressed:
2290	Too long have I nurtured mourning within my breast.
2291	Permit me the capacity to speak, O sighs,
2292	And that in speaking my life may volatilise,
2293	Fortunate indeed in my bitter agony
2294	If I die in lamenting my hard destiny.
2295	It is you, O Heavens, I find I must accuse:
2296	With what equity could you with contempt refuse
2297	So many ardent vows, so many fervent prayers,
2298	Invoking your benevolence for our affairs?
2299	No, I know well Andromache does not deserve
2300	To have gods busy themselves her content to serve;
2301	But Hector, that Hector, whose rare qualities shone
2302	So that to barbarous nations he was well known—
2303	That famous magnanimity, courage so perfect,
2304	Should have made your harsh decrees my wishes respect.
2305	Virtue, ²¹⁸ you are useless if an idol, no more—
2306	Mere wind of opinion, breath of an orator!
2307	O ignorant mortals! Try hoping, when distressed,
2308	The gods will never fail to look out for the best,
2309	Now that Hector is dead, so ardently engaged
2310	In glory's pursuit. For a man merely enraged—
2311	Or rather a tiger—having no effort spent,
2312	Cut down his vanquisher, subjects his corpse to torment.
2313	What new horror is this! With numbing chills I quake;
2314	My mind's eye now seems an image of you to make:
2315	I see you, dear husband, legs upward from the ground,
2316	Downward the head, leaping with jerks from bound to bound,
2317	As Achilles directs and urges on his horses
2318	To ply round and round our ramparts their agile courses.
2319	O you despairing grief, my senses wild you render!
2320	O grievous despair, ²¹⁹ to which myself I surrender!
2321	At this point in the martyrdom in which I seethe,

²¹⁸ "Virtue": orig. "vertu" (p. 66), here obviously in the broadest sense of manhood, integrating moral and physical qualities.

Ll. 2329-20: there is also a play on words in the original ("dueil desesperé"/"desespoir dolent" [p. 67]).

2322	I expend in the winds the life-spirit I breathe,
2323	So that with Hector below I may go accuse
2324	The Greek insolence that can thus itself amuse.
2325	Hector, sole author of my utter misery,
2326	Was it not to kill, not only yourself, but me,
2327	Your spirit to the evident presage to blind
2328	Which in my heart this mortal accident designed?
2329	Ah, I was sure indeed our destiny would wend
2330	By this wandering way to its appointed end.
2331	If you yourself sought to precipitate your death,
2332	Soul and body being from combat out of breath
2333	After ten years of fighting in front of our walls;
2334	If you preferred to perish in the midst of battles,
2335	Not in a bed richly wrought, with curtains adorned—
2336	Well, then, you could have done: but my death to have scorned,
2337	To have ruined your city and your own lineage,
2338	Looking only to you, in this fierce storm of carnage—
2339	What name can I come up with for such a gross error?
2340	Hector, is it a crime, or else an act of furor?
2341	If the names of country, of father and of mother,
2342	Of friend, relation, ally, of sister and brother,
2343	Like idols bodiless to you were empty names,
2344	Did not your son and I on your thoughts have our claims?
2345	Ah, poor wretch, where is your great pain carrying you?
2346	His heart burned for us with an affection so true
2347	That, putting to the side all thought of food and rest,
2348	With ceaseless strife with Atropos ²²⁰ he was obsessed,
2349	Who, to bring him down, needed recourse to those arms
2350	By which the traitorous Greeks surprise—and do harms.
2351	O cowardly foe ²²¹ of the bravest man of war
2352	Who ever the proud laurel on his forehead wore—
2353	Without such trickery ²²² he was invincible!
-,,,	

220 Atropos: the one of the three Moires (Roman Parcae) who cuts the thread of life; cf. below, l. 2384.

[&]quot;O cowardly foe": orig. "O coüard ennemy" (p. 67); cf. the apostrophe of Shakespeare's Troilus: "thou great-sized coward" (*Tro.*, V.xi.26).

[&]quot;[T]rickery": orig. "intelligence" (p. 67)—so explained by Petit de Julleville, ed., p. 286, n. to p. 67.

2354	His arm had proved it by its strength incredible,
2355	Which often, falling like a flaming bolt of thunder,
2356	The obstinate Greeks' strong formations dashed asunder.
2357	But your unjust deceit, from ambush perpetrated,
2358	By a blow unforeseen his span of life truncated;
2359	That arm of yours, which felled him without fight to earth,
2360	Could not hope otherwise to overcome his worth. ²²³
2361	Gods! If for their vices the wicked you chastise,
2362	Some sharp strokes of justice, in your furor, devise
2363	To make mortals see that the crime is always bound ²²⁴
2364	On the head of its perpetrator to redound.
2365	But hasten, if you please, your vengeance, all too slow,
2366	So I may descend to the banks of hell below,
2367	That glorious spirit the glad tidings to tell,
2368	Who reviles this traitor, perhaps Heaven as well.
2369	While I wait for the gods that last grace to deliver,
2370	O eyes of mine, may you pour forth a double river
2371	To weep for your Hector—my good and source of pains,
2372	My comfort and torment, of whom to me remains
2373	Nothing but the keen desire his shade to see,
2374	Which of perished heroes now swells the company.
	Chorus
2375	By means of Hector's right hand, Troy remained upright;
2376	With his death, unhappily, it collapses quite.
2377	Let fallen Troy the tribute of our tears receive;
2378	With it the loss of victory and life we grieve.
2379	The welfare of a state is feeble and unstable, ²²⁵
2380	If it depends on one alone, though brave and able,
2381	Who offers himself freely to all risks of dying. ²²⁶
2382	Mortals, learn from this that, no more for being king,

⁽W) orth": orig. "vertu" (p. 67), here again clearly in the sense of strength and prowess.

²²⁴ Ll. 263-64 are marked for emphasis.

²²⁵ Ll. 2379-86 are marked for emphasis.

Orig.: "Qui s'offre à tous hazards sans crainte de la Parque" (p. 68). "La Parque" is used here, as often, to stand for the fact of mortality, and to retain the personification might interfere with the explicit reference to Atropos in Il. 2384-86.

2383	Emperor or captain, can one live without fears
2384	By thinking to escape the fatal sister's shears—
2385	She who without distinction to the grave sends down
2386	The crook of the shepherd, the sceptre of a crown.

END