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## Citation

Parrish, Jean, and William A. Jackson. 1960. Racan's "L'Artenice", an addition to the English canon. *Harvard Library Bulletin* XIV (2), Spring 1960: 183-190.

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## Racan's *L'Artenice*, an Addition to the English Canon

IN December 1625 Queen Henrietta Maria, then just sixteen, and still surrounded by her French attendants, who had been her sole companions during her first months in England, proposed to entertain the Court with a pastoral to be acted by herself and her ladies and gentlemen in the manner she had known in France at the Petit Bourbon, the Hotel de Ville, or the Grande Salle of the Louvre. Somerset House, or Denmark House, as it was then known, was chosen as the place where this entertainment would be produced, and for weeks it must have been very busy, as a theatre was erected in the great hall, and the scenery and costumes were prepared.<sup>1</sup>

As early as the 18th December, Benjamin Rudyerd wrote to Sir Francis Nethersole, 'The *demoiselles* mean to present a French pastoral wherein the Queen is a principal actress,'<sup>2</sup> and presumably during the next two months the Queen and her attendants were busy learning their parts, choosing and being fitted for costumes. Finally on Shrove Tuesday, 21 February 1626, the pastoral was performed, and a few days later Amerigo Salvetti, the Tuscan Resident at the Court of Whitehall, wrote to Cosimo de' Medici, the Grand Duke of Florence, 'Her Majesty the Queen conducts herself with youthful grace. On the day of carnival, for which Tuesday was set aside, she acted in a beautiful pastoral of her own composition, assisted by twelve of her ladies whom she had trained since Christmas. The pastoral succeeded admirably; not only in the decorations and changes of scenery, but also in the acting and recitation of the ladies—Her Majesty surpassing all the others. The performance was conducted as privately as possible, inasmuch as it is an unusual thing in this country to see the Queen upon a stage; the audience consequently was limited to a few of the nobility, expressly invited, no others being admitted.'<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> More than two thousand pounds were spent on the costumes alone (Malone Society, *Collections*, II, Oxford, 1931, 328-331), and the carpentry and other works amounted to more than one hundred and sixty-eight pounds (Public Record Office, A. O. 1. 2424/56).

<sup>2</sup> *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the Reign of Charles I. 1625-1626* (London, 1858), p. 179.

<sup>3</sup> *Historical Manuscripts Commission, Eleventh Report* (London, 1887), Appendix

From the so far published contemporary references to this entertainment all that can be ascertained is that it consisted of a French pastoral of the Queen's own composition followed by a masque. What the play was has not been conjectured but these references have caused Henrietta Maria to be recorded as a playwright in all the usual reference books including a more than two-page notice in Professor G. E. Bentley's great compilation, *The Jacobean and Caroline Stage*.<sup>4</sup> But despite all her charm and gaiety it is doubtful if the then frivolous Henrietta Maria could have found the time for or been capable of writing a play.

If it is unlikely that the Queen wrote this pastoral, who did and what was the play? The solution of this puzzle is the purpose of this paper. An important clue has been found in a manuscript collection of poems by Saint Amant, Deshayons, Gombauld, Racan, Théophile, and others, entirely in the hand of Valentin Conrart, who was the French Academy's first secretary and an intimate friend of the poets whose works are here recorded. This *recueil* was begun apparently in 1624 and continued for several years, and is in a delightful gilt vellum binding with the cipher of Julie-Lucie d'Angenne, Duchesse de Montausier, to whom it was apparently presented, or perhaps for whom it was prepared.<sup>5</sup> Among the ninety-nine pieces in this volume is an anonymous ode entitled 'Sur les figures, et changemens de Théâtre lors que la Reyne d'Angleterre joüa la pastorelle de M<sup>r</sup> de Racan, sous le

I, p. 47, 6 March 1626. Much the same account was given the same day by the Venetian Ambassador, except that he said the pastoral was 'followed by a masque,' and went on to say in cipher 'It did not give complete satisfaction, because the English objected to the first part (actione) being declaimed by the queen' (*Calendar of State Papers, Venetian, 1625-1626*, London, 1913, pp. 345-346). John Chamberlain expressed the English view in a letter to Sir Dudley Carleton: 'On Shrovetuesday the Quene and her women had a maske or pastorall play at Somerset House, wherein herself acted a part, and some of the rest were disguised like men in beards. I have known the time when this wold have seemed a straunge sight, to see a Quene act in a play but *tempora mutantur et nos*' (*The Letters of John Chamberlain*, ed. N. E. McClure, Philadelphia, 1939, II, 630).

<sup>4</sup>IV (Oxford, 1956), 548-550. Cf. also M. S. Steele, *Plays & Masques at Court* (New Haven, 1926), pp. 231-232; Alfred Harbage, *Cavalier Drama* (New York, 1936), pp. 11-12, and *Annals of English Drama* (Philadelphia, 1940), pp. 98-99.

<sup>5</sup>This manuscript was described, with reproduction of the binding, in the catalogue of the Jean Meynial sale, 1925, lot 125. It was later in the possession of M. Claude Cartier of Paris and New York, who, through the intercession of MM. Camille Bloch and Jean Meynial, granted permission for the quotation here made. Frédéric Lachèvre, *Glanes bibliographiques et littéraires* (Paris, 1929), II, 145, mentions this ode in a note on this volume but merely says that it is anonymous.

personnage d'ARTENICE.' The octosyllabic poem, preceded by a prose address 'Les bergers, à sa Majesté,' consists of sixteen nine-line stanzas rhyming *ababcdccd*, and amid a welter of preciousness manages to reveal remarkably few facts except that her Majesty's costume was of a 'verd naissant' (stanza 2, line 9). The changes of scenery are thus described in stanzas 4 and 5:

Nos champs, en miracles fertiles,  
 Nous ont fait naître des clochers,  
 Et les tours, les ponts, et les villes,  
 Succéder au lieu des Rochers,  
 Sur l'orme ou l'on avoit coûtume  
 D'ouïr le concert des oyseaux  
 Se plaindre en s'épluchant la plume,  
 Les Rochers ont émû l'écume,  
 En coupant de rames les eaux.

Parfois s'elevoient des montagnes,  
 Dont le sommêt audacieux  
 De haut méprisoit les campagnes,  
 Et de près menaçoit les Cieux;  
 Plus bas on voioyt les fontaines  
 Serpenter un cours négligent,  
 Et le beau cristal de leurs veinés  
 Donner un visage à nos pleines  
 De velours verd à fond d'argent.

The pastoral of Honorat de Bucil, Seigneur de Racan, which was originally entitled *L'Artenice*, from the name of the heroine, but was first published in 1625 under the title *Les bergeries*,<sup>6</sup> was a well-known and important drama that, while based chiefly on Guarini's *Pastor fido*, was probably the first play to introduce the reforms of Malherbe. It was probably composed sometime in the years 1619-21,<sup>7</sup> and as was the custom may have been produced several times before publication,

<sup>6</sup>Twelve editions under this title, including a Genevan counterfeit, were published by 1635 (see Louis Arnould, *Un gentilhomme de lettres au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Honorat de Bucil, Seigneur de Racan*, 2nd ed., Paris, 1901, pp. 286-287, n. 5). The privilege of the first edition is dated 8 April 1625, and it was evidently published soon after, for it is mentioned in the *Somme théologique* of François Garasse, of which the privilege is dated 14 August 1625 (Arnould, *Racan*, p. 286, n. 4). On 8 May 1625 Racan sold his rights for ten years to the publisher. It may well have been published at that date.

<sup>7</sup>The arguments concerning the date of composition are set forth by Arnould, *Racan*, p. 186, and Jules Marsan, *La pastorelle dramatique en France* (Paris, 1905), p. 324.

so that it is quite likely that Henrietta Maria may have attended one or more performances of it in Paris. In any case it was doubtless much talked of, for the name of the heroine, Artenice, was an anagram made by Racan from the Christian name of Catherine Chabot, Marquise de Termes, whom at that time he was ineffectually but very publicly courting. In a letter to Malherbe, prefixed to the play when printed, Racan states that he has somewhat changed the first two acts because of 'les desplaisirs que ie receus d'une certaine personne.' In June 1625, when Henrietta Maria left France for England, this must have been the latest literary sensation of Paris and it is not surprising that six months later, when she and her ladies were planning the pre-Lenten entertainment for the English Court, they thought of *L'Artenice*.

Recently the Harvard Library acquired a copy of an hitherto undescribed<sup>8</sup> abridged edition of the text of *L'Artenice*, published without imprint, but which for reasons set forth below was printed for use on this occasion. It contains four ornaments (see Plates IIa and IIIa) recorded by McKerrow<sup>9</sup> as belonging in 1625-26 to Edward Allde, the London printer, and was without doubt printed by him. That this book was preserved at all must be attributed mainly to the fact that it was bound in gilt olive morocco at the time it was printed. The binding, like the printing, can be demonstrated to be London work, although the principal tool, the fleur-de-lis with filaments between the leaves, has not been traced. That it is not a Paris binding may be easily seen by comparing it with a binding of very similar design (cf. Plate Ia and Ib) on a copy of the first edition of Jean Gombauld's *L'Endimion*, Paris, 1624, dedicated to Anne of Austria, Henrietta Maria's sister-in-law, and now in Mr Philip Hofer's possession. A glance at the two will show the relative crudeness of the English binding. The saw-tooth and bead-roll fillets are common English tools, but those used here appear to be identical with ones that occur, the first, on a copy of Philemon Holland's *Cyrupaedia* of Xenophon, 1632, and the second, on the Scottish *Booke of Common Prayer*, 1637, both bound for Charles I with his arms, and both now at Harvard. The cinque-foil and the fleur-de-lis are common ornaments on London bindings

<sup>8</sup> It was of course described in the Yemeniz sale catalogue, as noted below, though without ascription to Racan, and Marsan had evidently seen it, for his description of it (*Pastorelle dramatique*, p. 510) is not based on the Yemeniz note. He, however, dismisses it as a counterfeit.

<sup>9</sup> *Library*, 4th ser., X (1929-30), 149-156 (Nos. 6, 18, 12, and 1).

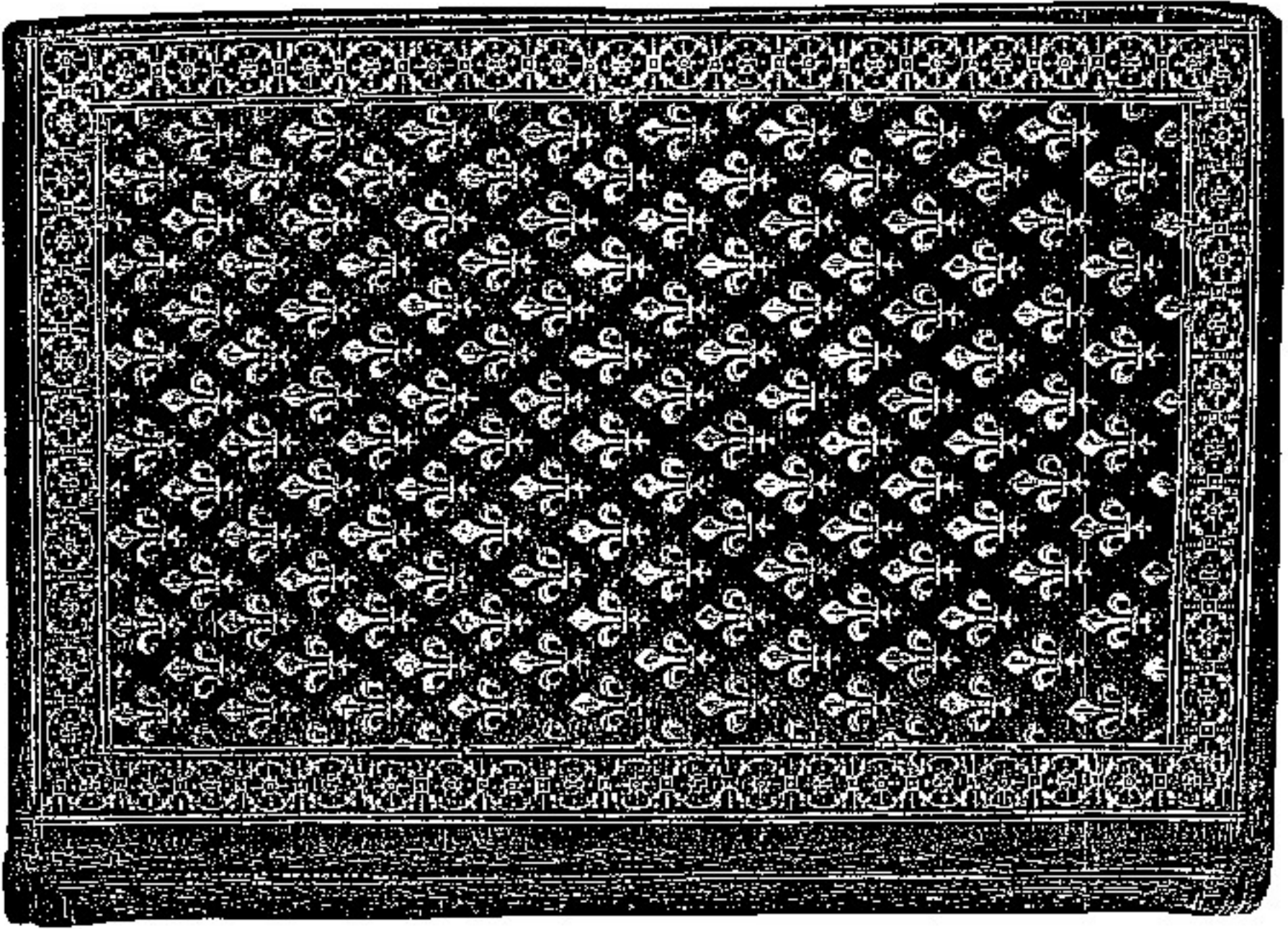


PLATE Ib

GOMBAULD, *L'Endition*, PARIS, 1624

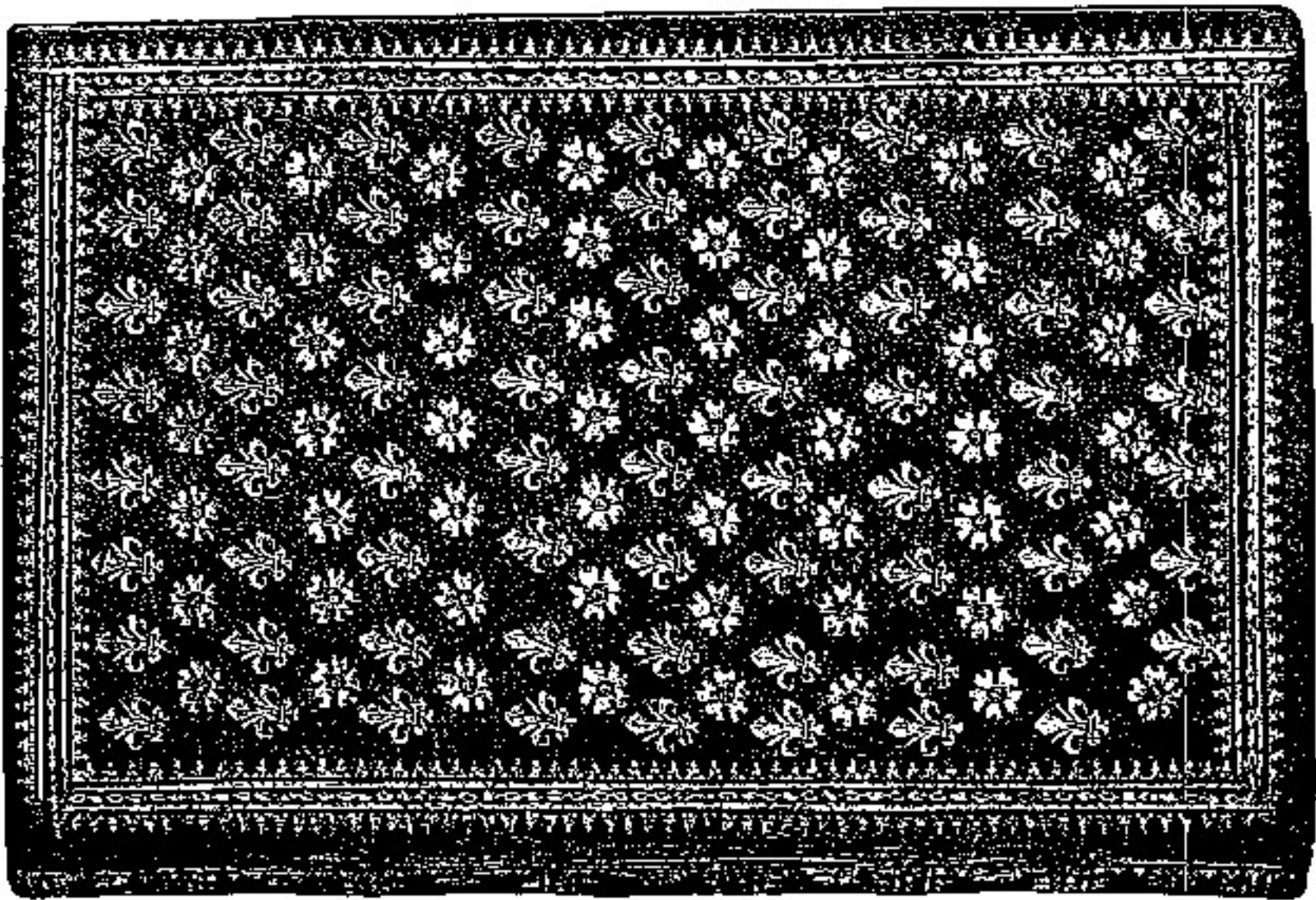


PLATE Ia

RACAN, *L'Artenice*, LONDON, 1626



ACTE PREMIER

SCENE PREMIERE

ALCIDOR.



*Ve ceste nuit est longue, & fascheuse à passer!  
Que de sortes d'ennuis me viennent trauffer!  
Depuis qu'un bel objet a ma raison blessée*

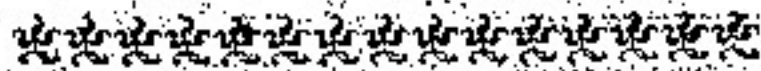
*Incessamment ie voy des yeux de ma pensée,  
Cet aimable Soleil auteur de mon amour,  
Qui fait qu'incessamment ie pense qu'il soit iour.  
Ie saute à bas du lit, ie cours à la fenestre,  
I'ouure & hausse la veüe, & ne voy rien parestre,  
Que l'ombre de la nuit, dont la noire passeur  
Peint les champs & les prez d'une mesme couleur:  
Et cette obscurité, qui tout le monde enferme,  
Ouvre autant d'yeux au Ciel qu'elle enferme en la terre:  
Chacun jouit en paix du bien, qu'elle produit,  
Les coqs ne chantent point, ie n'entens aucun bruit.*

Simon

PLATE IIa  
RACAN, L'Artenice, PAGE 1

DE MR. DE RACCAN.

*Quand il void mon renom, sous vostre illustre appuy,  
Faire le tour du monde aussi bien comme luy.  
Puisiez-vous, braue Roy, porter à main armée  
Vos exploits aussi loing que vostre renommée:  
Et puisse le destin, pour me combler de biens,  
Faire durer vos jours aussi longs que les miens.*



ACTE PREMIER

SCENE PREMIERE

ALCIDOR.



*Ve ceste nuit est longue, & fascheuse à passer!  
Que de sortes d'ennuis me viennent trauffer!  
Depuis qu'un bel objet a ma raison blessée*

*Incessamment ie voy des yeux de ma pensée,  
Cet aimable Soleil auteur de mon amour,  
Qui fait qu'incessamment ie pense qu'il soit iour.  
Ie saute à bas du lit, ie cours à la fenestre,  
I'ouure & hausse la veüe, & ne voy rien parestre,  
Que l'ombre de la nuit, dont la noire passeur  
Peint les champs & le prez d'une mesme couleur:  
Et cette obscurité, qui tout le monde enferme,  
Ouvre autant d'yeux au Ciel, qu'elle en ferme en la terre:  
Chacun jouit en paix du bien, qu'elle produit,  
Les coqs ne chantent point, ie n'entens aucun bruit.*

A ij

PLATE IIb  
RACAN, Les bergeries, PARIS, 1625, PAGE 3

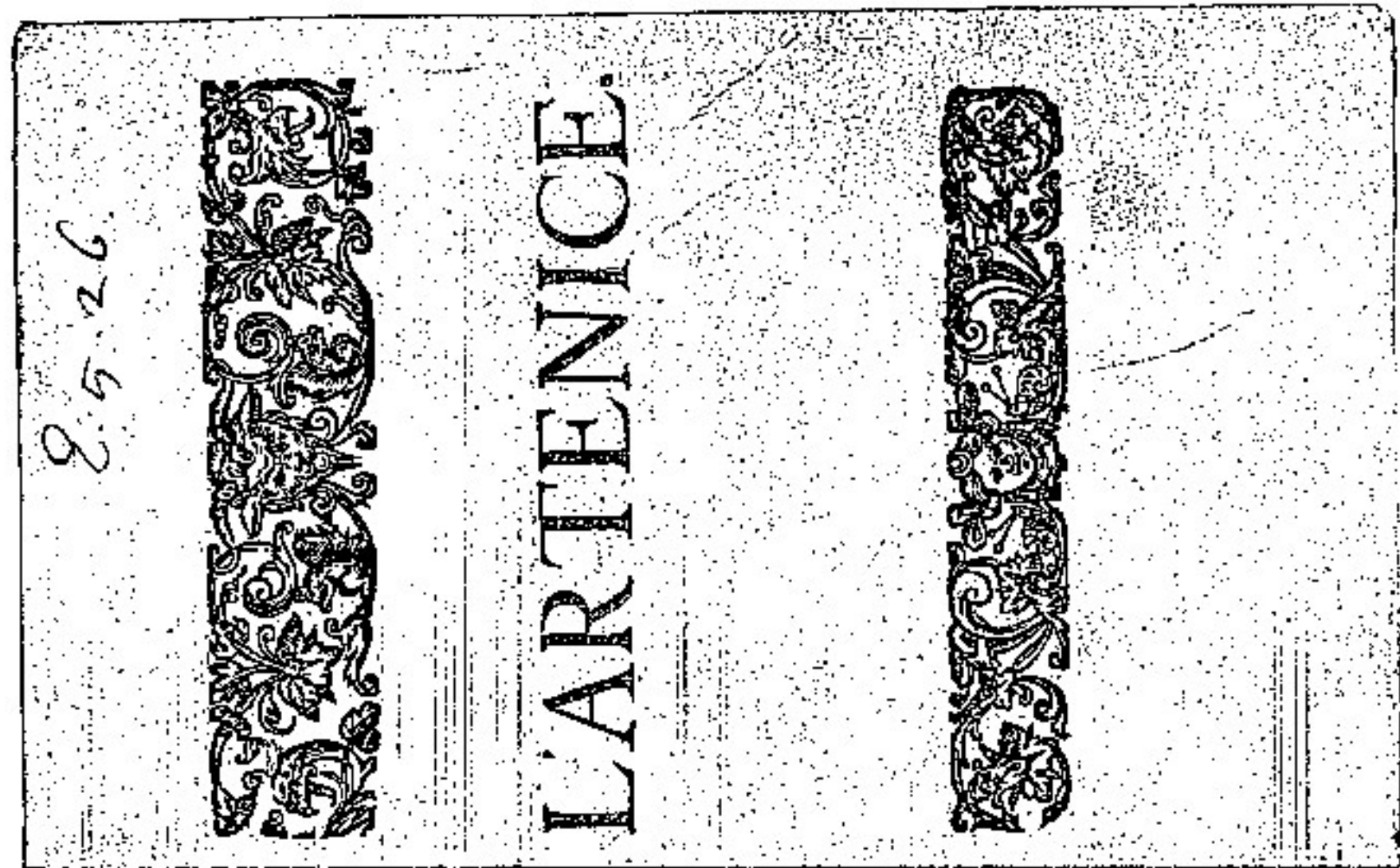


PLATE IIIa

RACAN, *L'Artenice*, SIG. RECTO [AI]

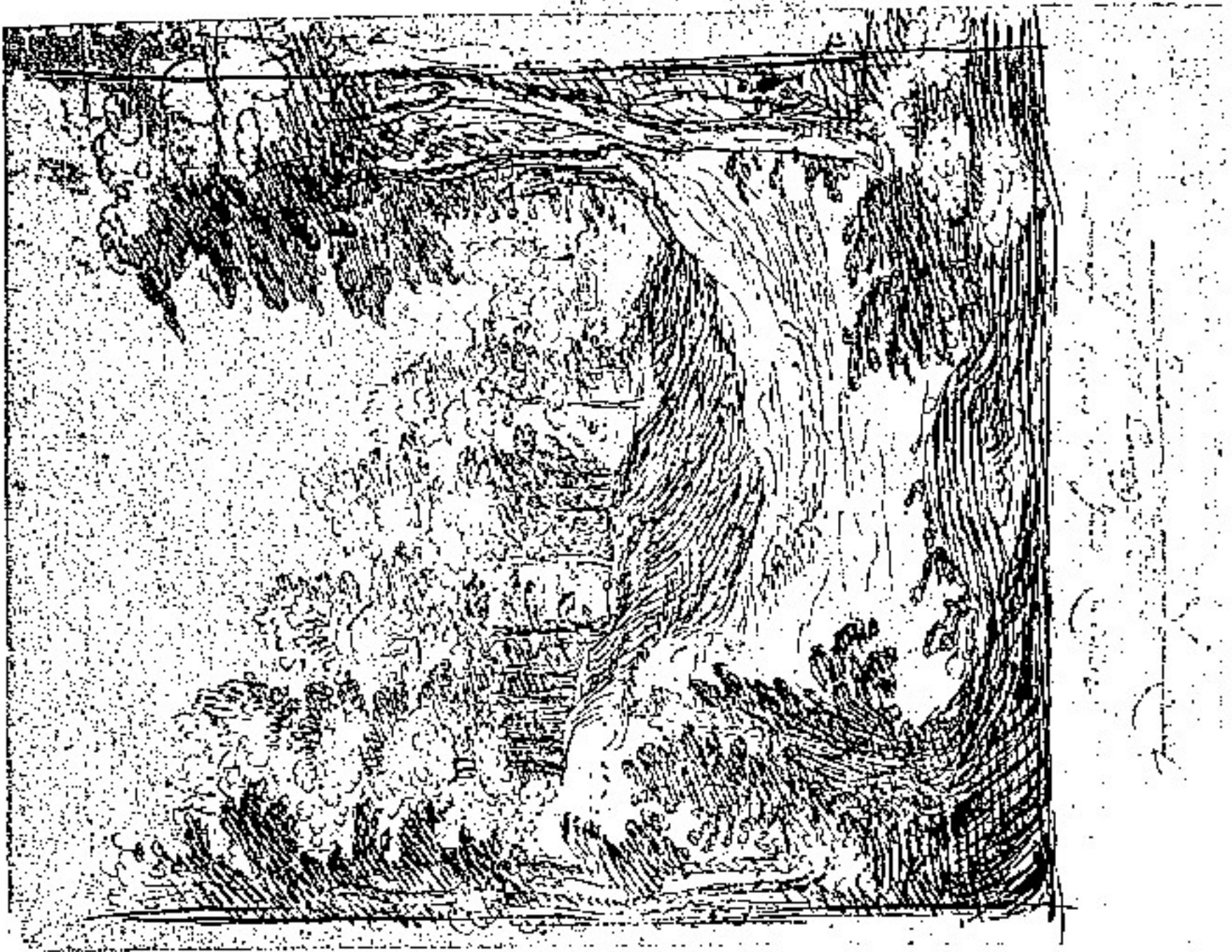


PLATE IIIb

INIGO JONES, DRAWING AT CHATSWORTH, NO. 396



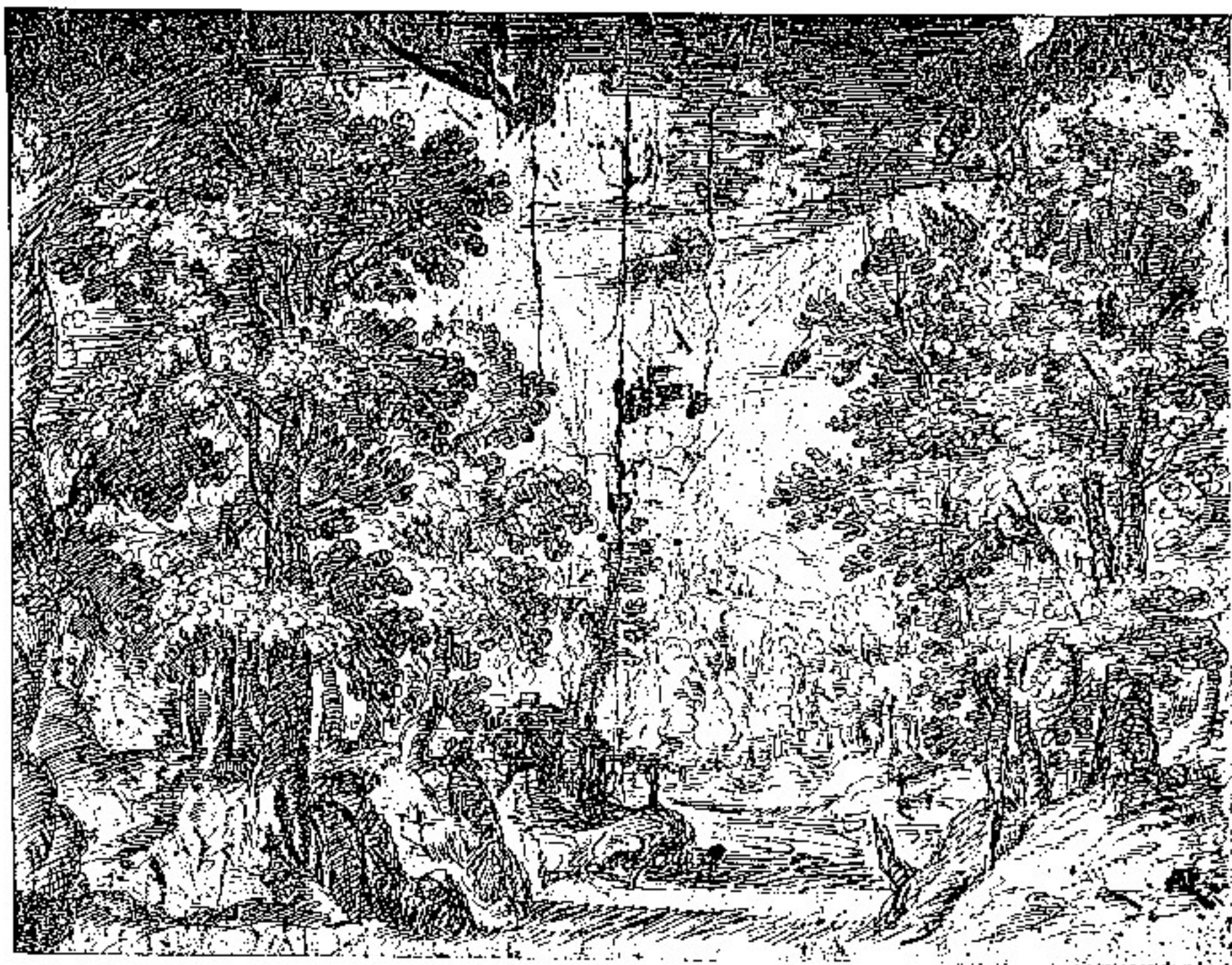


PLATE IVa

INIGO JONES, DRAWING AT CHATSWORTH, NO. 393

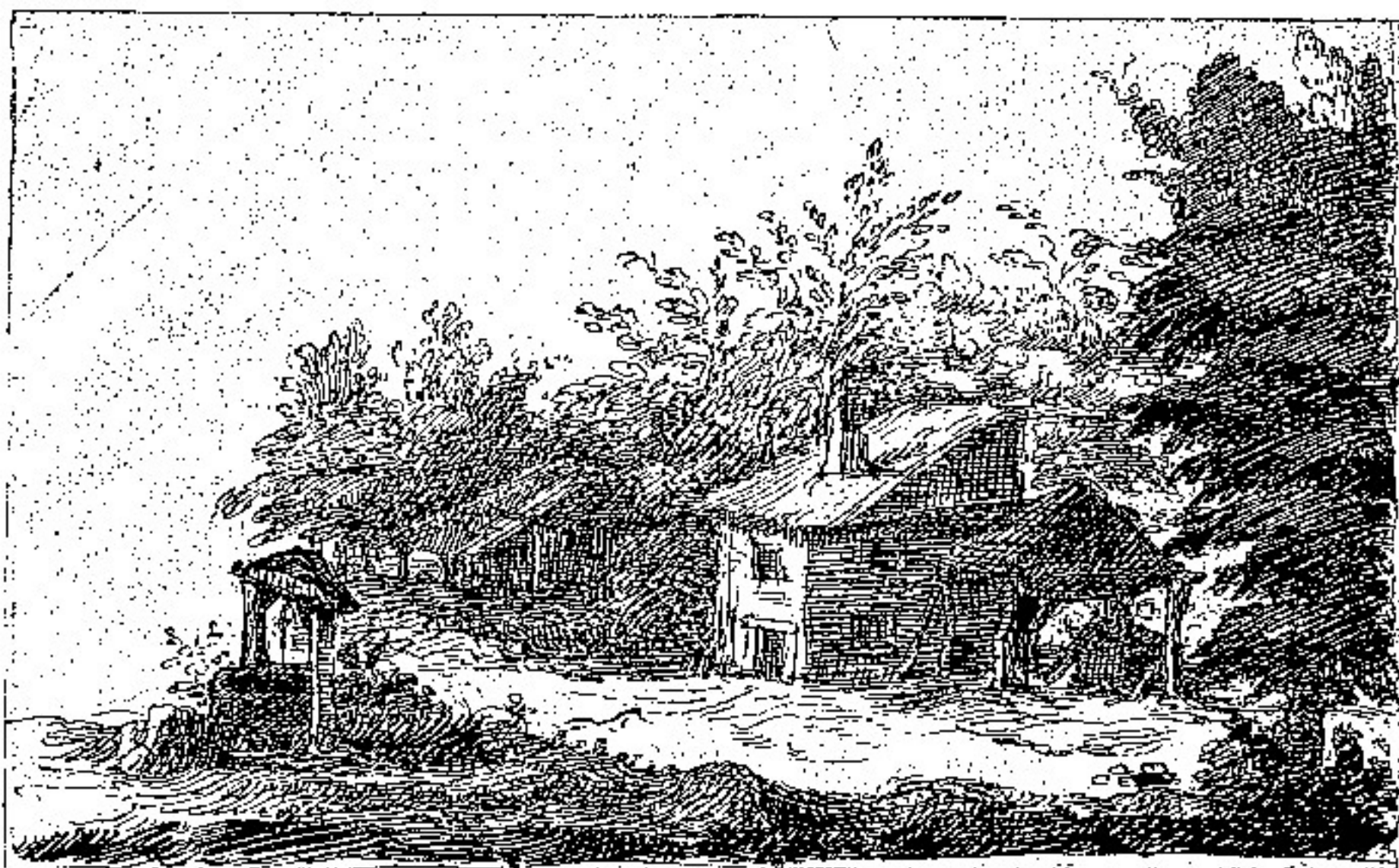


PLATE IVb

INIGO JONES, DRAWING AT CHATSWORTH, NO. 392

of this time but, as yet, these particular tools have not been identified. It may be observed, however, that no books have been traced that either bear the arms of Henrietta Maria or were bound to her order, although several books dedicated to her and in dedication bindings are known.

The early provenance of this volume is obscure. Presumably it was in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in the library of the family of one of the noble actors or actresses. It has on recto [A1] (see Plate IIIa) a pressmark, 'E.5.26.', very similar to those often found in English private libraries of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, as, for example, in the books from Amptill, but whether those early owners were English or French cannot be ascertained. The earliest record of it is in 1867, at the sale of M. N. Yemeniz, lot 1945, although it does not bear his coin bookplate.<sup>10</sup> It has a nineteenth-century bookplate, made in Paris, of Thomas Powell (Franks 23957 — presumably a member of a Welsh family then living in France, for there is another bookplate recorded by Franks for a man of the same name that was engraved in Rouen), and it bears the ticket of Théophile Belin, the well-known Paris bookseller between the Wars. Finally, it appeared in 1952 in a catalogue of Georges Heilbrun, a very able Paris bookseller, from whom it was acquired for the Harvard Library through the generosity of Curt H. Reisinger, '12.

The text here printed omits 360 out of the some 2990 lines of the original edition, all the dedicatory and commendatory verses and the 'Lettre de Monsieur de Racan, a Monsicur de Mal'herbe' that were prefixed, the appended 'Epithalame' and 'Eglogue,' and the privilege and the errata.<sup>11</sup> Nevertheless, there can be little doubt that this English edition was printed from the first, Paris, edition, 1625 (see Plate IIb), not only because the Paris edition was the only one then available but also because the English edition is so close a reprint that even such an error as the omission of closing quotes in the Paris edition is repeated.<sup>12</sup> Alde began the text of the play itself on recto [A6], having

<sup>10</sup> A bookplate either oval or shield-shaped, not like the Yemeniz plate, has been removed from the top center inside the front cover.

<sup>11</sup> The choruses, totaling 182 lines, that occur at the end of each of the first four acts in the Paris edition are omitted, as is also the 'Prologue de la Nymphé de Seine. Au Roy,' 42 lines; Tisimandre's song (II, ii) is reduced from 48 lines to 12, Artenice's long speech (III, ii) from 59 lines to 3, Cleante's speech (III, iv) from 22 to 2, and Alcidor's song (V, ii) from 36 to 12.

<sup>12</sup> Paris, p. 9, line 10; London, p. 7, line 10.

omitted the 'Prologue,' and for the next eleven pages (through recto B<sub>4</sub>) made a paginary, indeed a linear, reprint of the Paris edition. While setting the outer forme of sheet B, however, he observed the first of the cuts in the copy he was following — the omitted part of the 'Chanson de Tisimandre' would have been on verso [B<sub>8</sub>]; he then must have cast off copy and discovered that almost thirteen pages were to be omitted and that if he saved a few lines by leading less heavily than his copy he could compress his text into 118 pages instead of 133 less 13 of the copy and so end his text on verso [H<sub>8</sub>], without any portion left over.<sup>13</sup> Perhaps because he found this a difficult text to set, Alder proceeded with some care. His italic had no lower case 'j,' so he normally used 'i,' with sometimes a roman 'j.' Frequently he used the form 'aucc' instead of the 'auecque' that occurs in the 1625 edition (and also in the Paris 1628 edition, which we also used for comparison), and there are other small variations, some of which are actually corrections. For example, in the original Paris edition a four-line answer of Alcidor in Act V, Scene ii, is run on to a speech of Clorise without any break, whereas in the London edition it is correctly given to Alcidor.<sup>14</sup>

The Harvard volume is otherwise of interest because it contains a number of manuscript notes, in a not very clear French hand, regarding various changes of scene as well as lighting and sound effects. The writer of the description of this book in the Yermeniz sale took these as proof that this play had been produced at least once, though he thought probably at the French Court. These notes evidently refer to the scenery and 'effects' prepared for this pastoral by Inigo Jones, of which some drawings are still preserved at Chatsworth. The proce-  
nium and standing scene docketed 'Pastoral Sceane Som: House 1625[6]' is reproduced in the Walpole Society's *Designs by Inigo*

<sup>13</sup> The pagination of the London edition ends with 116 but pp. 85 and 86 are repeated, and there are other errors. On the last page, verso [I<sub>7</sub>] of the Paris edition, six passages totaling nine lines were inserted with the heading 'Voicy quelques vers qui pour avoir esté envoyez trop tard, n'ont secu estre corrigez sur la presse.' All of these Alder inserted properly, and of course had to allow for them in his casting off. He was a little more cavalier about the errata, of which two pages were listed in the Paris edition. Of the thirty-nine errors there listed that relate to the text Alder printed he corrected only twenty-one. Further, on p. 22 he interchanged lines 5 and 6, on p. 41 he omitted the last line of Alcidor's reply, and on p. 68 he omitted one line.

<sup>14</sup> P. 113 of the Paris edition, pp. 96-97 of the London. The speeches are correctly divided in the 1628 edition.

Jones.<sup>15</sup> Altogether, if these manuscript notes are complete, there were five or six changes of scene. At the foot of the list of 'Les Acteurs,' verso [A5], is written 'La Seine [scene] est vng village,' which possibly refers to the scene reproduced by the Walpole Society. At the head of Act I, Scene i, on p. 1, there is written 'La lune se Leuue dunc nue po<sup>r</sup> monstrer quil est nuict.' Possibly this refers to one of Inigo Jones' unidentified drawings at Chatsworth, No. 393 in the Walpole Society catalogue, of which a reproduction is given in Plate IVa.<sup>16</sup> At the beginning of Act II, Scene i, p. 18, is written 'La Seine se change en vng bois,' which again may refer to the drawing, No. 396, here reproduced in Plate IIIb, which is much less a forest than No. 393. In the middle of Act II, Scene iv, p. 35, where Artenice says 'Dieux qu'est-ce que ie voy?', is written 'Icy tonnerres et esclairs et La lune sobcursist,' and on p. 36, after Polistene says

Courage mes enfans, bien tost ie me promets  
De vous rendre le iour aussi clair que iamais.

is written 'Icy La lune deuient Claire.' At the beginning of Act III, Scene i, p. 47, is written 'La Seine se change [one or two words indecipherable] en village pastoralle,' which may be Chatsworth drawing No. 392, reproduced in Plate IVb. At the beginning of Act III, Scene iii, p. 58, is written 'La Seine se change en La [several indecipherable letters] de Seine.' At the beginning of Act IV, Scene v, p. 76, is written 'La Seine se change en vng village pastoral,' which is presumably the same as Act III, Scene i. At the beginning of Act V, Scene i, p. 88, is written 'La Seine se change encore vne fois en vng bois,' which again may refer to the same scene as at the beginning of Act I, Scene i. At the beginning of Act V, Scene v, p. 106, is written 'La Seine se change en vng village pastoral,' once more presumably returning to Act III, Scene i. Finally, at the end of the play, p. 116 (really 118), is written 'Quand La pastorelle est finist La seine se change en vng mont desus

<sup>15</sup> Plate X of *Designs by Inigo Jones for Masques & Plays at Court*, ed. Percy Simpson and C. F. Bell (The Twelfth Volume of the Walpole Society; Oxford, 1924). The 'Tabernacle of Tymber for the Queene standing uppou 8 pillars with architrave freeze & cornishe' referred to in 'The Declaration of the Accompte of Henry Wickes gentleman, Paymaster of the Workes,' Public Record Office, A. O. 1. 2424/56, may relate to this drawing, for the templelike building at the right has eight columns.

<sup>16</sup> This drawing and the drawings shown in Plates IIIb and IVb are published with permission of the Trustees of the Chatsworth Settlement and through the kindness of the Librarian, Mr Thomas S. Wragg.

Lequel sont assis les masques qui dessendent pour danser et puis apres se change La scine en la maison de Soumarcet et sy voit Le fleuve de Tamisc qui est La fin.' These last two scenes have not been found; the first is the usual descent scene of the actors when inviting the guests to dance with them, but whether the last scene was merely a view out of the windows of Somerset House, or a painted scene, it is impossible to say.

This little book (it collates A-G<sup>8</sup>) in its elegant binding, without a proper title, and with no name of printer or publisher, was privately printed for the use of the noble amateurs who presented this latest of Paris sensations to the English Court. Professor Harbage, speaking of the performance of Walter Montague's *Shepherd's Paradise* by Henrietta Maria and her ladies in 1633, says 'One cannot believe that these fragile-brained ladies of the court committed to memory such limitless stretches of opaque prose [*L'Artenice* is in verse and rather superior verse at that, but many of the speeches are more than fifty lines in length]; one pictures them with script delicately poised in their jewelled hands.'<sup>17</sup> And it was not a new practice in England to print masques for court performances privately, without imprints, presumably for the use of the actors. Ben Jonson before the date of this performance had had four masques so printed, not for sale, and most now very rare indeed, for two of them are, like *L'Artenice*, known only by a single copy.<sup>18</sup>

In France, where this practice may have originated, one finds various references to 'livrets,' 'livres de ballets,' and 'programmes' distributed at this period to invited guests, not for sale,<sup>19</sup> but no mention, so far as we have noticed, of actors' copies, that is, texts printed solely for the actors' use and not for commerce. The subject is an interesting one and well worth investigating.

JEAN PARRISH  
WILLIAM A. JACKSON

<sup>17</sup> *Cavalier Drama*, p. 14.

<sup>18</sup> The four are *Lovers Made Men*, 1617, *Time Vindicated*, 1623, *Neptunes Triumph*, 1624, and *The Fortunate Isles*, 1625. *News from the New World* was probably a fifth, though no copy has survived (see *The Carl H. Pforzheimer Library*, New York, 1940, II, 568-569).

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Arthur Desfeuilles, 'Notice bibliographique,' *Oeuvres de Molière*, ed. Eugène Despois and Paul Mesnard, XI (Paris, 1893), 9, and Victor Fournel, *Les contemporains de Molière* (Paris, 1863-75), II, 208.

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