

ALBERT CAMUS: HIS EFFORTS TO CREATE
MODERN TRAGEDY

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INTRODUCTION

Many critics of the work of Albert Camus have failed to realize the important role theater played in both the life and work of this author. Some have judged him as a philosopher. Others have spoken of him only in terms of one genre, that is, the novel and especially L'Étranger, overlooking a major aspect of Camus' literary work, that is, drama. The fact is that Camus from the beginning to the end of his life was involved in every aspect of theater: acting, directing, producing, writing original dramas, and adapting. Theater was indeed the passion of Camus' life, the one in which he was engaged when he was killed in 1960.

Camus believed in the theater and that is why his involvement with it did not begin or end simply with the writing of a play. Camus wrote as a director with the stage in mind and the actors in position, and with the same enthusiasm he nailed flats and arranged geraniums. Theater was in his blood; a few discerning critics have called him l'homme de théâtre with the same connotation one uses in speaking of Molière, not to suggest that Camus' creative ability rivaled that of Molière, but to signify his total involvement with theater.

Camus felt that the literary climate was ripe for true tragedy and he sought to achieve this tragedy in his lifetime. He wanted to create this tragedy by certain definite means. His experience of the stage, French dramatists, and theorists.

Copeau and Artaud, and his own passionate conviction led him to believe that he was capable of accomplishing this.

The pages that follow seek to give some information and insight into this man, Camus, and his life in the theater searching for tragedy. The first chapter summarizes Camus' life as it relates to the theater. The second chapter traces the major influences of Jacques Copeau and Antonin Artaud on the development of Camus' dramatic theories. The third chapter looks at Camus' great admiration for the American novelist William Faulkner in whose works he sees the possibilities of tragedy. Camus, already skilled in adapting the works of foreign authors for the stage, recognizes in Faulkner's Requiem for a Nun the ideal material to achieve that tragedy which he had so long projected. This adaptation seems a logical conclusion to his long quest.

Camus offered much to the literary world by his work in and for the theater. His adaptation was certainly a high point in these endeavors. The question still remains: Does Camus offer us a modern tragedy in Requiem pour une nonne?

CHAPTER 1

Life in Theater

The theater of Albert Camus is usually considered to have been a marginal activity which is treated conveniently in one chapter near the end of critical studies of his work. However, Camus was an actor and director of no mean competence who wrote, adapted, or translated more than a dozen plays and was devoted to the theater in these various areas throughout his life. Beginning in 1935 and extending to the time of his death in 1960, this was his first and last manner of expression. One critic even suggests that Camus stands out among the great contemporary novelist-playwrights not only because he was a playwright from his early years but because of a closer connection with the professional theater than any of his contemporaries, perhaps even more than playwrights such as Anouilh and Ionesco who have devoted themselves almost exclusively to the medium.¹

Albert Camus was born in the small village of Mondovi, Constantine, in Algeria on November 7, 1913. He lived there only a short time for in 1914 his father was killed in the Battle of the Marne. In order to make a living, Camus'

widowed mother with his older brother, Lucien, and Albert himself moved to a two-room apartment in the Belcourt quarter of Algiers. In 1919 Camus entered the primary school at Belcourt to stay there until 1924, the final-certificate year when boys of his economic level in society had to give up schoolbooks for grownup tools. Fortunately, there was someone to protect him against this usual fate. Louis Germain, a teacher in the école communale, was struck by the gifts he manifested and had Albert do extra work outside class in order to enter the competitive examinations for the lycée scholarships, one of which he won.²

At this time, the lower social strata in Algiers had a strong prejudice against education so that if you were poor, you worked with your hands. Moreover, the lycées were held by the middle class to be the particular preserve of their own sons so the scholarship-boy from the proletariat was a bit like a boy receiving public assistance. He had to work harder and to be more serious than his peers, for the people were paying his way. During these years, Camus went each day from one world to another: from Belcourt to the lycée, from the poor quarter to the rich boy's school, from the harsh life of the artisan to the cultured pursuits of knowledge. In later years Camus remembered the silence he met as he returned home and the curious indifference he noticed in his mother. This fascinated him and led him soon to discover in himself also a 'silence and solitude'.³ This family situation did not prevent Camus at this period from being a youth glad above all to be alive, a handsome, dark young man with good muscles, a sportsman, bearing the mark of his Spanish ancestry.

He had no premonition that in the days after the lycée he would suffer his first attack of tuberculosis, a disease which, with its inopportune appearance at this point in his life, was to mark him for the rest of his days and eventually prevent him from receiving his 'diplôme d'Étude Supérieure', thus thwarting any plan he had for a teaching career.

In 1930, during his studies at the lycée, Camus had first encountered the philosopher Jean Grenier who took great interest in him and who was instrumental in Camus' enrollment at the University of Algiers where he was Camus' philosophy professor. Thus began a fruitful friendship and an influence that endured throughout Camus' life.

Pierre Rubé comments on these years in the university with Jean Grenier that followed his bout with tuberculosis, years in which Camus grew in his excitement and enthusiasm for life--and his life's contribution through theater:

He entered the university as a student of philosophy, subsisting by means of varied employments. Once again he had as a teacher Jean Grenier, who would have a marked influence on his intellectual development. Despite material difficulties Camus began to live with frenzy, with that euphoria known to those "risen from the dead." Since everything came easily to him he took part in all kinds of activities, "devouring everything, life, ideas, ambitions, women." Yet underneath this seeming dispersion his genius took good care that his internal unity should be preserved. He felt that he had it in him to become a good actor, a good writer.⁴

In addition to his university studies, Camus was interested at this time in amateur theatricals and soccer. On Sunday, in a sky blue and white sweater, he served as goalie for the University Racing Club of Algiers.⁵

This involvement in the practice and play of the soccer field had no small effect on Camus' desires during the rest of his life. At the height of his fascination with theater he often recalled the solidarity of the team caught up in an effort toward a single task. In 1959 he spoke of this sense of solidarity in an article, "Pourquoi je fais du théâtre",

Pour moi je n'ai connu que dans le sport d'équipe, au temps de ma jeunesse, cette sensation puissante d'espoir et de solidarité qui accompagnent les longues journées d'entraînement jusqu'au jour du match victorieux ou perdu. Vraiment, le peu de morale que je sais, je l'ai appris sur les terrains de football et les scènes de théâtre qui resteront mes craies universités.⁶

In another part of this same article, Camus tried to

explain the reasons for his lifelong need to participate in the theater. Theater offered him the same community as the soccer team. In theater he found both the communal service and the limitations which he felt that all men needed. The artist is able to hold sway in his work because he works alone, but this mutual dependance is recognized with humility and contentment, a solidarity is discovered, which for Camus becomes a real community of work, giving a heart and soul to the endeavor.⁷

These last years in Camus' education surely marked an important stage in his life. Germaine Brée saw these as the formative years for what this man was to be the rest of his days:

The first part of Camus' life is a persistent struggle against the terrible and absorbing mechanism of poverty. As he made his way upward to the University of Algiers, he worked in many a job. It is during this little-known period of his life in Algiers, and through his first and not easily accessible works, that we can best follow the development of his particular talent and personality. For the man and his work are one. There is in the man an unchanging quality that has determined his growth and which is clearly recognized in his writing from the start. If any French writer today presents that 'monotone' which according to Proust, distinguishes the great artist from his contemporaries, it is certainly Camus. The quality of his vision, the brilliant, hard concentration of his style spring from his lucid and relentless meditation on life.

It was during Camus' university years that Jean Grenier introduced him to Greek drama in the course of his philosophy studies, thus Camus' interest in tragic art began to find its real substance. Under Grenier he continued these classical philosophy studies. In 1932, in preparation for his 'diplôme d'Études Supérieures' in philosophy, Camus chose as his thesis Métaphysique chrétienne et néoplatonisme in which he was attempting to deal with the relationship between Hellenism and Christianity as expressed in Plotinus and Saint Augustine. One can discover the roots of his tragic and dramatic theories in this study which motivated him to enter into theater in all the aspects which appealed to him.

In 1934, at the age of twenty, influenced by the works

of such men as Gide and Malraux, attracted by the interest the Communists showed in the exploited state of the Arabs, and repelled by the abject position of the democracies vis-à-vis Mussolini, Hitler, and Franco, Camus joined the Communist Party along with friends under whose aegis in 1936 he formed the Théâtre du Travail in Algiers. The company consisted of students and workers, Frenchmen, Jews, and Algerians of various origins.⁹ Its beginning was haphazard but held together firmly by Camus' determination and passion for what he was about.

L'amitié. Quelques étudiants, des ouvriers, des camarades de sport. Les premiers fonds ont été fournis par la Maison de la Culture à Alger, dont je m'occupais. Ensuite, l'acrobatie ordinaire. Nous faisons tout nous-mêmes, depuis les adaptations jusqu'aux costumes et aux décors. Trois mois de travail et deux mois de répétitions pour jouer deux fois: il fallait y croire!¹⁰

This theater group composed mainly of young amateurs aimed to bring good plays to the working population and to the progressive intellectual elite. In the wording of its manifesto this experiment in theatrical revolt showed the spirit of idealism current at this time in theatrical circles. Social and political considerations are the dominant in Camus' thought and cause him to conceive of the theater as a 'school of values' somewhat in the same way as Romain Rolland in his Théâtre du Peuple. The manifesto of Camus and his friends confirmed that collective effort and social responsibility were to be combined with high artistic standards.¹¹

Un Théâtre du Travail s'organise à Alger grâce à un effort collectif et désintéressé. Ce théâtre a conscience de la valeur artistique propre à toute littérature de masse, veut démontrer que l'art peut gagner quelquefois à sortir de sa tour d'ivoire et croit que le sens de la beauté est inséparable d'un certain sens de l'humanité. Ces idées ne sont guère originales. Et le Théâtre du Travail en est bien persuadé. Mais l'originalité ne le préoccupe point. Son effort est de restituer quelques valeurs humaines et non d'apporter de nouveaux thèmes de pensée.¹²

This 'crédo', though collective and anonymous, was probably the work of Camus, his first to be printed, since he

was the animateur of this 'disinterested' group in question. Naive as the above statement may be, Camus did not disown it. It seems that even at twenty-two no art could thrive on dilettantism or aestheticism. This is also a prediction that the aesthetic power of his work and its importance would be closely related to Camus' personal 'sense of humanity.' On the other hand, Camus did not sacrifice beauty to a 'sense of humanity' for when the question of social propaganda came up, he quickly decided: the Théâtre du Travail would present plays because they were good plays and they would be necessarily bearers of social human values.¹³

The first endeavor of Camus' troupe was an adaptation of Malraux's Le Temps du mépris. This initial performance was well received by a youthful audience and was followed by a highly original work Révolte dans les Asturies. This was a 'team creation' written to be staged and acted collectively by Camus and his comrades. Though never allowed to be presented, it was published in Algiers by the editor, Charlot. This play was an interesting precursor of Camus' later attempt at total theater in collaboration with Jean-Louis Barrault, L'État de siège, set also in Spain and recalling, though faintly, this first attempt.¹⁴

The principles which Camus set down in the manifesto and the beginning of the Théâtre du Travail were soon put to the test. Because of a change of political winds, it was not long before he and the Communist Party were at loggerheads. The Party, for reasons of political opportunism, suddenly reversed its outlook with respect to the Arabs, and became hostile and disdainful. Camus refused to make his theater group an organ of political propaganda. Thus, two years after joining, he and his friends left the Party. They then closed the Théâtre du Travail and founded the Théâtre de l'Équipe. Rejecting the narrow limits of political preachment, they sought for their dramatic activities a genuine pedagogic, broadly cultural, humanistic basis. Camus was the leading spirit, the animateur, as he acted, wrote, directed, and

adapted.¹⁵

As E. Freeman sees the situation, Camus' departure from the Communist Party was the actual beginning, the "Year I" in the artistic life of Albert Camus:

...there was a clean-cut break between the two companies. The issue was Communism. If we wish to discover one of the principal reasons why Camus virtually disowned his association with the Théâtre du Travail and considered that his career began with the Théâtre de l'Équipe we need look no further than this. The Théâtre du Travail was officially committed to the Communist cause, under the aegis of its parent body, the Maison de la Culture, and formed part of the general pattern of rapprochement between intellectuals and the masses.¹⁶

It seems that "Travail" became "l'Équipe" through Camus' commitment to honesty and to his convictions. Truth continued to be at the core of all his theater in the writing and in the staging--in success or in failure:

Voilà, il me semble, assez de raisons personnelles qui expliquent que je donne au théâtre un temps que je refuse avec obstination aux dîners en ville et au monde où l'on s'ennuie. Ce sont des raisons d'homme mais j'ai aussi des raisons d'artiste, c'est-à-dire plus mystérieuses. Et d'abord je trouve que le théâtre est un lieu de vérité. On dit généralement, il est vrai, que c'est le lieu de l'illusion. N'en croyez rien. C'est la société plutôt qui vivrait d'illusions et vous rencontrerez sûrement moins de cabotins à la scène qu'à la ville. Prenez en tout cas un de ces acteurs non professionnels qui figurent dans nos salons, nos administrations ou plus simplement nos salles de générales. Placez-le sur cette scène, à cet endroit exact, lâchez sur lui 4000 watts de lumière, et la comédie alors ne tiendra plus, vous le verrez tout nu, d'une certaine manière, dans la lumière de la vérité.¹⁷

Looking back on these two theatrical ventures, it appears that Camus gained much experience and insight into all areas of the art of theater. Not that his insight was original. During this period, he was greatly influenced by the contemporaries of his day in theater. This influence seems most clear in the works Camus selected to present in the two companies and his methods of directing and producing there. Camus was animateur of both companies between 1935 and 1939.

How this influence began is not clear and Camus' own writings serve only to complicate matters. Camus explains himself in an interview in 1958, when he reveals his great admiration for Jacques Copeau. It seems that this is where the inspiration had its inception, an inspiration that remained at the center of Camus' art throughout his theatrical years.¹⁸

...l'histoire de Vieux-Colombier et les écrits de Copeau m'ont donné l'envie puis la passion du théâtre. J'ai mis le théâtre de l'Equipe, que j'ai fondé à Alger, sous le signe de Copeau et j'ai repris, avec les moyens du bord, une partie de son répertoire. Je continue de penser que nous devons à Copeau la réforme de théâtre français et que cette dette est inépuisable.¹⁹

Not only were these theaters the laboratories where Camus clarified and exerted his influence through directing, acting and adapting scripts for the stage, but it seems this time was one in which he grew in depth of awareness of himself and of the theater and of their interrelation. Theater freed Camus from his solitude and self-questioning as a writer, and from the pettiness of literary rivalries. As football or journalism, theater called for team work, for the collective effort of working long hours away from the abstraction of the writer's desk. He began to see more clearly why he sought the theater and why it was necessary for him in his writing and adapting.²⁰

Mais pour en rester aux considérations personnelles, je dois ajouter que le théâtre m'aide aussi à fuir l'abstraction qui menace tout écrivain. De même qu'au temps où je faisais du journalisme, je préférais la mise en page sur le marbre de l'imprimerie à la rédaction de ces sortes de prêches qu'on appelle éditoriaux, de même j'aime qu'au théâtre l'oeuvre prenne racine dans le fouillis des projecteurs, des praticables, des toiles et des objets. Je ne connais pas par les bras le poids du décor. C'est une grande règle d'art et j'aime ce métier qui m'oblige à considérer en même temps que la psychologie des personnages, la place d'une lampe ou d'un pot de géranium, le grain d'une étoffe, le poids et le relief d'un caisson qui doit être porté aux cintres.²¹

In the years of his life in these theaters he also grew

in his appreciation of his most variable material on the stage, his actors. The actor became the most precious and most satisfying to work with for he was the principal. He was the soul of the production incarnated. Camus delighted in watching the actor enter into his role, giving voice and life to that which Camus had created and read in solitude and silence. This would always be his greatest joy as a director and the one for which he would always be grateful to those who had worked and granted it to him.²²

A man could not have spoken in this way had not the theater taken a special place in his life, had not theater in fact become his life. Theater answered a basic need in Camus for so much of what constituted true happiness for him.

Comment? Pourquoi je fais du théâtre? Eh bien je me le suis souvent demandé, Et la seule réponse que j'aie pu me faire jusqu'à présent vous paraîtra d'une décourageante banalité: tout simplement parce qu'une scène de théâtre est un des lieux du monde où je suis heureux. Remarquez d'ailleurs que cette réflexion est moins banale qu'il y paraît. Le bonheur aujourd'hui est une activité originale.²³

Perhaps last but not least of what came to full stature in these theaters, at least for those of us who observe from without, was Camus' work in literary adaptation. In his earliest efforts with the Theatre de l'Équipe he produced adaptations of Malraux and Dostoievsky, as well as works of less distinguished writers. This talent for adapting other writer's works for the stage remained one of Camus' real gifts. In later life he tackled with notable success plays and novels by Faulkner, Calderón, Buzzati, Lope de Vega, and others. This aspect of Camus' dramatic work will become of increasing interest and importance in this study.²⁴

Camus' experience with Théâtre du Travail and Théâtre de l'Équipe served him well also as an apprentice actor since from 1936 through 1937 Camus belonged to the theatrical troupe of Radio Algiers. In this group he traveled for two weeks out of every month through the small towns and villages of Algeria, playing for the people.

Thus began an important phase of Camus' career. His interest in the theater never lessened. As writer, director, and adaptor he continued to give a great deal of thought to contemporary theater and to its problems.²⁵

Little happened in the next few years to bring Camus into the news of the literary world. War was raging and Camus was hidden in the depths of this absurd progression of events. However, these war years were not empty years for Camus, as is evidenced by his works, but rather years when his thought was turned particularly toward theater. His thirst for truth drew him to the Resistance at this time also, and there he found a camaraderie he needed. These two passions held him for a moment but after the war he returned to a total effort in the theater.

La guerre et ses suites, dont le journalisme, m'ont séparé de ce métier pendant quelques années. Mais j'y reviens et j'ai l'impression de ne l'avoir jamais quitté, puisque, entre temps, j'ai réfléchi aux problèmes de la scène.²⁶

Voyez-vous, il existe des choses dont j'ai la nostalgie, par exemple la camaraderie telle qu'elle existait dans la Résistance ou à Combat. Tout cela est loin! Mais je retrouve au théâtre cette amitié et cette aventure collective dont j'ai besoin et qui sont encore une des manières les plus généreuses de ne pas être seul.²⁷

However, a few dates during these war years play an important role in Camus' dramatic development. In 1938, he completed the writing of Caligula, his first original dramatic work. This was two years before he finished L'Etranger, the novel for which this man of twenty-seven years became famous. In 1940, with the demise of Soir-Républicain, Camus left his native Algiers and went to live in Paris where, after the war, he found himself closer to the center, where his literary and theatrical desires could be realized and fulfilled. In 1943, he completed his second tragic drama, Le Malentendu.

The years which followed Camus' special productive silence are the years of the high-water mark of Camus' dramatic

activity. Between 1944 and 1949 his four original plays were given their fully professional Paris productions, calling on the best talents in French theater of that day. Camus' twin philosophies, the absurd and revolt, found their expression in these works. Based on the premise that life was absurd with varying degrees of explicitness, Caligula and Le Malentendu dwelt mainly on the metaphysical and abstract nature of the absurd while L'État de siège and Les Justes concentrated more on the social implications of this philosophy. Each play contained at least one major character who was unable to preserve the tension of the absurd and whose initial reaction was to commit homicide rather than suicide. Absurd man attempted to become the ally and propagator of the absurd rather than its victim. All four plays were in some measure based on the absurdity of life and examined the possible reactions to it, revolt and revolution.²⁸

The first of the four to be staged was Le Malentendu, making its premier at the Théâtre des Mathurins in the excitable Paris of 1944. It was met with mixed reception, some being embarrassed before they became openly hostile while others were enthusiastic. Argument after argument arose with the ill-disposed attacking the play's technique and the defenders pointing to the quality of the subject matter and dialogue. The dramatic logic was not without contrivances as the whole action rests on a succession of chances.²⁹

Le Malentendu was described in Camus' Notebooks, and the kernel of the plot appeared in his novel L'Étranger. Meursault in his prison cell gave a melodramatic version from a newspaper clipping he found.

A man left his Czechoslovakian village to make his fortune. At the end of twenty-five years, rich now, he returned with a wife and child. In order to take his mother and sister, who ran a hotel in his native village, by surprise, he left his wife and child in one establishment and went to his mother's inn. When his mother failed to recognise him as he came in, as a joke he took a room without enlightening her. But he had shown his money, and during the night his mother and sister murdered him with a hammer in order to steal the

money and threw his body into the river. In the morning his wife arrived and not knowing what had happened, revealed his identity. The mother hanged herself. The sister threw herself into the well.³⁰

Caligula appeared at the Théâtre Hébertot the following year in a blaze of triumph. A good share of the triumph was due to Gerard Philipe, the brilliant young actor, who was launched on his career by this play. Philipe's mad Caligula, calling down the moon to himself and breaking the mirror, brought the audience to its feet applauding this actor of little more than twenty years.³¹

Caligula speaks the message of the play clearly, "men die and are not happy." The setting is imperial Rome. Caligula, a young and benevolent Emperor, disappears for three days after the sudden death of his beloved sister-mistress, Drusilla. He has undergone quite a metamorphosis upon his return. He imposes on his court and people a tyrannical, capricious, and murderous will, putting off even his closest friends until all join in revolt and kill him.

The curtain rises as the audience and actors await the return of the Emperor with the end of the first act heralding Caligula's own "play within a play," announced by the striking of a gong. In the three following acts Caligula becomes the director of a grim and farcical drama in which he casts himself as the central character and through which, he proclaims, he will "catch the conscience" of his subjects. His "play" ends with his violent death.³²

L'État de siège was the most ambitious of all Camus' plays and the most unsuccessful. It was staged on October 27, 1948, 'dans les ors et velours du Marigny, devant un Tout-Paris irrémédiablement futile', but it failed to live up to the promise held out by the collaboration of such as Barrault, Renaud, Cesarès, Brasseur, Bertin, Marceau, Desailly, Honegger, and Balthus. Critics across the board understood and sympathized with the message of the play, a passionate endorsement of man's duty of rebellion against political tyranny, but they complained of lifeless characterization, pre-

tentious verbage, simplistic symbolism and undiscernible balletic mise en scène. The critics laid most of the blame of failure with Barrault, the leading actor and director, with whom Camus spent a year creating the play. They alleged that Barrault induced Camus to write in a style alien to his temperament and talent, but the extent of the adverse affect of the forceful personality of Barrault is hard to assess. Barrault himself saw that the play had good subject matter and had some very exceptional moments. He gave no particular reason for its failure. He compared the play's lack of success to the making of a mayonnaise which at various times will not catch. He added that he felt that had the critics not assailed the play so quickly it could have been a success. He saw the possibilities of a team growing from the success of L'État de siège since he greatly admired Camus and got on well with him, but Fate ruled otherwise. Barrault hoped that this first failure would not be such a blow to Camus that they would lose him, but he was forced because of expenses to close the show.³³ However, Camus distributed no blame for the failure and accepted complete responsibility for the published text.³⁴

The action of the play is briefly described as follows. The plague was personified in a sinister human dictator who comes to the Spanish town of Cadiz. He is accompanied by a female secretary who listed the inhabitants of the town in a notebook. She infected individuals with the epidemic and also kills them outright by striking their names off the list with her pencil. The Plague himself instituted a reign of terror which he reinforced by a series of administrative measures involving the worst features of bureaucracy. These were largely carried out by a drunken nihilist properly named Nada. The chorus of citizens proclaimed the confusion, anger, and fear of the situation throughout the play. A young man, Diego, in love with Victoria, daughter of the town judge, emerged as the hero. In the end accepting death and renouncing life with Victoria with courage and sacrifice,

Diego freed the town from the Plague.³⁵

Les Justes opened on December 15, 1949, at the Théâtre Hérbetot, just over a year after L'État de siège at the Marigny. Despite Camus' initial pessimistic interpretation of the critical reaction, the play became a victory for him and ran over 400 performances. Academic critics were far more enthusiastic about the play than theater critics, sharing Cruickshank's view that this play was Camus' "greatest dramatic achievement."

In the essentials of its plot historically and specifically, Les Justes is about a rebellion against tyranny centering around the assassination in Moscow in 1905 of the Grand Duke Sergei Alexandrovitch, uncle of Nicholas II. The hero is Ivan Kaliayev, a student and poet, who throws a bomb. Upon seeing the young nephew and niece of the Duke in the carriage with him, Kaliayev holds back in the first attempt. Two days later as the Duke is alone, Kaliayev kills him. Making no attempt to escape, Kaliayev is arrested, tried and executed. All this happens off-stage. The play takes place in a room rented by the assassins, except the fourth act set in Kaliayev's cell the day after the assassination when he is visited by the Chief of Police and the widowed Grand Duchess. Kaliayev, according to his own theory, took the Duke's life in a just cause and pays his own life in exchange without repentance even at the pleas of the Grand Duchess.³⁶

With Les Justes ended Camus' original creative work in the theater. All other theatrical involvement concerned adaptations of other writer's work. Once again, during this period, Camus' involvement extended far beyond the role of writer and producer as it had in the early days of Algiers. In 1952 he saw an opening for the expression of his ideas and presented himself as a candidate for the state-subsidized Théâtre Récamier, but no mention was made of the results of his petition.

In 1953, perhaps as a sign of some inner evolution, Camus suddenly came back to work in theater. The city of

Angers offered the courtyard of its castle to Jean Marchat and Marcel Herrand. Two plays were announced, the Dévotion à la Croix of Calderón and Les Esprits by Larivey, both adapted by Camus, and produced by him. In the course of the rehearsals and preparations Herrand fell ill and Camus took his place as director. As a result, he remained partly in charge of this annual festival for several years.³⁷

The next few years were spent adapting and staging several works which drew Camus' interest. In 1955 at the Théâtre La Bruyère, he presented Dino Buzzati's Un Caso Clinico under the title Un Cas intéressant in a reasonably successful run. The following year he staged in the Théâtre des Mathurins his adaptation of William Faulkner's Requiem for a Nun under the same title. This play enjoyed a successful run in Paris far exceeding either of his acclaimed originals, Caligula and Les Justes. It was in the direction of this play that Paris discovered in Camus the first rate theatrical director who had made his debut in Algiers twenty years earlier. These Parisian successes brought theater to the center of his life again.³⁸

In 1957 Camus was at Angers again with an adaptation of Lope de Vega's Chevalier d'Olmedo and his Caligula. Caligula proved to be somewhat anachronistic in this production but de Vega was the delight of the audiences.

In 1959 Camus fulfilled a hope cherished since his work in Algiers. He staged Dostoevski's Les Possédés under his personal direction at the Théâtre Antoine. The success was so great that it inspired a traveling company, la compagnie Hébertot, to take it to the provinces the following season.³⁹

Also in 1959, plans were made for Camus to come to the United States to aid in the production of his Caligula. The play was to be directed by Sidney Lumet in the 54th Street Theater in New York for a run beginning in February. Obviously Camus did not come to the States but the production continued despite his untimely death. The New York production's extravagance obscured Camus' themes but ultimately, largely

due to this work, Camus' theater became known and popular in the United States.⁴⁰

In this same year Camus was offered an experimental theater by André Malraux, in charge of France's artistic activities. Camus accepted. "The heart groans to think of what this was to lead to."⁴¹ He never had a chance to carry out the plans he had for this theater. Albert Camus was killed suddenly in an auto accident on January 4, 1960, at Villeblevin near Montereau while riding in Michel Gallimard's car.

It can be said with some certainty that at no particular moment did Camus make a decision to "do theater". Theater seemed a part of his very nature from the tragical events of his earliest childhood. It answered a definite need. At every corner it offered him a new challenge. Camus felt that only a living, breathing, speaking world could establish an intense kind of communication with the public. Theater was this living world. He longed as if spurred by time running out to communicate some urgent and imminently important truths by this theater. Though his time did run out, many critics feel that he did not fail in this endeavor to communicate. Theater was Camus' life, his passion in living.⁴²

CHAPTER 2

Influence and Theories

From his years of experience in the theater Camus knew what went into making a play from its earliest conception in the mind of the writer to the hours of tedious work in final preparation for its staging. He had experienced toiling over a desk for hours and for days on end trying to get the dialogue right; he also knew the hours and the patience required to pound this dialogue into shape at rehearsals with the actors. He knew too the work involved in getting everything right in an adaptation while not letting the genius of the original work slip away in the interpretation. As a director he felt the tension generated by the interplay of all these factors until there finally emerged the artistic balance one could call tragedy. Camus knew in depth all that comprises theater not by theory or by casual exposure to the reality of this art; he knew it by first-hand experience. This experience was not wasted on his brilliance since he seemed able to extract from his knowledge of the present and the past of the theater the values and common elements he found there. He

reflected upon these points and then proceeded to set forth his ponderings in dramatic theories.

In the years immediately following his theatrical experiences in Algiers, Camus' outlook on theater was greatly influenced by the contemporary artists in French drama. In Camus' early years in the theater Jacques Copeau and Antonin Artaud exerted perhaps the strongest influences and later his theories continued to bear witness to these influences. Their input was significant. Copeau re-oriented the professional theater toward higher aesthetic and philosophical standards while Artaud claimed for it a revolutionary and metaphysical function, that of shocking the spectator into a re-examination of his whole being by means of a catharsis more total than anything conceived by Aristotle.¹ For the purposes of this paper, these influences are significant not only because of their effect on the theater in France as a whole but more especially because of the bearing on the theories developed by Camus.

As a result of Copeau's dedication and courage as a critic and director, French theater had acquired a much greater integrity than it had previously. Before World War I French theater was almost totally a commercial affair. The controlling force was the owner and manager of the 'boulevard' theater on the Right-Bank with the playwright existing to produce script which catered to the physical and histrionic needs of the star actresses and actors. These scripts made no intellectual demands on either performer or the spectator but daring they had to be. Somewhere near the bottom of the theatrical hierarchy was the director, whose duty was to show off the stars to best advantage, while seeing that they turned up for rehearsals as often as possible and learned their lines more or less accurately, give or take a bit of leeway during the obligatory tirades. Above all, the director was to make sure that the actors did not walk out of the show. This would cost him his job and the management much money.²

Both directly and indirectly, Copeau re-oriented this

deplorable situation. By the late 1930's, when the young Camus came into the theater, the French theater had been transformed by almost a generation of dedicated and inspired directors who were Copeau's contemporaries and disciples: Lugné-Poë, Pitoëff, Baty, Gémier, and Jouvet. These men, though in frequent conflict over style, were united in regarding the theater as an art rather than a business, an art both experimental and popular. Like the team of Copeau's Théâtre du Vieux-Colombier, actors were not just to be disciplined, versatile, skilled in all the theater arts, and subordinated to the overall interests of the production. Above all, a far more responsible and artistically sophisticated attitude now prevailed in all quarters, among critics, playwrights, performers, and the public.³

Camus greatly admired Copeau and his accomplishments in the theater. As his disciple, he also placed importance above all on the text, the style, the beauty of the work. He sought to bring all these into unity. An integral part of this unity consisted in not allowing the producers avid for money to use the stage for their own propaganda since in this direction lay division and even the total death of the art of theater.⁴

In an article called "Copeau, Seul Maître," Camus expresses well his admiration for Copeau as director and man of the theater and singles out the points in this master which will guide him in theater.

En ce qui concerne les acteurs, il n'était pas, certes, pour la "distanciation". "Le tout du comédien, disait-il, c'est de se donner." Il est vrai qu'il ajoutait aussitôt: "Pour se donner, il faut d'abord qu'il se possède." Ce qui, au contraire, risque d'indisposer ces acteurs qui croient que l'émotion tient lieu de technique et de métier, alors que le métier est exactement le libérateur de l'émotion. Il voulait aussi que, de son côté, le metteur en scène fût discret. "Amorcer le sentiment chez l'acteur, non le dicter". En somme, il cachait le metteur en scène derrière le comédien et le comédien derrière le texte. Bref, le monde à l'envers... Mais je ne veux pas impatienter par ces rappels une famille dont j'aime tout les membres, même les plus différents. Souvenons-nous seulement que Copeau consi-

dérait l'oeuvre dramatique comme un fait de culture, et de culture universelle, où tous les hommes pouvaient se retrouver. Il savait que la culture est toujours menacée, et plus encore au théâtre qu'ailleurs, par l'argent, la veulerie, la haine, la politique, par les intérêts financiers ou idéologiques, et qu'il convenait d'être intransigeant sur ce point. Il a été intransigeant. En conséquence, il fut adoré et détesté à la fois. Mais ceci n'intéresse que lui. Ce qui nous intéresse, c'est ce qu'il a fait par la vertu d'intransigeance. Cela se résume d'ailleurs brièvement. Dans l'histoire du théâtre français, il y a deux périodes: avant Copeau et après Copeau. À nous de nous en souvenant sévère du seul maître qui puisse être reconnu en même temps par les auteurs, les comédiens et les animateurs.⁵

Artaud also played an influential role in shaping theory and practice on the stage and as a director. He considered a performance to be a mass experience in which the spectator was the essential participant upon whom the drama had to act as violently as a surgical operation. It had to tear away the complacent mask of security and everyday drowsiness. He envisages a kind of theater-in-the-round in the center of which a magic, daemonic ceremony would be performed through magic, dance, mime, cries, and sometimes even words. The forces of darkness in sexuality, death, and life thus unleashed would produce a kind of cleansing of subconscious drives. Camus was drawn to this concept of dramatic violence and shock technique advocated by Artaud. He also shared Artaud's conviction that drama was a form of transcendence, existing only on the metaphysical level.⁶ Camus attempted this "total theater" with Barrault in L'État de siège in 1948 but was unsuccessful.

Once Camus expressed a desire to carry out this concept of Artaud's in his own projections for his future work, using theater-in-the-round perhaps, and incorporating Artaud's ideas into the very content and aims of his actors and script.

Avoir théâtre avec un plateau commode. Y montrer que le théâtre d'aujourd'hui n'est pas celui de l'alcôve ni du placard. Qu'il n'est pas non plus un tréteau de patronage, moralisant ou politique. Qu'il n'est pas une école de haine, mais de réunion. Notre époque a sa grandeur qui peut être celle de notre théâtre. Mais a

la condition que nous mettions sur scène de grandes actions où tous puissent se retrouver, que la générosité y soit en lutte avec le désespoir, que s'y affrontent, comme dans toute vraie tragédie, des forces égales en raison et en malheur, que batte enfin sur nos scènes le vrai cœur de l'époque, espérant et déchiré.

Mais cela suppose un style d'acteurs, débarrassés de ce faux naturel que nous devons au cinéma et pliés au jeu collectif (donc une école et une troupe), des écrivains, une scène étudiée, un plateau où l'on puisse ouvrir les bras, jouer large, montrer les corps et leur beauté, retrouver la "démésure proportionnelle" qui caractérise, selon moi, la vérité de l'attitude et de l'émotion dramatiques. Si je trouvais un théâtre, je crois que j'essayerais de déblayer au moins les abords de ce chemin.

During this time, in the wake of Copeau and his adaptations, Camus found interest in the Renaissance theater of Spain and England. Here there was a return to a much more metaphysical and ritual concept of theater, far closer to the roots of human existence than had been found in European theater since the end of the 17th century. At the same time the positive demands these works offered to the imagination of the director were overpowering while they rehabilitated the full range of the theater arts. Most of the rejuvenations--mime, music, symbolic décor, stylized costume--had virtually disappeared during the 19th century or had ceased to be utilized with consistency and sensitivity.⁸

These major aspirations, and ideas of Camus concerning the theater are really epitomized in a single article in which he sets forth most of his principles for the stage and for writing and adapting. This article is "Sur L'Avenir de la tragédie." Here he makes it very clear from the beginning that in his dramatic creations he is striving for tragedy. "Je suis pour la tragédie et non pour le melodrame, pour la participation totale et non pour l'attitude critique."⁹ It is obvious from the outset that his explicit intent in theater was to give a serious interpretation to life, to reach to the very roots of existence. However, an Germaine Brée points out, Camus was too involved in the human angle of drama, overly conscious of the rich humanity present in the indivi-

dual personalities of his great models. He could not be tempted to abstraction or to abstract spatial schemes or any overemphasis. Violent and extreme characters, passions, and situations, such as offered by Artaud, Camus could accept, but in his hands they became more human and individualized, projected through a fitting language. His thought matured considerably but its general orientation never changed.¹⁰

Camus begins his article by raising the question whether tragedy is possible in our time. For two reasons he believes it is possible. First of all, he proposes that the great periods of tragic art occur in history in centuries of crucial change. He cites the Renaissance as one of the most convincing examples. These are moments in which the lives of those nations of people which are heavy both with glory and menace bear the dramatic nature of the present and the uncertainty of the future. Camus points out that these periods mark a moment in time where there occurs a transition from the forms of cosmic thought saturated with the notions of divinity and holiness to forms inspired by individualistic and rationalist concepts. He observes that such are the movements of ideas in the periods. Each time this has occurred in history, for instance, in the time of Aeschylus and of Shakespeare, the individual is freeing himself from a cultural context and is standing face to face with a previous world of terrors and devotion. In each of these periods, Camus suggests that dramatic works move from ritual tragedy and religious celebration to psychological tragedy. It is his theory that in the final triumph of individual reason, the literature of tragedy dries up for centuries.¹¹

His second reason for believing in the possibility of modern tragedy lies in the fact that in his time Camus saw in France the advent of outstanding dramatic writers. For almost half a century theater had been the realm of theatrical brokers and business interests. With Jacques Copeau there began a resurgence of dramatic writers leading to a resurrection of the tragic forms that put dramatic art back into its

rightful place, at the pinnacle of the literary arts.¹²

As a consequence, Camus judged his own era a period which should be favorable to the development of tragedy since it was a time of transition. Moreover, he observed that many contemporary writers in France were engrossed in creating tragedy. This was his most exciting expectation: the possibility of creating true tragedy in his time. He was in no position to say: "Conditions favorables. Tragédie suit.", but he looked with hope to this possibility and he repeatedly expressed his theories as to how tragedy might best and most quickly be achieved.¹³

Camus attempted then to define tragedy in the classical sense, realizing however, that for his present purposes, to describe the true nature of tragedy, he needed some basis of comparison for his definition. To narrow his distinctions, he compares tragedy to melodrama.

Voici quelle me paraît être la différence: les forces qui s'affrontent dans la tragédie sont également légitimes, également armées en raison. Dans le mélodrame ou le drame, au contraire, l'une seulement est légitime. Autrement dit, la tragédie est ambiguë, le drame simpliste. Dans la première, chaque force est en même temps bonne et mauvaise. Dans le second, l'une est le bien, l'autre le mal... La formule du mélodrame serait en somme: "Un seul est juste et justifiable" et la formule tragique par excellence: "Tous sont justifiables, personne n'est juste." C'est pourquoi le chœur des tragédies antiques donne principalement des conseils de prudence. Car il sait que sur une certaine limite tout le monde a raison et que celui qui, par aveuglement ou passion, ignore cette limite, court à la catastrophe pour faire triompher un droit qu'il croit être le seul à avoir. Le thème constant de la tragédie antique est ainsi la limite qu'il ne faut pas dépasser. De part et d'autre de cette limite se rencontrent des forces également légitimes dans un affrontement vibrant et ininterrompu. Se tromper sur cette limite, vouloir rompre cet équilibre, c'est s'abîmer. On retrouvera aussi bien dans Macbeth ou dans Phèdre (quoique de façon moins pure que dans la tragédie grecque) cette idée de la limite qu'il ne faut pas franchir, et passée laquelle c'est la mort ou le désastre. On s'expliquera enfin pourquoi le drame idéal, comme le drame romantique, est d'abord mouvement et action puisqu'il figure la lutte du bien contre le mal et les péripéties de cette lutte, tandis que la tragédie idéale, et particulièrement la

grecque, est d'abord tension puisqu'elle est l'opposition, dans une immobilité forcée, de deux puissances, couvertes chacune des doubles masques du bien et du mal.¹⁴

Tragedy demands balance and tension between opposing forces. Anything that destroys this balance also destroys tragedy. Thus, for Camus, tragedy seemed an impossibility in a Christian order. He admits religious drama, but he allows for no possibility of religious tragedy. Christianity places man and the world in a divine order, and thus he repeats, there is no tension between the world and the religious principal. Camus insists that in tragedy the hero rebels and rejects the order oppressing him, while the divine power, in its opposition, affirms itself exactly to the same extent as it is denied. That is, revolt alone is not enough nor an affirmation of the divine order. Both are necessary, supporting each other and reinforcing each other with their own strengths.¹⁵

Camus goes on to point out that if a tragedy ends in death or punishment, then what has been punished is not the crime itself but the blindness of the hero who has denied balance and tension. That balance or tension is the element constructing tragedy.

On a pu écrire ainsi que la tragédie balance entre les pôles d'un nihilisme extrême et d'un espoir illimité. Rien n'est plus vrai, selon moi. Le héros nie l'ordre qui le frappe et l'ordre divin frappe parce qu'il est nie. Tous deux affirment ainsi leur existence, réciproque dans l'instant même où elle est contestée.¹⁶

In the later part of this article, Camus points out that renaissance of tragedy seems to be in progress among French writers. He bases this conclusion on the fact that there is a search among them for a tragic language because, though there is a tragic climate, no tragedy can exist without a language which conveys the depth of the mounting situation and its gravity in conclusion. This language is difficult to formulate when it must reflect the contradiction of a tragic situation. Camus pointed out very specifically what

this formulation must be. The language had to be both hieratic and familiar, barbarous and learned, mysterious and clear, haughty and pitiful. He noted that in quest of this language the writers had gone back to its sources in the tragic epochs.¹⁷

They found this tragic language had to be that in which the words came from the mouth of the man of the street. On the other hand, it has to be different in order to express through its gravity and power the seriousness and depth of ideas raised in tragedy. The unusual and exalted situation appears here. A tension struggling to bring two poles closer is emphasized in the language.

In general, Camus, clinging to the long tradition of French classical tragedy, was no doubt expressing a view shared by others who influenced him when he insisted that tragedy must draw its strength first and foremost from the significance of its subject matter. He firmly believed that living theater could only retain its vitality in exploring serious themes and in portraying deep seated emotions.¹⁸ There could be no tragedy without the extremes. It requires the genius of the tragedian to purify human destiny by marking off its antinomies, contradictions, and its redoubtable polarities. Through its ability to portray extremities, tragedy was superiorly equipped to demonstrate the limits of human nature upon which limits the sense of tragedy is based.¹⁹

For a young playwright such as Camus who was so conscious both of the models of the past and past themes, imbued with the grandeur of tragedy, the elevation of which seduced him, the fashioning of a drama could only be difficult and indeed perilous enterprise. He seemed always to have felt that the answers to his theory must be sought in an experience that he as an author and playwright widely shared with the humblest of man around him: personal, and collective, immediate, yet all encompassing and timeless. Unquestionably he considered each of his works an experiment in his theory, a search in the direction of tragedy.²⁰ He himself

said of his theory and work: "J'ai une idée, bien précise, de ce qu'est le théâtre, de ce que doit être le jeu des acteurs. J'amierais faire vivre mes conceptions."²¹

CHAPTER 3

Tragedy in an Adaptation

In the two preceeding chapters we considered to what extent Camus' life was absorbed in the theater, and we have seen the theories which grew out of these years of involvement. It is our aim to look at a play which came from the work and experience of these years and which demonstrates the application of these theories. Camus' passion for the theater involved him at every turn and it seems that this fascination grew through the years to an increased skill and creativity with the mounting possibilities of success. From the beginning, Camus' aim was to create tragedy. Finally this search for a formula for modern tragedy seemed to have been realized through adaptations. Here he found his strength and united it with the genius of another author. As he worked in comradeship on the the stage directing and producing plays, thus satisfying a basic need; so he labored in his adaptations in a kind of solidarity with another author.

For Camus, the two activities of writing for theater

and working concretely with the staging seemed to increase his ability. "Doing theater" seemed to feed his desire and to excite it further. He remarked once in an interview:

J'ai écrit pour le théâtre parce que je jouais et je mettais en scène. Ensuite, j'ai compris qu'à cause de ses difficultés même, le théâtre est le plus haut des genres littéraires. Je ne voulais rien exprimer, mais créer des personnages, et l'émotion, et le tragique. Plus tard, j'ai beaucoup réfléchi au problème de la tragédie moderne.

This reflection perhaps brings to light roots in Camus' theatrical existence. The seed of a theory was growing deep and Camus was continuing to nourish it. It was somehow within his activity involving writing and working on the stage that his dramatic theories brightened to awareness, thrived, and came to maturity in his later adaptations. Critics wondering at the direction in which Camus was traveling, questioned this fascination for adaptation when they felt he could create so well. He agreed:

Bien sûr, Mais au fait, je les ai écrites, ces pièces, et j'en écrirai d'autres dont je me résigne d'avance à ce qu'elles fournissent aux mêmes personnes des prétextes à regretter mes adaptations. Seulement quand j'écris mes pièces, c'est l'écrivain qui est au travail, en fonction d'une oeuvre qui obéit à un plan plus vaste et calculé. Quand j'adapte, c'est le metteur en scène qui travaille selon l'idée qu'il a du théâtre. Je crois, en effet, au spectacle total, conçu, inspiré et dirigé par le même esprit, écrit et mis en scène par le même homme, ce qui permet d'obtenir l'unité du ton, du style, du rythme qui sont les atouts essentiels d'un spectacle.

From his own words we see clearly that Camus' dramatic adaptations were not merely marginal in relation to his preceding original work. They are connected closely with his search for both a tragic universe and a tragic expression indigenous to our time. He found in the questions and crises of modern man what he considered suitable subject-matter for his tragedies. As an adaptor, having chosen a work that he judged depicted this tragic universe, he considered that his role consisted essentially in a search for a certain form of

language. In this search for language lay the creative value of the adaptation. Hence, Camus' main preoccupation as a dramatist was tied up with this quest for a proper language of modern tragedy. This added factor ranked his adaptations high in the overall output of his work as a playwright. The adaptations became experiments in a tragic universe in which the author is seeking out a complementary tragic style. Among these Requiem pour une nonne is unique as its transformation under these aspects was so great in Camus' hands.³

Camus' growing admiration for William Faulkner, whose works he first encountered as a reader for Gallimard, apparently was parallel to his development in the realm of adaptation. Faulkner seemed to inspire in Camus a spiraling interest. The more Camus became familiar with Faulkner's works, the more he saw there the possibility for creating from it a modern tragedy, because in Faulkner he found that quality which he considered a prime requisite: the delicate balance of tragic themes incarnated in ordinary people and situations.

Once in commenting on American novelists, Camus pointed to what he designated as their technique de facilité. He explained that their novels ignore man's inner life which up to this time, especially in French writing, had been the proper subject-matter of literature. In these contemporary American novels, man is described but never fully explained or interpreted. The result is superficial writing, whose author is scarcely distinguishable from the reporter who either draws his material from memory or simply records his direct observations. Consequently, the novel becomes little more than a sort of camouflaged journalism whose value lies in its documentary nature, but has, as Camus states, "only the remotest relation to art." The one exception to this type of modern American novelist is, according to Camus, William Faulkner.⁴

Camus made no secret of his admiration and high esteem for Faulkner. In an article in Le Figaro Littéraire, "En attendant Requiem pour une nonne," he said: "J'ai toujours ad-

niré Faulkner,"⁵ and in an interview in 1956, when asked if tragedy was his only criterion for choosing to adapt Requiem, he said:

Celle-là même. Jointe à l'admiration que je porte évidemment à celui que je considère comme le plus grand romancier américain. Nous vivons, voyez-vous, une époque hautement dramatique qui n'a pas encore de théâtre. Faulkner laisse entrevoir le temps où le tragique de l'histoire pourra enfin porter cothurne.

The two basic components seem to come together for Camus when confronted by Faulkner's work; that is, his own overwhelming desire and tenacious effort to create a modern tragedy and the prime elements he considered essential for that creation: tragic themes incarnated in ordinary people and situations. Thus working with Faulkner's writing seems to Camus an opportunity for his own creativity to come to flower.

Granted that Camus found adequate reasons to want to do an adaptation of one of Faulkner's works, what were the reasons which impelled him to choose Requiem, a choice which proved most fortuitous and resulted in what seems to be his best and most successful attempt at tragedy?

In the article quoted from Le Figaro, Camus answers this question. It is all very simple. Why?

Parce que c'est le seul livre de Faulkner où le travail est déjà fait. Ce roman n'est que dialogues, coupés de chapitres historico-poétiques. Et, pour le porter à la scène, il y a eu surtout à couper ces chapitres.

Is there a need to add dialogue? "Oui, mais j'ai patiché le ton. Je me suis complètement effacé."⁷

Certainly, the facility of adapting the form of the play was not the fundamental reason for this choice. Of much more importance was Camus' conviction that Faulkner held within himself the secret of what would constitute a true drama in modern times. This was the key that Camus as yet did not have and for which he sought. "J'aime et j'admire Faulkner: je crois le comprendre assez bien. Bien que n'ayant pas écrit pour le théâtre, il est à mes yeux le seul dramaturge

de cette époque véritablement dramaturge..."⁸ Camus observed that Faulkner had used an ancient tragic theme, yet had recast it in a contemporary mold. This formula paralleled Camus' own theories about what constituted the only truly tragic material or universe within which a modern tragedian could work. In Camus' judgement, this bringing together of the ancient dilemma in a modern setting still produced the blind man, stumbling amidst his destiny and his responsibilities.

In addition to the tragic situation Camus needed from Faulkner a simple dialogue used by common people but which attained a grandeur despite their "complet-veston." In other words, in Faulkner Camus sought not only a tragic action and tragic characters but also a tragic speech. Camus clearly saw that Faulkner had found that intensity of tone and situation set in a language of equal stature which increased to that intolerable point at which the hero delivers himself over by a violent superhuman act.⁹

In 1951, in a letter to the editors of the Harvard Advocate, on the occasion of their special issue, Camus said of Faulkner:

Je suis un grand admirateur de William Faulkner, dont je connais et pratique l'oeuvre depuis longtemps. Il est, à mon avis, votre plus grand écrivain; le seul, il semble, qui s'inscrive dans votre grande tradition littéraire du XIX^e siècle et un des rares créateurs de l'Occident. Je veux dire qu'il a créé son monde, reconnaissable entre mille et irremplaçable, comme l'ont fait avant lui Melville, Dostoïevski ou Proust.¹⁰

Perhaps another consideration of Camus' in choosing Requiem was his growing awareness that for various reasons his own plays, Caligula, Le Malentendu and Les Justes, had failed to communicate that quality of tragic seriousness that he found in Faulkner. Through a process of recreation and by a penetrating consciousness into another author's vision, Camus was sharing in and identifying himself with different roles in the gamut of human destinies and types. Knowing the medium of the theater from the view of both actor and producer, in Requiem, Camus, through self-effacement and projection,

appropriated the novel to himself.¹¹

For numerous related reasons, then, Camus chose William Faulkner's Requiem, and in October of 1956 staged it at the Théâtre des Mathurins. Camus took this dialogue-novel, dramatized the cues and made cuts such that there evolved a play of Christian inspiration without a specifically Christian ending. The plot was extremely simple, while in somewhat the manner of Dostoevsky, the theme was one of redemption. The negress Nancy Mannigoe, in order to save her mistress from vice and perdition, murders a child and is hanged for it.

In general, in the transformation Camus avoided the danger of losing movement by taking as his basis for action the play's lack of movement. Camus demanded from his cast a maximum of inner tension and a minimum of movement. Even though there was the foreboding of melodrama in the wings, Camus succeeded in bringing forth the play as a tragedy harsh and full of life.

In reference to its success, Jean Vilar said of the production: With two or three exceptions, I think I have seen all Albert Camus' productions. His work on the Requiem filled me with wonderment, and of course for many reasons. But the one that stays with me and is still quite fresh in my memory is the very subtle hand of the producer over the actors. The evening I saw it the play was past its hundredth showing, but there was¹² nothing heavy or tired about it and nothing relaxed.

While the touch of genius went into this first skillful production of the play; nevertheless, the greater part of the effort was in the adapting. As has been mentioned, Requiem in its original version is not a play but rather a dialogue-novel. However, the intensity of the novel is dramatic since there is a secret which is progressively revealed and a tragic waiting which is maintained with consistency. Afterwards the conflict which opposes the characters in their destiny becomes a conflict unresolved except in the accepting of the destiny itself.

This conflict became the starting point for Faulkner's creation of the tragic tone. He made characters of our own

time face the same destiny which crushed Electra or Orestes. He was able also to find a language of sorrow and humility within the dialogue, a language which proved to be a vehicle for the tragic situation. Camus saw that Faulkner, the American, had met the problem of modern tragedy in this language. The characters could not speak as Oedipus or Titus but had to use a tongue simple enough to be ours and yet attain the grandeur of tragedy. Camus realized that Faulkner had found this language and Camus' task was to translate it into French without betraying the work or the author.¹³

The task was clear not to Camus. He saw that he had to retain in his translation if he was to achieve his aim. "Le style haletant de Faulkner, que je me suis efforcé de pasticher, est le style même de la souffrance..."¹⁴ In addition, it seemed that the whole culture of Mississippi within the novel would have to be transposed with the language and the characters. Finally, Camus sought to achieve a more limited objective, and resolved only to render the tragedy by working with the interrelation of the characters within all the accompanying moods of their relationships. He determined to retain only those elements of the original novel needed to produce the tragedy he wanted.

Le Requiem n'était pas une pièce, mais un roman à grandes scènes dialoguées pleines d'un accent historico-poétique que j'ai tenu à conserver ainsi que le climat psychologique...

J'ai voulu dégager une progression plus scénique que romanesque...

J'ai seulement développé le rôle du mari que je trouve très beau...

Le pièce ne pose pas de problème de race. Faulkner est trop grand créateur pour n'être pas universel. Dans le Requiem, la religion de la souffrance rejoint, notamment au septième tableau, la catharsis, cette purification antique.

The play is divided into three acts which to a degree incorporate the information given in the narrative section introducing each chapter in Faulkner's version. Therefore, there is an assimilation of Faulkner's historic, ethnic, and lyric descriptions of the buildings which serve as the setting

for the action, that is: the Court, the Capitol in Jackson, and the Prison.

These buildings receive their symbolic importance from the action that takes place in them. The dialogue of the first act takes place in the living room of the young Stevens who have left the court where the sentence of death was pronounced. This is the topic of the living room discussion. The scene of the second act is the governor's office where Temple makes her great confession. The third scene is set in the prison where Temple and the condemned Nancy meet for the last time.

Through these buildings Camus retains Faulkner's original purpose, which directed that the drama of the Stevenses be tied and untied in men's sanctuaries of justice and sorrow. Thus the court is seen as a temple, the governor's office as a confessional, and the prison, where the negress wishes to redeem her crime and Temple's, as a convent. In this way, Camus uses Faulkner's poetic evocations to bring to life these sacred buildings, which are related to human vice and virtue thru the historic events they shelter.¹⁶

Since the historic and lyric descriptions beginning each of Faulkner's acts are not transferable, Camus attempted to use the décor and attitude of each character to express the religious character of the places where the action unfolds. Another adjustment was made by redistributing the dialogues so that, as the action advances, the dramatic continuity and suspense can be retained. Practically, however, this rearrangement and abridgement of the dialogue furnished the prologue of the court scene and divided the scenes of the first act. Through it the characters developed to a fuller stature, especially that of Gowan Stevens. Finally, Camus reworked the last scene to remove the religious overtones and thereby create, according to his theories, the possibility of tragedy.¹⁷

Camus worked with the tragic language Faulkner provided him. He was delighted with this supple instrument, which

lent itself easily to a dramatic transposition. Faulkner's characters spoke a language stripped of artificiality, a modern equivalent to the language of the great tragedies. He accomplishes this by broken breathings and interrupted sentences, repeated and repeated at length, by parenthesis, and by subordinate digressions. For example:

Stevens
Allons, Temple, partons....

Temple(résistant)
Dites-moi exactement ce qu'il a répondu. Il ne l'a pas dit ce soir, je le sais.... Ou bien l'a-t-il dit au téléphone, et nous n'aurions même pas eu besoin....

Stevens
Il me l'a fait savoir, il y a huit jours...¹⁸

His style excites as the sufferings do. There is a spiral of words and phrases that pour from the speakers, utterances born in the sufferings locked within the tragic deeds of the past.¹⁹

Camus sought to retain the force of this style. Although deeply concerned with Faulkner's use of language, Camus makes no attempt to imitate the difficult Faulkner idiom with its regional cadences and expressive Southern speech mannerisms. The French of Camus' adaptation has a classic flavor, avoiding the occasional problems of translating dialect and colloquialism. Without the balanced Faulknerian language, transposed but retained in essence in the adaptation, the play would be less tragic.

In his effort to convert this tragic element into French, Camus chose those scenes in which the characters refused to reveal themselves, where the action was suspended in a moment of evident mystery. He took these instances and translated Faulkner's language very directly, even simplified it where he was able, and adding only where it was necessary for unity or composition. In other cases he simply translated Faulkner into French.²⁰

A good example of this technique is in Act 3, scene 6:

Temple
Où vas-tu?

Gowan
Me souler. À moins que depuis huit ans, j'aie oublié la manière. Ou bien as-tu une autre suggestion?

Stevens
Qu'avez-vous fait de Bucky?

Gowan
Ah! oui, le survivant! Il est chez vous, avec votre femme. N'y est-il pas en sûreté? Votre femme aussi tue les enfants?

Temple
Gowan! Ne m'abandonne pas!

Temple
Ô mon Dieu! Encore!

Stevens
Venez.

Temple
Demain, demain, et encore demain.²¹

Camus was obligated to make one final modification which is major in terms of Faulkner's play. In Faulkner's original version, Nancy reveals her religious motivation in the final scene, but in Camus' tragic theory, such faith would destroy the tragic tension. Since the basic outlook of each man differed, Camus said: "J'ai en effet considérablement modifié la dernière scène." In Faulkner, there is a lengthy discourse on Christ and faith by both Gavin and Nancy. Nancy decides to love her sufferings and her death and thus become the saint. Symbolically, she is the nun suddenly investing with the dignity of the colister the brothels and prisons. This essential paradox must be retained, although for Camus, the long conversations, somewhat romantic in tone, interfere with the drama. By tightening or striking out these discourses Temple challenges the paradox Nancy illustrates right up to the final scene. Although by bowing to dramatic necessities Camus has abridged Faulkner's style, he was of the opinion that he had respected the essentials of

the message.²²

The significance of some of Camus' work cannot be fully envisaged unless there is a closer look at his method of adaptation. Camus said himself, "J'ai pastiché, en français, le style de Faulkner..." and also, "J'ai pastiché le ton..." He accomplishes this perhaps in a great depth. Temple speaks almost as three different persons in Faulkner's English edition, in its rhythmless and prosaic French translation by Maurice Coindreau, and in Camus' adaptation. Here are two examples: in Faulkner, Temple says: "...if you can believe you are going to hear anything that you haven't heard yet,"²³ which Coindreau translates by: "...si vous pouvez croire que vous allez apprendre des choses que vous ne savez pas déjà."²⁴ Camus is more direct and terse: "Si du moins vous avez encore quelque chose à apprendre."²⁵ Another example is Faulkner's "moonshiner's house,"²⁶ which becomes for Coindreau "distillateur clandestin,"²⁷ a rather romantic rendering, while Camus uses the single untranslatable term "bootleggers."^{28 29}

In his adaptation, Camus altered the action somewhat, yielding doubtless to the French passion for clarté, which here reveals itself in the work of tying up the loose ends of Faulkner's story. In the final portion of the second act, Camus resolves the intrigue concerning Temple's love letters by announcing that Nancy has handed them over to Stevens. Faulkner had failed to resolve the letter intrigue after using it for the partial motivation for the murder. Moreover, Camus expanded Gowan's role so that he is transformed from a passive spectator into an active participant.

Perhaps the most radical changes come in the dénouement concerning the lives of Temple and Nancy. Camus omitted Temple's important but naïve line, (Faulkner's summation of her tragedy): "So good can come out of evil."³⁰ There is a religion of suffering glimpsed here; Temple must feel that her part in the murder is totally expiated by Nancy's death. In Camus' version, Nancy moralizes more eloquently on her assurance of faith, even to the point of seeing Temple kneel

before her. In her last speech which asserts her faith, Camus allowed her to paraphrase a psalm. Nancy and Temple make a powerful dramatic contrast here with belief in salvation fighting doubts.³¹

In Le Figaro, Dominique Arban says of this encounter, speaking of Temple:

...sur la scène des Mathurins, elle se taira. Son silence signifie-t-il "non"? ou seulement "peut-être"? Jamais "oui", en tout cas. Elle se tait...³²

In his concentration on the central drama of suffering, Camus found it necessary, or deemed it wise, to omit many of the elements of local color. The conflict of Nancy and Temple is deeply rooted in the history of the South, and draws heavily on the theme of southern racism and religious culture. These themes probably meant little to Camus, and less to his proposed French audience. Camus seems uncomfortable with Faulkner's religious beliefs expressed in this context, although they are an integral part of a certain religious heritage flowing from a complex historical past. This strange melange of puritanical, racial, erotic, and atavistic guilt and pride permeating Faulkner's novel either escaped or did not interest Camus.³³

In this same context, Nancy, much out of character for a black woman in the South of this time, is more loquacious and often very elegant in articulating her point of view, and, though this is justified in dramatic terms, she has lost her silent Faulknerian eloquence.

This lack of a culturally authentic characterization comes from Camus' attempt to place the characters farther forward in a social sense. Shorn of the Southern background of the novel, the characters must fill out the essential acting and speaking with a greater awareness of the social stamps and roles to which each of them must conform. These characters are certainly more lucid, more clearly motivated, and they confront more clearly defined social issues than Faulkner's. For the author from Mississippi, the South with

its prejudices and speech patterns is the indispensable setting and the prime motivating force while for Camus the characters work under a different network of stimuli.³⁴ Where Faulkner needs only support, Camus must be explicit.

The opening scene reveals its origin in these Southern roots. In Faulkner's text, Nancy is briefly sentenced to death, to which she replies, "Yes, Lord." The extent of this act of contempt of court in the eyes of Faulkner's Southern whites, and the uproar following it, are suggested by the stage directions which instruct that the curtain begin hurriedly and jerkily coming down as if the judge, the officers, all persons in the court were jerking frantically at it to hide the disgraceful business. Camus transferred this word for word into his text, but the impact on the audience is intensified by the fact that the judge and Nancy's lawyer, Gavin Stevens, have each been given long speeches by Camus in which they solemnly warn her that she must not speak after the sentence is pronounced.³⁵

A comparison of the following citations shows the deep-rooted difference between Faulkner's highly emotional prose --a prose which suggests as much as it explains--and Camus' classical literary French transposition. Faulkner uses little syntax and employs many non-sequiturs, ellipses of auxiliary verbs, and repetitions of 'then...then'. Camus takes these and makes them articulate and coherent, correct to the last parenthetical comma. Camus' Temple has her wits too well together. Camus is neo-classical in his own right, here--stylized, harmonious, semi-poetic, and basically unconventional, approaching a Racinian style in lucidity and control. Here are Temple's words from both authors in the confusion and emotion of the confession scene:

If love can be, mean anything, except the newness, the learning, the peace, the privacy: no shame: not even conscious that you are naked because you are just using the nakedness because that's part of it...

Car si l'amour peut exister, si ce mot peut avoir de sens, que signifie-t-il d'autre que la connaissance

mutuelle dans le silence, l'intimité, l'absence de honte?³⁶

A consistent problem with Camus' text results from his constant involvement with the philosophical problems and implications of a given situation, with the consequence that he pays little attention to the psychological distortion this effects in the characters. This increases the problem of portraying individualized and convincing people while the author is engaged in exploring metaphysical dilemmas. As always in his theater, Camus had to reach a compromise between his intellectual interests and the expectations of the theatergoers. Audiences had often complained previously, and obviously with some justice, that his characters become the mouthpieces of abstract ideas and hence are not convincing individuals.³⁷

In his adaptation of Requiem, Camus not only transformed to some degree the manners and the personalities within this play, but he presented a quite different concept of justice than did Faulkner. He obscured many of Faulkner's themes and stripped the play of some of the fundamental perspectives inherent in the novel. As Germain Brée points out, the whole action swings between two levels of drama: the stark, poetic unreality of the somber legends of crime and atonement of Greece and the melodramatic tenseness and triviality of the middle-class psychological analytic play. There is a lack of proportion between the prominence given to Temple's tragedy compared to the grandeur of the opening scene: a single black figure, a death sentence meted out and accepted.³⁸

Germain Brée sums up the importance to Camus of Nancy stating that--

It is Nancy Mannigoe and not the Stevenses who caught Camus's imagination. She belongs to his world. Without her, his Requiem would be a rather dubious, somewhat tiresome morality play. In her heavy carnal reality she is that very mystery with which all Camus's characters contend, a dark divinity brooding over his theatrical world. She is the mute, mysterious, "quivering flesh of humanity," with which Camus in his own

plays had been most deeply concerned. His essential dramatic theme so far had been that of the fall incurred by individuals and societies who, in some manner, lose touch with the mystery of man's concrete presence and incarnation in the flesh, that "truth of the body" which escapes all reason.³⁹

Certainly the question which stands at the end of this discussion is whether Camus indeed used all the possibilities he saw in the Requiem of William Faulkner's and combined it with his own theories to achieve a true tragedy. As certain as this question stands, so too do the varied and well-substantiated answers that come from men of great literary experience and insight. We must form our own judgement after weighing their answers and criticisms against what we have found in the play. Camus has indeed placed a great dramatic work before us in this time. He has given us a glimpse of the value of suffering in expiation for sin--for an act for which our age sorely lacks appreciation. He achieved this in two women, one must die and the other live in the uncomfortableness of evil. In Camus' own words: "Nancy et Temple sont deux nonnes entrées au Monastère de l'abjection et de l'expiation."⁴⁰

CONCLUSION

In this thesis we are presenting evidence to show that Camus has a justifiable claim to be seriously considered as a dramatist who has made some important contributions to the concept of tragedy in the modern theater. His knowledge of all the areas of theater art, matured by the insights that only years of first-hand experience could provide, his awareness of the details and nuances that go into plot, dramatic situation, and characterization, all have contributed, thus enabling him to transpose Faulkner's novel, Requiem for a Nun, into a drama that has been acclaimed on both sides of the Atlantic.

Camus felt that the content of this dialogue-novel corresponded to what he considered to be the essential raw material out of which a modern tragedy could be fashioned, that is: serious material as well as an ordinary setting. Equally important is the fact that Camus felt that he had discovered through Faulkner how to realize a language and style suitably eloquent in tone for the projection of tragedy.

Although most critics agree that Camus does not succeed in achieving the perfect tragedy in Requiem, they concede that in this adaptation he demonstrates a mastery of his art.

Despite the obvious flaws: a complete disregard of the Southern background and the thread of racial prejudice that define the relationship between Nancy and Temple in the novel; the elegant tones of the almost Racinian French that Camus puts in the mouth of Nancy which distorts to some extent her role of a struggling woman seeking to atone for her sins and the sins of her masters; the loss of contrast in Temple's character between her basic cheapness and her thirst for purity; and finally, despite the weakening of the basic theme of the novel by shifting Faulkner's moral to agree with his own non-religious viewpoint, Camus' Requiem pour une nonne exhibits many essential characteristics of tragedy.

In the structure of the play, Camus follows closely the classical tradition. The action is meagre, thus intensifying the concentration on the suffering and drama taking place within the heart and soul of each of the main characters. There is that unusual density and tension essential to tragedy in any age. And of even greater importance, Camus himself seemed to feel that finality, after long years of toil and questing, through the transposition he had made of Faulkner's language, he had come to a realization in some degree of that language which he deemed an authentic language for tragedy.

After examining Camus' dramatic objectives and manner in which he applied these in his adaptation of Faulkner's Requiem for a Nun, the evidence seems convincing that if Camus did not succeed in realizing an authentic tragedy that would correspond to his theories, he has indeed achieved a tense and dramatic play that marks a definite advance toward that goal.

FOOTNOTES: CHAPTER I

¹E. Freeman, The Theater of Albert Camus: A Critical Study (London: Methuen & Co., LTD, 1971), p. 2.

²Morvan Lebesque, Portrait of Camus: As Illustrated Biography, trans. T. C. Sharman (New York: Herder and Herder, 1971), p. 15.

³Ibid.

⁴Pierre Rubé, "Who was Albert Camus?" Yale French Studies, No. 25 (Spring, 1960), p. 7.

⁵Lebesque, p. 17.

⁶Albert Camus, Théâtre, Récits, Nouvelles, Tome 1, ed. Roger Quilliot (NRF-Bibliothèque de la Pléiade; Paris: Éditions Gallimard, 1962), p. 1722. (Future references to this work will be specified by the letters TRN as this is the accepted reference abbreviation.)

⁷Ibid., p. 1721.

⁸Germaine Brée, "Introduction to Albert Camus" French Studies, IV (January, 1950), 27-37.

⁹Rubé, p. 7.

¹⁰TRN, p. 1712.

¹¹John Cruickshank, Albert Camus and The Literature of Revolt (London: Oxford University Press, 1959), pp. 13-14.

¹²Brée, p. 34.

¹³Ibid., pp. 34-35.

¹⁴Rubé, p. 8.

¹⁵Ibid.

¹⁶Freeman, p. 15.

¹⁷TRN, p. 1723.

¹⁸Freeman, p. 15.

¹⁹TRN, p. 1711.

²⁰Germaine Brée, Camus (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1961), p. 141.

²¹TRN, pp. 1722-1723.

²²Ibid., p. 1716.

²³Ibid., p. 1718.

²⁴Louis Allen, "Albert Camus: An Exile Is Over" Tablet, CCXIV, No. 6243 (January 16, 1960), 58.

²⁵Brée, Camus, p. 34.

²⁶TRN, p. 1715.

²⁷Ibid., p. 1711.

²⁸Freeman, pp. 5-6.

²⁹Lebesque, p. 50.

³⁰Brée, Camus, pp. 151-152.

³¹Lebesque, pp. 71-72.

³²Brée, Camus, pp. 150-151.

³³Jean-Louis Barrault, The Theater of Jean-Louis Barrault, trans. Joseph Chiari (New York: Hill and Wang, 1959), pp. 19-20.

³⁴Freeman, pp. 76-77.

³⁵Cruickshank, p. 208.

³⁶Freeman, pp. 99-100.

³⁷Brée, Camus, p. 59.

³⁸Ibid.

³⁹Lebesque, pp. 144-145.

⁴⁰Sister Mary Alice Lawhead, O.S.B., Albert Camus, romancier devant l'opinion américaine, 1946-1960, (Québec, P.: Q.: Presses universitaires, Université Laval, 1967), pp. 347-348.

⁴¹Ibid., p. 145.

⁴²Thomas Molnar, "Camus, Voice of a Searching Generation" Catholic World CXCI (May, 1960), 95-97.

FOOTNOTES: CHAPTER II

¹E. Freeman, The Theater of Albert Camus: A Critical Study (London: Methuen & Co., LTD, 1971), pp.4-5.

²Ibid., p. 8.

³Ibid., pp. 8-9.

⁴Albert Camus, Théâtre, Récits, Nouvelles, Tome 1, ed. Roger Quilliot (NRF-Bibliothèque de la Pléiade; Paris: Éditions Gallimard, 1962), p. 1697.

⁵Ibid., pp. 1697-1698.

⁶Germaine Brée, Camus (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1961), pp. 144-145.

⁷TRN, pp. 1716-1717.

⁸Freeman, p. 130.

⁹TRN, pp. 1710-1711.

¹⁰Brée, pp. 145-146.

¹¹TRN, pp. 1699-1701.

¹²Ibid., p. 1701.

¹³Ibid., p. 1702.

¹⁴Ibid., pp. 1703-1704.

¹⁵Ibid., pp. 1704-1705.

¹⁶Ibid., p. 1705.

¹⁷Ibid., pp. 1707-1708.

¹⁸John Cruickshank, Albert Camus and The Literature of Revolt (London: Oxford University Press, 1959), p. 192.

¹⁹Bernard Marchland, "Examination of Camus as Tragedian" Commonweal LXX, No. 10 (June 5, 1959), p. 259.

²⁰Brée, pp. 147-148.

²¹TRN, p. 1714.

FOOTNOTES: CHAPTER III

¹Albert Camus, Théâtre, Récits, Nouvelles, Tome I, ed. Roger Quilliot, (NRF-Bibliothèque de la Pléiade; Paris: Éditions Gallimard, 1962), p. 1713.

²Ibid., p. 1725.

³Germaine Brée, Camus (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1969), pp. 149-150.

⁴Maurice Edgar Coindreau, "William Faulkner in France" Yale French Studies, No. 10, p. 86.

⁵Dominique Arban, "En Attendant Requiem pour une nonne" Le Figaro Littéraire (September 22, 1957), p. 4.

⁶TRN, p. 1871.

⁷Arban, p. 4.

⁸TRN, p. 1870.

⁹Ibid.

¹⁰John Philip Couch, "Camus and Faulkner: The Search for the Language of Modern Tragedy" Yale French Studies No. 25 (Spring, 1960), p. 122.

¹¹Ibid., pp. 122-123.

¹²Morvan Lebesque, Portrait of Camus: As Illustrated Biography, trans. T. C. Sharman (New York: Herder and Herder, 1971), pp. 142-143.

¹³TRN, pp. 1856-1857.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 1871.

¹⁵Ibid., p. 1870.

¹⁶Ibid., p. 1858.

¹⁷Ibid., pp. 1858-1859.

¹⁸Ibid., p. 903.

¹⁹Ibid., pp. 1859-1860.

²⁰Ibid., p. 1860.

²¹Ibid., p. 901.

²²Ibid., pp. 1860-1861.

²³William Faulkner, Requiem For A Nun, (New York: Random House, 1950), p. 67.

²⁴Coindreau, p. 78.

²⁵TRN, p. 836.

²⁶Faulkner, p. 127.

²⁷Coindreau, p. 144.

²⁸TRN, p. 867.

²⁹Couch, p. 124.

³⁰Faulkner, p. 208.

³¹Couch, pp. 124-125.

³²Arban, p. 4.

³³Brée, p. 163.

³⁴John Philip Couch, "Camus' Dramatic Adaptations and Translations" The French Review XXXIII, No. 1 (October, 1959), pp. 35-36.

³⁵Freeman, p. 132.

³⁶Ibid., p. 137.

³⁷Brée, p. 192.

³⁸Ibid., p. 164.

³⁹Ibid., pp. 164-165.

⁴⁰TRN, p. 1872.

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