JASPER HEYWOOD'S TRANSLATION OF SENeca'S THYESTES, WITH
PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO THE LATTER'S SIXTEENTH AND
SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY RECEPTION AND THE THEMES
OF TYRANNY, KINGSHIP AND REVENGE

2 VOLUMES: VOLUME ONE:
PRELIMINARY MATERIAL

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A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT FOR PHD CLASSICS.
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WARWICK UNIVERSITY
for my parents

without whom this would not have been possible
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The seconde Tragedie of Seneca entituled 35-101

*Thyestes* faithfully Englished by Jasper Heywood (1560).

*Thyestes* A Tragedy translated out of Seneca to 102-159

which is added *Mock-Thyestes* in Burlesque by Gent, J.W. (1674).

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O cruell iudge of sprights.....
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...let trust that in/ the breasts of brethern breedes
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SUMMARY

The thesis offers a critical analysis of the transmission of Seneca's *Thyestes* in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

In Volume 1, the 1584 Gryphius edition of Seneca's *Thyestes*; the 1560 edition of Heywood's translation of the play and the 1674 edition of Wright's translation and burlesque version have been transcribed. This is the first time that these texts have been presented together for discussion.

The commentary (Volume II) examines a broad range of dramatic material including Neo-Latin plays such as Goldingham's *Herodes* (1570/80); Gwinne's *Nero* (1603); Snelling's *Thibaldus* (1640) and the anonymous *Stoicus Vapulans* (1648). Prose works considered include the Latin lexicis and grammars of Lilly and Whitinton; philosophical treatises such as Reynolds *A Treatise of the Passions and Faculties of the Soule of Man* (1640); and religious works such as Hooper on the Ten Commandments (1560). It presents hitherto unpublished material- MS Sloane 1041; and material that has previously received little attention- the Hendrik Goltzius' engraving of Melpomene (1592) and the Restoration *Mock-Thyestes in Burlesque*.

Research material was consulted at the British Library; BL Department of Manuscripts; BL Print Room; University of Warwick Library; University of Birmingham Library; Senate House Library, University of London; The Bodleian Library, University of Oxford; The Warburg Institute and The Institute of Classical Studies.
[ Appendix: early-modern texts of the *Thyestes* and the *Mock-Thyestes* :


Although these texts have the status of Appendices, they are placed here for the convenience of the reader. ]
NOTE TO THE TEXTS

The texts have been reproduced diplomatically. The errata from leaf [A6v.] of Wright have been incorporated into the body of the text. Standard abbreviations and diphthongs have been silently expanded. Long 's' has been normalised; 'u' and 'v', 'i' and 'j' have been preserved throughout and typographical usage retained.

Signatures have been preserved: square brackets denote signatures deduced and supplied in logical sequence. Page numbers are indicated in square brackets. Lineation has been added. Title pages have been transcribed.
L. ANNAEI

SENecaE

CORDVbensis

TRAGOEDIAE.

Maoire, quam antehac, cura & diligentia
recognitae, & emendationes redditae.

[EMBLEM: GYPHON, WITH MOTTO
VIRTUTE DVCE,
COMITE FORTVNA]

LVGDVNI,
APVd ANT. GYPHIVM

M.D.LXXXIV.
THYESTES
TRAGOEDIA
SECUNDÆ.

ARGUMENTVM.

Cogit, excitatque ab inferis Mégacra, ex furris una, Tantalum, olim Phrygiae regem, ad odia commiscendia inter duos fratres, Thyestem et Atreum, nepotes eius, qui Mycenis alternis annis regnauerant. At Atreus furiis agitatus, consilio cum seruo inito, deliberat, quo pacto vindictam de fratre fumat, quod dolis Acropen sibi coniugem constuprarit, quodque arietem aurei velleris surripuerit. Igitur ab Atreo simulata reconciliatione, Thyestis revocato Mycenis, et inscio, apponuntur in conuuiio sui filij epulandi. Postremo cum etiam sanguinem illorum in patera propinasset Atreus, iussit demum afferri capita: quies visis et agnitis deflet quidem Thyestes, sed Atreus quod vindicta processerit, oblectatur.
<table>
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/ [55]
ACTVS PRIMVS

TANTALVS. MEGAERA.
Trimestri Iambici.

Qvis me furor nunc sede ab infausta abstrahit;
Auido fugaces ore captantem cibos?
Quis male deorum Tantalo vias domos
Ostendit iterum? peius inuentum est siti
Arente in vndis aliquid, et peius fame
Hiante semper? Sisyphi nunguid lapis
Gestandus humeris lubricus nostris venit?
Aut membra celeri differens cursu rota?
Aut poena Tityi semper accresiens iecur
Visceribus atras pascet effossis aues?
Et nocte reparans quicquid amisit die,
Plenum recenti pabulum monstrum iacet.
In quod malum transcribor? o quisquis noua
Supplicia functis durus umbrarum arbiter
Disponis, adde siquid ad poenas potes,
Quod ipse custos carceris diri horreat,
Quod moestus Acheron paueat, ad cuius metum
Nos quoque tremamus, quaere: iam nostra subit
E stirpe turba, quae suum vincat genus,
Ac me innocentem faciat et inausa audeat
Regione, quicquid impia cessat loci,
Complebo: nunquam, stante Pelopca domo,
Minos vacabit.

ME.

Perge detestabilis
Vmbra, et penates impios furijs agi,
Certetur omni scelere, et altera vice
Stringantur enses: nec sit irarum modus,
Pudorve: mentes caecus instiget furor:
Rabies parentum duret, et longum nefas
Eat in nepotes: nec vacet cuiquam vetus
Odisse crimen, semper oriatur novum,
Nec vnum in vno, dumque: punitur, scelus
Crescat, superbis fratibus regna excitant,
Repetantque: profugos: dubia violentae domus
Fortuna reges inter incertos label:
Miser ex potente fiat, ex misero potens,
Fluctuque; regnum casus assiduo ferat:
Ob scelera pulsi, cum dabit patriam Deus,
In scelera reduct, sintque; tam inuisi omnibus,
Quam sibi: nihil sit, ira quod vetitum putet.
Fratrem expauescat frater, et natum pares,
Gnatusque patrem, liberi pereant male,
Pius tamen nascantur: immineat viro
Infesta coniux; bella trans pontum vehant,
Effusus omnes irriget terras cruor
Supraque; magnos gentium exultet duces
Libido victrix: impia stuprum in domo
Leuissimum sit: fratris et fas, et fides,
Iusque; omne pereat: non sit a vestris malis
Immune coelum, cum micant stellac polo,
Flammaque; servant debitum mundo decus:
Nox atra fiat, excidat coelo dies.
Misce penates: odia, caedes, funera
Accerse, et imple scelerre Tantaleam domum.
Ometur altum columnen, et lauro fores
Laetae virescant: dignus aduentu tuo
Splendescat ignis: Thracium fiat nefas
Maiore numero: dextra cur patrui vacat?
Nondum Thyestes liberos deflet suos?
Ecquando tollet ignibus iam subditis
Spumante aheno? membra per partes eant
Discerpta, patrios polluat sanguis focos,
Epulae instruantur, non noui sceleris tibi
Conuiua venies, liberum dedimus diem,
Tuanque ad istas soluius mensas famem.
Ieiunia exple, mistus in Bacchum cror
Spectante te potetur: inueni dapes,
Quas ipse fugeres: siste, quo praeceps ruis?

TAN.
Ad stagna, et amnes, et recedetes aquas,
Labrisque; ab ipsis arboris plenae fugas:
Abire in atrum carceris liceat mei
Cubile: liceat, si parum videor miser,
Mutare ripas: alueo medius tuo
Phlegethon relinquar, igneo cinctus freto.
Quicunque poenas lege fatorum datas.
Pati iuberis: quisquis excoso iaces
Pauidus sub antro quiique venturi times
Montis ruinam: quisquis audiourum feros
Rictus leonum, et dira furiarum agmina
Implicitus horres: quisquis immissas faces
Semjustus abigis, Tantali vocem excipe
Properantis ad vos: credite experto mihi,
Amate poenas: quando continget mihi
Effugere superos?

ME.
Ante perturba domum, / [58]
Inferque; tecum praelia, et ferri malum
Regibus amorem: concute insano ferum
Pectus tumultu.

TAN.
Me pati poenas decet,
Non esse poenam: mittor ut dirus vapor
Tellure rupta, vel grauem populis luem
Sparsura pestis: ducam in horrendum nefas
Auus nepotes? magne diuorum parens,
Noslerque quamuis pudeat, ingenti licet
Taxata poena lingua cruciatur, loquar,
Nec hoc tacebo: mono, ne sacra manus
Violata caede, ne ve furiali malo
Aspergat aras: stabo, et arcebo scelus.
Quid ora terres verbere et tortos ferox
Minaris angues? quid famem infixam intimis
Agitas medullis? flagrat incensum siti
Cor, et perustis flamma visceribus micat.
Sequor:

ME.
Nunc o fuorem diuide in totem domum.
Sic sic ferantur, et suum intensi inuicem
Sittant cruorem sensit introitus tuos
Domus, et nefando tota contactu horruit.
Actum est abunde, gradere ad infemos specus,
Amnemque notum: iam tuo moestae pede
Terrae grauantur cernis vt fontes liquor
Introsus actus linquat? vt ripae vacent?
Ventusque raras ignem nubes ferat?
Fallascit omnis arbo, ac nudus stetit
Pugiente pomo ramus: et qui fluctibus
Illinc propinquis Isthmos, atque illinc fremit,
Vicina gracili diuidens terra vada,
Longe remotos latus exaudit sonos.
Jam Lerna retrocessit, et Phoronides.
Latuere venae, nec suas profert sacras
Alpheus vndas, et Cithaeronis iuga
Stant parte nulla cana, deposita niue,
Timentque, veterem nobiles* agri sitim.
En ipse Titan dubitat, an iubet sequi,
Cogatque; habenis ire peritum diem.

* l. ex mss. Argi.
CHORVS.
Choriambici, Asclepiadei.

Argos de superis siquis Achaicum, 
Pisaeasque; domos turribus inclytas, 
Isthmi, si quis amat regna Corinthii, 
Et portus geminos, et mare dissidens: 
Si quis Taygeti conspicuas niues, 
Quas cum Sarmaticus tempore frigido 
In summis Boreas compositur iugis, 
Aestas veliferis solvit Etegiis; 
Quem tangit gelido, flumine lucidus 
Alpheus, stadio notus Olympico: 
Aduertat placidum numen,' et arceat 
Alternae scolerum ne redcant vices, 
Neu succedat auo deterior nepos, 
Et maior placeat culpa minoribus. 
Tandem lassa feros exuat impetus 
Sicci progenies impia Tantali 
Peccatum satis est: fas valuit, nihil, 
Aut commune nefas: proditus occidit 
Deceptor dominae Myrtius: et fide 
Vecus qua tulerat, nobile reddidit 
Mutato pelagus nomine: notior 
Nulla est Ionijs fabula nauibus. 
Exceptus gladio paruulus impio, 
Dum currit patrium natus ad osculum, 
Immatura foci victima concidit, 
Diuisusque tua est Tantale dextera, 
Mensas vs strueres hospitibus Deis. 
Hos aeterna fames persequitur cibos, 
Hos aeterna sitis: nec dapibus feris 
Decern potuit poena decentior. 
Stat lusus vacuo gutture Tantalus, 
Impendet capiti plurima noxio 
Phineis aubius praedae fugacior, 
Hinc illinc grauidis frondibus incubat, 
Et curuata suis foetibus, ac tremens. 
Alludit patulis arbor hiatibus. 
Haec, quamuis auidus, nec patiens morae, 
Deceptus toties tangere negligit, 
Obliquatque oculos, oraque comprimit, 
Inclusisque; famem dentibus alligat: 
Sed tunc diuitias omne nemus suas 
Demittit propius, pomaque desuper
Insultant folijs mitia languidis,
Accenduntque famem, quae jubet irritas
Exercere manus: has vbi protulit,
Et falli libuit, totus in arduum
Autumnus rapitur, siluaque mobilis.
Instat deinde sitis non leuior fame,
Qua cum percaluit sanguis, et igneis
Exarsit facibus, stat miser obuios
Fluctus ore vocans, quos profugus latex
Auertit, steril deficiens vado,
Conantemque sequi desert: hic bibit
Altum de rapido gurgite puluerem.

ACTVS SECUNDVS.

ATREVS, SERVVS.
Trimetri Iambici.

Ignuae, iners, eneruis, et (quod maximum
Probrum tyranno rebus in summis reor)
Inulie, post tot sceler, post fratris dolos,
Fasque; omne ruptum questubus vanis agis
Iras: at Argos, femere iam totum tuis
Debebat armis, omneis et geminiu mare
Innare classeis: iam tuis flammis agros
Lucere, et urbes decuit, ac strictum vndique
Micere ferrum. tota sub nostro sonet
Argolica tellus equite? non silvae tegant
Hostem, nec altis montium structae iugis
Arces: relictis bellicum totus canat
Populus Mycenis, quisquis inuisum caput
Tegit, ac tectur, clade funesta occultat.
Haec ipsa pollens inclyti Pelopis domus
Ruat vel in me, dummodo in fratrem ruat.
Age animo, fac quod nulla posteritas probet,
Sed nulla tacet: aliquod audendum est nefas
Atrox, cruentum, tale, quod frater meus
Suum esse malit. scelera non vicisceris,
Nisi vincis. et quid esse iam saeueum potest,
Quod superet illum? nunquid abiectus iacet?
Nunquid secundis patitur in rebus modum,
Fessis quietem? novi ego ingenium viri
Indocile: flotci non potest, frangi potest.
Proinde antequam se firmet, aut vires paret,
Petatur vltro, ne quiescentem petat.
Aut perdet, aut peribit: in medio est scelus
Positum occupanti.

SER.
   Fama te populi nihil
Adversa terret?

ATR.
   Maximum hoc regni bonum est,
   Quod facta domini cogitur populus sui
   Quam ferre, tam laudare.

SER.
   Quos cogit metus
   Laudare, eisdem reddit inimicos metus:
   At qui fauoris gloriam veri petit,
   Animo magis, quam voce laudari volet.

ATR.
   Laus vera et humili saepe contingit viro,
   Non nisi potenti falsa: quod nolunt, velint.

SER.
   Rex velit honesta, nemo non cadem volet.

ATR.
   Vbiunque; tantum honesta dominanti licent,
   Precario regnatur.

SER.
   Vbi non est pudor,
   Nec cura iuris, sanctitas, pietas, fides,
   Instabile regnum est.

ATR.
   Sanctitas, pietas, fides,
   Priuata bona sunt: qua iuuat, reges eant.

SER.
   Nefas nocere vel malo fratri puta.

ATR.
   Fas est in illum, quidquid in fratrem est nefas.
   Quid enim reliquit crimine intactum? aut vbi
   Sceleri pepercit? coniugem stupro abstulit,
   Regnumque furto specimen antiquum imperi
   Fraude est adeptus, fraude turbuit domum.
   Est Pelopis altis nobile in stabulis pecus,
   Arcanus Aries, ductor opulentis gregis,
Huius per omne corpus infuso coma
Dependet auris, cuius e tergo noui
Aurata reges sceptrum Tantalici gerunt.
Possessor huius regnat: hunc tantae domus
Fortuna sequitur: tuta seposita sacer
In parte carpit prata, quae cludit lapis
Fatale saxo pecus muro tegens.
Hunc (facinus ingens ausus) assumpta in seclus
Consors nostri perfidus thalami, abuehit:
Hinc omne cladis mutuae fluxit malum:
Por regna trepidus exul errauit mea:
Pars nulla nostri tuta ab insidiis vacat.
Corrupta coniux, imperii quassa est fides,
Domus aegra, dubius sanguis est, certi nihil,
Nisi frater hostis. quid stupes? tandem incipe,
Animoque sume Tantulum, et Pelopem aspice:
Ah haec manus exempla poscuntur meae:
Profare, dirum qua caput mactem via.

SER.
Ferro peremptus spiritum inimicum expuat,

ATR.
De fine poenae loqueris, ego poenam volo.
Perimat tyrannus: lenis in regno meo
Mors impetretur?

SER.
Nulla te pietas mouet?

ATR.
Excede pietas, si modo in nostra domo
Vnquam fuisti: dira Furiam cohors,
Discorsque Erinys veniat, et geminas faces
Megaira quatiens: non satis magno meum
Ardet furore pectus: impleri iuuat
Maiore monstro.

SER.
Quid noui rabidus struis.

ATR.
Nil, quod doloris capiat assueti modum.
Nullum relinquam facinus, et nullum est satis.

SER.
Ferrum?
ATR. 
Parum est.

SER. 
Quid ignis.

ATR. 
Etiamnum parum est.

SER. Quonam ergo telo tantus vetetur dolor?

ATR. Ipso Thyeste.

SER. Maius est ira hoc malum.

ATR. Fataor, tumultus pectora attonitus quatit, 260
Penitusque; voluit: rapior, et quo nescio,
Sed rapior: imo mugit e fundo solum,
Tonat dies serenus, ac totis domus,
Vt fracta, testis crepuit, et moti lares
Vertere vultum: fiat hoc, fiat nefas,
Quod dij timetis.

SER. Facere quid tandem paras? 265

ATR. Nescio quid animus maius, et solito amplius
Supraque; fines mori humili tumet,
Instatque; pigris manibus: haud, quid sit, scio.
Sed grande quiddam est: ita sit: hoc anime incipe.
Dignum est Thyeste facinus, et dignum Atreo:
Vterque faciat, vidit infandas domus
Odrysia mensis. fateor, immane est scelus,
Sed occupatum. maius hoc aliquid dolor
Inueniat, animum filij inspira parens,
Sororque, causa est simillis: assiste, et manum 275
Impelle nostram: liberos auidus parens,
Gaudensque; laceret, et suos artus edat.
Bene est, abunde est, hic placet poenae modus
Tantisper vbinam est? tam diu cur innocens
Versatur Atreus? tota iam ante oculos meos
Imago caedis errat, ingesta orbitas
In ora patris. anime, quid rursus times,
Et ante rem subsidis? audendum est, age.
Quod est in isto scelere praecipuum nefas,
Hoc ipse faciat.

SER.

Sed quibus captus dolis;
Nostros dabit perductus in laqueos pedem?
Inimica credit cuncta.

ATR.

Non poterit capi,
Nisi capere vellet regna nunc sperat mea:
Hac spe, minanti fulmen occurret Iouii:
Hac spe subibit gurgitis tumidi minas,
Dubiumque: Libycae Syrtis intrabit fretum:
Hac spe (quod esse maximum retard malum)
Fratrem videbit.

SER.

Quis fidem pacis dabit?
Cui tanta credet?

ATR.

Credula est spes improba,
Gnatis tamen mandata, quae patruo ferant,
Dabimus: relictis exul hospitii vagus
Regno vt miserias mutet, atque Argos regat
Ex parte dominus: si nimis durus preces
Spernet Thyestes, liberos eius rudes,
Malisque; fessos gravibus, et faciles capi
Preces mouebunt: hinc vetus regni furor,
Illinc egestas tristis, hinc durus labor,
Quamvis rigentem tot malis subigent virum.

SER.

Iam tempus illi fecit aerumnas leues.

ATR.

Erras malorum sensus accrescit die:
Leue est miserias ferre, perferre grave.

SER.

Alios ministros consiliis istis lege.

ATR.

Peiora iuuenes facile praecepta audijunt.

SER.

In patre facient, quicquid in patruo doces:
Saepe in magistrum scelera redierunt sua.

ATR.
Vt nemo doceat fraudis, et sceleris vias,
Regnum docebit. ne mali flant, times?
Nascidunt istud, quod vocas saeum, asperum,
Agique; dure credis, et nimium imple.
Fortasse et illic agitur.

SER.
Hanc fraudem scient
Nati parari, tacita tam rudibus fides
Non est in annis, detegent forsan dolos.

ATR.
Tacere multis discitur vitae malis.

SER.
Ipsosne, por quos fallere alium cogitas,
Falles?

ATR.
At ipsi crimen, et culpa vaceni.
Quid enim est necesse liberos sceleri meo
Inserere? per nos odia se nostra explicent.
Male agis, recedis anime: si parcis tuis,
Parces et illi consilij Agamemnon mei
Sciens minister fiat, et patris cliens
Menelaus adsit. prolis incertae fides,
Ex hoc petatur scelere: si bella abnuunt,
Et gerere nolunt odia, si patrum vocant,
Patris est, eatur: multa sed trepidus solet
Detegere vultus, magna nolentem quoque
Consilia produnt: nosciant quantae rei
Plant ministri. nostra tu coepta occule.

SER.
Haud sum monendus: ista nostro in pectore
Fides, timorque, sed magis claudit fides.

CHORVS
Glyconicum carmen.

Tandem regia nobilis,
Antiqui genus Inachi,
Fratrum composuit minas.
Quis vos exagitatem furor,
Alternis dare sanguinem,
Et sceptrum scelerem aggeri?
Nescitis, cupidis arcum,
Regnum quo iacere locum.
Regem non faciunt opes,
Non vestis Tyriae color,
Non frontis nota regiae,
Non aurum nitidae trabes.
Rex est, qui posuit metus,
Et diri mala pectoris:
Quem non ambitio ipotens,
Et nunquam stabiles favor
Vulgis praecipitis mouet.
Non quicquid fudit Occidens,
Aut vnda Tagus aurea
Claro deaeuit alueo:
Non quicquid Libycis terit
Feruens area mossibus.
Quem non concutiet cadens
Obliqui via fulminis:
Non Eurus rapiens mare,
Aut saevo rapidus freto
Ventosi tumor Adriae:
Quem non lancea militis,
Non strictus domuit chalybs:
Qui tuto positus loco,
Infra se videt omnia,
Occurritque suo libens
Fato, nec queritur mori.
Rubes conueniunt licet,
Qui sparsos agitant Dacasar
Qui rubri vada litoris,
Aut gemmis mare lucidum
Late sanguineum tenent,
Aut qui Caspia fortibus
Recludunt iuga Sarmatis:
Certet Danubium licet,
Audet qui pedes ingredi,
Et quocunque loco iacent
Seres vellere nobiles.
Mens regnum bona possidet:
Nil villis opus est equis,
Nil armis, et inertiis
Telis, quae procul ingerit
Parthus, cum simulat fugas.
Admotis nihil est opus
Vrbes sternere machinis
Longe saxa rotantibus:  
Rex est, qui metuit nihil.  
Hoc regnum sibi quaque dat.  
Stet, quicumque volet, potens
Aulae culmine lubrico:

Me dulcis saturat quies,
Obscuro positus loco
Leni perfirar otio.
Nullis nota Quiritibus
Aetas per tacitum fluat,
Sic cum transierint mei
Nullo cum strepitu dies,
Plebeius mortar senex.
Illi mors grauis incubat,
Qui notus nimis omnibus,
Ignotus moritur sibi.

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ACTVS TERTIVS

THYESTES. PLISTHENES.

Trimetri Iambici.

Optata patriae tecta, et Argolicas opes,
Miseriisque; summum, ac maximum exulibus bonum,
Tactum soli natalis, et patrios deos,
(si sunt tamen dii) cerno, Cyclopum sacras
Turres, labore maius humano decus,
Celebrata iuueni stadia, per quae nobilis
Palmam paterno non semel curru tuli.

Occurret Argos, populus occurret frequens:
Sed nempet Atreus repete syluestres fugas,
Saltusque densos potius, et mistam feris,
Similemque; vitam. clarus hic regni nitor
Fulgore est, quod oculos falso auferat.
Cum quid datur spectabirs, et dantem aspice.

Modo inter illa, quae putant cuncti aspera,
Fortis fui, lactusque; nunc contra in metus
Revoluor, animus haeret, ac retro cupit
Corpus referre, moueo nolentem gradum.

400

PLI.

Pigro (quid hoc est?) genitor incessu stupet,
Vultumque; versat, seque; in incerto tenet.

420
THY.
Quid anime, pendes? quid ve consilium diu
Tam facile torques? rebus incertissimis
Fratri, atque regno credis? ac metuis mala
Iam victa, iam mansueta? et aerumnas fugis
Bene collocatas? esse iam miserum iuuat?
Deflecte gressum, dum licet, teque eripe.

PLI.
Quae causa cogit genitor a patria gradum
Referre visa? cur bonis tantis sinum
Subducis? ira frater abiecta redit,
Partemque; regni reddit, et lacerae domus
Componit artus, teque restituit tibi.

THY.
Causam timoris, ipse quam ignoror, exigis.
Nihil timendum video, sed timeo tamen:
Placet ire, pigris membra sed genibus labant,
Alioque; quam quo nitor, abductus feror.
Sic concitatam remige, et vento ratem.
Aestus resistens remigi et velo refert.

PLI.
Peruince quicquid obstat, et mentem impedit,
Reducemque quanta praemia expectent, vide,
Pater potest regnare.

THY.
Cum possim mori.

PLI.
Summa est potestas.

THY.
Nulla, si cupias nihil.

PLI.
Gnalis relinques.

THY.
Non capit regnum duos.

PLI.
Miser esse mauult, esse qui felix potest?

THY.
Mihi crede, falsis magna nominibus placent.
Frustra timentur dura: dum excelsus steti,
Nunquam pauere destiti, atque ipsum mei
Ferrum timere lateris. o quantum bonum est.
Obstare nulli, capere securas dapes:
Humi iacentem scelera non intrant casam,
Tutusque mensa capitur angusta cibus:
Venenum in auro bibitur: expertus loquor.
Malum bonae praefere fortunam licet.
Non vertice alli montis impositam domum,
Et eminentem ciuitas humilis tremit:
Nec fulget altis splendidum tecti ebur.
Somnosque non defendit excubitor meos.
Non classibus piscamur, et retro mare
Iacta fugamus mole. non ventrem improbum
Alimus tributo gentium: nullus mihi
Ultra Getas metitur et Parthos ager:
Non thure colimur, nec meae excluso Ioue
Ornantur ara: nulla culminibus meis
Imposita mutat sylva, nec fumant manu
Succensa multa stagna: nec somno dies,
Bacchoque nox ducenda periguili datur:
Sed non timemus: tuta sine telo est domus,
Rebusque; paruis alta praestatur quies.
Immane regnum est, posse sine regno pati.

PLI.
Nec abnuendum, si dat imperium deus.

THY.
Nec appetendum.

PLI.
Frater vt regnes, rogat.

THY.
Rogat? timendum est: errat hic aliquis dolus.

PLI.
Redire pietas, vnde summota est, solet,
Reparatque; vires iustus amissas amor.

THY.
Amat Thyesten frater? aetherias prius
Perfundet Arctos pontus, et Siculi rapax
Consistet aestus vnda, et Ionio seges
Matura pelago surget, et lucem dabit
Nox atra terris: ante cum flammis aquae
Cum morte vitae, cum mari ventus fidem,
Foedusque; iungent.

/ [71] 450 455 460 465
/ [72]
PLI.

Quam tamen fraudem times?

THY.

Omnem: timori quem meo statuam modum?
Tantum potest, quantum edit.

PLI.

In te quid potest?

THY.

Pro me nihil iam metuo: vos facitis mihi
Atrea timendum.

PLI.

Decipi captus times?

Serum est cauendi tempus in mediis malis.

Eatur, vnun genitor hoc hortamen est.

THY.

Ego vos sequor, non duco.

PLI.

Respiciat Deus
Bene cogitata, perge non dubio gradu.

ATREVS. THYESTES.

Trimetri Iambici.

Plagis tenetur clausa dispositis fera:
Et ipsum, et vna generis inuisi indolem
Iunctam parenti cerno; iam tuto in loco
Versantur oda: venit in nostras manus
Tandem Thyestes, venit, et totus quidem:
Vix tempero animo, vix dolor frenos capit.
Sic, cum feras vestigat, et longo sagax
Loro tenetur Vmber, ac presso vias
Scrutatur ore, dum procul lento suem
Odore sentit, pare!, et tacito locum
Rostro pererrat: praeda cum propior fuit
Ceruice tota pugnat, et gemitu vocat
Dominum morantem, seque retenenti eripit.
Cum spirat ira sanguinem, nescit regi.
Tamen tegatur, aspice, vt multo grauis

/ [73]
Squalore vultus obruat moestos coma:
Quam foeda iaceat barba. praesteturfides:
Fratrem iuuat videre complexus mihi
Redde expelitos: quicquid irarum fuit,
Transierit, ex hoc sanguis ac pietas die
Colantur, animis odia damnata excidant.

THY.
Diluere possem cuncta, nisi talis fores:
Sed fateor, Atreu, fateor, admisi omnia
Quae credidisti: pessimam causam meam
Hodierna pietas fecit: est prorsus nocens,
Quicunque visus tam bono fratri est nocens.
Lacrymis agendum est, supplicem primus vides.
Hae te precantur pedibus intactae manus,
Ponatur omnis ira, et ex animo tumor
Erasus abeat: obsides fidei accipe
Hos innocentes frater.

ATR.
A genibus manus
Aufer, meosque; potius amplexus pete.
Vos quoque, senum praesidia, tot iuuenes, meo
Pendete collo: squalidam vestem exue,
Oculisque; nostris parce, et omatus cape
Quales meis sunt, laetus et partem imperi
Capesse frater: maior haec laus est mea,
Fratri paternum reddere incoluni decus.
Habere regnum casus est, virtus dare.

THY.
Dii paria frater pretia pro tantis tibi
Meritis rependant: regiam capitis notam
Squalor recusat noster, et sceptrum manus
Infausta refugit: liceat in media mihi
Latere turba.

ATR.
Recipit hoc regnum duos.

THY.
Meum esse credo, quicquid est frater tuum.

ATR.
Quis influentis dona fortunae abnuit?

THY.
Expertus est quicunque, quam facile effluent.
ATR.
Fratre potiri gloria ingenti vetas?

THY.
Tua iam peracta gloria est, restat mea.
Respurere certum est regna consilium mihi.

ATR.
Meam relinquam, nisi tuam partem accipis.

THY.
Accipio, regni nomen impositi feram:
Sed iura, et arma, servient mecum tibi.

ATR.
Imposita capiti vincla venerando gere,
Ego destinatas victimas superis dabo.

CHORVS
Sapphici, et unus Adonius.

Credat hoc quisquam? ferus ille, et acer,
Nec potens mentis, truculentus Atreus,
Fratris aspectu stupefactus haesit.
Nulla vis maius pieta vera est:
Iurgia externis inimica durant.
Quos amor verus tenuit, tenebit.
Ira cum magnis agitata causis
Gratiam rupit, cecinitque; bellum,
Cum leues frenis sonuere thurmae,
Fulsit hinc illinc agitatus ensis.
Quem mouet crebro furibundus icu
Sanguinem Mauris cupiens recentem,
Opprimet ferrum, manibusque iunctis
Ducit ad pacem pietas negantes.
Olium e tanto subitum tumultu
Quis Deus fecit? modo per Mycenas
Arma ciulis crepuere belli:
Pallidae matres tremuere natis,
Vxor armato timuit marito,
Cum manum inuitus sequeretur ensis
Sordidus pacis viilio quietae:
Ille labentes renouare muros,
Hic situ quassas stabilire turres,
Ferreis portas cohibere claustris
Ille certabat, pauidusque; pinnis
Anxiae nocti vigil incubabat.
Peior est bello timor ipse belli.
Iam minae saeui cecidere ferri,
Iam silet murmur grae classiorum,
Iam tacet stridor litui strepentes.
Alta pax urbis reuocata laetae.
Sic vbi ex alto tumuere fluctus
Brutium pontum ferente Coro,
Scylla pulsatis resonat cauenis,
Ac mare intortum timuere nautea,
Quod rapax hausit reuomit Charybdis:
Et ferus Cyclops metuit parentem,
Rupe fereuntis residiens in Aetnae,
Ne superfusis violetur undis
Ignis Aeteneis resonans caminis:
Et putat mergi sua posse pauper
Regna Laertes Ithaca tremente.
Si suae ventis cecidere vires,
Mitius stagno pelagus recumbit:
Alta, quae nauis timuit secare
Hinc et hinc fusis spatiosa velis
Strata, ludenti patuere cymbae;
Et vocat mersos numerare pisces
Hic, ubi ingenti modo sub procella
Cyclades pontum timuere motae.
Nulla sors longa est: dolor, ac voluptas:
Inuicem cedunt, breuior voluptas.
Ima permutat breuis hora summis.
Ille qui donat diadema fronti,
Quem genu nixae tumuere gentes,
Cuius ad nutum posuere bella
Medus, et Phoebi proprios Indus,
Et Dacae Parthis equitum minati;
Anxius sceptrum tenet, et mouentes
Cuncta dynasias, metuitque; casus
Mobiles rerum, dubiumque; tempus.
Vos, quibus rector maris atque; terrae
Ius dedit magnum necis, alque; vitae,
Ponite inflatos, tumidosque; vultus:
Quicquid a vobis minor extimescit,
Major hoc vobis dominus minatur.
Omne sub regno grauiore regnum est.
Quem dies vidit veniens superbum,
Hunc dies vidit fugiens iacentem.
Nemo confidat nimium secundis,
Nemo desperet meliora, lapsus.
Miscet haec illis, prohibetque; Clotho
Stare fortunam, rotat omne fatum.

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/ [77]
Nemo tam diuos habuit fauentes,
Craestinum vt possit sibi polliceri.
Res deos nostras celeri citatas
Turbine versat.

ACTVS QVARTVS.

NVNCIVS. CHORVS.
Trimetri Iambi.

Qvis me per auras turbo praecipitem vehet,
Atraque nube involuet, vt tantum nefas
Eripiat oculis? o domus Pelopi quoque
Et Tantalopudenda.

CH.
Quid portas noui?

NVN.
Quaena ista regio est? Sparte, et Argos, impios
Sortita frater?, et maris gemini premens
Fauces Corinthus? an feris Ister fugam
Praebens Alantis? an sub aeterna niue
Hyrcana tellus? an vagi passim Seythae?

CH.
Quis hic nefandi est conscius monstri locus?
Effare, et istud pande, quodcunque est malum.

NVN.
Si steterit animus, si metu corpus rigens
Remittet artus. haeret in vultu trucis
Imago facti: ferte me insane procul
Illo procellae: ferte, quo fertur dies
Hinc raptus.

CH.
Animos grauius incertos tenes:
Quid sit, quod horres, efer, auctorem indica.
Non quaero quis sit, sed vter: effare ocyus.

NVN.
In arce summa Pelopis, vna est pars domus
Convessa ad Austros, cuius extremum latus
Aequale monti crescit, atque vrbem premit,
Et contumacem rogibus populum suis
   Habet sub ictu: fulget hic turbae capax
   Immans tectum, cujus auratas trabes
   Varij columnae nobiles maculis ferunt.
Post ista vulgo nota, quae populi colunt:
   In multa diues spatia discedit domus.
Arcana in imo regia recessu patet,
Alta vetustum valle compescens nemus,
   Penetrale regni: nulla, quae lactos solet
   Praebere ramos arbor, aut ferro coli,
   Sed taxus, et cupressus, et nigra ilice
Obscura nutat sylua, quam supra eminens
   Despectat alte quercus, et vincit nemus.
Hinc auspicari regna Tantalidae solent,
Hinc petere lassis rebus, et dubiis opem.
   Affixa inhaerent dona, vocales tubae,
   Fractique; currus, spolia Myrtoi maris,
   Victaeque, falsis axibus pendent rotae,
Et omne gentis facinus: hoc Phrygius loco
   Fixus tiaras Pelopis: his praeda hostium,
   Et de triumpho picta barbarico chlamys.
Fons stat sub umbra triitis, et nigra piger
   Haeret palude: talis est dirae Stygis
Deformis vnda, quae facit coelo fidem.
Hic nocte tota gemere ferales deos
   Fama est: catenis lucus excussis sonat,
   Vlulantque manes: quicquid audire est metus,
   Illic videtur: errat antiquis vetus
Emissa bustis turba, et insulam loco
   Maiora notis monstra: quin tota solet
Micare flamma sylua, et excelsae trabes:
   Ardent sine igne: saepe latratu nemus
   Trino remugit: saepe simulacris domus
   Attonita magnis: nec dies sedat metum.
Nox propri a luco est, et superstition inferum
   In luce media regnat: hinc orantibus
   Responsa dantur certa, cum ingenti sono
   Laxantur adyto fata, et inmugit specus
   Vocem deo soluente: quo postquam furens
Intrauit Atreus, liberos fratris trahens,
   Ornatur aerae quis queat digna eloqui?
Post terga iuvenum nobiles reuocal manus,
   Et moesta vitta capita purpurea ligat.
Non thura desunt, non sacer Bacchi liquor,
   Tangensve salsa victimam cultur mola.
   Seruatur omnis ordo, ne tantum nefas
   Non rite fiat.
CH.

Quis manum ferro admovet?

NVN.

Ipse est sacerdos, ipse funesta prece
Lethale carmen ore violento canit.  690
Stat ipse ad aras, ipse deutos neci
Contractat, et componit, et ferro, admovet.
Accendit ipse, nulla pars sacri perit,
Lucus tremiscit, tota succusso solo
Nutauit aula, dubia quo pondus daret,
Ac fluctuanti similis: e laeuo aethere
Atrum cucurrit limitem sidus trahens:
Libata in ignes vina mutato fluunt
Cruenta Baccho: regium capiti decus
Bis terque lapsum est, fleuit in templis ebur.
Movere cunctos monstra, sed solus sibi
Immutus Atreus constat, atque vitro deos
Terret minantes. iamque dimissa mora
Assiluit arii, toruum et obliquum intuens.
Iciuna sylvis qualis in Gangeticis
Inter iuuences Tigris erravit duos,
Vtriusque praeda cupida quo primum ferat
Incerta morsus: flectit huc rictus suos,
Illo reflectit, et famen dubiam tenet:
Sic dirus Atreus, capita devota impiae
Speculatur irae: quem prius maclet sibi,
Dubitat, secunda deinde quem caede immolet,
Nec interest, sed dubitat, et tantum scelus
Iuuat ordinare.

CH.

Quem tamen ferro occupat?

NVN.

Primus pietati, ne deesse pietatem putes,
Auo dicatur, Tantalus prima hostia est.  715

CH.

Quo iuuenis animo, quo tulit vultu necem?

NVN.

Stetit sui securus, et non est preces
Perire frustra passus. ast illi ferus
In vulnere ensem abscondit, et penitus premens
Iugulo manum commisit, educto stetit
Ferro cadauer: cunque dubitasset diu
Hac parte, an illa caderet, in patruum cadi.
Tunc ille ad aras Philisthenem saevus trahit,
Adicitque fratri: colla percussa amputat.
Ceruice caesa, truncus in pronum ruit:
Querulum cucurrit murmur incerto caput.

CH.
Quid deinde, gemina caede perfunctus, facit?
Puerone parcit? an scelus sceleri ingerit?

NVN.
Sylva iubatus qualis Armenia leo,
In caede multa victor, armento incubat,
Crure rictus madidus, et pulsa fame
Non ponit iras, hinc, et hinc tauros premens
Vitulis minatur, dente iam lasso piger:
Non aliter Atreus saeuit, atque ira tumet,
Ferrumque gemina caede perfusum tenens,
Oblitus in quem fureret, infesta manu
Exeit utra corpus: ac pueri statim
Pectore receptus ensis in torgo evit.
Cadit ille, et aras sanguine extinguens supra,
Per utrumque vulnus moritur.

CHO.
Saeuum scelus.

NVN.
Exhorruitis? hactenus si stat nefas:
Plus est.

CH.
An utra maius, aut atrocius
Natura recipit?

NVN.
Sceleris hunc finem putas?
Gradus est.

CH.
Quid utra potuit? obiecit feris
Lanianda forsan corpora, atque igne arcuit?

NVN.
Vtinam arcuisset: ne tegat functos humus,
Nec soluat ignis, aubus epulandos licet
Forisque triste pabulum saeuis trahat,
Votum est sub hoc, quod esse supplicium solet,
Pater insepultos spectet. o nullo scelus
Credibile in aeuo, quodque posteritas neget:
Erepta viuis exta pectoribus tremunt,
Spirantque venae, corque adhuc pauidum salit:
At ille fibras tractat, ac fata inspicit,
Et adhuc calentes viscerum venas notat.
Postquam hostiae placuere, securus vacat
Iam fratris epulis: ipse diuisum secat
In membra corpus, amputat trunco tenus
Humeros patentes, et lacertorum moras,
Denudat artus durus, atque ossa amputat:
Tantum ora seruat, et datas fidei manus.
Haec verubus haerent viscera, et lentis data
Stillant caminis: illa flammatuus latex
Querente aheno iactat: impositas dapes
Transiluit ignis inque crepitanues focos
Bis, ter, regestus, et pati iussus moram
Inuitus ardet: stridet in verubus iecur.
Nec facile dicam, corpora, an flammac gemant.
Gemere: piceus ignis in fumus abit:
Et ipse fumus tristis, ac nebula grauis
Non rectus exit, seque in excelsum leuat,
Ipsos penates nube defomi obsidet.
O Phoebe patiens fugeris retro licet,
Medioque ruptum merseris caelo diem,
Sero occidisti, lancinat gnatos pater,
Artusque mandit ore funesto suos:
Nitet fluente madidus viuento comam,
Grauisque viuo: saepe praeclusae cibum
Tenuere fauces, in malis vnum hoc tuis
Bonum est Thyesta, quod mala ignoras tua,
Sed et hoc peribit: vererit cursus licet
Sibi ipse Titan, obuiium ducens iter,
Tenebrisque facinus obruat tetrum nouis,
Nox missa ab ortu tempore alieno grauis,
Tamen videndum est: tota patefient mala.

CHORVS
Anapaestici, praeter vnum et alterum
Adonium.

Qvo terrarum superumque parens,
Cuius ad ortus noctis opacae
Decus omne fugit? quo vertis iter,
Medioque diem perdise Olympos?
Cur Phoebe tuos rapis aspectus?
Nondum sera nuntius horae
Nocturna vocat lumina vesper:
Nondum Hesperiae flexura rotae
Iubet emeritos soluere currus:
Nondum in noctem vergente die
Tertia misit buccina signum:
Stupet ad subitae tempora coenae
Nondum fessis bubus arator.
Quid te aetherio pepulit cursu?
Quae causa tuos limite certo
Deiecit equos? nunquid; aperto
Carcere Ditis, victi tentant
Bella gigantes? nunquid Tityus
Pectore fesso renouat veteres
Saucius iras? num reiecto
Latus explicuit monte Typhoeus?
Nunquid structur via Phlegreaeos
Alta per hostes? et Thessalianum
Therssa premitur Pelion Ossa?
Solitae mundi periere vices,
Nihil occasus, nihil ortus erit.
Stupet, Eos, assuetas Deo
Tradere frenos, genetrix primae
Roscida lucis peruersa sui
Lumina regni; nescit fessos
Tingere currus, nec fumantes
Sudore iubas mergere ponto.
Ipse insueto nouus hospitio,
Sol auroram videt occiduus,
Tenebrasque iubet surgere, nondum
Nocte parata: non succedunt
Astra, nec vilo micat igne polus:
Nec luna graeis digerit vmbras.
Sed quicquid id est, vtinan nox sit.
Trepidant nostra pectora magno
Percussa metu, ne fatali
Cuncta ruina quassata labent,
Iterumque deos, hominesque premat
Deforme chaos: iterum terras
Et mare, et ignes, et vaga picti
Sidera mundi natura tegat.
Non aetemae facis exortu
Dux astrorum secula ducens
Dabit aestatis, brumaeque; notas.
Non Phoebei obuia flammis,
Demet nocti Luna timores,
Vincetque sui fratris habenas
Curuo breuius limite currens.
Ibit in vnum coniesta sinum
Turba Deorum.
Hic, qui sacris peruius astra
Secat obliquo tramite zonas,
Flectens longos signifer annos,
Lapsa videbit sidera labens.
845
Hic, qui nondum vere benigno
Reddit Zephyro vela tepenti,
Aries praeceps ibit in vndas,
Per quas pauidum vexerat Hellen.
Hic, qui nitido Taurus comu
Perfert Hyadas, secum Geminos
Trahet, et curui brachia Cancri.
Leo flammiferis aestibus ardens
Iterum a coelo cadet Herculeus.
850
Cadet in terras Virgo relictas;
Iustaeque; cadent pondera Librae,
Secumque trahent Scorpion acrem.
Et qui nervo tenet Aemonio
Pennata senex spicula Chiron,
Rupto perdet spicula nervo.
860
Pigrum referens hyemen gelidus
Cadet Aegoceros, frangetque tuam,
Quisquis es, vnam: tecum excident
Vtima coeli sidera Pisces.
Monstraque nunquam perfusa mari
Merget condens omnia gurges.
Et qui medias diuidit Vrsas,
Fluminis instar, lubricus anguis;
865
Magnoque minor iuncta Draconi
Frigida duro Cynosura gelu;
Custosque sui tardus plaustri
Iam non stabilis ruet Arctophylax.
Nos e tanto visipulbo
Cardine inundus. 870
In nos aetas vtima venit.
O nos dura sorte creatos,
Seu perdidimus solem miseri,
Siue expulimus.
875
Abant quaestus, discede timor:
Vitae est auidus, quisquis non vult
Mundo secum perreunte mori.
ACTVS QVINTVS

ATREVS SOLUS.

Trimetri Iambici.

Aequalis astra gradior, et cunctos super
Altum superbo vertice attingens polum,
Nunc decora regni teneo, nunc solium patris.
885
Dimitto superos: summa votorum attigi.
Bene est, abunde est, iam sat est etiam mihi.
890
Sed cur satis sit? porgam, et implebo patre[m]
Funere suorum: ne quid obstaret pudor,
Dies recessit: perge, dum coelum vocat.
895

Velim quidem tenere fugientes Deos
Possem, et coactos trahere, vt vitricem dapem
Omnes viderent: quod sat est, videat pater.
Etiam die nolente discutiam tibi
Tenebras, miseriae sub quibus latitant tuae.

Nimis diu conuia securlo laces,
Hilarique vultu: iam satis mensis datum est,
Satisque Baccho: sobrio tanta ad mala
871
Opus est Thyeste, turba famularis, foris
Templi relaxa, festa patetiat domus:
Libet videre, capita natorum intuens
Quos det coloris, verba quae primus dolor
Effundat, aut vt spiritu expulso stupens
Corpus rigescat: fructus hic operis mei est,
Miserum videre nolo, sed dum fit miser,
900
Aperta multa tecla collucent face:
Resupinus ipse purpura, atque auro incubat,
Vino gravatum fulciens laeua caput:
Eructat. o me coelitum excelsissimum,
Regumque regem: vota transcendi mea.
910
Satur est, capaci ducit argento merum.
Ne parce potu, restat etiam nunc cruor
Tot hostiarum: veteris hunc Bacchi color
Abscondet: hoc mensa claudatur scypho,
Mistum suorum sanguinem genitor bibat
915
Meum bibisset. ecce, iam cantus ciet,
Festasque voces, nec salis mentii imperat.
THYESTES
Anapaestici.

Pectora longis hebetata malis
Iam sollicitas ponite curas:
Fugiat moeror, fugiatque pauor,
Fugiat trepidae comes exilij
Tristis egestas, rebusque grauis
Pudor afflictis. magis vnde cadas,
Quam quo refert: magnum, ex alto
Culmine lapsum, stabilem in plano
Figere gressum: magnum, ingenti
Strage malorum pressum, fracti
Pondera regni non inflexa
Ceruice pati: nec degenerem
Victumque malis rectum impositas
Ferre ruinas. sed iam saeui
Nubila fatis pelle, ac miseri
Temporis omnes dimitte notas:
Redeant vultus ad laeta boni.
Veterem ex animo mitte Thyesten.
Proprium hoc miseros sequitur vitium,
Nonquam rebus credere laetis.
Redeat felix fortuna licet,
Tamen affictos gaudere piget.
Quid me reucas, festumque vetas
Celebrare diem? quid flere iubes
Nulla surgens dolor ex causa?
Quid me prohibet flore recenti
Vincire comam? prohibet, prohibet.
Vernae capiti fluxere rosae:
Pungui madidus crinis amomo
Inter subitos stetit horrores.
Imber vultu nolente cadit:
Venit in medias voces gemitus:
Moeror lacrymas amat assuetas.
Flendi miseric dira cupido est.
Libet inaustos mittere quae sunt:
Libet et Tyrio saturas ostro
Rumpere vestes: vulare libet,
Mittit luctus signa futuri
Mens, ante sui praesaga mali.
Instat nautis fera tempestas,
Cum sine vento tranquilla tument.
Quos tibi vultus quosve tumultus
Fingis, demens? credula praest
Pectora fratri: iam, quicquid id est,
Vel sine causa, vel sero times.
Nolo infelix, sed vagus intra
Terror oberrat: subitos fundunt
Oculi fletus, nec causa subest:
Dolor an metus est? an habet lacrimas
Magna voluptas?

ATREVS. THYESTES.

Trimetri Iambici.

Festum diem, germane consensu pari
Celebramus: hic est sceptra qui firmet mea,
Solidamque pacis alliget certae fidem.

THY.

Saties dapis me, nec minus Bacchi tenet.
Augere cumulus hic voluptatem potest,
Si cum meis gaudere felici datur.

ATR.

Hic esse natos crede in amplexu patris.
Hic sunt, eruntque, nulla pars prolis tuae
Tibi subtrahetur or, quae exoptas, dabo,
Totumque turba iam sua implebo patrem,
Satiaberis, ne metue: nunc misti meis
Iucunda mensae sacra iuuenilis colunt,
Sed accipientur: pocium infuso cape
Gentile Baccho.

THY.

Capio fraternae dapis
Donum, paternis vina libentur Deis,
Tunc hauriantur, sed quid hoc? non vult manus
Parere: crescit pondus, et dextram grauat:
Admotus ipsis Bacchus a labris fugit,
Circaque rictus ore decepto offuit,
Et ipsa trepido mensa subsiluit solo.
Vix lucet ignis, ipse quin aether grauis
Inter diem noctemque desertus stupet.
Quid hoc? magis magisque concussi labant
Conuexa coeli: spissior densis coit
Caligo tenebris, noxque se in noctem abdidit,
Fugit omne sidus: quicquid est, fratri precor
Gnatisque parcat: omnis in vile hoc caput
Abeat procella. redde iam gnatos mihi.

ATR.
Reddam, et tibi illos nullus eripiet dies.

THY.
Quis hic tumultus viscera exagitat mea?
Quid tremuit intus? sentio impatients onus,
Meumque gemitu non meo pectus gemit.
Adeste gnati, genitor infelix vocat:
Adeste, visis fugiet hic vobis dolor.
Vnde obloquutur?

ATR.
Expedit amplexus pater,
Venere: gnatos ecquid agnoscis tuos?

THY.
Agnosco fratrem. sustines tantum nefas
Gestare tellus? non ad infernem Slyga
Te, nique mergis? rupta et ingenti viae
Ad chaos inane regna cum rege abripis.
Non tota ab imo tecta convelliens solo
Vertis Mycenas? stare circa Tantalum,
Avosque nostros, si quis intra Tartara est,
Vterque iam debimus. hinc compagibus
Et hinc reuulsis, hunc tuam immani sinu
Demittite vallem, nosque defossos tege
Acheronte toto: noxae supra caput
Animae vagentur nostrum, et ardentis freto
Phlegeton arenas igneus totas agens,
Exitia supra nostra violentus fluat.
Immota tellus pondus ignauum iaces?
Fugere superi.

ATR.
At accipe hos potius libens,
Recipe hosce citius: liberis tandem tuis
Diu expetitis, nulla per fratrem est mora,
Fruere, osculare, diuide amplemus tribus.

THY.
Hoc foedus? haec est gratia? haec fratris fides?
Sic odio ponis? non peto, incolomus pater
Gnatos ut habeam, scelere quod saluo dari,
Odioque possit, frater hoc fratrem rogo,
Sepelire liceat. redde quod cernas statim
Vri: nihil te genitor habiturus rogo.
Sed perditurus.

ATR.
Quicquid e natis tuis
Superest, habebis, quodque non superest, habes. 1030

THY.
Vtrumne sacuis pabulum altibus iacent?
An belluis seruantur? an pascunt feras?

ATR.
Epulatus ipse es impia gnatos dape.

THY.
Hoc est, Deos quod puduit: hoc egit diem
Auersum in ortus. quas miser voces dabo?
Questusque quos? quae verba sufficient mihi?
Abscissa cerno capita, et auulsas manus,
Et rupta fractis cruribus vestigia.
Hoc est, quod audius capere non potuit pater.
Volumunt intus viscera et clusum nefas
Sine exitu luctatur, et quaerit viam.
Da frater ense: sanguinis multum mei
Habet ille: ferro liberis demus viam.
Negatur ensi? pectora illiso sonent
Concussa planctu: sustine infelix manum.
Parcamus vmbris. tale quis vidit nefas?
Quis inhospitalis Caucasi rupem asperam
Heniochus habitans? quisve Cecropiis motus
Terris Procrustes? genitor, en gnatos premo,
Premorque gnatis: sceleris est alquis modus? 1050

ATR.
Sceleri modus debetur, vbi facias scelus,
Non vbi reponas: hoc quoque exiguum est mihi.
Ex vulnere ipso sanguinem calidum in tua
Diffundere ora debui, vt viuentium
Biberes cruorem: verba sunt irae data
Dum proprio. ferro vulnera impresso dedi,
Cecidi ad aras, caede votiva focos
Placaui, et artus corpora examina amputans,
In parva carpsi frusta, et haec feruentibus.
Demorsi ahenis, illa lentis ignibus
Stillare iussi: membra, neruosque abscedi
Viuentibus, gracilique traiecto veru
Mugire fibras vidi, et agessi manu
Mea ipse flammas: omnia haec molius pater
Fecisse potuit, cecidit incassum dolor. 1065
Scidit ore natos impio, sed nesciens, 
Sed nescientes.

THY.  
_Clausa littoribus vagis_
Audite maria, vosque Dij audite hoc scelus, 
Quocunque diffugistis; audite inferi, 
Audite terrae, noxque Tartarea grauis 
Et atra nube vocibus nostris vaca. 
Tibi sum relictus, sola tu miserum vides, 
Tu quoque sine astris. vota non faciam improbat, 
Pro me nihil precabor: ecquid iam potest 
Pro me esse? vobis vota prospicient mea. 
Tu summe coeli rector, aetheriae potens 
Dominator aulae, nubibus totum horridis 
Convulue mundum, bella ventorum undique 
Committe, et omni parte violentum intona, 
Manuque non qua tecta et immeritas domos 
Telo petis minore, sed qua montium 
Tergemina moles cecidit, et qui montibus 
Stabant pares gigantes. haec arma expedi, 
Ignesque torque, vindica amissum diem. 
Iaculare flammis, lumen ereptum polo 
Fulminibus exple: causa, ne dubites diu, 
Viribusque mala sit. si minus, mala sit mea, 
Me pete: trisulco flammeam telo facem 
Per pectus hoc transmisse: si gnatos pater 
Humare, et igni tradere extremo volo, 
Ego sum cremandus: si nihil superos mouet, 
Nullumque telis impios numen petit, 
Aetemae nox permaneat, et tenebris tegat 
Immensa longis secla: nil Titan queror, 
Si perseueras.

ATR.  
_Nunc meas laudo manus,_
Nunc parta vera est palma: perdideram scelus 
Nisi sic doleres: liberos nasci mihi 
Nunc credo, castis nunc fidem reddo toris.

THY.  
Quid liber meruere?

ATR.  
_Quod fuerant tui._

THY.  
_Gnatos parenti?_
ATR.

\textit{Fateor, et, quod me iuuat,}
\textit{Certos.} 1100

THY.

\textit{Piorum praesides testor Deos.}

ATR.

\textit{Quin coniugales?}

THY.

\textit{Scelere quis pensat scelus?}

ATR.

\textit{Scio quid queraris, scelere praerepto doles:}
\textit{Nec quod nefandas hauseris angit dapes,}
\textit{Quod non paratis fuerat hic animus tibi,}
\textit{Instruere similes inscio fratri cibos,}
\textit{Et adiuuante liberos matre aggredi,}
\textit{Similique; leto sternere: hoc vnum obstitit,}
\textit{Tuos putasti.} 1105

THY.

\textit{Vindices aderunt Dei,}
\textit{His puniendum vota te tradunt mea.} 1110

ATR.

\textit{Te puniendum liberi trado tuis.} / [95]
THE SECONDE

TRAGEDIE OF

Seneca entituled Thyeste faithfully Englished by Jasper Heywood fellowe of Alsolne College in Oxforde.

IMPRINTED AT
London in fletestrete in the hous late Thomas Berthelettes.

Anno. 1560.
26. die Martii.
To the right honorable syr
John Mason knight one of the Queenes
maiesties priuie counsaile, his daily ora-
tor Jasper Heywood wysheth
health with encrease of
honour and
vertue.

[ The Epistle ]

As bounden brest dothe beare the poorest wyght,
that dutie dothe in tryflyng token sende,
As he that dothe with plenteous present quyght,
Of prouder pryce, and glyttryng golde his frende.
Who so repaythe with moneys mightie masse,
the good that he at others hands hath founde,
Remembrance of the benefyte dothe passe,
he thynks him selve to hym no longer bounde.
The poore, whose powre may not with pryce repaye,
the great good gyfts that he reteyude before,
With thankfull thought yet gogyn gyfte dothe swaye,
aboue the payse of pearle and golde great store.
If puisaunt prynce at poore mans hande onse tooke
A radishe roote, and was therwith content,
Your honor then I pray, this little booke
 to take in woorthe, that I to you present. 15  
Whiche though it selve a volume be but small,
yet greater gyft it geues then weeene ye myght,
Though it a barrayne booke be throughout all
full fruteles, yet not faythles sygne in syght
It showes of him that for your honour prayes,
(as deedes of yours of him descrued haue,) 20
That god aboue prolong your happie dayes,
and make the skyes your seate soone after graue. / [*iiv]
The translatour

to the booke.

Thou lytle booke my messenger must be,
    That must from me to wight of honour goe,
Behaue thee humbly, bende to him thy knee,
    and thee to hym in lowly maner showe.
But dooe thou not thy selfe to him present,
    When with affayres thou shalt him troubled see;
Thou shalt perhaps, so woorthely be shent,
    and with reproofe he thus will say to thee.
So proudly thus presume how darest thou,
    at suche a tyme so rashely to appeare?
With thyngs of waught thou seest me burnded nowe,
    I maie not yet to tryfles geue myne care.
Spie well thy tyme, when thou him seest alone,
    an ydle houre for the shalbe moste meete,
Then steppe thou foorth, in sight of him anone,
    and as behoues, his honor humbly greete.
But now take heede what I to the shall tell,
    and all by roate this lesson take with thee,
In euery thyng thy selfe to order well
    in syght of hym, geue care and learne of mee,
Fyrst, what or whence thou art if lie woulde wyt,
    then see that thou thy tytle to him showe,
Tell hym thy name is in thy forhed wryt,
    by whiche he shal bothe thee and me well knowe.
Then when he hath once lookte upon thy name,
    yf yet he shall neglect to reade the rest,
Or if he chyde and say thou arte to blame,
    with trifles suche to haue him so opprest:
Beseche him yet therof to pardon thee,
    syns thou arte but thy masters messengere,
Excuse thy selfe and laie the faute in mee,
    at whose commaundment thus thou comste in there.
If my presumpcion then accuse he do,
    if deede so rasshe of myne he do reprove,
That I thee dare attempt to send him to,
    beware thou speake nothyng for my behoue.
Nor do thou not excuse my faute in ought,
but rather yet confess to him the same,
    And saie there maie a fawte in me be thought,
        whiche to excuse it doubleth but the blame. 40
Yet with my boldenes him beseche to beare,
    and pardon geue to this my enterpyse,
A woorthy thyng in wight of honour weare,
    a present poore to take in thankfull wyse.
For tell him though thou slender volume be,
    ungreeynge gyfte for state of honour guest,
Yet dooste thou signe of dutie bringe with the,
    and pledge thou arte of truly bounden brest. 45
And thou for him arte come for to confess,
    his beadman bounde to be for his desart,
And how to him he graunts he owthe no lesse,
    nor geeues no more, but note of thankful hart. 50
In all the rest that he to thee shall say,
    thy wyt shall serue an answere well to make.
Thou hast thyne errande, get thee hens away,
        the gods thee speede, to them I thee betake. 55
/ [*iiiiv]  / [*iiii]
The preface.

It was the foure and twentith daie of latest monthe saue one
Of all the yere: when flowre and fruts from fielde and tree were gone,
And sadder season suche ensewde as dulls the dolefull sprights
And Muse of men that woonted were to wander in delights:
And weather suche there was, as well became the pensyue pen
With sory style of woes to wryte and eke of mischiefe, when
Aurora blusht with ruddie cheekes, to waile the death agayne
Of Phoebus soon: whom thunderbolt of mightie Joue had slayne:
And cloudes from highe began to throwe their dreary teares adowne,
And Venus from the skyes aboue on fryday fowle to frowne:
When (as at booke with mased Muse I satte and pensiue thought
Deepe drownde in dumps of drousines as chaunge of weather wrought,) I felt howe Morpheus bound my browes and eke my Temples strooke,
That downe I soonke my heauy head and sleapt uppon my booke.
Then dreamde I thus, that by my syde me thought I sawe one stande
That downe to grounde in scarlet gowne was dight, and in his hande
A booke he bare: and on his head of Bayes a Garland greene:
Full graue he was, well stept in yeres and comly to be scene.
His eyes like Christall shiende: his breathe full sweete, his face full fyne,
It seemde he had byn lodged long.
among the Muses nyne.

Good syr (quoth I) I you beseche
   (since that ye seeme to me
By your attyre some worthie wight)
   it may your pleasure be,
To tell me what and whens ye are.
   wherat a whyle he stayde
Beholdyng me: anone he spake,  
   and thus (me thought) he sayde.
Spayne was (quoth he) my natuic soyle:
   a man of woorthie fame
Sometime I was in former age,
   and Seneca my name.

The name of Senec when I hearde
   then scantly could I speake:
I was so gladde that from mine eyes
   the teares began to breake
For ioy: and with what wordes I shoulde
   salute him, I ne wyst.
I him enbrast: his handes, his feete,
   and face full ofte I kyst.
And as at lengthe my tricklyng teares
   me thought I might refrayne,
O blisfull daye (quoth Q wherin
   returned is agayne
So worthie wight: O happie houre,
   that liefer is to me
Then life: wherin it happs me so,
   that I should Senec see.
Arte thou the same, that whilom dydst
   thy Tragedies endight
With woondrous wit and regall stile?
   O long desyred sight.
And lyuste thou yet (quoth I) in deede?
   and arte thou come agayne
To talke and dwell as thou wert wont
   with men? and to remayne
In this our age? I lyue (quoth he)
   and nieuer shall I die:
The woorks I wrote shall still prescrue
   my name in memorie
From age to age: and nowe agaync
   I will' reuiue the same,
And here I come to seeke some one
   that might renewe my name,
And make me speake in straunger speche
   and sette my woorks to sight,
And skanne my verse in other tongue
   then I was woont to wright.
A young man well I wotte there is
in thyle of Brytannie,

( That from the rest of all the worlde
aloofe in seas doth lie)

That once this labour tooke in hande:

him wolde I meete full fayne,

To craue that in the rest of all

my woorks he wolde take payne

To toyle, as he in Troas did.

is that your wyll ( quoth I?)

I blusht, and sayd the same you seeke,

loe, here I stande you by.

If thou ( quoth he) be whome I seeke,

if glorie ought thee moue

Of myne to come in after age,

if Senecs name thou loue

Aliue to keepe, I thee beseeeche

agayne to take thy pen,

In miter of thy mother tongue
to geue to sight of men

My other woorks: wherby thou shalt
deserue of them and mee,

No litle thancks: When they them selues
my Tragedies shall see
In Englishe verse, that neuer yet
coulde latine understande.

With my renowne perhapps thy name
shall flie throughout this lande,

And those that yet thee neuer knewe
shall thee bothe loue and prayse,

And say God graunt this yong man well
to lyue full many dayes,

And many happy houres to see
in life: and after graue,
Rest, ioy, and blisse eternally
aboue the skies to haue,

That so translated hath these bookes.
to him ( quoth I) agayne

( If any be that so with thanks
accepts a yong mans payne)
I wishe great good: but well I wotte
the hatefull cursed broode

Farre greater is, that are long syns
sproong up of Zoylus bloode.

That Red heard, black mouthd, squint eyed wretche
hath cowched every wheare,

In corner close some Impe of his
that sitts to see and heare

What eche man dothe, and eche man blames,
nor onse we may him see
Come face to face, but we once gone
then stoutly stepps out hee:
And all he carpes that there he fyndes
ere halfe he reade to ende,
And what he understandes not, blames,
though nought he can amende.
But were it so that suche were none,
how may these youthfull dayes
Of mine, in thyng so hard as this
deserue of other prayse?
A labour long (quoth I) it is
that riper age doothe craue:
And who shall trauaile in thy bookes,
more judgement ought to haue
Then I: whose greener yearcs therby
no thanks may hope to wynne.
Thou seest dame Nature yet hath sette
No heares uppon my chynne.
Craue this therfore of grauer age,
and men of greater skill.
Full many be that better can,
and some perhapps that will.
But yf thy will be rather bent,
a yong mans witt to proue,
And thinkst that elder lemed men
perhaps it shall behoue,
In woorks of waight to spende theyr tymc,
go where Mineruaes men,
And finest witts doe swarne: whome she
hath taught to passe with pen.
In Lyncolnes Inne and Temples twayne,
Grayes Inne and other mo,
Thou shalt them fynde whose paynfull pen
thy verse shall florishe so,
That Melpomen thou wouldst well weene
had taught them for to wright,
And all their woorks with stately style,
and goodly grace t'endight.
There shalt thou se the selfe same Northe,
whose worke his witte displayes,
And Dyall dothe of Princes paynte,
and preache abroade his prayse.
There Sackyldcs Sonetts sweetely saustc,
and featly fyned bee,
There Nortons ditties do delight,
there Yeluertons doo flee
Well powrde with pen: suche yong men three,
as weene thou mightst agayne,
To be begotte as Pallas was,
of myghtie Joue his brayne.
There heare thou shalt a great reporte,
of Baldwyns worthie name.
Whose Myrrour dothe of Magistrates,
proclayme eternall fame.
And there the gentle Blunduille is
by name and eke by kynde,
Of whome we leame by Plutarches lore,
what frute by Foes to fynde.
There Bauande bydes, that turnde his toyle
a Common welthe to frame,
And greater grace in Englyshe gues,
to woorthy authors name.
There Googe a gratefull gaynes hathe gotte,
reporte that runneth ryfe,
Who crooked Compasse dothe describe,
and Zodiake of lyfe.
And yet great nombre more, whose names
yt I shoulde now resight,
A ten tymes greater woork thynthine,
I should be forste to wright.
A pryncely place in Pamasse hill,
for these there is preparde,
Where crowne of glittryng glorie hangs,
for them a ryght rewarde.
Wheras the lappes of Ladies nyne,
shall dewly them defende,
That haue preparde the Lawrell leafe,
aboue theyr hedds to bende.
And wher theyr Penns shall hang full hie,
and fame that erst was hyd,
Abrode in Brutus realme shall flie,
as late theyr volumes dyd.
These are the witts that can display
thy Tragedies all ten,
Repleate with sugred sentence sweete,
and practise of the pen.
My selfe, I must confesse, I haue
to muche already done
Aboue my reache, when rashly once
with Troas I begoon:
And more presumde to take in hande
then well I brought to ende,
And little volume with mo fautes,
then lynes abrode to sende.
And of that woork what men reporte,
In faythe the I neuer wist.
But well I wotte, it may be thought
so yll, that little lyst
I haue to dooe the like: Wherof
though myne be all the blame,
And all to me imputed is,
that passeth in my name:
Yet as of some I will confesse
that I the author was,
And fautes to many made my selfe
when I that booke lette pas
Out of my handes: so must I me
excuse, of other some.
For when to sygne of Hande and Starrs
I chaunced fyrst to come,
To Printers hands I gaue the worke:
by whome I had suche wrong,
That though my selfe perusde their prooucs
the fyrst tyme, yet ere long
When I was gone, they wolde agayne
the print therof renewe,
Corrupted all: in suche a sorte,
that scant a sentence trewe
Now flythe abroade as I it wrote.
which thyng when I had tryde,
And fowrescore greater fautes then myne
in fortie leaues espyde,
Small thanks ( quoth I) for suche a woorke
wolde Senec geue to me,
If he were yet a lyue, and shoulde
perhapps it chaunce to see.
And to the printer thus I sayde:
within these doores of thyne,
I make a vowe shall neuer more
come any worke of myne.
My frende ( quoth Senec therwithall)
no meruayle therof ys:
They haue my selfe so wronged ofte,
And many things amys
Are doon by them in all my woorks.
suche fautes in every booke
Of myne they make, (as well he may
it fynde that lyst to looke,)
That sense and latin, verse and all
they violate and breake,
And ofte what I yet neuer ment
they me enforce to speake.
It is the negligence of them,
and partly lacke of skill
That dooth the woorks with paynes well pen[t]
full ofte disgrace and spill.
But as for that be nought abasht: 285
  the wise will well it waye,
And learned men shall soone discerne
  thy fautes from his, and saye,
Loe here the Printer dooth him wrong, 290
  as easy is to trye:
And slaunder dooth the authors name,
  and lewdly him belye.
But where thy yeares thou sayst lacke skyll,
  mysdoute thou not (quoth he.)
I wil my selfe in these affayres, 295
  a helper be to thee.
Eche Poetts tale I will expounde
  and other places harde.
Thou shalt ( nodouble) fynde some, that will
  thy labour well regarde.
And therwithall, oh lorde he sayde, 300
  now him I thinke uppone,
That here but late to little liude,
  and now from hens is gone.
Whose vertues rare in age so greene 305
  bewrayde a worthy wight,
And towardnesse tryde of tender tyme,
  how louely lampe of light
He woulde haue byn, if God had spaerde
  his dayes,yll suche tyme,whan
That elder age had abled him, 310
  by grouthe to grauer man.
How thankfull thyng thinkst thou ( quoth he)
  woulde this to him haue beene,
If geuen to his name he might 315
  a woorke of thine haue seene,
Whome duryng life he fauourde so?
  but that may neuer be:
For gone he is, ( alas the while)
  thou shalt him neuer see,
Where breathyng bodyes dwell agayne: 320
  nor neuer shalt thou more,
Eftsones with him of learnyng talke,
  as thou werte woont before.
Yet wayle no more for him ( he sayde)
  for he farre better is.
His seate he hath oblayned nowe, 325
  among the stars in blis.
And castyng brighter beames about,
  then Phoebus golden glede,
Aboue the skies he lyues with Joue, 330
  an other Ganymede:
In better place then Aquarie,
suche grace did God him gyue.
But though the sonne be gone, yet here
dothe yet the father lyue.
And long might he this lyfe enioye
in helthe, and great encrease
Of honour and of vertue bothe,
Tyll God his soule release
From corps to skies: with right rewarde
to recompense him there,
For truthe and trusty seruice doon,
to prince and contrey here.
His goodnes loe thy selfe hast felte
([quoth] he) and that of late,
When he thee Fayled not to helpe,
and succour thyne estate.
To him it shall beseeme thee well
some token for to showe,
That of thy dutie whiche thou dooste
for his deserts him owe
Thou myndfull arte, and how thou dooste
thy diligence applie,
To thanke as powre may serue, and with
thy pen to sygnifie,
A gratefull mynde. And thou to light
so little trifle bee,
To geue to him that hath so muche
alredie doone for thee,
Yet syns thou canst none otherwyse
his honour yet requight,
Nor yet thy yeares doe thee permit
more waightie woorkes to wright,
This Christmas tyme thou mayste doe well
a peece therof to ende,
And many thanks in volume small,
as thee becomes to sende.
And tell him how for his estate,
thou dooste thy praikers make:
And him in dayly vows of thine,
to God aboue betake.
But for because the Prynters all
haue greatly wronged mee,
To ease thee of thy paynes therin,
see what I bryng to thee.
He sayde: and therwithall, began
to ope the gylded booke
Whiche erst I tolde he bare in hand
and therupon to looke.
The leaues within were fyne to seele,
and fayre to looke uppone,
As they with syluer had byn sleakte,
full cleare to see they shone.
Yet farre the letters did eche one
exceede the leaues in sight,
More glorious then the gilttryng golde,
and in the lye more bright.
The featly framed lynes throughout
in meetest maner stande,
More worthy worke it was, then might
be made by mortall hande.
Therwith me thought a sauour sweete
I felt, so fresshe that was,
That beds of purple vyoletts,
and Roses farre did pas.
No princes perfume like to it,
in chamber of estate:
I wiste it was some thyng diuine,
did me so recreate.
I felt my selfe refresshed muche,
well quickned were my witts,
And often tymes of pleasure great
I had so joyfull fitts,
That makyng now I will confesse,
you may beleue me well,
Great hoorde of golde I wolde refuse
in suche delights to dwell,
As in that dreame I had, anone,
me thought I asked him,
What booke it was he bare in hand,
that showde and smelde so trim.
These are ( quoth he) the Tragedies
in deede of Seneca,
The Muse her selfe them truly writ,
that hight Melpomena.
In Parnase princely palaice highe,
she garnisshed this booke,
The Ladies haue of Helicon
great ioy theron to looke:
When walkyng in theyr aleyes sweete
the flowres so fresshe they tredde,
And in the midst of them me place,
my Tragedies to made.
These leaues that fyne as veluet fecle,
and parchement like in sight,
Of feate fyne Fawnes they are the skyns,
suche as no mortall wight
May come unto: but with the which
the muses woon to playe,
In gardens still with grasse full greene,
that garnisht are full gaye.
There fostered are these little beasts,
and fed with Muses mylke,
Their whitest hands and feete they lyke,
with tongue as softe as sylke.
Theyr beare not suche as haue the hearde,
of other common Deare,
But silken skyns of purple hewe,
lyke veluet fyne they weare.
With proper fealty framed feete,
about the arbours greene
They trippe and daunce before these dames,
full seemely to be seene:
And then theyr golden homes adowne
in Ladies lappes they lay,
A greate delight those systers nyne,
haue with these Fawnes to play.
Of skyns of them this parchment loe
that shynes so fayre they make,
When ought they woulde with hande of theyrs,
to written booke betake.
This gorgeous gytttrynge golden Inke,
so precious thyng to see,
Geue eare and wherof made it is,
I shall declare to thee.
Fayre trees amyd theyr Paradise,
there are of euery kynde,
Where euery frute that boughe bryngs foorthe,
a man may euer fynde.
And deynties suche as princes wont,
with proudest price to bie,
Great plentie therof may be seene,
hang there on branches hie.
The Plumme, the Peare, the Fygge, the Date,
Powngamet wants not theare,
The Orynge and the Olyue tree,
full plenteously doe beare.
Ye there the golden Apples hang,
which once a thyng muche worthe
To ioye the weddyng day of Joue,
the soyle it selfe brought forthe.
There Daphne stands transfornide to tree,
that greene is styll to sight,
That was sometyme the loued Nymphe
so fayre, of Phoebus bright.
Not farre from frute so rytche, that once
did wakyng dragon keepe
Dothe Myrrha stande, with wofull teares
that yet dothe wayle and weepe.
Her teares congealed hard to gumme,
that sauour sweete dothe cast,
It is that makes to leafe so fyne,
this Inke to cleaue so fast.
But with what water is this Inke
thus made, now learne (quoth hee)
The secrets of the sacred mounte,
I wyll declare to thee.
Aboue the rest a Cedre hyghe,
of haughtie topphe there growes
With bendyng braunches farre abrode,
on soyle that shadowe showes.
In topphe wherof do hang full hie,
the penes of poeatts olde,
And posyes purtred for their prayse,
in letters all of golde.
In shade wherof a banquet house
there stands of great delight,
For Muses ioyes, the walls are made
of marble fyare in sight
Fowre square: an Iuery turret stands
at euery comer hye,
The nookes and toppes doth beaten golde,
and amell ouerlye.
In fulgent seate doth fleeung fame,
there syt full hyghe from grounde,
And prayse of Pallas poets sends
to starrs with trumpetts sounde.
The gate therof so strong and sure,
it neede no watche nor warde
A woondrous woorke it is to see,
of Adamant full harde.
With nyne sure locks wherof of one
eche ladye kepes the kaye,
That none of them may come therin
when other are awaye.
The floore within with emrawds greene,
ys paued fayre and feate,
The boorde and benches rownde about,
are made of pure blacke geate.
The lute, the harpe, the cytheron,
the shaulme, the shagbut eke,
The vyall and the vyrginall,
no muskye there to seeke.
About the walls more woorthy woorke
then made by mortall hande,
The poeatts paynted pyctures all
in seemely order stonde:
With colours suche so luyely layde,
that at that sight I weene, 530
Apelles pensyle woulde beare backe, 531
abashed to be scene.
There Homere, Ouide, Horace eke 532
full featlye purtred bee,
And there not in the lowest place, 535
they haue described mee.
There Virgyle, Lucane, Palingene, 540
and rest of poetts all
Do stande, and there from this daie foorthe,
full many other shall.
For now that house by manye yardes, 545
enlarged out they haue,
Wherby they myght in wyder wall 550
the Images engraue,
And paynte the pyctures more at large,
of hundreds, englysshe men.
That geeue theyr tongue a greater grace, 555
by pure and paynfull pen.
In mydst of all this worthy woorke,
there runns a pleasant spryng,
That is of all the paradyse, 560
the most delycious thyng,
That rounde about encloased is,
with wall of Jasper stone:
The ladies let no wight therin, 565
but cuen them sclues alone.
The water shynes lyke golde in syght,
and sweetest is to smell,
Full often tymes they bathe them selues, 570
within that blysfull well.
With water thereof they this Inke
haue made that wtyt this booke,
And lycenst me to bryng it downe,
for thee theron to looke.
Thou maist belecue it trewly wrote, 575
and trust in cuery whit
For here hathneuer prynters presse
made faute, nor neuer yet,
Came errour here by mysse of man. 580
in sacred seate on hye,
They haue it wryt, in all whose woorks, 585
theyr pen can make no lye.
This booke shall greatly thee auayle,
to see how Prynters mys,
In all my woorkes, and all theyr fautes, 590
thou mayste correcte by thy.
And more then that, this golden spryng, 595
with whiche I haue the tolde

49
This ynke so bryght thus made to bee,
suche propertee dothe holde,
That who therof the sauour feeles,
his wyttz shall quickned bee,
And spryghts rcuyde in woondrous wyse,
as now it happs to thee.
Come on therfore whyle helpe thou haste
he sayde, and therwithall
Euen at Thyestes chaunced fyrist,
the leaues abrode to fall.
Euen here ( quoth he) yf it the please
t begin, now take thy pen
Moste dyre debates descrybe, of all
that euer chaunst to men.
And whiche the godds abhorde to see.
The summe of all the stryfe
Now harken to. Thyestes kepes
his brothers Atreus wyfe,
And ramme with golden fleec: but yet
dothe Atreus frendship fayne
With him, tylly tyme for fathers foode
he hathe his children slayne,
And dishes drest. he sayde, and thenegunta to reade the booke:
I satte attent, and therupon
I fyxed fast my looke.
Fyrst how the furye draue the spryght
of Tantalus from hell
To stryrre the stryfe, I harde hym reade,
and all expounde full well.
Full many pleasant poetts tales
that dyd me please I harde,
And euermore to booke so fayre,
I had a great regarde.
Wherby I sawc how often tymes
the Printers dyd him wrong.
Now Gryphyus, Collinus now,
and now and then among
He Aldus blamde, with all the rest
that in his woorks do mys
Of sence or verse: and stylly my booke,
I did correcte by hys.
The god of sleepe had harde all this,
when tyme for him it was,
To denns of slumber whence he came,
agayne awaie to pas.
The kercher bounde about my browes,
dypt all in Lymbo lake,
He strayght unknyt, away he fleeth,
and I begoon to wake.
When rownde I rolde mine eyes about,
and sawe my selfe alone,
In vayne I Senec Senec cryde,
the Poete now was gone.
For woe wherof I gan to weepe,
O godds (quoth I) unkynde,
Ye are to blame with shapes so vayne
our mortall eyes to blynde.
What goodly gayne get you therby,
ye shoulde us so beguyle,
And fantsies feede with ioyes, that last
alas to lyttle whyle?
I Morpheus curst a thousande tymes,
that he had made me sleepe
At all, or ells that he me wolde,
in dreame no longer keepe.
And neuer were my ioyes so greate,
in sleepe so sweete before,
But now as greeuous was my woe,
alas and ten tyms more,
My selfe without the poete there,
thus lefte alone to see,
And all delights of former dreame,
thus vanysshed to bee.
Somtyme I curst, somtyme I cryde,
lyke wight that waxed woode,
Or Panther of hir pray depyude,
or Tygre of her broode.
A thousande tymes my colour goes,
and comes as ofte agayne,
About I walkte, I might no where,
in quyet rest remayne.
In woondrous wyse I vexed was,
that neuer man I weene
So soone, might after late delights,
in suche a pangue be scene.
O thou Megaera then I sayde,
if might of thyne it bee,
Wherwith thou Tantall droauste from hell,
that thus dysturbeth mee,
Enspyre my pen: with pensyuenes
this Tragedie t'endyght,
And as so dredfull thyng beseemes,
with dolefull style to wryght.
This sayde, I felte the furies force
enflame me more and more,
And ten tyms more now chaste I was,
then euuer yet before.
My heare stoode up, I waxed woode,
my synewes all dyd shake,
And as the furye had me vext,
my teethe began to ake.

And thus enflamed with force of hir,
I sayde it shoulde be doon,
And downe I sate with pen in hande,
and thus my verse begoon.
The Speakers.

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/ [-viiiv.]
THYESTES OF
Seneca.

The fyrst Acte.

Tantalus. Megaera.

[Tant.] What furye fell enforceth me
to flee thunhappie seate,
That gape and gaspe with greedy iawe,
the fleeyng foode to eate?
What god to Tantalus the bowrcs
where breathyng bodies dwell
Doth shewe agayne? is ought found worse
then burning thurst of hell
In lakes alowe? or yet worse plague
then hunger is there one,
In vayne that euer gapes for foode?
shall Sisyphus his stone,
That slypper restles rollyng payse
upon my backe be bome?
Or shall my lymms with swyfter swynge
of whirlyng whecle be tome?
Or shall my paynes be Tityus pangs
thencreasyng lyuer styl,
Whose growyng gutts the gnawyng grypes
and fylthie foules doe fyl? 20 [A]
That styl by night repayres the panche
that was deuowrde by daic,
And wondrows wombe unwasted lythe
a new prepared praie.
What yll am I appoynted for?
O cruell judge of sprights,
Who so thou be that torments newe
among the soules delights
Styll to dyspose, adde what thou canst
to all my deadly woe,
That keper even of dungeon darke

54
wolde sore abhorre to knowe,
Or hell it selfe it quake to see:
for dreade wherof lykewyse
I tremble woulde, that plague seeke out:
   Loc nowe there dothe aryse
My broode, that shall in mischiefe farre
the grandsiers gylt out goe,
And gyltles make: that fyrst shall dare
   unuentred ylls to doe.
What euer place remaineth yet
   of all this wycked lande,
I will fyll up: and neuer once
   while Pelops house dothe stande
Shall Minos idle be.

Meg.    goe foorth
   thou detestable spright,
And vexe the godds of wycked house
   with rage of furies might.
Let them contente with all offence,
   by tymes and one by one
Let swoordes be drawn: and meane of ire
   procure there maie be none,
Nor shame: let furie blynde enflame
   their myndes and wrathfull wyll,
Let yet the parents rage endure,
   and longer lastyng yll,
Through childerns childern spreade: nor yet
   let any leysure be
The former faute to hate, but styll
   more mischiefe newe to see,
Nor one in one: but ere the gylt
   with vengeance be acquyt,
Encrease the cryme: from brethren proude
   let rule of kyngdome flyt,
To runagates: and swaruyng state
   of all unstable things,
Let it by doubtfull dome be toste,
   betwene thuncertayne kyngs.
Let mightie fall to miserie,
   and myser clyme to myght,
Let chauce turne thempyre up so downe
   both geue and take the ryght.
The banyslied for gylt, whan god
   restore theyr countrey shall,
Let them to mischiefe fall a freshe:
   as hatefull then to all,
As to them selues: let Ire thinke nought
   unlawfull to be doon.
Lot brother dreade the brothers wrathe,
and father feare the soon, so
And eke the soon his parents powre.
let babes be murdered yll,
But woore begotte: her spouse betrapt
in treasons trayne to kyll,
Let hatefull wyfe awayte: and let
them beare through seas their warre,
Let bloodshed lye the lands about
and every feelde afarre:
And ouer conquering captaynes greate,
of countreys farre to see,
Let luste tryumpe: in wycked house
let whoordome counted be
The lightest offense: let trust that in
the breasts of brethren breedes,
And true the be gone: let not from sight
of your so heynous deeds
The heauens be hyd, about the poale
when shyne the starres on hye,
And flames with wooned beames of light
doe decke the paynted skye.
Let darkest night be made, and let
the daye the heauens forsake.
Dysturbe the gods of wycked house,
hate, slaughter, murder make. / [Aiiv]
Fyll up the house of Tantalus
with mischicues and debates.
Adored be the pyllers hyghe,
with baye and let the gates
Be gamysht greene: and woorthie there
for thy returne to syght,
Be kyndled fyre: let myschiefe doone
in Thracia onse, there lyght
More manyforld. wherfore dothe yet
the uncles hande delaie?
Dothe yet Tyestes not bewayle
his childerns fatal daye?
Shall he not fynde them where with heate
of fyres that under glowe
The cawden boyles? their lymms eche one
a piececs let them goe
Dysperste: let fathers fires, with blood
of childern fyled bee:
Let deynties suche be drestc: it is
no myschiefe newe to thee,
To banquet so: beholde, this daie
we haue to the releaste,
And hunger starued wombe of thyne
we sende to suche a feaste.
With fowlest foode thy famyne fyll,
let bloode in wyne be drownde,
And droonke in syght of thee: loe nowe
suche dyshes haue I founde,
As thou wouldst shonne. staic whither doste
thou hedlong waie nowe take?

Tan. To pooles and floods of hell agayne,
and styl declynynge lake,
And flight of tree full fraught with fruite
that from the lyppes dothe flece,
To dungeon darke of hatefull hell
Let leefull be for mee
To goe: or if to light be thought
the paynes that there I haue,
Remoue me from those lakes agayne:
in mydst of worser waue
Of Phleghethon to stande, in seas
of fyre besette to be.
Who so beneath thy poyned paynes
by destenies decree
Dooste styll endure, who so thou be
that underliest alowe
The hollowe denne, or ruyne who
that feares and ouerthrowe
Of fallyng hyll, or cruell cryes
that sounde in caues of holl
Of greedy roaryng lyons throates,
or flocke of furies fell
Who quakes to knowe, or who the brands
of fyre, in dyrest payne
Hale burnte throwes of, harke to the voice
of Tantalus: agayne
That hastes to hell. and (whom the truthte
hath taught) beleue well mee
Loue well your paynes, they are but small.
when shall my happe so bee
To fle the lyght?

Meg. disturbe thou fyrst
this house with dyre discorde:
Debates and battels bryng with thee,
and of th unhappie swoorde
Ill loue to kynges: the cruell brest
stryke through and hatefull harte,
With tumulte madde.

Tan. To suffre paynes
it seemeth well my parte, Not woes to woorke: I am sent foorth lyke vapour dyre to ryse, That breaks the ground, or poyson lyke the plague, in wondrowse wyse That slaughter makes. shall I to suche detested crymes, aplye My nephewes hartes? o parents greate of godds aboue the skye, And myne, (though shamde I be to graunte,) although with greater payne My tongue be vexte, yet this to speake I maie no whit refrayne, Nor holde my peace: I warne you this, lest sacred hand with bloode Of slaughter dyre, or fransie fell of frantyke furie woode The aulters stayne, I will resyste: And garde suche gyllt awaye. With strypes why dooست thou me affryght? why threatst thou me to fraye Those cryallyng snakes? or famyne fyxt in emptie wombe, wherfore Dooست thou reuyue? nowe fryes within with thyrst enkyndled sore My hart: and in the bowels bumte, the boylyng flames doe glowe.

Meg. I followe thee: through all this house nowe rage and furie throwe. Let them be dryuen so, and so let eyther thyrst to see Eche others blood. full well hathe felte the cummyng in of thee This house: and all with wycked touche of the begun to quake. Enough it is. repayre agayn to dennis and lothsome lake, Of floode well knowne. the sadder soyle with heauy foote of thyne Agreeued is. seeste thou from sryngs howe waters doe decline And inwarde synke? or howe the bankes lye voyde by droughtie heate? And whotter blast of fyrie wynde the fewer cloudes dothe beate? The treese be spoylde, and naked stande to sight in withred woodds, The barayne bowes whose frutes are fled:
the lande betweene the floodds,
With surge of seas on either syde
that woonted to resounde,
And neerer foordes to separate
somtime with lesser grounde,
Nowe broader spredde, it heareth howe
aloofe the waters ryse.
Now Lema turnes agaynst the streame,
Thoronides lykewyse,
His poares be stoppte. with customde course
Alpheus driues not still,
His hollie waues. the tremblyng tops
of highe Cithaeron hill,
They stande not sure: from height adowne
they shake theyr syluer snowe,
And noble feeldes of Argos feare,
theyr former drought to knowe.
Yea Titan doubtes him selfe, to rolle
the worlde his woonted waye,
And drIue by force to former course
The backwarde drawyng daye.

Chorus.

This Argos towne if any God be founde,
and Pysey bowres that famous yet remaine,
Or kyngdomes els to loue of Corinths grounde,
the double hauens, or soondred seas in twayne,
If any loue Taygetus his snowes,
(by winter whiche when they on hills be cast,
By Boreas blasts that from Samiatia blowes,
with yerely breathe the sommer melts as fast,)
Where cleere Alpheus roons, with floude so colde,
By plaiies well knowne that there olimpiks hight:
Let pleasant powre of his from hense withholde
suche turnes of strife, that here they may not light:
Nor nephew woorse then grandsier spryng from us,
or dyrer deedes delight the yonger age.
Let wicked stocke of thyrstie Tantalus,
at lengthe leauue of, and wery be of rage.
Enoughe is doone, and nought preualide the iust,
or wrong: betrayde is Myrtilus and drownde,
That did betray his dame: and with lyke trust
borne as he bare, himselfe hath made renounde
With changed name the sea: and better knowne
to mariners thereof no fable is.
On wicked swoorde the little infant throwne,
as ran the child to take his fathers kis,
Unripe for thaulters ofryng fell downe deade:
and with thy hand (o Tantalus) was rent,
With suche a meate for gods thy boordes to spreade.
eternal famine for suche foode is sent,
And thyrst: nor for those deyntie meates unmilde,
might meeter payne apoynted euer bee.
With emptie throate stands Tantalus beguilde,
above thy wicked hed there leans to thee,
Then Phineys fowles in flight a swifter praine.
with burnded bowes decline on euery syde,
And of his fruites all bent to beare the swaic,
the tree deludes the gaps of hunger wyde.
Though he full greodie, feede theron woulde faine,
so ofte discyuide neglects to touche them yet:
He turns his eyes, his iawes he doth refraync,
and famine fixt in closed gumms doth shet.
But then eche branche his plenteous ritches all,
letts lower downe: and apples from on hie
With lyther leaes they flatter like to fall,
and famine styre: in vayno that bidds to trie
His hands: whiche when he hathe rought foorthe anone
be beguilde, in higher ayre agayne
The haruest hangs, and fickle fruite is gone.
then thirst him greeues no lesse then hungers payne:
Wherwith when kindled is his boyling blood
lyke fyre, the wretche the waues to him dothe call,
That meete his mouthe: whiche straight the fleeyng flood
withdrawes, and from the dried foorde doth fall:
And him forsakes that follows them. He drinkes
the duste so deepe of gulphe that from him shrinkes.

The seconde ADe.

Atreus. Servant.

[Atre.] O Dastarde, coward, o wretche, and (whiche
the greatest yet of all
To tyrants checke, I counte that maye
in waughtie thyngs befall,)
O unreuenged: after gills
so greate, and brothers guyle,
And truthe trode downe, dooste thou prouoke
with vayne complaynts the whyle
Thy wrathe? alredie nowe to rage
all Argos towne through out
In armour ought of thine, and all
the double seas about
Thy fleete to ryde: nowe all the feeldes
with feruent flames of thyne,
And townes to flashe it well beseeeme:
and evry where to shyne,
The bright drawne sworde: all under foote
of horse let euere syde
Of Argos lande resounde: and let
the woods not serue to hyde
Our foes, nor yet in haughtie toppe
of hills and mountaynes hie,
The builded towres. The people all
let them to battayle erie,
And cleere forsake Mycenas towne.
who so his hatefull hed
Hydes and defends, with slaughter dyre
let bloud of him be shed.
This pryncely Pelops palacie proude
and bowres of highe renowne,
On me so on my brother too,
let them be beaten downe.
Goe to, do that whiche never shall
no after age allowe,
Nor none it whist: some mischefe greate
there must be ventred nowe,
Bothe fierce and bloudie: suche as wolde
my brother rather long
To haue byn his. Thou neuer dooste
enoughre reuenge the wrong.
Except thou passe. And feerer facte
what may be doone so dyre,
That his exceedes? dooth the euer he
lay downe his hatefull yre?
Doothe euer he the modest meane
in tyme of wellhe regarde?
Or quiet in aduersite?
I knowe his nature harde
Untractable, that broke may be,
but neuer will it bende.
For whiche ere he prepare him selfe,
or force to fight entende,
Set fyrst on him: least while I rest
he should on me arise.
He will destroy or be destroyde,
in midst the mischiefe lies,
Preparde to him that takes it first.

Ser. Doothe fame of people nought
Adverse thee feare?

Atre. The greatest good
of kyngdome may be thought,
That still the people are constraynde
theyr princes deedes as well
To praise, as them to suffer all.

Ser. Whome feare dothe so compell
To praye, the same his foes to be,
doothe feare enforce agayne:
But who in deedee the glory seekes
of fauour true tobtayne,
He rather wolde with harts of eche
be praysde, then tongues of all.

Atre. The truer prayse full ofte hathe hapte
to meaner men to fall:
The false but unto mightie man.
what nill they, let them wyll.

Ser. Let first the kyng will honest thyngs,
and none the same dare nyll.

Atre. Where lecfull are to him that rules
but honest thyngs alone,
There raygnes the kyng by others leaue.

Ser. And where that shame is none,
Nor care of right, faythe, pietie,
nor holines none staythe,
That kyngdome swarues.

Atre. Suche holines,
suche pietie, and faythe,
Are priuate goods: let kyngs run on
in that that likes their will.

Ser. The brothers hurt a myschiefe counte,
though he be neare so ill.

Atre. It is but right to doe to him,
that wrong to brother were.
What heynous hurt hathe his offense
let passe to proue? or where
Refraynde the gilt? my spouse he stale
away for lecherie,
And raygne by stelthe: the auncient note
and sygne of imperie,
By fraude he gotte: my house by fraude
to veixe he neuer ceaste.
In Pelops house there fostred is
a noble worthy beaste,
The close kept Ramme: the goodly guide
of ritche and fayrest flockes.
By whome through out on every syde
depend a downe the lockes
Of glittryng golde, with fleece of whiche
the new kyngs woonted weare
Of Tantalls stocke their sceptors guilt
and mace of might to beare.
Of this the owner raigneth he:
with him of house so gret
The fortune fleethe: this sacred Ramme
a loofe in saftie shet,
In secret meade is wonte to grase,
whiche stone on every syde
With rockie wall encloseth rounde
the fatall beast to hyde.
This beast (aduentryng mischiefe great)
adiconyng yet for praiie
My spoused mate, the traytour false
hathe hens conuayde awaic.
From hens the wrongs of mutuall hate,
and mischefe all up sprong:
In exile wanded he; through out
my kyngdomes all a long:
No parte of myne remayneth safe
to me, from traynes of his.
My feerce deflourde, and loyalty
of empyre broken is:
My house all vext, my bloud in doubtt,
and nought that trust is in,
But brother foe. What staiest thou yet?
at lengthe loe now begin. / [Aviiiv.]
Take hart of Tantalus to thee,
to Pelops cast thine eye:
To suche examples well beseemes,
I should my hands applye.
Tell thou whiche way were best to bryng
that cruell hed to deathre.

Ser. Through perse with swoorde let him be slaine
and yeelde his hatefull breathe.

Atre. Thou speakest of thende: but I him wolde oppresse with greter payne.
Let tyrants veexe with torment more:
shoulde euerr in my rayne
Be gentle deathe?

Ser. Dothe pietie
in thee preuaile no whil?

Atre. Departe thou liens all pietie,
if in this house as yet
Thou euer werte: and now let all
the flocke of furies dyre,
And full of strife Erinnys come,
and double brands of fyre
Megaera shakynge: for not yet
enough with furie greale
And rage dothe burne my boylyng brest:
it ought to be repicate,
With monster more.

Ser. What mischefe new
dooste thou in rage prouide?

Atre. Not suche a one as may the means
of woonted greefe abide. / [B]
No gilt will I forbear, nor none
may be enoughe despight.

Ser. What sworde?

Atr. To litle that.

Ser. what fire?

Atre. And that is yet to light.

Ser. What weapon then shall sorow suche
fynde fit to woorke thy wyll?

Atre. Thyestes selfe.

Ser. Then yre it self
yet thats a greater yll.

Atr. I graunte: a tomblyng tumulte quakes, within
my bosomes loe,
And rounde it rolles: I moued am and wote not wherunto.
But drawen I am: from botome deepe the roryng soyle dothe crie
The day so fayre with thounder soundes, and house as all from hie
Were rent, from roote, and rafters craks: and lares tumde abought
Have wryde theyr syght: so beete, so beete, let mischiefe suche be sought,
As ye O gods wolde feare.

Ser. What thyng
seekste thou to bryng to pas?
[ Atrcj I note what greater thyng my mynde, and more then woont it was
Aboute the reatche that men are woont to woorke, beginy to swell:
And staythe with slouthfull hands. What thyng it is I can not tell:
But great it is. Beete so, my mynde now in this feate proccede,
For Atreus and Thyestes bothe, it were a worthy deede.
Let eche of us the crime commit. The Thracian house did se
Suche wicked tables once: I graunte the mischiefe great to be,
But done ere this: some greater gilt and mischiefe more, let yre
Fynde out. The stomak of thy sonne o father thou enspyre,
And syster eke, lyke is the cause: assist me with your powre,
And dryue my hande: let gredy pa-
rents all his babes deuowre,
And glad to rent his children be: and on their lyrns to fecde.
Enough, and well it Is deuysdc: this pleaseth me in deede.
In meane time where is lie? so long and innocent wherfore
Dooth Atreus walke? before myne eyes alreddie more and more
The shade of suche a slaughter walkes: the want of children cast,
In fathers lawes. But why my mynde, yet dreadst thou so at last,
And sayntst before thou enterprise?
it must be doone, let be.
That whiche in all this mischefe is
the greatest gilt to se,
Let him commit.

Ser. but what discye to
may we for him prepare,
Wherby betrapt he may be drawen,
to fall into the snare?
He wotes full well we are his foes.

Atre. He coulde not taken be,
Except him selfe woulde take: but now
my kyngdomes hopeth he.
For hope of this he wolde not feare
to meete the mightie Joue,
Though him he threthned to destroy,
with lightnyng from aboue.
For hope of this to passe the threats
of waues he will not fayle,
Nor dread no whit by doubtuell shelues,
of Lybik seas to sayle.
For hope of this (whiche thyng he dothe
the woorst of all beleue,)
He will his brother see.

Ser. Who shall
of peace the promise gecue?
Whome wyll he trust?

Atre. His evill hope
will soone beleue it well.
Yet to my sons the charge which they
shall to theyr unkle tell,
We will commit: that home he woulde
from exyle come againe,
And miseries for kyngdome chaunge,
and ouer Argos raygne
A kyng of halfe: and though to harde
of hart our prayers all
Him self despise, his children yet
nought woltyng what may fall,
With travels tierde, and apte to be
entysde from miseric,
Requests will moue: on thone syde his
desyre of Imperie,
On thother syde his pouertie,
and labour harde to see,
Wyll him subdue and make to yelde,
although full stoute he bee.

Ser. His trauells now the time hath made
to seeme to him but small. 555

Atre. Not so: for day by day the greefe
of yll encreaseth all.
Tys light to suffer miseries,
but heuy them t endure. 560

Ser. Yet other messengers to sende,
in suche affayres procure.

Atre. The yonger sorte the worse precepts
do easelie harken to.

Ser. What thyng against their unkle now,
you them enstrukte to do,
Perhaps with you to worke the like,
they will not be a dred.
Suche mischiefe wrought hath ofte retunde
uppon the workers hed. 570

Atre. Though neuer man to them the wayes
of guile and gilt haue taught,
Yet kyngdome will. Fearst thou they shoulde
be made by counsell naught?
They are so bome. That whiche thou calste
a cruell enterpyrse
And dyrely deemest doone to be,
and wickedly like wyse,
Perhaps is wrought against me there. 575

Ser. And shall your soons of this
Disceyte beware that worke you will?
no secretnes there is
In theyr so greetic and tender yeres:
they will your traynes disclose.

Atre. A priuie counsell cloase to keepe,
is leernde with many woes. 580

Ser. And will ye them, by whome ye woulde
he shoulde beguiled bee,
Them selues beguilde?

At. Nay let the bothe
from faute and blame be free. 590
For what shall neede in mischiefes suche
as I to woork entende,
To myngle them? let all my hate
by me alone take ende.

Thou leauaste thy purpose yll my minde:
yf thou thine owne forbearc,
Thou sparest him. Wherfore of this
let Agamemnon heare
Be minister: and client eke
of mine for suche a deede,
Let Menelaus present be:
truehe of thuncertaine seede,
By suche a practtise may be tride:
if it refuse they shall,
Nor of debate wil bearers be,
if they him unkle call,
He is their father: let them goe.
but muche the fearfull face
Bewrayes it selfe: euen him that faynes
the secret wayghtie case,
Dothe ofte betray: let them therfore
not know, how greate a guylc
They goe about. And thou these thyngs
in secret keepe the whyle.

Ser. I neede not warned be, for these
within my bosome deepe,
Bothe faythe, and feare, but chiefly faythe,
dothe shet and closely keepe. / [Biii]

Chorus.

The noble house at lengthe of highe renowne,
the famous stocke of auncient Inachus,
Appeasde and layde the threats of brethrem downe.
but now what furie styrrs and dryues you thus,
Eche one to thyrst the others bloud agayne,
or get by gylt the golden mace in hande?
Ye little wote that so desyre to raygne,
in what estate or place dothe kyngdome stande.
Not riches make a kyng or highe renowne,
not garnisht weede with purple Tyrian die,
Not loftic lookes, or head encloasde with crowne,
not glitryng beames with golde and turretts hie.
A kyng he is, that feare hath layde asyde,
and all affects that in the brest are bred:
Whome impotent ambition dothe not guyde, 635
nor fickle fauour hathe of people led.
Nor all that west in mettalls mynes hath founde, 640
or chanell cleere of golden Tagus showes,
Nor all the grayne that thraashed is on grounde, 645
that with the heate of libyk harvest gloues.
Nor whome the flasche of lightnyng flame shall beate,
nor eastern wynde that smiles upon the seas, 650
Nor swellying surge with rage of wynde repleate,
or greedie gulphe of Adria displease.
Whome not the pricke of souldiers sharpest speare, 655
or poyneted pyke in hand hath made to rue,
Nor whome the glimpse of swoorde myght cause to feare,
or bright drawen blade of glyttryng steele subdue.
Who in the seate of saftie setes his feete, 660
beholdes all happs how under him they lye,
And gladlie runs his fatal daie to meeete,
or ought complaynes or grudgeth for to dye.
Though present were the prynces every cho ne, 665
the scattered Dakes to chase that woonted be,
That shynyng seas beset with precious stone,
and red sea coastes doe holde, lyke bloude to see:
Or they which els the Caspian mountaynes hye, 670
from Sarmats strong with all theyr power withholde:
Or he that on the floude of Danubye,
in frost a foote to trauayle dare be bolde:
Or Seres in what euer place they lye, 675
renounde with fleece that there of sylke dothe spryng,
They never myght the truthe hereof denye,
it is the mynde that onely makes a kyng.
There is no neede of sturdie steedes in warre,
no neede with armes or arrowes els to fyght,
That Parthus woonts with bowe to fling from farre, 680
while from the feelde he falsely fayneth flight.
Nor yet to siege no neede it is to brynge,
great goons in carts to ouerthrowe the wall,
That from far of theyr battryng pellettes slyng,
a kyng he is that feareth nought at all.
670 / [Bv]
Eche man him selfe this kyngdome geeues at hande. 685
let who so lyst with myghtie mace to raygne,
In tyckle topp of court de lyght to stonde.
let me the sweete and quiet rest obtayne.
So sette in place obscure and lowe degree, 690
of pleaunt rest I shall the sweetnes knoe.
My lyfe unknowne to them that noble be,
shall in the steppe of secret sylence goe.
Thus when my daies at length are ouerpast, 695
and tyme without all troublous tumulte spent,
An aged man I shall departe at last,
    In meane estate, to dye full well content.
But greuous is to him the deathe, that when
    so farre abrode the bruyte of him is blowne,
That knowne he is to muche to other men:
    departeth yet unto him selfe unknowne.

The thyrde Acte.

Thyestes. Phylisthenes.

[Thy.] My countrey bowres so long wysht for,
    and Argos ryches all,
Cheefe good that unto banysh men,
    and mysers maie befall,
The touche of soyle where borne I was,
    and godds of natyue lande,
(If godds they be,) and sacred towres
    I see of Cyclops hande:
That represent then all mans woorke,
    a greater maiestie.
Renowned stadies to my youth,
    where noble sometyme I
Haue not so seelde as onse, the palme
    in fathers charyot woon.
All Argos now to meete with me,
    and people fast will roon:
But Atreus to. yet rather leade
    in woods agayne thy flight,
And bushes thicke, and hyd among
    the brutyshe beastes from sight,
Lyke lyfe to theyrs: where splendent pompe
    of court and princely pryde,
May not with flattryng fulgent face,
    allure thine eyes asyde.
With whom the kyngdome geuen is,
    beholde, and well regarde,
Beset but late with suche mishaps,
    as all men counte full harde,
I stoute and ioyfull was: but now
    agayne thus into feare
I am returnde. my mynde mysdoutes,
    and backeward seekes to beare
My bodye hens: and forthe I drawe
my pase agaynst my wyll.

Phy. With slouthfull steppe (what meaneth this?) my father standeth still, And turns his face and holdes him selfe, in doute what thyng to do.

Thy. What thyng (my mynde) consyderst thou? or els so long wherto Dooste thou so easy counsayle wrest? wylt thou to thynges unsure Thy brother and the kyngdome trust? feart thou those ils tendure Now ouercome, and mieder made? and trauayls dooste thou flee That well were plaste? it the auayles, a myser now to bee. Tume hens thy pace: while leefull is, and keepe thee from his hande.

Phyl. What cause the dryues (o father deere) thus from thy natitue lande, Now scene to shrynke? what makes thee thus from thyngs so good at last Withdrawe thy selfe? thy brother comes whose ires be oucipast, And halfe the kyngdome geues, and of the house Dylacerate, Repayres the partes: and thee restores agayne to former state.

Thyest. The cause of feare that I know not, thou dooste requyre to heare. I see nothyng that makcsnic drcad, and yet I greatly fearc. I woulde goc on, but yet my lyrnms, with weery leggs doe slacke: And other waic then I woulde passe, I am withholden backe. So ofte the shippe that driuen is with winde and eke with ore, The swellyng surge resistyng bothe, beates backe upon the shore.

Phyl. Yet ouerconic what cuer stayes, and thus doth let your mynde, And see what are at your returne, preparde for you to fynde. You may o father raigne.
Thy. I maie
    but then when die I mought.

Ph. Cheefe thing is powre.

Th. nought worth at all,
    if thou desyre it nought.

Phyl. You shall it to your children leaue.

Thy. the kyngdome takes not twayne.

Phy. Who maie be happie, rather wolde he myser yet remayne?

Thy. Beleue me well, with titles false
    the greate thyngs us delight:
And heuye happs in vayne are fearde
    while high I stoode in sight,
I neuer stynted then to quake,
    and selfe same swoorde to feare,
That hanged by myne owne syde was.
    Oh how great good it were,
With none to strive, but careles foode
to eate and rest to knowe?
The greater gylys they enter not
    in cotage sette alowe:
And safer foode is fed upon,
at narrow boorde alwaye,
While droonke in golde the poyson is:
    by proofe well taught I saye,
That cuyll happs before the good
to loue it lykes my wyll.
Of haughtie house that stands alofte
    in tickle toppe of hyll,
And swayes asyde, the citee lowe
    neede neuer be affryght:
Nor in the toppe of rooife aboue,
    there shynes no Iuery bright,
Nor watcheman none defendes my sleepes
    by night, or gardes my rest:
With fleete I fyshel not, nor the seas
    I haue not backwarde prest,
Nor turnde to flight with builded wall:
    nor wicked belly I
With taxes of the people fedde:
    nor parcell none doth ly,
Of grounde of mine beyonde the Getes:
...and Parthians farre about:
Nor worshiped with francansence
I am, nor (Joue shette out) / [Bviiv]
My Aulters decked are: nor none in toppe of house doth stande
In garden treese, nor kyndled yet with helpe of eche mans hande,
The bathes dooe smoke: nor yet are dayes in slouthfull slumbers led,
Nor nightes paste foorth in watche and wine, without the rest of bed.
We nothyng feare, the house is safe without the hydden knyfe,
And poore estate the sweetenes feelcs, of rest and quyet lyfe.
Greate kyngdome is to be content, without the same to lyue. 820

Phy. Yet shoulde it not refused be, if god the kyngdome gyue.

Thy. Not yet desyerd it ought to be.

Phy. your brother bydds you rayne.

Thy. Bydds he? the more is to be fearde: there lurketh there some trayne.

Phy. From whens it fell, yet pictie is woonte to tume at lengthe:
And love unfayndc, repayres agayne his erste omitted strengthe. 830

Thy. Dothe Atreus then his brother love?
eche Ursa fyrst on hye,
The seas shall washe, and swellnyng surge of seas of Sicylye / [Bviii]
Shall rest and all asswaged be, and come to rypenes grove
In botome of Ioni; seas, and darkest night shall showe
And spreade the light about the soylc: the waters with the fyre, 840
The lyfe with death; the wynde with seas, shall frendshyp fyrst requyre,
And be at league.

Phy. of what deceite are you so dreadfull here?
Thy, Of every chone: what ende at length
myght I prouide of feare?
In all he can he hateth me.

Phy. to you what hurt can he?

Thy. As for my selfe I nothyng dread:
you lyttle babes make me
Afrayde of him.

Phy. dreade ye to be
beguyld when caught ye are?
To late it is to shoon the trayne
in myddle of the snare.
But goe we on, this (father) is
to you my last request.

Thy. I followe you. I leade you not.

Phy. god tume it to the best,
That well deuysed is for good,
passe foorth with cherefull pace.

The seconde Se cane.

Atreus. Thyestes.

[ Atr.] Entrapt in trayne the beast is caught
and in the snare dothe fall:
Bothe him, and eke of hated stocke
with him the ofspryng all,
About the fathers syde I see:
and now in safetic stands
And surest ground my wrathfull hate:
nowe comes into my hands
At length Thyestes: ye he comes
and all at ones to me.
I scant refrayne my selfe, and scant
may anger brydled be.
So when the bloodhounde seekes the beast,
by steppe and quycke of sent
Drawes in the leame, and pace by pace
to wynde the wayes he went,
With nose to soyle dothe hunt,
   while he the boare aloofe hath founde
Farre of by sent, he yet refraynes
   and wanders through the grounde
With sylent mouth: but when at hand
   he once perceiues the praye,
With al the strength he hath he striues,
   with voyce and calls awaye
His lyngring maister, and from him
   by force out breaketh lie.
When Ire dothe hope the present blood,
   it may not hydden be.
Yet let it hydden be. beholde,
   with uglye heare to syght
How yrkesomely defournde with fylthe
   his fowlest face is dyght,
How lothsome yses his bearde unkempt:
   but let us frendship fayne.
To see my brother me delights:
   geue now to me agayne
Embrasyng long desyred for:
   what euer stryfe there was
Before this time betwene us twayne,
   forget and let it pas:
Fro this daie foorth let brothers loue,
   let blood, and awe of kynde
Regarded be, let all debate
   be slakte in eythers mynde.

Thy. I coulde excuse my selfe, except
   thou werte as now thou arte.
But (Atreus) now I graunte, the faute
   was myne in euery parte:
And I offended haue in all.
   my cause the worse to bee,
Your this daies kindnes makes: in deede
   a gyllie wight is hee,
That wolde so good a brother hurt
   as you, in any whyt.
But nowe with teares I must entreate,
   and fyrst I me submit.
These hands that at thy feete doe lye,
   doe thee besecche and praye,
That yre and hate be layde asyde,
   and from thy bosome maye
Be scraped out: and cleere forgot.
   for pledges take thou thesee
O brother deere, these gyllles babes.
Atr. thy hands yet from my kneese
Remoue, and rather me to take
in armes, uppon me fall.
And ye o aydes of elders age,
ye lyttle infants all,
Me clyppe and colle about the nekke:
this fowle attyre forsake,
And spare myne eyes that pitie it,
and fresher vesture take
Lyke myne to see. and you with joye,
the halfe of emperie
Deere brother take: the greater prayse
shall come to me therby,
Our fathers scate to yelde to you,
and brother to releue.
To haue a kyngdome is but chaunce,
but vertue it to geeue.

Thy. A iust rewarde for suche deserts,
the godds (o brother deare)
Repaye to the: but on my hed
a regall crowne to weeare,
My lothesome lyfe denies: and farre
dothe from the sceptor flee
My hande unhappie: in the mydst
let leefull be for mee
Of men to lurke.

Atr. this kindome can
with twayne full well agree.

Thy. What euer is (o brother) yours,
I count it myne to bee.

Atr. Who wolde dame fortunes gyfts refuse,
if she him rayse to raygne?

Thy. The gyfts of hir eche man it wotes,
how soone they passe agayne.

Atr. ye me depreyue of glory greate,
except ye th'empyre take.

Thy. You haue your prayse in offryng it,
and I it to forsake.
And full perswaded to refuse
the kyngdome, am I still.

Atr. Except your part ye will susteine
myne owne forsake I will.

Thy. I take it then, and beare I will
the name thereof alone:
The ryghts and armes, as well as myne
they shall be yours eche one.

Atre. The regall crowne as you besemes
uppon your hed then take:
And I thappointed sacrifice
for godds, will now goe make.

Chorus.

Wolde any man it weene? that cruel wyght
Atreus, of mynde so impotent to see
Was soone astonied with his brothers syght.
With no greater force then pietee may be:
Where kynred is not, lasteth euer threate,
whom true loue holdes, it holdes eternallye.
The wrathe but late with causes kyndled greate
all fauour brake, and dyd to battayle crye,
When horsemen did resounde on euer syde,
the swoordes eche where, then glystred more and more:
Which ragyng Mars with often stroke dyd guyde
the fresher bloud to shedde yet thyrstynge sore.
But loue the sworde agaynst theyr wills doth swage,
and them to peace perswades with hand in hand.
So sodeyne rest, amyd so greate a rage
what god hath made? throughout Mycenas lande
The harnes clynkt, but late of cyuill stryfe:
and for theyr babes dyd fearefull mothers quake,
Her armed spouse to leese muche fearde the wyfe,
when swoorde was made the scabberde to forsake,
That now by rest with rust was oucrgrowne.
some to repayre the walles that dyd decaye,
And some to strength the towres halfe ouerthrowne,
and some the gates wyth gyns of yme to staye
Full busie were, and dreadful watche by nyght
from turret highe dyd ouerlooke the towne.
Woorse is then warre it selfe the feare of fyght.
now are the threats of cruell swoorde layde downe,
And now the rumor whistts of battayles sowne,
the noyse of crooked trumpet sylent lyes,
And quiete peace retumes to joyfuil towne.
so when the waues of swelling surge aryse,

While Corus wynde the Brutian seas doth smight,
and Scylla soundes from hollowe caues within,
And shipmen are with waftyng waues affryght,
Charybdis casts that erst it had droonke in:
And Cyclops fierce his father yet dothe dred,
in Aetna banke that feruent is with heates,
Leste quenched be with waues that overshed
the fyre that from eternall fornace beates:
And poore Laertes thinkes his kyngdomes all
may drowned be, and Ithaca doth quake:
If once the force of wyndes begin to fall,
the sea lythe downe more mylde then standyng lake.

The deepe, where shipps so wyde full dreadfull were
to passe, with sayles on eyther syde out spred
Now fallne adowne, the lesser boate dothe beare:
and leysure is to vewe the fyshes ded
Euen there, where late with tempest bette uppone
the shaken Cyclades were with seas agast.
No state endures, the payne and pleasure, one
to other yeldes, and ioyes be sonest past.
One howre sets up the thynges that lowest bee.
he that the crownes to prynces dothe deuyde,
Whom people please with bendyng of the knee,
and at whose becke theyr battaylcs ayaye
The Meades, and Indians eke to Phebus nye,
and Dakes that Parthians doe with horsemen threate,
Hym selfe yet holds his sceptors doutfullye,
and men of myght he feares and chaunces greate
(That eche estate may turne) and doutfull howre.
O ye, whom lorde of lande and waters wyde,
Of lyfe and death graunts here to haue the powre,
laye ye your proude and lofty lookes asyde:
What your inferiour feares of you amys,
that your superiour threats to you agayne.
To greater kyng, eche kyng a subject is.
whom dawne of day hath scene in pryde to raygne,
Hym ouerthrowne hath scene the euenyng late.
let none reioyce to muche that good hath got,
Let none dispaire of best in worst estate.
for Clothoe myngles all, and suffreth not
Fortune to stande: but fates about dothe dryue.
suche friendship fynde with gods yet no man might,
That he the morowe might be sure to lyue.
the god our things ali tlost and turned quight
Rolles with a whirle wynde.
The fourth Acte.

Messenger. Chorus.

[ Mess.] What whirlwinde mai me hedlong driue and up in ayre me flyng, 1050
And wrappe in darkest cloude, wherby it might so heynous thyng,
Take from mine eyes? o wicked house that euen of Pelops ought 1055
And Tantalus abhorred be.

Cho. what new thing hast thou brought?

Mess. What lande is this? lythe Sparta here, and Argos, that hath bred 1060
So wycked brethern? and the grounde of Corinth liyng spred
Betwene the seas? or Ister ells where woont to take their flight,
Are people wylde? or that whiche woonts with snowe to shyne so bright 1065
Hircana lande? or els do here the wandryng Scythians dwell?

Cho. What monstrous mischefe is this place then gilte of? that tell,
And this declare to us at large what euer be the ill. 1070

Mess. If once my minde may stay it self, and quakyng limms I will.
But yet of suche a cruell deede before mine eyes the feare 1075
And Image walkes: ye ragyng stormes now far from hens me beare
And to that place me driue, to whiche now driuen is the day
Thus drawen from hens.

Ch. Our mindes ye holde yet still in doubtfull stay. 1080
Tell what it is ye so abhorre.
The author therof showe.
I aske not who, but which of them:
that quickly let us knowe. 1085

Mess. In Pelopps Turret highe, a parte
there is of palaice wyde
That towarde the southe erected leanes,
of whiche the utter syde
With equall toppe to mountayne stands,
and on the citie lies,
And people proude agaynst theyr prince
yf once the traytours rise
Hath undemeathe his battryng stroke:
there shines the place in sight 1095
Where woont the people to frequent,
whose golden beames so bright
The noble spotted pillers graye,
of marble dooe supporle.
Within this place well knowen to men,
where they so ofte resorte,
To many other roomes about
the noble courte dothe goe.
The priuie Palaice underlieth
in secret place aloe,
With ditche full deepe that dothe enclose
the woode of priuetee,
And hidden partes of kyngdome olde:
where neuer grow no tree
That cherefull bowes is woont to beare,
with knife or lopped be,
But Taxe, and Cypresse and with tree
of Holme full blacke to se
Dothe becke and bende the woode so darke:
alofte aboue all theese 1115
The higher oke dothe overlooke,
surmountyng all the treese.
From hens with lucke the raygne to take,
accustomde are the kyngs,
From hens in danger ayde to aske,
and doome in doubtfull thyngs. 1120
To this affixed are the gifts,
the soundyng Trumpetts bright,
The Chariots broke, and spoyles of sea
that now Myrtoon hight, 1125
There hang the wheeles once won by crafte
of falser axell tree,
And every other conquests note:
here leefull is to see
The Phrygyan tyre of Pelops hed.
the spoyle of enimies heere,
And of Barbarian triumphe lefte,
the paynted gorgeous geere.
A lothesome sprynge stands under shade,
and slouthfull course dothe take,
With water blacke: euene such as is,
of Yrksome Stygian lake
The ugly waue, wherby are woont,
to sweare the goddes on hie.
Here all the night the grisly ghosts
and gods of death to crie
The fame reportes: with clinkyng chaynes
resoundes the woode eche where,
The sprights crie out: and euer thyng
that dreader is to heare,
May there be scene: of ugly shapes
from olde Sepulchres sent
A fearfull flocke dothe wander there,
and in that place frequent
Woorsse thyngs then euer yet were knowne:
ye all the wood full ofte
With flame is woont to flasche, and all
the higher trees alofte
Without a fyre dooe burne: and ofte
the wood besyde all this
With triple barkyng roares at once:
full ofte the palaice is
Affright with shapes, nor light of day
may once the terrour quell.
Etemall night dothe holde the place,
and darknes there of hell
In mid day raigines: from hens to them
that pray, out of the grounde
The certaine answers geuen are,
what time with dreader sounde
From secret place the fates be tolde,
and dongeon roares within
While of the God breakes out the voice:
wherto when entred in
Fierce Atreus was, that did with him
his brothers children trayle,
Dekt are the aulters: who (alas)
may it enouge bewayle?
Behynede the infants backs anone
he knyt their noble hands,
And eke their heauie heds about
he bounde with purple bands:
There wanted there no Frankensence,
nor yet the holy wine,
Nor knife to cut the sacrifice,
besprinkt with leuens fine.
Kept is in all the order due,
least suche a mischiefe grette
Should not be ordred well.

Chor. who dothe
his hande on swworde then sette?

Mess. He is him selfe the preest, and he
him selfe the dedly verse
With praier dyre from feruent mouthe
dothe syng and ofte reherse.
And he at thawllers stands him selfe,
he them assyynde to die
Dothe handle, and in order set,
and to the knife applie,
He lights the fyres, no rights were lefte
of sacryfice undone.
The woode then quakte, and all at ones
from tremblyng grounde anone
The Palaice beckte, in doubte whiche way
the payse therof woulde fall,
And shakynge as in waues it stooode:
from thayre and therwithall
A blasyng starre that foulest trayne
drew after him dothe goo:
The wynes that in the fyres were cast,
with changed licour floe,
And turne to bloud: and twyse or thryse
thattyre fell from his hed,
The Iuerie bright in Temples seemde
to weepe and teares to shed.
The sights amasde all other men,
but stedfast yet alway
Of mynde, unmoued Atreus stands,
and euen the godds dothe fray
That threaten him, and all delay
forsaken by and bye
To thawllers turnes, and therwithall
a syde he lookes awrye.
As hungrie tygre woonts that dothe
in gangey woods remayne
With doubtfull pace to range and roame
betweene the bullocks twayne,
Of eyther praye full couetous,
and yet uncertayne where
She fyrst may bite, and roryng throate
now turnes the tone to teare
And then to thother straight returnes,  
and doubtfull famine holdes:  
So Atreus dire, betwene the babes  
dothe stand and them beholdes  
On whome he poyntes to slake his yre:  
fyrst slaughter where to make,  
He doubtes: or whome he shoulde agayne  
for seconde offryng take.  
Yet skylls it nought, but yet he doubtes,  
and suche a crueltie  
It him deligths to order well.

Chor. Whome take he fyrst to die?

Mess. First place, least in him thinke ye might  
no piete to remayne  
To grandsier dedicated is,  
fyrst Tantalus is slayne.  

Chor. With what a minde and countnaunce, coulde  
the boye his death sustayne?

Mess. All careles of him selfe he stoode,  
nor once he woulde in vayne  
His prayers leese. But Atreus fierce  
the swoord in him at last  
In deepe and deadly wounde dothe hide  
to hills, and gripying fast  
His throate in hand, he thrust him through.  
The swoord then drawne awaye  
When long the body had uphelede  
it selfe in doubtfull staye,  
Whiche way to fall, at lengthe uppon  
the unkle downe it fallles.  
And then to thaulters cruellie  
Philisthenes he tralles,  
And on his brother throwes: and strayght  
his necke of cutteth hee.  
The carcase hedlong falles to grounde:  
apiteous thyng to see,  
The mournyng hed, with murmure yet  
uncertayne dothe complayne.

Chor. What after double deathe dothe he  
and slaughter then of twayne?  
Spare he the childe? or gtil on gil  
agayne yet heapeth he?

Mess. As long maend Lyon feerce amid
the wood of Armenie,
The drove pursues and conquest makes 1270
of slaughter many one,
Though now defiled be his iawes
with bloude, and hunger gone
Yet slaketh not his Irefull rage,
with bloud of bulles so greate, 1275
But slouthfull now, with weery toothe
the lesser calues dothe threate:
None other wyse dothe Atreus rage,
and swels with anger straynde,
And holdyng now the sworde in hande
with double slaughter staynde, 1280
Regardyng not where fell his rage,
with cursed hand unmilde
He strake it through his body quight:
at bosome of the childe 1285
The blade gothe in, and at the backe
agayne out went the same.
He falles, and quenchyng with his bloud
the aulters sacred flame, / [Cviiv.]
Of eyther wounde at lengthe he dieth. 1290

Chor. O heynous hatefull acte.

Mess. Abhorre ye this? ye heare not yet
the ende of all the facte,
There followes more.

Cho. A fiercer thyng
or worse then this to see 1295
Could nature beare?

Me. why thinke ye this
of gilt the ende to bee?
It is but parte.

Cho. what coulde be more?
to cruell beasts he cast
Perhapsps their bodies to be torne,
and kept from fyres at last. 1300

Mess. Woulde god he had: that neuer tombe
the deade might ouerhyde,
Nor flames dissolve, though them for foode
to fowles in pastures wyde 1305
He had out throwen, or them for pray
to cruell beasts woulde flyng.
That whiche the worste was wont to be,
were heere a wisshed thyng,
That theyr father sawe untombde,
but oh more cursed crime
Uncredible, the whiche denie
wyl men of after time:
From bosomes yet alyue out drawne
the tremblyng bowells shake,
The vaynes yet breathe, the fearfull harte
dothe yet bothe pante and quake:
But he the stryngs dothe turne in hande,
and destenies beholde,
And of the gutts the sygnes eche one
doth eve not fully colde.
When him the sacrifice had pleasde,
his diligence he putts
To dresse his brothers banquet now:
and stryght a soonder cutts
The bodies into quarters all,
and by the stoompes anone
The shoulders wide, and brawnes of armes,
he strikes of every chone.
He laies abrode theyr naked lymms,
and cutts away the bones:
The only heds he keepes, and hands
to him comitted ones.
Some of the gutts are broachte, and in
the fyres that burned ful sloe
They droppe: the boylyng liccour some
dothe tomble to and froe
In moomyng cawdern: from the flesshe
that ouerstands alofte
The fyre dothe flie, and scatter out,
and into chimney ofte
Up heapt agayne, and there constraynde
by force to tary yet
Unwillyng burnes: the lyuer makes
great noyse uppon the spit,
Nor easely wote I, if the flesshe,
or flames they be that cry,
But crie they doe: the fyre like pitche
it fumeth by and by:
Nor yet the smoke it selfe so sadde,
like filthy miste in sight
Ascendeth up as woonit it is,
 nor takes his way upright,
But euen the Goddes and house it dothe
with filthie fume defyle.
O pacient Phoebus though from hence
thou backward flee the whyle,
And in the midst of heav'n aboue
dooste drowne the broken day,
Thou fleeste to late: the father eates
his children well away,
And lymms to whiche he onse gauye lyfe,
with cursed iawe dothe teare.
He shynes with oyntment shed full sweete
all rounde aboute his heare,
Replete with wyne: and often times
so cursed kynde of food
His mouth hath helde that would not downe,
but yet this one thyng good
In all thy ylls (Thyestes) is,
that them thou dooste not knoe.
And yet shall that not long endure,
though Titan backward goo[Diil]
And chariots turne against him selfe,
to meete the waies he went,
And heauie night so heynous deede
to keepe from sight be sent,
And out of time from east arise,
so foule a facte to hide,
Yet shall the whole at lengthe be scene:
thy ills shall all be spide.

Chorus.

Whiche way O prince of lands and godds on hie, 1385
at whose uprise eftsones of shadowde night
All bewtie fleethe, which way turnst thou awrie?
and drawste the day in midst of heavuen to flight?
Why dooste thou (Phebus) hide from us thy sight?
not yet the watche that later howre bryngs in,
Dothe Vesper wanie the starrs to kindle light.
not yet dothe tunne of Hespers wheel begin
To loase thy chare his well deserued way.
the Trumpet thirde not yet hath blowen his blaste
While towarde the night begins to yelde the day.
great woonder hath of sodayne suppers haste
The Floweman, yet whose oxen are untierde.
from woonted course of heavuen what drawes thee backe? 1395
What causes haue from certaine race conspierde
to tune thy horse? do yet from dungeon blacke

/ [Diiv.]
Of hollowe Hell, the conquerde Gyants proue
a fresshe assaute? dothe Tityus yet assay
With trenched hart and wounded wombe to moue
the former yres? or from the hill away
Hath now Typhoeus wounde his syde by might?
is up to heauen the way erected hic
Of phlegrey foes by mountaynes set upright?
and now dothe Ossa Pelion ouerlic?
The woonted turnes are gone of day and night.
the rise of sun, nor fall shalbe no more.
Aurora dewysh mother of the light
that woonts to sende the horses out before,
Dothe wonder muche agayne retumde to see
her dawnyng light: she wotts not how to ease
The wery wheeles, nor manes that smokyng bee
of horse with sweate, to bathe amyd the seas.
Him selfe unwoonted there to lodge lykcwysc,
dothe settyng Sun againe the momyng see,
And now commaundes the darknes up to ryse,
before the night to come prepared bee.
About the poals yet glowthe no fyre in sight:
or light of Moone the shades dothe comfort yet.
What so it be, God graunt it be the night.
or harts dooe quake with feare oppressed gret,
And dredfull are least heauen and erthe and all
with fatall ruine shaken shall decay:
And least on gods agayne, and men shall fall
disfigurde Chaos: and the land away
The seas, and fyres, and of the glorious skise
the wandryng lampes, least nature yet shall hide.
Now shall no more with blase of his uprise,
the lorde of starres that leades the worlde so wide,
Of Sommer bothe and winter gyuc the markes.
nor yet the Moone with Phaebus flames that burnes,
Shall take from us by night the dredfull carkes,
with swyftcr course or passe her brothers turnes,
While compasse lesse the fetts in crooked race:
the Gods on heapes shall out of order fall
And eche with other myngled be in place.
the wried way of holly planetts all,
With pathe a sloape that dothe deuide the Zones,
that beares the sygnes and yeares in course dolhe bryng,
Shall see the starres with him fall dounw at ones.
and he that fyrst not yet with gentle sptyng,
The temperate gale dothe geue to sayles, the Ramme
shall hedlong fall a dounw to seas agayn
Through whiche he once with fearfull hellen swamme.
next him the Bulle that dothe with home sustayn
The systers seuen, with him shall ouerturne
the twyns, and armes of crooked cancer all.  
The Lyon whot, (that woonts the soyle to burne)  
of Hercules, agayne from heauen shall fall.  
To lands once lefte the virgin shallbe throwne,  
and leuelde payse of balance sway alowe,  
And drawe with them the styngyng Scorpion downe.  
so likewyse he that holdes in Thessale bowe  
His swifte well fethred arrowes Chiron oldc,  
shall breake the same and eke shall leese his shotte.  
And Capricome that brynges the winter colde  
shall ouertume, and breake thy water potte  
Who so thou be: and downe with thee to grounde,  
the last of all the signes shall Pisces fall.  
And monsters eke in seas yet neuer drounde,  
the water gulphe shall ouer whelme them all.  
And he whiche dothe betwene eche Ursa glyde,  
lyke crooked floode, the slipper serpent twynde:  
And lesser Beare by greater Dragons syde,  
full colde with frost congealed harde by kynde,  
And carter dulle that slowlic guides his wayne,  
unstable shall bootes fall frorn hic.  
We are thought meeete of all men whom agaync,  
should hugy heape of Chaos ouer lie,  
And worlde oppresse with ouer turned was.  
the latest age now falleth us uppon.  
With evil happe we are begotte alas,  
if wretches we haue lost the sight of son,  
Or him by faught enforced haue to flic.  
let our complaynts yet goe, and feare be past:  
He greedy is of lyfe, that will not die  
when all the worlde shall ende with him at last.  

/ [Diiiiv.]

The fifth Acte.

Atreus alone.

Nowe equall with the starrs I goe,  
beyonde eche other wight,  
with haughtie hed the heauens aboue,  
and highest Poale I smight.  
The kyngdome now and seate I holde,  
where once my father raynde.  
I now let goe the godds: for all

/ [Diii]
my will I haue obtaynde. 1485
Enoughe and well; ye euene noue he
for me I am acquit. 1490
But whie enoughe? I will procede,
and fyll the father yet:
With bloud of his: least any shame
should me restrayne at all,
The day is gone: goe to therfore,
while thee the heauen dothe call.
Wolde god I coulde agaynst their wills
yet holde the gods that flee,
And of reuengyng disshe, constrayne them witnesses to be:
But yet (whiche well enoughe is wrought,)
let it the father see.
In spight of all the drowned day,
I wyll remoue from thee
The darkenes all, in shade whereof
doe lurke thy myseries.
And guest at suche a banquet now
to long he careles lies,
With mery face: now eate and dronke
enough he hath: at laste
Tys best him selfe shoulde know his ylls.
ye seruaunts all, in haste
Undoe the temple doores: and let
the house be open all:
Fayne wolde I see, when looke uppon
his childrens heds he shall
What countenance he then wolde make.
or in what woordes breake out
Wolde fyrst his greefe, or how wolde quake
his bodie rounde about.
With spright amased sore: of all
my worke the fruite were this.
I wolde him not a myser see,
but whyle so made he is.
Beholde the temple opened now,
dotho shyne with many a lyght:
In glytryng gold and purple seate
he sytis him selfe upryght,
And staiyng up his heavy head
with wine, upon his hande,
He belcheth out. now cheefe of godds,
in highest place I stande,
And kyng of kyngs: I have my wysho
and more then I coulde thynke:
He fylled is. he nowe the wyne
in syluer boll dothe dryne.
And spare it not, there yet remaynes, 1535
a woorsra draught for thee
That sproong out of the bodyes late
of sacrifyces three,
Whiche wyne shall hyde: let therwithall
the boordes be taken up.
The father (myngled with the wyne) 1540
his childrens blood shall sup,
That woulde haue droonke of myne.
beholde, he now begyns to strayne
His voyce and syngs, nor yet for ioye
his mynde he may refrayne.
.

The seconde Seane.

Thyestes alone
O beaten bosomes dulide so longe with woe, 1550
laie downe your cares, at length your greues relent:
Let sorowe passe, and all your dreade let goe,
and fellowe eke of fearefull banyshment,
Sad pouertie and yll in myserye
the shame of cares. more whens thy fall thou haste,
Then whether skyls. greate happe to him, from hys 1555
that failles, it is in suretce to be plaste
Beneth, and great it is to him agayne
that prest with storne, of euyils feeles the smart,
Of kyngdome loste the payses to sustayne
with necke unbowde: nor yet deiect of harte
Nor ouercome, his heavy happs alwayes
 to beare upryght. but now of carefull carkes
Shake of the showres, and of thy wretched dayes
awaye with all the myserable markes.
To ioyfull state returne thy cheerefull face.
 put fro thy mynde the olde Thyestes hence.
It is the woont of wight in wofull case, 1560
 in state of ioy to haue no confyndence.
Though better happs to them returned be,
thaflficted yet to ioy it yrketh sore.
Why calste thou me abacke, and hyndrest me
this happie daie to celebrate? wherfore
Bydst thou me (sorowe) wepe without a cause? 1565
who doth me let with flowers so freshe and gaye
To decke my heares? it letts, and me withdrawes.
downe from my head the roses fall awaye: 1575
My moysted heare with oyntment ouer all,
with sodeyne mase stands up in woondrows wyse.
From face that wolde not weepe the streames do fall,
and howlyng cryes amyd my woordes arys.
My sorowe yet thaccustomde teares dothe loue.
and wretches styll delight to weepe and crye.
Unpleasant playntes it pleaseth them to moue:
and florysht faire it lykes with Tyrian dye 1580
Theyr robes to rent: to wayle it lykes them styll.
for sorowe, sends (in sygne that woes drawe nye)
The minde, that wotts before of after yll.
the sturdye stormes the shipmen ouerlyc, 1585
When voyde of wynde thasswagcd seas doe rest.
what tumult yet or countenaunce to see
Makste thou mad man? at lengthe a trustfull brest
to brother geeue, what euer now it bee,
Causeles, or ells to late thou arte a dred. 1590
I wretche woulde not so fearc, but yet me drawes
A tremblynge terrour downe myne eyes do shed
theyr sodeyne teares, and yet I know no cawse.
Is it a greefe, or feare? or ells hath teares
great ioy it selufe? 1595

The thyrde Sceane.

Atreus. Thyastes.

[ Atr.] Let us this daie with one consent 1600
(o brother) celebrate.
This day my sceptors may confyrme
and stablyshe my estate,
And faythfull bonde of peace and loue
betwene us ratyfye.

Thy. Enough with meate and eke with wyne,
now satysfyde am I. 1605
But yet of all my ioyes it were
a greate encrease to me,
If now about my syde I might
my little children see.

Atr. Belcuc that here euen in thyne armes
thy children present bee.
For here they are, and shalbe here, 
no parte of them fro thee. 
Shall be withhelde: theyr loued lookes 
now geue to the I wyll, 
And with the heape of all his babes, 
the father fully fyll. 
Thou shalt be glutted, feare thou not: 
they with my boyes as yet
The joyful sacrifyces make 
at boorde where children sit.
They shalbe callede: the frendly cuppe 
nowe take of curtesy
With wyne upfyld.

Thy. of brothers feast
   I take full wyllingly
The fynall gyfte, shed some to gods 
of this our fathers lande, 
Then let the rest be droonke. whatts this?
in no wyse wyll my hande
Obeye: the payse increaseth sore, 
and downe myne arme dothe swaye.
And from my lypps the wastyng wyne 
it selfe dothe flie awaie, 
And in deceived mouthe, about 
my iawes it runneth rounde:
The table to, it selfe dothe shake, 
and leape from tremblyng grounde.
Scant burnes the fyrc: the ayre it selfe 
with heauy chere to sight 
Forsooke of sunne amased is 
betwene the daye and night. 
What meaneth this? yet more and more 
of backewarde beaten skye
The compasse falles: and thicker myst 
the worlde doth ouerlye
Then blackest darkenes, and the night 
in night it selfe dothe Hyde. 
All starrs be fledde: what so it bee, 
my brother god prouyde
And soons to spare: the gods so graunte 
that all this tempest fall
On this vyle head, but now restore 
to me my children all.

Atr. I will, and never daye agayne 
shall them from the withdrawe.

Thy. What tumulte tumbleth so my gutts,
and dothe my bowells gnawe?  
What quakes within? with heavy payse  
I feele my selfe opprest,  
And with an other voyce then myne  
bewayles my dolefull brest.  
Come neere my soons, for you now dooth  
th'unhappic father call:  
Come neere, for you once scene, this greefe  
wolde soone asswage and fall.  
Whence mumure they?

At. with fathers armes  
embrace them quickly nowe,  
For here they are loe come to thee:  
dooste thou thy children knowe?

Thy. I know my brother: suche a gylt  
yet canst thou suffre well  
O earth to beare? nor yet from hens  
to Stygian lake of hell  
Dooste thou bothe drowne thy selfe and us?  
nor yet with broken grounde  
Dooste thou these kyngdomes and theyr kyng  
with Chaos rude confounde?  
Nor yet upretyng from the soyle  
the bowres of wicked lande  
Dooste thou Mycenae overturne?  
with Tantalus to stande,  
And auncyters of ours, if there  
in hell be any one,  
Now ought we bothe. now from the frames  
on eyther syde anone  
Of grounde, all here and there rent up,  
out of thy bosome deepe  
Thy dens and dungeons set abrode,  
and us enclosed keepe,  
In botome lowe of Acheront:  
above our heddys alofte  
Let wander all the gyltie ghosts,  
with bumynge frete full ofte  
Let fyry Phlegethon that dryues  
his sands bothe to and froe,  
To our confusion oucrroon,  
and vyolently floe.  
O slouthfull soyle unshaken payse,  
ummoued yet arte thou?  
The gods are fled.

Atr. but take to thee
with joy thy children now,
And rather them embrace: at length
thy children all, of thee
So long wysht for, (for no delaye
there standeth now in mee,) Enioye and kysse, embracyng armes
deuyle thou unto three.

Thy. Is this thy league? may this thy loue
and fayth of brother bee?
And dooste thou so repose thy hate?
the father dothe not craue
His soons alive (whiche might haue bene
without the gylt,) to haue:
And eke without thy hate, but this
dothe brother brother pray:
That them he may entoombe, restore,
whom see thou shalt straight way
Be burnt: the father nought requyres,
of the that haue he shall,
But soone forgoe.

Atr. what euer parte
yet of thy children all
Remaynes, here shalt thou haue: and what
remaynest not, thou haste.

Thy. Lye they in feeldes, a foode out floong
for fleeyng foules to waste?
Or are they kept a praye, for wylde
and brutyshe beasts to cate?

Atr. Thou hast deuourde thy soons, and fyde
thy selfe with wicked meate.

Thy. Oh this is it that shanide the godds:
and day from hens dyd dryue
Turnde backe to easte. alas I wretch
what waylynges may I gyue?
Or what complayntes? what wofull woordes
may be enough for mee?
Theyr heads cutte of, and hands of torne,
I from their bodies see,
And wrenched feete from broken thyghes,
I here beholde agayne.
Tys this that greedy father coulde
not suffre to sustayne.
In belly rolle my bowels rounde,
and closed cryme so gret
Without a passage stryues within,  
and seekes awaye to get. / [E]
Thy swoorde (o brother) lende to me:  
muche of my blood alas 
It hathe: let us therwith make way  
for all my soons to pas. 
Is yet the swoorde fro me withhelde?  
thy selfe thy bosomes teare. 
And let thy brests resounde with strokes:  
yet wretche thy hand forbearre, 
And spare the deade. who euer sawe  
suche mischiefe put in prooфе? 
What rude Heniochus, that dwells  
by ragged coaste aloofe, 
Of Caucasus unapt for men?  
or feare to Athens, who 
Procustes wylde? the father I  
oppresse my children do 
And am opprest, is any meane  
of gylt or mischiefe yet?
Atr. A meane in myschiefe ought to be,  
when gylt thou dooste commyt, 
Not when thou quytst: for yet even this,  
to lytle seemes to me. 
The blood yet warme cuen from the wounde  
I shoulde in sight of thee 
Even in thy jawes have shed, that thou  
the bloud of them mightst drynke 
That lyued yet: but whyle to myche  
to haste my hate I thynke, / [Ev] 
My wrathe beguyled is. my selfe  
with swoorde the woundes them gaue, 
I strake them downe, the sacred fyres  
with slaughter vowde I haue 
Well pleasde, the carcase cuttyng then  
and lyueles lymms on grounde 
I haue in little parcelles chopt,  
and some of them I drownde 
In boylyng cawdens, some to fyres  
that burnte full slowe I putte, 
And made to droppe: their synewes all  
and lymms atoo I cutte 
Euen yet alyue, and on the spyttle  
that thrust was through the same 
I harde the lyuer wayle and crie,  
and with my hand the flame 
I ofte kept in: but every whit  
the father might of this
Haue better doone, but now my wrathe
to lightly ended is.
He rent his soons with wycked gumme,
    him selfe yet wotyng nought,
Nor they therof.

Thy.   o ye, encloasde
     with bendyng banks abought
All seas me heare, and to this gylt
    ye godds now harken well
What euer place ye fledde are to:
     heare all ye sprights of hell,
And here ye lands, and night so darke,
    that them dooste ouerlye
With clowde so blacke, to my complainst
     do thou thy selfe applye.
To thee now lefte I am, thou dooste
     alone me myser see,
And thou arte lefte without thy starres:
     I wyll not make for mee
Peticions yet. nor ought for me
    requerye, may ought yet bee
That me shoulde vayle? for you shall all
     my wyshes now foresee.
Thou guyder great of skies aboue,
    and prynce of hygliest myght,
Of heauenly place, now all with cloudes
     full horrible to syght,
Enwrappe the worlde, and let the wyndes
     on euer syde breake out,
And sende the dreedfull thunider clappe,
     through all the worlde about.
Not with what hand thou gyltles house
    and undesuered wall
With lesser bolte arte wonte to beate,
     but with the whiche did fall
The three upheaped mountaynes once,
    and whiche to hylls in height
Stoode equall up, the gyanst huge:
     throwe out suche weapons streight,
And flying thy fyres, and therwithall
    reuenge the drowned daye.
Let flee thy flames, the lyght thus lost
    and hyd from heauen awaye,
With flashes fyll: the cause, (least long
    thou shouldest doute whom to hit,) Of eche of us is yll: if not
    at least let myne be it,
Mee stryke: with trypele edged toole
thy brande of flamyng fyre
Beate through this brest: if father I
my children do desire
To lay in tombe, or corpses cast
to fyre as dothe behoue,
I must be burnt: if nothyng now
the gods to wrath maie moue,
Nor powre from skyes with thunder bolte
none strykes the wycked men,
Let yet eternall night remayne,
and hyde with darkenes then
The worlde about: I (Titan) nought
complaine, as now it stands,
If still thou hyde thee thus awaye.

Atr. now prayse I well my handes,
Now gotte I haue the palme: I had
bene overcame of thee,
Except thou sorowdset so: but now
euen children borne to me
I counte, and now of brydebed chaste
the fayth I do repeare.

Thy. In what offended haue my soons?

Atr. In that, that thyne they weare.

Thy. Setst thou the soons for fathers foode?

Atr. I doe, and (whiche is best)
The certayne soons?

Thy. the gods that guyde
all infantes, I protest.

Atr. what wedlocke gods?

Th. who wolde the gylt
with gylt so quyght agayne?

Atr. I knowe thy greffe prevented now
with wrong, thou dooste complayne:
Nor this thee yrkes, that fedde thou arte
with foode of cursed kynde,
But that thou hadst not it preparde:
for so it was thy mynde,
Suche meates as these to sette before
thy brother wotyng naught,
And by the mothers helpe, to haue
lykewyse my children caught,
And them with suche lyke deathe to slaye:
this one thing letted thee,
Thou thoughtst them thyne.

Thy.
the gods shall all
of this reuengers bee:
And unto them for vengeance due,
my vowes thee render shall.

Atr. But vexed to be I thee the whyle,
geeue to thy children all.

The fourth Scene,
Added to the Tragedy
by the Translatour.

Thyestes alone.

O Kyng of Dytis dungeon darke,
and grysly ghosts of hell,
That in the deepe and dredfull denss,
of blackest Tartare dwell,
Where leane and pale diseases lye
where feare and famyne are,
Where discorde stands with bleedyng browes,
where euery kynde of care,
Where furies fight in bedds of steele,
and heares of crallyng snakes,
Where Gorgon grynme, where Harpies are,
and lothsome Lymbo lakes,
Where most prodigious uglye thynges,
the hollowe hell dothe hyde,
If yet a monster more mysshapte
then all that there doe byde,
That makes his broode his cursed foode,
ye all abhorre to see,
Nor yet the deepe Iuerne it selfe,
may byde to couer me,
Nor grysly gates of Iutocs place,
yet dare them selues to spredde,
Nor gapyng grounde to swallowe him,
whome godds and day haue fledde:
Yet breake ye out from cursed scales,
and here remayne with me,
Ye neede not now to be affrayde,
the ayre and heauen to se.
Nor tryple headid Cerberus,
thou needst not be affright,
The day unknowne to thee to see,
or els the lothsome light.
They bothe be fledde: and now dothe dwell
none other countnaunce heere,
Then dothe beneathe the fowlest face,
of hatefull hell appeere.
Come see a meetest matche for thee,
a more then monstrous wombe,
That is of his unhappie broode,
become a cursed tombe.
Flocke here ye fowlest feendes of hell,
and thou O grandsier greate,
Come see the glutted gutts of mine,
with suche a kynde of meate,
As thou didst once for godds prepare.
let torments all of hell
Now fall uppon this hatefull hed,
that hathe deserude them well.
Ye all be plagued wrongfully,
your gylts be small, in sight
Of myne, and meete it were your pangs
on me alone should light.
Now thou O grandsier giltles arte,
and meeter were for me,
With fleeyng floud to be beguilde,
and frute of fickle tree.
Thou slewst thy son, but I my sons,
alas haue made my meate.
I couldo thy famyne better beare,
my panche is now repleate
With foode: and with my children three,
my belly is extent.
O filthy fowles and gnawynge gripes,
that Tityus bosome rent
Beholde a fitter pray for you,
to fill your selues uppone
Then are the growyng guts of him:
foure wombes enwrapt in one.
This panche at ones shall fill you all:
yf ye abhorre the fooode,
Nor may your selues abide to bathe,
in suche a cursed bloode:
Yet lend to me your clinchyng clawes,
your pray a while forbear,
And with your tallons suffer me,
this monstrous mawe to teare.

Or whirlyng wheeles, with swynge of whiche
Ixion still is rolde,
Your hookes uppon this glutted gorge,
woulde catche a surer holde.
Thou filthy floud of Lyombo lake,
and Stygian poole so dyre,
From choaked chanell belche abrode.
thou terfull freate of fyre,
Spue out thy flames O Phlegethon:
and ouer shed the grounde.
With vomite of thy fyrye streame,
let me and earth be drownde.
Breake up thou soyle from botome deepe,
and geue thou roome to hell,
That night, where day, that ghosts, were gods
were woont to raigne, may dwell.

Why gapste thou not? Why do you not
O gates of hell unfolde?
Why do ye thus thynfemall feendes,
so long from hens withholde?
Are you likewyse affrayde to see, and
knowe so wretched wight,
From whome the godds haue wrydc theyr lookes,
and turned are to flight?
O hatefull hed, whom heauen and hell,
haue shoonde and lefte alone,
The Sun, the Starrs, the light, the day,
the Godds, the ghosts be gone.

Yet turne agayne ye Skyes a whyle,
ere quight ye goe fro me,
Take vengeance fyrst on him, whose faulte
enforceth you to flee.
If needes ye must your flight prepare,
and may no lenger byde,
But rolle ye must with you foorthwith,
the Goddes and Sun a syde,
Yet slowly flee: that I at lengthe,
may you yet ouertake,
While wandryng wayes I after you,
and speedy iomey make.
By seas, by lands, by woods, by rocks,
in darke I wander shall:
And on your wrathe, for right rewarde
to due deserts, wyll call.
ye scape not fro me so ye Godds,
still after you I goe,
And vengeance ask on wicked wight,
your thunder bolt to throe.

FINIS.
THYESTES
A Tragedy,
Translated out of
SENeca:
To which is Added

MOCK-THYESTES;
IN
BURLESQUE

By J.W. Gent.

Miscentur serla Ludis.

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TO THE
Right Honourable
Bennet LORD Sherard

MY LORD,
A Part of Old Seneca presents it self by
my Hand to your Lordships Patronage.
I should justly blush at such a mean Return to
your Lordships many Favours, had I not read
how the Spanish Monarch, who Commands
the Indies, accepts' the Biscains Homage in
the worthless Present of a few Maravidis, nor
is the Gift ungrateful to him, since it speaks
Subjection: In like manner my Lord, my only
Ambition in this Dedication is to appear your
Servant. I know your Lordships Goodness will
pardon my Confident Address: 'Tis that Ob-
leiging Nature, so radicated in the Sherards,
that Commands the hearts of all men: 'Tis
that which makes your Counin, trul y YourN.
And thus my Lord, you serve his Majesty both
with your own and their Affections. Such is your
generous English way of true endearnent. But
I must despair to speak your full worth in the
narrow limits of a few Pages; Should I attempt
to blazon your just value, it would extend this
small Epistle to a Volume, and swell this little
Volume to a Folio. The following Papers I
submit to your free Censure; And if they prove
so happy to attain any Degree in your Lordships
favour, I shall despise the malice of all our little
Critiques, who never exposing any thing of their
own, (and so in no danger of Retaliation) make
it their business to pique at every thing is pub-
lisht. But how e're this Book Succeeds, the
Authors chief happiness is above their preju-
dice, which is, to be

My Lord,
Your Lordships most Humble, and
most Obedient Servant,

John Wright.
Whether Seneca the Philosopher (to whose Pen some
abscribe Three other Tragedy's) was
the Original Author of this also, or
some other Seneca, I know not: nor
is it material; since Hensius esteems
it Nulli caeterarum inferior. Let it
suffice that the Author, in many pla-
ces, appears much a Stoick, and such
was the Philosopher. The follow-
ing Translation was Writ many
Years since, though Corrected, and
rendred into something a more Fashi-
onable Garb then its first Dress, at
the Intervals of a more profitable
Study last long Vacation. And to a
few such Idle Hours must I attri-
but the ensuing Farce, which way of
Pass-time was much more agreable
to my Humor, then the continual
Glut of Ale and Tobacco, the ordina-
ry Entertainment of vacant time in
the Country. I confess it is not now
very Modish to Translate any thing
of this Nature from the Latine,
when there are so many French
Play's to be had, and those so well
Accepted. Our Modern Dramat-
tiques present us with greater Ide-
a's both of Vice and Vertue: Yet
Ben: Johnson thought a considera-
ble part of Seneca's Thyestes not
improper for the English Stage in
his time, when he took most of Sy-
lla's Ghost from hence, and so well
approved of this way of Introducti-
on, that he served himself of it
not only in his Tragedy of Catelina,
but also in his Devill's an Ass, a
Comedy, where he makes a Pug his
Home d'Intrigue. I know also
how much the Atreus and Thyestes
of Seneca hath been out-done by our
own Fletchers, Rollo, and Otto: Yet
I am confident the Comparison will
not be ungrateful to them that per-
ceive, in many particulars the Dra-
ma of this Age to excell that of Se-
neca, as much as his was Improved from the time when Thespis, who first offer'd at Tragedy lead his Original of Actors about the Country in a Cart, which served them both for a Conveyance and a Stage. So homely are all Foundations, though of the fairest Building. Marginal Notes Explanatory of the Poetique Fictions, I have purposely omitted, as Impertinent, knowing that most of those who use this sort of Reading do either sufficiently understand, or despise those little Misteries of Obsolete Poetry. For those other few who still relish such Chapon Bovilli, I only commend 'em to the next Dictionary; and that will give 'em ample Satisfaction. For a like Reason, I forbear to Pall the Story with the thing call'd an Argument, the No-Plot of these old Tragedy's being sufficiently Intelligible, and so little needing a Clue, that rather there wants more Labyrinth.
Did Seneca now live, himself would say
That your Translation has not wrong'd his Play;
But that in every Page, in every Line,
Your Language do's with equal splendor shine,
His Roman Habit, and your English Dress,
Themselves with a like Elegance express
Nor from your praise will it at all detract
To say the Tragedy's unfit to Act.
And that those Plays can never please the Age,
That hope for no Acquaintance with the Stage:
For to all those that judges are of Wit,
Fancy it self a Theatre will fit.
Each Scene expose to that Interior Eye;
And all the want of Actors too supply.
She can without expence Treasure raise
New Structures still to fit our several Plays,
For which but at the charges of a thought,
Nature's and Arts embellishments are bought
Her Scenes, tho' they exist but in the mind,
Are ever fram'd to what the Play design'd.
Nor is she forc'd by Scarcity to make
A trifling Buffoon the Regalia take:
Constraining none whom Nature has design'd,
Only to Ape a Fool, against his kind,
To mannage Scepters; left he should appear
With his ridiculous Grimaces where
Those loose Impertinences have no share.
Thus every Requisite is fitted so
That no dislike can from the Action grow:
And her Ideal Theater appears
With all the Lustre that attends on theirs.
Pleasant Scarron, whose Mock-Aeneas made
Virgil himself smile at the Masquerade;
Too much beyond his power, did justly fear
Would prove the Works of our Tragian here.
But what he fear'd may now your Glory prove
Whose Quill runs free where his durst never move:
And like the Sword that cur'd the wounds it gave,
Makes us such pleasure, so much laughter have,
After the Passions had made us share!
That 'tis but Reason to maintain you are
Favour'd in Verse with Ovid's happy Muse,
Whose Wit did with Success all Subjects use.
O: Salusbury.
Dramatis Personae,

Tantalus's Ghost.

Megaera.

Atreus, King of Argos.

Thyestes, his Brother.

Plisthenes, his Son.

Two other Sons of Thyestes Mutes.

A Servant, Attendant to Atreus.

Nuntius.

Chorus of Argives.

The Scene.

ARGOS: / [A7]
PROLOGUE
To the Reader.

Wits, and Wit-Triers, who some Criticks Name
Writers of Play's, and Dammers of the same,
Advance not farther then this Page; beware,
Since all that follows is Irregular.
For though this thing a Tragedy is stil'd,
'Tis free from Plot as any Sucking Child.
Nor Love, nor Honour here the Author show'd:
Nay, what is worse, no Baw'dry A-la-mode.
No Amorous Song, nor a more Amorous Jigg,
Where Misses Coats twirl like a Whirligig.
And such who next the Lamps themselves dispose,
Think thus to recompense the stink of those,
While she that Dances jilts the very eyes,
Allowing only these Discoveri's
A neat silk Leg, and pair of Holland Thighs.
Methinks I see some mighty Wit o' th Town
At this Express a most judicious frown,
And huff it thus (cocking his Caudubec)
S---What a Devil then must we expect?
Have patience, and I'lle tell You what you shall
Meet here that's still in use Dramaticall.
High Lines, and Rime enough Sirs Ye shall have,
And Sentences most desperately Grave,
Dull Sence, and sometimes Huffs that Nature brave.
And ( 'cause we cannot easily print a Dance)
A Farce i'th end out, A-la-mode-de -France.
ACT. I.

TANTALUS. MEGAERA.

[ Tan. ] Which of th'Infernal Powers doth thus compel
The wretched Tantalus to leave his Hell?
And, as a higher Damnation, shew again
That World where Bodies yet alive remain?
Is ought found worse than thirsty to abide
In Streams, and Hunger never satisfy'd?
Must I have Sisyphus his Stone, or feel
The giddy Torments of Ixion's Wheel?
Or shall to me Tytius's pains succeed,
On whose Immortal Liver Vultures feed:
For night repairing what was lost by day,
He a fresh Monster dies, and perfect Prey.
What Plague comes next? O thou who dost on those
That suffer'd have the Old, New Pains impose,
Remorseless Judg of Souls who er'e you be,
Add if thou canst, add to my misery.
Invent such horrid Torments that shall make
Hells Porter fear, and the dark Regions quake.
Nay more my self affright. Springing from me
Doth now arise a Monstrous Progeny.
Me their Progenitor they shall out-act
In wickedness, and guiltless make my fact
With Crimes unknown, and truly theirs. Each place
That's void in Hell, I'le furnish with my Race.
While our House stands, Minos shall have no need
Of other Clients. -

Meg. Cursed Shade, proceed.
Their hated Bosoms with new fury fill.
And make them strive which shall surpass in Ill.
Let an alternate Rage their Souls inflame:
Such a blind Rage that knows nor Mean nor shame.
Let the first Root of wickedness in Thee
Grow to perfection in thy Progeny.
Nor let their Souls find leisure to repent
A past offence; but still new Crimes invent:
Doubling their Guilt under their Punishment.
Unsetled be their Throne, and short their Reign:
While giddy fortune gives them Crowns in vain.
Let her the Banish't raise to Sovereign place.
And Kings to the same Banishment debase.
With constant trouble let their Kingdom burn.  
And when the guilty Exiles shall return,
Let them afresh to their old mischiefs fall,
As hateful to themselves, as unto All.
Let Rage think nought unlawful to be done.
Let Brother, Brother fear; Mother the Son,
And Son the Mothers wrath. Let Children dye
Be born. Let Wife her Husband kill. And may
They or'e the Seas their Enmity convey.
Let effus'd bloud this and all Lands disdain.  
Let conquering Lust over great Captains Reign
In their abhorred Courts. Let whoredom be
Counted no crime. Let hence Right, Amity,
And all accord of the same bloud be gone.
And may their crimes reach Heaven; for when the Sun
Smiles on the world with an unclouded Ray
Let horrid Night eclip's the face of Day.
Fright hence their Houshold-Gods weak Ayd; and fill
Their Place with Hate, death, murder, every Ill.
Be all this house with Garlands now array'd
And genial fires, to speak thy welcome, made.
Then let the Inhumanity of Thrace
Out-acted be on this more guilty Place.  
Doth yet the Uncle Innocent remain?
Nor Father yet lament his Children slain?
When shall their Limbs be from the Kitchin serv'd
Up to the Table, and in slices carv'd?
Let th' Uncles hearths blush with his Nephews bloud:
Whiles feasts are made; Feasts furnish't with such food
As is no Novelty to Thee. Behold
This day is thine, here banquet uncontroul'd.
Now thy long fasting to the full requite.
Mingled with Baccus gift, this day, in sight
Of thee, shall thine own blood be drunk. I now
Such dyet have invented as even thou,
Thou Tantalus woulst fly. Already? stay,
Whether thus head-long dost thou force thy way?  

Tan. To the Infernal Lakes, and Streams that slip,
When I would drink, from my deluded Lip:
Back to the cheating Fruit I fly again.
Let me return to my old Place and pain.
Why am I stay'd? If I too happy seem,
Gladly I'le change my banks: And to thy Stream
O Phlegethon let me be ever bound,
In waves of fire, while I both burn and drown.
Who er'e thou art, that dost tormented lye
By the decree of severe Destiny:
Who er'e thou art, trembling and terrify'd
Under a ruinous Cave that dost abide,
Or fear'st a falling Mountains ponderous side.

VWho er'e thou art, whether thou fearest more
The Fury's Lash, or hungry Lyons roar:
VWho er'e thou art who dost, half burnt defend
Thy self from flying brands, the Voice attend
Of Tantalus returning, credit me
VWho am experience'd, Love your Misery:-
VWhen shall I fly the hated Light?

Meg. Engage
Thou first this house in discord, and wars Rage:
VVar, so much lov'd of Kings in every Age.
Thus fire their Salvage breasts. -

Tan. Fates angry doom
Ide suffer not inflict: behold I come
Like a dire-Vapour that has cleft the Ground,
Or a sad Pestilence dispersing round
Infection through th' affrighted world. - Must I
To such black Crimes my Nephews hearts apply?
Great King and Parent of the Deities,
And Ours, although it shames thee, Ours likewise;
My Tongue will not forbear her Office, though
She double Torments for it undergo -
Your hands and Altars with such damn'd Offence
Profane not: here Ile stand, and guard it hence. -
VWhy fright'st thou me with threatned blows? what makes
Thee menace thus with thy contorted Snakes?
VWhy dost increase my hunger? Oh my heart
Bums with new Thirst: Fire feeds on every part.
I follow thee.

Meg. Seeds of Revenge and hate
Sow in this house. Let this, this be their fate,
That imitating thee their Sire they, now
May thirst each others blood as water thou.
The house thy presence feels; behold, no less
Then the whole Fabrique shakes at thy access.
'Tis acted to the full. Now sink to Hell
Thy proper Place, and Rivers known too well:
Earth's burthen'd with thy weight. Dost not perceive
The Springs shrink inward, and their Fountains leave
The wind, gainst nature hot, few Clouds doth bear
Trees blasted at thy sight, naked appear,
Their fruit and leaves fall'n off. Two Neighbouring Seas
This *Isthmos* doth divide, seest thou how these
At thy sight ebbing do augment their shore,
And at a new unusual distance Roar.
*Lerna* shrinks back, *Inachus* in full speed
Sees thee, and stops his Course: nor doth proceed / [11]
*Alpheus* sacred wave. *Citheron's* head
Is white no more, his snowy *Perouque* fled.
Such Thirst as *Argos* underwent of old
Is fear'd again. The Sun himself, behold,
Doubts to go on and mend the fainting Light,
Or the world bury in perpetual Night.

**CHORUS, Of Argives.**

If any of the Powers Above 140
Doth still *Acharian Argo's* love,
*Pisa's* aspiring Turrets, and
The Kingdoms of this neck of Land;
If our Twin-Ports and sever'd Seas
Do any blest Immortal please: 145
Or tall *Taygetus* whose Snows
Congeal to Ice when *Boreus* blows,
But thaw again when milder weather
Brings the rich Eastern Traffique hither.
At whose foot clear *Alphaus* flows
Renoun'd for the *Olympick* shows:
Hear us propitious Heaven, and bless
Us from Alternate-wickedness;
Let not the Nephews greater be
Then Grand sire in Impiety: 155
Nor this succeeding Age invent
Crimes which the former never meant.
May now at length the Progeny
Of thirsty *Tantalus* agree,
As weary'd into Peace again: 160
Discord hath had too long a Reign.
Guilt nought avails, nor Innocence;
Both alike punisht as Offence. / [13]
Such faith as to his Lord he bare
False* *Myrtilus* found from his Heir,

*Myrtilus Charicleteer to Oenomaus King of Argo's was by
Pelops corrupted to betray his Masters Life in a Chariot-
Race. By this means Pelops not only won the Race, but his Mistress, whom Oenomaus her Father had appointed the fair Prize of such a Conquest: But Pelops, now his Son in Law and Successor, allow'd the Treacherous Myrtillus no other Reward then to be cast into the Neighbouring Sea, from thence called Mare Myrtoum.

Waves gave him death, and to the same He in Exchange did give his Name. No story better known then this To the Ionian Sayler is.

Thy Infant-Son met death, while he 170 Did run to meet a kiss from thee; Inhumane Parent; Tantalus,

Too immaturity falling thus Thy hand cut out, and cook'd each Limb; 175 To make a cursed Feast of these For the abhorring Deity's. Hunger they gave for this Repast, And thirst that shall for ever last:

Nor could a fitter Pain have been 180 For the Offender or the Sin. Deluded Tantalus remains Deluded Tantalus remains

Still vext with Hungers innate Pains; Rich laden boughs hang neer his sight, Swifter then Birds of strongest flight; 185 These stoop to meet his Lips, but then Mock his stretch't Jaws, and rise again. Often abus'd with this deceit, He now neglects the tempting Cheat: 190 And though impatient of delay, Turns his sad eye another way, And shuts his empty mouth again Confining there fierce hungers pain. / [15]

Her Wealth the Tree then lower bends, And the insulting Fruit descends, 195 At this his Appetite revives; But when once more he vainly strives To reach the boughs, once more they rise, And all the Autumn upward fly's. Now Thirst, great as his hunger is, 200 Succeeds; when his Veins burn with this He Courts the passing W Waves while they Are by their Current forc'd away. Their empty Channel these forsake, And him that strives to overtake: 205 VWho snatching at the flying Flood In greedy hast drinks sand and Mud. / [16]
ACT. II.

Atreus, a Servant.

[ Atr. ] Dull Coward that I am! senseless! ( and what I count in Majesty the greatest Blot)
O unreveng’d! Do I, when Crimes so great . 210
Are by a Brother acted, such Deceit,
Such breach of Justice, poorly thus in vain
My Anger speak? and nothing but complain?
All Argos now in Arms should own my side,
And my proud Navy on these Twin-Seas Ride. 215
Country and Town should with my fireings shine,
And brighter then those flames this sword of mine.
Then let this Land groan with our Cavalry.
Let not our Foe in the Woods sculking lye,
Nor on the Hills securely sonify. 220
Empty be Argos wals, in numerous swarms.
VWhile all her People cry to Arms, to Arms.
VWho hides his head, thinking it so to save,
May he for ever hide it in the Grave.

Let Renown’d Pelops House upon me fall, 225
So it my Brothers Ruine prove withall.
Courage my Soul! something thou now must act,
All Ages shall report, none praise the fact:
A Crime that so transcendent wicked is,
My Brother shall in Envy wish it his. 230 / [18]
His Vilany is not reveng’d unless
Out done: But what can pass his wickedness?
Doth Exile humble him? did ever he
Embrace a Mean when in Prosperity,
Or rest content when low? I him for one 235
Not to be tamed, sufficiently have known:
Broke he may be, not bent. Assault him then
Before he thee assaults, or leavy’s men;
Kill or be kill’d: this offer’d is alike
To both, but hee’s most safe who first shall strike. 240

Ser. Fear you not, Sir, the Peoples Tongues?

Atr. Not I:
For this I count a Kings chief Royalty,
That his bad Actions, all his Subjects are
By Fear compell’d as well to praise, as bear. / [19]
Ser. Such who by Fear are Loyal made, ev'n those
For'o'd by that fear do first become your Foes;
But if you would true Glory, Sir, attain,
You o're the heart, and not the Tongue must Reign.

Atr. False Glory have the Great, the Vulgar true.
Let'em dislike it, so my Will they do.

Ser. Let Kings Command what's honest, and they must.

Atr. Such Kings who only may command what's just
Rule by precarious Power.

Ser. Yet needs must be
That Throne unsetled, where's nor Piety,
Nor shame of Wrong, nor care of Right, nor Faith.

Atr. These private Virtues are. A Crown who hath
Should know no Law but his own Royal will.

Ser. Can you be guiltless and a Brother kill.

Atr. What's on a Brother Villany to act,
On him but Justice is. What hellish Fact
Hath he not try'd? what scapes him? he his own
By Whoredom made my Wife, by Theft my Throne.
By such base frauds he gain'd the Antient Signe
Of Sovereign Power, and vex't this house of mine.

A well-known shy-kept Ram, fam'd Pelops Fold
Did, his rich Flocks far richer Leader, hold,
A fleece he not of Wool but Gold doth wear;
Scepters of which our new Kings use to bear;
Who hath this hath the Crown: with it the fate
Of our house goes along inseparate.

Safe fed this sacred Beast in Meads, which high
Fences of stone enclose and fortifie.
This bold attempting Trayter, having made
My Wife a Party, hence that beast convey'd.
From this springs all our mutual strife. Now goes
He through my Kingdoms, and Sedition sows.
Where's he not guilty? he corrupted hath
My Wife, ruin'd my house, and broke his faith;
My Issue's doubtful, nothing sure but this,
That my worst Enemy my Brother is.

V'hy stopst thou Atreus? on at length begin
Thy brave Revenge: Courage; mind what has been
By Tantalus and Pelops done; thine Eye
And hand withall unto their Deeds apply.

115
Then say what course in my Revenge is best?

Ser. Let your just sword, Sir, pierce his guilty breast.

Atr. Mild Kings do only kill; You of the end
Of torment speak, I torment do intend.
Asused-for favour in my Reign shall be
Bare death esteem'd.

Ser. Moves you no piety?

Atr. Hence thou vain shadow, Piety, if thou
Wast ever here? hence, I abjure thee now.
Ye Furies, Hells black Missionaries, let
Me begg your ayd to make my Rage compleat.
Bring here two brands of your Infernal fire;
And in this breast a double hate inspire.

Ser. What frenzy drives you thus to unknown Deeds?

Atr. Such as the common mean of Grief exceeds.
I'de use the worst of Cruelties, but fear
They'd all too slight and innocent appear.

Ser. The Sword?

At. A trifle.

Ser. Fire?

At. A trifle still.

Ser. What Instrument shall your Revenge fulfill.

Atr. Thyestes self.

Ser. And wrath it self has less
Of Plague then him.

Atr. Horror, I must confess,
Invades my trembling Soul; I'me forc'd but know
Not whether yet I'me forc'd, and on must go.

Here Tantalus and Megaera are supposed to pass over
the Stage.

The Center groans; the Heavens in Thunder speak;
And all my house cracks as the Roof would break:
The Lares turn their looks; be done, be done
This Crime, whose sight the fearful Gods do shun.
Ser. What, Royal Sir, do you at length design?

Atr. I know not what great Act, beyond the Line
Of humane Custome, more then usual swells
My Soul, and forward my slow hand compells:
What 'tis I know not; something great it is -

[Pauses a while ]

Thus let it be; my Soul, resolve on this;
A fit Deed for Thyestes; and for me.
Let us both act. - Th*Odrysian house did see

The story of Tereus King of Thrace: See the Meta-
morphosis, Lib.6.

Inhumane feasts. I grant, the Crime, though high,
Yet hath been done already; something I
Would have as new, as bad. Prome! Inspire,
Thou cruel Parent, in my breast the fire
Of thy Revenge. Our cause is Parrallel.
Assist me; and to act my hands compell.
Let the pleas'd Father on his Children feed,
And carve their Limbs. I this, I like indeed.
't mean time
Where's he? And I, why so long free from Crime?

Methinks I see the Tragick Scene; and how
He eats himself no Father, even now.-
Heart! dost thou faint, before thou hast begun
The Generous Act? It must, it shall be done.
On then; since he in his own person shall
Commit the highest Villany of all.

Ser. But by what Wiles can we er'e bring him here,
Whose caution renders him so full of fear?

Atr. I le bate, then take him, with his own Desires.
He hopes my Crowns; and while he thus aspires
He'd meet a flaming Thunderbolt; for them
The Adriatique Gulf he would contemn;
And pass the Libyck shelves; nay more he will
(Which he esteems of all the greatest Ill)
For them his Brother see.

Ser. Yet who shall give
The pledg of Peace? or who will he believe?

Atr. Vain hope is credulous. My Sons shall bear
From me this Envoy to their Uncles ear,
And sue in wining terms, that he would leave
His Exile for a Pallace; and receive
A Crown with half my Kingdom. Should he prove
Obdurate like himself; yet this would move
His children; who in these affairs untaught
And tyred with miseries, are easily caught,
And they'll prevail with him. Love of Rule here,
His antient frenzie; grief and trouble there,
Though ne're so obstinate will conquer him.

Ser. Time now hath made his sorrows light to seem.

Atr. Time doth augment our miseries, not cure:
They're light to suffer, heavy to endure.

Ser. Yet find some other Messengers for this:
Youth to ill counsell prone and docile is.
They may by him to act 'gainst you be led.
Mischief oft falls on the Contrivers head.

Atr. No other Tutor than Ambition needs,
To teach 'em fraud and such Nefarious, Deeds.
Dost doubt they'll not be wicked made? they be
So born. And what you think dire Cruelty,
Is now, perhaps, by him designed on me.

Ser. Should your Sons know the Plot, their Childhood may
(Unapt for secrecy) the same betray.

Atr. Silence I've learnt from sorrows not a few.

Ser. Must they be strangers then to what they do?

Atr. Yes: Be they guiltless still. I see no need
To make my Sons my Partners in the Deed.
We our Revenge will act alone- My mind
Thou now dost shrink from what was first design'd:
Spare them, spare him: Let Agamemnon be
And Menelaus of my Privicie
In this Affair. Of their Original,
Doubtful as yet, the truth thus find I shall.
If they to act their parts unwilling seem,
And grieve at our Dissention, calling him
Their Uncle; he their Father is. -Well go
They shall: but about what they must not know:
Their dubious face will what's within reveal:
Therefore from them, and all else, this conceal.

Ser. Sir, I conceive this needs not; Faith and fear,
But chiefly Faith will closely keep it here.

**CHORUS**

At length the happy time occurs
That reconciles the Successors
Of Royal *Inachus*. What made
Ye thus each others Life invade,
Unkindly equal Brothers, why
Sought ye a Crown in such Impiety?
Greatness ye do not rightly prize;
Nor know in what a Kingdom lyes.
Riches cannot inaugurate
A King, nor *Tyrian* Robes of State,
Nor Diadems, nor Roofs that may
With Golden frets out-shine the day;
He is a King whose mind is free
From every Passions tyranny;
Whom, not th' inconstant Vulgars praise,
Nor impotent Ambition, sways.
Such is the man whose richer breast
Contems the Treasures of the West;
*Tagus* bright Sands, he doth despise,
And *Lybia*'s wealthy Graneries.
Whose Soul no terror feels when *Jove*
Dischargeth Lightning from above.
Or when the *Adriatic* waves
Swell to the Clouds, and *Eurus* raves,
His great heart shakes or shrinks no more
Then doe the Neighbouring Rocks or shore.
Whose Noble soul, nor sword, nor spear
Can subject to unmanly fear.
He plac'd in a secure Estate,
Looks down on all those sports of Fate,
Grandure and Triumphs, and sees there,
How much below his thoughts they are.
Nor will he murmur at his End,
But meet pale death and call him friend.
None of those Kings can him infest,
The scatter'd *Daca* who molest;
Or who by that Red Sea abide
With Pearls enrich'd and beautifi'd;
Him the *Armenian* cannot harm,
Who so confides in his own Arm,
He slites th' advantage of his hills; 430
Nor German, who when winter chills
Other mens veins, sports on the Ice;
Nor Seres clad in silks of price.
His Kingdom is within: No force
He needs to keep his Crown, of Horse;
No need of Swords, or shafts whereby
The Parthians Conquer when they fly;
No need of the Balista's ayde
The walls with Battery to Invade.
Who fears not is a King. And he
That will, may have this Royaltie.
While he that loves Ambitions pains,
On the Courts slippery top remains;
Let me sweet Peace enjoy: content
I am to live where none frequent:
There shall I fill my longing breast
With the still blessings of soft Rest,
Free from their Knowledg great who are,
Free from the noise of business, there
I'll tast my Life, and thus shall I
Rich in an humble fortune dye.
But heavy doth that death befall
To him, who too much known to all
By fame of his great honours past,
Dyes to himself unknown at last.

ACT III

Enter Thyestes, Plisthenes, and his
Two other Sons.

[Thy.] My Countrys long'd for sight I now possess;
The greatest good that can sad Exiles bless, 455
My Native Soil, and Country gods I see;
(If Gods they are who so neglected me;)
I see the towrs the Cyclops work that are,
No Mortal can raise structures half so fair.
Oft with applause have I at that fam'd place
In Pelops Royal Chariot won the Race.
Me the whole Town will meet returning home;
Nay Atreus too, whose sight I hate, will come. 460
Then let me back again to woods obscure,
And with the Beasts a life like theirs endure.
A Crowns false splendor shall not me enflame:
Mind not the Gift, but him that gives the same.
Chearful I was when in a low Estate:
Now I from Exile am recall'd, and Fate
Doth smile, I'me sad. Something within doth cry,
Turn back again: I move unwillingly.

Plisthenes ( aside. )

VWhat means my Father thus his pace to slack?
He seems much unresolv'd, and oft looks back. / [38]

Thy. Why do I waver thus? why do I strain
My wits, and dwell on that which is so plain?
Shall I Two such uncertain things as are
My Brother, and a Kingdom trust? and fear
Those Ills which time doth now familiar make?
And my commodious sufferings forsake?
My former Life, though wretched, pleaseth me:
Then let me back retire, while yet I'me free.

Plist. Dear Sir, why turn you from your Countrys sight?
And why such Royal Presents do you slight?
Your Brothers wrath is ended, he to you
Offers a Peace, and half his Kingdom too.
You to your self he will restore.

Thy. A kind
Of strange and unknown Terror chills my mind.
No cause I have, yet fear. I much desire
Forward to go, yet force'd am to retire.
So have I seen a raging storm prevail
Against a ship, spight of her Oar and Sail.

Plist. Contemn such idle fears, think how at your
Courted Return you'l have a Kings Grandure.

Thy. That, having power of my own Life, I've got.

Plst. Power's the chief thing.

Thy. Nothing if valued not.

Plist. It may descend to us.

Thy. Two cannot sway
One Scepter -

Plist. - Who'ld not happy be that may? / [40]
Believe me, Greatness is an empty Name:
And hard Fate's vainly fear'd. Since first I came
Unto a Throne, till it I left, I ne'er

Was free, but even mine own Guards did fear:
How sweet it is, to live from strife secure,
To feed on Dishes wholesome though but poor!
The humble Cottage knows not villany,
And slender dyet is from Poison free:

That's drunk in Plate. With good experience I
Approve the low estate above the high.

*I own no Castles that on hills do stand,
And from that height the neighbouring Towns command:

*Here Seneca by a kind of Antecronism, taxeth the Romans in his Age, in their Buildings, Feasts, Baths, &c. of which particulars see at large, Seneca's Epistles 122.

No Ivory frets adorn my roof: and when
I sleep I'me guarded by no Halbert-men;
With no whole fleet I fish: No Rampiers I
Build to prescribe the Sea: Nor banquet by
The Lands Oppression: Nor beyond the Gete Or Parthian have I Lands as rich as great:
I'me not adord stead of neglected Jove:
Nor doth my Pallace roof support a Grove:
I have no Baths like Seas: nor do I choose
The day for sleep, the night for drinking use.
Yet in my abject fortune am secure
Without a guard, and fearless being poor;
In it I meet content, and to have this
Without a Kingdom, the best Kingdom is.

But when the gods to us a Crown commit
We should not slight the Gift-

Thy. -- Nor covet it.

Thy. That you would Reign your Brother doth desire.

Thy. Doth he? that raiseth my suspition higher.

True Piety from whence she fled doth use
Back to return, and her lost strength renews.

Atreus his Brother love? first Arctos will
Set in the waves; Sicilian Seas be still;
In the Ionian Ocean Corn will grow;
Darkness will shine, before he will do so:
First fire with water, wind with waves, and Life
With death, will enter League, and end their strife.

Plist. What fraud suspect you?

Thy. All. Nor can I see
VWhat not to doubt from such an Enemy.

Plist. How can his Pow'r hurt you?

Thy. Me? I despise
His Rage: Ye only cause my jealousies.

Plist. Fear you deceit when in the Trap? we are'
Cautious too too late when taken in the snare
Then let us on. -

Thy. -- Witness ye gods to this;
I follow them, I lead 'em not amiss. / [44]

Plist. Fearless let us proceed. Prosper th'event
Kind Heaven, let it be good as is th' Intent.

Enter Atreus, Attended.

Atr. At length the Game which I so long have saught, (aside)
VWith all his Breed, in my spread Toils is caught.
I have him now; and with him my desire.
Behold Thyestes comes, he comes intire.
My or'e-joyd soul will temper scarce admit,
Nor my unbroke fierce Passion know the Bit;
So when the Umbrian Lime-hound through the field
Hunts on a Trayl; and in a Leash is held;
VWhilst he perceives the Game far off to be
Silent and stanch on the dead Scent runs he:
But when the Quarry's nigh, his gesture speaks
The welcome News; stiff doth he draw, and breaks
From his slow Master's hand. Rage never cou'd
Take a Disguize when once her ayme was blood;
Yet mine shall. - Look: do but observe him there
How his wild superfluities of Hair
Hang rudely o're his sad dejected Eyes:
His Beard too, how undecently it lyes.

I goes to Thyestes.

Brother, i've past my Faith: doubt me no more.
Your dearest sight doth my lost joyes restore.
Bless me with your so coveted Embrace.
Henceforth, all Enmity let us displace

123
From our abused breasts; and entertain
The Piety of Brothers once again.

*Thy.* Your Goodness, Sir, is of such force, I can't
570 Frame an Excuse; but all my fault must grant.
Your Goodness makes me worse appear one who
Have wrong'd a Brother, and a Brother too
So eminent for generous Love as you.

[ Kneels.

I who ne're did, do weeping, you implore
575 And with these hands that never beg'd before
Thus humbly supplicate that you would please
to pardon all; and for my faith take these,
These Infant Hostages: - / [47]

*Atr.* -- Rise from my feet,
And as a Brother my Embraces meet.

[ To the Children.

Kiss me sweet Innocents, esteem'd aright
Both a support to Parents, and Delight

[ to *Thyestes*.

Off with these Rags, wound not my pittying Eye
580 With the sad object of your Poverty,
And Robes assume like mine. More praise I gain
To give you half, then a sole Monarch Reign;
Therefore take half my Realm. A Crown to find
Speaks Chance, but to bestow the bravest Mind. / [48]

*Thy.* Dear Brother, may the bounteous gods above
Return a blessing great as is your Love.
But my deformed head no Crown will wear;
Nor this unhappy hand a Scepter bear.
A poor *Plebeian* let me still remain.-.

*Atr.* Not so: this Land may well two Kings contein.

*Thy.* What's yours I mine esteem. Brother, take all.
595

*Atr.* Who'd slight the favours that from Fortune fall?

*Thy.* Who'd not that knows how slippery they are?

*Atr.* Of so great Glory will ye me debarre? / [49]
Thy. Your Glory Sir, you have already won, 
But mine remains, which is such Gifts to shun. 600

Atr. No more Excuse, I beg. Unless you own 
Part of the Goverment, I will have none.

Thy. Well, I accept. Henceforth the Name be mine; 
But I my self with all the Power thine.

Atr. VVear then your Crown: while I, without delay 605
Th' intended Sacrifice to Heaven pay.

CHORUS.

Who'd credit this? Atreus, of late 610
So cruel, and so obstinate, / [50]
VVhen he his suppliant Brother spyed, 
Conscious of Gilt, stood stupify'd. 610
Oh Love; what Power can thine excell?
Discord with strangers long may dwell, 
But where the Tyes of blood and thee 615
Conjoyn, short is that Enmity.
Private Affronts, though urg'd too far, 
Rais'd a Revenge in Publick war. 
While new-rais'd Troops the Country fright, 
And Swords impatient for a fight: 620
Now finding what so long they'd sought, 
Look bright and cheerful with the thought. 
Fraternal Piety takes place, 
Forcing the Brothers to embrace, 
Which of your Powers, kind Heaven, to cease 625
Hath caused such war in such a Peace? / [51]
VVhen Civil, the worst sort of Foes, 
Did all Mycene discompose; 
The Mother fear'd her Infants Life; 
Her armed Husbands loss, the Wife. 
The conquering Sword, when first they drew, 
Orecome with peacefull Rust they view. 630
Some dress their Arms: some busy were 
The Forts half ruin'd, to repair: 
Some had Commission to survey 
The Wall, and make up the Decay. 
By some the Gates were strongly bar'd; 635
Others by Night maintain the Guard.
The empty Name of War doth bring
More real terror then the thing,
But now the happy hour appears,
That sheaths the Sword, and cures our fears,
Now is the Martial Trumpet dumb:
Sweet peace, sweet peace again is come!
So when the Brutan Sea doth rise,
By Corus driven to the Skys;
When from her Caverns Scylla raves,
Cust by the fury of the waves,
And ships, though in their Haven, fear
Dreadfull Caribdis even there.
The sweating Cyclops when they spy
Waves o're their furnace Aetna fly,
Fear angry Neptune though their Sire,
WILL quench the never dying fire.
And poor Laertes trembling thinks
His little Ithara now sinks.
If the winds fall, the Sea appears
Smooth as the standing Pools, or Meers.
The trifling Boat now puts from shore:
Ships that like Islands seem'd, before
Were not so bold. Why name I these
Frail Barks? the floating Cyclades
Islands like ships, for motion thought,
Fear'd in the storm to be ore wrought.
Yet now that Boat becalm'd, a sail
Puts up to catch the wanton Gale.
They the past storms effects descry,
And see where drowned fishes lye.
Fortunes still alter, none can last:
Yet is the best the soonest past.
The swift vicissitudes of Fate
Can in a moment change our state.
He who doth Crowns dispose, before
Whose Throne all Nations do adore;

Intending by a former Antecromsme, the Roman Emperor.

At whose bare Nod the Medes disband:
Nor dare the Indians him withstand:
Nor Daca with their Cavalrie:
How full of anxious thoughts lives he?
What Changes do his fears, the while,
Presage from Fates inconstant smile?
Then swell no more; Great Souls of those
Where Heaven doth Soveraign Rule dispose:
Since that due Homage which we show
To you, ye to another owe.
The greatest Kings but Subjects be
To a Superior Majesty.
Some with that Sun have set, whose Ray
Shined at his Rise less bright then they.
Ah fading Joyes! In such who dare
Confide, or wanting them, despair?
Clotho with smiles doth Tears commix,
And lets no Chance of Fortune fix
Heavens greatest Favorite can't say
I'll live and laugh another Day.
All our Affairs Fate troubles, and
Disorders as whirl-wind sand.

ACT. IV.

Nuncius. Chorus.

[ Nunc. ] Some Whirl-wind snatch me hence: by whose fierce ayd
I to th' obscurest Clowd may be convey'd,
Whence I no more this cursed House may see:
By Tantalus himself, abhor'd to be.

Cho. Ha! what means this?-

Nun. - What Country's this I tread?
Argos, and Sparta is it, that hath bred
Such bloody Brothers? Live Corinthians here
Twixt these two Seas, or what I rather fear,
Barbarous Alani? No Hyrcanian Breed
Of Tygers sure; nor Scythians these exceed.

Cho. What Salvage Crime blots our unhappy Land
With such a Guilt? Give us to understand.

Nun. Can I my Senses recollect, I will;
When this cold Sweat shall leave my Limbs. For still
The horror follows me. - Come storms as strong
As my Desires, and bear me hence, along
Whether the Sun flys from this sight away.

Cho. You aggravate our fears by this delay.
Quickly the Deed relate, and Author too.
Which of the Brothers is't? I ask not who.

_Nun._ In _Pelops_ his chief Palace Southward lyes
A Part, that doth like some tall Mountain rise
To pierce the Clouds, and o're the Town doth stand,
Which should the same Rebell, it can Command:
There stands the Publick Hall, whose Roof of Gold
Rich spotted Marble-pillars do uphold.
Besides this, where the Vulgar do repair,
Sev'ral as rich as spacious Rooms there are.
The Privy Court i' th' uttermost Recess
Doth lye, by a Descent from the no less
Sacred, then secret Grove divided there
Nor pleasant Trees nor profitable are,
But mournful Yew, Cypress, and Holm; yet higher
Then all the rest the tall Oak doth aspire,
And like a Prince o're looks the common Trees.
Our Kings do here consult their Auguries:
Here they seek Council when affairs appear
Doubtful or bad. Their Votive Guifts hang here:
Trumpets of War, and Trophys of the same,
With what by Land or Sea we overcame;
The vanquisht wheels, and treacherous Axel-Tree,
And all our Nations Deeds here fixed be.
Here's the _Tiara Phrygian_ _Pelops_ wore:
Here's what in War we took, or triumph bore.
Under this shade a Fountain stands, a Wave
So black and sad Dire _Styx_ is said to have,
Dire _Styx_ that binds the gods. The Fame's well-known
How here th' Infernal gods all Night do groan.
Clinking of Chains, howling of Ghosts, make here
A horrid noise, while what affrights the Ear
May there be seen: there haunt a Company
Of wandring souls which far more dreadfull be
Then common _Spectres_; sudden flames oft dart
Through all the Grove, and fix i' th' highest part.
Oft hath from thence three Barks at once been heard,
And oft the House with monstrous Visions scar'd.
Nor can the Day expel such fears, for there
Is ever Night, and these at Noon appear.
Oraculous Resolves have here been found
By them that seek, which with a frightfull sound
That fills the Place, arise from underground.
When _Atreus_ mad with Rage, was enter'd here,
Dragging his Nephews, deckt the Altars were.
(Who with fit words can such black Deeds relate?)
Their Princely hands behind were pinnion'd streight,
Their Heads with purple fillets bound: there lyes
Ready both Incense for the Sacrifice,
And Wine, and Knife: ready prepar'd for it
Lies Salt and Meal. No Rite he doth omit,
Least not well done should be such wickedness!

Chorus. Who to their Execution dares address?

Nun. He is the Priest himself: himself doth Pray;
The Versicles of Death himself doth say.
The Victims he in order placeth, and
Standing at th' Altar, takes the Sword in hand;
Himself attends, and doth omit no Rite:
This the Grove sees, and trembles at the sight.
So doth the Ground, which shakes the House withall,
Whose Turrets doubtful on which side to fall
Nod every way; Also a Comet streams
From Heavens left side, which darts forth dismal beams.
The Wine as soon as cast into the flame,
Was Transubstantiated, and blood became.
Oft his Crown fell: the Ivory Statues wept.
This all affrights; he still his temper kept;
And stands withall as if he'd temifie
The threatening gods. - But all delays lay'd by,
He now ascends the Altar, with Oblique
Looks and Malevolent; Some Tyger like
In Ganges Forrest, whom fierce hunger fires,
Between two Steers that stands, and both desires;
Yet unresolv'd which first to seize; her eyes
That threaten Death, to this, then that applys;
With doubt as much as hunger vext; And thus
On the Devoted looks Dire Atreus.
Revolving in his mind which should be he
That first must fall; and which should Second be.
It matters not; yet takes he much delight
So high a Villany to Marshal right.

Chor. Which strikes he then?

Nun. -- Parental Piety
Least he should want, first Tantalus must dye.
T' his Grandsire dedicate.

Cho. -- Oh say, how took
The young Prince such a Death, and with what look?

Nun. Careless of Life he stands, and doth refuse
In vain to supplicate, or words to loose.
But Atreus by the throat, him having tane,
Sheaths in his Breast the sword; which out again
Being redrawn, awhile the body thinks
How best to fall, then on his Uncle sinks.
Next Plisthenes he to the Altar brings,
And decollated, on his Brother flings:
Down prostrate falls the Trunk; and (with a sound
Uncertain) the complaining head to th' ground.

Chor. What after this Twin-death doth he begin?
Sparcs he the child, or adds he sin to sin?

Nun. As a main'd Lyon equally repleat
With rage and hunger, sees a Heard of Neat
In the Armenian woods, pursues and takes
Many, whose blood his frowns more frightful makes:
Bulls do his hunger, not his Rage allay,
And after them he on the Calves doth prey,
With weared Jaws: nor otherwise then so
Is Atreus cruel, such his Rage; who though
His sword's distaind with double slaughter, yet
He seeks another murder to commit,
Careless on whom: In the childs breast he then
Strikes it, which out at s back appears aeh.
He falls, his blood quenches the Altars fires;
Death enters at both wounds, and he at both expires.

Chor. O barbarous act!

Nun. - Doth this your horror breed?
There's more behind, he stops not at this deed.

Cho. Is there in Nature greater cruelty?

Nun. Think you this all; 'tis but the first degree.

Cho. What more? did he to beasts their bodys throw,
And fire deny?

Nun. - Would he had only so!
Their Sepulture, and funeralFile deny'd,
And cast them out to birds of prey beside,
Or with their flesh fed Wolves; what does appear
The greatest curse, had been a blessing here;
Their Sire to see them unenter'd. - O crime
No age will credit! the insuing time
Will think this fabulous! their inward parts
He opens, their veins breathing still, and hearts
Still panting: thence fates to recollect
He the warm veins, & Arterys doth dissect.
The Victims pleasing, now he time can spare
His brothers entertainment to prepare.

805 / [65]
810
815
820 / [66]
830 / [67]
835
840
He cuts them out in joynts; close to their sides
The shoulders from the body he divides.
Their tender flesh he from the bones doth pare:
Yet saves intire the heads, and hands which were
So lately sacred pledges. Th' Inwards they
Some spitted 'fore slow fire drip away:
Some in the injured caldron boyl: while these
So horrid meats the very fire displease,
Oft from the hearth it fell, & when return'd
Back to its place, it murmurd as it burn'd.
The Livers screek upon the spit, nor well
Which most, the flesh or flames, groan'd, can I tell.
The mournful fire in cloudes of smoak consumes:
And even those heavy cloudes and ominous fumes
Directly not ascend, as wont, but fly
About the houshold gods, & there they lye.
O patient Phaebus! though day backward flys,
And though thy lustre at the Zenith dyes,
Thou set'st too late. - His Sons the Father eats,
And his own Limbs are his Inhumane treats:
While with rich Unguents his hair shines, and he
Sits full of mighty Wine, unwillingly
Discends the barbarous dyet. Only this
Of good, Thyestes 'mongst thy Evills is,
You know 'em not: yet even this will fade.
Though Titan turns his Chariot, which is made
To measure back the way it came; though Night
With shades unusual hides this deed from sight,
Which from the East doth rise, and out of time;
Yet will at last be seen each horrid crime,

CHORUS.

Father of gods and men, at whose
Uprise Night doth her beauty loose,
Whether, O whether dost thou stray,
And at thy Noon benight the day?
What frights thee, Sun? not yet appears
Vesper the harbinger of stars:
Nor Hesper shining in the west
Bids thy diurnal Chariot rest:
Nor the third Trumpets sound yet made
A welcome to th' approaching shade.
Amazed the Plowman stands to see
Day end, untired his Team and he.
What stops thy Race? what 'tis do's make
Thy Steeds their beaten Road forsake?
Do now from hell the Gyants rise
Again to fight the Deitys?
His old Attempts doth Tytius strive,
With his first fury, to revive?
Hath now Typhaeus freed his brest,
Long with the Mountains weight opprest?
Or do the gods Phlegraean foes
Ossa on Pelion now impose? -
Ah! the known course of time is done!
No more will set or rise the Sun.
Days Mother with Nocturnal Dews
Still wet, while now she Phaebus views
As to her East he back retires,
Whence he so lately went, admires.
How ignorant is she to lave
His steeds in the refreshing wave!
He stands surpriz'd too, since to this
New Inne himself a stranger is.
The morning Sun now sets, whose light
Yields to a darkness, yet no night;
On his Recess no stars appear:
No fire shines in our Hemisphere.
No Moon adorns these shades. What e're
This is, Night would it only were.
Each heart with sudden fear possessest
Doth tremble, tremble in each breast,
Least all should ruin'd be; least men
And even the gods themselves, agen
To their old Chaos fall: lest fire
And sea, Earth and Heavens gay attire
Of sparkling stars, should now return
To their first nothing. - No more burn
Shall thy bright flames, nor Phaebus, thou
Be longer chief of Planets, now,
Summer and winter, nor shall we
Distinguish by the Course of thee.
No more shall the pale Queen of shades
Expel that fear which Night invades,
While she in a less Circle runs,
And ends her Race before the Suns.
Into but one deform'd lump shall
The Elements and Planets fall.
Heavens Belt the Zodiac, whose bright way
Shines with the Lights of night and day,
Whose Circle parts the Zones, and we
Measure the Year by its Degree,
Shall fall from Heaven, and with it then
These stars set, nor to rise again:
First shall the Ram, who us'd to bring
Soft western Gales with the kind spring
Plunge in those waves o're which he bore
The trembling Helle heretofore.
Next shall the Bull descend, between
Whose bright horns are the Hyads seen;
And draw the Twins and Crab along
With him from the Caelestial throng.
The Lyon then shall down again.
Return, and no more scorch the Grain.
Down from her heaven the Virgin shall
Along with her the ballance fall:
With them shall the fierce Scorpion go,
And he arm'd with th' Aemonian bow:
Old Chiron, in his fall who will
His Quiver break, and arrows spill.
The winter-leading Goat must be
The next, and falling break shall he
Thy water-pot, who e're thou art:
With thee the Fishes shall depart
Last of the Twelve. The Bears that ner'e
Set in the waves, shall now drownd there.
The Snake that those two Bears divides,
And like a crooked River glides
Shall as all other Rivers, roule
Into the sea. While from the Pole
Cold Cynosure the lesser Bear
Plac'd by the greater Dragon there,
With whom Bootes, slow-pac'd swain
Shall fall, and drive from Heaven his Wain.
Selected from Mankind, do we
This fatal period live to see?
Must the world fall on us? O Fate
Wretched and most unfortunate!
Whether we loose without offence
The Sun, or guilty, drive him hence:
Yet cease to mourn; there is no need.
He's covetous of Life indeed
Who longer to survive desires,
When the whole Universe expires.
ACT. V.

Atreus.

Now equal to the stars I walk, now I
Look down, methinks, on others from the sky.
My Fathers Throne, and Ram, I've now regain'd,
I've done with Heaven: and my last wish attain'd.
Tis very well; exceeding well; and this
Revenge even for me sufficient is.
But why sufficient? Me proceed, and fill
With his own blood Thyestes fuller still.
Lest I should see, and blush at this black deed
The day retires: While Heaven invites, proceed.
Would the fled gods might be forc'd back by me,
That they this banquet of Revenge might see!
Yet shall the Father: and let that suffice.
This darkness that now hides his miseries
I will dissolve, though day refuse. Guest mine,
Thou hast too long careless and cheerful lyne
You've eat and drunk enough. Thyestes needs
Be sober rightly to resent such deeds:
Wine drounds his sence. - Ho there within, who waits:
Display the Feast, open the Temple gates.
I long to see, when his Sons heads he views,
How he will look, or what expressions use
To speak his grief; or how (his spirit's lost
At this) hee'll stand as if congeal'd with frost.
This is my deed: To see him wretched, no
Delight take I, but in his making so.

The Scene opens and
Thyestes is Discovered.

Behold the Room with many Lights array'd:
On Gold and Purple lie supinely lay'd;
On his left hand, his head opprest with Wine
He leans, and belches. Now methinks I shine
Chief of the Gods, and King of Kings! In this
I have surpast my wish. - See, see, he is
Already full; from a large Goblet he
Drinks unmixt Wine: Drink on; I've still for thee
One Cup, the blood of the late sacrifice:
The colour of Red wine shall this disguise.
And let this Cup conclude this Feast. He mine
Did thirst, who now shall drink, 'commixt with Wine
His Childrens blood. - Hark; he to sing prepares,
Unable to contain his Joy, light Ayrs.
Thyestes.

Thou that so dull'd with sufferings art,
Cast off thy busy Cares, my heart.
Hence grief, hence fear, and thou er'e while
My old Companion in Exile
Sad Poverty; hence thou that late
Didst vex my soul, of my low state
A conscious shame; of that no more
I le think, but what I was before.
Tis brave when fall'n from high Command,
Firm and unmoved below to stand.
Opprest with mighty ills, 'tis rare
And brave, with neck unbown'd to bear,
Of a lost Kingdom the sad weight;
Nor conquer'd, nor degenerate,
But to stand upright under those
Unwelcome pressures Fates impose.
These clouds that now thy soul or'e cast,
And all the marks of misery past
Cast off, and to thy face once more
The smiles of soft content restore:
From thy grieved memory let pass
The old Thyestes. But alas!
'Tis proper to th' unfortunate
Never to trust the smiles of fate.
Though happiness return again,
Joy is to them a kind of pain.-
What grief is this obstructs my mirth
From no known cause that takes its birth?
This day of Festival to keep
What hinders me, and bids me weep?
With odorous flow'r's my head t' array
What is't doth thus, doth thus gainsay?
The Roses from my brows descend,
And my perfumed hair stands on end
With suddain horrour, while apace
Sad streams or'e flow a cheerful face.
My mirth with groans is often checkt;
And my late tears I still affect:
So fond the wretched ever be
To doat on their old misery.
Mournful complaints fain would I vent,
And tear this purple ornament
Oft-times our souls prophetick be,
And droop with sorrows they fore-see.
So when the Sea to swell doth use,
And no wind breaths, a storm insues.
Mad man! thy mind why thus dost thou disturb, and discompose thy brow?
Thy Brother trust: now what ere fate befalls, fears causeless, or too late.
Thus timorous: I would not be but a strange terror troubles me
Within, which through my eyes doth pour a causeless, and surprizing shower.
Sorrows effect is this or fears?
Or hath great Joy its proper tears?

*Atreus (going to him)*

Brother, with joint consent let's celebrate this day, that will confirm my Regal state
And 'twixt us two settle a lasting peace.

*Thy* . I'm clouded with wine and feasting: 'twould increase my pleasure, and no small addition be
To my full Joy, could I my Children see.

*Atreus (ambiguously . )*

Be confident they're in your arms, for here they are, and shall be; do not fear.
Nothing of thine shall be withheld: You shall their desired presence now enjoy, I all
Of thee with thy so loved Issue will,
Doubt not, most fully satisfie and fill.
At present with my Sons they celebrate this day of Joy: but I will call 'em straight
First tast our Families cup fi I'd with choice wine.

*Thy* . Brother, I kindly take this gift 'cause thine.
First offer to our Fathers deities;
And then wee I drink- How's this? my hand denies her office: still the wines weight heavier grows,
And loads my arm; while from my Lips it flows:
About my mouth it rouls, nor down will go,
See the ground shakes; the Table too doth so.
The fire it self scarce shines: on the Suns flight,
The Sky stands Neutral betwixt day and night.
How's this? Heavens Convex sinks still lower and lower.
To darkness joyns a darkness that is more condens't, and night it self to this is day.
Each star is fled. What e're this means, I pray that from my Brother, and my Sons it be averted, and the Omen threaten me.
Restore me now my Sons.
Atr. - I will restore, And they from thee shall ne're be parted more. Thy. What tumult shakes me thus within? My breast Is with a sad impatient weight opprest: Sad groans I with a voice not mine respi're. Appear my Sons, your most unhappy sire Bids you appear: your sight alone will cure This grief. - Whence answer they? Atr. -- Make ready your (Sheivs the Heads ) Embraces: they are come, - Now Sir, do ye know Your Sons? -

Atr. I know my Brother. - Canst thou undergo, Dull earth, such wickedness, & bear it thus? And not to Styx sink both thy self and us? Wilt thou not open that these Kingdoms may And King, through thee to Chaos find a way? Wilt thou not all the structures of this Land Levell with their foundations? We to stand Both well deserve in hell with Tantalus, And other the Progenitors of us, If any there. Open now, open wide Thy dislocated Joynts on every side, Down let us sink through some vast cleft of thee To Acheron, and there for ever be. While o're our heads th' Infernal shapes appear, Flow hither Phlegethon, and settling here, Us wretches in thy flaming waters drownd. Lyest thou unmoved still, dull senseless ground? Atr. Here, take thy Sons, so much desired by thee: Enjoy them now, there's no delay in me: Each of these three alike embrace and kiss. Thy. Is this thy League? thy amity? is this A Brothers faith? Thus dost thou love? To have Safe or alive, my Sons, I do not crave: This I thy brother beg, which no ways your Revenge impleads, allow them sepulture. I ask but what I'l'e burn: 'tis nothing I Beg to enjoy, but part with by and by. Atr. All of thy Sons I'l'e give, that I did save: What not remains, that you already have.
Thy. Lye they a Feast for Birds of Prey? or are
They for wild beasts reserv'd inhumane fare?

Atr. Thou of thy Sons hast made that impious feast.

Thy. 'Twas this that sham'd the gods! this to the East
Forc'd back the Sun! wretch that I am what criy,
What sad complaints, what words will me suffice?
Their heads and hands chopp'd off too plain I see,
And from their Legs how their feet sever'd be.
'Twas the presage of this unheard of meat,
Though pinch'd with hunger, would not let me eat.
My bowels roul about, and seek with pain
A passage for the horrid food, in vain.
Lend me thy sword dyed in my blood, and I
Will to my Sons with it give liberty.
Is this deny'd? yet shall with frequent blows
This breast resound; ah, no! forbear from those
Unhappy man, and spare the dead within-
Hath ever such a curst deed act'd been
By barbarous Heniochan that's bred
On Caucasus? or the Cecropian dreed
Procrustes? oh! my Sons do me oppress,
And I my Sons. --- No mean in wickedness?

Atr. A mean should be observ'd when first we act
A wrong, but not when we revenge a fact.
This is but small for me. I should have shed
Goar in thy mouth as from the wound it bled:
That of thy living Sons, the warm blood thou
Mightst drink: I've trifled with my anger now.
In hast I gave the wounds. Of them I made
A sacrifice. I the vow'd slaughter pay'd
To my wrong'd household gods: and jointing all
Their liveless bodies into gobets smal,
I rent each Limb: and some of them I cast
Into the boiling Cauldron, some I plac'd
By a slow fire to rost. They not yet dead
I cut their Nerves, and members quartered:
I heard the Inwards groan upon the spit:
I my self made the fire and lookt to it.
All this their Father better might have done!
My Rage is spent in vain. 'Tis true each Son
Of his, his cursed mouth did tear and eat,
But both the Eater ignorant, and meat.

Thy. Ye Seas with wandring shores encompass'd,
Hear this! Here this you gods, whereever fled!

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Hear this hell! Earth hear this! and thou Night made
More black and horrid by a hellish shade,
Attend to what I'le say, and what is said:
Darkness I'me left to thee, and only thou
Sad as my self, canst view my sorrows now:
No suppliant vows for my concern I'le make.
Ah! what is that? Nature 'tis for thy sake.
Great King of Gods, who the Worlds Soveraign art,
Bury the Earth in Clouds from every part
Bid the winds fight, and thou thy Thunder dart.
Use not that hand which lesser bolts doth throw
To batter guiltless buildings here below:
But with that hand that levell'd Mountains rear'd
Three stories high, & Gyants that appear'd
Like other Mountains upon them: on us
Discharge thy Lightning and thy thunder thus.
Make good the perish't day. Let thy fires fly:
The light that's lost with lightning now supply.
Doubt not of us whose cause doth call, they be
Both bad: if not, yet mine is; aime at me,
Transfix this breast with thy Artillery.
To their last fire would I my Sons bestow;
My self into those Funeral flames must go.
If nothing moves the Gods, if sinners they
Neglect to punish: Night, for ever stay
And hide our Crime; Titan I'le nere complain
So thy bright flames no more return again.

_Atr._ Now I applaud my hands? the Palm I've won.
I had lost my glory thus had I not done.
Now my bed chast' I think, and Children mine.

_Thy._ Why should the Infants dye?

_Atr._ For being thine.

_Why._ With his own Sons dost thou the Father feast?

_Atr._ Ay, the undoubted Sons, which pleases best.

_Thy._ Witness ye Gods.

_Atr._ - The Nuptial Powers well may.

_Thy._ With a worse Deed who would a Crime repay?

_Atr._ I know what grieves you. To prevented be
You'r vext; not what thou hast devour'd moves thee,
But not t' have drest the same. Thou didst design,
I' Ignorant, such Viands should be mine:
Their Mother helping, thou did'st mean to seise
My Sons, and butcher them as I did these:
You 'd doo't, but that you fancy'd them your own.

*Thy*. Be present ye just Gods: to them alone
I give thee up for Punishment.

*Atr.* --- For it
I to thy Children Manes thee commit.

FINIS. / [96]
MOCK. THYESTES.

ACT. I.

TANTALUS. MEGAERA.

Tant. What Witch of Endor does thus fret me.
And when I'de stay in hell won't let me?
Cannot a man be damn'd in quiet,
But Haggs must thus commit a Riot?
You'll whip me out of Hell-doors we'ye?
And fire me up, with a Fox ye?
I must to earth: but pray let's know
What I must do there e're I go.
I cannot teach 'em damning there,
Nor more debauch 'em then they are,
To Wench, drink, rook, or be uncivil,
They scorn to learn of a poor Devill.
'Tis ten to one the Sons of Whores
Will either kick me out of doors,
Or think' me a tame harmless Cully,
And then I'm gone to Nicker-Bully.
But should I take a Wench's shape,
'Tis six to four I get a Clap.
And then how shamefully 'twill urge one,
That comes from Hell to use a Surgeon?
All that I say I can make good
In mine own proper flesh and blood.
Two Imps I have as very Rakells
As er'e did cling in Newgate shackles:
Men call one Atreus, and the other
Thyestes, Atreus's own Brother.
Rake Hell, and skim the Devil, if er'e
You match 'em, I le be hang'd; that's fair.

Meg. Allons; and stand not thus hum drum:
Or Faith I'le run this I'n i' your bum.
De'e think I'le suffer you, conclude
Whether the thing be bad or good?
Yet if you wonder at your Mission,
And why 'tis with such expedition;
To give your Nephews a kind Visit,
If you would know the true cause, is it.
On then, and do just as I tell ye:
First put two live Eels in their belly,
Which may so operate, and frisk it,
As if old Nick were in their Brisket.
Where Nature's dull, we thus must force her:
(For Devils may learn of a Horse-Courser)
Then make 'em hector, huff, and swear,
Curse, damn, and sink, spit, fire, and stare;
Snatch Spits and tilt at one another,
And Brother bite off Nose of Brother.

Tan. I, say you so? but if you get me
To do't, I'll give you leave to eat me.
Perhaps on earth what you have moved,
Is often done, and well approved;
And to debauch ones own Relation
Counted as Gentile Recreation.
But soft, you ne're shall get me to it;
An honest Devil will not do it.
Do you my Grandchildren suppose
Bull-Doggs to run full at the Nose?
Or think you them Cooks, grown so sullen
To spit themselves instead of Ibbin?
In fine, I tell you once again,
Tempt me no more, fortis in vain.

Meg. Well, since I can't this way prevail,
I'll try now to perswade your Tail.
Your Toby I'll so soaze with this
Rod that has lain three weeks in piss,
That you shall begg the thing to do,
Before we part, and thank me too.
Come, come, untruss; or must I force ye,
And call Tysiphone to horse ye?

Tant. Oh lay that frightfull Engine by,

( Kneels.

Dred Queen, for if it shakes I dye.
And I will your Commands obey
Like your most humble- as they say.
But spare my buttocks, let me begg ye;
For they are tender, dearest Megge.

Meg. Enough; I pardon: do not doubt it,
But let's shake hands, and so about it.

Tan. Like a dire Vapour, which some call
A Blast Hypocondriacal:
Or like the steem of Candle snuff
I come, but peacably enough;
Then fear not Mortals, I will do
No harm, but stink, and so adieu.
Madam, when you confer the Grace
Next, your Command on me to place,
Henceforth I'll do it without grudging:
And like a plain well-meaning Gudgin.
What er'e you offer me I'll swallow.
Go on sweet Lady, for I follow.

Exeunt.

CHORUS.

If any of the Starry Powers
Value one pin, or us, or ours:
If Jupiter or Mars ere saw
A Miss among us worth a straw,
If we have ought that's worth their care
'Twixt wind and water, or else where
I wish with all my heart and Soul
That they our Quarrels would controul.
For this same Atreus and Thyestes
Are both stark naught who er'e the best is.
Cat after kind exact: 'Tis plain
That neither of 'em cross the strain.
Pelops their Father was, and he
Kill'd his own Wives Dad a dadde
He loved the Sport so well that rather
Then want a Wench he'd kill a Father.
Nay more, the most ungrateful Woer
Hang'd the poor Pimp that helpt him to her.
Now if the Heralds' books don't fail us,
Pelops was Son of one Tantalus;
He was, as is reported common,
Of London Town a Serjeants Yeoman:
Who to arrest a Cook, once came
In place Ram Ally call'd by name:
Some Clerks and Bullies of the Cloisters
Were there by chance then opening Oysters:
These seeing their Cook in woful danger,
On whom they lay at Rack and manger:
Or as some say, 'twas chiefly 'cause
They saw a Rupture in the Laws,
And sacred Franchise of the Ally;
They never stand ye shally shally,
But take poor Tant and hurl him in
To Temple Bog-house up to th' Chin.
But here the Mischief ends not yet
( To see a Cooks malicious wit! )
When Tant had stood there half a day,
He thought him hungry, as we say.
His Knife unto the Spit he puts ye,
And pen'worth six of Roast Beef cuts ye;
In order then to what his heart meant,
He runs me strait to Tants appartment.
There holding it down in the Hole,
He cry's you cursed Dog Catchpole,
Look what is here, do's your Maw crave it?
Yes, when y'are hang'd then you shall have it.
This said, in an heroick strain,
His hand he snatches up again.
Then brings he the flagon full of Ale,
Or as some Authors have it, Stale.
For Flagons oft have used been
Both to fill out, and empty in.
Or as the plain expression is,
Either to drink in, or to piss.
Now ( as all Cooks do often try)
Hot stinks do make men devilish dry.
The cunning Spit-man therefore, thus
Brings a full Pot to Tantalus:
Which wheh the poor Fool reaches at,
He empties it upon his Pate.
And this is briefly the first rising
Of that which we call Tantalizing.

ACT. II.

Enter Atreus, and a Servant.

Atreus. 'Tis true, my Brother did seduce
My Spouse, but that's not all th'abuse.
For Jack as I was saying, if he
Had done this out of Amity
And pure good will unto my Wife,
It had ner'e griev'd me, but, us'd life!
To Cuckold me out of meer scorn,
By flesh and blood cannot be born.

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Ser. That's very true. But still I say Sir, How if it were in a fair way Sir?

Atr. Lord Jack, thou art just such another- When the thing's cleer to make a puther? For look ye, Jenny, had she been As beauteous as is any Queen, Then it might well have been as you say; But she's as ugly as Medusa. 'Twas therefore done you plainly see, In spight, and disrespect to me. And now, dear Rogue, let think upon't: For I'le not put up the affront.

Ser. Must my Dame too be guilty made? For she was in the Masquerade - Couchant, and did, as I may say. Act her own part in the foul Play. Must she then share in the Purgation, As well as in the Recreation?

Atr. No Jack, my Wife's my Wife, and she Must be indulg'd as part of me. Besides all Women, if you mind, Have weaker Vessels then Mankind, More frail, and therefore not a little Apt to be crackt, and very brittle. On this account your pritty Lasses Have been compar'd to Venice Glasses. And should we Husbands fume and fret For every Rap our Spouses get; 'Twould be most redicule, and he That does it, not at all jentee. Then lastly know, we both dispence With one another, in this sence. And both have Conscience-Liberty By Joint-consent of her and me, To solace in a Modish manner, And she not Curse me, nor I ban her. But though my Wife goes Scotfree here, I'le make it cost my Brother dear. Now honest Jack, I pray you kindly, Advise how I may do it finely.

Ser. Ah, Master, I'me but simply learned To be in things of Weight concerned. But since ye'are pleas'd to have my answer, To this I'le do the best I can Sirs.

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What if we two, and a third Man
Should catch him Napping when we can;
And then e'ne geld him for a warning?
This sure will spoil his Trade of Homing.

Atr. But should I mayhem him in this sort,
And then he bring his Action for 't.
What Damage Juries may impose
For such a Carvin, Heaven knows.

Ser. Then let him; since th' offence was done
In blankets, be well tost in one.
And so the business shall be ended
In the same manner he offended.

Atr. Well, should I like your way; but this
Too violent and open is.
I would some private trick invent
To give him a sound punishment,
And yet he ner'e the wiser for it,
As for the Triumph, I abhor it.

Ser. Why then, Sir thus: you need but stay
Till he too Marry's, and you may
By amorous Retaliation,
Debauch his Wife in the same fashion.
Thus you shall have Sir, (when you doe't)
Revenge, and a fresh Girl to boot.

Atr. I like this better then all yet:
But, Jonney, here's the Devill of it,
Delay in these things is so hellish,
It duels the Sport, and palls the Relish.
Revenge and Love should both advance
Sa, Sa, in the brisk aire of France -
I feel a rumbling in my belly
To do a thing which I won't tell ye.
Sure 'tis some Spirit that thus puts
Me on, and agitates my Guts.
Well I will on, and never fear it,
Since 'tis a motion of the Spirit.
And Spirits less Fanatique are
In belly then in brain, by far.
Jack, run; and send some idle Boy
To you know who with this his Envoy:
That howsoever my Carriage past
May give him cause of some distast,
I humbly begg now to be Friends;
And for those honest Golden Ends
Beseech him that he would not fail
To come and tast of my Wives Ale;
And when he comes it shall go hard!
But something else shall be prepar'd.
You understand me Jack?

Ser. Yes Master.

Atr. I prithee run a little faster-
Yet stay. A loose Boy may betray us;
I'le send my own Sons Menelaus,
And Agamemnon with a Letter:
And that will do a great deal better.

Exeunt.

CHORUS.

Methinks these are but old Caprices
To make two Brothers fall a pieces,
And quarrel for so poor a thing
As is a little Cuckolding.
And what de'e think Sirs, all this while,
Is that which makes so great a Coil?
But a meer empty Name! For the thing
Was never seen by any breathing,
Nor felt, nor heard; and why then shou'd
This word dare to be understood?
'Tis but an Embryo miscarriage:
It is the Maiden-head of Marriage;
And Maiden-heads for ought I can see,
Only consist in a strong Fancy.
Then Cuckoldry and Pusillage
Are but two shaddows of the Age.
Twixt which the difference is not great:
A single and a double Cheat.
And yet for this men take the pains
To beat out one anothers brains.
Nor do they spare the other Sex,
But often break their Spouses necks.
Then happy she, whose Husband's wary,
And keeps her caged like Bird-Canary,
Giving her once a day, with care,
Linseed and water, fresh and fair.
Unknown to Town-wits, and unknowing Coaches, she spends her time in sewing.
Or else in spinning, or in knitting:
And has her belly full of sitting.
But she that is for Beauty famous,
And knows a man, abroad, from a Mouse.
Whose fine French carriage never wants Variety of fresh Gallants.
Much Love without doors while she gets,
Causing within more jealous heats,
May dye of Husbands bangs perhaps:
If not, yet of her Servants Claps.

ACT. III.

Enter Thyestes, with a Bagg
in his Hand.

'Tis good before I further go,
To think if it were best or no.
Or (as I read once in a Book)
Before I take my leap to look.
The scruple, then which in my brain lye
I'll open legally, and plainly.
The Case is thus. A lies with B.
I.S.'s Wife: I.S. sends C
To A with formal Invitation
To come and tast of a Collation.
A doubts I.S. is double hearted,
Or (if you have it word-of-arted)
A meer Trapanner, and demuring,
Is not o're hasty to be stirring.
The Points are two. First whether A.
Should go: or, Secondly, shou'd stay.
The Case being thus stated, hark ye
How all the Parts about me argue.
In the first place, my head cries tarry;
For should he break me you'd be sorry.
'Tis more then likely he forgets not
How you us'd his head: though he frets not,
Nor shews resentment by much huffing
Yet he may pay all off with cuffing.
My back and sides have the same fears
For bangs: so have for lugs my ears.
Now on the other side, my belly
Saies go, or else the Devil quel ye;
There will be Viands choice and dainty;
And of good Bub no doubt great plenty.
My Guts will swim in lushious Seas
Of Ale as strong as Hercules.
My Eyes cry, on; and leave your fears:
Or else wee'l drow'nd our selves in Tears:
But if you go, we hope once more
To see his Wife, that honest Whore.
And there's another part of mine
That's mad with the self-same design.
My members being thus divided,
Now hang me if I can decide it.-
But look: while here I stand and ponder,
Somebody comes to meet me yonder.
'Tis he himself with a clean Band on.
This is an honour, and a Grand one!

Enter Atreus.

Atr. My dear Thyestes!

Thy. Dearest Dear!

(Embrace.

Atr. How glad am I to see you here?

Thy. And how does all at home Boy? Cranky?

Atr. All reasonably well, I thank ye -

Thy. But how, but how, does your good Wife?

Atr. Oh, lusty (as they say) for life:
As brisk, as jolly, and as ayrie
As a young Kitlin, or a Fary.

Thy. And how does all your Children, lastly:
And honest Towser the old Masty?

Atr. All at your Service, my dear Sweeting.

Thy. Lord, how yo' are alter'd since last meeting
Methinks you're grown more tall & bony.
But for those Breeches, I'de not known ye.

Atr. Brother, once more I'me glad to see ye:
And if ye' ad brought your Puss-Cats wi' ye
My happiness had been compleat.

_Thy_. Sweet Sir, if that will do the Feat;
They're in this bagg, and at your service.

_Atr_. More welcome then Sun-shine in Harvest;
Then nine a clock to Prentice boys
In winter nights; or Marriage-Joyes
To crooked Virgins, is each Puss
To, Sir, your Servant _Atreus_.
But wherefore are they thus convey'd,
Like Pig in Pocket - Masquerade?

_Thy_. To let 'em beat upon the hoof
Thus far, had merited reproof.
For surely _Brother_, it is fitting
They ride when they go a Visiting.
Therefore to save their feet a labour,
I stole this Cock-bagg of a Neighbour:
And it as well serves their turn, for ought
I see, as a guilt Coach or Chariot.

_Atr_. 'Tis very true - But see, we're come
To the Frontier that is, ee'n at home.
Repose a while, pray, in the inner
Parler, and I'll go hasten Dinner.

_Exeunt._

_CHORUS._

How suddainly these Brothers twain
Fell out? how soon they'r Friends again?
Could any man alive imagine
Peace after such a huff and raging?
Well: though I say't that should not say't,
True Love cannot be long in hate.
So have I seen (as Poets say)
_Domestick Dudgeon_ in a Fray.
When Coblers Wife'gainst Cobler, for
Prerogative, denounces War.
_Cob_ calls _Tib_ Bitch, and takes his stirrup
With which he vows he will firk her up.
But *Tib* as valerous as a Lass
As er'e *Penthesilea* was,
Scorns to turn Tail on any man,
But bids him do the worst he can:
Then snatches up a basting Ladle.
With which she vows to break his Nodle.
And to defend her self from him,
Takes for a buckler her Wheel Rim.
Thus arm'd, they both begin the fight
With all the Conduct requisite.
Fury had but a while run loose,
When *Cob* was glad to begg a Truce:
And *Tib*, who was no Jew nor Heathen,
Granted a time we call a breathing.
Now *Cob* takes up his Awle and Tinser,
As the best Weapon to convince her.
*Tib* changes hers too, and thinks fit
To play it out at single Spit.
So skilfully she Fenc'd and Parry'd,
That the poor Cuckold she soon weari'd.
At length when Female Rage was spent,
*Tib* to a Treaty does consent.
Then over half a dozen of stale-
Beer, or perhaps Beer and Ale,
Which *Cob* had sacrifice'd to Peace,
All's well again; and Discords cease.
Thus 'twixt the Brothers it has been:
First they fall out, and then fall in.
O what a *jilt* is *Gammer Fortune*?
No Weather-cock is more uncertain.
A Spinster of so rough a hand,
That when her work seems at a stand,
She gives her Wheel a whisk o'th' suddain,
And stirs all round like Hasty Pudden.
ACT. IV.

Nuncius. Chorus.

Cho. Pray Master Nuncius, what does vex ye? If one may be so hold to ax' ye.

Nun. Oh! heavy News as happen'd ere yet! So heavy I can scarcely bear it.

Cho. Ah well away, this does so quell me I could e'en cry, before you tell me. But let us hear it, with your favour, How bad so er'e the Tale does favour.

Nun. For Loves sake tarry but a little, And you shall know it ev'ry tittle. I'me one that need but little dunning: Only I'me out of breath with running. Aye me. Alas, alas, Highoe.-

Sirs, in the first place you must know, There were three dainty Tabby Cats Thyestes loved as well as Brats. Nay sure no Chuck nor Child could be So dear to him as these three, I, and they were such pretty Creatures, No Miss could match dear Puss for Features. Sweetly they'd pur, and briskly they Would lie upon their backs, and play. But if by chance caught a Mouse Lord! how they'd dance about the house? And having found a little Creature, They allwaies course her er'e they eat her. While Noble sport Thyestes found 'Twixt Miss the Hare, & Puss Grayhound. Now when our Neighbour Gaffer Atreus Seem'd to his Brother very gracious: Late sending to Thyestes Greeting, He bid him to a merry Meeting; To which his welcome should be such, That even his Dog should have as much: His love to him was so sincere, That any thing of his was dear. This was his Message; and ith' end on't- Pray bring along the Cur appendant. At this Thyestes heart was truly, Soft as May-Butter is in July: And melted down into his breeches, To hear his Brothers kind beseeches. But being well Educated, he Did in this manner Repartee.
He tells him first that he will come;  
But fears to be too troublesome.  
Next, with due thanks, he does confess  
He keeps no Dog, nor great nor less.  
A Leash of Cats, indeed, he ner'e wants;  
And they are his most humble Servants.  
The Messenger a man of Honour,  
Reply'd in this obliging manner.  
He loves a Puss as well as any:  
Bring all your Cats through ner'e so many.  
And when you are at Dinner set,  
They shall be into th' Dayry let;  
Where they new Milk & Cream shall lap:  
I, and some Firmity perhap.  

*Char.* This was all done *en Chevalier.*

*Nun.* True, but the sad Tale ends not here.  
*Thyestes* comes, as he was pray'd,  
With his Retinue abovesaid.  
*Atreus* in very civil fashion  
Gives him a kind Accomodation.  
Pray take a seat, quoth he, I'le wait  
Upon you, dearest *Brother,* strait.  
*VW*hen out; the door he opening wide,  
Beckons the Kittins a to side.  
Suspecting nought, they follow; whom  
He leads into a Drawling Room,  
Which was a neat convenient place  
Contriv'd just under the stair-case.  
*VW*hen seeing his advantage pat,  
He snickles up the Eldest Cat.  
While the rest wonder what the man ment,  
Esteeming this course Entertainment,  
He hits me one full on the Sconce  
With a *Battoon* made for the nonce.  
So well the blow fie re-inforc'd  
That *Puss* must needs give up the Ghost;  
Had her nine Lives been twenty one  
Her Lease was now not worth a bone.  
In *fine,* he kill'd the other lastly,  
Though the poor Creature look't most Gastly.

*Cho.* *O Ruthfull Act!* -

*Nun.* 'Twas sad indeed:  
But sadder that which did succeed.

*Cho.* Can there be worse then this is still?
Nun. Yes, this is but a Peccadill.

Cho. Did he for Hawks-meat keep the Carren?
Or hang 'em up in the next Warren.

Nun. Would it had been as you have said.
No: he insulted o're the dead.
And in a strain most furious,
Spoke thus to each deceased Puss.
Butchers are scarce, and dear their Meat:
You'l make a most obleiging Treat.
Delitious Diet, oh how rare!
Then reckons up his Bill of Fare.
This shall a roasted Coný be.
And this shall make a Fricasee.
And thou, quoth he, that there dost lye,
Shal' make an excellent Hare-Pye.
Briefly, he cook'd 'em: lay'd the Cloath:
Then serv'd them in; but first some broth,
And now Thyestes ( oh sad thought!) Eats his own Cats, suspecting nought.
Methinks 'tis very dark; I think
I'de best go in and light a Link.

Exit.

CHORUS.

Noble Don John of Arles,
What is it does you thus displease.
What makes you hide behind a Cloud
That pretty Face, as if grown proud?
Has some Star-Gazer wrong'd your Fame,
Using, to Vouch a Lye, your Name?
And we who hate their Impudence
Are punisht thus for their Offence?
'Tis a sad thing, and to be pitty'd,
That where a Felony's committed,
A Jury of Albumazars
Find Bill vera of the Stars,
As Accessarys, scilicet
By knowing and concealing it.
Nay some there are who in their writing
Pronounce 'em guilty by inciting,
If any miss a Ring or Spoon
Strait these examine Mistress Moon,
As Queen of Nimmers, or what's worse,
Executrix of Moll Cut-Purse.

Never was Bull so bated as is
Taurus by these well-willing Asses.
The Twins cannot imbrace in quiet,
Nor do that thing which they don't pry at.
Cancer hath been so teaz'd, and took up,
That he starts back if they but look up.
Virgo they ve so abus'd, they force her
To loose her Name, and take a Coarser.
For who can think her Chast, with whom
Men so familiar are become?
And in the like abusive fashion
They vex each Star, and Constellation.
Leo can't fright 'em from it, no
Nor Saggitare nor Scorpio:
But still with their Impertinencys
They fret the Stars out of their sences.
Yet must these Almanack Scribbellers
Be to the Planets thought Well-willers.
So Pedagogues that flee the Bum,
In that do the Boy's Friends become.

ACT. 5.

Atreus Solus.

So: Now I ve taken a Revenge
Will be as Famous as Stone-Henge.
Succeeding Ages will scarce credit
What I have done, when they shall read it:
How kindly I did circumvent,
And treat him in a Punishment;
Yet gin't him too as home and fully
As ever Whore gave Clap to Bully.
To feast my Guest with his own Cat,
Is Paramount Revenge, that's flat.
But still to mak't more Tragical,
Thyestes at my feet shall fall;
Dead drunk with double lanted Ale,
In which I le scrape my left Thumb nail.  
Right: that will make a charming potion. 
See where he comes to meet the motion, 
Singing Old Rose, and Jovial Ca'ches. 
But I le retire a while; and watch his 
Leasure, without like a poor body, 
Least I disturb the sweet Melody. 

Exit.

Enter Thyestes, Singing.

Thyes. Come lay by your Care, and- No, no, 
That's not the Key, I am too low. 
Try once more- Come lay by your Care 
And hang up your sorrow- I there! 
What follows? oh- Drink on, he's a Sot 
That er'e thinks of to morrow - What, 
Is fore-cast bad? and is it naught 
To drink a health to one's good Thought? 
Me-thinks this Song is too too Frolick; 
I le try one that's more Melancholick. 
Beneath a Mirtle shade - But mum; 
For now my Tears begin to come. 
And whosoever dares engage her, 
I le weep with Maudlin for a Wager.

Enter Atreus.

Atr. Brother, how is't? 

Thy. Thank ye, good Brother. 
Pray how comes all this smoak & smother?

Atr. Smoak? where? 

Thy. Why all about the Room. 
Ten Chimny's can't make such a Fume. 
Look where it rises at your Feet. 
It makes my Eyes run or'e to see't.

Atr. (aside.) See, see, how the poor Baby cry's. 
Sure 'tis the Ale works through his Eyes. 
'Tis even so, the sottish Drinker 
Is got as Fudled as a Tinker. 
But that sha'nt serve: I le make him er'e 
I've done, as drunk as any Bear. - 
Brother, my Wife desires to be 
Remember'd to you, and de'e see;
Has sent you here a merry Wasail,
Which is as good as she, or as Ale
Cou'd make. A tast of Love she ment it,
And therefore Kist the Cup, and sent it;
You understand me?

Thy. Very well.
Thy Wife's an honest Doxy-Dell -
Without all doubt, this cunning Gipsy.

aside

Longs for once more, or I am tipsy-
Give me the Bowl- ( drinks ) -Now tell the Queen
All's off; and shee'l know what I mean. / [137]
And hark ye. Tell her that I greet her
Kindly, and will not fail to meet her.

Atr. Good. -

Thy. Hark ye, Brother, does your Room
Here, learn to dance? So I presume:
It turns upon the Toe so smoothly,
And quick withall, I tell you soothly,
It makes me giddy with its wheeling!
Motion, and sets me to a Reeling-

Atr. Reeling, that's my Cue. Now I may
Discover the Intrigue o'th' Play.
Since in that door the Wind is got,
'Tis time to reconcile the Plot.
How do you like your Cats my Friend?

Thy. Well; but I dare not much commend
For fear you steal 'em; nor is this same
Fear vain and Pannique, for I miss'em. / [138]

Atr. 'Las they've miscarri'd all to day,
Some hang'd, some drown'd, as one may say
And 'cause they should not basely fall,
'Twas I, dear heart, that kill'd 'em all.

Thy. Was this done like a loving Brother?
Or like a Friend? Sure neither nother.
But let that pass. I'l break my Curses-
Their skins will make me three good purses
I'l goe and flea 'em.

Atr. But the Jest is
You 'ave dined upon'em, dear Thyestes.
And I both Butcher was, and Cook
To serve you Sir.

Thy. Now I could puke-
O Cuckold Cook to Treat me thus!
O hated Hang-dog to hang Puss!
O Son of an old rotten Whore!
In fine - I'lle sleep and tell you more.

Lies down.

Atr. Io, Victoria! now at last
By me, and Fortune thou art cast.
Lye there. Such Victories as these are
Will swell me up as big as Caesar:
When the High Germans be bumbasted.
Less Triumph and content be tasted.
Even now, since thus my Brother fell,
I seem as tall as a High Constable.

FINIS.
Thus, Readers, have ye seen Thyestes Feast,
Both as a History, and as a Jest:
The substance and the shadow of the Play.
No doubt you are great Judges now—Faith say
Which Diet likes ye best, as 'tis befor e ye?
Or which of these you think the truest Story?
Whether Heroique Fustian drest in Meeter,
Or Mimmick Farce in Jingling Rhime sounds sweeter?
Which raises most Concern, which most surprise,
No Plot, no Characters, or no Disguise?
Say what you please of Seneca, it is
All one to him whether you Clap or Hiss.
But know, th'applause which Stationers desire
Is not so much to praise a Muse as buy her.
What e re your Authors, or your Actors think,
Your Man of Trade admires not Claps, but Chink.
ERRATA

6. Page 34. l. 413. doe] doth.
8. Page 41. l. 500. till it I left] till it left.
14. Page 69. l. 834. can I tell] I tell.
17. Page 74. l. 928. Belt]
20. Page 89. l. 1141] his.
27. Page 105. l. 137. he]
30. Page 126. l. 447. Creature]
33. Epilogue. l. 2. and as a Jest] and a Jest.
JASPER HEYWOOD'S TRANSLATION OF SENeca'S THYESTES, WITH
PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO THE LATTER'S SIXTEENTH AND
SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY RECEPTION AND THE THEMES
OF TYRANNY, KINGSHIP AND REVENGE

2 VOLUMES: VOLUME TWO:
THE COMMENTARY

BEVERLEY JANE PUGH

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT FOR PHD CLASSICS.
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INTRODUCTION

English Senecas 1893-1997

This commentary forms part of the recent wave of attention to Senecan studies. It aims to explore the reception of Seneca's text of the *Thyestes* in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and was prompted in part by my interest in O'Keefe's analysis of Heywood's translation of three of Seneca's tragedies (1974), Daalder's modernised edition of Heywood's translation (1982), and Tarrant's commentary on Seneca's Latin text (1985). Since these three works have influenced my approach to Senecan studies, it is worth reviewing them briefly. O'Keefe thoroughly discusses Heywood's rendering of *Troas*, *Thyestes* and *Hercules Furens*. He offers a detailed account of Heywood's life; discussion of the availability of Senecan texts in England in 1559; comments on the poetic quality and accuracy of the translations and their possible impact on later literature; and an examination of Heywood's renderings as an illustration of the changing role of the translator. The *Thyestes* is afforded greater attention in the main body of O'Keefe's thesis than either *Troas* or *Hercules Furens*. The three chapters dedicated to the *Thyestes* consider the notes on dramatic thought that are offered in the Preface; and they consider the *Thyestes* as a translation, with particular attention being given to Heywood's phrasing.

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versification and poetic figures. He considers areas where Heywood has paid close attention to the Latin and instances where the English version of the Latin is poor. In an attempt to explain the latter, O'Keefe consults various Renaissance editions of Seneca, particularly that of Ascensius (1513). He also notes specific instances where Renaissance editions explain Heywood's interpretation of the Latin. Unfortunately, O'Keefe's understanding of the text of the *Thyestes*, in particular, is hindered by the utilisation of the Loeb text as his primary text source, and his failure to comprehend (in places) the meaning of Heywood's vocabulary. He does provide an interesting list of Seneca's Latin words and the English derivatives that Heywood uses and a further list of English words utilised by Heywood, that are now obsolete. The literary parallels to the *Thyestes* that are drawn by O'Keefe focus predominantly on the similarities that exist between the imagery of night and darkness in Seneca's text and Shakespeare's *Macbeth*, with no notable regard for further examples from vernacular drama. References to texts, whether literary or critical, are limited- O'Keefe alludes to *Mirror for Magistrates* and Heywood's *The Paradise of Dainty Devices* to illustrate the influence that the *Thyestes* exerted on contemporaneous literature and to account, in part, for the popularity of Heywood's translation; and to Thomas Nashe's Preface to Greene's *Menaphon* (1589) and he alludes to Francis Meres' *Palladis Tamia* (1598) to demonstrate the attention that Heywood received from his contemporaries.

Daalder's edition aids the reader who possesses no knowledge of Latin to appreciate Seneca's text, and offers a select number of succinct notes for the student who is studying the text as an example of Elizabethan translation. The annotations trace the most significant variations between Loeb's Latin and the texts that Heywood utilised; and record instances where Heywood has consulted certain Latin editions, in particular the Gryphius edition of
Seneca's *Tragoediae* (1541) and Ascensius' edition of Seneca's *Tragoediae* (1513). This modernised text develops the edition prepared by McIlwraith (1938)- there is an increase in the number of notes and the errors of the 1938 edition have been corrected. In the extensive Introduction, he focuses on Seneca and the historical and literary background of the Thyestean myth, the reasons for Seneca's popularity in the period, *Thyestes* as a Renaissance play, the similarities between the *Thyestes* and a select number of Shakespeare's plays (for example, *Macbeth*, *Hamlet* and *Othello*), biographical details of Heywood's life, the merits of Heywood's translation; and, in the Appendix, the Latin texts that Heywood may have consulted. In the Introduction the discussion does not centre on specialised literature for there are only passing references to Marston's plays as a canon, Sackville's and Norton's *Gorboduc* and Hughes' *The Misfortunes of Arthur*. The commentary continues the Introduction's emphasis on Shakespearean drama- the annotations include references primarily to *Macbeth* and *Richard II*. There are however, scant allusions to plays by Marlowe and Marston- *Edward II* and *The Jew of Malta*, and *The Malcontent* respectively. Daalder may have concentrated his attention on the citation of Shakespeare's plays because of the controversy which surrounds the parallels between the two dramatists. There is though, a noticeable lack of allusion to *Titus Andronicus*, perhaps the most obviously 'Thyestean' play of Shakespeare. The modernisation does not recreate the form of the printed text of the 1560 edition- for example, Daalder reproduces the fourteener in full as in the 1581 edition and not in the eight plus six syllable lines of the 1560 edition; he concentrates the title of the speaker to the centre of the page; in certain places, he alters the punctuation of Heywood's translation; and, he highlights Heywood's comment on the action by the introduction of the term *s.d.* (the only stage directions that are present in the modernisation are those of the 1560
edition). In fairness, Daalder made these adjustments in order to make the text appear more intelligible and usable.

Tarrant's admirable commentary serves as an aid to the aspiring Latinist whose knowledge of Seneca may be minimal. Thus, in the Introduction detailed analysis of the stylistic features of Seneca's plays is relatively slight; and greater emphasis is placed on discussion of Seneca's life, and on his tragedies, with attention to background, date, performance, metre, myth, their importance in literature and their publication history. It could be suggested that the meagre nature of the stylistic section is due to the complex nature of Seneca's style. The important element of the Stoic hue of the drama receives scant attention in Tarrant. The section on the later history of the tragedies centres on Seneca's popularity in the sixteenth century- here, he briefly explores the reasons for this and the influence that Seneca exerted on the literature of the period. Tarrant's conclusion fails to acknowledge the full extent of Seneca's contribution- he accentuates the role of Seneca's dramatic verse, giving meagre attention to the direct echoes of Senecan lines that appear in dramatists such as Kyd and Marlowe. However, the most significant borrowings are recorded, without ensnaring the student in detailed literary criticism. In the main body of the commentary, he does make useful reference to lines in Shakespeare's plays which bear similarity to particular lines of the Thyestes - with Richard II, Antony and Cleopatra, Macbeth and Hamlet receiving greatest attention. The focus rests on lines that reproduce Seneca's intensity of language and engrossing imagery. Tarrant does offer bibliographical details where discussion is meagre. However, he is careful to limit his references to non-specialised literature. Brief allusion is made to the translation history of Seneca's plays in the sixteenth century- with no definite reference to Heywood's version. He views the translations as
an expression of the reception Seneca received from the Elizabethans but does not offer an analysis of their merits or shortcomings.

It can be seen from the foregoing analysis of these central works of English Senecan criticism that a wider approach, taking into account sources other than the purely literary, might be able to supplement the relatively narrow foci of O'Keefe, Daalder and Tarrant. Hence this thesis also takes visual sources in conjunction with the textual ones in order to present a more fully contexted picture of the changing, but consistently popular, appeal of the *Thyestes* to English dramatists, audiences, educators and savants in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Scholarly attention from the nineteenth century onwards has been divided on the issue of Seneca's influence in modelling Renaissance tragedy. J.W. Cunliffe's *The Influence of Seneca on Elizabethan Tragedy* (1893, reprinted 1965) is perhaps the most widely discussed of a number of works dealing with this subject. Criticism of Cunliffe's book focuses on his emphasis on verbal echoes as a definitive illustration of Seneca's instrumental shaping of Renaissance tragedy. The lack of contextual discussion coupled with Cunliffe's concentration on the presence of parallel passages in Hughes' minor play, *The Misfortunes of Arthur*, means that his hypothesis is not conclusively proven. This is not to deny Cunliffe's consideration of a selection of other plays by dramatists such as Kyd, Jonson, Chapman, Marston, Marlowe, Massinger, Ford, Greene, Tourneur, Fletcher, Webster and Shakespeare. It becomes clear as the work progresses that Hughes' play receives a high level of attention because Cunliffe felt that it marked a development in the quality of the literature of the period. Seneca's *Thyestes* is considered alongside *Troas*, *Agamemnon*, *Hippolytus*, *Octavia* and *Oedipus*. Discussion of the

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2Cunliffe, J.W., (1965) [facsimile of 1893], *The Influence of Seneca on Elizabethan Tragedy* (Hamden, Conn.).
influence of the *Thyestes* centres on examples in Renaissance dramatists of the reproduction of rhetorical dialogue, Stoical fatalism, the mode of expression and thought contained in the Messenger speech, the Thyestean cannibalistic feast, descriptions of rural scenery, and the presentation of evil and revenge. Although, the work contains numerous passing references to literary parallels to the *Thyestes*, Shakespeare's *Titus Andronicus* and Jonson's *Sejanus: his fall* are awarded a higher level of recognition. The influence of the *Thyestes* as a Latin text is noted in Appendix 1 where Cunliffe cites instances in Marlowe's *Edward II*, and Marston's *Antonio and Mellida*, *The Malcontent* and *The Fawn* where Seneca's lines have been quoted.

Cunliffe's attempt to establish the indisputable nature of Seneca's influence was developed by the work of Lucas, Eliot and Charlton. However, Lucas in his *Seneca and Elizabethan Tragedy* (1922) finds many of the Shakespearean parallels cited by Cunliffe to be mere coincidence. Lucas argues that the borrowings from Seneca that are found in Chapman and Marston are a stronger illustration of direct influence. He broadens the scope of literature under discussion—there is reference to vernacular plays such as *Gorboduc*, *Tancred and Gismund*, *The Misfortunes of Arthur*, the four monarchic tragedies of William Alexander, *The Spanish Tragedy*, *Titus Andronicus*, *Macbeth*, *Antonio and Mellida*, *The Revenge of Bussy d'Ambois*; brief allusion to the contemporaneous interest in translating Seneca into English; and scant consideration of neo-Latin plays such as William Alabaster's *Roxana*.

Eliot (1932) explores the issue of Seneca's influence in three ways—through examination of popular Elizabethan tragedy, Senecan drama and

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the two Roman tragedies of Ben Jonson. He aims to review the arguments concerning Seneca's moulding of horror in Elizabethan drama, of rhetorical expression and of thought without intricate reference to any particular play. His essay attempts to determine whether the translations of Seneca extended the Roman playwright's influence or altered the Elizabethan appreciation of him. Thus, he deliberates whether dramatists were beholden to these translations. Eliot does consider the Elizabethan translation movement in its intellectual setting, with reference to the publication of the *Tenne Tragedies* (1581)- thus, there is a brief analysis of contemporaneous academic life, including texts for study and for performance within University colleges. The account, like that of Lucas, does not present a detailed evaluation of the *Thyestes*, either in Latin or in translation. There is however, a brief discussion of the meritorious rendering in English of the Messenger's speech in the *Thyestes*.

Charlton (re-issue 1946), like Cunliffe, presents a persuasive case for the immeasurable influence of Seneca on the drama of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The essay reveals the defining characteristics of the Senecan drama of England, France and Italy, and the gulf that exists between them. The argument proceeds with an examination of the charms of Senecan tragedy and their appeal for an early modern audience. In the final chapter, Charlton traces the steps of Seneca's entry into England and centres on his influence on the dramatist, Sir William Alexander. The vernacular dramas composed by George Buchanan, Ben Jonson, Thomas Kyd, John Marston and Thomas Sackville, together with William Alabaster's neo-Latin tragedy *Roxana* come under discussion. Apart from passing references, he dedicates five pages to an examination of Heywood's versions of Seneca's plays, including the *Thyestes*. Particular attention is given to the melodramatic scene that Heywood adds to the close of the tragedy. Discussion of the translations is linked to the
performance history of Seneca’s plays as an indication of the playwright’s popularity, and the translator’s alterations as a mark of the tendencies of a contemporaneous audience.

The attack on these persuasive works is primarily led by Baker (1939) and Hunter (1967). These scholars aim to destroy the ‘myth’ that Seneca shaped Renaissance tragedy. Thus, they analyse the structural, stylistic and thematic aspects of Senecan and Renaissance tragedy—focusing on, for example, the revenge theme, Chorus, five act structure, ghost and verbal echoes. Baker argues that the fiction surrounding Seneca’s influence is founded on the bias of Cunliffe’s thesis. He chiefly analyses Gorbovuc, The Spanish Tragedy, The Misfortunes of Arthur in an attempt to dispel this distortion. Examination of these plays reveals that the five act structure was probably derived from classical comedy, not from Seneca; that the rhetorical dialogue of the play could have been derived from a number of sources, including Seneca, metrical tragedy, the moral play and comedy; that the figure of the ghost, especially in the case of The Spanish Tragedy, bears only superficial resemblance to Seneca and more immediate similarity to The Mirror for Magistrates; that the Chorus and the Messenger can be of no fixed origin; that the revenge motive probably derived from classical stories of figures such as Dido; and that the sententiae possess a superficial closeness to Latin parallels. Thus, Baker proposes that the aspects of tragedy are not solely dependent on one influence, Senecan or otherwise. Reference to the Thyestes is limited to the discussion of the ghost and the cannibalistic feast. The former prompts a brief analysis of Heywood’s versions of the Troas and Thyestes, with the emphasis placed on the translator’s additions to the text—the creation of

the ghost of Achilles in Troas and the ghost of Seneca in the prologue to the Thyestes.

Hunter's discussion centres on the flaws in the arguments that are proposed by scholars such as Cunliffe and Charlton. He intends to present the competing influences on Renaissance tragedy in order to place Seneca's influence in a broader picture. Thus, he suggests (like Baker) that many of the elements in Renaissance tragedy (for example, sententiae and, the rule of fate and fortune) have been wrongly labelled Senecan for they could equally be characteristic of indigenous medieval and Renaissance taste. The study also redresses the failure of previous works to address the extent of the guidance exercised by classical authors (such as Ovid) who rest outside the genre of tragedy. Hunter attempts to highlight the differences between Senecan and Renaissance drama by offering an analysis of the Roman dramatist's dramatic style and ethical position. The latter leads Hunter to concentrate on the distinction between Seneca as a Stoic and the Christian nature of Elizabethan society. He argues that this difference has not been awarded the significance it merits to demonstrate the fascination of Seneca for the Elizabethans and their inability to emulate him. The literature under consideration is relatively wide in scope, including vernacular and neo-Latin drama, works of literary criticism and the translations of Seneca. Vernacular drama, in particular The Spanish Tragedy and Titus Andronicus, receives the highest level of attention. Discussion of the translation movement is slight and there is only a brief reference to Heywood's version of the Thyestes.

The selection of works that follows represents a handful of scholarly studies, published between 1959 and 1994, which deal with the issue of Seneca's transmission and influence. I felt that these would serve as a useful guide for developing a background knowledge for many of the ideas raised in the thesis. An account of the use of classical quotations in
Renaissance English tragedy is offered by E.M.Richmond-Garza in Forgotten Cites/ Sights: Interpretation and the Power of Classical Citation in Renaissance English Tragedy (1994); of Stoicism is presented in R.M.Wenley's Stoicism and its Influence (1963), G.D.Monsarrat's Light from the Porch: Stoicism and English Renaissance Literature (1984), T.G. Miles' Untir'd Spirits and Formal Constancy: Shakespeare's Roman plays and the Stoic Tradition (1987), A.Chew's Stoicism in Renaissance English Literature: an introduction (1988); of anger is provided by G.Braden in Renaissance Tragedy and the Senecan Tradition: anger's privilege (1985); of tyranny and kingship is supplied in R.W.Bushnell's Tragedies of Tyrants (1990); of stage productions of Seneca is produced by Smith in the article entitled 'Toward the Rediscovery of Tragedy: Productions of Seneca's Plays on the English Renaissance Stage' (Renaissance Drama IX 1978); of revenge is contributed by F.T.Bowers in Elizabethan Revenge Tragedy 1587-1642 (1959) and by C.A.Hallett and E.S.Hallett in The Revenger's Madness: A Study of Revenge Tragedy Motifs (1980); and of neo-Latin literature is proffered in Binn's essay 'Seneca and Neo-Latin Tragedy in England' (ed. C.D.N.Costa 1974). It is hoped that this section of the Introduction will demonstrate the lack of specific attention to the Thyestes in this period. O'Keefe, Daalder and Tarrant are the only scholars to present a detailed examination in these years of Seneca's play.

A discussion of the recent studies in Senecan scholarship cannot close without reference to D. Robin's article 'Film Theory and the Gendered Voice in Seneca' (1993), or to A.J. Boyle's *Tragic Seneca: An Essay in the Theatrical Tradition* (1997), and to the current translation movement. Robin shows that Seneca can still be fodder for the cutting edge of theoretically informed scholarship, and that studies of him need not be confined to the purely textual. This article is important because it forms part of a recent wave of attention in scholarly circles to resolve the conflicts (and, indeed, links) between Classics and feminism. Robin uses film theory to examine the role of gender in Seneca's plays, with principal attention given to *Medea* and *Oedipus*. Perhaps unsurprisingly the *Thyestes* receives minimal consideration - comment is confined to the play's relationship to contemporary events. Robin argues that Seneca and the classic Hollywood films of the 1940s explore the place of the feminine in order to replicate the male dominance that permeated their respective societies. The article suggests that the female voice is employed in these two mediums as an emblem of irrationality and weakness. This is illustrated by reference to Seneca's *Agamemnon, Oedipus* and *Troades*; and to the films *The Spiral Staircase* and *The Lady in the Dark*. The physical and moral weakness of the female is depicted in these sources by the use of a male figure to interpret 'her' ramblings and visual fantasies - for example, Tiresias makes sense of Manto's ramblings in *Oedipus*. Robin proceeds to explore the issue of the repression of the female voice further by examining the role of the male voice-over in film. In conclusion, the article proposes that the representation of the voice in

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Seneca and Hollywood films has become an emblem of a character's sexuality.

This commentary aims to develop the reawakening of an interest in a much neglected play signalled by Boyle's study. He considers the Latin text of the Thyestes in more detail than the other plays in the Senecan canon. The Latin text of the Thyestes is discussed at regular intervals, in particular with regard to its influence on the presentation of anger, revenge and the ghost in Elizabethan and Jacobean tragedy. Reference to the Heywood's translation of the Thyestes is limited—examination of the influence of the Senecan ghost prompts an analysis of Heywood's creation in his Preface of the ghost of Seneca; and consideration of the plurality of revengers in Renaissance tragedy leads to comment on Heywood's addition of a further scene. Boyle's book aims through a textual analysis of Senecan tragedy to reaffirm Seneca's importance in the Renaissance tradition. Although he adopts the flexible approach of recent Senecan studies, his aim is not to reproduce previous scholarship but to develop an understanding of Senecanism in Renaissance drama. Part One focuses on Senecan tragedy with an account of his rhetorical style, depiction of the psychological processes of the characters and sense of theatricality. Part Two is dedicated to an examination in three chapters of Seneca's relationship with the Italian, English and French drama of the Renaissance. Central attention is given to English Renaissance drama, with consideration of dramatic conventions, style, themes and metatheatre. Thus, he discusses the citation of Senecan lines, the remodelling of Senecan speeches and the influence of Seneca's use of the five act structure, archetypal examples of revenge, the ghost, the Chorus, presentations of passion and reason, rhetorical devices, depictions of violence and horror, and the themes of kingship and tyranny. The plays consulted are largely from the genre of tragedy with passing reference to
tragicomedy and comedy. Shakespeare's *Titus Andronicus*, *Macbeth* and *Hamlet*; Marston's *Antonio and Mellida* and *Antonio's Revenge*; Chapman's *The Revenge of Bussy d'Ambois*; Kyd's *The Spanish Tragedy*; Tourneur's *The Revenger's Tragedy* and *The Atheist's Tragedy*; and Jonson's *Sejanus: his fall* and *Catiline* are the main texts from the vernacular under consideration. Boyle briefly alludes to neo-Latin drama, with specific attention to Alabaster's *Roxana* and Gwinne's *Nero*.

Consideration of the contemporary translation movement offers a different insight into current thought on Senecan tragedy, and the continuing resonance of Seneca's texts for poets, playwrights and scholars. Ted Hughes' version of *Oedipus* (1969), D.R. Slavitt's translation (1992) of the canon of Senecan tragedy and Caryl Churchill's (1995) rendering of the *Thyestes* into English are the most notable. The Introduction to Hughes' adaptation attests to the faithful nature of his translation and reveals that the poet has made few additions to the text. The alterations are limited to changes to a handful of Jocasta's speeches and the final Choral ode. It is also worth considering briefly the first dramatic production at the Old Vic of Hughes' modern English version (19th March 1968). The performance is testimony to the relevance of the play to the twentieth century and to the timeless theatrical intensity of the drama. The directorial treatment of the adaptation manifests the internal power of the story. Peter Brook, the director, restricted the movement of the actors and introduced musical accompaniments, and set the play in an unspecific, almost generic, ancient culture. This divorce of the play from its original Roman context emphasised the universal applicability of Seneca's grim morality.

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8 see Hughes, ibid.: p.8.
In the Preface to his translation of *Thyestes*, Slavitt reveals that he created readable speeches reflecting the dramatic hue of the tragedy. Churchill's version stays relatively close to the Latin. The only significant alteration to the text is the shortening of certain Choral passages— for example, Chorus four. She suggests that her translation, like that of Heywood, utilises vocabulary characteristic of the age in which the version is made. The comprehensive Introduction offered by Churchill includes excerpts from Heywood's translation and comment on his merit as a translator; and a discussion of Seneca's influence on Elizabethan tragedy, with particular attention to Shakespeare. It seems appropriate to ask why the author of plays such as *Cloud Nine* (Royal Court 1979), *Softcops* (The Pit 1984), *Serious Money* (Wyndhams 1987) and *The Skriker* (Royal National Theatre 1994) should have turned her attention to this particular play. The aspects of Seneca's tragedy highlighted in Churchill's Introduction reveal the play's attraction for herself and the modern audience— the ghost, the Fury, the revenge theme, the depiction of horrific events, and the presentation of reactions to the prospect of drought and the ending of the world. These pointers prompt thoughts of reports from the Sudan, Rwanda and Ethiopia; news reports of the recent case of the violence of the Fred and Rosemary West family; and the violent movies of Tarrantino such as *Reservoir Dogs* and *Pulp Fiction*. In addition, Alastair Macaulay (*Financial Times* 11th June 1994) suggests that the translation was prompted by her interest in the macabre and subjects that evade conventional drama, and Michael Coveney (*The Observer* 12th June 1994) proposes that it was due to her fascination with sibling rivalry. The seventy minute production of Churchill's translation at the Royal Court Theatre Upstairs on 7th June 1994 reflects the current interest in Seneca's tragedy and its relevance to our times. In James McDonald's modern dress production three monitors transmitted to the audience the
off-stage action, and the sound of gurgling water running through a pipe
interrupts the action. I agree with Michael Coveney's (as above) comment
that Churchill's translation has helped to restore Seneca to his rightful
place on the modern stage.

Sources and Context

This brief analysis of the leading works in Senecan scholarship reveals
that the cultural fall-out of Seneca's *Thyestes* has often depended on a
limited and canonical range of textual sources. This evidence is commonly
restricted to literary texts but in this thesis a conscious effort has been
made to integrate visual material. For the early modern period, an age
which was more visually attuned than our own, the power and meaning
of images needs to be considered in any discussion of the reception of
classical texts. Thus, I present hitherto unpublished texts and images- MS
Sloane 1041 (c.1580) which specifies the directions for painting a table, in
which the figures of Queen Elizabeth and Sir Nicholas Bacon (unnamed
in the manuscript), the Lord Keeper, appear alongside various
mythological and allegorical figures; and material that has formerly
received negligible attention- the Hendrik Goltzius' engraving of
Melpomene with its attached inscription (1592). As a supplement to my
discussion of the visual material, I will examine the final filtering down of
the influence of the *Thyestes* with its final manifestation in popular
culture- John Wright's *Mock-Thyestes* in burlesque (1674).9 This emphasis
on the visual aspect forms an important and neglected sidelight on the
status of the play. It reveals the means by which the texts are informing
the image and narration, and reinforces the place of the culture of the

9MS Sloane 1041, f.8r (unpublished); Strauss, W.L., (ed.1982), *The Illustrated
Bartsch: Netherlands Artists: Hendrik Goltzius* (N.Y.): p.141; Wright, J.,
(1674), *Thyestes: A Tragedy, translated out of Seneca to which is added
Mock-Thyestes in Burlesque* (London): hereafter often referred to as *MT*. 

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Senecan play within the Renaissance. The details highlighted in the sources, in particular MS Sloane 1041, frame the audience's view of the play and the dramatis personae- focusing on the emblems of the royal status of the principal characters and the evil nature of the protagonist.

MS Sloane 1041 (now in the British Museum), together with the Hendrik Goltzius engraving, suggests the theatrical performance of Seneca's Thyestes in a manner which has not been shown in previous publications. The details of costumes, settings, props and stage directions that are presented in the description of the Thyestes in the unpublished and undated Sloane manuscript imply either that the writer has seen a production of the Thyestes or that he envisions such a visually rich production. It is possible that the account may have been prompted by the production of Heywood's translation of the Thyestes (1560) in the same year. Unfortunately, the records of performance for this period are limited and are largely restricted to chronological accounts offered by scholars such as Kawachi (1986). In my opinion, the directions for the painting of the Lord Keeper and Queen Elizabeth in the table strongly suggest that the description was drawn up for decoration of the Bacon family home at Gorhambury, Hertfordshire (construction was started in 1563 and was completed in 1568). This hypothesis is supported by the fact that Sir Nicholas Bacon (1509-79) received the post of the Lord Keeper on 22nd December 1558. Evidence for dating the details of the table and justifying the representation of the Queen in the painting can be seen to be provided by Sir Nicholas' instructions for the decoration of a gallery (1576) at Gorhambury in honour of the Queen's visit in May 1577. The intention of the table to signify the dangerous schemes of traitors could be interpreted,

given the association of the painting with Gorhambury, as a visual emblem of Sir Nicholas' concern with the internal disorders of the country which had been caused by Mary Stuart. His awareness of the dangers posed by the Catholic sovereign are mirrored in his speeches on 15th December 1559 and at the opening of Parliament in 1563, and in his written answer to John Hales' declaration of succession.

Specific reference in the inscription attached to Goltzius' Melpomene engraving to the elevated style of the _Thyestes_ together with allusions to significant tragic figures such as Electra and Hercules Oetaeus suggests the importance of the visual experience of the theatrical performance and, more significantly, the popularity of the play. Enquiries at several libraries have not enabled me to trace the author of the verses, Franco Estius. A brief biographical profile of Goltzius, the Dutch painter and engraver, will complement the discussion of the engraving. He was born at Mülbrecth in 1558 and died in Haarlem in 1617. His father, Johann Goltzius, taught him the rudiments of art and Dirk Cuerehert instructed him in engraving. The engravings that he made on his travels through Germany to Italy were modelled after Raphael and Michelangelo; in Italy he fostered a style founded on classicism and scholasticism; and the plates that he produced in Haarlem were engraved from the Flemish and Dutch masters. His nine plates of the Muses (1592) were a subject of Goltzius' own design and are held amongst his primary plates. Although, it does not advance the present argument it is interesting to observe that a similar woodcut of Melpomene (minus the inscription) appears in Thomas Powell's edition of John Heywood's allegory of _The Spider and the Fie_ (1556).

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12 see (ed.) Turner, J., (1996), _The Dictionary of Art_ (Macmillan Publishers Limited) for Goltzius' life and career[for biographical details see body of commentary].
Restoration: Wright

The examination of the visual culture surrounding the Thyestes is made stronger by an analysis of Wright's burlesque. The afterlife of the Thyestes story is traced to the Restoration period and the playwright John Wright's double edition of a new translation in heroic couplets and an original burlesque of the story, also in rhyme. Using the satiric mode of the later, more libertine era, Wright can be seen to rely on his audience's familiarity with the classical story—both the plot and characters of Seneca's original and the language of high tragedy are ruthlessly undermined and debased in a pastiche of meticulous accuracy. The principal reason for juxtaposing the Restoration text with the Renaissance translation is the second wave of translations in the Restoration and the interrelationship between the popular drama of the 1630s and 1660s onwards. In the period of the Interregnum, a small number of neat verse translations of Seneca's tragedies were produced, although the Thyestes is not represented among them—Edward Sherburne's translation of Seneca's Medea was published in 1648, in 1651 Edmund Prestwich's rendering of the Hippolytus appeared and in 1660 Samuel Fordage produced a version of the Troades. In the Restoration, John Wright's translation of the Thyestes (1674) appeared alongside Edward Sherburne's translation of Seneca's Troades (1679) and John Talbot's version of the same play (1686), and Sherburne's rendering of the Hippolytus in 1700. This outbreak of Senecan translations together with the fashion for burlesques of classical legends was a probable result of the French influence on the court of Charles II. The new joke presented in Scarron's travesty of Virgil (published between 1648 and 1652) was quickly accepted in England for in 1664 Charles Cotton
produced his *Scarronides: or Virgile Travestie*. Although this is not a direct translation of Scarron's text, it was obviously influential in modelling Cotton's classical travesty and the following flow of burlesques of the works of Seneca, Homer, Ovid and Lucian.

England's connection with France had been cemented with the marriage (1625) of Charles I to Henrietta Maria, the sister of King Louis XIII; and the relationship between the two countries was furthered under Charles II with The Treaty of Dover (1670), in which France promised military and financial aid to its ally in return for the English King's adhesion to the Roman Catholic religion.¹³ A full analysis of Court literature between 1630 and 1640 is outside the conspectus of this thesis, but even a perfunctory examination reveals clearly the importance of the French background and religion of Charles' Queen in shaping the cultural life of the Court. Her influence in fashioning the masques and plays of the Caroline Court is analysed by Veevers (1989).¹⁴ Veevers' study does not consider her role in fashioning the burlesque but addresses the relationship between the Queen's religion and the arts. This leads to a detailed analysis of the influence of her belief in Platonic love in the form of French Devout Humanism, and her versions of *préciositè* and *honnêteté* in shaping the drama written for the Court.¹⁵ The role of the latter in the Court's cultural life was primarily social, although these themes did have adequate connections with Catholicism. Platonic love had more substantial links with Catholicism because the Neoplatonic concepts of beauty and love were fostered by the cult of the Virgin Mary


¹⁵ibid.: pp.48-58 for discussion of Platonic love, and pp.65-73 for an analysis of *préciositè* and *honnêteté*. 

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after the Counter-Reformation. The Queen's ideal of Platonic love formed
the central feature of Cartwright's *The Royal Slave* (1636) and Davenant's
*The Fair Favourite* (1638). This grouping also displays the elements of
préciosité and honnêteté which encouraged a modest form of feminism.
These ideals are fostered by the Queen in *The Royal Slave* - in the play,
she protects the rights of women by demanding that the level of freedom
enjoyed by men should be afforded to women. The wider implications of
feminism, commonly centring on the character of the Queen in the
dramas, made possible the debate of contemporary issues, particularly
political conventions. Thus, the elite patronage of Henrietta Maria
provided a frame of reference for dramatists in which they could explore
an understanding of feminism, moral questions, and especially the ideals
of power and authority; a frame of reference in which the *Thyestes* may be
seen to fit.

**The Underrated Drama of the 1630s**

A discussion of the undervalued drama of the 1630s onwards
demonstrates the fascination with presentations of tyranny and kingship
in tragedy, the ability of the contemporaneous political situation to shape a
society's dramatic products, and the continued appeal of these concepts in
the periods surrounding the publication of the texts of the *Thyestes* of
Wright and John Crowne (Drury Lane Theatre, 1680). The motifs of
tyannical kingship and regicide are freely used to reveal the weaknesses
underlying Charles I's period of personal rule, in which he failed to
acknowledge the wishes of his people and his accountability for his
actions; and to explore alternative types of government.16 The emphasis
in drama on the political perplexity surrounding kingship is particularly

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16cf. Butler, M., (1984), Theatre and Crisis (Cambridge) for a study of
English theatre in the years leading to the Civil War.
significant with regard to the question of regicide which dominated the period. On 27th January 1649 the jurisdiction of the Court at Westminster sentenced Charles I to death for innumerable and previously unheard-of crimes and on 30th January he was executed on the scaffolding at the Whitehall Banqueting Hall.

Discussion of alternative forms of government features in Richard Brome's Queen and Concubine (c.1636). The figure of the Queen is employed to challenge the oppressive form of rule represented by the King and his mistress, Alinda. In the course of the play, the King is made to admit his errors and confess that his autocratic rule has been built on his own fallibility; and the Queen and her supporters strive to reconstruct a democratic form of government. The symbol of adultery is central to the political message for it is used as an emblem for corruption within the state and the absence of stable government.

Further questions about the nature of kingship are generated in William Cartwright's The Royal Slave (1636). The elevation of the fictional character of the slave Cratander to the position of mock-King for three days reveals that learning is one of the prime requisites for a kingly character. It seems clear that Cratander is meant to serve as a measure against which Kings can assess their merits.

The problem of kingship also forms the focus of Courtier plays (1637-42). In Davenant's The Fair Favourite (1638) discussion centres on the opposing forces of the public and private self of a ruler. The romantic emblem, as in Brome's play, is endowed with political significance. The King is shown to be wrought with tension because he is torn between his wife and his desire for his first love. Although the intention of the play is obscure, it is relatively clear that Davenant is warning of the dangers of a King whose personal wishes are in contrast to the welfare of the state. A desire to reaffirm Charles I's power shapes Denham's The Sophy (1642),
in which the extreme demands for patriarchal authority are shown to have destroyed the essence of a King's potency as a ruler. The political message of the play teaches that a rightful King's strength lies in his friendship with his subjects. It would appear that the plays produced between 1630 and 1642 were mirroring the political needs of their society.

Crowne's *Thyestes* and its Political Context

The melancholic view of royal power presented in Seneca's *Thyestes* mirrored contemporaneous feelings for Wright and Crowne of political unease. An analysis of the historical and political events surrounding Wright's and Crowne's fascination with the gruesome tale may throw some light on the possible political rationale behind their choice of text. The year 1674 marked a dividing line in the history of the reign of Charles II. A deep gulf existed between the Roman Catholic atmosphere of the Court and the anti-papal fury of the Parliament. At the same time the King's period of personal rule ended in failure. The Dutch wars (1660-74) and the pro-French policy of the King had yielded little benefit. The attempts to draw the King from his Catholicising tendencies, to gain public approval for his foreign policy, to address the problem of the country's finances and to maintain a patriotic programme were all in vain and civil war was narrowly avoided.

Dramatists moved from commemorating the restoration of authority to considering the difficulties inherent in the application and character of power. Thus, Wright produced his translation and burlesque alongside William Joyner's Senecan tragedy *The Roman Empress* (King's, August 1670), Elkanah Settle's *Cambyses, King of Persia* (Duke's, January 1671) and Nathaniel Lee's *The Tragedy of Nero, Emperor of Rome* (King's, by May 1674). The focus of Joyner's tragedy is the topical subject of civil war and the ability of political disarray to cause moral chaos; Settle
concentrates on the issue of the rightful ruler and the very nature of power; and Lee's play continues the dramatic analysis of authority.

At the close of 1679, Charles' illness had focused attention on his successor and early in 1680 James was recalled. This provoked uncertainty and fear which is echoed in the works of the dramatists such as Crowne. His *The Misery of Civil-War* (Duke's, December 1679/January 1680) together with his translation of the *Thyestes* reflect contemporary anxiety over the disturbances caused by the contemporary problem of succession, and the events leading up to the Monmouth Rebellion. Crowne's version is dominated by the images of the political consequences of uncertainty of knowledge, with specific attention to the qualities of kingship and the insecurity of a king's heir.

A brief analysis of Crowne's *Thyestes* is merited by the documented popularity of his text. He reproduces the basic details of Seneca's plot and a selection of Seneca's speeches. The alterations that are made to the text are dictated by the stage conventions and sensibilities of his time, and Crowne's ability to construct impressive set pieces. In the opening scene the dialogue between the Fury and the ghost of Tantalus is condensed and they appear to Atreus in a dream at the close of the act; Act two retains the Senecan image of the golden ram; in the following act Aerope is shown in prison and Thyestes emerges from his cave in the desert; and Act four presents the wedding of Antigone and Philisthenes and the murder of the bridegroom. The motif of the cannibalistic feast is retained, but instead of being reported by a Messenger it is enacted on stage. Thus, Crowne develops the female roles and the romantic interest. Significant alterations are made to the characters of the brothers— for example, in Seneca Atreus is innately evil, whereas Crowne presents Atreus as a loving brother whose

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character is tainted by Thyestes' depravity. Therefore, the character of the individual is portrayed as unstable, for the good Atreus becomes a tyrant and Thyestes, the rapist, becomes an honourable man. To contemporary audiences, the parallels between Seneca's royal brothers, and Charles II and the Duke of York must have seemed inescapable.

**Heywood, the translator and his texts**

It may be opportune before the main body of the commentary begins to offer a brief biographical outline of the translator, Jasper Heywood (1535-1598), with particular attention to his connections to the theatre of his day; and to the literary achievements of his family.18 His father was a well-known epigrammatist and dramatist John Heywood (c.1497-c.1580). The popularity of the productions of his interludes at Court, such as *Mery Play between the Pardoner and the Frere* (1533), *Mery Play between Johan the Husbande, Tyb the Wife, and Sir Jhan the Priest* (1533) and *Four P's* (c.1543), may account for the favour that Jasper's translations received. His father is said to have had connections with the playwrights Ferrers and Baldwin, a relationship which Jasper also enjoyed. It is worth remembering that Elizabeth Heywood, Jasper's only sister, was the mother of the Metaphysical poet, John Donne. These relationships suggest that Heywood's family was at the centre of the literary networks and relatively avant-garde for their time. Jasper was sent to Oxford in 1547, where he completed his B.A. in 1553 and his M.A. in 1558. His period at Gray's Inn (1561 onwards), after leaving All Souls, presented him with the opportunity to meet dramatists such as Christopher Yelverton. The friendship with contemporaneous dramatists is attested in William Webbe's *Discourse of English Poetrie* (1586). By 1562, he had entered the

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18Stephen, op.cit. for biographical details of the Heywood family.
priesthood and had joined the order of the Society of Jesus at Rome. This area of his life will offer little to augment our present discussion but it is of some interest. After two years of study during his stay in Rome, he moved to Dillingen in Bavaria to begin a teaching assignment. During this time he became involved in quarrels concerning usury. He was elected leader of the English Jesuit Mission in 1581 and on his return to England, after a period on the Continent, he was arrested (1583). Subsequently, he was sentenced to live in exile, initially in France and finally in Italy. Although it is not conclusive, it is significant to note that Heywood's renunciation of the world may be seen to parallel Thyestes' rejection of the earthly sphere in Heywood's addition to the text. [see II.1884-2007 of the text].

Before the close of this section, we should fleetingly consider the Latin texts of Seneca that Heywood may have consulted. Even though it is difficult to ascertain which texts he was translating from, it seems likely that the Gryphius text was the one followed by Heywood. The presence of this text in the libraries in London and Cambridge from 1541 dictated my decision to include an edition of Gryphius in Volume I.19 [for further discussion of Latin texts see II.85-6 of The Preface].

Conspectus of the Commentary

The commentary embraces a wider range of contemporaneous material, selected to locate the importance of this particular play in Seneca's reputation, than has appeared in previous publications in Senecan scholarship. The circumstances surrounding Seneca's resurgence in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries have been explored with reference to neglected contemporaneous educational matter such as lexicas and grammars, doctrinal treatises, philosophical essays, and literary and

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dramatic criticism across the period. Central criteria for determining Senecan influence are the parallels between Seneca's *Thyestes* and Wright's undervalued *MT*; the currency of the themes of tyranny, kingship and revenge; instances, in neo-Latin and the vernacular drama, of the remodelling of the Senecan motifs of the cannibalistic feast, violence, the retired life, marital infidelity, the ghost and the Messenger; and, examples, in prose publications and the drama, where Senecan lines have been cited in Latin locating key instances where playwrights have used the *Thyestes* in translation. The variety of dramatists and plays consulted is wider than in other scholarly works. Leading named dramatists of the vernacular are Thomas Hughes, George Chapman, John Marston, Richard Wilmot, Ben Jonson, Cyril Tourneur, Thomas Sackville and Thomas Norton, Elizabeth Cary and in Scotland, George Buchanan; of neo-Latin drama are William Alabaster, William Goldingham and Matthew Gwinne. Citations from the plays of Shakespeare have been limited to lines and passages of particular resonance in thematic context and as evidence of a Senecanising influence in their own right, with attention restricted to passing references to *Titus Andronicus*, *Macbeth*, *Hamlet*, *Romeo and Juliet*, *Henry V*, *3 Henry VI* and *Richard III*. Useful thematic comparisons with writers contemporary to Wright such as William Wycherley and George Etherege are included, with particular consideration of Wycherley's third and most popular play, *The Country Wife*. The examples offered by these playwrights of the comedy of manners reflect the ambiguity surrounding 'morality' after the demise of the Puritan regime. Thus, the vanity, hypocrisy and infidelity of the male and female characters depict the desire of Restoration comic dramatists to dispel the moral and social codes of a previous age.

The discussion of the neo-Latin texts does not develop new ideas, but the originality lies in the breadth of texts utilised and their integration into the
analysis of early modern drama alongside vernacular plays. The cross-references which appear in the commentary serve, not as an index, but as a helpful pointer to the reader for further examples of certain themes and motifs. A conscious effort has been made not to encroach upon Daalder's territory and thus, the thesis retreats from devoting time to explaining the totality of Heywood's translation. This in turn means that I have principally supplied a commentary on the Restoration burlesque in order to illuminate Heywood's translation. The commentary includes consideration of a number of contemporaneous translations of Seneca's tragedies, including a detailed account of the commonly disregarded versions of the second Chorus of the *Thyestes* by Sir Thomas Wyatt, Sir Matthew Hale, Abraham Cowley and Andrew Marvell.

The 1584 Gryphius edition of Seneca's *Thyestes*, the 1560 edition of Heywood's translation and Wright's Restoration translation with burlesque (1674) have been reproduced in Volume I, with the status of an Appendix and for the convenience of the reader. (See Introduction to the Texts for details of transcription). This is the first time that these texts have been brought together for comparison and discussion.

The commentary (Volume II) takes the form of a critical discussion of the Elizabethan *Thyestes*. It does not aim to duplicate Tarrant's line-by-line treatment of the Latin original (1985) but is a discursive treatment of *Thyestes*’ transmission, focusing on key lines of the translated text. The thesis is intended as an aid to those interested in cultural transmission and as a supplement to Daalder's edition of Heywood's edition of Heywood's text (1982).
Jasper Heywood reveals that he is sending his *little booke* (1.15) to John Mason as an expression of his gratitude for his patronage.

To the right honorable syr/ John Mason:

The details of the addressee given by Heywood in the lines of the address reveal that John Mason (1503-66) was a member of the Queen's Privy Council (commissioned in 1543). He was the Chancellor of the University of Oxford when Heywood dedicated *Thyestes* to him (1560). Heywood was affiliated to All Soul's College (see title-page), the college of which Mason had himself been a fellow (elected November 1558). Heywood dedicated his *Hercules Furens* to another member of the Queen's Privy Council- Sir William Herbert (1501?-70). The choice of dedicatee for *Hercules Furens* may have been determined by Herbert's political position and his association with literary circles- in particular the circle founded by Herbert's wife, the Countess of Pembroke, which placed a particular emphasis on the revival of Senecan drama. In the first fifteen years of Elizabeth I's reign the majority of books were dedicated to members of the Queen's Privy Council or to a leading noble- there are five recorded dedications to The Duke of Norfolk, his son, his Uncle and Sir

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20Ibid.: offers a detailed commentary on the *Epistle*, *The translatour to the book* and *The Preface*.

George Howard; there are sixteen recorded dedications to Leicester and those associated with him.22 The benevolent citations of the names of socially and politically significant figures reveal that they publicly endorsed, and sometimes acted as patrons for, the activities of the translators.23

[for further reference to John Mason see II.1-56
1-56 The translatour to the booke.

Heywood employs the form of an address to a volume of his own work in order to express his reverence for a wight of honour (I.1)- the dedicatee Sir John Mason. These lines express an apology for any discomfort that his volume may cause its recipient (I.27ff.).

[for reference to John Mason see Epistle II.1-24].

1-684 The preface

In the Preface Heywood highlights the popularity of Seneca in contemporaneous society. He reveals that the art of translation was a common exercise. [references to translations and translators: II.85-6; 97; 177-80; 197-8; 201-4]. The texts which Heywood cites may indicate reading material which he thought would complement his reader's understanding of Thyestes or it may reveal those texts that Heywood himself had used to aid him in making the translation [see II.189-92; 193-6; 197-8; 201-4; 613-7]. Together with the texts, Heywood offers an extended

22Conley, C.H., (1927), The First English Translators of the Classics (New Haven) presents a table offering details of the dedicatees of the published works in the first fifteen years of Elizabeth I's reign.
23ibid.: pp.38ff. discusses the significance of those chosen as patrons for translations; pp.44ff. for an account of the reasons why leading noblemen showed an interest in translation.
list of writers—thus, indicating how *Thyestes* was to have an educative function. 24

1-3 It was the foure and twentieth daie/ of latest monthe saue one/ Of all the yere:

Heywood began the task of translating *Thyestes* on 24th November, 1559.

[ further detail of the date of composition: ll.19-20].

19-20 And Venus from the skyes aboue/ on fryday fowle to frowne:

Heywood notes that he began his translations on a Friday. The disquieting nature of the alliteration (*Venus* may have been pronounced *Fenus* in this period) exploits the traditional association of Venus with Friday, a day of disaster; and mirrors Heywood's fondness for the poetic device of alliteration, which he displays in his addition to the tragedy (fourth scene). [ see ll.1884-2007 of the text].

29-33 Then dreamde I thus, that by my syde/ me thought I sawe one stande/ That downe to grounde in scarlet gowne/ was dight, and in his hande/ A booke he bare:

Heywood says that he was prompted to embark upon his translation of *Thyestes* by the appearance of Seneca to him in a dream. Heywood presents an account of the nature of Seneca's outward appearance— he details that the figure of the old man was wearing a scarlet gown and a garland of bay leaves, and holding a book. The indications of his physical being reveal his benevolence:

His eyes like Christall shiende: his breathe

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24see Stephen, op.cit.
full sweete, his face full fyne (l.37-8).

In early modern texts one finds writers recording similar examples of apparitions. Dante in Canto One of *The Inferno* describes his meeting with the spirit of Vergil on Good Friday 1300 (composition started c.1306/8 and it probably took the following twenty five years to complete).\(^{25}\) The setting for this Canto is a wood, in which Dante finds himself lost. He roams in the dawn light and finds himself confronted by the leopard of passionate longing, the lion of pride and the shewolf of greed. In flight, he encounters the spirit of Vergil:

> While I was falling down into a low place, before my eyes one had offered himself to me who through long silence seemed hoarse.

> When I saw him in the great wilderness, 'Miserere - on me', I cried to him, 'whatever you may be, whether shade or true man!'

> He replied: 'Not a man, I was formerly a man, and my parents were Lombards, Mantuans both by birth.

> I was born sub Iulio, though it was late, and I lived in Rome under the good Augustus in the time of the false and lying gods.

> I was a poet, and I sang of the just son of Anchises who came from Troy, when proud Ilion was destroyed by fire.

> But you, why do you return to so much suffering?

> Why do you not climb the delightful mountain that is origin and cause of all joy?'

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'Now are you that Virgil, that fountain which spreads forth so broad a mier of speech?' I replied with shamefast brow.

'O horror and light of the other poets, let my long study and great love avail me, that has caused me to search through your volume.

You are my master and my author, you alone are he from whom I have taken the pleasing style that has won me honour (ll.61-87):

The account focuses on Vergil as a historical and poetical figure. The reference to the spirit's hoarseness could be interpreted as a suggestion that the works of Vergil have been neglected by Dante's contemporaries or it could serve to emphasise that the poet is merely a soul. There are scant biographical details in the description. Dante refers to Vergil's birth at Andes, near Mantua in 70 B.C. It is interesting to note that even though Julius Caesar was not in power at the time of Vergil's birth, that Dante asserts this connection in order to associate the great poet of the Roman Empire with its leading political figure.

Gavin Douglas, Bishop of Dunkeld, also employs this poetic trope as an expression of the source of his inspiration in his Prologue to Book Thirteen of his version, in Scottish verse, of Vergil's Aeneid (1553). The similarities between this account and Heywood's description of his meeting with Seneca suggest that the typical form for describing a poet was related to the visuals. Douglas describes that in his dream he conversed with Mapheus Vegius and that he promised, with his right hand held high, to translate the poet's work (ll.150ff.). He, like Heywood, offers details of the spirit's physical appearance, with close attention to the garland and robes:

And weill persavit that hys weid was strange,  
Tharto so ald, that it had not beyn change,  
Be my consait, fully that fourty zeir,  
For it was threidbair into placis seir;  
Syde was this habyt, round, and closyng meit,  
That strekit to the grund doun our his feit;  
And on his hed a lawrer tre a crown. (l.81-8).

49 Spayne was ( quoth he) my natie soyle:  
The figure of Seneca relates to Heywood that he is of Spanish origin. Much of the biographical information would have been available to Heywood from the Gryphius edition of Seneca, which Heywood probably consulted. In the section LA annaei Senecae Vita, Ex libro Tertio Petri Crrinti De Pretis Latinis (not included in the transcription) in Gryphius' edition of Seneca it is noted that Seneca is from Corduba in Spain:  
Lucius Annaeus Seneca, natione Hispanus, patria Cordubensis fuit (page 3).

69-71 Arte thou the same, that whilom dydst/ thy Tragedies endight/ With woondrous wit and regall stile?:  
Heywood's praise of Seneca's poetic style is echoed by other writers in the early modern period [ see also l.79-81]. The Gryphius edition of Seneca's text comments on the elevation and loftiness of Seneca's verse in the section LA annaei Senecae Vita, Ex libro Tertio Petri Crrinti De Pretis Latinis:  
Scritpsit Tragoedias decem, in quibus propter sublimitatem carminis, gravitatemque; sententiarum, non vulgare laudem consecutus est (page 3).
The works I wrote shall still preserue/ my name in memorie/
From age to age:

These lines reveal Seneca's personal desire for a Senecan tradition to be established. It seems appropriate at this point to make a distinction between Seneca as a poetic creation and as a historical figure. As the discussion progresses, we will see that the Elizabethans defined Seneca largely in terms of his tragic style, and thus reduced him to a series of criteria which served as a suitable model for imitation.

The compositions, whether literary handbooks or dramatic texts, allow us to estimate the regard with which Seneca was held in England [see also II.69-71]. William Webbes' essay on the formation of English poetry, *A Discourse of English Poetrie* (1586), contains references to Seneca in the section where Webbe investigates the first Latin writers of tragedy. On page 31, Webbe calls Senecaa *most excellent wryter of Tragedies*. Meres in his comparative discourse from *Palladis Tamia* (1598) states his belief that Seneca and Plautus are counted as the best for tragedy and comedy amongst the Latins. This view prompts us to recollect the lines by which Shakespeare expressed the height of Roman influence on contemporaneous drama. Polonius' declaration of praise for the players at Elsinore suggests that Elizabethan drama flourished under the particular guidance of Seneca and Plautus (*Hamlet* first appeared in print in a quarto edition of 1603):

*The best actors in the world, either for tragedy, comedy, history, pastoral, pastoral-comical, historical-pastoral, tragical-historical,

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tragical-comical-historical-pastoral, scene individable, or poem unlimited: Seneca cannot be too heavy, nor Flautus too light. For the law of writ and the liberty, these are the only men (Hamlet II.i,II.414-421).

One should not disregard Meres' comments for they are the result of extensive reading, and reveal strong critical judgement.

Seneca's name appears in a canon of great names in Robert Whitinton's Latin grammar Grammaticae prima pars Roberti Whitintoni: Verborum praeterita (1532). In the section entitled Heroti claron biron atali quod (r)upedu epitheta, he is listed alongside Tarquinius, the first King of Rome, and Catullus, the Roman poet. The reverence for Seneca in this period is revealed in Webbe's address to R.W in 1592 edition of Tancred and Gismund where the name of Seneca is used as a frame of reference. At lines 23ff. Webbe uses the name of the Roman dramatist to endorse popular opinion concerning the quality of the play, in particular its stateliness of shew, depth of conceit (l.25) and true ornaments of a poetical arte (ll.25-6).

The similarities between Seneca and the plays of the English Renaissance reveal how Seneca helped both to form popular English tragedy, and that Seneca fitted into the established form. Scholars have attempted to argue that Seneca exercised a formative influence- in Cunliffe (1893) one finds an account of the ways in which Seneca influenced plays such as Gorboduc (acted 1561-2), the first recorded English Senecan tragedy. Cunliffe lists the sensational themes of murder.

29Whitinton, R., (1532), Grammaticae prima pars.... (Pynson).
30R.W., (1591-2), The Tragedie of Tancred and Gismund. Newly reuiued and polished according to the decorum of these daies. (London).
and revenge, the formal aspect of the five act structure, the use of stock characters, the pervasive hue of Stoicism as evidence of Senecan influence [for theme of revenge see text II.295-618 and 1478-1883; for stock character of ghost see text II.1-240; for stock character of Messenger see text II.1050-1381]. One should contemplate that the five-act structure may have arisen from knowledge of the comic playwright Terence- however, it is hard to make a case for Terence as the sole formative influence on this structural aspect.

It seems probable that the playwrights of the Elizabethan period found in Seneca a dramatist that complemented their concept of tragedy. John Greene's account of contemporary tragedy in his essay entitled *A Refutation of the Apology for Actors* (1615) reveals that Seneca would fit neatly into the pattern. The definition of tragedy on pages 55-6 embraces many of the central issues with which Seneca's tragedies, including the *Thyestes*, are concerned:

*The matter of tragedies is haughtiness, arrogancy, ambition, pride, injury, anger, wrath, envy, hatred, contention, warre, murder, cruelty, rapine, incest, ravings, depradations, piracies, spoyles, robberies, rebellions, treasons, killing, hewing, stabbing, dagger-drawing, fighting, butchery, trechery, villainy, etc, and all kinds of heroyick evils whatsoever.*

The definition emphasises the gruesome aspect of tragedy. One should note that Greene offers this definition in his attempt to reveal his personal disapproval of the theatre. Seneca's affiliation with contemporary theatre is furthered by Greene's comment that M.Actor claims Seneca as his Muse- thus, he is asserting that the aspects of contemporary tragedy that he despises are prompted by knowledge of Seneca, the dramatist.

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32 Greene, (1615), *A Refutation of the Apology for Actors* (by Thomas Heywood). Divided into three brief treatises. Wherein is confuted all chief grounds and arguments alleaged in defence of plays (London).
suggests that the term M. Actor could refer to the author (Thomas Heywood) of *An Apologie for Actors* or, more generally, to any individual who defends the excess that characterised contemporary plays.

It is interesting to note that Greene appears to regard Seneca, the dramatist as a different individual from the writer of the philosophical works, for on pages six to seven he cites Seneca's *Epistles* in order to validate his belief that the theatre can produce disorder in its viewers. He comments that Seneca declared in the first Epistle of the third book that such spectacles produce unrest and chaos.

A striking similarity is noticeable between the characters that populate the English Renaissance stage and those that speak in Seneca's plays, especially the *Thyestes*. This is illustrated by the description of the content of contemporary tragedy that is given in *A Warning for Faire Women* (1559).

The lines depict the stock characters of the tyrant, the Chorus and the ghost:

> How some damn'd tyrant to obtain a crown
> Stabs, hangs, impoisons, smothers, cutteth throats:
> And then to a Chorus, too, comes howling in
> And tells us of the worrying of a cat:
> Then, too, a filthy whining ghost,
> Lapt in some foul sheet, or a leather pilch,
> Comes screaming like a pig half stick'd,
> And cries, Vindictal- Revenge, Revenge^34^

The presence of Seneca can be seen continually in the neo-Latin plays of the Renaissance. One should consult the neo-Latin drama of the period because it represents a relatively neglected aspect of Senecan influence. *Nero* (1603) and *Roxana* (acted 1591-2, revised and published 1632) contain

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^33^ Anon, (1599), *A Warning for Faire Women*.
the Senecan elements of the vengeful ghost, the passages of stichomythia, the sections pervaded with a Stoic hue, the profusion of stage horrors and the copiousness of *sententiae* [for ghost in *Nero* see text ll.1-240; for horrors in *Roxana* see text ll.1322-4]. Goldingham's *Herodes* (c. 1570/1580, no record of performance at Cambridge) has a distinctive Senecan tone. The story, like that of the *Thyestes*, is one of personal vengeance [see text ll.299-300]. It is notable that the play has a distinctive Christian background - this can be seen in the Chorus division at the close of the fourth act. Snelling's *Thibaldus* (1640, no evidence to suggest that the play was ever performed) is coloured with Senecan pathos and rhetoric.

The popularity of Seneca in the Renaissance can be estimated by evaluating those instances where borrowings were made from his works. In Gwinne's *Nero* Seneca's prose and dramatic works are quoted repeatedly alongside quotations from Lucan, Martial and Tacitus.35 The title page and the dedication to Egerton and Leigh make clear that the play is based on classical sources. In the dedication (ll. 41-3) Gwinne remarks: *Pro me loquantur Tacitus, Suetonius, Dion, Seneca: na & loquuntur ipsi fere omnia: ego tantummodo modos feci.*

Sandsbury in the address to Justus Lipsius acknowledges the debt that Gwinne as a contemporaneous dramatist owes to the Roman playwright by commenting that Gwinne's *Nero* is to replace Seneca's *Octavia*. It is interesting to note that scholars at this time believed that Seneca was the author of *Octavia* - thus, apparently unaware that for chronological reasons this cannot be the case. There are references to works such as *De Clementia*, *Octavia*, *Thebais* and the *Epistles*. The *Epistles* are referred to more frequently than any other Senecan text. These connections represent

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35Gwinne, M., [1603], *Nero* ed. Leidig, Heinz-Dieter (N.Y., 1983).
no more than brief allusions to the Senecan texts- this in turn reveals a
degree of familiarity with his sources that he can take for granted on the
part of his academic audience. Gwinne does not fail to note his authorities
in the margin- his marginalia though, do not reveal the full extent of his
indebtedness to the ancient historians. Seneca appears as a character in the
play- he is depicted as an influential figure in the formation of Nero's
behaviour towards his mother. It is interesting to note that Seneca does
not only speak his own lines but also those of Tacitus, Lucan, Martial and
Gwinne himself. Gwinne does not place allusions to the Senecan plays
in the mouth of Seneca but confines his citations to the Epistles and the
philosophical essays De Clementia and De Tranquillitate.

The Senecan lines that are quoted in the plays demonstrate the
immediate recognisability and resonance of the Roman dramatist. The
nature with which these lines are utilised by different playwrights in
different works reveals the plasticity for the Renaissance of the Senecan
text. The most popular line for quotation appears to be from Agamemnon
I. 116:37

per scelera semper sceleribus tutum est iter.

This sententia on the nature of crime appears literally or with slight
variation in, for example, Kyd's The Spanish Tragedy (acted c.1589;
printed without date in 1592) (III.13.1.6), Hughes' The Misfortunes of
Arthur (1587, first performed 1588) (1.2.11.1-6) and Marston's The

36'Seneca' at lines 2816, 2822, 4220, 4227 alludes to lines from De
Tranquillitate; at line 2868 from De Clementia; at lines 3454, 3468, 3469,
3506, 3502, 3542 from Epistles; from Tacitus at lines 2807, 2913, 3450, 4099;
Lucan at 4129; Erasmus at line 4223.
37all refs. taken from Loeb Seneca in nine volumes: Moral Essays, Vols. I-
Malcontent (1604, first Blackfriars performance must have taken place c.1602) (5.3.11.16-7) [further reference to this line in text 11.1044-5]. 38

The education that these playwrights received would have influenced the form and content of their compositions, and thus it is worth considering the nature of the humanist educational programme for the presence of Seneca. However, it is difficult to determine the extent of this influence on individual dramatists unless they have formerly acknowledged their debt. [see reference to Gwinne's Nero in this section]. From the very beginning of the European Renaissance, the suitability of Seneca as an educational source for the young is attested in the writings of scholars such as Erasmus. Erasmus cited Seneca alongside Plutarch's Apolthegmata and Moralia as a means by which the young could be introduced to the writers of the classical world. His letter to Thomas Ruthall suggests that the moral values that Seneca extolled in his compositions served as the main attraction for Erasmus. 39 This suggests that Erasmus believed that ancient writers could provide man with moral lessons even though they had written without knowledge of the word of God. Thomas Wyatt in 1537 advised his son to consult moral philosophers such as Seneca. 40 Thomas Lupset in his Exhortation to Yonge Men (1535) tells his pupils to pay particular attention to the works of the Roman philosopher Seneca:

Specially rede with diligence the workes of Seneca: of whom ye shall lerne as moche of vertue as mans wit can teche you. 41


The references to lines from Seneca in the educational lexica and grammar books reveal both an appreciation of Seneca as a moral teacher and an awareness of the quality of Seneca's Latin. There appear to be two categories of texts for study: (i) general guides such as treatises on linguistics, grammar and rhetoric, and (ii) the texts of particular authors that were to be studied line by line. One should consider Ascham's *The Scholemaster* (1570) because it is concerned with the private education of children prior to their attending University. This composition reveals that the inspiration for Ascham's educational programme is almost wholly classical and shows that Seneca is one of the most influential authorities. The work offers comment on Seneca's Latin under the heading *Imitatia*. This section becomes more than a grammarian's guide— it becomes a critical treatise and a manual of literary craftsmanship. Ascham describes a method for analysing various examples of imitation, where one sees Ascham articulating his opinions on the literary strengths and weaknesses of a number of classical authors. On page 47, under the discussion of the second kind of imitation, Seneca is listed as one of the best authors by which one can learn *of tongues and sciences*. He is listed amongst a prestigious intellectual stream of names— for example, Cicero, Sallust and Caesar. On page 52, Seneca receives praise for his *elocutio* but only after he has been compared to Sophocles and Euripides. However, one should note that Ascham favours the Athenians for he comments that they *far outmatch our Seneca in Latin*. Ascham's concern with the superiority of the Greeks over Seneca was not a view commonly held.

The manner in which Seneca is utilised in the treatises on linguistics, grammar and rhetoric suggests that his texts should be studied line by line.

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43 Cunliffe, [1893], op. cit., pp.10ff. contrasts Webbe's more typical viewpoint.
In Lilly's grammar *Brevissima institutio seu ratio grammatices: cognoscendae, ad omnium puerorum utilitatem praefertita, quam folam Regia Maiestas in omnibus Scholis profitendam praecepit* (1597) Seneca is quoted alongside Latin authors such as Ovid, Terence and Virgil. Seneca and Terence are cited to illustrate the principle of *Pronomimum constructio: modus actionis:*

*Constat parvo fames, magno fastidium* (sic) [sig Fvr.]

The line expressing the inexpensiveness of hunger is taken from Seneca's *Epistles* 17.4., a letter on philosophy and riches. One finds Seneca quoted under the sub heading *Impersonalium constructio: Accusativus* alongside Vergil and Ovid. The Senecan lines draw in part on the *Epistles* 34.1., a letter concerning the promising pupil:

*Agricolam arbor ad frugem producta, delectat. Nemo miserorum commiserescit. Te non pudet istud? Non te haec pudent? (sic) (sig. Hiiijr).* Seneca, Ovid and Juvenal are utilised to illustrate *Concordantia sub: stantivi and adjectivi.* Lilly employs lines 650-2 of Seneca's *Octavia* where Octavia expresses the weight of the burden that her heart has borne:

*Non hoc primum pectora vulnus mea senserunt: graviora tuli. (sig. [Fviir] ).*

The final example in Lilly's grammar of the use of Seneca is taken from *Naturales Quaestiones* 4a. pr. 1.11. 5-6. and appears under the heading *Adjectivorum constructio: dativvs:*

*Alienus ambitioni (sic) (sig. [Glv] ).*

Ralph Johnson, Schoolmaster refers to lines from Seneca's *Medea* in his *The Scholars guide from the accidence to the University or, short, plain, and easie rules for performing all manner of exercise in the grammar rules* (1665). The references to lines from the play are found under the

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44 Lilly, W., (1597), *Brevissima institutio...* (London).
heading of Poetical exercises as an example of Carmen, Epithalamium and Dirae. Medea (56) is used to illustrate Epithalamium together with figures such as Martial 4.13. Medea (20.531) is utilised as an example of Dirae alongside, for example, Horatio Epodes (10). In this guide Seneca's Medea is cited as an illustration of how an author can express a passion with eloquence- the reference is to lines 1017-8.

Library catalogues of individuals and educational institutions attest to the popularity of Seneca as a philosopher and dramatist. The catalogue of the library of the celebrated alchemist and mathematician John Dee (1527-1608) shows that he possessed texts of Senecan works. Inventories reveal that William Framyngham (d. 1537), a fellow of Queen's College Cambridge, owned an edition of Opera Seneca. The will of John English (d. 1613) reveals that he bequeathed Senecae Epistol, Flores Senecae and Seneca de benef Anglice. Inventories show that the Scottish poet Drummond of Hawthornden (d. 1649) owned a copy of Natural Quaestiones and that John Morris (d. 1658) owned an edition of De Clementia. The research (1534-43) of John Leland (c. 1502-52) revealed that there were thirty one titles in the University library of Duke Humfrey, numbered amongst which were the tragedies of Seneca. One should note that the collections of college libraries do not reflect a true picture of those books that were commonly owned by private individuals, or of those books that were generally used as textbooks within the University curriculum.

Any discussion of the Senecan movement in England leads one to question whether the tradition was native or the result of the influence of

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46 passim, for John Dee, William Framyngham, John English, Drummond of Hawthorden, John Morris refer to Monsarrat, op.cit.
the Continent, in particular that of Italy. Italy would seem a natural choice, given its cultural status as the springboard of Renaissance humanism. The book collections of figures such as John Florio reveal that Italian plays were available in England—his collection included works by Cinthio, Bandello and Ariosto.\textsuperscript{48} It should be noted that Cinthio was responsible for shaping the Italian drama of this period and was probably the best known Italian playwright outside his native country. Cinthio followed the classical playwrights and fashioned plays such as his Orbecche on a Senecan pattern. There were translations of Italian plays by University men.\textsuperscript{49} The first known translation of an Italian play to appear at an English University is Abraham Fraunce's Latin play \textit{Victoria} (c.1579)—the Italian source for which was Luigi Pasqualigo's \textit{Il Fedele}. Thomas Tomkis' \textit{Albumazar} (presented at Cambridge in 1615) represents the only known university play to be a translation of Giambattista's della Porta's \textit{Lo Astrologo} (1606). These illustrations reveal the presence of Italian drama during the period under discussion but the extent of Italian influence, Senecan or otherwise, is harder to determine. The neo-Latin university play \textit{Roxana} (performed at Trinity College 1591-2) by William Alabaster and \textit{Gismond of Salerne} (1567) reveal a minimal degree of Italian influence.\textsuperscript{50} The basis for a relationship between \textit{Gismond of Salerne} and Italian tragedy rests tentatively on the evidence of a few lines of its prologue. Alabaster's play may be directly indebted to its source, Luigi Groto's \textit{La Dalida}, in storyline but the playwright did choose to enhance

\textsuperscript{49}ibid.: pp.4ff. explores the relationship between English university men and Italy, with particular attention to Abraham Fraunce.
\textsuperscript{50}ibid.: pp. 61ff. notes the source of Alabster's play and discusses the differences between \textit{Roxana} and \textit{La Dalida}.  

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his source by altering its length- he achieved his objective, for example, by discarding the Italian prologue. One should be careful not to exaggerate the degree of Italian influence on English drama- for plays such as *The Misfortunes of Arthur* (1587) and *Locrine* do not reveal any Italian influence.

The English and Italian Senecans appear very similar- the dramatists of both countries shared the view that plays were to be acted; both explored the capacity for the sensational. Charlton offers an account of the differences between French and Italian Senecan plays in order to reveal the similarity between the Italian and English Senecan dramas- he states that the French lacked the Italian and English flare for the dramatic and the gruesome.\(^5^1\) The French Senecan tradition can be seen to exert a level of influence, however minimal, on the Scottish stage- for example, Sir William Alexander's *Four Monarchic Tragedies* (1604) preserves the conventions of the French Senecan tradition. William Alexander is the only Scottish dramatic writing available in the early modern period apart from Buchanan's Latin *Baptistes* (1577) and *Jepthes* (1554).

A shared familiarity with the works of Seneca and the intellectual fashion for reviving elements of his dramatic style may account for the similarities in the development of revenge tragedy in England, France and Italy.

85-6 And make me speake in straunger speeche/ and sette my woorks to sight:

There was a significant interest in translating the texts of Seneca in the period 1558-72. Jasper Heywood translated *Troas* (1559), *Thyestes* (1560) and *Hercules Furens* (1561). Alexander Neville translated *Oedipus* in

\(^5^1\)Charlton, op.cit.: pp. cxx-cxxxviii, on the dramatic unities and plot structure.
1563, John Studley rendered *Agamemnon* and *Medea* into English in 1566, and Thomas Nuce translated *Octavia* (date unknown). One should consider the translations of Seneca that were made by female figures such as Elizabeth I and Elizabeth Cary (1585/6-1639) in order to present a balanced picture of Seneca's appeal. One should read the products of female translation differently to those of their male counterparts for they reveal the liberties that the humanist society afforded to women. 52 The literary activity of these females does not reflect the intellectual climate available to their gender—education of women was limited and was determined by wealth. Seneca was regarded as suitable reading material for women because his writings emphasised the path to equanimity of the soul, and stressed the importance of the virtue of passivity. 53 Thus, they allowed women access to a heroic ideal that was in keeping with their social standing. Romances and works that were concerned with the ideal of love were considered to be improper reading material because they threatened to pollute the minds of young women. Elizabeth Cary may have chosen to render the *Epistles* (translation made by the time Cary was eighteen) into English because as a male-authored work it made her less open to criticism for the words were not hers alone but those from the works of the Roman author.

One should attempt to establish the printed editions of Seneca's texts that Heywood may have consulted because it may reveal reasons for Heywood's method of translation. The details of the order of the plays given on the title pages shows that he followed texts that were dependent

upon the A-tradition of manuscripts. The A-tradition follows the pattern of *Hercules Furens*, *Thyestes*, *Thebais*, *Hippolytus*, *Oedipus*, *Troades*, *Medea*, *Agamemnon*, *Octavia* and *Hercules Oetaeus*. Heywood labels the *Hercules Furens* as the *first tragedie of Seneca* (1561), *Thyestes* as the *second tragedie* (1560), and *Troas* as the *sixth tragedie of Seneca* (1559).

It is difficult to discover the quantity of manuscripts or printed editions of Seneca's tragedies that were obtainable in England during the period in which Heywood undertook his translations. Heywood had read for his Bachelors and Masters degrees at Oxford and it may be worth considering the holdings of the college libraries, though these are of limited use in establishing what books individual scholars had access to. Henry Coxe's catalogue (1852) reports that written copies of the tragedies were held by both of the colleges that Heywood had attended—Merton and All Souls. 1593 marks the earliest date at which a printed copy of Seneca's text was present in the Bodleian library. The first publication in England of the tragedies of Seneca was made in 1589 when Thomas Man and Thomas Gubbin printed an edition of the Gryphius text. Editions of Senecan texts were available at an earlier date at Cambridge. The library holdings cite the 1505 edition of the ten tragedies produced by Marmita and Gaietanus (Venice), the 1512 edition of Ascensius (Paris) and the 1554 edition of Gryphius (Lyons).

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54 see Philp, (1968), 'Manuscript Tradition of Seneca's Tragedies' in *Classical Quarterly, N.S. XVIII.*
55 O'Keefe, op.cit.: pp. 45-6 for the European publication history of Seneca's texts.
57 O'Keefe, op. cit. p.47 for texts held at Cambridge.
Heywood offers some information in the preface to *Thyestes* concerning the texts that he may have consulted. The texts of Gryphius, Colineus and Aldus are listed [see ll.613-7]. These details do not help one to determine the text that Heywood utilised. De Vocht suggests that Heywood may have utilised the Marmita edition (1492), the edition of Marmita with corrections by Erasmus printed by Ascensius (1512, 1513, 1514 and 1519), and the edition printed by Henricus Petrus (1529). 58 De Vocht's research displays a lack of close attention to the Gryphius edition. The conflict is greater between the Gryphius text and the other printed editions than between the Gryphius text and the Heywood translation. Comparisons of the various editions lead one to feel that the central source for Heywood's translation of the *Thyestes* was Gryphius' text. 59 This conclusion is based primarily on formal aspects of the translation, such as the similarity with the Gryphius text in the use of punctuation. This text would seem a natural choice for its publication history reveals that it was highly popular- first published in 1536 and reprinted numerous times. The clear presentation of the printed text and the absence of explanatory notes may have accounted for its renown. One should note that the Gryphius text was used for the first English printing in 1589 of Seneca's tragedies.

Heywood's translation of the *Thyestes* is more faithful than his translation of *Hercules Furens*. However, there are places where Heywood alters the meaning of Seneca's text- either by failing to render Seneca's Latin exactly or by developing certain Senecan ideas. The alterations, in translation, to the Gryphius text can often be explained by reference to various Renaissance editions- mainly the Ascensius and

59 Daalder, op. cit. passim. notes significant Gryphius readings.
Marmita editions. The only addition to the text that cannot be explained by reference to contemporary editions of Seneca's tragedies is the final soliloquy [see text 11.1884-2007].

It is interesting to note that the publication of Heywood's translation of the *Thyestes* occurred in the same year that there is a recorded production of the play. Heywood's text was used for the performance. The performance was a domestic production and thus, as a performance authorised by one individual for private production, it is not conclusive for the argument of the *Thyestes*' popularity. The records for the years 1558-1642 show that the productions of Seneca were largely closet productions—eleven out of a total of eighteen productions. Heywood's translations were used for the 1559 closet production of *Troas* and the 1561 closet production of *Hercules Furens*. Thus, the records for the years 1558-1642 attest to the actability of Heywood's translations. It is interesting to note that twelve of the eighteen recorded productions of Seneca in these years were in translation; and one cannot dismiss the fact that there may have been performances in this era that have gone unrecorded. There is little information on the nature of performances of Seneca in the original or in translation. Account books for colleges such as Trinity College, Cambridge, do reveal that the performances of Senecan plays were relatively expensive to produce— for example, the production of *Oedipus* (in Latin) in 1559-60 cost one pound thirteen shillings and four pence.

It is certain that the publication of Heywood's translation of the *Thyestes* (1560) may have helped to establish Seneca as a popular Latin author. The Senecan play *Gorboduc* (1561) was published a year after the publication of this edition. However, it is more difficult to determine the

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60 Kawachi, op.cit.
role that Heywood’s translation may have played in securing the currency of the *Thyestes*, both as a text and as a legend. The publication of Wright’s *Mock-Thyestes* (1674) suggests that the playwright could rely on his audience possessing an adequate knowledge of the story, since unfamiliarity with the legend surrounding the house of Atreus would have resulted in a failure to appreciate the humour of his composition.

The currency of Seneca’s *Thyestes* is revealed by the number of quotations from the text that appear in plays such as *Antonio and Mellida* (1599) and *Antonio’s Revenge* (1599) [for the former see text 11.1528; for the latter see text II.26-9, 333-5, 868-70]. The *Misfortunes of Arthur* (1587) contains twenty five instances of Hughes producing his own translation of certain lines from the *Thyestes* [see text II.93-5, 327-9, 349-51, 353-7, 361-8, 369-73, 443-51, 455-6]. *Antonio and Mellida* includes five examples of Marston’s attempt at translating. In *Antonio’s Revenge* there are seven instances of direct translation [see II.371-3 for an example]. The lines from the *Thyestes* that were chosen for translation reveal that there were certain general trends in the choice of lines. The choice centres on aspects of revenge, the passion of anger, the tyrant and his obsession with power, the nature of the ideal ruler, the beauty of the simple life, and the unpredictable nature of human affairs.

The lines of Franco Estius that accompany the Goltzius engraving of Melpomene (1592), reveal the popularity of *Thyestes* (see frontespiece). The engraving depicts the muse of tragedy, Melpomene, seated on a bench holding a scroll and surrounded by the accoutrements of writing. In the penultimate line of the transcription Estius refers to the sister of Adrastus.

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64 Strauss, (ed.1982), op.cit.: p. 141.
Eriphyle (the spelling of her name is unusual- Eryphiles). The neat elegiacs of Franco Estius describe the Thyestes as the paradigmatic tragedy of all tragedies:

\[
\begin{align*}
Melpomene \ ostendit \ numeros \ quas \ caena \ Thyeste, \\
Prognes \ olla \ quibus, \ quibus \ Oetheiae \ dolores \\
Et \ lachrymas \ Electras, \ et \ maestas \ lamauta \ Eryphiles, \\
Describi \ Tragico \ possent \ instructa \ cathumo. \\
\end{align*}
\]

A sixteenth century set of detailed instructions (c.1580) for the decoration of the Bacon family house describe the presentation of allegorical paintings concerning the legend of the house of Atreus (MS Sloane 1041) [see text 1.627].65 This most interesting manuscript has hitherto received negligible scholarly attention. These instructions reveal the cultural currency of the myth and the tragedy, albeit among an educated elite. The heading following the account of the visual presentation of Hecate lists the name of the play Thyestes alongside the name of Atreus:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Atreus: Thyestes.} \\
\text{Under the Hagges a fayre palace shall be drawne of whyte marble and yvorye: it shall be sett owt and polished in dyverse places with golden [branches]. The gates of his palace shall be made wyde open: within it, a fayre large canopye of purple velvettle shall be drawne and also caste up and stayed wyde open: within this canopye, Atreus shall sytte at th end of a Cypresse table spreaddede wyth diaprer: at the Ryghte end of the table. By him in some meete place shall stand hys armes in a}
\end{align*}
\]

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Ryche scutcheon, whyche is a golden [forme] wythin a semicircle fallynge from the lefte end of the table and from Thyestes towards the Ryte syde of it wheare Atreus doth sytte. Upon the toppe of his palace a Bone of yvorie shall lye. The vayle or canopye shall have devyses of gold wroughte upon yt as is lyke to make them, and amongst them a storke and a dove, and such lyke as maye declare love of simplicitye. Atreus shall looke wyth a very wreathfull and fyrce cowntenawnce upon his Brother Thyestes. he shall have a scepter in his ryghte hand. Abowe his head he shall weare a diadem, whyche ys a twyste or band of fyne whyte linen folded: upon his head a Crowne of gold: he shall weare a longe cloke of purple velvette wyth hemmes and verges of gold sette wyth stones. Under hys cloke a cote of cloth of gold: hys hose are of purple sylke, hys shoes of redde velvette. Wythe hys lefte hand he shall putt owte and shewe to Thyestes the heades of his ii yonge chyldren newlye cutte off and fрешely bleedyng: whyche heades he shall hold by the heare or lockes. He shall weare buskynnes of redde velvette up to the mydde legge laced wyth gold lace. 66

This description of the palace of Pelops and Atreus’ clothes is tinged with the note of richness and excess. The references to the materials for the garments are specific—velvet, silk and gold. The details of the colours also signal tragedy’s association with richness—purple and red. The motif of the heads of Thyestes’ children as an instrument of recognition features in the account. The set of instructions for the depiction of Thyestes focuses on the mutilation of the children and the motif of the cannibalistic feast:

Thyestes.

66 MS Sloane 1041, op.cit..
At th other end of the table, Thyestes, hys brother shall be drawne, a Rostyd shoulder of a chyld shall be sett before hym in a sylver dyshe, and so eatynge of yt. Also a golden cuppe full of bloodde shall stand by the meate and a maunchette of fyne breade with a payre knyfe, trencher, napkyr and golden salt scoller. he shall be made turning his hys head awaye sodeynly, lookynge up [wrathfully] with greate screeams and Anger, as one proclayminge and detestynge the treachery, and loathynge the meate and bloodd putte before hym: he shall also caste up hys head and eyes on hyghe, as Invocatyngne Jupiter for just revenge of hys brothers villany. hys armes shall stand by hym, whyche is a golden Ramme sett in a fyold of blewe azure. AttyTo hym as is meete for a kynges yonger brother to weare: but he must weare a cloke and buskynnes after the gresian fashion which was apparrayle used in Tragedyes.67

The description emphasises the articles that the artist is to place on the table- the silver dish, the golden cup, the meat, bread, knife, trencher, napkin and golden salt seller. This level of detail reveals the recognisability of the Thyestean motif of the feast. The artist is instructed to depict the reactions of Thyestes- the torment of his anger and screams, and his desire for Jupiter to exact just revenge. The specific mention of the buskynnes prompts one to consider the details of Thyestes' attire in terms of stage clothing. There is a relatively detailed account of the Ram as an outward sign of rule. The Ram plays a significant role in Atreus' comments to his Servant on the nature of the crimes that Thyestes has committed against his own brother. The details for the visual diplay of the story of these brothers is followed by an account of instructions for the

67 ibid..
presentation of Eteocles and Polynices. These sets of brothers share the motif of the dispute over rule.

[for MS Sloane 1041 and the Hendrik Coltzius' engraving see Introduction to the thesis].

97 To toyle, as he in Troas did:

In the Preface to *Troas* (1559) Heywood outlines the difficulties that he encountered with the translation. He expresses that it was impossible to convey the exact meaning of Seneca's lines, because the corruptions in the printed editions of Seneca's tragedies have made it an arduous task to determine an author's intentions (sig. A3v/33-A4/3). In the Preface to *Troas* he reveals that he has made alterations to the text (sig. A4/20-2). Heywood in several instances does his best to capture the crispness of Seneca's *sententiae* but it does not always work - for example, he does not convey the succint nature of Hecuba's complaint (A8/31-2). He does preserve a good deal of Seneca's imagery, however his rendering of *Troas* into English retains Seneca's five act structure. An equivalent for Seneca's metre is found in Heywood - this is illustrated by his use of the fourteener, rime royal, decasyllabic iambic lines with every second one rhyming and octosyllabic iambic lines rhyming alternately. Heywood, like Seneca, uses a separate verse form for the Choruses - for example, decasyllabic verses with every second line rhyming for the first Choral ode, asclepiadean metre for the second Choral ode, and the sapphic metre for the fourth Choral ode.

68 O'Keefe, op.cit.: p. 93ff. for a detailed account of the quality of Heywood's translation.

69Heywood, J., (1559), *The siet tragedie of the most graue and prudent author, Lucius Annaeus Seneca, entituled Troas, with diuers and sundrye addicions to the same* (London).

70 O'Keefe, op.cit.: pp. 93-4 for discussion of *sententiae*.
107-8 In miter of thy mother tongue/ to geue to sight of men:

Seneca tells Heywood to render his text into a different verse form. Gryphius records the metre of Seneca's verse in the section of his edition of Seneca's tragedies entitled *Dimensiones Tragoediarum Senecae per Hieronymum Avantium* - commenting on Seneca's use of Archilochian iambic trimetres. Heywood created a metre for his translation of the *Thyestes* that roughly corresponded to that of Seneca. Seneca composed each Choral ode in diverse metres. Heywood does not make any attempt to represent Seneca's range, rendering the choric sections of the text in iambic lines that rhyme alternately. The Gryphius edition notes that the first Chorus is constructed in acslepiadean choriambic metre, the second in a glyconic metre, the third in a sapphic metre and the fourth in an anapestic metre. The key metres employed by Heywood are the fourteener (rhymed pairs of fourteen syllable iambic lines) and decasyllabic iambic lines in which every other line rhymes. The fourteener is used for the main body of the text (excluding the Choral odes and Atreus' soliloquy in 5.2). Heywood also composed his addition to the text in fourteeners. Alexander Neville, John Studley and Thomas Newton also utilised the fourteener for their translations of Seneca. Thomas Nuce's version of *Octavia* is the only early translation of a Senecan play not written in fourteeners, but rendered in decasyllabic and octosyllabic couplets. These first translations of the Roman dramatist into English deemed the stilted nature of the fourteener unbecoming, and revealed the suitability of the decasyllabic verse-form for the evolving form of English tragedy. This predilection appears to reflect a preference for the translation by Surrey in blank verse of Book Two of Virgil's *Aeneid* (c.1540). We cannot though, underestimate the impact of Heywood's translation of the grave iambic lines of Seneca's *Thyestes* in establishing the decasyllabic verse as the canonic form for English drama. The latter is supported when we consider
that Sackville and Norton composed *Gorboduc* (1561) in the decasyllabic verse-form only a year after the publication of Heywood's *Thyestes*.\(^{71}\)

113-4 In Englishe verse, that neuer yet/ coulde latine understande:

Heywood expresses that he embarked upon the translation of *Thyestes* in order to make it more accessible to those that were unable to read Latin. In *Troas* (1559) and *Hercules Furens* (1561) Heywood also offers reasons for making his translations. In the former, he relates in the Preface to *Hercules Furens* that he rendered the text into English as a private exercise; and in the Dedication to *Hercules Furens* he suggests that the translation was inspired by a desire to better young scholars.

129-34 ......but well I wotte/ the hateau full cursed broode/ Farre greater is, that are long syns/ sproong up of Zoylus bloode./ That Red heard, black mouthd, squint eyed wretche/ hath cowched every wheare:

Heywood mentions the censorious Greek grammarian Zoilus to reveal the contemporaneous usage of the term as a label for the carping critic. Heywood's description of the *broode* serves as an attack on the group who believed that translations of the classics were conducive to the demise of the morality within society. They also claimed that such translations were often inaccurate. In the introductory sections to Heywood's translations of *Troas* (1559) and *Hercules Furens* (1561) there are allusions to the criticism that was directed against translators, which may have arisen out of the Zoili. In the Epistle to *Troas* Heywood betrays the level of opposition to his translation (sig. A2/23-A2v/1). In the Dedication to *Hercules Furens* there is a further reference to such resistance. He asserts

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\(^{71}\)Boyle, (1997), op.cit.:p.161 discusses the canonical influence of the verse form of *Gorboduc*.
that he hopes that the abuse may cease as a result of the patronage of Sir William Herbert (sig.A3v/4-8).

151-6 And who shall travaile in thy bookes,/ more judgement ought to haue/ Then I: whose greener yeares therby/ no thanks may hope to wynne./ Thou seest dame Nature yet hath sette/ No heares uppon my chynne:

Heywood expresses his belief that his age may be an obstacle to the undertaking of the translation of *Thyestes*. This reference to the youth of the translator appears to be a trope, for it is also features in the prefatory verses to Alexander Neville's translation of Seneca's *Oedipus* (1563) and John Studley's translation of *Agamemnon* (1566). In the former Neville asks for the reader to show him compassion because he embarked upon the translation when he was only sixteen. The prefatory verses that were supplied to Studley's rendering of *Agamemnon* entreat the reader to show kindness to the translator by reason of his inexpertness and adolescence. This emphasis suggests that translation was considered to be a suitable task for a young person to attempt which is illustrated by Roger Ascham in his *The Scholemaster* (1570): in the section *Translatio Linguarum* he comments that translation was both a common and an admirable exercise for an educated adolescent.

169-70 In Lyncolnes Inne and Temples twayne,/ Grayes Inne and other mo:

The phrase *Temples twayne* refers to the Inner and Middle Temples. These two Temples, together with Lincoln's Inn and Gray's Inn, form the Inns of Court. Heywood had entered Gray's Inn in 1561. The literary products of the members of the Inns of Court were the first tragedies to be written in imitation of classical tragedy in the vernacular. Their dramatic
compositions numbered amongst them plays such as *Gorboduc* (acted in 1561; printed in 1565; revised edition in 1570) and *The Misfortunes of Arthur* (1587)—both of which were constructed around a Senecan model.

177-80 There shalt thou see the selfe same Northe,/ whose woorke his witte displayes,/ And Dyall dothe of Princes paynte,/ and preache abroade his prayse:

In these lines Heywood cites Sir Thomas North's *Dyall of Princes* (1557), a translation of Guevara's *El Relox de Princes*.

181-2 There Sackuyldes Sonetts sweetely sauste,/ and fealty fyned bec:

In these lines Heywood makes a particular reference to Thomas Sackville's short poems. He does not allude to Sackville's authorship of sections of the *Gorboduc* (acted in 1561; printed in 1565), the first English Senecan tragedy.

183 There Nortons ditties do delight:

This is an allusion to Thomas Norton who composed the first three acts of *Gorboduc* (acted in 1561; printed in 1565). The reference to *ditties* is not expanded, and thus Heywood is referring to the broad category of any verse composition.

184-5 There Yeluertons doo flee/ Well pewrde with pen:

This is a further mention of a contemporaneous literary figure. Christopher Yelverton had advised Hughes on the use of dumb shows in *The Misfortunes of Arthur* (1587).\(^{72}\)

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\(^{72}\)Daalder, op.cit.: p.11.
189-92 There heare thou shalt a great reporte,/ of Baldwyns worthie name./ Whose Myrour dothe of Magistrates,/ proclayme etemall fame:

He refers to William Baldwin's *The Myrour for Magistrates* (1559), a work detailing the fate of numerous historical figures. 73 He contributed a handful of his own poems to the edition- for example, one telling the story of Richard, the Earl of Cambridge, who was sentenced to death; another narrating Earl of Salisbury's demise at the hands of Pierce of Ordnance. Heywood may have known Baldwin because Heywood's father, John, had worked together with Baldwin on several dramatic productions.

193-6 And there the gentle Blunduille is/ by name and eke by kynde,/ Of whome we learne by Plutarches lore,/ what frute by Foes to fynde:

Heywood's cites Blundeville's treatise *The Fruits of Foes* (first printed 1558; revised addition 1561). The reference to Plutarch attests to Heywood's knowledge that the main body of the text was drawn from Plutarch's *De Utilitate Capienda ex Inimicis*.

197-8 There Bauande bydes, that tunnde his toyle/ a Common welthe to frame:

This remark points to William Bavand's translation (1559) in nine books of the work of Joannes Ferrarius Montanus concerning the ordering of the Commonwealth ( *Translation of the Work of Joannes Ferrarius Montanus, touchynge the Good Orderynge of a Commonweale* (London)).

201-4 There Googe a gratefull gaynes hathe gotte, / reporte that runneth ryfe, / Who crooked Compasse dothe describe, / and Zodiake of lyfe:

Barnabe Googe had translated into English three books of Marcellus Palingenius's *Zodiacus Vitae* (1560).

249-50 To Printers hands I gaue the worke:/ by whome I had suche wrong:

These lines are the opening of a discussion of Heywood's discontent with the printing by Tottel of his translation of *Troas* (1559). His translation of *Troas* was published twice in 1559 by Tottel. This dissatisfaction with Tottel may have been the reason for the change in publisher for his rendering of *Thyestes* (1560). However, the printed edition of *Thyestes* does contain a few printing errors— for example, there is a suspected compositor's error at l.185 where it seems likely that Heywood would have meant *there* as opposed to the printed word *three*; the printer fails to indicate that Atreus is speaking at l. 457; and it would appear that the letter *x* has been substituted wrongly for the letter *r* at ll.1112 in the word *Taxe*.

594-5 The surnme of all the stryfe/ Now harken to:

Heywood offers a brief summary of the action of *Thyestes*. He relates that the act of infidelity [ see text ll.413-4] forms the backdrop to the dramatic situation and that the storyline focuses on a false act of reconciliation [ see text ll.861-972] and a cannibalistic feast [ see text ll.1050-1381 and ll.1478-1883]. He notes that the opening of the play presents the audience with the figure of the displaced Tantalus. The Gryphius edition (1584) of Seneca's text includes an *argumentum*, outlining the events of the play. This presentation of the dramatic events is longer than that offered in Heywood's *Preface*. Heywood also chose to include a synopsis of the main plot line in the *Preface* to *Troas* (1559). However, he does
compose a separate *argumentum* to accompany his rendering of Seneca's *Hercules Furens* (1561).

613-7 Where I saw how often tymes / the Printers dyd him wrong. / Now Gryphyus, Colineus now, / and now and then among / He Aldus blamde:

In these lines Heywood lists editors, not printers, of Senecan texts. The current editions *Gryphyus* and *Aldus* can be identified, for the former refers to the printer from Lyons who published an edition of Seneca's tragedies in 1536, and the latter alludes to the Aldine edition which was published in Venice in 1517. It has, though, been impossible to establish the significance of Heywood's reference to *Colineus*. Heywood does not specify which text he intended to use for his translation of *Thyestes*.

[for reference to editions of Senecan texts available in England see II.85-6].

THE TEXT

1-240 **The fyrst Acte:**

Seneca uses the first act to forecast the principal theme of the play—namely, the discord between the brothers. The opening of the play reveals the ghost of Tantalus expressing his distress at having been transferred from his place in the Underworld. He articulates his anguish at the crimes proposed by Megaera. The ghost responds to the expectation of future crime with a desire to be returned to the lower world. The Fury, though, is able to persuade Tantalus to comply with her demands.

The parallel act in *MT* (1674) captures the Senecan feeling of a conflict of attitudes. Wright's Tantalus is displaced from his place of punishment but not by a Fury, as in Seneca (1.1. *furor*), but by the *Witch of Endor* (1.1). The

74 Daalder, op.cit.: p.86 for research on *Colineus*. 

61
reference to the latter is developed when Tantalus comments that these *Haggs* (1.4) are attempting to *whip* (1.5) him out of hell and *firk* (1.6) him up with a *Pox teye* (1.6). The mention of a venereal disease (*Pox*) suggests the traditional association between comedy and sexual activity and implies that the sexual motif of the Thyestean story is significant throughout Wright's burlesque. In Seneca's text and the burlesque Tantalus defines himself by reference to the location where he suffers his punishment— the Underworld in Seneca (1.1. *sede ab infausta*) and hell in Wright. The references to *Hell-doors* (1.5) and *Hell* (1.20) place the allusions to the abode of the damned in a Christian framework. Wright, unlike Seneca, does not mention the nature of Tantalus' punishment (1.2. *Auido fugaces ore captantem cibos*).

In Seneca Tantalus expresses his reluctance to enter the earthly realm for he is apprehensive that he will be subjected to a new punishment (1.13. *In quod malum transcription*). He fears that he will have to endure the punishments of figures such as Sisyphus or Tityus. In *MT* Wright belittles the Senecan idea of physical punishment, for his Tantalus fears nothing more than being kicked by the inhabitants of earth or of being afflicted with a sexually-transmitted disease:

*But should I take a Wenches shape,*

*Tis six to four I get a Clap* (11.17-8).

Megaera's description of the task that she wishes Tantalus to effect focuses on the chaos that is to be unleashed (11.52-3. *Misce penates: odia caedes, funera/ Accurse, et imple scelere Tantaleam domum*). The Fury offers an account of the denouement—detailing the murder and cooking of Thyestes' children and the cannibalistic feast (11.58-62. *Nondum Thyestes liberos deflet suos?/ Ecquando toilet ignibus iam subditis/ Spumante aheno? membri per partes eant/ Discerpta, patrios polluat sanguis focos,/ Epulae instruantur*). In the burlesque Wright does not offer any
particulars about the nature of the revenge plot. Megaera's depiction of the disturbance she wishes Tantalus to produce focuses on the broad topic of the conflict between the brothers. She explains that Tantalus is to place two live Eels (1.38) in the bellies of the brothers and to compel the siblings to quarrel:

*Then make 'em hector, huff, and swear,*

*Curse, damn, and sink, spit, fire, and stare;*

*Snatch Spits and tilt at one another,*

*And Brother bite off Nose of Brother*  (ll.43-6).

Tantalus' potency as a negative force is conveyed in Seneca (l.87. *dirus vapor*) and *MT* by the comparison that is drawn between the ghost and the deadly exhalation of evil:

*Like a dire-Vapour, which some call*

*A Blast Hypocondriacal*  (ll.77-8).

The Senecan figure is humorously invested by Wright, who does not present his audience with a powerful figure- the comparison to *Candle snuff* (l.79) belittles Tantalus' powers. This is illustrated further when Tantalus tells mortals not to fear him because the only threat he poses is to their noses:

*........I will do*

*No harm, but stink, and so adiew*  (ll.81-2).

In Seneca and *MT* threats of torture play a part in prompting Tantalus to agree to Megaera's demands. In the former text Tantalus asks why the Fury holds snakes before him and awakens his thirst and hunger (ll.96-8. *Quid ora terres verbere, et tortos ferox/ Minaris angues? quid famem infixam intimis/ Agitas medullis?* ). In *MT* the Fury describes the pain that will be inflicted on his posterior and penis:

*I le try now to perswade your Tail.*

*Your Toby I'le so seaze with this*
Rod that has lain three weeks in piss,
That you shall begg the thing to do,
Before we part, and thank me too (11.62-6).

Even though the determining factor appears to be the threat of Tysiphone, the avoidance of pain is still a prime consideration for he begs Tantalus not to seize his buttocks. Tantalus expresses his submission in the lines 

\textit{Henceforth I'lle do it without grudging:/ And like a plain well-meaning Gudgin} (ll.85-6). The simile strengthens the portrait of Tantalus as a credulous, gullible person.

The stock character of the ghost appears in revenge plays of the early modern period, in which it serves to provide the revenger with justification for his actions. A number of these ghosts remain, like Seneca's ghost, outside the action of the play. The ghost of Gorlois in \textit{The Misfortunes of Arthur} (1587) does not interact with the characters- his cries for revenge are heard in the prologue and his expression of satisfaction upon the completion of revenge closes the play. The love of the supernatural is illustrated in certain revenge tragedies of the early modern period by the multiplicity of ghosts. This is illustrated in Gwinne's Senecan play \textit{Nero} (1603), for a spirit appears at the beginning of each act. The majority of Gwinne's ghosts are unrelated to the action of the play- they appear to verbalize laments concerning their sufferings, to encourage the furies to chastise their killers and to foreshadow future incidents. The latter is demonstrated in the fourth and fifth acts where, respectively, the ghost of Agrippina foretells the slaughter of Octavia, and the ghost of Octavia predicts Nero's demise. In Chapman's \textit{Bussy d'Ambois} (1603-4) and \textit{The Revenge of Bussy d'Ambois} (c.1610-11), the audience are presented with numerous spirits. In the former there are three ghosts- Behemoth, Cartophylax and the Umbra of the Friar. These apparitions appear, unlike Seneca's Tantalus, before the characters of the
play- for example, in the final scene the Umbra of the Friar commands the murderers to retreat (5.4.1.43). Five ghosts feature in The Revenge of Bussy d'Ambois - Bussy, Guise, Monsieur, Cardinal Guise and Chatillon [ see II.299-300]. The influence of Seneca's ghost on the genre of revenge tragedy may find an echo in Bussy's account of his recent displacement from the Underworld (5.1.). Bussy echoes Tantalus' description of his eruption through a fissure in the earth's surface:

*Up from the chaos of eternal night
(To which the whole digestion of the world
Is now returning) once more I ascend* (5.1.11.1-3).

The ghost is not present in all revenge tragedies of the early modern period: it is absent, for instance, from Tourneur's The Revenger's Tragedy (1607). Even here, however, the skull of Gloriana is substituted for the ghost and adopts the ghost's role as the catalyst in the revenge action. [for further discussion of the skull of Gloriana see ll.413-4 and 681-2].

3-4 That gape and gaspe with greedy iawe, / the fleeyng foode to cato?:

Tantalus defines himself by reference to his punishment. In R.W.'s Tancred and Gismund (1591-2), Megaera alludes to the punishments that members of the Tantalus family suffered. The Fury comments on the hunger and thirst with which Pelops, Tantalus' son, was afflicted:

*To gape and catch at flying fruities in vaine,
And yeelding waters to his gasping throte* (ll.868-9).
[ for Tantalus' punishment see ll.271ff.].

26-9 O cruell iudge of sprights,/ Who so thou be that torments newe/
among the soules delights/ Styll to dyspose:

Seneca's lines (ll.13-15) depicting Tantalus' appeal are spoken by Antonio in Marston's Antonio's Revenge (1599) at 3.1.ll.66-8. These lines,
indicated in bold below, are combined with Seneca's lines (ll.75-81), slightly modified, which reveal Tantalus' supplication of his associates that suffer in the lower world (3.1.ll.68-73):

_O quisquis noua_

_Supplicia functis durus umbrarum arbiter_

_Disponis, quisquis exeso laces_

_Pauidus sub antro, quisquis venturi times_

_Montis ruinam, quisquis audorum feros_

_Rictus leonum, et dira furiarum agmina_

_Implicitus horres, Antonii vocem excipe_

_Properantis ad vos: Ulciscar_  

(3.1.ll.66-73).

Marston omits Seneca's reference to the torches _quisquis immissas laces/ Semius tus abigis_. It should be noted that the playwright substitutes, unmetrically, _Antonii_ for _Tantali_. The last word of the speech (_Ulciscar_), signalling his wish to be avenged, is not present in Seneca's text.

[for other examples of Seneca's lines in _Antonio's Revenge_ ll. 85-6 The Preface] 

45-6 goe foorth/ thou detestable spright—:

Megaera's first speech reveals her association with evil. This affiliation is depicted in R.W.'s _Tancred and Gismund_ (1591-2) at ll.899ff., where the audience learns that she has been sent forth by the Senate with _instruments of death_ (1.899) to plague the house of Gismund as punishment for _those whom shame from sin cannot restraine_ (1.908).

Megaera's ability to unleash the forces of vengeance and death is developed in the following lines, when the Fury refers to the snakes that she will cast into the breasts of Tancred and his daughter Gismund (ll.900ff.):

_This stinging snake which is of hate and wrath,_
Ile fixe vpon her fathers heart full fast,
And into hers, this other will I cast,
Whose rankling venome shall infect them so
With envious wrath, and with recurelesse wo
Each shall be others plague and overthrow (ll.900-5).

51-63 ...and meane of ire/ procure there maie be none,/ Nor shame.....but ere the gylt/ with vengeance be acquyt,/ Encrease the cryme:

This reference to the destructive nature of anger (ll.26-32. nec sit irarum modus,/ Pudorve.......dumque; punitur scelus,/ Crescat ) is translated from the Latin by Hughes in his The Misfortunes of Arthur (1587):
Let mischieues know no meane, nor plagues an end.
Let th'01spfings sinne exceede the former stocke:
Let none haue time to hate his former fault,
But still with fresh supplie let punisht cryme
Increase, till tyme it make a complet sinne (1.1.11.22-6).
[ for lines that Hughes translated from Thyestes see ll.85-6 The Preface].

93-5 .....let trust that in/ the breasts of brethern breedes,/ And truth be gone:

Hughes' rendering into English of the Latin lines ( ll.47-8.fratris et fas, et fides,/ Ius; omne pereat ) in The Misfortunes of Arthur (1587), captures the feeling of moral collapse:
All truth, all trust, all blood, all bands be broke (3.4.14).
[ for lines that Hughes translated from Thyestes see ll.85-6 The Preface].
173-7 I am sent forth/ lyke vapour dyre to ryse,/ That breakes the
ground, or poyson lyke/ the plague, in wondrowse wyse/ That slaughter makes:

Jonson imitates these Senecan lines in his depiction of Sylla in *Catiline* (1611).75 This ghost, like that of Seneca, describes himself in terms of an infection:

*Behold, I come, sent from the Stygian sound,*

*As a dire vapour that had cleft the ground,*

*To ingender with the night and blast the day;*

*Or like a pestilene that should display*

*Infection through the world* (1.11.11-5).

The influence of Seneca on the formation of Jonson's ghost of Sylla is attested by Wright in his *Advertisement* to his *Thyestes A Tragedy, Translated out of Seneca. To which is Added Mock-Thyestes, in Burlesque* (1674):

*Yet Ben Johnson thought a considerable part of Seneca's Thyestes not improper for the English Stage in his time, when he took most of Sylla's Ghost from hence* (A3v).

241-94 Chorus:

The Choral ode falls into three parts: the Chorus beseech the gods for their assistance, they sing of the crimes of Pelops and Tantalus, and present an account of Tantalus' punishment. Thus, the ode serves to offer a wider context to the action of the play.

On wicked swoorde the little infant throwne—:

The Chorus narrate the story of the slaughter of Pelops. The description of the perversion of the sacrificial rites anticipates the slaughter of Thyestes' children [see II.1050ff.]. In the parallel ode in MT (1674) the Chorus echo the Senecan idea of inherited wickedness by offering an account of the story of Pelops. The genealogy is conveyed simply in the ode - it narrates that Pelops is the father of Atreus and Thyestes and that Pelops was Son of one Tantalus (I.108). The reference to Pelops focuses on the display of violence:

*Pelops their Father was, and he*

*Kill'd his own Wives Dad a dadde* (II.101-2).

The final line of the quote suggests that Wright is presenting a parody of the mythological story of Pelops' wooing of Hippodameia, daughter of Oenomaus of Pisa. The word *dadde* may serve as a description of the act of violence for *dad* was a term used to denote a blow, knock or thump. The death of Oenomaus is referred to again in the following lines:

*He loved the Sport so well that rather*

*Then want a Wench he'd kill a Father* (II.103-4).

Myrtilus' role in the killing is belittled by the reference to him as a *Pimp*:

*Nay more, the most ungrateful Woer*

*Hang'd the poor Pimp that helpt him to her* (II.105-6).

The Chorus allude to Myrtilus' removal of the pins in his master's chariot. The detail that Wright offers concerning Myrtilus' death is not accurate. The Chorus say *Hang'd* whereas mythology holds that he is thrown into the sea by Pelops.

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76 *OED* s.v. (Dad/Daud).
271 With emptic throate stands Tantalus beguilde: 

In the translation of Tantalus' punishment Heywood captures the contrast in Seneca's text between the movement of fruit (I.152. *impendet*: leans to thee (l.272); I.154. *incubat*: declinde (l.274) and the inertness of Tantalus (I.151. *stat*: stands (l.271); I.158. *negligit*: neglects (l.276); I.159. *obliquatque oculos, oraque comprimit*: He turns his eyes, his jawes he doth refrayne (l.279)). Seneca concludes the ode with a detailed portrayal of Tantalus in the Underworld. In contrast, the background to the action in *MT* (1674) is the contemporaneous scene. Wright depicts the punishment as a result of Tantalus, in his role as a Serjeant's Yeoman, pursuing a Cook. The Chorus sing that *Clerks and Bullies of the Cloisters* (l.113) saw the Cook in danger and helped him by throwing him into *Temple Bog-house up to th' Chin* (l.122). The denigration of the tragic motif of Tantalus' punishment is highlighted by the reference to a Bog-house, a privy. Wright gives Tantalus' struggle to satisfy his desires a humorous twist in explaining the origin of the word *Tantalising*:

*The cunning Spit-man therefore, thus*

*Brings a full Pot to Tantalus:*

*Which wheh the poor Fool reaches at,*

*He empties it upon his Fate.*

*And this is briefly the first rising*

*Of that which we call Tantalizing* (ll.145-50).

[for reference to Tantalus' punishment see ll.1-240].

295-618 *The seconde Acte:*

The act takes the form of an emphatically one-sided conversation between Atreus and his deferential servant. The servant is unable to dissuade Atreus from his desire to be avenged on his brother for seducing his wife, and thus he assists Atreus with his plan. The depiction of a
protagonist conversing with his confidant also features in Seneca's *Hippolytus* ll.85-273 and *Agamemnon* ll.108-225.

The protagonist-confidant scene opens with a speech by Atreus in which he conveys the disordered nature of his character. This is imitated in the parallel passage in *MT* (1674). Wright, unlike Seneca, names the servant. Wright may have called him *Jack* (l.153) in an attempt to fully mould the character of the servant. The name Jack is suitable, for it is a typical cognomen for a representative of the common people. The popularity of this appellation is revealed in Wycherley's plays. In *The Country Wife* (1675) Horner addresses Mr. Pinchwife as Jack at 1.1.1.328, 4.3.1.241, 4.3.1.244 and 4.3.1.248; and the second sailor is called Jack at 1.1.ll.89ff., 3.1.473ff. *The Plain Dealer* features numerous proverbial phrases in which the name Jack appears— for example, at 2.1.798 the Widow refers to Freeman as a *saucy familiar Jack*, and Jerry employs the phrase *Jack of all trades* (3.1.387) to describe one of the places where he will go to *buy the neatest, purest things* (3.1.388).

The infidelity motif as the cause of this turbulence is introduced in the opening line of the burlesque— in Seneca Atreus does not allude to this violation until ll.387ff.. Wright's development of this motif is illustrated by the detailed account of the physical appearance of the wife, the discussion of punishing the wife for her infidelity and in the form that the revenge action will take. The latter is illustrated when the servant suggests:

> Then let him; since th' offence was done

> In blankets, be well lost in one.

> And so the business shall be ended

In the same manner he offended (I.111-4).

The sexual nature of the revenge plan in MT flagrantly reflects the libertine tastes of the contemporaneous society. The servant suggests castration:

What if we two, and a third Man
Should catch him Napping when we can;
And then e'ne geld him for a warning?
This sure will spoil his Trade of Horning (I.203-6).

The servant proposes that Atreus could retaliate by debauching Thyestes' future wife. He rejects this recommendation because he feels that such delay dulls the Sport, and palls the Relish (I.230). In Seneca the discussion of the vehicle by which revenge will be exacted focuses on the use of the sword (I.256 ferrum), fire (I.256 ignis) and the cannibalistic feast (I.276-7 liberos auidus parens, gaudenq; laceret, et suos artus edat). In Seneca Atreus rejects the first two of these proposals because he feels that these are too lenient. In contrast, Atreus in MT discards the suggestions of gelding and tossing—the latter because it Too violent and open is (I.216).

The invitation from Atreus for Thyestes to return is to be conveyed by Atreus' children in Seneca's text and in MT:

I'lle send my own Sons Menelaus,
And Agamemnon with a Letter:
And that will do a great deal better (I.254-6).

The examination of the common master-slave relationship in Hellenistic and New Comic heritage which follows will help weld the disparate material represented by the consideration of the motif in Seneca and the Restoration burlesque. The most popular illustration of this

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78 see Krieter-Spiro, M., (1997), Sklaven, Kuche und Hetären: das Dienstpersonal bei Menander (Stuttgart) for an account of the comic role of the slave.
relationship in Greek comedy is depicted in Aristophanes' *The Frogs*. Xanthias usurps his master, Dionysus, and outwits him in the scene with the Doorkeeper. The audience has seen by this stage in the play that the master has become reliant on his slave. It is not possible to ascertain whether there is an earlier example than *The Frogs* of a leading role for a slave but it appears that Xanthias serves as a precedent for the major role of the slave that is present in New Comedy.

The attested theory that Plautus and Terence played a decisive role alongside Seneca in shaping European drama has dictated that the present examination will centre on their works. Given the nature of the discussion in this section, we are primarily concerning ourselves with the multitude of slaves that aid their masters in their exploits. The presentation of slaves in comedy depends on the fascination of a world turned on its head- a comic province where slaves assume a level of freedom that is associated with a superior position. In general, a young master feels that he is assured of success once he has engaged his cunning slave. This familiarity often breeds a lack of respect but this is a minor fault in comparison with the tactlessness, rashness and curiosity that the slave commonly displays. Occasionally, as in Terence's *Eunuchus*, a slave will object to his master's orders and attempt to reason with him. A slave though, is not always driven by compulsion but at times exercises his own initiative for the sake of his master. The latter is demonstrated by Syrus in Terence's *Heauton Timoroumenos*. He employs his resourcefulness in order to obtain for his master enough money for him to persist in his enjoyment of Bacchis. After several unsuccessful attempts he secures the money from Chremes, and his mastery is assured when he persuades Chremes to let the young master, Clitipho, convey it to Bacchis. A further example of a slave aiding his master in his amorous exploits is offered by Plautus' *Bacchides*. In the play the schemes of the slaves procure for their
masters the objects of their desire. The bond between a slave and his/her master is shown, in part, to be borne out of affection and loyalty. The former is shown by Syra in Plautus' *Mercator* and Mysis in Terence's *Andria*; and the latter by Geta in Terence's *Adelphi* and Palaestrio in Plautus' *Miles Gloriosus*. The relationship between the master Philocrates and Tyndarus in Plautus' *Captivi* also demonstrates the depth of this bond for Tyndarus places himself in danger in order for Philocrates to escape capture. A brief analysis of the *Miles Gloriosus* is merited for he served as the prototype for other cunning Plautine slaves such as Pseudolus. The loyal slave Palaestrio pursues the braggart soldier in order to retrieve his master's kidnapped girlfriend, and for the purpose of his intrigue suffers abduction by pirates and further slavery. His invention of a wealthy rival for the amatory attention of the soldier forms the central machination of his plot. This appeal to the soldier's sense of pride prompts him to surrender to Palaestrio the girl and a proportion of his material possessions. The slave Pseudolus ( *Pseudolus*) also guides the plot in order to aid his master in his amatory exploits. The story line depicts the slave's successful endeavours to free Calidorus' love, Phoenicium, from a pimp.

To return to the issue of the master-slave relationship in vernacular drama, we will explore the dramatic representations by sixteenth and seventeenth-century playwrights of the meeting between a passionate protagonist and a confidant who advises restraint. The failure of the voice of reason to triumph over the individual who is subject to passion features briefly in Kyd's *The Spanish Tragedy* (acted c.1589, printed without date 1592). At 3.8.11. lff. the maid tries to assuage her mistress' passion by revealing that Horatio is alive and by describing the torment that she feels as she watches Isabella. This scene reminds one of the scene between Phaedra and the nurse in Seneca's *Hippolytus* ll.85-273.
In *Tancred and Gismund* (1591-2) R.W. imitates the Senecan motif of the character who advises a passionate individual to practise restraint. At ll.1692ff. the Chorus recommend Gismund to *suppresse her distresse* (ll.1694). Their argument recommending moderation focuses in part, like that of the servant in *Thyestes*, on the public position of the passionate being:

*Cal to your mind* (Gismund) *you are the Queene* (l.1705).

Seneca's servant reminds Atreus of his position as king and his obligation to his subjects. Gismund, like Atreus, rejects this suggestion.

297-8 To tyrants checke, I counte that maye/ in weightie thyngs befall:)

Classical history and tragedy helped to mould the Renaissance treatise on tyranny and kingship. The Renaissance found examples of the nature of tyrants in the works of Plato, Seneca, Suetonius and Tacitus. 79 Seneca's Atreus is presented as a vehicle of desire and violence, and was paradigmatic in the dramatisation of the tyrant figure as he appears in numerous plays of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Playwrights pattern the tyrannical passion on the Senecan form; they imitate Seneca's use of stichomythia and soliloquy and very often they are set in the remote classical past, for example in Hughes' *The Misfortunes of Arthur* (1587) at 2.2.1.17, which will be discussed later in this section.

In all these plays, the emphasis is placed on the oppressor's baseness of character. Plays of the sixteenth century, like statecraft literature, focus on the tyrant as an individual rent apart by his desires and governed by his emotions. This presentation was meant to offer a contrast to the image of the righteous ruler. Specific attention is given to the tyrant's subordination to women in order to depict his power and its threatened

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79Bushnell, op.cit.: pp.8ff. for Plato's portrait of the tyrant; pp. 29ff. for Suetonius and Tacitus on Nero and Caligula.
instability. This focus, combined with the dramatic representation of the association between a tyrant's pleasures and effeminacy, was complicated by the presence of female rulers in England and Scotland. Elizabeth I and Mary Queen of Scots both evoked and arrested the overt identification of the feminine with the tyrant. The issue of tyrant gender was confused further in the sixteenth century by statecraft treatises which dictated that princely virtues were of a masculine nature. In the plays of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth-century (1580-1610) there is a lack of exploration into the moral being of the oppressor and a preoccupation with the question of the legitimacy of his rule. Jonson's Sejanus: his fall (1603) mirrors this obsession by splitting the presentation of the types of ruler into two figures—Sejanus the usurper and Tiberius the legitimate ruler.

The dramatic representations of tyranny may have received the support of the ruling classes because they could serve to legitimise their rule, especially in the changing period between 1580 and 1610 in which the bounds of social class were shifting due the emergence of capitalism. At the beginning of the seventeenth century the gentry was being strengthened and altered by professional men, traders and industrialists. These groups formed the backbone of the House of Commons which had developed in importance under the Tudor monarchs, but Elizabeth I had rejected the efforts of the members of the Commons to meddle in foreign policy and religious issues. Thus, it was not surprising that when James I came to England, where he knew the royal privileges to be extensive, that he should have spoken so violently about the rights of kingship. The plays of both these periods reveal that the unpredictable nature of the tyrant
threatened to dismiss any distinction between the tyrant and the legitimate King. 80

It seems opportune to introduce into the analysis of the association between tyranny and theatre a brief discussion of Machiavelli (1469-1527) and the Senecan tyrant, especially given the influence of Machiavelli's statecraft on Renaissance political treatises. 81 On a superficial level, it appears that there is little similarity between Machiavelli's political concept of power and Seneca's Stoic philosophy but if we examine the two more closely there are hitherto undiscovered parallels.

Given the central place that The Prince (1513) occupies in the history of political thought, it will form the focus of our discussion of Machiavelli's works. 82 This technical book can be seen as a counsel for tyrants. It describes the means by which a single figure can gain and retain power but fails to address the issue of the correct use of power. The subjects of the prince receive little consideration and are recognised only in terms of the measures that a new ruler must adopt in order to maintain control over them. Thus, violence and a lack of moral scruples are considered as an integral part of Machiavelli's state. Machiavelli teaches the prince that cruel measures should be meted out quickly and callously because these two qualities ensure that the act will have the required effect. He advises

80 ibid.: pp.78ff. for additional consideration of the complex circumstances underlying the depiction of the tyrant in sixteenth and seventeenth century plays.
the usurper to eliminate all obstacles in his way, including the family of
the right ruler (Chapter three)83:

To keep a secure hold, it suffices to have extinguished the line of the
previous prince. Cruelty as a quality of a prince is discussed further in Chapter seventeen.
He insists that the subjects' fear of punishment from their ruler will maintain his political rule, and thus it is unavoidable for him to avoid acquiring a reputation for cruelty. He proceeds to argue that it is hard for a new prince to be both adored and feared, and that if one of these has to be missing that it is better to be feared. In the following chapter Machiavelli's explanation of what it means for the ruler to act immorally is furthered. Chapter eighteen focuses on the degree to which a ruler should keep his promises. It is suggested that a wise prince should not keep his word if it threatens to undermine his self-interests. This is illustrated by reference to recent events- he reveals that the rulers who have achieved greatness were those who failed to honour their promises. Machiavelli's allusions to the necessity for a prince to show contempt for traditional virtues is developed when he advocates that a ruler should practice the art of deception. This argument rests on the fact that it is important for a leader to be of good virtue, and thus he advocates that if a prince fails to possess these virtues then it is necessary for him to pretend to have them. Machiavelli appears to be suggesting that a ruler should develop two natures (one good and one bad) and learn to adopt them when necessity dictates. The attributes of the ruler (for example, cruelty, heartlessness and the art of dissimulation) that have been highlighted in this account strongly suggest similarities with the Senecan tyrant, in particular Atreus. However, it is difficult to determine whether Seneca served as a stimulus

83ed. used, Adams, ibid.: p.6.
for Machiavelli. It is possible though, to assert with a high degree of certainty that both writers demonstrated the virtues of the doctrine of imitation and the didactic function of literature.

Playwrights presented an image of tyranny in order to encourage the prince to rule proficiently. This is mirrored in Sir Thomas Elyot in *Bake named the Governor* (1531). Sir Philip Sidney in his *Defence of Poesy* (c.1580) appears to convey the standard Renaissance view that the purpose of tragedy was didactic. This theory is manifested in Sidney's general views on tragedy, in which he focuses on the emotions stirred by tragedy. He suggests that the ability of tragedy to open 'the greatest wounds' teaches Kings to fear the effects of adopting a tyrannical mask, and tyrants to display their disposition. Sidney quotes lines from Seneca's *Oedipus* in order to illustrate that the emotions generated by tragedy reveal to rulers the weak foundations on which power can be built:

*Qui sceptra saevus duro imperio regit*

*Timet timentes; metus in auctorem redit* (II.705-6).

He demonstrates his belief that poetry can impel men to act righteously further by citing the example of the tyrant Alexander Phææus' attendance at a performance of Euripides' *The Trojan Women*:

*But how much it can move, Plutarch yeeldeth a notable testimonie of the abominable Tyrant Alexander Phææus, from whose eyes a Tragedie, well made and represented, drew abundance of teares, who without all pittie had murthered infinite numbers, and some of his own bloud: so as he, that was not ashamed to make matters for Tragedies, yet could not resist the sweet violence of a Tragedie. And if it wrought no further good in him, it was, that in despight of himselfe, withdrew himselfe from hearkening to that which might mollifie his hardened heart.*

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These lines though, merely suggest that the cruel tyrant was moved in emotional terms- there is no indication that the dramatic presentation altered his behaviour. This example serves to highlight that dramatic representation does not always evoke a moral response.

Hughes' *The Misfortunes of Arthur* (1587) presents a satisfactory example of the dramatisation of tyranny. The play transfers the focus from the character of the prince to the larger concern of civil war (perhaps rendered more topical by the Dutch Wars of Independence c.1568, with which the English were much involved). This play reveals what English dramatists drew from Seneca's picture of an oppressor. Mordred, who becomes a tyrant when Arthur (Mordred's father) has left for war, speaks numerous Senecan lines. Hughes has translated Senecan lines for Mordred to utter on the relationship between king and subjects, the corruption of free speech and the nature of the wise man.

The relationship between a ruler and his subjects is explored in order to present the nature of the tyrant. Mordred voices tyrannical sentiments on the suppression of the subject's freedom of speech, and the use of force to gain obedience. In 2.2. he declares that:

*The Subjects must not judge their kings decrees* (2.2.1.17).

Mordred infers that he can secure the allegiance of his subjects by threatening them with a show of violence:

*If their assents be slowe, my wrath is swift,*  
*Whom favour failes to bende, let furie breake.*

*If they be yet to learne, let terror teach* (2.2.11.74-6).

The playwright explores the conventional relationship between the tyrant and rule by force, the oppressor and his desire to secure his power. These issues are expressed at 1.4.11.95-6 in Mordred's conversation with Conan (1.4.1.95ff.):

*Whose rule wants right, his safety's in his Sword.*
For Sword and Scepter comes to Kings at once  (1.4.II.95-6).

They are further illustrated by Mordred at 1.4.98ff. when he reveals that the ambitious man resorts to force in order to obtain rule:

A free recourse to wrong doth oft secure
The doubtfull seate, and plucks downe many a foe.
The Sword must seldome cease: a Soueraignes hand
Is scantly safe, but whiles it smites  (1.4.II.102-5).

The issue of civil war allows Hughes to explore the relationship between tyranny and violence. When Mordred has learnt that Arthur has returned from fighting abroad he implies in 2.2. that he is prepared to fight Arthur in order to retain rule:

Tis better for a King to kill his foes  (2.2.I.15).

The desire to fight in order to secure the regal crown is reiterated further at II.51ff.:

...... The Scepter fittes but one.
But whether is the fitter of vs two,
That must our swordes decerne: and shortly shall  (2.2.II.51-3).

Civil war allows the playwright to highlight the tyrannical character of Mordred by offering a contrast in the presentation of the kingly character of Arthur. This distinction is revealed in the conversation between Arthur and Cador in 3.1. on the prospect of engaging in civil war. Cador voices tyrannical sentiments on the use of violence to punish the usurper. Arthur, in response, comments that he will extend compassion to Mordred for:

Compassion is as fit for Kings as wrath  (3.1.I.85).

The virtue of clemency has been signalled out as a defining feature of the model ruler. Seneca in his De clementia discusses the virtue of mercy as a characteristic of the king. At 1,xi.4. he says that a ruler who shows mercy towards others gains the honour that secures his power.
Clementia ergo non tantum honestiores sed tutiores praestat ornamentumque imperiorum est simul et certissima salus.

This sentiment is explicitly translated by Elyot in his Boke named the Governor (1531):

Surely nothing more entirely and fastly joineth the hearts of subjects to their prince or sovereign than mercy and gentleness. 85

He tells that noble emperors obtained the favour of their enemies when they displayed mercy above men's expectations. 86 Elyot cites the example recorded in Seneca of the Emperor Augustus' clemency towards Cinna as an example of the exercise of mercy by the ruling classes. 87 This example is made more poignant by the vernacular pun on the name Cinna- the sound of the name is similar to the pronunciation of the word 'sinner'. The second son in Cary's The Tragedy of Mariam (1613) also reveals that Augustus was able to dispense mercy:

Upon submission, Caesar will forgive,

And therefore though the tyrant did amiss,

It may fall out that he will let him live (ll.702-4).

This is reiterated at ll.718ff:

But then mine ear received more evidence,

By that I knew his love to clemency,

How he with hottest choler could dispense (2.2.11.718-20).

To return to the idea of mercy in The Misfortunes of Arthur, Arthur will not use the sword against Mordred but will attempt to seduce his son's mind with good deserts (3.1.1.92). Hughes focuses on Arthur's relationship with his subjects in 3.1. in order to reveal Arthur's status as a model ruler. Arthur expresses his belief that his subjects have borne

86ibid.:p.116.
87ibid.:pp.116-8.
enough grief through war abroad and should not suffer the evils of civil war:

*A faire reward for all their deaths, for all*

*Their warres abroad, to give them ciuill warres.*

*What bootes it them reseru'd from forreine foiles*

*To die at home? What ende of ruthlesse rage?* (3.1.11.217-20).

This concern for his country is echoed at 3.1.11.231ff. Arthur defends his refusal to fight because he fears that it will destroy his native soil.

Herod, as a figure who is characterised by his lack of clemency, appears as a tyrannical figure in Cary's *The Tragedy of Mariam*. Herod, as a recognisable figure from the Gospels and popular Mystery Plays of a previous generation, had become established in literature as a tyrant figure. This is illustrated in *Hamlet* (1602-3) where Shakespeare employs an allusion to Herod in the phrase *out-herods Herod* (3.2.11.16) in order to convey the feeling that Hamlet believes that the passion of the 1st Player will prompt him to exceed even Herod in cruelty, ferocity and violence. The line also serves as a warning against over-acting and ranting. The leading source for Cary's tragedy was Thomas Lodge's translation of Josephus' *History of the Jewish People* (published 1602). As a learned woman her knowledge of Herod may have been derived from her knowledge of classical writers such as Suetonius. This play is part of a group that treats the figure of Herod as a means by which a playwright can examine the political relationship between monarchy and tyranny. In Cary's play the political theme focuses on the issue of authority and the submissiveness of subjects to their ruler. The first depiction of Herod as a tyrant appears in 1.2. At line 80 Alexandra refers to him as a despot:

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89ibid.: p. xix.
The news we heard did tell the tyrant's end (l.80).

The play reveals that the two leading motives compelling the tyrant to act are passion and a need to secure his position. The action of the play discloses that the latter was the most forceful of these designs. One views the oppressor eliminating those individuals who threaten his position. Alexandra expresses her belief that the slaughter of her son, Aristobolus, and grandfather, Hircanus, served to royalise Herod and his family:

And say my father, and my son he slew,
To royalize by right your prince-born breath (ll.119-20).

In the Argument one learns that Herod, before the dramatic action opens, has removed Mariam's brother, Aristobolus, and her grandfather, Hircanus (ll.6ff.). The Argument narrates that Herod accused the former of treason and put him to death, and ordered the latter to be drowned merely for the purpose of amusement (ll.9ff.).

Alexandra suggests that Aristobolus was sentenced to death because Herod feared the legitimacy of Aristobolus' rights as a ruler. In 1.2, she establishes the supremacy and privilege of her son's birthright:

His birth annointed him both priest and king (l.118).

The slaughter of Aristobolus is referred to in Alexandra's speech at line 89ff. When Alexandra questions the tears that Mariam sheds for the death of Herod she refers to Herod's murder of Aristobolus, her son:

What weep'st thou for thy brother's mur'der's sake (l.81).

The murder is mentioned further in her address to Herod at line 91ff:

Did not the murder of my boy suffice
To stop thy cruel mouth that gaping stood? (ll.92-3).

Details of Herod's lack of legitimacy as a ruler are offered by Alexandra in 1.2. Alexandra questions the right that Herod had to wear the royal crown:

What kingdom's right could cruel Herod claim,
Was he not Esau's issue, heir of hell? (II.99-100).

The lack of Herod's claim to sovereignty is expressed further in the following lines. She discloses by use of a rhetorical question that Herod's ancestors had surrendered their birth right:

Did not his ancestor his birth-right sell? (II.102).

Alexandra infers that Herod's ancestry made him naturally disposed to act in a tyrannical manner. She suggests that Herod derived his cruel nature (2.1.II.104) from his position as Esau's descendant. The relationship between Herod and a thirst for violence is enforced by the repetitive references to blood:

His cruel nature which with blood is fed,
That made him me of sire and son deprive;
He ever thirsts for blood, and blood is red (II.104-6).

The allusion to blood as red is used to emphasise the birth link between Herod and Esau- Esau is given the name Edom meaning red.90

The association between blood and the tyrant is emphasised when the playwright offers instances of Herod's subjection to the rule of passion for this betrays the association of the feminine with tyranny. Thus, the dramatist is disclosing the connection between women and excess, and the idea of women as producers of blood, both physically and politically. The association between the tyrant and passion betrays the Renaissance theory that the tyrant displayed feminine traits.91 John Knox's First Blaste of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment of Women (1558) illustrates this belief.92 Knox suggests that a tyrant is subject to the irrationality and immorality that characterises the nature of women. Erasmus in his

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90ibid.: p. 73: note 14 refers to Genesis 25:30.
91for discussion see Bushnell, op. cit.: pp.64ff..
Education of the Christian Prince narrates that subjection to one's desires labels one a tyrant and womanlike.

When a tyrant is put on the stage it offers the playwright the opportunity to portray passion. This relationship is revealed in 1380ff. Herod infers in his conversation with Mariam that his command ordering the death of Sohemus is an impassioned decision:

--- Sohemus false! Go, let him die,
Stay not to suffer him to speak a word.
Oh damned villain, did he falsify
The oath he swore e'en of his own accord? (I.1384-7).

He reacts out of jealousy because he believes that Mariam loves Sohemus:
A beauteous body hides a loathsome soul;
Your love, Sohemus... (I.1391-2).

The tyrant's susceptibility to passion is articulated by Babus in 2.2. when he attempts to convey the oppressor's belief that he is not restricted by law or justice:

For had the tyrant fixed his cruel eye
On our concealed faces, wrath had swayed
His justice so, that he had forced us die (I.663-5).

Thus, he suggests a tie between anger and a tyrant's impetus to act violently. One should note that the descriptions of Herod and Octavius focus on the susceptibility of the tyrant to bouts of passion- wrath (I.664) and hottest choler (I.720). In this respect, the portrayal of both Octavius and Herod is similar to Seneca's depiction of Atreus. Wrath seems a fitting emotion for the tyrant to experience, given its status as the most hideous of all emotions. Seneca in De ira discloses the frenzied nature of this passion:

Ceteris enim aliquid quieti placidique inest, hic totus concitatus et in impetu doloris est, armorum sanguinis suppliciorum minime humana
furens cupiditate, dum alteri nocet sui neglegens, in ipsa irruens tela et ultionis secum ulorem tracturae avidus (Book 1, section 1).

Cary chooses to highlight Herod's status as an oppressor by contemplating his utilisation of the virtue of clemency. She employs the example of Octavius, later Augustus Caesar (ll.711ff.) to reveal that a ruler, even a tyrannical one, should show mercy towards his foes. Octavius, like Herod, had stolen power. In the Argument (ll.24ff.) one learns that Caesar had overthrown Antony in order to obtain rule: In this meantime Herod was again necessarily to revisit Rome, for Caesar having overthrown Antony his great friend, was likely to make an alteration of his fortune (ll.24-6).

Herod's failure to exercise the virtue of clemency is illustrated at ll.1285ff.. Herod does not heed Pheroras' advice to forgive Constabarus for sparing Babus' sons:

Pheroras: You have forgiven greater faults than this,

For Constabarus that against your will
Preserved the sons of Babus, lives in bliss,
Though you commanded him the youths to kill.

Herod: Go, take a present order for his death (ll.1285-89).

This order betrays that Herod is quick to mete out punishment. Elyot in The Boke named the Governor (1531) warns that the ruler who hastily punisheth oftentimes soon repenteth.93

Herod does not extend clemency to his wife, Mariam. He temporarily revokes his decision for her to meet with death (ll.1458ff.) because he does not wish to deprive the world of light (ll.1449):

Here, take her to her death. Come back, come back;
What, meant I to deprive the world of light (ll.1448-9).

93Elyot, op.cit.: p.119.
In 4.7.1570ff. he articulates that his desire for vengeance on those that betray him is paramount. He tells Salome that Mariam is to die because of the foul dishonour that blots her forehead:

*Then let her die, 'tis very true indeed,*

*And for this fault alone shall Mariam bleed*  (ll.1620-1).

In George Buchanan's *Baptistes* (1577) Buchanan dramatises the problems surrounding the identification of the tyrant. This is illustrated in the person of Herod. He is a tyrant yet at several stages in the play he speaks as a model ruler. The problem of identification is also explored by the Chorus, a company of Jews. They suggest that the tyrant lives within each individual. They sing of the monsters that are hidden in the mind's dark inner parts  (Part first, ll.291). This sentiment is illustrated at ll.298ff. when they comment that within each person:

*...the cruel tiger's rage*

*Would not be wanting there, nor the fierce wildness*

*Of the deep shining yellow lioness,*

*Nor the dire gluttony of ranging wolves,*

*Whose appetites no slaughter can assauge*  (Part first, ll.298-302).

These lines betray a belief that man is a complex individual with many faces.

Buchanan's utilises the portrait of the Queen to explore the standard relationship between the tyrant, the female and passion. Malchus, a Pharisee, offers an insight into the association between passion and the female in his portrait of the Queen's character:

*......One only now remains*

*A partner of my grief, the Queen enraged*

*Much like a tiger of her whelps bereft*  (Part fourth, ll.26-8).

In a conversation with Malchus, she acknowledge her emotional state:

*......I am burst with ire,*

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Weep, and exclaim, and sharply reprehend,
But no relief by wrath or tears I gain,
For all my words are scattered by the wind (Part fourth, ll.55-8).

This portrait of the Queen coupled with her sentiments on the nature of government confirm her role as a tyrant figure. This is illustrated for example in the 2nd part ll.43ff. where the Queen advocates the destruction of a ruler's foes. She argues against a leader displaying mildness, especially with regard to John the Baptist:

Take heed that lenity's deceitful looks
Draw not your mind from equity; what seems
Afar off, mildness, to one near at hand
Will be the greatest wildness (Part second, ll.42-5).

A discussion of the political question of the security of the crown is employed to reveal Herod's tyrannical nature. He decides to consent to his wife's and daughter's wishes for the death of John the Baptist in order to prevent the potential usurper from seizing his power. The decision is not reached in a moment of passion- it is a reasoned choice between satisfying the desires of the people and the safekeeping of his authority. He concludes that the favour of the masses is not constant, and thus he resolves to resort to violent means:

Joy and wrath
The people rashly take and rashly leave.
'Tis now my resolution to confirm
The royal power that I hold with blood;
The vulgar will be easily appeased (Part second, ll.247-51).

Herod betrays his nature as an oppressor when he utters sentiments on the relationship between a ruler and his subjects. He expresses the authoritarian belief that the people should regard their leader as a being outside of the law:
\textit{and let the people know}

\textit{This one law to be kept, that they may think}

\textit{All things to me are lawful without law} \hspace{1em} (Part second, ll. 273-5).

\[\text{[ for tyrant and tyrannical maxims see also ll.353-7, 361-8, 371-3].}\]

299-300 \textit{O unreuenged: after gilts/ so greate, and brothers guyle:}

Atreus voices, with great verbal energy, his dissatisfaction that he has not avenged the injuries that his brother has perpetrated against him.

The views of the Renaissance moralists and philosophers on revenge cannot be said to present an accurate account of popular belief. The majority of contemporary arguments against revenge are given a Christian perspective. Francis Bacon (1560) in his essay \textit{Of Revenge} offers a basic insight into the moral stance on revenge.\textsuperscript{94} He observes that revenge is the duty of God and that man is forbidden to effect revenge. Cleaver in \textit{A plaine and familiar exposition of the ten commandments} (1614) attempts to dissuade man from revenge by suggesting that the revenger deprives himself of God's protection, for:

\textit{.he promiseth no shelter, neither do his Angels watch over him that is out of his wayes.}\textsuperscript{95}

Downname's \textit{Treatise of Anger} (1609) defines revenge, within a Christian framework, in terms of its physical effects and its association with anger.\textsuperscript{96} References to Biblical figures and events are employed by Downname to illustrate that avenging a wrong constitutes incorrect behaviour. Thus, on page thirteen he comments that Christ has told that if

\textsuperscript{94}Bacon, F., [1597] , ed. Kiernan, M., (1985), \textit{The Essayes or Counsels, Civill and Morall} ( Harvard).

\textsuperscript{95}Cleaver, (1614), \textit{A Treatise upon the ten commandments. A plaine \\& familiar exposition of the ten commandements. With a methodicall short catechisme} : ed.1618:p.267.

\textsuperscript{96}Downname, J.,(1609), \textit{A treatise of anger. Wherin is shewed the lawfull, laudable, and necessarie use of just and holy anger...And afterwards is declared, what corrupt and unjust anger is, etc.} : p.3.
one receives a blow that one should turn the other cheek. This example reveals that the disciples should refrain from private vengeance:

We should refraine from priuate reuenge, without any calling thereunto, which he would have so farre from vs, that rathen we should be ready to receive a new iniurie, then vnjustly reuenge that which we have receiued.\(^97\)

Downname cites Romans 12.19 to show that revenge belongs to God or to a Magistrate, the Lord's Deputy.

In Timothie Bright's *Treatise of Melancholie* (1586) one finds revenge listed as a sin. He comments that revenge is offered by the devil to the depressed.\(^98\)

Edwin Sandys in *The Sermons* (1585) attempts to dissuade men from exacting revenge.\(^99\) He suggests that the revenger is to be abhorred because he employs his own malevolence in order to avenge another's maliciousness. The revenger's actions prevent him from receiving forgiveness and the justice that the avenger seeks.

These comments fail to acknowledge that the Elizabethan man was driven by a code of honour which dictated that man had the right to exact private justice for any personal injury. The concept of revenge as an integral part of man's nature is captured in Geoffrey Fenton's *Golden Epistles* (1575)- to man *nothing is more sweete than the passion of revenge*.\(^100\)

\(^{97}\)ibid.: pp. 13-4. 
\(^{98}\)Bright, T.,[1596], *A treatise of melancholie. Containing the causes thereof...with the phisicke cure, and spirituall consolation for such as have thereto adioyned an afflicted conscience, etc.*:( Facsimile Text Society reprint N.Y. 1940):p. 228. 
\(^{99}\)Sandys, E.,(1585), *Sermons made by the most reverende Father in God, Edwin, Archbishop of York etc.* ( London). 
\(^{100}\) Fenton, G.,(1575), *Golden Epistles. Contayning varietie of discourse, both morall, philosophicall, and divine:gathered, as well out of the remaynder of Guevaris works, as other author Latine, French and Italian* ( London).
One should also consider Francis Bacon's essay *Of Revenge* (first edition published 1597) because it presents the reader with a balanced account of contemporary belief concerning private revenge. The tone of the essay is not totally condemnatory- he measures and assesses the matter under consideration, indicating the burden and benefits of each. Bacon does offer an account of revenge actions that will solicit varying degrees of sympathy - for example, he would sympathise with a son who sought to avenge the murder of his father but he would flatly condemn it. He discusses revenge in terms of a form of *Wilde Justice* that should be obtained by recourse to the law:

*Revenge is a kinde of Wilde Justice; which the more Mans Nature runs to, the more ought Law to weed it out. For as for the first Wrong, it doth but offend the Law; but the Revenge of that wrong, putteth the Law out of Office* (lines 3-6).

This description of justice as something fit for the wilderness reflects the perverted form of the justice of revenge that is depicted on the Elizabethan stage. The essay promotes restraint for he narrates that the act of revenge may make the avenger equal to his enemy, but that the act of pardon can make one superior to the foe (lines 7-9). One should consider that this composition precedes his efforts in support of King James' attempts to suppress duels of honour. Bacon aided the King by indicting Lord Sanquire in 1612 for organising a revenge murder; by subscribing to a declaration against duels (15th October 1613); by printing his *Charge touching Duels* (1614). Bacon does suggest that revenge is justifiable on certain grounds- namely, when there is no law to punish the crime:

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101Bacon, op.cit.
103Kiernan, op.cit.
The most Tolerable sort of Revenge, is for those/ wrongs which there is no Law to remedy: but then, let a man/ take heed, the Revenge be such, as there is no law to punish:/ Else, a Mans Enemy, is still before hand, And it is two for/ one (lines 20-4).

The theme of revenge is constantly reiterated in early modern drama, where one sees a remodelling of many of the motifs that can be found in Seneca's Thyestes - the ghost, the mutilation, the passionate revenger, excessive cruelty, the role of the deity and the cannibalistic feast [ see ll.1-240 for the ghost; for cannibalism and cruelty see ll.1050-1381 and 1478-1883]. Tantalus is dissimilar to a large proportion of the ghosts in early modern revenge drama because he is not presented as a vengeful ghost. The depiction of violence in Seneca would have been compatible with the Elizabethan's appetite for violence- daring to break the constraints and depict the unthinkable. Seneca did not give violence to the Elizabethans- he merely showed them a method of presenting and treating it.

It is difficult to determine whether the Thyestes as a revenge tragedy played a significant role in forming the early revenge tragedies or whether the play fitted into the early modern pattern. An analysis of the structure of the Thyestes reveals a form, against which one can compare revenge tragedies such as Kyd's The Spanish Tragedy (acted c.1589; printed without date in 1592). This exercise may answer certain questions concerning the influence of the Thyestes on revenge tragedy of the early modern period. One should consider the Kydian conception of the revenge play because it exerted a high level of influence on English revenge drama up to the publication of The Revenger's Tragedy in 1607. The influence of the Kydian form is still evident in Tourneur's play. The basic form is the

104Bowers, op.cit.:pp.67ff.
same- the revenger seeks vengeance for the death of a loved one, the avenger feels justified in his actions, there is a delay motif.\textsuperscript{105}

Seneca utilises the opening act to describe the nature of the catastrophe. The second act presents the protagonist conversing with a confidant. In the third act the revenger confronts the object towards which his vengeance is directed. The fourth act serves to delay the action and in the final act one sees the climax of the revenge plan completed. Examination of the formal aspect of \textit{The Spanish Tragedy} betrays a more complex structure. Initially, the structures appear similar for Kyd's play opens with an exploration of Bel-Imperia's grief at the news of the loss of her lover. In act two Kyd departs from the Senecan pattern by introducing a second revenger. Hieronimo expresses his desire to pursue the murderers of his son and Bel-Imperia's desire for vengeance fades into the background. The lull in the action is provided in the third act with the discovery of the letter and in the fourth act the revenge action and the play are brought to completion.

The depiction of the acts that are undertaken by Seneca's Atreus and the revengers of early modern drama reveal that the revenger possesses no control over his being or over the events that he will generate. Blood revenge for murder, injury or jealousy is common in Seneca. In \textit{Agamemnon} Clytemnestra avenge the death of her daughter, in \textit{Hippolytus} Theseus seeks vengeance for the supposed rape of his wife, and in \textit{Thyestes} Atreus is motivated by the seduction of his wife by his own brother.

A brief examination of \textit{The Misfortunes of Arthur} (1587), \textit{The Spanish Tragedy} (acted c.1589; printed without date in 1592), \textit{Titus Andronicus} (1590), \textit{Tancred and Gismund} (1591-2), \textit{Antonio's Revenge} (1599), The

\textsuperscript{105} Middleton/Tourneur, [1607], \textit{The Revenger's Tragedy}, ed.Foakes (Manchester 1996).
Revenge of Bussy d'Ambois (c.1610-11), The Revenger's Tragedy (1607) reveals that there are certain common objectives that these revengers are aiming to achieve. They seek vengeance either to strengthen their self-respect, or to secure their own physical protection, or to uphold their reputations, or to pursue justice. These revengers, unlike the Senecan avenger, live in a world where the concept of justice, however corrupt, still exists. This is illustrated in Elizabethan revenge tragedies by the emphasis on the punishment of perpetrators of crime. The failure of the judicial system and divine justice are central to the revenge plot, for their shortcomings offer the victim the opportunity to be entrusted with undoing a wrong. These revengers, unlike the revengers of Senecan tragedy, are not presented as villains at the outset- in general, they are introduced as individuals with a sacred duty to exact vengeance. This in turn, means that the audience's feelings of tenderness for the avenger are never absent- he eliminates the source of the crime and because he punishes the perpetrator he remains a man of honour.

The discussion of the moral taint of the avenger prompts an examination of the anti-heroes in Tourneur's The Atheist's Tragedy (1609) and Marston's Antonio's Revenge (1599) [ for further comment on the ending of Marston's play see 11.1884-2007 of the text]. In Marston's play the revengers Antonio and Pandulpho are not punished; and in Tourneur's The Atheist's Tragedy the revenger Charlemont succeeds by not adopting the role of the revenger. Marston presents the increasing madness of the hero, Antonio, as he is overwhelmed by the desire for revenge; and Pandulpho's surrender of reason to passion. Both these villainous figures serve as symbols of injustice and are in some respect

above the law, and thus unaffected by punishment. It appears that the playwright was more fascinated with revenge rather than with the act of retribution. Marston fails to persuade the audience that Antonio and Pandulpho are worthy of veneration. Pandulpho and Antonio are not invested with the spirit of repentance which would have endeared them to the audience for their decision to enter the monastery does not suggest a sense of moral guilt. Even though the actions of the avengers have profited society, they were tainted. The unsatisfactory nature of this dramatic decision may be the result of the playwright's inability to comprehend the implications of revenge and his failure to explain the passion; or, the result of the difficulty for a Christian of conceiving that a good man can be destroyed by evil or can fight evil with evil.

Tourneur's presentation of the honest man's revenge in *The Atheist's Tragedy* is neither creditable nor pitiable, and thus we view Charlemont as an anti-hero. It is difficult for the dramatist to discover ways to make the non-avenger an individual with whom the audience could empathize for the audience had become used to heroes who adopted the role of the revenger as a sacred duty. Tourneur's answer to this predicament is to have Charlemont dismiss from his mind the ghost's order to attack D'Amville and Sebastian, and to spend a considerable amount of time in prison. The latter succeeds in keeping Charlemont passive and provides the opportunity for Heaven to exact revenge against the atheist, D'Amville. The slaughter of D'Amville resolves the plot, and reveals God's power to intervene to protect the innocent and to annihilate the wicked. Tourneur's play represents the first example in which the playwright dramatises the Christian doctrine that revenge is forbidden, and thus in *The Atheist's Tragedy* the audience sees the revenger released from the compulsion for action. The Christian ideology articulated in the play is that revenge for heinous actions should be
reserved for God. This is expressed by the ghost of Charlemont's father when he appears to his son to advocate Christian patience rather than revenge:

*Attend with patience the success of things,*

*But leave revenge unto the King of kings* (II. vi. 21-2).

However, this is not to suggest that the play is a religious treatise. It represents a new form of the revenge play, in which the avenger is triumphant and not destroyed for his vengeance.

In attempting to evaluate the role of the *Thyestes* within the canon of Elizabethan revenge tragedy, an important text is *The Misfortunes of Arthur*. In the section on the Senecan tradition in England that has already been presented, there is a high level of quotations from the *Thyestes* in the play (see II. 85-6 The Preface). In the play one finds the Senecan motifs of ghost, adultery, the working out of the revenge plot (for theme of adultery see II. 413-4). In the opening scene of the play the ghost of Gorlois appears to seek justice for the loss of his wife and his dukedom (II. 43ff.):

*Let Mordred's death declare,*

*Let Arthur's fatal wounde bowray the wrong* (1.1. II. 46-7).

His revenge comes to fruition in the second scene of the fourth act - the Messenger narrates that Mordred threw himself upon Arthur's sword:

*...So saying forth he flings,*

*And desperate runs on point of Arthur's sword* (4.2. II. 217-8).

The theme of adultery is closely tied, as in the *Thyestes*, with the theme of revenge. Guenevora's violation of her marriage vows prompts Arthur to seek revenge, and her love for Mordred causes her to consider the issue of revenge. The latter is contemplated in act one scene two (II. 45ff). She appears as the modern Senecan revenger - she incites the powers of blackest hell (II. 39-40) and describes the strength of the passion that
overwhelms her (ll.40ff.). Guenueora decides to spare the life of Arthur and resolves to take her own life (1.3.67ff.).

In Kyd's *The Spanish Tragedy* one sees the playwright attempting to create a popular form of revenge tragedy. The play features the Senecan motifs of the ghost, the passionate revenger and violence, but they are transformed by the playwright to serve the purpose of his revenge play. The creation of multiple revengers signals the main dissimilarity with the *Thyestes*. Kyd adds an extra layer of complexity to the revenge motif by presenting the audience with multiple revengers- Hieronimo and Bel-Imperia. The latter seeks revenge for the death of Andrea and her second lover. Her personal desire is secondary to her role in helping to incite Hieronimo to revenge.

The central revenger, Hieronimo, seeks private vengeance because the legal system fails him.\(^{108}\) In act three scene twelve lines 1-110, Hieronimo undertakes to procure his legal rights but his instability when questioned leads the King to refuse him recourse to the law. In act two Hieronimo initially appears resolute in his desire to avenge his son's death but this determination soon wavers:

> See'st thou this handkercher besmeard with blood?
> It shall not from me, till I take revenge.
> See'st thou those wounds that yet are bleeding fresh?
> I'll not entomb them, till I have reveng'd.
> Then will I joy amidst my discontent;
> Till then my sorrow never shall be spent (2.5.11.51-6).

This fluctuation serves to illustrate Hieronimo's continual state of flux of the revenger- the constant faltering between madness and delay.\(^{109}\) His

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\(^{108}\)Hallett, and Hallett, op.cit. :pp. 131ff. discusses the role of Justice in the play.

\(^{109}\)Ibid.:pp.148ff. discusses Hieronimo's erratic behaviour.
sense of duty to exact vengeance is reiterated in the opening speech of act three scene thirteen. Hieronimo employs a popular Senecan *sententia* from the *Agamemnon* in order to clarify his belief that when a crime is committed against a good man that revenge should be immediate:

*Per scelus semper tutum est sceleribus iter* (3.13.6).

It is interesting to note that this corrupted Seneca line follows a reference to Romans 12:17-19:

*Vindicta mihi!*

*Ay, heaven will be revenged of every ill;*

*Nor will they suffer murder unrepaid.* (3.13.1-3).

This progression of quotations reveals that Kyd regarded Seneca as a moral authority on the same level as the Bible. [see I.449 of text for further reference to the tendency to assimilate Seneca with the Christian tradition].

The ghost of Andrea returns to earth to seek revenge for his cruel murder and he sees his wish being realised as the play progresses. Kyd, unlike Seneca, does not confine his ghost to the opening scene but uses the spirit together with the personification of the abstraction of revenge as the Chorus. This ghost, like Seneca's Tantalus, does not come into contact with the avenger. Bel-Imperia is used by the playwright to resolve the problem concerning communication between the two worlds. Murder will feature in the revenge action that will avenge the wrongs that Andrea has suffered. Revenge, in his speech at the close of the opening scene, offers a synopsis of this revenge action:

*Then know, Andrea, that thou art arriv'd*

*Where thou shalt see the author of thy death,*

*Don Balthazar, the prince of Portingal,*

*Depriv'd of life by Bellimperia* (1.1. 86-9).
One should consider whether Seneca and Kyd attempted to depict on the stage the irrational powers that lie behind passion, and thus one views the ghost of Tantalus in the *Thyestes*, and the ghost of Andrea and the illusory ghost of Horatio in Hieronimo's hallucination.

In *Titus Andronicus* there is a development of the Senecan motifs of the cannibalistic feast and the passionate revenger [for cannibalism see II.1322-4 and 1332-3]. Titus's desire for vengeance is a response to the injuries that have been inflicted upon his family. In 4.1. Marcus leads the audience to believe that Titus believed calmness and restraint to be a virtuous man's revenge:

*But yet so just that he will not revenge* (4.1.1.128).

The news of Lavinia's rape prompts Titus to imagine himself to be the learned revenger— he tells Lavinia and Demetrius that *worse than Progne I will be reveng'd* (5.2.1.196). The cannibalistic feast forms the main element of Titus' revenge.

It is hard to ascertain whether the feast alludes to Seneca's literary tale of the house of Atreus or to Ovid's account of the rape of Philomela. Cunliffe (1893) was largely responsible for the association between the *Thyestes* and *Titus Andronicus*. This connection is expressed by his failure to acknowledge Ovid. The analysis of the cannibalistic feast is discussed further in Boyle (1997). In his study, he suggests that Shakespeare's debt to Ovid's *Metamorphoses* is awkwardly displayed. He feels that Shakespeare rewrites the pervading motifs of the demise of the antagonism between 'civilisation' and 'savagery' that are present in the *Thyestes*; and cites the imitation of the images of sacrifice and devouring food as evidence of his Senecanism. The counter argument, which is


111 Boyle, (1997), op.cit.: p.148 for comment on Shakespeare's debt in his Senecan plays to Ovid.
proposed by this thesis, is endorsed in Waith (1957) and Bate (1995).\textsuperscript{112} The former offers a convincing account of the Ovidian influence, using as its point of departure the fact that the references in Titus Andronicus to the Philomela story reveal the playwright's familiarity with Ovid's narrative. The similarity of the themes of the merits of friendship and righteous government are traced in the two authors, and their mutual preoccupation with the rhetoric of moments of intense emotion. Bate's argument also centres on an emphasis on the Ovidianism of Shakespeare's play. However, unlike the evaluation in this commentary, there is a conscious neglect of the Elizabethan playwright's debt to Seneca. The present discussion will benefit, to a degree, if we consider that the Senecan cannibalistic motif is a rewrite of the Ovidian account of the Philomela-Procne-Tereus story.\textsuperscript{113} [for further examination of Ovid's influence on Titus Andronicus see ll.1322-4 of the text].

In Titus Andronicus, the revenge action does not centre on a single protagonist but on three individuals: Tamora, Titus and Aaron. This division serves to add an extra layer of complexity to the revenge theme. Tamora seeks justice for the death of Alarbus. Her initial desire for revenge is met with the rape of Lavinia in the second act. The rape is subordinate to her attack on Titus through his sons— they are accused and condemned for murder.

Tamora impersonates the allegorical figure of revenge (5.2.11.30ff.):

\begin{quote}
I am Revenge: sent from the infernal kingdom,
To ease the gnawing vulture of thy mind,
By working wreakful vengeance on thy foes (5.2.11.30-2).
\end{quote}


\textsuperscript{113}Boyle, (1997), op.cit. p.148 n.27.
The lines portray Tamora in terms of the Senecan ghost—rising from the Underworld, and rejoicing in the ability to produce chaos and destruction.

The revenge theme features in *Tancred and Gismund*. In the play there are echoes of the Senecan motifs of the ardent revenger and mutilation [for mutilation see II.1325-9]. The prose *Argumentum* reveals at lines 38ff. the nature of the revenge plot—the union between Gismunda and her lover forces her father to apply himself to a *more convenient revenge* (I.44). Tancred calls on the Furies to aid him in obtaining his revenge upon the lovers:

*Oh could I stampe, and therewithall command*  
*Armies of Furies to assist my heart,*  
*To prosecute due vengeance on their souls* (II.971-3).

This reference to the Furies makes one recall the association that is established in the opening act of the *Thyestes* between revenge and the fury, Megaera.

The traditional association between revenge and justice is voiced by Tancred in act four scene three (II.1139ff.):

*And justice vizeth some extreame revenge,*  
*To wreake the wrongs that have been offered vs* (II.1139-40).

The mutilation motif features in the climax of Tancred's revenge plan—in act five scene two the heart of the Earl is presented to Gismunda in a golden cup. This act creates a second revenger—Gismunda seeks justice for the murder of Guishard (II.1673-4). She resolves to take her own life in order to satisfy her desire for revenge (II.1679ff.):

*This venomed water shall abridge thy life,*  
*This for the same intent provided I,*  
*Which can both ease and end this raging strife* (II.1679-81).

In *Antonio's Revenge* (1599) one sees a relatively honourable man battling with his desire for revenge. In the play one sees the shadow of the
Senecan revenge motifs of the passionate revenger, the ghost, adultery, the mutilation of a corpse and the cannibalistic feast [see ll.413-4 for theme of adultery, and for cannibalistic feast see 1322-4]. The currency of the Thyestean story is attested by the numerous quotations that appear in Marston' play. There are multiple revengers in the play. Piero is depicted at the start of the tragedy as the triumphant avenger. In act one scene one Piero narrates that jealousy prompted him to seek revenge- Andrugio had won Maria's favour and had a son with her:

He won the lady, to my honor's death,
And from her sweets cropp'd this Antonio;
For which I burn'd in inward swell'ring hate,
And fester'd rankling malice in my breast,
Till I might belk revenge upon his eyes (1.1.11.25-9).

In act three scene one the ghost of the murdered ruler returns to demand revenge for murder at the hands of Piero (3.1.11.1ff.). The ghost of Andrugio incites Antonio to Seize on revenge, grasp the stem-bended front/ Of frowning vengeance with impoised clutch (3.1.11.45-6). The quotation from the Thyestes at line 50 reveals the playwright's appreciation of Seneca's sententia on the nature of the excess of revenge: Scelera non ulcisceris, nisi vincis.

Antonio's decision to seek vengeance is made partly out of fear of the reprisals that he will suffer if he fails to avenge his father's death (3.1.11.85ff.).

Marston's ghost, unlike Seneca's Tantalus, speaks directly to the avengers. This alteration serves to heighten theatrical effect and to strengthen the power of the ghost- the ghost introduces revenge and implants revenge into the heart of the avenger. The ghost of Andrugio attempts to turn Maria into a revenger- in act three scene two he tells her to join with Antonio in the revenge action:
Join with my son to bend up strain'd revenge (3.2.1.73).

The playwright's use of quotations from the *Thyestes* casts Antonio in the role of the Senecan avenger. The playwright may have utilised the Senecan lines to add authority to his revenge tragedy. Antonio's revenge plan comes to completion in act five scene three when he stabs Piero for his father's blood (5.3.1.109).

In *The Revenge of Bussy d'Ambois* numerous characters seek justice for the death of Bussy d'Ambois. In Chapman's play there are traces of the Senecan motifs of the ghost and the passionate revenger. Clermont's wish to avenge his brother's death prevents him from standing as a spokesperson for Stoicism. The nature of his plan for revenge is disclosed by Baligny in the opening scene of the play—lines 83ff. Baligny tells that he is responsible for delivering Clermont's challenge to the Earl:

*And undertake himself Bussy's revenge;*

*Yet loathing any way to give it act,*

*But in the noblest and most manly course,*

*If th'Earl dares take it, he resolves to send*  
*A challenge to him, and myself must bear it* (1.1.11-88-92).

Chapman's ghost, unlike Seneca's Tantalus, speaks directly to the avenger. This direct contact continues to develop the dramatic potentiality of the ghost. The motif of the ghost appears in act five scene one— the shade of Bussy encourages Clermont to accept the role of avenger. The ghost advises Clermont to use all the means at his disposal to right the wrong that he has suffered (ll.96ff.):  

*Away, then! Use the means thou hast to right*  
*The wrong I suffer'd* (ll.96-7).

Clermont's revenge plan comes to completion in act five scene five when Montsurry falls.
Tamyra also wishes to avenge the death of Bussy, her beloved. Her association with vengeance is revealed in her opening speech in act one scene two- in lines 1ff. she calls on revenge to enter. Tamyra's desire for revenge discloses the tie between justice and revenge in lines 7ff.:

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..... And, though length of time
Never lets any scape thy constant justice,
Yet now prevent that length       (1.2.II.7-9).
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One should note that the name Tamyra is similar in sound to Tamora—this may indicate that this cognomen was a tragic name, or that the name was utilised in order to echo Shakespeare. Renel in the opening scene expresses the belief that justice should be meted out for Bussy's death, but he does not offer to avenge the death of Bussy (1.1.II.76-7). Renel's comments prompt Baligny to reveal that he offered to revenge his brother's death in order to gain the hand of the woman that he loves:

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My brother Bussy's sister, now my wife,
By no suit would consent to satisfy
My love of her with marriage, till I vow'd,
To use my utmost to revenge my brother (1.1.II.79-82).
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Tourneur's *The Revenger's Tragedy* (1607/8) features certain of the characteristics that one finds in Seneca's revenge tragedy—mutilation, the passion of the revenger, excessive cruelty, the association between revenge and adultery [for discussion of theme of adultery see II.413-4]. Tourneur's tragedy plays a significant role in the development of revenge tragedy for it marks a shift towards the creation of a more realistic psychology for the revenger. Thus, he explores the effect of the revenge action on the personality of the avenger.

There are three major revenge plots in the play- Vindice's attempt to avenge himself upon the Duke, Vindice seeking revenge upon Lussurioso, Antonio pursuing revenge for the rape of his wife. Vindice's
actions form a substantial element of the action in the play, and Antonio's plot is relatively undeveloped in the play. The Duchess' desire to be revenged upon her husband forms a lesser revenge plot. The play's focus on multiple revengers is indicated in the title page of 1608 edition for there is no apostrophe in the title.

The meaning of the cognomen Vindice is captured when Lussurioso reveals that he has forgotten Vindice's name (act four scene two lines 176ff.). The two characters play on the connotations of the name:

Lussurioso: Thy name, I have forgot it.

Vindice: Vindice, my lord.

Lussurioso: 'Tis a good name, that.

Vindice: Ay, a revenger (11.42.ll.176-7).

Thus, the playwright makes a pun on vindex- a revenger of wrongs and abuses, one that restores and sets at liberty or out of danger. At lines 31ff. of the opening scene Vindice reveals that he is seeking justice for the death of his beloved- she was poisoned by the Duke because she would not succumb to his advancements. Vindice is unlike the revengers in The Spanish Tragedy and Antonio's Revenge because the playwright begins the narrative after he has already committed himself to the task of exacting revenge. Vindice at line 39ff. narrates that vengeance is the punishment for murder- for ...who e'er knew/ Murder unpaid? (1.1.ll.42-3). The revenge plan begins to reach fruition when the Duke kisses the skull that has been tainted with poison (s.d. 146: act three scene five). This poison causes the gradual demise of the Duke- for example, at line 161 he comments that his teeth are eaten out.

\[114\] Definition in Florio, J., (1598), A Worlde of Wordes (London).
The adulterous liaison between the Duchess and Spurio forms the focus of the Duchess' revenge on her husband for his refusal to spare her son (1.2.1.94-117):

*And therefore wedlock faith shall be forgot.*

*I'll kill him in his forehead, hate there feed;*

*That wound is deepest, though it never bleed* (1.2.1.107-9).

The Duchess persuades Spurio to enter into a relationship with her by referring to the Duke's refusal to offer him a place in the dukedom's ring (1.2.1.150). One should consider whether there is any justice in this act of adultery—revenge may have served merely as an excuse for the Duchess to air her lustful feelings for the bastard son.\(^{115}\) Spurio agrees to violate the marriage bed of his father:

*Aye, there's the vengeance that my birth was wrapped in.*

*I'll be revenged for all; now hate begin;*

*I'll call foul incest but a venial sin* (1.2.1.168-170).

The behaviour of the Duchess forms a distinct contrast with the chaste wife of Antonio. Antonio and Piero comment on her purity in act one scene four— at line six Piero calls her *That virtuous lady!* (1.4.1.6) , and in the same line Antonio refers to her as a *Precedent for wives!* (1.4.1.6).

The play also features the revengers Ambitioso and Supervacuo. They seek justice for the death of their brother. The mutilation motif plays a role in turning Ambitioso into a revenger. The presentation of the head of Spurio turns Ambitioso's thoughts from grief to vengeance (3.6.1.91ff.):

*Well, no more words, 'shalt be revenged i'faith.*

*Come, throw off clouds now, brother, think of vengeance,*

*And deeper settled hate* (3.6.1.91-3).

\(^{115}\) Hallett and Hallett, op.cit.: pp.226ff.
They are deprived of the satisfaction of completing their revenge, because when they arrive in a masque of intended murderers in act five scene three, the nobles have already been murdered. These multiple murders emphasise the excessive cruelty that characterises revenge tragedies.

Neo-Latin drama of the period should be considered because it is usually consigned to a footnote by writers. The material is difficult to consult and an element of it has been lost. The Latin drama of the period 1550-1650 is mainly written by University men. Their products reflect the current trends of the time- the canon includes revenge plays, Roman histories and pastorals. The Latin dramas reveal important details on contemporary dramatic hypothesis and educational programmes. These literary products should be explored because they served to anticipate the types of vernacular dramas that were composed.

The Senecan motifs of the ghost, mutilation and the cannibalistic feast are imitated in William Goldingham's *Herodes* (composed c.1570/80). The play explores the desire of the ghost of Mariemmma to secure justice because she feels that she was wrongly injured. In the play, the interaction between fate and divine and personal vengeance is investigated. The ghost of Mariemmma, Herod's dead wife, introduces the revenge motif at lines 20-51. She prays to the Furies for help to avenge her own death and that of her brother:

*Vos o profundae noctis infoolh, cohors,*
*Aduersa caeld numing, ot tfistes Dou,*
*Adesteprecar, et imlinlSitfestic Sradus (II.20-3).*

Goldingham reiterates Seneca's association between the Furies and revenge. Revenge is to be achieved in two ways- she will cause Antipater to plot against Herod and to perish at his father's sword, and this in turn

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will make Herod take his own life (11.52-72). The spirit's plan is shown to be coming to fruition in the second act. At lines 349-71, Antipater confesses to his prison warder that he attempted to poison his father, and at lines 447-59, he narrates that if Herod fails to kill him he will murder Herod. The news of the deaths of Doris and Antipater reported by the Messenger in the fifth acts signals the completion of the first part of the spirit's plan, for Herod is now bereft of his family. The manuscript is incomplete—thus, it is difficult to determine the outcome of the revenge plot. At lines 1333-45 Herod pronounces his determination to pass through death's door and thus, it is assumed that Herod will soon meet with his end.

Herod also appears in Buchanan's *Baptistes* (1577) and in Cary's *The Tragedy of Mariam* (1613). This discloses that the historical as well as the scriptural Herod was a recognisable figure for contemporary audiences.

The elements of the *Thyestes* such as the appearance of the ghost, the plotting of revenge, adultery, the mutilation of corpses and the ritual of the cannibalistic feast are remodelled in William Alabaster's *Roxana* (play performed in 1591/2, and revised and published in 1632) [for motif of cannibalism see II.1322-41].117 Alabaster's references to the legend of the house of Atreus lead one to conclude that these motifs are the result of Senecan influence, direct or indirect. Alabaster's days at Cambridge would have offered him the opportunity to come into contact with the tragedies of Seneca [see II.79-81 *The Preface*].118 At the start of the play the ghost of Moleon rises from the Underworld to seek just vengeance (II.4-18) for his downfall and murder (II.77-150). He narrates that Pluto has allotted Moleon one day to achieve his revenge (II.20-36). Moleon wishes to avenge himself on Oromasdes and Roxana and enlists the help of

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118 ibid.: pp. 7-8 for Alabaster's academic career.
Suspicion to effect his vengeance (ll.157-65). In act two Moleon's plan to be avenged on Roxana begins to blossom—Bessus' presentation of evidence to Atossa concerning the affair of the King with Roxana causes Atossa to order Bessus to take the lives of Roxana and her children (ll.564-98). Atossa closes the scene with a vow to exact unparalleled vengeance:

_—hoc major mihi incumbit dolor,
Furorque major, dummodo hoc peius scelus
Nascatur, omne sceleris exemplum supra_ (ll.637-9).

The Messenger in act four narrates the completion of Atossa's revenge on Roxana. Atossa is also instrumental in effecting the revenge upon Oromasdes. She reveals that her revenge is to take the form of a cannibalistic feast and a cup of poisoned wine (ll.1376-82). This plan is brought to completion in scene four of the final act.

327-9 Go to, do that whiche neuer shall/ no after age allowe,/ Nor none it whisht:

Atreus employs the dramatic device of self-address in order to incite himself to act (l.191-2. _Age anime, fac quod nulla posteritas probet,/ Sed nulla taceat_ ). Hughes offers his own translation of these lines in 1.1. of _The Misfortunes of Arthur_ (1587):

_Goe to: some fact, which no age shall allowe,_
_Nor yet conceale_ ( 1.1.l1.27-8).

[for lines translated by Hughes see ll.85-6 _The Preface_.]

These lines of self-address and self-dramatisation lead naturally to a discussion of T.S.Eliot's pioneering essay _Shakespeare and the Stoicism of Seneca_ (1932). His examination of Shakespeare's plays reveals that the self-dramatisation present in the tragedies at intense moments is derived from his awareness of Seneca and Roman Stoicism. He cites Othello's _Othello_ completed by the end of 1603) final speech as an example of tragic
intensity in which a character expresses his weaknesses and attempts to uplift his spirits:

*Soft you; a word or two before you go.*

*I have done the state some service, and they know't.*

*No more of that. I pray you, in your letters,*

*When you shall these unlucky deeds relate,*

*Speak of me as I am; nothing extenuate,*

*Nor set down aught in malice: then must you speak*  

*Of one that loved not wisely but too well;*  

*Of one not easily jealous, but being wrought*  

*Perplex'd in the extreme; of one whose subdued eyes,*  

*Albeit unused to the melting mood,*  

*Drop tears as fast as the Arabian trees*  

*Their medicinal gum.*

(5.2.11.338-51).

Eliot refers to Shakespeare's *Hamlet* (first appeared in print in a quarto edition of 1603) and Webster's *The Duchess of Malfi* (1614) as further examples of a contemporaneous interest in self-consciousness. In Boyle's essay (1997), he develops Eliot's emphasis on bombast as a mode of self-dramatisation, and on the Renaissance meditative soliloquy and its relationship to Seneca's monologues of self-reflection. He refers to the works of Marston, Kyd, Shakespeare, Webster and Tourneur in order to reveal that this technique was a building block of Renaissance drama. The focus of his discussion centres on monologues of self-address in which a character speaks to his/her passions or to individual pieces of their body—for example, he quotes lines from Marston's *Antonio and Mellida* (1599):

*Heart, wilt not break? And thou, abhorred life,*  

*Wilt thou still breathe in my enraged blood?*  

*Veins, sinews, arteries, why crack ye not,*  

*Burst and divulsd with anguish of my grief?*  

(1.1.1-4).
Boyle suggests that the lines heading this present discussion set a precedent for Marston's mode of address and for the verbalisations of pain presented by Othello and Lear (1st quarto of *King Lear* appeared in 1608 and the second in 1619)- for example, Lear exclaims *Down, thy climbing sorrow* (II.iv.158), and Othello addresses his love in III.iii:

*Yield up, O love, thy crown and hearted throne*

*To tyrannous hate! Swell, bosom, with thy fraught,*  
*For 'tis of aspics' tongues!*  

This evidence reveals that the Elizabethan meditative perception of the self was deeply indebted to Seneca's depiction of the psychology of the individual.

329-33  _some mischefe greate/ there must be ventred nowe,/ Bothe fierce and bloudie: suche as wolde/ my brother rather long/ To hauc byn his:*

Atreus expresses his wish to perform an act of revenge that his brother would desire to enact (*1.192-4. aliquod audendum est nefas/ Atrox, cruentum, tale, quod frater meus/ Suum esse malit*). In 1.2. Hughes in *The Misfortunes of Arthur* (1587) renders Seneca's lines into English, substituting the name Mordred for *frater:*

*Attempt some bloodie, dreadfull, irkesome fact,*  
*And such as Mordred would were rather his*  

[for lines translated by Hughes see II.85-6 *The Preface*].

333-5  _Thou neuer dooste/ enoughe reuenge the wrong,/ Except thou passe:*

The emotional force of these lines discloses Atreus' desire to exceed (I.195. *vincis*) any revenge that his brother can exact. This *sententia* on the nature of revenge appears in *Antonio's Revenge* (1599) [for Marston's
use of Seneca’s lines see 11.85-6 The Preface. The ghost of Andrugio reproduces Seneca’s Latin in 3.1. in an attempt to encourage his son to seek vengeance:

*Scelera non ulcisceris, nisi viccis*  
(3.1.151).

Shakespeare captures this sense of transcending the bounds of revenge in *Hamlet* 3.3.179 (1601). Hamlet does not seize the opportunity to stab Claudius whilst he is praying because he wants to be sure of damning him as a bonus:

* A villain kills my father; and for that,*  
* I, his sole son, do this same villain send*  
* To heaven.*  

*O, this is hire and salary, not revenge*  
(3.3.176-9).

349-51 He will destroy or be destroyde,/ in midst the mischiefe lies,/  
Preparde to him that takes it first:

This *sententia* on the theme of revenge (*Aut perdet, aut peribit: in medio est scelus/ Positum occupanti*) is rendered by Hughes into English in his *The Misfortunes of Arthur* (1587). Hughes conveys the the feeling of self-confidence that colours Atreus’ lines:

*He either must destroie, or be destroide.*  
*The mischiefe's in the midst: catch he that can*  
(2.3.1.141-2).

[for lines translated by Hughes see 11.85-6 The Preface].

353-7 The greatest good/ of kyngdome may be thought,/ That still the people are constraynde/ theyr princes deedes as well/ To praise, as them to suffer all:

Atreus’ tyrannical maxim concerns the debasement of the virtue of free speech. Hughes offers a translation of these Senecan lines in 2.2. of his *The Misfortunes of Arthur* (1587):
Then is a kingdome at a wished staye,
When whatsoeuer the Souereigne wills, or nilles,
Men be compelde as well to praise, as beare  (2.2.11.78-80).

This sentiment expressing the tyrant's belief that he possesses the power to
pressurize his subjects is likewise reproduced in Jonson's Sejanus: his fall
act two (1603):

All modesty is fond: and chiefly where
The subject is no less compell'd to bear
Than praise his sovereign's acts

[for tyrant line and tyrannical maxims see 297-8; for Hughes' translation of
Seneca's lines see II.85-6 The Preface].

361-8 But who in deede the glory seekes/ of fauour true tobtayne,/ He
rather wolde with harts of eche/ be praysde, then tongues of all./ The truer
prayse full ofte hatha hapte/ to meaner men to fall:/ The false but unto
mightie man./ what nill they, let them wyll:

This exchange between Atreus and the servant reveals that Atreus is
content to receive insincere praise. Hughes' translation of these lines
(II.208-11. At qui fauoris gloriam veri petit,/ Animo magis, quam voce
laudari volet,/ Laus vera et humili saepe contingit viro,/ Non nisi potenti
falsa: quod nolunt, velint ) in The Misfortunes of Arthur (1587) captures
Atreus' idea of adulation as a sign of his authority:
Conan: But who so seekes true praise, and iust renowne,
Would rather seeke their praysing heartes, then tongues.

Mordred: True praise may happen to the basest groome,
A forced prayse to none, but to a Prince.

I wish that most, that Subject's most repine  (2.2.11.82-6).
[ for tyrant and tyrannical maxims see II.297-8].
369-73 Let first the kyng will honest thyngs,/ and none the same dare nyll./ Where leefull are to him that rules/ but honest thyngs alone,/ There raygnes the kyng by others leaue:

These lines from the stichomthyic dialogue form part of a conversation between the servant and Atreus on the relationship of a ruler towards his subjects (ll.212-4. Rex velit honesta, nemo non eadem volet/ Vbicunque; tantum honesta dominanti licent,/ Precario regnatur ). Hughes' translation of the Senecan lines are spoken by Conan and Mordred in 1.4. of The Misfortunes of Arthur (1587):

Conan: The Kingliest point is to affect but right,
Mordred: Weake is the Scepters hold, that seckes but right (1.4.ll.97-8).

[for Hughes' translation of Seneca's lines see ll.85-6 The Preface].

371-3 Where leefull are to him that rules/ but honest thyngs alone,/ There raygnes the kyng by others leaue:

Atreus' comment expresses a desire for total control. Piero in Marston's Antonio's Revenge (1599) articulates the tyrant's wish for ultimate authority:

Where only honest deeds to kings are free
It is no empire, but a beggary (2.1.119-120).
[ for tyrant and tyrannical maxims see ll.297-8].

413-4 My spoused mate, the traytour false/ hathe hens conuayde awaie:

Atreus informs the servant that his wife was literally abducted by Thyestes. In the Thyestes the adultery motif is coupled with the revenge motif.

The tie between infidelity and revenge appears in The Misfortunes of Arthur (1587) [ see ll.299-300]. In the first scene of the first act the vengeful
ghost Gorlois reveals his desire for Guenovera to betray her marriage vows:

*Let Guenouer expresse what franticke moodes*

*Distract a wife, when wronging wedlockes rights,*

*Both fonde and fell, she loues and loathes at once* (1.1.11.33-5).

The sanctity of the marriage bed is restored, for in act one scene four-
Guenovera rejects her lover and expresses that *wedlock loue hath woonne* (1.4.1.24). She declares that she has reached this decision because she fears that her illicit liaison may threaten the throne (1.4.1.66). She illustrates this point by reference to the example of Paris and Helen because the seduction of Menelaus' wife caused Troy's downfall:

*Looke backe to former Fates: Troy still had stoode,*

*Had not her Prince made light of wedlocks lore.*

*The vice, that threw downe Troy, doth threat thy Throne:*

*Take heede: there Mordred stands, whence Paris fell* (1.4.11.64-7).

Marston explores the coupling of these themes in his *Antonio's Revenge* (1599). The adultery theme is established in act one scene two when Piero accuses his daughter Mellida of infidelity:

...*she's unchaste,*

*Tainted, impure, black as the soul of hell* (1.2.11.202-3).

In act two scene two the audience learns in a conversation between Antonio, Lucio and Alberto that Antonio has learnt that his beloved has been accused of being *light and stained with adulterous luxury* (2.2.11.23-4). It should be noted that Antonio and Mellida are not married- they are betrothed. Antonio cannot believe that this rumour is true (2.2.11.25). Mellida is offered the opportunity to protest her innocence (2.2.11.74f.). She appeals to Phoebe, the *chastest deity* (1.78), to judge her purity:

*If I be false to my Antonio,*

*If the least soil of lust smears my pure love,*
Make me more wretched, make me more accurs'd
Than infamy, torture, death, hell, and heaven
Can, bound with amplest power of thought; if not,
Purge my poor heart from defamation's blot (2.2.79-84).

The ghost of Andrugio refers to this rumour concerning Mellida's supposed inconstancy in order to prompt Antonio to seek revenge on Piero, the murderer and Mellida's accuser:
I was empoison'd by Piero's hand;
Revenge my blood! Take spirit, gentle boy.
Revenge my blood! Thy Mellida is chaste;
Only to frustrate thy pursuit in love
Is blaz'd unchaste. (3.1.35-9).

The ghost of Andrugio declares that the rumour concerning Mellida's inconstancy is unfounded. Mellida is cleared of defamation's blot (2.2.84) when Strotzo confesses that he has defam'd her wrongly (4.1.175).

The Duchess commits adultery with Spurio, her husband's bastard son, in Tourneur's The Revenger's Tragedy (1607) in order to avenge herself on her husband [see ll.299-300]. She wishes to arm her husband's brow with woman's heraldry (1.2.176). The Duchess' comments in act one scene two reveal that she is aware that adultery is regarded as a sin:
But once i' th' world, and then to live a bastard,
The curse o' the womb, the thief of nature,
Begot against the seventh commandment,
Half-damned in the conception by the justice
Of that un bribed everlasting law (1.2.159-63).
The reference to the seventh commandment (l.161) alludes to Exodus 20.14, which expressly forbids adultery.
Spurio enters into the illicit affair in order to gain revenge for the way that his father has treated him. He discusses his role in the affair in terms of the nature of his birth:

\textit{I was begot in impudent wine and lust} (1.2.1.191).

He believes that his status as \textit{the son of a cuckold-maker} (1.2.1.203) makes him a natural adulterer:

\textit{For indeed a bastard by nature should make cuckolds} (1.2.1.202).

The Duke's wish to be unfaithful to his wife is merely a desire to fulfil his sexual appetite. In act three scene five Vindice tells Hippolito that the Duke desires to commit adultery. He reports that the Duke has asked him to find a lady and arrange a meeting in \textit{some fit place, veiled from the eyes o' th' court} (3.5.1.13). The association of the location with amorous exploits is captured in the phrase that describes the meeting place- 

\textit{guilty / Of his forefather's lusts} (3.5.1.14-5).

Vindice utilises the situation to satisfy his wish for revenge. He reveals that the Duke's visit to the \textit{un sunned lodge} (3.5.1.18) will allow the Duke to view a meeting between the Duchess and her lover (ll.18ff.):

\begin{quote}
\textit{Wherein 'tis night at noon; and here the rather,}
\textit{Because unto the torturing of his soul}
\textit{The bastard and the Duchess have appointed}
\textit{Their meeting too in this luxurious circle,}
\textit{Which most afflicting sight will kill his eyes}
\textit{Before we kill the rest of him} \ (3.5.1.19-24).
\end{quote}

The Duke in act three scene five lines 124ff. is led to believe that his desire to commit adultery is coming to fruition- he is brought to the lodge, Vindice informs him that he has found a \textit{country lady} (ll.134ff.) for the Duke's pleasure. Vindice's wish for vengeance on the Duke is completed when the Duke, in lust, kisses the poisoned skull that he believes to be the
perfumed head of his lover. [for discussion of the skull of Gloriana see Il.1-240 and 681-2].

Cary's *The Tragedy of Mafiam* (1613) also unites the themes of infidelity and revenge. The former is established in act two scene three in the conversation between Antipater and Doris— for example, at line 806 Antipater comments that *foul adultery blotteth Mariam's brow*. The adultery that Herod has committed with Mariam prompts his first wife Doris to seek revenge. She feels that this lustful relationship has usurped her place as *Herod's mate* (l.772). Her desire for vengeance has been long-lived:

*Oft have I begged for vengeance for this fact* (l.775).

Mariam and the product of the illicit affair form the focus of Doris' plan for revenge (II.1828ff.):

*Stretch thy revenging arm; thrust forth thy hand,*
*And plague the mother much, the children worse.*
*Throw flaming fire upon the base-born heads*
*That were begotten in unlawful beds.* (II.1828-31).

In act five scene one one learns from Nuntio that Doris' plan has reached completion for there have been multiple murders.

The adulterous affair is discussed in Act four scene eight when Doris confronts Mariam. Doris' comments on this relationship offer a Judeo-Christian framework in which adultery can be viewed:

*You in adultery lived nine years together,*
*And heaven will never let adultery in* (II.1790-1).

Mariam adopts this Christian frame when she attempts to define her relationship with Herod. She uses the example of Moses to authorise her adulterous affair:

*Was that adultery? Did not Moses say*
*That he that being matched did deadly hate,*
Might by permission put his wife away,
And take a more beloved to be his mate? (ll.1800-3).

Adultery also plays a significant role in Restoration comedy, but here it is not coupled with revenge. For example, the revenge theme is introduced into Wycherley’s *The Plain Dealer* (1676) in the final scene (5.3.126) when Olivia is exposed as an adultress but the theme is not developed.¹¹⁹

One is prompted to question why the revenge theme is absent. The lack of this meaningful ingredient can be seen to be heralded in Tourneur’s *The Revenger’s Tragedy*. A handful of incidents in the play are tinged with a macabre comic note which attempts to minimalise the seriousness of the dramatic action— for example, the depiction of the enthusiasm with which Ambitioso and Supervacuo hurry to effect the execution of their Junior Brother, while believing that they are removing themselves of the heir to the dukedom (3.4.II.35-60).¹²⁰ The motif of revenge may no longer be so relevant, but the plays do reveal that audiences still wished to watch dramatisations of adultery.

The significance of the theme of betrayal in the *Mock-Thyestes* (1674), and Wycherley’s *The Country Wife* (1675) and *The Plain Dealer* cannot be fully understood unless one explores the historical setting in which they were written. The libertine aspect of these Restoration comedies served as a reaction to the dissolution of the Puritan government.

The characters parade their disregard for virtue. The immorality of the Restoration comic stage is substantiated by the comments of Sir Richard Blackmore in his Preface to *King Arthur* (1697).¹²¹ He comments that

contemporary playwrights bring *Vice and the Corruption of Manners into Esteem and Reputation*. The parade of sexual degradation on the comic stage is attested in Wright's *Country Conversation* (1694), in Collier's pamphlet *A Short View of Immorality, and Profaness of the English Stage* (1698). In the former Wright remarks that *most of our New Comedies are become very pictures of Immorality*. Greene in his *Apology for Actors* (1615) refers to the act of adultery in his discussion of the evil and falsehood that contemporary plays teach. He reveals that contemporary plays taught one how to *deflower* wives.

The playwright's interest in ridiculing the mask of virtue reflects the libertine aspect of his society. The prologue to Etherege's *The Man of Mode* (1676) betrays that the comedies offer a reflection of the manners of the day. This is illustrated at lines 34ff. when Sir Car Scroope asks the audience to reserve their critical judgement:

> So, among you, there starts up every day
> Some new, unheard-of fool for us to play.
> Then, for your own sakes, be not too severe,
> Nor what you all admire at home, damn here.
> Since each is fond of his own ugly face,
> Why should you, when we hold it, break the glass? (ll.34-9).

Comedy as a reflection of contemporaneous life is also suggested in Wright's *Mock-Thyestes*. Tantalus implies that he would be unable to debauch those on earth because they have already been corrupted:

> I must to earth: but pray let's know
> What I must do there ere I go.
> I cannot teach 'em damning there,
> Nor more debauch 'em then they are (ll.7-10).

122 *ibid.*: for Wright p.141; for Collier p.121.
This sentiment is expressed further in the following lines when Tantalus refers to the inhabitants of earth as *Sons of Whores* (I.13). The comic genre as a mirror to reproduce the freedoms of the playwright's society is suggested by Tantalus' statement in response to Megaera's request:

*Perhaps on earth what you have moved,*

*Is often done, and well approved;*

*And to debauch one's own Relation*

*Counted as a Genteel Recreation*  
(I.49-52).

Given these social and dramatic circumstances, the motif of adultery plays a more pronounced role in Wright's *Mock-Thyestes* than it does in Seneca's text. Wright's burlesque is a text that has paradoxically never been discussed before. The genre within which the *MT* falls determines the manner in which adultery will be treated—thus, the seriousness of the act is undermined in the play. Atreus seems more concerned with the attitude with which Thyestes executed the act of violation rather than with the act itself:

*.............if he*

*Had done this out of Amity*

*And pure good will unto my Wife,*

*It had never grieved me, but, us'd life!*

*To Cuckold me out of mere scorn,*

*By flesh and blood cannot be born*  
(I.I.53-8).

The theme of adultery is alluded to at regular intervals in the play. It appears in act three when Thyestes expresses that one of the reasons tempting him to return to his homeland is the prospect of seeing Atreus' wife:

*But if you go, we hope once more*

*To see his Wife, that honest Whore*  
In act five Atreus refers to the illicit relationship when he offers Thyestes a flagon of Ale. He says that his wife had labelled the *merry Wasail* (I.619) a *tast of Love* (I.621). In this act there is an indication that the relationship between Thyestes and Atreus' wife may be rekindled:

_...Tell her that I greet her Kindly, and will not fail to meet her_ (I.629-30).

The importance of the adultery motif in the burlesque dictated the significance of the motif of the wife. Wright offers an account of her physical appearance and names her Jenny: It is rather humorous that a mythological Greek Queen should be given a female personal name associated with the lower orders. It is the informal equivalent of Janet and thus serves as the feminine of the name Jack, a personal name for a male servant. The description of the physical appearance of Atreus' wife provides an element of humour. Atreus compares her to the gorgon Medusa in order to support his argument that the debauchery was executed out of disrespect:

*But she's as ugly as Medusa.*

_'Twas therefore done you plainly see,

_In spight, and disrespect to me_ (I.166-8).

Wright, like Seneca, ignores the part that the wife played in the act of debauchery but, unlike Seneca, he uses Atreus to disclose the reasons why a woman should not be blamed for her part in the affair. The latter is shown by Atreus' comment that *pritty Lasses* (I.183) are like *Venice Glasses* (I.184). The comparison serves to illustrate his belief that a woman's nature is brittle.

Infidelity is further explored in Wycherley's *The Country Wife*. The playwright is a satirist, and thus he presents the topic of sexual relationships as an object of laughter. The audience applauds the wife who pursues her lustful desires without her husband's detection. Sir Jaspar
Fidget accepts the flimsy explanation that is offered by his wife when she is caught in Homer's company. He believes that his wife's embrace was an attempt to discover if Homer was ticklish (4.3.11.75ff).

Wycherley presents a discussion by Mr. Pinchwife and Sir Jasper Fidget on the prevention of infidelity in women in order to reveal that the beliefs of these men will result in their downfall. Mr. Pinchwife does acknowledge that he would have to bear some responsibility if he was cuckolded:

"...well, if thou Cuckold me, 'twill be my own fault— for Cuckolds and Bastards, are generally makers of their own fortune (3.1.11.54ff.)."

One should consider that the idea of a husband's ineffectiveness in maintaining the constancy of his wife may have been drawn from the contemporary influence of Molière's *School for Husbands* (1661) or from Molière's *School for Wives* (1662).

The play suggests the ways in which a husband can prevent himself from being cuckolded. Mr. Pinchwife narrates that he deliberately selected a country girl because he felt that her ignorance would procure her constancy. His discussion of the qualities that are to be valued in a wife offer comment on the nature of the adulteress. He warns against the property of wit (1.1.391ff.) for wit in a wife makes a man a cuckold, but if a woman is a fool she will remain constant:

"'Tis my maxime, he's a Fool that marrys, but he's a greater/ that does not marry a Fool; what is wit in a Wife good for, but to make a Man a Cuckold?" (1.1.11.390-3).

Mr. Pinchwife attempts to secure his wife's constancy by dressing his wife as a boy when they go out (3.1.11.99ff.). Sir Jasper Fidget advises the

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124Friedman, op.cit.: pp.262 for Wycherley's further indebtedness to Molière.
husband to provide amusement for his wife in order to prevent her from seeking pleasures for herself (1.1.I.115ff.

Sparkish is used to highlight the futility of the efforts of these husbands to maintain their wives' loyalty. In a conversation with Mr. Pinchwife (4.4.I.67ff.) he comments that no means will prevent a wife from infidelity if she is inclined to act in this manner: *she'll have it sooner or later by the world...* (4.4.I.71-2).

The portraits that the playwright paints of the husbands allows the audience to gain an insight into certain conditions under which infidelity may be considered as justified. Sir Jaspar Fidget's wife violates her marriage vows because she is starved of attention. He is primarily concerned with his business meetings. His wife comments in act two scene one on the neglect that wives suffer (2.1.I.336-7):

*Indeed as the World goes, I wonder there are no more jealous, since Wives are so neglected.*

The presence of the libertine, Homer, serves to expose the wife's mask of purity. One should note that the name Homer means one who cuckold.125 A picture of the wife's prudish camouflage is painted by Lady Fidget in act five scene four when she narrates that Virtue for a woman is the same as Religion for the statesman (5.4.I.104ff.). It is unlikely that a wife in Lady Fidget's position would have made such an honest remark. Homer does not expose the hypocrisy of the wives because this screen secures his own impunity. Lady Fidget asks him to preserve their reputation (5.4.I.170ff.) and he willingly agrees to this request (5.4.I.173ff.):

*Come, faith Madam, let us e'en pardon one another, for/ all the difference I find betwixt we men, and you women, we forswear/ our selves at the beginning of an Amour, you, as long as it lasts* (5.4.I.173-5).

125cf. Fletcher, J., The Elder Brother (London, 1637): sig.H2 where the name is used to mean cuckold maker.
The presentation by Wycherley of women choosing their own sexual partners could be viewed as a reflection of the playwright's desire to subvert the notion of the subjection of women to the authority of men.

Mrs. Pinchwife's inconstancy is revealed clearly in the second scene of the fourth act. The letter that she substitutes for the one dictated by her husband discloses the depth of her passion. In the letter she declares her love for Horner in physical terms—she desires to touch his Toe under the Table (4.2.110), to rub knees with him and to stare into his face until she blushes.

The voice of vice that reigns triumphant at the close of the play elevates the deceiver to the level of hero rather than lowering her to the status of villain. The comedy ends on an ironic note—the audience are presented with a dance of cuckolds rather than the traditional marriage dance. Thus, one is left contemplating the futility of the improper marriage instead of the fulfilment of the ideal union.

The sexual freedom of married women is further explored in The Plain Dealer. In the Epistle Dedicatory Wycherley defines the term adultery. At lines 30-2 the audience learns that unfaithful wives are those who fanatize about other men:

......their Husbands, whom they Cuckold/ with themselves, by thinking of other men, and so make the lawful matrimonial/ embraces Adultery (II.30-2).

The playwright attests to the sexual liberty of contemporary women by choosing, with satiric wit, to address the Epistle Dedicatory to Lady B-Mother Bennett, a notorious procuress.

In the course of the play the audience will view Olivia repeatedly embracing adultery. In the opening scene we learn of Olivia's relationship with Manly:
She had given me her heart first, and I am satisfi'd with/ the security; I can never doubt her truth and constancy (1.1.11.579-80).

Olivia ends the relationship in act two scene one when she declares her love for her husband:

Most passionately; nay, love him now, tho' I have marry'd/ him, and he me: which mutual love, I hope you are too good, too/ generous a Man to disturb, by any future claim, or visits to me (2.1.11.705-7).

Vernish, Olivia's husband, learns of the affair from Manly in act five scene two. Manly does not learn that Vernish is married to Olivia until 5.3.11.50ff.. Thus, he, unwittingly, informs Vernish that he had to pay Olivia before she would sleep with him:

Ay, a Mercenary Whore indeed; for she made me pay her,
before I lay with her (5.2.11.122-3).

She will betray the love that she declares for her husband when she meets Fidelia, whom she believes to be a man. At lines 189ff. of act four scene two she declares the fierceness of her love (ll.189-90) for Fidelia. Her passion for Fidelia is revealed when she infers that they will indulge in sexual pleasures (4.2.11.244f.):

But I did not think with you, my life, to pass my time in/ talking. Come hither, come; yet stay, till I have lock'd a door in the/ other Room, that might chance to let us in some interruption; which/ reciting Poets, or losing Gamesters, fear not more than I at this/ time do (4.2.11.244-8).

Vernish shares his wife's illicit lust for Fidelia. He touches Fidelia's breasts and suggests that they may indulge in the pleasures of the flesh:

Come, there is a Bed within, the proper Rack for/ Lovers; and if you are a Woman, there you can keep no secrets,/ you'll tell me there all unask'd. Come. (4.2.11.380-2).
At the close of the play the playwright makes Olivia pay the penalty for her infidelity— in act five scene three she is publicly unmasked and she is deprived of the gifts from her lovers (5.3.118ff.).

443-51 ......and now let all/ the flocke of furies dyre, / And full of strife Erinnys come, / and double brands of fyre/ Megaera shakynge: for not yet/ enough with furie greate/ And rage dothe burne my boylyng brest / it ought to be repleate, / With monster more:

Atreus summons the spirits of vengeance to strengthen the violence that he feels within his own heart. Gueneuora voices Hughes' translation of Seneca's (II.249-52) dira Furiarum cohors, / Discorsque Erinnys veniat, et geminas faces/ Megaera quatiens: non satis magno meum/ Ardet furore pectus: impleri iuuat/ Maiore monstro in The Misfortunes of Arthur (1587) [for lines translated by Hughes see II.85-6 The Preface]:

Come spitefull fiends, come heapes of furies fell,
Not one, by one, but all at once: my breast
Raues not inough: it likes me to be fillde
With greater monsters yet (II.39-42).

The invocation of a dark force also features in Macbeth (1606). In 1.5. Lady Macbeth summons up the spirits— beseeching them to fill her with viciousness and to hide her thoughts:

......Come, you spirits
That tend on mortal thoughts, unsex me here,
And fill me from the crown to the toe top-full
Of direst cruelty! make thick my blood;
Stop up the access and passage to remorse,
That no compunctious visitings of nature
Shake my fell purpose, nor keep peace between
The effect and it! Come to my woman's breasts,
And take my milk for gall, you murdering ministers,
Wherever in your sightless substances
You wait on nature's mischief! Come, thick night,
And pall thee in the dunnest smoke of hell,
That my keen knife see not the wound it makes,
Nor heaven peep through the blanket of the dark,
To cry, "Hold, hold!" (1.5.11.41-55).

449 And rage doth burn my boyling breast:

Atreus describes the physical effects of the passion to which he is subject [further description of physical effect of passion 1.1654]. There is no universal set of principles and standards by which we are able to determine what constitutes a passion. The Stoics postulated that a passion was a morally reprehensible impulse, an agitated and misguided movement of the soul. Passions are said to arise out of mistaken views of what is good and what is bad. In Chrysippus' work entitled On Passions he relates that passions arise when man acts contrary to the norm of right reason. Seneca portrays the anger of both Atreus and Medea by bringing the experiences of the central character before the audience. The most colourful physical description appears in the lyrics of the final Choral interlude, 11.849-78. In these lines the auditor learns of the changing states of blushing and pallor which occur when the individual is subjected to a state of frenzy:

\[\text{vultus citatus ira} \]
\[\text{riget et caput feroci} \]
\[\text{quatiens superba motu} \]
\[\text{regi minatur ultro.} \]
\[\text{quis credat exulem?} \]
\[\text{Flagrant genae rubentes,} \]
pallor fugat ruborem,
nullum vagante forma
servat diu colorem  (Medea ll.853-61).

Anger is a passion which lends itself to physical description:

cetera licet, abscondere et in abdito alere; ira se profert et in faciem exit,
quantoque maior, hoc effervescit manifestius (De ira 1.1.5).

It could be proposed that this playwright's detailed physical description
was grounded in the Stoic concept of the theatre as an educator. Seneca
was concerned that the spectator should come to recognise the hallmarks
of each passion. When a poet describes a facial expression, he is recording
for the spectator the nature of the character's reaction.

Downname's account of the ugliness of the bodily condition of an
individual consumed by anger in his A Treatise of Anger (1609) serves a
similar didactic purpose. In his chapter on the manifold and great evils
which accompany unjust anger he relates that anger causes the hair to
stand erect, the eyes to stare, the teeth to bite, the face to become flushed,
the speech to stutter, the blood to swell in the veins, the breast to expand,
the hands to strike at objects, the joints to shake and the feet to beat the
ground. Heywood's description of his own physical condition in the
closing lines of the Preface echoes Downname's account of the deformity
that anger imposes upon the body. Heywood narrates his experience of the
passion of anger (vext 1.679) that the fury has instilled within him in
physical terms (ll.665ff.)- for example, he comments that his hair stood on
end, his muscles began to shake and his teeth began to ache (ll.677-80).

In MT (1674) Wright imitates Seneca's verbalisation of the effects of
passion. In the burlesque Atreus' discussion of his desire for revenge
includes reference to his physical being:

126Downname, op.cit.:p. 53.
I feel a rumbling in my belly
To do a thing which I won't tell ye.
Sure 'tis some Spirit that thus puts
Me on, and agitates my Guts (ll.233-6).
The colloquial nature of the terms of the description such as belly and Guts forms a humorous contrast to the grand diction of Seneca's line.

In early modern revenge tragedies the playwrights depict the inner passions of their revengers. This awareness of the self reveals an area in which Seneca was influential. In Hughes' *The Misfortunes of Arthur* (1587) Guenovera relates to Fronia her desire to exact vengeance:

——*My hart doth throbbe:*

*My liuer boyles: some what my minde portendes,*

*Vncertayne what: but whatsoever, it's huge* (1.2.11.42-4).

Seneca's internalisation of passion is imitated in R.W.'s *Tancred and Gismund* (1591-2). Tancred's account of his desire for passion draws, like that of Atreus (burne), on the imagery of fire. Thus, he describes that his mind, *that burneth with desire/ Of dire revenge* (ll.1003-4). The figurative association between passion and fire is echoed in Tancred's account of his wish to see his daughter:

*Call my daughter: my heart boyles till I see*

*Her in my sight, to whom I may discharge*

*All the unrest that thus distempereth me* (ll.1010-2).

The text *Stoicus Vapulans* was published anonymously in 1648. The title page reveals that the play was performed at St.John's College, Cambridge in 1618, which suggests that the author was a student there at that time. The play presents a humorous look at the Stoic belief in the subordination of passion to reason.127 Before the discussion of the play is

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opened we should consider the degree of knowledge and popularity of Stoicism in the early modern period. The Stoic texts of Epictetus and Seneca are recorded in the inventories of the private libraries— for example, John Dee owned an edition of the Manual (1531), and Abraham Tilman (1589) possessed a Latin and Greek copy of Epictetus' *Enchavidion*.\(^{128}\) If Seneca's brand of Stoicism was influential in the Renaissance it would have emanated out of their knowledge of the Latin texts of Seneca because there is no record of translations of the main philosophical works until 1614 (the year in which Lodge's edition was published).\(^{129}\) The dramatic works betray varying degrees of Stoic colouring— early texts such as *Gorbодуc* (acted in 1561; printed in 1565, revised in 1570) and *The Misfortunes of Arthur* contain few Stoic sentiments; later dramatic works such as Chapman's *The Revenge of Bussy d'Ambois* (1610-11) and Massinger's *Believe as you List* (1631) have a stronger Stoic hue.\(^{130}\) This pattern was determined, in part, by the translation movement, for the two principal periods for the translation of Stoic texts were 1560-80 and 1610-36. Translations of neo-Stoic writers such as Justus Lipsius appeared in the interval. Lipsius' works would have doubtless endeared Stoicism to the contemporaneous society, for he had attempted in his *Manductio ad Stoicam Philosophiam* (1604) and *Physiologia Stoicorum* (1604) to reconcile Stoicism with Christianity— for example, he attempts to establish, with little attention to theological concerns, that the Stoic wise man is akin to the good Christian.\(^{131}\) [see II.299-300 of text for elevation of Seneca to biblical status].

\(^{128}\)Monsarrat, op. cit.: p. 25.
\(^{129}\)Ibid.: pp. 31ff. for an account of the translation movement.
\(^{130}\)Ibid.: pp. 189ff. discusses Stoicism in Chapman; pp. 224ff. in Massinger.
In *Stoicus Vapulans* Stoicus is beaten by Dolor for rejecting the affections that are exchanged between Voluptas and Joy (2.4.). This thrashing fails to alter Stoicus' belief in the virtue of the lack of passion. In 3.2. Stoicus' support of the supremacy of reason is shown to backfire and he is presented as subject to emotions such as Hatred, Anger and Tristia. This is further illustrated at lines 907-9 when Stoicus complains of his suffering, and in the next breath proclaims that he is not annoyed with his torturers:

*O passum graviora! O justa caelorum nu-/mina! per Iovem*

*Ego non irascor tamen* (ll.907-8).

Ridicule of the Stoic position on passion reaches a climax in the fifth act. In 5.2. Reason, the presiding judge in the Court hearing Stoicus' indictment against passion, reveals the nature of Stoicus' accusation. Reason tells that Stoicus has classified Desire as a prostitute, Love as a killer, Joy as a procuress and Hope as a cheat. Stoicus begs for passions to be expelled (*Ut exulent| Affectus precor* ll.1955-6) because he feels that they will demolish the community. He utilises the disagreement that is enacted in 5.3. between the Appetites over a piece of tobacco in order to reveal the threat that the passions pose (5.4.). Thus, Stoicus' summons against passion in favour of reason is shown to be excessive. The humour is achieved by revealing the contradictory nature of Stoicus' responses to the Court's ruling that emotions should avoid him. Peripateticus anticipates Stoicus' response:

*Quid jam Stoicé? quid jam? exclamo nunc*

*o tempora! o mores!* (ll.2455-6).

Stoicus is shown to respond in exactly this manner, but the comic note is introduced when he comments that he is not angry. His reply echoes the Senecan exclamations of Peripateticus' lines:

*O tempora! o mores! o passum graviora!*

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per Jovem ego non irascor tamen (ll.2457-8).
The satirical treatment of the Stoic belief in passion as an erroneous judgement may have arisen out of the contemporaneous view that passions are a central part of man's nature. This is illustrated by Joseph Hall in his Meditations and Vows - he suggests that he could not be a Stoic because he is unable to live without passion.132 A further example of this belief is presented in Arthur Warwick's Spare Minutes (1634) - he asserts that living without passion would be worse than being reduced to the status of an animal.133

455-6 No gilt will I forbeare, nor none/ may be enoughe despight:

A translation of the Senecan line (l.255 Nullum relinquam facinus, et nullum est satis ) can be found in Hughes' The Misfortunes of Arthur (1587) 1.2. Hughes renders facinus as plague:

Omit no plague, and none will be inough (1.2.1.46).

[ for references to Hughes' translations see ll.85-6 The Preface].

565-70 What thyng against their unkle nowd you them enstrukte to do, /Perhaps with you to worke the like, / they will not be a dred./ Suche mischiefe wrought hath ofte returnde/ upon the workers hed:

The servant attempts to warn Atreus of the dangers of teaching his sons, for a teacher's words may be turned on him by his pupils. These sentiments are echoed in Macbeth (1606).134

---But in these cases

We still have judgement here; that we but teach

Bloody instructions, which, being taught, return

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132Monserrat, op.cit.: p. 86.
133ibid.:p. 89.
134Cunliffe, [1893], op.cit.: p.82 notes imitation of Hercules Furens 739-740.
To plague the inventor (1.7.11.7-10).

608-11 but muche the fearfull face/ Bewrayes it selfe: cuen him that faynes/ the secret wayghtie casq/ Dothe ofte betray:

Atreus reveals that facial expressions betray an individual's feelings. Lady Macbeth illustrates this statement when she addresses her husband in Macbeth (1606):

Your face, my thane, is as a book where men
May read strange matters (1.5.11.63-4).

619-86 Chorus:

This ode serves as a reflection on the nature of kingship. The Chorus register the existence of a report concerning an agreement that has been reached between Atreus and Thyestes, and this prompts them to discuss the thirst for power that strives to destroy them.

The parallel ode in MT (1674) presents a discussion of the nature of cuckoldry and the means by which it can be avoided. The change in subject matter reflects the significance of the adultery motif and contemporary comedy's preoccupation with the comedy of manners. The Chorus attempt to minimise the seriousness of the act of cuckoldry by commenting that they fail to understand how the act can cause the brothers to quarrel. Their attitude can be explained in part by their suggestion that Cuckoldry and PusillagelAre but tivo shaddows c)f the Age (11.271-2). They remark that the discovery of infidelity often leads to violence:

And yet for this men take the pains
To beat out one anothers brains.
Nor do they spare the other Sex,
But often break their Spouses necks (11.275-8).
One notes the irony of these lines because Atreus, the cuckolded husband, does not display violent tendencies directly towards his wife or his brother. They observe that a cautious husband keeps his wife caged and tends to her as if she were a *Bird-Canary* (1.280):

> Then happy she, whose Husband's wary,
> And keeps her caged like Bird-Canary,
> Giving her once a day, with care,
> Linseed and water, fresh and fair  

(ll.279-82).

They advocate this type of wife because she will spend her time spinning, knitting and sewing. In contrast, the Chorus sing that the wife who is beautiful will gain unnecessary attention from admirers and will engage in illicit sexual liaisons:

> Much Love without doors while she gets,
> Causing within more jealous heats,
> May dye of Husbands bangs perhaps:
> If not, yet of her Servants Claps  

(ll.291-4).

The vulgarity of the reference to sexual disease in the phrase *Servants Claps* closes the ode on a comic note.

627 Not riches make a kyng or highe renowne--:

The sweeping declaration that riches do not make a King (1.343 *regem non faciunt opes*) is clarified in the next three lines. The accoutrements of the royal figure are itemised— the purple dye as a sign of royal standing in the classical world, the crown as a mark of kingship and the golden roof beams as an indication of wealth. These details signalling the symbols of wealth and excess associated with the king are echoed in MS Sloane 1041[ see ll.85-6 *The Preface*]. The directions for the painting of the mythological story of Atreus and Thyestes make specific reference to the architecture of the palace, the colours of a king's garments and the sceptre that indicates a
king's sovereignty. The signs of a regal position also feature in Shakespeare's *Henry V* (1598-9) 4.1.11.277ff. King Henry mentions the representations of kingship- the sceptre, the ball and the crown. The passage also expresses the extravagance and affluence associated with kingship- *robe of gold and pearl* (4.1.1279). The ode considers that the true king is one who is unfettered by fear and passion, invulnerable to the attractions of riches and fame, and courageous in the face of death.

Seneca's passage, already significant to the Romans, gained added resonances with the debates surrounding the nature of kingship, tyranny and despotism that proliferated in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Its currency in debate is illustrated by the frequency with which Renaissance playwrights introduce politically didactic sentiments into their works. I will now examine the relevant political and dramatic literature. Implicit in discussions of the rulers of the state in the Renaissance is the idea that there is an unwritten moral standard by which kings should rule themselves. In the Renaissance treatises on the definition and education of the ideal prince, the model citizen, the gentleman were numerous- for example, Sir Thomas Elyot's *Book Named the Governor* (first published in 1531). This work considers all aspects of the life of members of the ruling classes. Chapters IV to XXVII of the first book present a scheme for the education of future governors. He proposes that they should study the classics- from the age of seven they are to learn Latin and Greek and progress with their studies until they are grounded in the popular classical authors:

*Now let us return to the order of learning apt for a gentleman. Wherein I am of the opinion of Quintilian that I would have him learn Greek and Latin authors both at one time...* 135

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135Elyot, op.cit.:p. 28.
In Books two and three Elyot defines the qualities of the ruler. He defines each virtue and offers historical examples to illustrate its application.

This is reminiscent of the works of Erasmus (1466-1536) whose social thinking was influenced by his knowledge of Stoic writers such as Seneca. In *The Education of the Christian Prince* (1516) he makes specific reference to Seneca and his texts, and there are numerous allusions to Senecan sentiments that are not noted. He cites *De Clementia* twice in book one in order to convey his belief that a king should not display anger (*De Clementia* I.192,3), and that a king should strive to serve the needs of his people (*De Clementia* I.12.1). Erasmus echoes Senecan ideas in his passages on, for example, the education of the prince (*De ira* II.21.3), and the sycophants that should be weaned from a prince's side (*De ira* II. 21.7-8). In his *The Education of a Christian Prince* and *The Praise of Folly* (1510) the king is depicted as a political variant of the Stoic wise man. In the latter he discloses the association in Senecan Stoic doctrine between the wise man and absence of passion:

*This is what marks the wise man off from the fool; he is ruled by reason, the fool by his emotions. That is why the Stoics segregate all passions from the wise man, as if they were diseases.*

This account of an unemotional being develops, and he introduces the idea of an affiliation between the wise man and the king. He suggests that the wise man who is unmoved by passion, never deluded, complacent and self reliant is suitable to be a king:

*Self-sufficient, self-satisfied, the only man to be rich and healthy, a king and free- unique in fact in everything, but only in his own unique opinion- he feels no need of friends and is a friend to no one, he doesn't*

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hesitate to bid the gods themselves go hang, and everything that happens to him in life he treats as crazy with ridicule and contempt. But this is the sort of animal who is the perfect wise man.\textsuperscript{138}

Joseph Hall's definition (1608) of the wise man also centres on the sage's characteristic of self-mastery:

His passions are so many good servants, which stand in a diligent attendance, ready to be commanded by reason, by religion; and if at any time, forgetting their duty, they be mis-carried to rebell, hee can first conceale their mutiny, then suppresse it.\textsuperscript{139}

Hall's works deserve attention because his moral and theological thinking is similar to that of Seneca.\textsuperscript{140} This is illustrated by Gilbert Primrose who called Hall \textit{Christianus Seneca} (1629).\textsuperscript{141} Hall's account of the \textit{Character of the Wise Man} appears in his \textit{Characters of Vertues and Vices}, a treatise that presents the practical relevance of the philosophical precepts that he has explored in \textit{Heaven Upon Earth} (1606).\textsuperscript{142} He depicts the wise man as a citizen who unites devotional well being with sound judgement. On page eight he offers a definition of the wise man in terms of a scholar and a master. He is both \textit{an apt scholar, and an excellent master: for both euerie thing hee sees, informs him, and his minde inriched with plentiful full observation can give the best precepts}.

The section's concluding remarks offer a condensed portrait of the wise man. Thus, on page ten and following Hall expresses that the wise man is \textit{his owne Lawyer; the treasurie of knowledge, the oracle, of counsell; blinde in no mans cause, best-sighted in his owne}.\textsuperscript{143}

\textsuperscript{138}ibid.: p. 52. \\
\textsuperscript{139}Hall, J., (1608), \textit{Characters of Vertues and Vices} (London): p.9. \\
\textsuperscript{140}Williamson, G., (1951), \textit{The Senecan Amble: a study in prose from Bacon to Collier} (Chicago): p. 246. \\
\textsuperscript{141}Monsarrat, op.cit.: pp.100ff. for Hall as a Neo-Stoic or Christian Stoic. \\
\textsuperscript{142}Hall, op. cit.: pp.5-11. \\
\textsuperscript{143}Hall, op. cit.: pp. 10-11.
Erasmus in *The Praise of Folly* suggests that a king should be ruled by reason for he can only govern his subjects correctly if he is able to master his own desires. This sentiment is reiterated in Erasmus' comments on social duty in *Adages*:

"And also because a man must first rule his own lusts, and be himself obedient to right reason, ere he can well govern other." \(^{144}\)

This concept of self-mastery is illustrated further in Baldwin's *A Myrrour for Magistrates* (1559).\(^{145}\) He offers examples of acclaimed Englishmen who have met with disaster in order to reveal to magistrates the dangers of following one's own predilections. He attempts to disclose that an individual cannot rule others if he has not learned to regulate himself.

The portrait of the good prince presented in Erasmus' *The Education of a Christian Prince* develops his belief in the harmony between rule and Christian ethics.\(^{146}\) Thus, Erasmus expresses that, according to the example of God, a prince has to exceed others in judgement and knowledge.\(^{147}\) He advocates that a prince should possess knowledge of the Scriptures because a prince must also be a philosopher. The practical political didacticism of this work is suggested by Erasmus's decision to dedicate this work (twelve years after its initial publication) to Charles I of Spain, who was later to become Emperor Charles V. In this treatise he presents an overview of a prince's responsibilities. He comments that the prince should participate in public affairs—overseeing the judicial system, providing an educational programme for his subjects, aid the lower orders and encourage harmony amongst his subjects.\(^{148}\)

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\(^{144}\) Chew, op.cit.: p. 225.

\(^{145}\) Baldwin, op.cit..

\(^{146}\) Erasmus ed. Born, op.cit.: pp. 26-44.

\(^{147}\) Erasmus, (1703-6), *Opera Omnia* (Leyden): p. 574.

\(^{148}\) ibid.: pp. 598ff.
Erasmus emphasises the role of education for a prince whose position is a hereditary right. This sentiment is echoed in George Buchanan's *De Iure Regni* (1566/7, printed 1579). In this treatise Buchanan emphasises the significance of education in determining the character of the prince. This idea had already been presented in his *Genethliacon* - at II.340-3 of this birthday speech, he proposed that the early education of the Prince, James VI, should consist of instruction in religion, morality, honour and justice.149 This poem does not serve as record of forthcoming victories; it offers a list of instructions on the rearing and function of the Protestant Prince. This didactic piece was composed in the last years of Buchanan's life and expresses his concerns for the future of his country. Buchanan emphasises the qualities that he wishes James to display in order to obtain his wish for the dawn of a Golden Age. The opening lines prophesy his political Utopia:

*Cresco, puer, patriae auspiciis felicibus orto,*

*Ex spectate puer, cui vatum oracula priorum*

*Aurea compositis promittunt secula bellis.*150

Buchanan's treatises on the nature of kingship served as a response to the contemporaneous political situation.151 He utilised these literary products to express his dissatisfaction with Mary, his support for Moray as her successor, and his wish to disengage James from his mother's company and to convert him to Protestantism. The latter's comments concerning James are substantiated by Buchanan's decision to dedicate his *Rerum Scoticarum Historia* (c. 1560 the treatise begins to take form but is published later) to, and for the instruction of, James VI. In the treatise Buchanan associates the model ruler with his ability to dispense justice, to

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149 Mc Farlane, I.D., (1981), *Buchanan* (London): p.446 discusses *Genethliacon* as a forerunner to *Historia* and *De Iure Regni*.
151 Mc Farlane, op.cit.: pp.392ff. discusses *De Iure Regni*.
remain moderate in his sexual desires and reasonable in his practices. The composition recommends that the king should set a moral example for his subjects to follow: it advises the king to keep away from sycophants, to associate with the citizens, and to shun inactivity. He lists wisdom, justice and moderation as the characteristics of the wise ruler. He comments that the latter is demonstrated when the king allows reason to control his passions. The treatise describes the difficulties of selecting a monarch and offers an account of a suitable method of selection. The monarch should have public approval and be a member of the Royal family: although, there are circumstances under which a monarch can be chosen by God from amongst the lower orders. Buchanan relates that the authority of the king should be regulated by the people. Thus, the king is not allowed to act above the law.

Thomas Norton and Thomas Sackville in Gorboduc (1561) offer comment on kingship in response to contemporaneous events. The tragedies that were written in the 1560s all reveal that a political bias was an important element of contemporary tragedy. These plays reflect the growing concern for an insecure throne: Elizabeth I had been dangerously ill and remained unmarried. Gorboduc served as a warning to Elizabeth I of the disorder that ensues when the Crown is insecure. In act two scene one the political message is foremost. The counsel that Hermon offers Ferrex at lines 144ff. is used to illustrate that division and uncertainty of the throne causes monarchical ambition. Hermon counsels Ferrex to resort to force in order to claim his right to the throne. He justifies this action by asserting that the gods permit kings to carry out tasks that are forbidden in ordinary men:

152ibid.: pp.416ff. for De Scoticarum Historia.
154Baker, op.cit.: pp.18ff.
"When kings on slender quarrels run to wars,
And then in cruel and unkindly wise
Command thefts, rapes, murders of innocents,
The spoil of towns, ruins of mighty realms;
Think you such princes do suppose themselves
Subject to laws of kind, and fear of gods?
Murders and violent thefts in private men
Are heinous crimes, and full of foul reproach;
Yet none offence, but deck'd with glorious name
Of noble conquests, in the hands of kings (2.1.146-155).

The political sentiments expressed in this speech may have been a reflection of the beliefs of its author, Norton. This poetic speech highlights the political message that rebellions and civil wars coexist alongside an uncertain throne. The comment of Dordan at lines 162-5 affirms that one is to disregard the advice of the evil counsellor Hermon:

O heaven! was there ever heard or known
So wicked counsel to a noble prince?
Let me, my lord, disclose unto your grace
This heinous tale, what mischief it contains (2.1.162-5).

In first and third Choral odes of Goldingham's *Herodes* (c.1570/1580) political comments are offered on the nature of the king. The first Choral ode (II.251-345) warns that a king should not place too much trust in either his sword or his wealth. In the third ode II.871-943 kingship receives greater attention. The definition of the king is presented in the form of a list which is signalled by the repetition of the phrase Rex est...- for example, at 1. 914, 1.918,1.922, 1.928, 1.933. The Chorus assert that a king must be able to control his emotions:

155ibid.:pp.23ff.
Rex est qui dominus sui est (I.914).

A king should not ruled by fortune or the changing favour of the people:
Rex est, qui satis est sibi
Quem nox de stabili gradu
Doecit populus minax,
Nex vulga fragilis favor (II.918-21).

In Tancred and Gismund (1591-2) the discussion of the ideal ruler centres on the relationship between the king, obedience, justice and clemency. The sweeping political comments exchanged by Lucrece and her brother Tancred in the stichomythic dialogue at II.454ff. focus on the tie between the ruler, obedience and justice:

Lucrece: The kings commanment alwais should be iust.
Tancred: What ere it be the kings commaund is iust.
Lucrece: Just to commaund: but iustlie must he charge.
Tancred: He chargeth iustlie that commands as king. (II.453-6).

This discussion is prompted by Tancred's desire to gain the obedience of his daughter.

A king's right to exercise the virtue of clemency is considered by Tancred and Iulio at II.1260ff. The king and his Lord Chamberlain discuss this issue in response to Tancred's decree that Palurin is to be conveyed to the dungeon (II.1275-9). Iulio feels that Tancred should show mercy towards the distressed prisoner (II.1260-3). This forces Tancred to utter a tyrannical maxim reminiscent of Atreus:

This is the soundest safetie for a king
To cut them off that vex or hinder him (II.1284-5).

Iulio counters this comment by asserting that the king reigns in safety when he pardons the Subjects that do honor him (I.1287).

Seneca's meditation on kingship is echoed in the conversation between Andrugio and Lucio in 4.1. II.46ff. of Marston's Antonio and Mellida.
At 1.48 Marston reproduces the Senecan reference to Tyrian purple-in both cases it is employed to denote regal status. Marston agrees with Seneca's belief that outer garments do not make an individual into a ruler:

'Tis not the bared pate, the bended knees,
Gilt tipstaves, Tyrian purple, chairs of state,
Troops of pied butterflies that flutter still
In greatness' summer, that confirm a prince (4.1.1.47-50).

Andrugio uses the example of Lucio to illustrate the qualities of the true right king (4.1.1.54). He reveals that absence of fear, the disregard for the opinion of others and personal contentment form the principal characteristics of the model king (4.1.1.54ff.):

.........that dares do aught save wrong.
Fears nothing mortal but to be unjust;
Who is not blown up with the flattering puffs
Of spongy sycophants, who stands unmov'd
Despite the justling of opinion,
Who can enjoy himself maugre the throng
That strive to press his quiet out of him,
Who sits upon Jove's footstool, as I do,
Adoring, not affecting, majesty,
Whose brow is wreathed with the silver crown
Of clear content  (4.1.1.54-64).

Andrugio in the following lines appears as the antithesis of the ideal that he has promoted. The name Genoese causes Andrugio to become vile passion's slave (4.1.1.69). When Andrugio addresses Lucio at lines 83-4 he expresses further that he is subject to a bout of passion:

Spit on me, Lucio, for I am turn'd slave;
Observe how passion domineers o'er me (4.1.1.83-4).
The quality of self-mastery as the defining characteristic of the king is noted by Bussy in George Chapman's *Bussy d'Ambois* (c.1603-4). Bussy discusses in abstract terms acts of virtue and injustice, and from this account he concludes that a king rules himself:

*Who to himself is law, no law doth need,*

*Offends no law, and is a king indeed* (2.1.11.203-4).

In Chapman's *The Revenge of Bussy d'Ambois* (c.1610-11) the Countess considers the behaviour of a monarch. She compares the king to a deity in order to illustrate that the king should *reign justly and reign safely* (4.3.1.49). Her speech focuses on the relationship between the ruler and his subjects. She comments that a king should set an example for his subjects and should allow his subjects the power to follow this example:

*So kings to subjects crying, Do, do not this,*

*Must to them by their own examples' strength,*

*The straightness of their acts, and equal compass,*

*Give subjects power t' obey them in the like* (4.3.11.61-4).

The idea of the ruling classes as an exemplar is echoed in Webster's *The White Devil* (performed 1612). Cornelia comments that *The lives of princes should like dyals move,* *Whose regular example is so strong,* *They make the times by them go right or wrong* (1.2.1.279-81). In these lines Webster attempts to warn of the dangers that accompany a prince's decision to err from the right course.

In *Jephthes* (1554) (in Britain translations of the play appear late-Tate's translation was published in 1570 at Edinburgh) Buchanan utilises the character Jephthes, a man of humble birth, to illustrate the features of

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157 ibid..

the model king. Buchanan shared Seneca's belief that tragedy possessed an educative purpose. This is illustrated in the preface to Buchanan's translation of *Alcestis*. At 1.536 he expresses his belief that an individual's mind is influenced more readily when actions are made to breathe by means of speech. Thus, in the play the didactic message is to be drawn from the playwright's presentation of Herod being manipulated by evil counsellors to act in a tyrannical manner against John the Baptist. In the play, he exhibits impartiality, honesty and righteousness. He uses force as the last resort, and when he gains victory he exercises mercy towards women, children and those of advanced years. These qualities are illustrated by the messenger in scene three (ll.19ff.) when he relates to the Chorus news from the battle front:

> he has massacred aa their menfolk,
> scorched their land and laid it bare;
> nane but women, auld men and wee baims
> nou twanner about on their wasted lands
> to murr the mishanters o their country (3.ll.131-5).

In *Baptistes* (1577) Buchanan offers advice to rulers, and employs the differences between the king and tyrant in order to present the merits of democratic rule. Gamaliel in the first part of Buchanan's play suggests that a ruler should be suspicious of the counsellors and sycophants that surround him (Part first ll.227ff.). He discloses that malevolent counsellors can pose a threat to rulers (Part first ll. 198ff.). He comments that princes commonly *hearken unto secret tell-tales* (Part first l. 234) and are influenced by false reports (Part first ll.235-40).

In the second part of the play a discussion of the virtues of a king is prompted by Herod's belief that John the Baptist does not pose a threat to

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159 Buchanan, (1725), *Opera Omnia* (Leiden).
160 Mc Farlane, op.cit.:pp.379ff. discusses *Baptistes*. 
his power (Part second II.9ff.). The tyrannical remarks of the Queen are set in opposition to Herod's comments. Herod compares the attitude of the king with the tyrant in order to illustrate the appropriate behaviour of a monarch towards his adversaries:

Surely a tyrant and a king that's good

Differ in this, the one his foes preserves,

The other is a foe to them he rules (Part second II.30-2).161

In contrast, the Queen suggests that the king should destroy his enemies (Part second II.33-5) for she distrusts the devotion of the people to their ruler. Herod does not feel that John the Baptist is capable of manipulating the allegiance of his subjects, and thus he advocates that a king should exercise a moderate level of power:

When a good king is able to do much,

His power he ought to moderate (Part second II.64-5).

In the fifth part, the conversation between Herod and his daughter (II.48ff.) discloses comments on the nature of kingship. Salome is attempting to persuade her father to grant her the head of John the Baptist. Her tyrannical sentiments are countered by the comments of Herod on sovereignty. Herod states that it is a king's duty just things to command (Part fifth I.49). He expresses that a king cannot act outside the law (I.51) nor rule his kingdom through fear (I.58). The conversation focuses, in part, on the relationship between the ruler and his subjects:

Yet we find

Kings are securest in the cities' faith (Part fifth II.60-1).

Thus, Herod asserts that a king's safety relies on the support of his citizens.

The relevance of Seneca's ode is thus seen to have spread beyond the bounds of the tragedy. The playwrights reiterate Senecan sentiments on

161Brown, J.T.T., (1906), An English translation of George Buchanan's Baptistes attributed to John Milton (Glasgow).
the trappings of kingship, the parallelism between the king and the Stoic wise man, the behaviour of a king towards his subjects, and the association of the king with mercy.

672-86 let who so lyst with myghtic mace to raygne——:

This line signals the introduction into the ode of a more positive note. The Chorus express a desire for the retired life and emphasize the uncertainty of short-lived earthly affairs. The resonance of this passage for the early modern period is revealed by the number of translations that appeared. This passage was translated by Sir Thomas Wyatt (1503?-42), Sir Matthew Hale (1609-76), Abraham Cowley (1618-67) and Andrew Marvell (1621-78). The translations of these thirteen Senecan lines vary in length- the translations by Heywood and Marvell are the nearest in length. The former running to fifteen lines and the latter to fourteen lines. The translation by Wyatt is ten lines, Hale's is twenty two lines and Cowley's is twenty six lines. The translations reveal similarities in vocabulary. In the translations of the first line of the passage Heywood and Hale both use the word *let* (Heywood:1.672), and Heywood and Wyatt both adopt the word *lyst* (Heywood:1.672). Hale's translation of the personal wishes of the Chorus for a life of obscurity resembles Heywood's translation. In both the emphasis is placed on the sweetness and rest that this tranquillity can offer- for example, Hale renders the line as:

*Let sweet Repose, and Rest my portion be*

The multiplicity of the adjectives in Hale's translation of (ll.392-4)*Obscuro positus loco/ Leni perfruar otio,/ Nullis nota Quiritibus* (*unheard, unseen, unconcerned*) underline the nature of the desired obscurity. Heywood, Wyatt, Hale and Marvell use the term Court in order to convey

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Seneca's reference to the *aulae culmine lubrico* (1.390). In Cowley's translation of this Senecan phrase he alludes to the *humane state* and *the guilded pinnacles of Fate*. The translators offer similar translations of the closing lines of the ode- for example, Hale translates the lines concerning the public individual's inability to know himself as follows:

*Death is a mere Suprize, a very Snare,*

*To him that makes it his life's greatest care*

*To be a publick Pageant, known to All,*

*But unacquainted with Himself, doth fall*

[Thyestes also expresses his desire for the simple life- see ll.771ff.]

681-2 *An aged man I shall departe at last,/ In meane estate, to dye full well content:*

The Chorus' reflection on the calm they desire leads them to contemplate death in obscure old age. Reflections on death are common in plays of the early modern period such as Hughes' *The Misfortunes of Arthur* (1587) and Marston's *Antonio and Mellida* (1599). In the former Angharat declares that man can take away his own life but cannot escape the clutches of death:

*That each man may bereave himselfe of life,*

*But none of death: death is so sure a doome:*

*A thousand wayes doe guide vs to our graues* (1.3.l.34-6).

Marston also focuses on the certainty of death for Antonio exclaims *Each man takes hence life, but no man death* (3.2.l.194).

The present discussion merits reference to Tourneur's *The Revenger's Tragedy* (1606). The meditations on death presented in the play are manifested in the images of food, land, flesh and the skull of Gloriana.[for discussion of the skull of Gloriana see ll. 1-240 and 413-4]. The latter is the focus of the main themes of the imagery and it draws the theme of
revenge into a powerful focus for it represents a wild form of justice and a savage form of punishment. The skull represents the reality behind the mask, behind the rouged cheeks and painted lips. This is illustrated in Vindice's address to the skull in 1.1:

Thou, sallow picture of my poisoned love,
My study's ornament, thou shell of Death,
Once the bright face of my betrothed lady,
When life and beauty naturally files out
These ragged imperfections;
When two heaven-pointed diamonds were set
In those unsightly rings- then 'twas a face
So far beyond the artificial shine
Of any woman's complexion (1.1.14-22).

Although it does not advance our argument, we should perhaps observe that the emblem of the skull would be familiar to an audience who were accustomed to the woodcut illustrations from the Dance of Death. The issue of the contemporaneous awareness of the motif of the skull is discussed in Litten's analysis of the funerary trade over the past five hundred years (1991). In the account of the representation of individuals on monuments in Chapter three, Litten comments that the skull was first represented on memorial brasses in the fifteenth century and that the fashion for this representational emblem continued until the end of the sixteenth century. These skeletons are coarse and unpolished, with the details of the eye-sockets and mouth being particularly crudely depicted. The fashion for the symbol of the skull

165ibid.: see pp.59ff. for the custom of engraving skeletons.
continued into the seventeenth and early eighteenth-century where it can be seen in funerary art and as a frequent motif on monuments.

This account of Renaissance reflections on the representations of the skull and on death in general may appear somewhat cursory, and thus it will be complemented by a brief examination of the dramatisation of death by Elizabethan playwrights. Andrews (1989) offers an analysis of the manner in which dramatists, from Marlowe to Ford, treated the dying moments of their characters.166 The central concern of the book focuses on their actions and words as they face death and fulfil the act of dying. The present discussion will only consider the plays of Marston, Shakespeare, Chapman, Tourneur and Webster. Playwrights between the 1590s and c.1610, with the possible exceptions of Chapman, Tourneur and Webster, seem more concerned with those who murder rather than with those who die. This preoccupation may have dictated Marston’s departure from the revenge pattern in Antonio’s Revenge (1599)[ see ll. 299-300 and ll.1884-2007]. Shakespeare's lack of interest in the closing moments of those who perish is illustrated by reference to Titus Andronicus (1593-4) and Romeo and Juliet (1595-6). In the former, of the eight characters whose deaths are presented, Shakespeare does not offer a single death speech; and in the latter, death comes so abruptly to all but Romeo that there is little opportunity for final words. The increased emphasis afforded to the dramatisation of dying moments in Chapman, Tourneur and Webster may be the result of a growing interest in the character of the protagonist.

In Chapman's Bussy d'Ambois (1604), Bussy goes to his death in the spirit of heroic consent:

I must fare well, how ever: though I die,

166 Andrews, M.C., (1989), This Action of our Death (Newark, London and Toronto).
My death consenting with his augury (5.2.11.68-9).

Chapman's hero does not flee when his murderers approach. Instead, he utters a Herculean speech in which he reveals his acceptance of death by refusing Tamyra's help and by forgiving his murderers:

Let in my politic visitants, let them in,
Though ent'ring like so many moving armours;
Fate is more strong than arms, and sly than treason,
And I at all parts buckled in my Fate:

Dare they not come? (5.3.11.85-6).

Although there is no direct parallel to the Thyestes, his acceptance reminds us of the calmness displayed by Thyestes' sons in the face of death and of the Chorus' welcome contemplation of their natural demise.

Tourneur and Webster will provide our final comment on the playwright's mode of presentation of the words of the dying. Tourneur's The Atheist's Tragedy (1609) shows that in a handful of the later plays that a greater emphasis is placed on the psychological aspect of the death speech. Levidulcia's moralized death speech expresses the grief and pang of conscience that she feels upon viewing her husband's death at the hands of her lover:

Then thus in detestation of me deed,
To make th'example move more forcibly
To virtue, thus I seal it with a death
As full of horror as my life of sin (4.5.11.82-5).

A similar level of psychological fervour is revealed in Webster's presentation of the death of the Duchess in The Duchess of Malfi (1614). She shares with the characters of Bussy and Levidulcia the sentiment that death should be welcomed. The Duchess' immensity of

spirit is highlighted by her responses in 4.2. - for example, in her reaction to Bosola:

____tell my brothers

*That I perceive death, now I am well awake*

*Best gift is they can give, or I can take* (4.2.219-21).

and, in her address to her executioners:

____Come violent death,

*Serve for mandragora to make me sleep!* (4.2.230-1).

In general, we should observe that tragedies in which the dying are given courageous speeches were unusual in the period 1590-c.1610.

685-6 That knowne he is to muche to other men:/ departeth yet unto him selfe unknowne:

The closing *sententia* (*Qui notus nimis omnibus, I gnatus moritur sibi* ll. 400-1)) of Seneca's ode is quoted, without acknowledgement, in Latin in Marston's *The Fawn* (c.1604/6) at lines 9-10 of the section *To my equal reader*. The playwright utilises the Senecan lines to express that he has endeavoured to know himself. These lines are also quoted, without recognition, in Latin in Bacon's *Of Great Place* (1625). Bacon appears to cite these lines in order to legitimise his comments that men of great fortune are strangers to themselves, and that businessmen fail to offer their bodies adequate attention. The failure to ascribe these lines to Seneca could perhaps be seen as an indication that the lines would have been automatically recognisable as Senecan.

687-972 *The thyrde Acte:*

The act consists of two scenes, in which Thyestes is the prominent figure. In the conversation with his son, Philisthene, he presents himself as a defender of the merits of the simple life. He reveals his uncertainty
about relinquishing his humble existence and accepting the offer for joint rule. His eulogy on the meagre life style focuses on the existence that he shared with wild beasts (Il.411-2. *mistam feris, Similemque; vitam*)—the reference to *feris* alludes to the austerity and naivety often associated with animal life. In this act one sees the weakness of Thyestes’ character for he allows himself to be manipulated by his son and his brother. Seneca and Wright both manifest the discordant forces that are fighting within Thyestes. Seneca explores this conflict by means of a conversation between Thyestes and his son, and Wright depicts the same internalised struggle in a soliloquy. Given the nature of the climax of the revenge plan, Thyestes in *MT* (1674) enters alone carrying a bag (s.d. at beginning of the act) which the audience will learn in the following scene contains the cats. Seneca’s Thyestes expresses his mistrust at the close of his opening speech with a description of his physical being:

*animus haeret, ac retro cupit*

*corpus referre, moueo nolentem gradum*  

(II.417-8).

The bodily condition as an expression of misapprehension is further employed when Thyestes discloses his fear of something as yet unidentified (I.433. *sed timeo tamen*). He describes the weariness of his limbs and legs which prevent him from travelling forwards (I.434. *pigris membras sed genibus labant*). The parallel act in *MT* also presents Thyestes as a man who is unaware of his own feelings. This lack of resolve is captured in the opening lines:

*Tis good before I further go,
To think if it were best or no    

(II.295-6).

The contrary impulses are presented in a legal manner. Wright’s Thyestes adopts the persona of a barrister setting forth a case before a jury:

*Ile open legally, and plainly.*  

*The Case is thus. A. lies with B.*
I S's Wife: I S. sends C

To A with formal Invitation

To come and taste of a Collation (I.300-4).

The expression of his indecisiveness is reiterated when Thyestes is beginning his summation:

The Points are two. First whether A.

Should go: or, Secondly, should stay (I.309-10).

The question surrounding his return to his homeland is still unanswered at the close of his soliloquy: hang me if I can decide it (I.334).

The discussion of Thyestes' return to the homeland (I.687ff.) centres on the benefits that the homecoming can bestow upon Thyestes and his descendants. In Seneca these are revealed in the conversation between Thyestes and his son. Philisthenes attempts to induce his father to accept Atreus' invitation because it will reunite him with his family and restore to him his rightful share of power: he reveals that he is attracted by power but oblivious to the dangers that it poses. Thyestes' predilection for the moderate life expresses that he does not value the attraction of power. In his account of the simple life he records the luxuries that are absent from it— for example, the ivory that adorns the roof (I.455.Nec fulget altis splendidum tecti ebur ) and the consumption of delicacies (I.458.non ventrem improbum ). These noble sentiments reveal that he is aware of the beliefs that he will betray in the following scene. Seneca presents Thyestes' decision to return to his native land not as a response to the lure of power, but as a result of his concern for his children. In MT Thyestes' hesitancy concerning his return to his homeland does not focus on the inducement that power holds, but on the basic principles of self-preservation and self-gratification. The former is illustrated when he expresses that his head begs him to linger because he fears the blows that his back, sides and ears will receive. The human impetus propelling him
towards his native land is his desire to satisfy his appetite. He reveals the nature of the temptation that comestibles and beverages such as *Viands choice and dainty* (l.323), and *Ale as strong as Hercules* (l.326) present. There is also a suggestion that a desire for sexual gratification propels Thyestes to consider accepting the invitation that he has received.

717-20 _my mynde mysdoutcs,/ and backeward seekes to b eare/ My bodye hens: and forthe I drawe/ my pase agaynst my wyll:

This description suggests that Thyestes anticipates the villainy that ensues. In 4.3. of *Romeo and Juliet* (1595) Juliet describes her sense of foreboding in terms of its physical effect upon the body:

_Farewell! God knows when we shall meet again._

*I have a faint cold fear thrills through my veins,_

_That almost freezes up the heat of life_ (4.3.11.14-6).

[for physical description as an indication of forthcoming events see also ll.1654-5].

755-8 _So ofte the shippc that driuen is/ with winde and eke with ore,/ The swellyng surge resistyng bothe,/ beates backe upon the shore:_

Thyestes employs this comparison to express the nature of his inner struggle- he is drawn to return home because of the attraction of power and wealth, but at the same time he is overwhelmed by a desire to flee. Thus, the metaphor demonstrates the ineffectiveness of struggle. Metaphors concerning wind and tide can also be found in Seneca's _Agamemnon_ ll.138-40 and _Hippolytus_ ll.181-3. The imagery of wind and tide was popular with Shakespeare.168 Traces of this Thyestean comparison can be seen in the utilisation of this motif in _3 Henry 6_. The

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168Cunliffe, [1893], op.cit. : pp. 75ff. for examples of this metaphor in Shakespeare.
comparison is employed by Edward, Earl of March, to demonstrate the futility of resisting fortune:

As doth a sail, fill’d with a fretting gust,
Command an argosy to stem the waves (2.6.11.35-6).
[ further use of the imagery of the storm and sea at 1.1.1585-6].

771-2 Beleeue me well, with titles false/ the greate thyngs us delight——:

The tribute that Thyestes offers to the virtues of the simple life [Chorus make reference to the simple life at 11.672ff.] is echoed in early modern tragedies—for example, in Goldingham’s Herodes (1567) the Chorus sings of the blessings of a retired life. In the first Choral ode they reveal that the man who is content with a modest existence will end his days in peace (11.317-28). In the third ode the themes of the first ode are reiterated, and thus one finds the Chorus warning of the instability of high office in an attempt to persuade man to be content with his lot. In Part Second of Buchanan’s Baptistes (1577) Herod offers a brief eulogy of the simple life (11.220ff.) as he explores the definition of a model ruler. The structure of this glorification is provided by the presentation of a detailed analysis of the differences between the life of a king and that of an ordinary man. He suggests that the common people envy a ruler his wealth and that the king is jealous of the mob's freedom to feel and behave as they please:

________ The vulgar hold
Us only free and happy, that are vexed
With terror, and with poverty besieged,
With miserable servitude opprest.
The people, whatsoever they desire,
Or love, or dread, they freely dare confess,
And modest riches without fear enjoy (Part Second 11.223-9).
The opening of the scene consists of an aside by Atreus. This soliloquy demonstrates Atreus' mastery of the situation. Atreus alters as he sees his brother approaching. He strives to voice the appropriate sentiment for this reunion- for example, *quicquid irarum fuit, Transient, ex hoc sanguis ac pietas die/ Colantur, animis odia damnata excidant* (11.507-9). Thyestes is duped by his brother's show of goodwill. He beseeches his brother to exonerate him, and thus he lays himself before Atreus as a suppliant (11.519-20. *A genibus manus/ Aufer, meosque; potius amplexus pete*). Initially, he declines the offer for joint rule because he favours the simple life (1.530. *squalor*), regrets his past misdemeanours (11.530-1. *manus/Infausta*) and is content merely to enjoy his renewed relationship with his brother (1.533. *Meum esse credo, quicquid est frater tuum*); but his brother manages to persuade him to wear the crown (1.540. *Accipio, regni nomen impositi feram*). The act closes with Atreus' promise to prepare a sacrificial meal for the gods (1.543. *Ego destinatas victimas superis dabo*). This gesture serves as a further illustration of Atreus' cunning, for he will pervert the rite by slaughtering Thyestes' sons.

Wright in *MT* (1674) does not present the conversation between Atreus and Thyestes in a separate scene. The first greetings exchanged between the brothers seem excessive and overly sentimental, especially given Thyestes' recent declaration of doubt concerning his return home:

Atreus: *My dear Thyestes!*

Thyestes: *Dearest Dear!* (1.339).

The dialogue, unlike Seneca's, focuses on the welfare of Atreus' household and the presence of the cats in Thyestes' bag. Thyestes inquires after Atreus' wife, the children and even the dog. The latter is expressed when Thyestes asks about the well being of the Mastiff:

*And honest Towser the old Masty?* (1.348).
Indications of Atreus' outward appearance are offered by Thyestes who comments that his brother has *grown more tall and bony* (1.351), and that his breeches served as the only means by which he could identify him. In Seneca there is a similar emphasis on details of appearance as tokens of recognition, for Atreus comments on Thyestes' hair (11.503-4. *aspice, vt multo grauis* / *Squalore vultus obruat moestos coma* ), beard (1.505. *quam foeda iacet barba* ) and attire (1.522.*squalidam vestem exue* ). The motif of the meal forms Atreus' reason for his exit but Wright deprives it of the religious significance that it possesses in Seneca:

*Repose a while, pray, in the inner Parlor; and I'll go hasten Dinner* (ll.375-6).

868-70 nowe comes into my hands/ At length Thyestes: ye he comes/ and all at ones to me:

Heywood's translation faithfully captures Seneca's duplication of *venit* (1.492, 1.493.) with the repetition of the word *comes* (1.868,1.869). In these lines Atreus expresses his joy as he views the approach of Thyestes and his children (1.493.*et totus quidem* ). Marston cites these Latin lines in Antonio's Revenge (1599) when Antonio discloses his reverence for his father's justice and his love for his brother Julio (3.1.11.151ff.):

*venit in nostras manus*

*Tandem vindicta, venit et tota quidem* (3.1.II.151-2).

Marston substitutes *vindicta* (revenge) for Seneca's reference to *Thyestes*. Marston's use of these lines suggests that Seneca's phrase *et totus quidem* is to be interpreted as an allusion to the totality of Antonio's revenge.

873 So when the bloodhounde seekes the beast---:

The epic simile is employed by Atreus as an expression of his unbridled desire to meet his brother. This Senecan motif also appears in *Oedipus*
ll.751ff. In Alabaster's *Roxana* (1632) the motif of the comparison to the hound is also used in order to express the avenger's joy as he anticipates the completion of his revenge plan. Moleon utilises the comparison of himself to the Brittany hound who is on the scent of his prey at ll.169ff:

*Canis Britannus vertagus velut celer,*
*Quando latentis indicem odorem ferae*
*Hausit rapaci nare, gestit artubus*
*Cunctis, et ora sufflat, et latratibus*
*Nictens acutis, praecipit quod non habet,*
*Et non videt; sed spe tamen videt, et habet.*
*Sic execrata divitem praedam domus*
*Percipio blanda specula, et amica tamen,*
*Certamque facile credo, quia certam volo*  
(ll.169-77).

973-1049 *Chorus:*

The ode opens with the Chorus expressing that the reconciliation between the brothers alleviates their anxiety. This prompts the Chorus to sing of the changeability of mortal concerns. The parallel ode in *MT* (1674) also opens with reference to the appeasement:

*How suddainly these Brothers twain*
*Fell out? how soon they'r Friends again?*
*Could any man alive imagine*
*Peace after such a huff and raging?*  
(ll.377-80).

Thus, Wright attempts to capture the sense of deluded optimism of Seneca's Chorus.
The Senecan ode alludes to the threat of civil war from which the city has escaped. The Chorus depict in four vignettes the male citizens in their preparations for the attack. In *MT* (1674) Wright belittles the Senecan motif of war by placing it within the domestic scene:

*So have I seen (as Poets say)*

*Domestick Dudgeon in a Fray.*

*When Coblers Wife 'gainst Cobler, for*  

*Prerogative, denounces War*  

Civil war was a pointed theme after the Protectorate and Wright primarily uses it to belittle the warring factions of the brothers. The warring factions are named as *Cob* and *Tib* (1.387). The use of the slighting, playful appellation *Tib* suggests, by its contemporaneous usage, that the female concerned was of the lower orders or of loose moral character. The incongruity between the characteristics that this name suggests and the comparison by simile to Penthesilea, Queen of the Amazons, in the following lines produces a comic note:

*But Tib as valerous as a Lass*  

*As ere Penthesilea was*  

This reference to the mythological figure denigrates further the Senecan allusion to war, for classical poetry had disclosed her familial relationship to Ares, the Greek war-god. The cognomen *Cob* could be an abbreviation of the word cobbler, or it could have been used to infer that the man concerned was of stout build. In Seneca's ode reference is made to the instruments of war— the sword (*ennis*), the walls (*muros*), towers (*turrets*), the parapets on top of the ramparts (*pinnis*), and gates (*portas*) that defend the city. In *MT* the weapons of war are kitchen utensils and the
tools of the cobbler's trade. The Chorus tell that Tib seizes a kitchen implement in order to defend herself:

Then snatches up a basting Ladle.

With which she vows to break his Nodle (ll.393-4).

The Chorus articulate that the cobbler held an Awle, a small tool used by shoemakers to puncture holes in leather, in order to convince his wife to accept a truce:

Now Cob takes up his Awle and Pinser,
As the best Weapon to convince her (ll.403-4).

1044-5 for Clothoe myngles all, and suffreth not/ Fortune to stande...:

These lines offer a mistaken view of the orthodox Stoic view of fate. Seneca's makes reference to forces such as Clotho in order to reveal man's inability to control his own destiny. It may be useful at this point to offer a definition of the Stoic view of the term fate. For the Stoic, the concept of fate served, in part at least, as a means by which the reason for event X could be explained. Briefly, one could assert that it amounts to the law of cause and effect. Aulus Gellius recounts Chrysippus' view of fate:

Fate is a sempiternal and unchangeable series and chain of things, rolling and unravelling itself through eternal sequences of cause and effect, of which it is composed and compounded. 170

The Stoic concept of the all-pervasive nature of the divinely ordered universe is explored fully in Seneca's Oedipus. The Oedipus legend shows that the individual, in certain circumstances, possesses no control over his own destiny- fate has ordained that Oedipus slay Laius, that the young man wed his mother. In the story, one sees fate challenged by the audacity

170Aulus Gellius 7.2.1-14 (SVF 2.1000).
of a young man; although he contests fate's decrees, he will find himself
guilty of the lot which fate has ordained for him.

The Stoic doctrine concerning fatalism permeates plays of the early
modern period. Webster explores the Stoic tenet of a predetermined
plan at 5.4.11.53ff. of The Duchess of Malfi (1613) when Bosola says:

We are merely stars' tennis balls, struck and bandied
Which way please them (5.4.11.53-4).

The use of the metaphor of the tennis ball could be viewed as a parallel to
the Stoic illustration of fate as a dog bound to a cart—thus, revealing that
the individual will harmonise its movements with the moving object,
regardless of whether or not he is willing to do so. It is though, difficult to
determine whether Webster was drawing on Senecan or Stoical ideas.

The metaphor itself was common in the early modern period; there is
however, no verbal comparison to Webster's lines. The idea that man
does not possess free will is not only a Senecan and Stoic idea—Webster
could have gleaned it from, for example, Plautus' The Prisoners. The
speaker of the Prologue says that men are toys for the gods. In The
Duchess of Malfi there are parallels to Senecan texts—for instance, the
Duchess' comment at 4.2.1.211-2 that there are many ways for man to die
is similar to II.152-3 of Seneca's Phoenissae (eripere vitam nemo non
hominis potest,/ at nemo mortem; mille ad hanc aditus patent ), but the
idea may have been gleaned from the lines of his contemporaries without
regard for classical precedent. The same could be said of Webster's use of
the phrase When we know black deeds must be cured with death
(5.4.1.40). The line appears as a remodelling of the Senecan line in
Agamemnon I.115 (per scelera semper sceleribus tutum est iter ).

171 Cunliffe, (1893), op.cit.:pp. 76ff. for Senecan fatalism in Shakespeare.
172 Dent, R.W., (1960), John Webster's Borrowing (Berkeley and Los
Angeles) for Webster's sources.
could however, have been drawn from the compositions of his contemporaries [ for citation in early modern period see 11.79-81 The Preface].

1050-1381 The fourth Acte:

The Messenger recounts the slaughter and mutilation of Thyestes' children. The description of this heinous deed reveals that it took the form of a perversion of the sacrificial ritual. The location of the action of the narrative account changes- it mutates from the grove outside the palace (Alta vetustum valle compescens nemus,/ Penetrale regni 11.649-50) to the dining hall in the interior of the palace.

In MT (1674) the location of the slaughter is banalised by being firmly fixed within a recognisable domestic sphere:

When out; the door he opening wide,
Beckons the Kittins a to side.
Suspecting nought, they follow; whom
He leads into a Drawing Room,
Which was a neat convenient place
Contriv'd just under the stair-case (ll.489-94).

The parallel passage retains the tragic feature of the Messenger who is reluctant to impart bad news. In the opening exchanges between the Chorus and the Messenger, Wright imitates Seneca's depiction of the weight of the news that the Messenger has to bear, and the Chorus' encouragement of the Messenger to speak. The former is revealed at ll.425ff.:

Oh! heavy News as happen'd ere yet!
So heavy I can scarcely bear it (ll.425-6).

The similarities between the Chorus in Seneca and MT is explored further when the Chorus articulate their reaction to the Messenger's tale
of the slaughter. In MT their judgement of the deed, their expression of
disbelief that there could be worse news to bear, and their enquiry after the
care of the corpses echo the lines of the Senecan Chorus. The latter is
cveyed in Seneca at 11.745-6 (obiecit feris/ Lanianda forsan corpora,
atque igne arcul? ) and in Wright at 11.511ff:

Did he for Hawks- meat keep the Carren?
Or hang 'em up in the next Warren (11.511-2).

Wright appears to have mirrored Seneca's lines in order to parody the
tragedy for the Chorus react in a similar manner to crimes that are
dissimilar in magnitude- one does not expect an individual to react to the
slaughter of a cat in the same way that they would to the violent death of a
child. At this stage, it is opportune to consider why Wright may have
chosen to substitute Thyestes' cats for the children of Seneca's play. This
may have been dictated by the significance of the motif of the wife in the
burlesque: the term Puss (1.475) which features in the Messenger's account
of the action, was a current colloquial word for a woman.173 This is
illustrated by the Messenger's report of Atreus' expression of his love for
cats:

He loves a Puss as a well as any (1.475).

Given this definition of the term Puss , the revenge action could be seen
to symbolise the destruction of Thyestes' woman ( Puss ) as recompense
for the slaughter of Atreus' woman ( Jenny 1.163 ). In Seneca the victims
of Atreus' anger are two in number ( Tantalus prima hostia est 1.716;
Tunc ille ad aras Pithenem saeuis trahit,/ Adicitque fratri 11.724-5),
whereas in Wright the casualties number three:

There were three dainty Tabby Cats (1.437).

173OED s.v. (Pussy).
Wright does not attempt to mirror the violence of Seneca's account of the slaughter. In Seneca the Messenger describes the manner in which the carcasses were divided into quarters, the flesh carved from the bones and the arms cut off. The account also offers details of the roasting and boiling of sections of the bodies. The details of this cooking technique are similar to those offered in the *Aeneid* (Book one, II.212ff.)—Vergil depicts the preparation of game for consumption. Vergil recounts the tearing of the hides from the ribs, the cutting of the meat into steaks, the placement of the flesh onto spits and the use of cauldrons for cooking. The traditional aspect of the cooking style presented in *Thyestes* is further illustrated in Book One of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*.¹⁷⁴ At II.226ff. Ovid describes the mutilation, boiling and roasting of a hostage:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{nec contentus eo, missi de gente Molossa} \\
\text{obsidis unius iugulum mucrone resolvit} \\
\text{atque ita semineces partim ferventibus artus} \\
\text{mollit aquis, partim subiecto torruit igni} \\
\end{align*}
\]

(Book One II.226-9).

In *MT* graphic details concerning the stabbing and mutilation of the victims are absent, in keeping with the tone of the play. However, Atreus' reported reference to the *Butchers* (I.517) and the menu for the meal does suggest that the carcasses are to be dismembered. The Messenger's account of Atreus' disussion of the menu for the dinner that he will prepare for Thyestes denigrates the tragic motif of the feast:

*Then reckons up his Bill of Fare.*

*This shall a roasted Cony be.*

*And this shall make a Fricasee.*

*And thou, quoth he, that there dost lye,*

*Sha't make an excellent Hare-Pye* (ll.52-4).

Wright's attempt to belittle the motif of the feast is expressed in the report of Atreus' comments concerning the rarity of meat:

Butchers are scarce, and dear their Meat:
You'll make a most obleiging Treat.
Delitious Diet, oh how rare! (II.517-9).

Wright retains Seneca's emphasis (II.776-7. lancinat gnatos pater, / Artusque mandit ore funesto suos ) in the Messenger's report on the fact that Thyestes was unaware of the nature of what he had consumed at the feast:

And now Thyestes ( oh sad thought!)
Eats his own Cats, suspecting nought (II.527-8).

Reference to darkness forms the substance of the closing lines of the Messenger's speech in Thyestes and the burlesque. This is illustrated in Seneca by allusion to the flight of the sun (II.774-6. O Phoebe patiens fugeris retro licet, / Medioque ruptum merseris caelo diem, / Sero occidisti ) as a response to the horror of events. In MT the reference to darkness is blatant and deliberately overturns the symbolic significance of the Senecan lines:

Methinks 'tis very dark; I think
I'de best go in and light a Link (II.529-30).

Wright probably retained these elements in an attempt to preserve the recognisable elements of the myth.

In a handful of early modern revenge tragedies a character is used, like Seneca's Messenger, to relate the climax of the revenge action. Seneca's vivid description and his development of the character of the Messenger may account for the degree of influence that this scene can be seen to have exerted. The former is manifested in the Messenger's sketch of the brutal slaughter of the sons- he describes the sword hiding in the lacerations that Atreus has made (I.720. In vulnere ensem abscondit ), and the vehemence
with which Atreus drives the sword (1.720. *penitus premens*). In *Thyestes* the Messenger is not simply a means by which those actions that have taken place off stage can be related to the audience as in *Medea* 11.879-90; Seneca attempts to involve the Messenger in the narrative, suggesting his reactions to the horrors of which he speaks.

In *Tancred and Gismund* (1591-2) 5.1. Renuchio reports the death of the Earl, the mutilation of his corpse and Tancred's wish for the Earl's heart to be presented to Gismund. R.W., unlike Seneca, makes his Chorus react to these details—thus, emphasizing the heinous nature of the crime:

*O hateful fact! O passing crueltrie!*

*O murder wrought with too much hard despite!*

*O hainous deede, which no posteritie*

*Wil once beleueue!* (il.1576-9).

The interaction between the Chorus and Renuchio appears similar to the structure of the fourth act in *Thyestes*. R.W's Chorus like that of Seneca prompt the bearer of news to speak, for they beseech Renuchio to disclose the nature of his tidings:

*Tel therefore what hath chaunst, and whereunto*

*This bloody cup thou holdest in thy hand* (il.1411-2).

In *Hippolytus* il.991ff. and *Agamemnon* 406aff. Seneca presents messengers who are, initially, disinclined to report the information they know, to sustain dramatic tension. The audience know the myths already and the fate of the characters, so Seneca is making them wait for how he will retell it. The comments and questions with which the Chorus respond to Renuchio's news are used, as in Seneca, to divide the narrative. This is illustrated at il.1519ff. when they reveal their reactions to the description of the strangulation of the Earl (il.1517)- at il.1519 they openly condemn the deed. This denunciation is developed further when they enquire whether greater suffering can be bestowed on the body
These responses echo the remarks of Seneca's Chorus - for example, at 1.741 ( Saeuum scelus ) and ll.743-4 ( An vitra maius, aut atrocius / Natura recipit? ) they disclose their disapproval of Atreus' acts.

Cary's Senecan play, The Tragedy of Mariam (1613), reproduces the feature of dramatic tension. In 5.1. the Nuntio reports to Herod details concerning Mariam's death. The Nuntio, like the Messenger in Thyestes , expresses the insufferable nature of the burden of the news that he must bear:

When, sweetest friend, did I so far offend
Your heavenly self, that you, my fault to quit,
Have made me now relator of her end,
The end of beauty, chastity and wit? (ll.1878-81).

Cary, like Seneca, does not colour the description of the death and mutilation of Mariam with a graphic depiction of bloodshed. The Nuntio's account of her decapitation is factual:

Her body is divided from her head (l.1967).

In this scene the depiction of the innocence, courage and purity of Mariam ( ll. 1902ff) is of paramount importance, and thus details surrounding her death are limited.

These playwrights mirrored Seneca's ability to bring his audience close to the action without involving them in it.

1109-1114 where neuer grew no tree/ That cherefull bowes is woont to beare,/ with knife or lopped be,/ But Taxe, and Cypresse and with tree/ of Holme full blacke to se/ Dothe becke and bende the woode so darke:

The Messenger describes the grove where the slaughter of the children took place. There is a description of a grove in Seneca's Oedipus ll.530-47. Creon reveals that the grove where Laius is raised from the Underworld lies outside the city, stands near the Vale of Dirce and is made up of a wide
variety of trees. The account of the vegetation in *Thyestes*, unlike that in *Oedipus*, focuses on the darkness of the trees (ll.652-4 *Sed taxus, et cupressus, et nigra ilice/ Obscura nutat sylva, quam supra eminens/ Despectat alte quercus, et vincit nemus*). The details of the grove resemble those offered by Shakespeare of the vale which provided the backdrop for the murder of Bassianus and the rape of Lavinia in *Titus Andronicus* (1590). In 2.3. Tamora describes the *barren detested vale* (2.3.1.93). The emphasis in the description, as in Seneca, is on the darkness and infertility of the location:

*The trees, though summer, yet forlorn and lean,*
*O'ercome with moss and baleful mistletoe:*  
*Here never shines the sun* (2.3.11.94-6).

1244-6 *All careles of him selfe he stoode,/ nor once he woulde in vayne/ His prayers leese:*

The Messenger describes the dignity and calmness with which Tantalus accepts his fate. In the early modern period the Stoic tenet of constancy was a popular issue. The topical nature of this doctrine is attested by the publication of Justus Lipsius' *de Constantia* (1595). The work offered various definitions of free will, providence, justice and fate. The publication and translation history of this text in England reveals the popularity of this aspect of Stoic philosophy. Two Latin editions of the text were printed in England in 1586 and 1592; these were soon followed by John Stradling's translation in 1594. There were three further English translations published in 1653, 1654 and 1670. This stability of mind is captured in 3.1. of Marston's *Antonio's Revenge* (1599). Julio accepts his death at the hands of Antonio because he feels safe in the love that exists between them:

*So you will love me, do even what you will* (3.1.1.186).
The Stoic feeling of constancy in the face of adversity is echoed in Cary's *The Tragedy of Mariam* (1613). The Messenger in 5.1. depicts Mariam's invulnerability as she faces her death:

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*Why on she went,*

*And after she some silent prayer had said,*

*She did as if to die she were content,*

*And thus to heaven her heavenly soul is fled*  

(II.1960-3).

1322-4 When him the sacrifice had pleasde,/* his diligence he putts/ To dresse his brothers banquet now:

The Messenger reveals that Atreus applied the same level of attention to his role as chef as he did to his role as sacrificer (II.757-8. *securus vacat/ Jam fratris epulis* ). Shakespeare appears to invoke the Thyestean banquet for the final image of *Titus Andronicus* (1590)- presenting his avenger, like Atreus, as the cook for the cannibalistic feast. This is illustrated in 5.2. when Titus discusses his new role:

*Let me go grind their bones to powder small,*

*And with this hateful liquor temper it,*

*And in that paste let their vile heads be baked.*

*Come, come, be everyone officious*

*To make this banquet, which I wish may prove*

*More stern and bloody than the Centaurs' feast.*

*So, now bring them in, for I'll play the cook,*

*And see them ready against their mother comes*  

(5.2.199-206).

Shakespeare, unlike Seneca, emphasises the madness of the revenger for whom no other reality exists apart from the desire for vengeance. This is depicted in 5.3. with Titus' melodic couplet concerning the pie in which he has baked the bones of Chiron and Demetrius (5.3.1159):

*Whereof their mother daintily hath fed,*
Eating the flesh that she herself hath bred (5.3.II.60-1).

Shakespeare, though may have drawn his inspiration for this scene from Ovid- in Book Six of the Metamorphoses he narrates Procne's cooking technique as she prepares the bodies of Tereus' children for the feast:

\[\text{vivaque adhuc animaeque aliquid retinentia membra dilaniat, pars inde cavis exsultat aenis, pars veribus stridunt; manant penetralia tabo}\]

(Book Six II.643-7).

There are further similarities between Shakespeare and Ovid surrounding the depiction of the cannibalistic feast- a parent devours the children's bodies unwittingly and the cook reveals the nature of the food that has been consumed.\(^{175}\) This evidence clearly suggests that Ovid is the leading classical model shaping Shakespeare's play, and that it is only when we are blinded by a determination to see the influence of Seneca in the drama that we repress the notion of Ovid as the principal source. [refer to II.299-300 for a reminder that Seneca rewrites the Ovidian scene].

Before the discussion of Titus Andronicus closes, we should consider Baker's comments on the classical model for Shakespeare's play (1965).\(^{176}\) Baker reveals that the details of the cannibalistic feast are different in Titus Andronicus, Seneca and Ovid; but that the emblem of a raped and mutilated woman aiding in the action of vengeance is common only to Ovid and Shakespeare. The essay continues to suggest the influence of Ovid, even minimising Seneca's ability to mould Shakespeare's descriptions of the violent and horrific events of the play. Thus, we are aware that an emphasis on gruesome vengeance and horror is not enough to signify a definite Senecan influence.

\(^{175}\)ibid.: Book 6 II.650-1 for the depiction of Tereus devouring his children; Book 6 II.653ff, for the revelation.

\(^{176}\)Baker, op.cit.: pp.122ff.
The cannibalistic feast, as in *Thyestes*, serves as the climax of the revenge action in *Antonio's Revenge* (1599). Given the use of lines from *Thyestes* in Marston's play, it seems feasible to conclude that the depiction of the presentation of human flesh for consumption was the result of the influence of Seneca's play. In 5.3, Antonio presents Piero with a dish containing Julio's limbs:

*Here lies a dish to feast thy father's gorge.*

*Here's flesh and blood which I am sure thou lov'st* (5.3.79-80).

In Act 5 of *Roxana* (1632) Alabaster draws on the mythic archetype of the Thyestean cannibalistic feast. At ll.1373ff, Atossa reveals that she has prepared the bodies of Roxana's children for Oromasdes to devour:

*Amavit ille liberos, & pellicem,*

*Vitae potentes, ut nihil par aut supra:*

*Ecquemne credis suaviorem mortuis*

*Cibum parari posse?* (ll.1373-6).

The reference in Alabaster's play to the mythic figure of the legend of the house of Atreus reveal that the portrayal of the cannibalistic feast may have been an element imitated directly from *Thyestes*. The fascination with the myth is disclosed by Atossa at ll. 1384-5 and by the Chorus at ll.1317ff. Atossa alludes to the myth when she asserts before the Chorus her desire to surpass others in crime:

*Nihil Thyestem, Tantalum nihil supra*

*Conabor?* (ll.1384-5).

The Chorus also equate Atossa's crime with that of Atreus in *Thyestes*:

*Ad tua quondam fata Thyestes*

*Flexit refugam lampada Phoebus,*

*Et caeruleo proluit haustu*

*Nondum emeritos fine jugales:*

*Non minor haec est causa latendi,*
Et digna tuo Pheobe exilio

The Chorus sings of the reluctant light that Phoebe shed in order to show Thyestes the nature of his brother's crimes. They ask that this light should shine again.

1325-9 and streyght a sooner cutts/ The bodies into quarters all,/ and by the stoompes anone/ The shoulders wide, and brawnes of armes,/ he strikes of every chone:

The Messenger offers an account of the mutilation of the bodies [see also ll.1332-3]. In Hippolytus Seneca offers a further example of dismemberment. At ll.1080ff. the Messenger narrates the force with which Hippolytus was torn apart as his body was dragged along behind his horses:

moribunda celeres membra provolvunt rotae;
tandemque raptum truncus ambusta sude
medium per inguem stipite erecto tenet,
paulumque domino currus affixo stetit.
haesere biiuges vulnere- et pariter moram
dominumque rumpunt. inde semaninem secant
virgulta, acutis asperi vepres rubis
omnisque truncus corporis partem t ulit

Seneca strived in his tragedies to create gory adaptations of Greek stories. This was doubtless a result of the need for drama to fit a Roman environment in which violence was conceived as institutionalised punishment- convicts fought as gladiators in the arena. Violence was also an integral part of the society of England in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. They would have appreciated the similarities between the butchering of the children and their quartering of criminals- they would
also, however, have acknowledged the difference between destroying innocent lives and the lives of those society deemed disposable.

Seneca's association of dismemberment with the revenge theme in *Thyestes* is imitated in other early modern tragedies. In *Tancred and Gismund* (1591-2) Renuchio, the bearer of bad tidings, relates the nature of the mutilation of the Earl's corpse. At ll.1549ff. he recounts that the murderers pierced the Earl's stomach, tore the *warne entralles* (ll.1553) from his breast, tossed aside his bowels and ripped out his heart:

*His trembling heart, yet leaping, out they tore,*

*And cruelly vpon a rapier*

*They fixt the same, and in this hateful wise*

*Vnto the king this heart they do present* (ll.1559-62).

Dissection of the human body features in Jonson's *Sejanus: his fall* (1603), a tragedy which opened with the depiction of a desire for revenge and closed with the narration of the story of the fall of Tiberius' favourite. In act 5 Terentius is employed in order to convey the dismemberment of Sejanus that has taken place off stage. He tells Lepidus and Arruntius that enraged old men, virgins, mothers and widows tore the corpse limb from limb:

*These mounting at his head, these at his face,*

*These digging out his eyes, those with his braine,*

*Sprinkling themselves, their houses and their friends;*

*Others are met, haue rauish'd thence an arme,*

*And deale small pieces of the flesh for favours;*

*These with a thigh; this hath cut off his hands;*

*And this his feet; these fingers, and these toes;*

*That hath his liuer, he his heart* (5.II.818-25).

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177 Jonson, B., op.cit.: vol.IV.
The extent of the mutilation is confirmed when Terentius remarks that Sejanus does not need a grave because his body lies scattered.

1332-3 The only heds he keepes, and hands/ to him comitted ones:

Atreus' preservation of the heads and hands of his victims accords with the rites of a sacrifice. The action of the play leads one to consider that this conservation is prompted by an awareness of the hands as a symbol of the pledge between the brothers (see ll. 518-9: obsides tidi accipe/ Hos innocentes frater), and the heads as valuable tokens of recognition.

In Titus Andronicus (1590) the motif of the severed hand is also used to represent the violation of a bond of trust. This is illustrated by the Messenger at 3.1.235ff. His presentation of the heads of Titus' sons and Titus' hand reveals that the Emperor has renegued upon his pledge to spare the lives of the sons for the price of a hand. In the play Shakespeare alludes in 4.1. to the motif of the severed hand in order to effect a form of poetic redress for the injuries that Lavinia has received. She is able to reveal the names of her attackers even though she does not possess hands with which to write nor, a tongue with which to speak- the staff which she guides in the sand with her stumps writes:

Stuprum. Chiron. Demetrius

(4.1.178).

1382-1477 Chorus:

In this ode the Chorus express their reaction to the darkness that covers the scene. It considers that the overthrow of the normal pattern of day following night could be the result of a resurgence of the clash between the gods and the Giants. The members of the Chorus reveal that their worst fear is that the absence of light may mean the destruction of the Universe. [for the Universe reacting to human events see ll.1728-9].
Whiche way O prince of lands and godds on hie:

The ode opens with an address to the sun—this is indicated by the use of the epithet *terrarum superumque parens*. The parallel ode in *MT* (1674) also invokes a being of the highest order—*Don John of Arles* (1.531). Wright gives the addressee the common Christian name John. One should consider that the title Don John may be a generic term for a continental grandee. The opening of Wright's ode imitates the Senecan pattern of a series of questions. Wright imitates Seneca's allusion to the lack of light (1.791, *Cur Phoebe tuos rapis aspectus?*) when the Chorus ask Don John:

*What makes you hide behind a Cloud
That pretty Face, as if grown proud?* (ll.533-4).

With pathe a sloape that dothe deuide the Zones:

The Chorus offer an elegant account of each of the signs of the zodiac. They begin with a portrait of Aries (ll.1442-4) and close with a reference to Pisces (l.1459). The description of Aries alludes to Helle and Phrixus' flight on the Ram; the account of the sign of Leo suggests Hercules' slaying of the lion (ll.1448ff.); and the description of Sagittarius refers to the archer-centaur Chiron (ll.1453-5). In the parallel ode in *MT* (1674) the Chorus also sing of the signs of the zodiac. Wright begins his account with a reference to Taurus and closes with the mention of Scorpio but does not allude to mythological events. The signs are discussed in human terms, and thus Wright attempts to belittle Seneca's account—for example, the description of Gemini refers to the inability of the twins to embrace in silence; and Cancer is depicted in terms of a frightened individual. Virgo is portrayed as an ill-treated being whose sufferings have forced her to dissociate herself from her symbolic value as ultimate purity:

*Virgo they ve so abus'd, they force her*
To loose her Name, and take a Coarser.

For who can think her Chast, with whom
Men so familiar are become?    (ll.557-60).

The sketches of the signs are unbalanced— the accounts of Taurus, Gemini
and Cancer receive two lines each, Virgo is given four lines, and the
references to Leo, Sagittarius and Scorpio are fleeting.

1476-7 He greedy is of lyfe, that will not die/ when all the world shall ende
with him at last:

This graceful declamation for fondness of life forms part of the Chorus'
discussion of the disintegration of the universe. Jonson in *Catiline* (1611)
echoes Senecan sentiments on death as a welcome release from a world
that is on the brink of collapse:

Who would not fall with all the world about him?    (3.1.179).

1478-1883 The fifth Acte:

In the first scene Atreus articulates his delight as he sees his revenge
plan coming to fruition. The second scene reveals Thyestes at the feast. In
the final scene Atreus presents his brother with the remnants of his
children’s mutilated corpses.

1478 Nowe equall with the starrs I goe:

Atreus articulates with vigour the elation that he is experiencing as he
views the chaos that his revenge action has prompted [ see also ll.1528-9
and 1851]. His words express the idea of the elevated heights that Atreus
believes he has reached. This is conveyed in the phrase *Aequalis astra
gradior* (l.883). Atreus reveals that he has no further use for the powers of
heaven and thus, he discharges the gods (l.886. *Dimitto superos*). He
betrays that he is experiencing a brief moment of contentment (1.687 *Bene est, abunde est, iam sat est etiam mihi*).

In *MT* (1674) the depiction of the satisfaction of the avenger is tinged with humour. This is achieved by the comparison drawn by Atreus between himself and a building:

*So: Now I ve taken a Revenge
Will be as Famous as Stone-Henge* (l.571-2).

This reference to this monument suggests that Wright and his contemporaries failed to acknowledge the different periods of history by grouping events and symbols of the past together without differentiation. The allusion to a monument whose origins lie in the past may have been employed in order to legitimise Atreus' sense of elation, although comparison of a human being to a building is also amusing. The allusion to this monument may have been merely the result of finding a rhyme for the word 'revenge'. The nature of this comparison is lessened when Atreus chooses to express that his revenge is complete by reference to the *Clap* (l.578) that a *Whore* (l.578) can infect her partners with:

*How kindly I did circumvent,
And treat him in a Punishment;
Yet gin't him too as home and fully
As ever Whore gave Clap to Bully* (l.575-8).

The sexual nature of the vocabulary underlines the significance of the adultery motif in *MT*.

The expression of the exultation of the revenger is echoed in early modern revenge tragedies. This sense of elation is captured in R.W.'s *Tancred and Gismund* (1591-2). It is not voiced by the avenger himself. Renuchio, a captain of Tancred's guard, narrates the exulted nature of Tancred's reaction to the sight of the Earl's heart on the *bloodie sword* (l.1566):

180
Vnto the king this heart they do present
A sight longd for to feede his irefull eies.
The king perceiuing each thing to be wrought
As he had wilde, rejoysing to behold
Upon the bloudie sword the pearced heart (ll.1562-6).

The release that follows the completion of revenge is expressed by the tyrant Piero in Antonio's Revenge (1599). Piero relates in 1.1. the difficulties that he is experiencing in restraining the passion concerning his triumph over Andrugio:

*I can scarce coop triumphing vengeance up
From bursting forth in braggart passion* (1.1.l.11-2).

This sense of elation is developed in the following lines when he discloses that he feels *great in blood, Unequal'd in revenge* (1.1.l.17-8). The tyrant's complacency is emphasised by his desire to receive acclaim for his actions from the advance guard:

*That sentinel swart night, give loud applause
From your large palms* (1.1.l.19-20).

Antonio voices the satisfaction of the revenger in 3.2. and 5.3. In the former, sentiments disclosing the contentment of the avenger follow Antonio's murder of Julio. He asserts that his soul is *enthron'd in the triumphant chariot of revenge* (3.2.l.80-1). The reference to the chariot suggests that the motion of the revenger's actions are unstoppable. Marston echoes Seneca's idea of transformation (*aequalis astra gradior*) as a means to express complacency. Antonio discloses that *Julio's blood* (3.2.l.83) has altered his human form:

*Methinks I am all air and feel no weight
Of human dirt clog. This is Julio's blood; Rich music, father!* (3.2.l.82-4).
In 5.3. Antonio reveals his sense of triumph over Piero. This jubilance is discussed in financial terms. This is illustrated when Antonio responds to the second senator's comment that he is a poor orphan (5.3.136):

*Poor?*

*Standing triumphant over Belzebub?*

*Having large interest for blood; and yet deem'd poor?* (5.3.137-9).

In Tourneur's *The Revenger's Tragedy* (1607) Hippolito manifests the jubilation of the avenger in an aside to Vindice:

*Brother, how happy is our vengeance!* (5.1.134).

These sentiments are reiterated in Vindice's response. He comments to Hippolito that the triumph of their revenge has surpassed the comprehension of ordinary people:

*Why, it hits*

*Past the apprehension of indifferent wits* (5.1.134-5).

Verbal demonstration of the delight of the revenger is reiterated in Chapman's *The Revenge of Bussy d'Ambois* (c.1610-11). Clermont in 5.5. voices the satisfaction that he feels upon wounding Montsuny:

*These words, this end, makes full amends and more* (5.5.115).

He reveals that the fatal blow that his brother's murderer has received avenges his brother's untimely death. The feeling that justice has been met is echoed in the following lines (5.5.116ff.) when Clermont tells the soul of Bussy that it can now rest in peace:

*Rest, worthy soul; and with it the dear spirit*

*Of my lov'd brother rest in endless peace!*

*Soft lie thy bones, Heaven be your soul's abode,*

*And to your ashes be the earth no load!* (5.5.116-9).
1528-9 ...now cheefe of godds,/ in highest place I stande:

Atreus' comment that he possesses this elevated position expresses the protagonist's sense of victory as he views Thyestes in the open hall of the palace [for references to exultation of the avenger see 1.1478]. Piero's utilisation in Antonio and Mellida (1599) of Seneca's line concerning the acquisition of divine status legitimises his role as a tyrant:

...O me coelitum excelsissimum! (1.1.1.77).

The quotation suggests that Marston considered Atreus to be the archetypal tyrant.

1546-1595 The seconde Scence:

1546 O beaten bosomes dullde so longe with woe:

The opening section of Thyestes' soliloquy takes the form of a jovial song, but as the soliloquy progresses his intoxication unleashes his inner unease, and thus the song is reduced to a series of expressions of his personal misery and suffering. The form of the drunken song also features in MT (1674). Atreus at the close of his soliloquy (l.587) reveals that Thyestes is singing Old Rose (l.587) and Jovial Ca'ches (l.587). It has not been possible to find a score for these songs- this is not unusual, for melodies of this period, however popular, often failed to find their way into print. In the Senecan and Wright texts the opening of the songs are both concerned with exhortations to lay aside one's cares. In Seneca this encouragement is marked by the repetition of fugiat:

Fugiat moeror, fugiatque pauor,

Fugiat trepidid comes exilij (ll.920-1).

In Wright the performance of the song appears of greater importance than the meaning of the lines- for example, Thyestes sings a line of
encouragement to cast aside one's cares and then promptly moves to comment on the key in which he has sung it:

*Come lay by your Care, and- No, no,*

*That's not the Key, I am too low.*

*Try once more- Come lay by your Care*

*And hang up your sorrow- I there!* (ll.591-4).

The change in tone in Thyestes' song in the Senecan text is paralleled in *MT*. Wright presents Thyestes consciously searching for a more *Melancholick* (l.600) song, and thus he sings *Beneath a Mirtle shade* (l.601). The song in both the Senecan and Wright texts prompts Thyestes to recount the details of his unease. In Seneca, Thyestes describes the garland falling from his head, his hair standing on end and tears pouring down his face:

*Vernae capiti fluxere rosae:*

*Pingui madidus crinis amomo*

*Inter subitos stetit horrores.*

*Imber vultu nolente cadit* (ll.945-8).

Heywood fails to translate the adjective *vernae* - thus, Seneca's specific reference to *Spring* (l.1573) roses is absent. In Wright's burlesque the dispirited nature of the song also causes Thyestes to weep:

*For now my Tears begin to come.*

*And whosoever dares engage her,*

*I'll weep with Maudlin for a Wager* (ll.602-4).

The reference to *Maudlin* is a variation of the proper name Magdalen(e), and was often used to allude to paintings in which Mary Magdalen was depicted indulging in self-indulgent and self-obsessed tears as she contemplated her sins. Thus, *maudlin* in common usage was used to mean tearful. It should be noted that *maudlin* tears are sentimental ones, and are often associated with drunkenness.
This comparison serves to illustrate Thyestes' belief that man is presented with indications of future danger. He fails to apply this reasoning to his own situation, and thus he shows his disrespect for the signs of impending doom that have been shown to him. The question of man's disregard of suggestions of approaching hazards is illustrated in King Richard 3 (1591) 2.3.11.42ff. by the use of a simile concerning the swelling of the sea:

By a divine instinct men's minds mistrust
Ensuing dangers; as, by proof, we see
The waters swell before a boisterous storm (2.3.11.42-4)

[for Seneca's use of the imagery of the storm see II.775-8].

Thyestes' description of his physical condition can be interpreted as a manifestation of the effects of the acceptance of joint rule or as an expression of forthcoming danger [for description of foreboding in physical terms see II.717-20]. In The Misfortunes of Arthur (1587) Hughes explores the internalisation of drama as a vehicle for disclosing sentiments of apprehension. Mordred describes his physical being as a response to his sense of foreboding at the prospect of engaging in combat:

my minde revolts to feare,

178 Cunliffe, [1893], op.cit.: p. 77 for further examples in Shakespeare of the Senecan presentiment of evil.
And beares my body backe: I inwards feel my fall.
My thoughts misgave me much: downe terror: I
Perceive mine ende: and desperate though I must
Despise Dispair, and somewhat hopeless hope (2.4.11.80-4).

Kyd's *The Spanish Tragedy* (acted 1589, printed without date in 1592) features the narration of physical sensation as an indication of the individual's apprehension. Hieronimo speaks of the fear that trembles within his heart as a further expression of the unknown force that disturbs him (2.5.12):

> What outcries pluck me from my naked bed,
> And chill my throbbing heart with trembling fear,
> Which never danger yet could daunt before? (2.5.1.1-3).

1728-9 Oh this is it that shamed the gods: and day from hens dyd dryue:

These lines illustrate the Stoic belief that the Universe reacts to the chaos in man's world [see also 11.1382-1477]. This doctrine has been illustrated by the Messenger at 11.770-3 when he describes the fire's unwillingness to burn- it suggests that this elemental force is repulsed by the prospect of the cannibalistic feast. The opening lines of Seneca's *Oedipus* generate a picture of a world which reacts to the perversions of nature- namely, Oedipus' marriage to his mother. Seneca describes the burdensome mist which extends across Thebes, the moon whose rays are dimmed at night and the rivers which run dry:

> deseruit amnes umor atque herbas color
> aretque Dirce, tenuis Ismenos fluit
> et tinguit inopi nuda uix unda uada.
> obscura caelo labitur Phoebi soror;

179Monsarrat, op.cit.: pp.152ff. on cosmology.
tristisque mundus nubilo paliet nouo.
nullum serenis noctibus sidus micat,
sed grauis et ater incubat terris vapor (ll.41-7).

Thyestes alludes to the theme of darkness that permeates *Thyestes* - the Fury forecasts Phoebe's flight at ll.119-20, the retreat has taken effect at ll. 774-6 and ll.787-882. In 2.4 of *Macbeth* (1606) the unnatural absence of daylight is employed as a symbol of evil. The conversation between Ross and an Old Man reveals that darkness covers the world as a result of the murder of Duncan:

*Thou seest, the heavens, as troubled with man's act,*

*Threaten his bloody stage: by the clock, 'tis day,*

*And yet dark night strangles the travelling lamp;*

*Is't night's predominance, or the day's shame,*

*That darkness does the face of earth entomb,*

*When living light should kiss it?* (2.11.5-10).

In Cary's *The Tragedy of Mariam* (1613) the motif of the absence of light is employed to express Herod'd grief at the loss of his wife:

*Deny thy beams, and moon, refuse thy light,*

*Let all the stars be dark, let Jewry's eye*

*No more distinguish which is day and night,*

*Since her best birth did in her bosom die* (ll.2076-9).

1744 Thy swoorde (o brother) lende to me:

Thyestes responds to Atreus' revelation with a desire to take his own life (ll.1042-3 *Da frater ensem: sanguinis multum mel/ Habet ille: ferro liberis demus viam* ). He asks his brother for the sword so that he may liberate his children's bodies from within him. Thyestes reiterates this desire at ll.1836-1842 when he beseeches Jupiter to strike him with lightning in order to provide a fitting burial for his children. It is worth
noting, even though it does not advance the discussion, that Seneca himself committed suicide. Tacitus in his *Annales* offers an account of Seneca's lingering death. He records the effect of numbness produced in Seneca's extremities by the hemlock and his suffocation in a vapour bath:

*Seneca interim, durante tractu et lentitudine mortis, Statium Annacum, diu sibi amicitiae fide et arte medicinae probatum, orat provisum pridem venenum, quo damnati publico Atheniensium iudicio exstinguerentur, promeret; adlatumque hausit frustra, frigidus iam artus et cluso corpore adversum vim veneni. postremo stagnum calidae aquae introitit, respergens proximos servorum addita voce libare se liquorem illum lovi liberatoris, exim balneo inlatus et vapore eius examinatus. sine ullo funeris sollemni crematur, ita codicillis praescripsaret, cum etiam tum praedives et praepotens suprermis suis consuleret* (15.64.11.26-34).

The biographical detail of Seneca's suicide in 65 A.D. is recorded in early modern texts such as Richard Rainolde's *The Foundation of Rhetoric* (1563), where he relates that Seneca cut his veins in the bath.

In Alabaster's *Roxana* (1632) the father is seen, like Thyestes, to contemplate suicide when he realises that Thi has consumed his family (II.1527-9). Oromasdes delays because if he stabs himself he would in turn being killing once more the siblings that he has already eaten:

*Glando recludam visura, at sic coniugem Natosque vulnerabo, propter vos mihi Parcam nocenti* (II.1538-40).

However, Oromasdes cannot determine his fate because he has drunk from the cup in which Atossa had poured poison.

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1766-70 The blood yet warme euen from the wounde/ I shoulde in sight of thee/ Even in thy iawes have shed, that thou/ the bloud of them mightst drynke/ That lyued yet:

Atreus voices his dissatisfaction with his revenge plan. He expresses his feeling that a limit has been imposed upon his revenge. This leads Atreus to articulate that Thyestes could have consumed the blood whilst the children lived. The action of drinking also features in the depiction of Atreus' projected revenge in MT (1674). He expresses that his revenge would appear more Tragical if Thyestes were to fall dead drunk at his feet:

*But still to mak't more Tragical,*

*Thyestes at my feet shall fall;*

*Dead drunk with double lanted Ale,*

*In which I le scrape my left Thumb nail* (l.581-4).

Wright employs the reference to the over-consumption of alcohol because it provides an opportunity for humour with the depiction of the behaviour of the drunkard. The motif of alcohol may have been developed in Wright's text because it explores the traditional association of comedy and festivity.

The avenger's discontent with his actions is echoed by Aaron in Titus Andronicus (1590). At 5.1.11.141ff. he expresses his frustration that he cannot continue to execute further terrible deeds:

*Tut, I have done a thousand dreadful things*

*As willingly as one would kill a fly,*

*And nothing grieves me heartily indeed*

*But that I cannot do ten thousand more* (5.1.11.141-4).

In these lines Aaron reveals that he shares Atreus' lack of remorse over the acts that he has performed.
In Alabaster's *Roxana* (1632) the influence of Seneca's depiction of the insatiability of the avenger is clear. In order to portray this condition, Alabaster imitates Seneca's association in *Thyestes* between the victim witnessing the heinous deeds of the revenger and the revenger's satisfaction. Atossa discloses her feeling that her revenge is insufficient because the king did not observe the slaughter of his wife and children (ll.1540-56):

```plaintext
Te nesciente dexteram mersi in latus,
Et corda fibris rupta compressi manu,
Animasque quiddam stridulum et fissos sonos
Singultientes sanguine extinxi suo
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(II.1540-3).

1851 now prayse I well my handes:

Atreus rejoices that he is responsible for the torment that Thyestes has expressed upon learning that Atreus has murdered his children. Marston appears to have employed his own translation of *nunc meas laudo manus* in 5.3. of *Antonio's Revenge* (1599) when he depicts the delight that Pandulpho experiences when he sees Piero weep:

```plaintext
...Now do I glorify my hands
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(5.3.1.75).

1878-9 the gods shall all/ of this reuengers bee:

Thyestes reveals that he places his trust, however misguided, in the gods. He expresses his desire for the gods to exact divine retribution upon Atreus for his crimes. In contrast to the formal language of Seneca, Thyestes' response to Atreus' confession of the evil in *MT* (1674) that he has perpetrated comprises of a series of colloquialisms:

```plaintext
Now I could puke-
O Cuckold Cook to Treat me thus!
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Oh hated Hang-dog to hang Puss!
Oh Son of an old rotten Whore! (II.656-9).

Wright in MT ridicules the tragic response further. In Seneca's text the final words spoken by Thyestes condemn his brother to destruction, whereas in MT Thyestes' last words inform his brother that he is going to fall asleep:

The sleep and tell you more (I.660).

It seems likely that his desire for sleep is the result of his inebriation.

The belief that revenge is a divine right permeates plays of the early modern period. This is illustrated in Kyd's The Spanish Tragedy (acted c.1589, printed without date c.1592, reprinted with additions in 1602). Hieronimo discusses the concept of divine justice but it is coloured by Christian sentiments. He reveals in 3.13 his belief that justice is a divine right:

Ay, heaven will be revenged of every ill;
Nor will they suffer murder unpaid.
Then stay, Hieronimo, attend their will:
For mortal men may not appoint their time (3.13.11.2-5).

Hieronimo though, does exact personal vengeance but he attempts to validate his action by expressing his belief that the gods support him:

Why, then I see that heaven applies our drift,
And all the saints do sit soliciting
For vengeance on those cursed murthurers (4.1.11.32-4).

From this point in the play onwards private justice is associated with the justice of heaven.

Divine retribution also features in Samuel Brandon's Virtuous Octavia (1598). In this Senecan play, Octavia at ll.1024-1311 expresses that she will not seek revenge for Antony's faithlessness because she believes that the
heavens will avenge this wrong. She discloses that this belief is founded upon the tenet that vengeance as a result of subjection to passion merely serves to dishonour the individual. Thus, she comments that the decision to exact vengeance illustrates the frailty of the human condition.

The retributive aspect of divine power is explored in Snelling's *Thibaldus* (1640; no evidence that play was ever performed; published ten years later as *Pharamus siue Libido vindex*). Thibaldus at ll.1147ff. appeals to the gods, like Thyestes, in their capacity to impose punitive measures:

"Peccata Regum, qui vices supplent Deum,
Divina Nemesis omnibus flagris ferit (ll.1147-8).

In these lines, Thibaldus declares that he is placing his trust in the gods to exact revenge upon Pharamus.

188-3 But vext to be I thee the whyle, / give to thy children all:

The conclusion of the Senecan text fails to offer any sense of poetic justice or of life pursuing its normal path. Seneca closes *Oedipus* with the restoration of normal life. This is illustrated by Oedipus at ll.1052ff.. He tells that his flight will produce *mitior caeli* (ll.1054) because it will bring an end to the pestilence that blights the land:

...ite, ferte depositis opem;
mortifera mecum vita terrarum extraho.
violeuta Fata et horridus Morbi tremor,
Maciesque et atra Pestis et rabidus Dolor;
mecum ite, mecum. ducibus his uti libet! (ll. 1057-61).

The rejection of the normal operation of life in *Thyestes* is used to portray the lasting disruptive power of passion. *MT* (1674) also closes with a lack of the sense of reparation for the deeds enacted. Seneca's text and the

181Brandon, [1598], Virtuous Octavia (Malone Society,1909).
burlesque of Wright both close with triumphant vice asserting itself. This is illustrated in the burlesque when Atreus exclaims Io, Victoria (I.661), and employs comparisons with Caesar (I.664) and a High Constable (I.668). The use of Io implies a mocking of the tragic form - in tragedy it is the classic cry of pain. The utilisation of the tragic cry to express the triumph of the avenger is incongruous and therefore amusing. This manifestation of the happiness of the triumphant avenger accords with the sense of festivity that usually concludes a comedy. In the Senecan text the beast is depicted at his moment of satisfaction - in this respect, the close is similar to that of Seneca's Medea. Scelus is punished in Agamemnon, Medea and Phaedra, but in the Thyestes scelus seems to receive no punishment.

1884-2007 The fourth Scene, Added to the Tragedy by the Translatour.

The Senecan text has closed without a sense of an ordered world being re-established. Heywood's addition to the text expresses Thyestes' desire for the appropriate punishment to be dealt to Atreus. The Christian sensibilities of the Elizabethan audience dictated that the perpetrator should be punished for his crimes. Hooper in his Hooper on the Commandments (1560) paraphrases Christ's words from Matthew 27 verse 52 that the individual who strikes with the sword 'wyth the sword shall perysshe.' In his discussion of the first commandment Hooper relates that private revenge is heinous. This leads Hooper to offer an account of the violence that accompanies an individual's desire for vengeance:

*Which begynne wyth blowes, then foloweth hurlyng of some membres of the body, or clene destructyon of it, at the laste murder of the hole bodye.*

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182Hooper, (1560), Hooper on the Commandments (London): see 'The fyrste commaundment: Thou shalt not kill'.
Some kyll wyth the sweard, some with poyson, some with inchauntementes......

His condemnation of individuals that decide for themselves to exact vengeance discloses his belief that justice should be meted out by officials within society. In the Bodleian library a copy of Hooper’s commentary can be found bound with an edition of Heywood’s *Thyestes* - this is not significant when one considers that the expense of binding dictated that texts were often bound together, but it may indicate that an individual believed that these two texts should be consulted together. In Renaissance plays one sees individuals receiving the suitable penalty for their misconduct. The punitive measures that are depicted in the plays restore a level of sanity to the chaos that is the play. The playwrights demonstrate that the perpetrator of crime is morally unacceptable to society.

The element of atonement for crime is presented in R.W’s *Tancred and Gismund* (1591-2). In the play the father makes recompense for the part that he played in the death of his daughter’s lover. His daughter’s suicide prompts Tancred to acknowledge that his wrath caused the death of Gismund and Guiszard:

*For me she grones, by me my daughter dies,*

*I, I, the author of this Tragedie* (l.1792-3).

His appeal to the heavens for their anger to be directed towards himself recalls Thyestes’ desire for the heavens to strike him down. The pale cheeks of his daughter urge him to contemplate the insufferable nature of a life without Gismund:

*Wilt thou now liue wasted with miseric*?

*Wilt thou now liue that with these eies didst see*

*Thy daughter dead? wilt thou now liue to see*

*Her funerals, that of thy life was stay?* (l.1803-6).
Tancred's consideration of his death as vengeance for the dead lovers suggests that his death will restore a sense of order to the world:

*But I can wreake due vengeance on that head*

That wrought the means these lovers now be dead (II.1812-3).

The closing lines of his final speech of the play reveal that Iulio is to effect the king's death. He tells Iulio that he is to *Redouble stroke on stroke* (I.1837) and to drive the sword deeper into his heart (I.1838). Before his death, Tancred expresses his wish to enter death in blindness so that he may enjoy *everlasting night* (I.1849). This touch reminds one of the blinding scene in Seneca's *Oedipus* (II.965ff)- both scenes suggest that this blindness will prevent the individual from facing those whom they have wronged. In *Oedipus*, unlike in *Tancred and Gismund*, blindness is welcomed and he wears it in the same manner that he wore the royal crown:

*iuvant tenebrae. quis deus tandem mihi*

*placatus atra nube perfundit caput?* (II.999-1000).

At the close of *The Revenger's Tragedy* (1607/8) the revengers, Vindice and Hippolito, are made to pay for their murder of Lussurioso and the three nobles (II.41ff). Antonio orders the guards to seize Vindice and Hippolito and to *Bear 'em to speedy execution* (5.3.I.102). Vindice's final speech (beginning 5.3.I.107ff.) reveals the avenger accepting the punitive measures that Antonio has imposed upon him:

*Tis time to die, when we are ourselves our foes* (5.3.I.110).

His acceptance is marked by his articulation of the standard maxim that murderous acts do not lie concealed for long. He uses the example of himself as Piato to illustrate this sentiment:

*Now I remember, too, here was Piato brought forth a knavish sentence once; no doubt, said he, but time will make the murderer bring forth himself* (5.3.I.115-7).
One should note that Vindice's acceptance of his fate is marked by a high degree of flippancy.

At the close of Alabaster's *Roxana* (revised and published 1632) the playwright attempts to establish a semblance of order. The murderess Atossa is sentenced to hell by Oramasdes (II.1582-91). The playwright develops the motif of the chastisement of the perpetrator in his depiction of Atossa confessing her guilt and accepting punishment (II.1605-26).

Thus, it can be seen that perpetrators of crime in Senecan early modern revenge tragedies, as a general rule, meet with death. The notable exception to this is Marston's *Antonio's Revenge* (1599). In 5.3. the senators do not sentence Pandulpho and Antonio to suffer the torments of damnation, but hail their murderous acts as the work of divine ministers. This is illustrated by the second senator at 5.3. II.127ff.:

*Bless'd be you all; and may your honors live,*

*Religiously held sacred, even for ever and ever* (5.3. II.127-8).

At the close of the play the protagonists are held sacred. In 5.3. Pandulpho expresses the nature of the fate that awaits both himself and Antonio:

*.....we will live enclos'd*

*In holy verge of some religious order,*

*Most constant votaries* (5.3. II.151-3).  

Antonio's comment at 5.3. II.154ff. marks his acceptance of the fate that awaits him:

*First let's cleanse our hands,*

*Purge hearts of hatred, and entomb my love* (5.3. II.154-5).

The avengers do not meet with death, but are seen to reject honours and renounce public life for a life of penitence and monastic seclusion. A contemporary audience, hostile to Catholicism, may have regarded this a suitable punishment.
It seems opportune for us to consider the circumstances of this play's production, and thus that the drama may be a parody of the revenge play. This, in turn, will reveal a further explanation for Marston's deliberate decision to flout the convention which dictates that Antonio should be punished. [For further discussion of the anti-hero see II.299-300]. Foakes' article (1962) suggests that an analysis of the production technique results in a different interpretation of the scenes of mutilation and cannibalism. The central argument focuses on the stylistic elements of the play, suggesting that the bathos of the satirical melodrama effects a satire on traditional literary and theatrical practices rather than against 'folly and vice'. This is illustrated with reference to Kyd's *The Spanish Tragedy* (acted c.1589) and Marston's association with a group of child actors. The former is employed to clearly highlight Marston's attempt to mock the form of the revenge play. Thus, Antonio, like Kyd's Hieronimo, enters holding a book of Seneca's work and shares Hieronimo's disdain for Seneca's didactic message; and in the final scene of *Antonio's Revenge* (1599), Marston presents a conscious imitation of Hieronimo's revenge. The parodistic technique is heightened by the use of child actors whose ravings fail to move an audience to demand justice at the close of the revenge drama. The serious potential of their speeches are undercut by their lack of emotional foundation and the presence of bathos. It soon becomes apparent from Foakes' article that Marston's concept of playwriting is dominated by a derisive and distorted sense of humour.

We will now return to a discussion of the emphasis on revenge and the torments of hell in Heywood's additional speech. They can be viewed as a reflection of those areas which were of greatest interest to the Elizabethans. This expression of Thyestes' desire for vengeance adds thematic unity to

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the play- sentiments for revenge open and close the tragedy. He asks the heavenly powers to direct their revenge towards his brother first. In the closing lines Thyestes declares his desire for the deities to throw down a thunderbolt upon him in punishment for his part in the crime. The concern for thematic unity dictated, to a certain degree, Heywood's translation of Seneca's *Troas* (1559). In the Preface the translator comments that his additions serve to supplement the text where it is wanting.\(^{184}\) Heywood inserts a lengthy diatribe by Achilles' ghost at the beginning of act two, and he introduces a new Chorus at the close of the first act.\(^ {185}\) Achilles' speech expresses a demand for vengeance that will direct the plot. The feeling of the Trojans' torment at the hands of inescapable fate that Achilles verbalises in these lines permeates the entire play. The Choral addition echoes Seneca's belief that man is dominated by Fate- they illustrate this concept by citing the examples of Aegeus, Jason, Pelias and Tereus. The theme of the subjection of man to Fate is echoed throughout the play. Heywood's addition to the text could be viewed as an indication that he wished for stage production.\(^ {186}\) The depiction of the Thyestes' imagination on a journey through the Underworld at the opening of this scene adds a note of melodramatic colouring. Details are offered concerning the inhabitants and scenery of the lower world- he refers to the Gorgons, the Harpies, Lymbo lake, Pluto's palace, Cerberus and the Stygian pools. He refers to the *grysly ghosts of hell* (I.1885) and the *deepe and dredfull dennis, of blackest Tartare* (II.1886-7). The lines attempt to capture the bombastic nature of Seneca's style and to establish the theme of darkness that colours the addition. These references to the features of the Underworld show the playwright's use of alliteration. It is

\(^{184}\) Heywood, op.cit.: sig. A4 ll.20-22.

\(^{185}\) O'Keefe, op. cit.: pp.61ff. on Heywood's additions.

\(^{186}\) ibid.: pp. 227-8.
feasible to suggest that Heywood employed this poetic device in order to stress the abominable nature of the location. The use of alliteration is more marked in the addition than in his translation of the body of Seneca's text— for example, at 1.1890 bleedyng browes, at 1.1898 monster more mysshapte, at 1.1964 filthy floud of Lymbo lake.\textsuperscript{187} Thus, the addition offers the playwright the opportunity to display his ability as a poet.

\textsuperscript{187}ibid.: pp. 203-4 on alliteration.
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