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An Analysis of Jasper Heywood's Translations of Seneca's Troas, Thyestes, and Hercules Furens

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AN ANALYSIS OF JASPER HEYWOOD'S TRANSLATIONS OF
SENeca'S TROAS, THYESTES, AND HERCULES FURENS

by

John O'Keefe

A Dissertation Submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School
of Loyola University of Chicago in Partial Fulfillment
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1974
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VITA

The author, John J. O'Keefe, is the son of Mr. and Mrs. Denis O'Keefe. He was born June 19, 1941, in Chicago, Illinois.

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CHAPTER I

JASPER HEYWOOD FROM HIS BIRTH TO THE ENGLISH MISSION

Jasper Heywood (1535-1598), the translator of three tragedies of Seneca, was the son of John Heywood (1497?-1580?), the famous poet and dramatist, who had been introduced to the court of Henry VIII by Sir Thomas More, whose niece (Eliza Rastell) he had married. There are records of Henry's favor to Heywood in the "Book of Payments" from 1520 until the end of Henry's reign. Particularly interesting are the records in "The King's Payments" for the years 1538-42 of fifty shillings to "John Heywood, player on the virginals" because they suggest he may have been master of children that played before the court. Three of Heywood's most famous interludes were produced at court: Mery Play between the


Pardoner and the Frere (1533); Mery Play between Johan the Husbande, Tyb the Wife, and Sir Johan the Priest (1533); and the Four "P's"—Palmer, Potycary, Pardoner, and Pedlar (ca. 1543). The production of these plays attests to the influence of Heywood. His son, Jasper, also would later have important connections with the court. These associations of the Heywoods probably helped to attach some fame to the translations of young Jasper.

John Heywood temporarily fell out of favor with Henry in 1544 when he was imprisoned for complicity in the plot against Archbishop Cranmer. Heywood, however, was pardoned by the King when he made a public recantation of his denial of the King's Supremacy at St. Paul's Cross, Sunday, July 6, 1544.

After the death of Henry, Heywood remained a favorite at court. He is reported to have assisted Ferrers and Baldwin in the production of plays from the beginning of the reign of Edward VI to the close of the reign of Mary. Jasper, too, later came to know Ferrers and Baldwin, whose Mirror for Magistrates (1559) was to have an important effect on the development of Renaissance

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Dictionary of National Biography, IX, 783.


drama. Evidence of the elder Heywood's prominence is found also in a record of lands and money given to him just before the death of Mary:

Grant of lease for 40 years to John Heywood, of the manor of Bolmer and other lands in Yorkshire, at the rent of 30 l. for his life and 51 l. 10 s. for the rest of the term.8

John Heywood’s intimacy with the Mores, Ropers, and Rastells made him quite familiar with law and legal technicalities.9 John’s brother, Richard, as a Protonotary of the King’s Bench, had an office in one of the more famous Inns of Court, Lincoln’s Inn.10 It was these relationships that possibly had created in Jasper an interest in law. He later became associated with young law students from the Inns of Court, for example, Sackville and Norton, the authors of Gorboduc (1561). Then, Jasper himself briefly joined one of the Inns of Court, Gray’s Inn, in 1561.11

Thomas Powell’s 1556 edition of John Heywood’s allegory, The Spider and the Flie, has a woodcut of Melpomene later reprinted by

8Great Britain, Public Record Office, Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the Reigns of Edward VI, Mary, Elizabeth, ed. by Robert Lemon and Mary Anne Everett Green, Vol. XIV (1558): 10 November, 1558, Grant, p. 112.

9Reed, Early Tudor Drama, p. 34.

10Ibid., p. 33.

Powell in his edition of Jasper's 1560 translation of *Thyestes*.\(^\text{12}\)
The last important book of the elder Heywood is an edition of his *Epigrams* in 1562.\(^\text{13}\)

In 1564 John Heywood and his wife left England, most probably because of religious persecution: "Porro ipse Joannes propter vitae religionis professionem exilium et incommoda multa pertulit."\(^\text{14}\) His wife died in 1574. The General of the Jesuits is reported to have given quarters to "old Heywood" in 1576 in the Jesuit college at Louvain, where his son Ellis was then teaching.\(^\text{15}\) In his last years John Heywood wrote from exile to Lord Burghley (William Cecil, 1520-98), chief secretary of state under Elizabeth.\(^\text{16}\) In his letter Heywood requests aid in procuring some remnant of his grant from the Crown:

> Pray appoint an Exchequer officer to help my daughter therein, that I may have my arrears, since I was proclaimed, speedily sent me; and the rest of my living, except the lease that is bought from me; and let the patent be to myself and my assigns, that I may boldly take order for my maintenance, lest it come not until I am dead, which is a day after the fair.\(^\text{17}\)

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\(^{12}\) Reed, *Early Tudor Drama*, p. 66.

\(^{13}\) *Dictionary of National Biography*, IX, 783.


\(^{15}\) Reed, *Early Tudor Drama*, p. 70.

\(^{16}\) *Dictionary of National Biography*, III, 1315-19.

There is no exact record of the date or the location of John Heywood's death. The Dictionary of National Biography suggests that the year may be 1580. 18

Jasper's brother Ellis Heywood (1530-78) became a Jesuit and a figure of some reputation. 19 He attended All Souls College, in Oxford, where he took his degree in law in 1552. 20 It seems that Ellis left England because of religious persecution, but the year of his exile is not known with any certainty. His Il Moro was published in Florence in 1556, which would indicate that he had left his native land prior to the coming of Elizabeth to the throne in 1558. 21 Sommervogel asserts that Ellis was ordained a Jesuit in 1566 at Dillingen in Bavaria, where Jasper was then teaching. 22

Very little is known about the life of Ellis after his entrance into the Society. According to Reed, John Heywood resided

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18 IX, 782.
19 Ibid., 780
22 Ibid.
with his son in 1576 at Louvain.\textsuperscript{23} Ellis died shortly after this, on October 2, 1578.\textsuperscript{24}

Elizabeth Heywood, the only daughter of John Heywood, was the mother of the poet John Donne.\textsuperscript{25} She is reported to have raised her children in the Catholic religion despite the restrictions and persecutions of the reign of Elizabeth. Henry Donne, the brother of the poet, died in the Clink in May, 1593, after he had been imprisoned for sheltering a Catholic priest.\textsuperscript{26} There are no records of any communication between Jasper Heywood and Elizabeth's family, but tradition tells us Elizabeth visited Jasper during his imprisonment in the Tower.

Jasper Heywood was born in London in 1535.\textsuperscript{27} He is reputed to have been a page of honor to Princess Elizabeth.\textsuperscript{28} This position probably attests to the influence of Jasper's father at court. Jasper's service to the Princess became very important to him later in life when he was spared the death penalty during his

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{23}Reed, \textit{Early Tudor Drama}, pp. 70-71.
\item \textsuperscript{24}Sommervogel, \textit{Bibliothèque des Écrivains}, IV, 180.
\item \textsuperscript{25}\textit{Dictionary of National Biography}, V, 1129.
\item \textsuperscript{26}\textit{Ibid.}, 1131-32.
\item \textsuperscript{27}\textit{Ibid.}, IX, 781; Sommervogel, \textit{Bibliothèque des Écrivains}, IV, 180.
\item \textsuperscript{28}Henry More, \textit{Historia Missionis Anglicanae Societatis Jesu} (Audomari: Typis Thomae Geubels, 1660), p. 135.
\end{itemize}
imprisonment. He was sent to Oxford in 1547, where he completed his B.A. in 1553. ²⁹ He next was elected probationer-fellow of Merton College, where he "bare away the bell in disputations at home and in the public schools." ³⁰ Jasper, however, was forced to resign his fellowship at Merton to prevent expulsion for "several misdemeanors, for he and his brother Ellis were for a time very wild to the great grief of their father." ³¹ As proof of this wildness, Wood cites an epigram from the collection of John Harington:

Old Heywood's sons did wax so wild and youthfull,  
It made their aged father sad and wrathfull.  
A friend one day, the elder did admonish  
With threats, as did his courage halfe astonishe,  
How that except he would begin to thrive  
His Sire of all his goods would him deprive.  
For whom, quoth he? Ev'n for your yonger brother.  
Nay then, said he, no feare, if it be none other.  
My brother's worse than I, and till he mends,  
I know my father no such wrong intends;  
Sith both are bad, to shew so partiall wrath,  
To give his yonger unthrift that he hath. ³²

Harington (1561-1612) was a close friend of Lord Burghley, who knew the Heywoods well and could have been a source of information.


³⁰ Wood, Athenae oxonienses, I, p. 663.

³¹ Ibid.

about the family. 33

Another possible source for this charge of youthful wildness against Jasper may be his own poem, "alluding his state to the prodigal Child," in the collection, The Paradise of Dainty Devices. 34 In lines 1-3 of this poem Heywood describes himself in his early years:

The wandering youth whose race so rashly runne
Hath left behind to his eternal shame
The thriftless title of the prodigal sonne...

In Wood's biographical notice of David de la Hyde, a contemporary of Heywood at Oxford, there is mention of an oration "De Ligno et Faeno' Spoken in praise of Mr. Jasper Heywood, who was in the time of qu. Mary, rex regni fabarum in Merton college; which was no other than a... king of misrule." 35 Such youthful excesses indicated by these references may be the reason for Heywood's resignation from his position as Fellow of Merton College in November of 1558. 36 Despite these difficulties, Heywood completed his M.A. in 1558 and then became a fellow of All Souls College. 37

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33 Dictionary of National Biography, VIII, 1269.
37 Wood, Athenae oxienses, I, 663-64; Boase, Register of the University of Oxford, I, 221.
Some sources maintain that Heywood was forced to resign his fellowship in All Souls College during the first year of the reign of Elizabeth (1558-59) for "non-compliance" or "recusancy."\(^{38}\) There are, however, objections to the accuracy of this opinion. The title page of Heywood's translation of *Thyestes*, printed March 26, 1560, describes the translator as a "fellowe of Alsolne College in Oxforde." In the "Preface" to the translation, Heywood says he had begun his work November 24, 1559 (*4v/1-3). The title page of the *Hercules Furens* (1561) also describes Heywood as a "student of Oxforde."

There are also difficulties with the charge that Heywood was compelled to resign his position at All Souls for religious reasons. Heywood's first translation, *Troas* (1559), is dedicated as a "new yeres gift" to Queen Elizabeth. His *Thyestes* is dedicated to Sir John Mason (1530-66), one of the examiners for the religious visitation of the college in 1560, the same year the *Thyestes* was published.\(^{39}\) Heywood dedicated the *Hercules Furens* to another person with very different religious convictions from his own, William Herbert (1501-70), "ardent favorer of a zealous


Protestant renewal and member of the committee in 1558 to discuss ecclesiastical conditions with the queen. These dedications would suggest that Heywood did not leave All Souls because of religious persecution.

After his departure from All Souls, Heywood entered Gray's Inn in 1561. As we mentioned earlier, these years were particularly important for Heywood because it was at this time that he associated with the students and lawyers of the Inns of Court who would write some of the earliest English Renaissance tragedies. In the prefaces to his translations, Heywood mentions such men as Thomas North, William Baldwin, Christopher Yelverton, Richard Sackville and Thomas Norton. William Webbe, in his Discourse of English Poetrie (1586), says that Norton, Edwards, and "Haiwood" were good friends. We shall examine Heywood's relationship with these men later.

Heywood must have stayed only a short time at Gray's Inn because he had left England and had become a priest by 1562 when he entered the Society of Jesus at Rome: "vigesimo septimo aetatis anno, Artium Magister, et Sacerdos, adiunctus est Societati in

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40 Ibid.

41 J. Foster, The Register of Admissions to Gray's Inn, 1521-1889, p. 29, as quoted by De Vocht, ed., Jasper Heywood and His Translations of Seneca, Introduction, p. xi.

domo Professa Romana vigesimo primo Maij anni sexagesimi secundi."

Heywood studied in Rome for two years and then was assigned to teach at Dillingen in Bavaria.

Heywood was sent by Peter Canisius to Dillingen in February, 1564. His residence there was lengthy--seventeen years. During this time Heywood taught Mathematics (1564-65), Exegesis (1565-67), and Moral Theology (1567-77). Heywood demonstrated his skills in language by composing a manual of tables for studying Hebrew.

Heywood's stay at Dillingen was enlivened by his involvement in a serious and complicated dispute about the morality of the Contractus Germanicus, contracts which returned an interest of 5 per cent on investments. His conduct in this dispute gives us some valuable insight into his character and personality. Heywood and his Rector, P. Dietrich Canisius, refused to comply with the directives of their Provincial, Paul Hoffaeus (1524-1608), not to speak out against the Contractus Germanicus. Hoffaeus complained about the actions of the two priests in a letter to Vicar General.

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43 More, Historia Missionis, p. 132; Sommervogel, Bibliothèque des Écrivains, IV, 180.

44 More, Historia Missionis, p. 132.


Menare. Heywood and Canisius, however, remained steadfast in their opposition to him. Although Hoffaeus had been able to moderate some of the rigor of the bull of Pius V against usury, Heywood and Canisius refused to change their stand.

Peter Canisius, the former Provincial, was an important figure in this controversy over usury. One source suggests that he sided with his brother and Heywood. Another source, however, cites a letter from Peter Canisius that supports Hoffaeus: "I grieve for Father Provincial as he is suffering a great deal of affliction and annoyance from this Englishman."

In his account of Heywood at this time, Duhr describes him as being troubled in mind by plagues from the Devil from 1571 to 1576 when he obtained some relief by being sent at his own request to a spa. Duhr asserts also that the persistence of Dietrich Canisius in supporting Heywood in this unstable state caused a great deal of turmoil in the Diocese of Augsburg when Bishop Egolph, on Heywood's advice, took a hard stand against the modifications of the prohibition against usury. Egolph

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49 Ibid.

50 Brodrick, Canisius, p. 740.

51 Duhr, Jesuiten, I, 724.

52 Ibid., 719-20.
demanded that his priests not absolve anyone involved with the **Contractus Germanicus**. In so doing, Egolph alienated many people in the diocese, including the mayor and the city protectors.53

After Egolph died on June 4, 1575, his successor, Marquard, took a very liberal position on the problem, even to the point of imprisoning priests who would not absolve penitents involved with the usurious contracts.54 Marquard grew more severe over the controversy when he threw several former students of the Jesuits in jail for not absolving penitents involved in the disputed contracts and when he deprived Heywood of his license to teach because he had spoken out in school against taking interest at 5 per cent.55

At the request of General Everard Mercurian (1514-80; General, 1573-80), Pope Gregory XIII turned his attention to this conflict and decided strongly against the **Contractus Germanicus**. Hoffaeus and others, however, were able to dissuade the Pope from publishing his views.56 In the midst of the trouble, Heywood further complicated matters by persuading the Duke of Bavaria to act against the **Contractus Germanicus**.57 Peter Canisius again gave

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55 *Letter, Canisius to Mercurian, February 12, 1576, as quoted* *ibid.*, 721.
his support to Hoffaeus in this new controversy because he felt that Heywood was too distrustful of his Superiors.\(^5^8\)

Heywood then wrote to Hoffaeus that he would journey to Rome to present his views personally to the Pope—even against any prohibition by the Provincial.\(^5^9\) Shortly afterward, on November 17, 1580, Hoffaeus informed Vicar General Menare of Heywood’s intentions and suggested that Heywood was insane. In the same letter Hoffaeus blamed the harsh treatment the Jesuits had received from the Duke of Bavaria on the influence of Heywood.\(^6^0\)

In a letter to Menare, on December 4, 1580, Hoffaeus elaborated on the condition of Heywood, saying that, if the Pope or a cardinal would question him on the future of the Society, he would recount prophecies and shed tears. Hoffaeus asserted also that Heywood’s battles with the Devil had made the man unbalanced.\(^6^1\) Peter Canisius, too, objected strongly to Heywood’s conduct at this time:

Would to God that Father Heywood might spare himself and us. In his zeal he has set on foot a strange new kind of appeal, desiring to defend himself against his superiors by a judicial process and by those offensive demurrers which he has already sent to the Pope. In my opinion his action was contrary to all decency and religious prudence, and will certainly, with good reason, give displeasure to everybody in

\(^{58}\) Brodrick, Canisius, p. 763.

\(^{59}\) Letter, Heywood to Hoffaeus, November 14, 1580, as quoted by Duhr, Jesuiten, I, 725.

\(^{60}\) As quoted ibid.

\(^{61}\) Ibid., 724.
When Duke William approached Gregory XIII for a decision about the controversy, the Pope decided that the newly elected Jesuit General, Claudio Aquaviva (1542-1615), should have a number of theologians answer the Duke's questions, which had actually been written by Heywood. The theological commission met in April of 1581 and determined that interest of five per cent was allowable in certain situations and was not to be condemned universally. Thus, Heywood's rigorous interpretation of the laws against usury was overruled.

The comments of Hoffaeus about the mental condition of Heywood must be called into question in the light of subsequent events, for Heywood was soon requested for the very dangerous English mission by Fr. Edmund Campion, who, with Fr. Robert Persons, had been the first Jesuit missionary in England. On May 27, 1581, Pope Gregory wrote to Duke William of Bavaria:

The priests of the Society of Jesus who are in England implore us to send them helpers in their labours, men zealous for the glory of Christ and the salvation of souls. They designate especially Our beloved Son, the Englishman, Jasper

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62 Letter, Canisius to Mercurian, November 20, 1580, as quoted by Brodrick, Canisius, p. 763.
63 Duhr, Jesuiten, I, 724.
64 Ibid.
Heywood, for they hope that his influence, which is considerable, will be of great service to them. We wish to make this known to your Highness; but it greatly concerns the glory of God, which alone We regard, and the safety of those Whom we send, that they depart with all possible secrecy. We are assured that your Highness will warmly approve both the cause itself and our zeal, and freely send Heywood in this so great an emergency.

Duke William granted the release, and Heywood arrived in England with Fr. William Holt (1545-99) in the summer of 1581. It seems unlikely that Aquaviva would have chosen Heywood for such a delicate and dangerous assignment if all the charges of Hoffaeus were true. Aquaviva, who had been elected General in February of 1581, would have known of these charges from Hoffaeus or from Menare, the Vicar General. The new General would certainly not have wanted to jeopardize the important English mission by sending a man as unbalanced as Hoffaeus describes.

A modern assessment of the suitability of Heywood for the English mission asserts that he had important qualifications:

Heywood had in his favour his father's high reputation as a writer, his own academic successes and, strange coincidence, that he had once been a page at court. In youth, it would seem, Heywood had known the young Princess Elizabeth.


Despite these points in Heywood's favor, Basset still finds him a "surprising" choice for this mission because he was a "middle-aged and cantankerous professor, author of a Hebrew grammar and the victim of occasional spells of gout."\textsuperscript{69} Basset does not mention Heywood's difficulties with the \textit{Contractus Germanicus} and his alleged mental aberrations. Knowledge of these things might have made the choice of Heywood for the English mission even more surprising to Basset. The reference to Heywood's "academic successes" may reflect the reputation he had acquired from writing the translations of Seneca, which, incidentally, were reprinted in Thomas Newton's collection, \textit{The Tenne Tragedies}, in the year of Heywood's return to England--1581.

\textsuperscript{69}Ibid., p. 50.
CHAPTER II

JASPER HEYWOOD FROM THE ENGLISH MISSION TO HIS DEATH

This next period of Heywood's life begins with his four-year mission in England. In many ways the difficulties Heywood experienced during this time were as serious as those of his life in Germany. Because there is a fair amount of information about Heywood's problems in his English mission, we can study in some detail his activities and his trials.

Heywood's academic success and his membership in a family famous for its literary achievements established him as an important recusant. Even before his return to England, the government was aware that he had become a Jesuit. A "Certificate of Recusants from Gray's Inn" lists him as one of the "Jesuits beyond the sea."\(^1\) This certificate (1577) bears the signature of Christopher Yelverton (1535?-1612), to whom Heywood had referred in the "Preface" to his translation of Thyestes (1560) as the writer of poems "well pewrde [pured, refined] with pen. . ." (*7v/21). This later connection between the two former students of Gray's Inn is important because Yelverton had become a figure in the emerging Renaissance drama by writing the "Epilogue" for George Gascoigne's Jocasta (1566) and the dumb shows for Thomas Hughes's The

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Misfortunes of Arthur (1565?). Heywood's relationship with Yelverton and other students of the Inns of Court who became dramatists suggests that they might have been influenced in their work by his translations.

A letter from the General of the Jesuits, Claudio Aquaviva, to Dr. William Allen (1532-94), Rector of the English College at Rheims, tells of the arrival of Heywood with Fr. William Holt in England in the summer of 1581. Fr. Robert Persons (1546-1610), Heywood's predecessor on the English mission and author of many famous anti-Protestant tracts, describes Heywood's initial labors in England as being very successful:

Fr. Jasper came to London during the past week from the province which is in his charge with good store of alms to relieve the prisoners, and he wrote to me at the same time intimating that he was in very high favour with the chief men of his province.4

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This information is confirmed in a summary of an official government letter:

Secret Advertisements. Information of a letter sent by Dr. Henshawe, a seminary priest, to a friend, stating that he, with Father Holte and Father Heywood, Jesuits, has spent three months in Staffordshire, and had converted 228 persons to the Catholic faith. 5

After Persons had escaped capture and had fled from England to France, he appointed Heywood as Superior of the English mission. 6 Several letters from Persons to Fr. Agazzari (1549-1602), Rector of the English College at Rome, continue to praise the work of Heywood. As late as March 14, 1583, a letter from Allen to Agazzari extols Heywood as a man of great prudence, "qui hoc anno cepit magnos pisces." 7

Despite this fine beginning to his work, Heywood soon became embroiled in a dispute which threatened not only his own success but also the future of the English mission. The English Catholics had long observed a number of fast days not in the Roman calendar. When some younger priests agitated for a change in the laws prescribing these national fast days, Heywood agreed to hold a

5State Papers, Domestic, Elizabeth, 1581-90, Vol. CLV (1582); 17 November, 1582, P. H. to Walsyngham, p. 75.


7Knox, First and Second Diaries, II, 182.
meeting on the matter. Campion and Persons had previously faced the same question and had decided to allow the local customs to prevail.

The date of this important meeting between Heywood and other members of the English clergy has not been established with any certainty. Citing a letter from Heywood to Allen about the controversy, De Vocht asserts that the meeting took place at Norfolk in 1581. The actual date of Heywood's letter, however, is April 16, 1583, about two years after De Vocht claims the meeting was held. It seems doubtful that Heywood would allow this much time to pass before writing to Allen. The actual date of the meeting may have been sometime in 1582 or even 1583.

This meeting about the fasting laws caused a great rift among members of the clergy and among many of the English Catholics. Fr. Persons gives this important account of the meeting:

> some yonger Priests dealing with him [Heywood] in this matter caused him to yeld to a certayne new meeting in forme of a synode, where 17 priests or thereabout after long disputation concluded against the rest, or greater part of them, that the customs of England in this behalfe did not bynd any man ... against which divers grave Priests on the other side begane to oppose themselves and the Fathers of the Society in England besides F. Heywood, and namely Fr. Wm. Holt and the rest were of the said Priests opinion, and wrote over both to F. Persons then in Fraunce, and to the Generall of the Jesuits in Rome,

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9Knox, First and Second Diaries, II, 351.
to stay this schisme at the beginning, which could not be
done but by the calling away of F. Heywood. . . .\textsuperscript{10}

Heywood's liberal stand on the fasting laws caused great mis-
understanding between the Jesuits and the secular priests and
sowed the seeds of a mutual bitterness that existed for years. In
the account by Persons given above, it is quite clear that he at-
tributes much of the trouble to Heywood. The historian Thomas
Graves Law cites a secular priest, John Mush, as "one of the most
respected of the missionary priests and a favourite disciple of
Allen." He gives Mush's report of the dispute:

One of the jesuits (Jasper Heywood) conducted himself as if
he had been a legate \textit{a latere} of the holy see. He took upon
himself to convoke a quasi-provincial synod of the clergy,
and there to the sorrow of Cardinal Allen and of all good men,
presumed to abrogate the national fasts of Friday and certain
vigils of the Blessed Virgin. . . .\textsuperscript{11}

Mush, like Persons, places much of the blame for the fasting con-
troversy on Heywood. We shall, however, examine Mush's report
again later, when his objectivity and impartiality towards Heywood
will receive closer scrutiny.

In defense of Heywood's actions, we must note that in these
difficulties he anxiously sought advice on numerous occasions from

\textsuperscript{10}"The Memoirs of Father Robert Persons," ed. by John
Hungerford Pollen, in \textit{Miscellanea}, II (Catholic Record Society
Publications, Vol. II; London: Arden Press, for the Catholic
Record Society, 1906), 177.

\textsuperscript{11}Thomas Graves Law, \textit{A Historical Sketch of the Conflicts
between Jesuits and Seculars in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth}
(London: David Nutt, 1899), Introduction, p. xxii. Law does not
capitalize the term "jesuits."
both Persons and Aquaviva. Evidence of these attempts to get counsel is found in the one letter of Heywood still extant about the English mission:

Scripsi varias literas tam ad P. Generalem quam ad P. Robertum de gravibus negotiis; nihil autem responsi accipiens misi dominum Joannem Curreum in Galliam, qui propria manu sua traderet quasdam literas meas P. Roberto et de negotiis meis cum illo ageret ad me cum certo response rediret. Ille vero in probationem [Societatis] susceptus omnia mea negotia P. Tho. Darbishero, sed nihil omnino responsi ad me perlatum est. Hinc maximus fructus impeditur. Propterea jam diu in eo laboro ut alium proprium nuncium Romam mittam qui omnia transigat et ad me revertatur. Sed nondum fieri potuit. Interea sicut ego expectatione mea destituor, ita nihil dubito quin Romani patres magnopere mirentur si literas meas non acceperint.12

In his Memoirs Persons affirms that the reference in Heywood's letter to "serious affairs" concerns the fasting dispute.13 Although Heywood tried diligently to get help from Persons, there is no question that Persons nevertheless disapproved strongly of Heywood's conduct in the dispute. He declares that after Heywood had left England, "the quarrel about fasting almost entirely ceased."14

It is difficult to determine how long it took for the details of the fasting controversy to be made known to Heywood's superiors.

12 Letter, Heywood to Allen, April 16, 1583, in Knox, First and Second Diaries, II, 351.


14 Ibid., 115.
In a letter to Agazzari on May 20, 1583, Allen acknowledges having received the letter of Heywood cited above, but he makes no comment on its contents:

Accepi binas ex Anglia literas: a patre Gaspari unas, ... quas e ciphris extractas feci in una scribi charta, quam ad R. P. Generalem [mitto] quia ad illum maxime pertinex bant quae in primis scribebantur.15

In a few months, however, Allen requested Aquaviva for Heywood's recall from the English mission:

Fr. Heywood has sciatica and pains in his joints; he is unnerved. He cannot restrain himself and is a source of danger and a burden to the rest; he lives for the most part in common inns on account of the peril. Certain gentry have sent a message to Allen about recalling him, when Fr. Persons shall come.16

A letter from Dr. Richard Barret (d. 1599), resident Superior of Rheims and Allen's successor as Rector, confirms the reports of Heywood's troubles:

Hoc secreto, pater, quod non possum sine maximo dolore scribere; Pater Heywood non satis prudenter se gerit in Anglia. Nimis multas occasiones dat illis quinullas omittunt, si quid possunt in aliquo vestrum reprehendere.17

Aquaviva finally decided to accede to the requests for the removal of Heywood from the English mission:

We have also sent word to Fr. Jasper to betake himself, as

15Knox, First and Second Diaries, II, 192.


17Letter, Barret to Agazzazzari, August 11, 1583, in Knox, First and Second Diaries, II, 300.
soon as he can, to France, by reason of some business as to which it behooves your Reverence and Father Robert to have with him a diligent consultation. 18

Persons then wrote to Heywood, recalling him and appointing as Superior of the English mission Fr. William Weston, who had been promised by Dr. Allen to the English Catholics. 19

Heywood complied with Person's directive and set sail for France. His ship, however, was diverted by bad winds and was driven back to the English coast, where he was arrested on suspicion of being a priest. 20 The date of Heywood's arrest has not been determined with certainty. One historian cites December 9, 1583, as the correct date. 21 The official documents of the time, however, give no exact date: "Certificate of the Recusants committed to the Clink since the return of the last certificate dated October last; viz, John Pounde, a priest, and Jasper Heywoode, a Jesuit." 22

According to several accounts, Heywood displayed great courage during his imprisonment. Allen praises Heywood's conduct in

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18 Letter, Aquaviva to Allen, October 10, 1583, in "Correspondence of Cardinal Allen," Miscellanea, VII, 93.
19 Foley, Records of the English Province, I, 397.
20 More, Historia Missionis, p. 132.
prison. "Asked by [Sir Francis] Walsingham, the Queen's Secretary, about her vain title of supreme head, he declared that it could not be conceded to any except to the Roman Pontiff."23 This letter further states that when Heywood was questioned about the bull of Pius V excommunicating Elizabeth, he replied that "in England the question was a captious one and a death-trap, nevertheless, ... I can show your theologians what doctors of theology of former times have affirmed in like cases."24

In his addition to Nicholas Sander's The Rise and Growth of the Anglican Schism, Fr. Edward Rishton (d. 1585), a fellow prisoner first of Campion and later of Heywood, provides information about the treatment that Heywood received in prison. Of Heywood's trials, Rishton reports: "They even offered, and I even heard him say so myself, to make him a bishop, if he would but yield ever so little to them."25 During the execution of several priests who were imprisoned with Heywood, Hopton, the lieutenant of the Tower, suddenly removed him from their midst to deprive them of his comfort and to suggest that he had weakened. Rishton adds, however,

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24 Ibid.

that the people soon discovered that Hopton's action was an "im-
pious fraud." 26

Despite Rishton's assertion that the people believed in
Heywood's steadfastness, there seems to have been doubt about the
matter. A letter of Persons reveals that Heywood's courage in
prison had become suspect:

A priest who has just come here from England declares that
everything the heretics have published about him is untrue,
and that the Catholics are quite satisfied with his conduct
so far in prison, it being understood that all the favour he
had received, more than the other priests, is due to the love
which the Earl of Leicester's brother [the Earl of Warwick]
bore of old to Fr. Jasper's father, and not to anything which
the said father has said or done in their interest. 27

Henry More, the Jesuit historian, also mentions that the Protes-
tants wished to discredit Heywood by removing him from those about
to be martyred: "Quod Hoptonius insinuaret; et proclive erat
suspicari." 28 More, however, attributes Heywood's escape from
death not to the intercession of the Earl of Warwick, a close
friend of Heywood's father, but to Heywood's early service as a
page to Princess Elizabeth. 29 Another commentator, Daniello Bartoli,
asserts that because of Heywood's importance, his captors

26 Ibid.

27 Letter, Persons to Aquaviva, June 11, 1584, in Letters and
Memorials of Father Robert Persons, ed. Hicks, I, 205.

28 More, Historia Missionis, p. 133.

29 Ibid.
wished to give the impression that he had forsaken his faith. Bartoli adds to his relation that Heywood resisted overtures of great rewards from Cecil, Hatton, and Walsingham, and that he sustained great tortures. Because Bartoli is the only narrator to mention these particular trials, his account may be called into question. In fact, some of the letters of Persons and Allen make a point of mentioning that Heywood was not tortured.

That these writers give explanations for the good treatment accorded Heywood in prison suggests that they felt the need to vindicate his good name. On the other hand, it is quite possible that any of these reasons--his service as a page to Elizabeth, his fame from the translations of Seneca, or the intercession of the Earl of Warwick--could have been responsible for the good treatment given him and for his eventual release from prison.

Thomas Warton cites an epigram supposedly written by Heywood to the Earl of Warwick as proof that Warwick had interceded with Queen Elizabeth for Heywood's release from jail:


\[\text{31 Ibid.}\]

\[\text{32 See, for example, Letter, Persons to Aquaviva, January 12, 1584, in Letters and Memorials of Father Robert Persons, ed. Hicks, I, 192; and Letter, Allen to Agazzari, March 6, 1584, in Letters of William Allen and Richard Barret, 1572-1598, ed. Renold, p. 78.}\]
"Yong Haywoods Answere to my Lord of Warwicke"

One neere of kinne to Heywood by his birth, 
And no lesse neere in name, and most in mirth, 
Was once for Religion sake committed, 
Whose case a Noble Peere so lately pittied; 
He sent to know what things with him were scant, 
And offered frankly to supply his want. 
Thanks to that Lord, said he, that will me good, 
For I want all things saving hay and wood.33

Testimony of Heywood's release from prison is found in records of official documents. Holinshed cites an order from the Privy Council, dated January 15, 1585, banishing Heywood and a number of other priests and laymen for treason.34 Another document attests to the departure of a ship commissioned under William Bolles and Anthony Hall, which left with the exiles on January 21, 1585, and arrived at Boulogne on February 2, 1585.35 A certificate from the exiles testifies to their safe conduct and delivery on February 3, 1585. The first signature on this document is that of Jasper Heywood.36 This fact indicates that Heywood was an


35 Ibid.

36 Ibid., 1380.
important figure among the exiles.

In his description of the voyage of the prisoners from their native land to France, Rishton points out that Heywood was their spokesman against the injustice of their punishment: "Jasper Heywood made a public complaint in the name of all that we ought not to be driven out of our country without cause, having committed no crime, without a legal trial and clearly not convicted."37 Foley asserts that Rishton's emphasis on the protests of the exiles against their banishment provided them with a defense against charges that "they voluntarily retired from their duty."38 This point is interesting because Heywood is given prominence in Rishton's narration, perhaps for the sole purpose of defending the integrity of the exiles against accusations of surrender to the Protestants.

Before continuing this narration of Heywood's life, we shall now briefly assess some of the commentary on his missionary work in England. Just a few sources gave rise to great criticism of Heywood. In his brief biographical notice on Heywood, Wood repeats the charge first made in Thomas Bell's *Anatomy of Popish Tyranny* (1603) that "it was noted by all that knew him [Heywood] that he kept many men, horses and coaches, that also his port and carriage

were more baron-like than priest-like." 39  Similar accusations against Heywood are made by the secular priest, John Mush: "As to father Heywood, all Catholics know well that his port and carriage was more baron-like than priest-like. . . ." 40  These words are lifted from Bell's work. Mush, however, elaborates on his charges:

Was he not wont to ride up and down the country in his coach? Had he not both servants and priests attendants that did hang on his sleeve in great numbers? Did he not indict councils, make and abrogate laws? Was not his pomp such as the places where he came seemed petty courts by his presence, his train and followers? 41

Another critical report on Heywood is given by the priest John Southcote, who had been in England in 1621 and 1624. His account also seems based on the work of Bell or Mush:

Fr. Heywood the Jesuit after Fr. Parson's departure lived alone in England but was much honoured and loved by the secular priests. He was a good scholar but carried a haughty mind and a stirring head, not in state matters as Fr. Parsons but other profane and ecclesiastical affairs. He rode much in coach accompanied with many and in costly apparel. His carriage seemed to be as of a legate a latere. . . . 42

The repeated assertion that Heywood kept a great number of servants and horses is surely exaggerated. The Douay Diaries,

39 Wood, Athenae oxonienses, I, 664.

40 Law, Historical Sketch of the Conflicts between Jesuits and Seculars in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, pp. 101-102.

41 Ibid.

however, do record the arrival of one servant of Heywood: "14th die venerunt Christoferus Bowes, alias Gale, et Jo. Smith, servus p. Heywood, presbyteri Soc. Nominis Jesu." 43 Allen also mentions a servant of Heywood, most probably the same man cited above: "A servant of Rev. Fr. Jasper [Heywood] has escaped here to us whom, for many reasons, I retain and support here." 44 Despite this information about a servant of Heywood, the charge that he retained a great number of men in his service is scarcely credible. As a man hunted by the Protestants, Heywood could ill afford to attract the attention of his persecutors by extravagant living, particularly after Elizabeth's 1581 proclamation of the death penalty for Jesuits. On the contrary, the letters of Persons and Allen tell of Heywood traveling in disguise and moving from inn to inn to escape detection by the authorities.

It is important to attempt to determine the origin of these slanderous reports on Heywood's life. As we mentioned earlier, the main source of criticism of Heywood seems to be the writings of Bell and Mush, both of whom were together in Douay College in 1576. 45 Both of them also later served as missionaries in

43 Knox, First and Second Diaries, I, 201.
45 Knox, First and Second Diaries, I, 100-101.
Yorkshire. As secular priests, these two men resented Heywood's position in the fasting dispute and his relationship with Persons, who later became the chief antagonist of Mush in the "Archpriest dispute" between the Jesuits and the secular priests. In 1602 Mush was one of four deputies sent to Rome "with the connivance of the English government to lay the grievance of anti-Jesuit and loyal section of the clergy before Clement VIII." Mush later signed a protestation of allegiance to Queen Elizabeth. These facts suggest that Mush had deep antipathy for the Jesuits, who were frequently accused of antagonizing the Crown against the English Catholics. Persons especially aroused much hatred by his alleged political machinations. He had been charged with implication in the plot to depose Elizabeth and to bring Mary Queen of Scots to the throne. He was later accused of intrigue with King Philip II in planning the invasion of England by the Spanish Armada.

Persons also was the author of many anti-Protestant tracts, for example, A Conference about the next Succession to the Crown of

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46 A record of the examination of James Young, a priest, reveals that "Mushe a priest and Bell went together into Yorkshire." See State Papers, Domestic, Elizabeth, Vol. CCXLII (1592): 27 August, 1592, Examination of Jas. Young, p. 261.


48 Ibid., 1325.

49 Ibid., XV, 413-14.

50 Ibid.
England (ca. 1595), which proposed that the daughter of Philip II of Spain be enthroned as monarch after Elizabeth's death. Thus, Mush and other English Catholics had good reason to dislike Persons. Because Heywood was Persons' successor as Superior or Provincial of the English mission, Mush and others may have included Heywood in their rejection of Persons. Perhaps, then, much of the criticism directed against Heywood might have been caused by his association with Persons.

The case of Heywood's other major critic, Thomas Bell, is even more interesting. Although we have noted above that Mush and Bell were companions for at least two periods of time, Bell had different reasons from those of Mush for hatred of the Jesuits. Bell had spent three years in prison for becoming a convert to Catholicism after occupying a position as Calvinist minister. On his release from prison, Bell left England to become a Catholic priest. As we have seen, he served as a missionary with Mush in Yorkshire in 1592. Information from official state documents, however, discloses that Bell later gave up his priesthood and his faith to become a spy for the Crown:

As Thos. Bell, lately a seminary [sic], alleges that he has been moved by conscience to confess, considering the dangerous purposes of such Jesuits and seminaries, in combining and conspiring with a number of men of value, which he has discovered to his Lordship, and confirmed before the Archbishop of Canterbury,—thinks it meet that Bell should be returned

51 Knox, First and Second Diaries, I, 100.
thither, to be used as council advise, for better searching
and apprehending of Jesuits and seminaries and such other
dangerous persons as do relieve them; wishes his Lordship to
follow directions from the Council therein.52

Later information reveals that Bell's deception was unsuccessful:
"The apprehension of priests did not take such good effect, because
Bell's first repair to his Lordship and their conversation being
generally known, bred suspicion..."53 From this evidence of
Bell's resigning his faith, we may conclude that he is not an im-
partial narrator of Heywood's missionary activity. It must be re-
membered, also, that Bell's Anatomy of Popish Tyranny was the
probable source for much of the castigation of Heywood's conduct
found in later historians. Thus, a large portion of the criticism
directed against Heywood draws its information from a very ques-
tionable source.

Although some commentators might be critical of Heywood be-
cause of his association with Persons, other writers maintain that
there were grave disagreements between the two men. William Wat-
son (1559?-1603), a secular priest and professed enemy of the
Jesuits, later executed for complicity in the plot against King
James, claims that Heywood and Persons had serious differences.54

52 State Papers, Domestic, Elizabeth, 1591-94, Vol. CCXLIII
(1592): 30 October, 1592, The Queen to the Earl of Derby, p. 283.
The word "seminary" means Catholic priest.

53 Ibid., Vol. CCXLII (1592): November, 1592, Earl of Derby
to the Council.

54 Dictionary of National Biography, XX, 953-56.
Watson asserts that "Mr. Heywood, a Jesuit, . . . took so much upon him, that Fr. Persons fell out exceedingly with him; and great troubles grew against Catholicks, by their brablings and quarrels."55 Another secular priest, Christopher Bagshawe (d. 1625), also points to discord between the two men: "F. Heywoode misliked Fr. Persons his superiority, chalendginge and want of myldnesse in proceedinge."56 There is nothing, however, in the writings of persons or Heywood to justify these charges of ill feeling between them. On the contrary, Persons in his Memoirs refers to no disagreement with Heywood other than the fasting controversy. Persons' final comment about Heywood is that "he died like a good religious man, as he was, in Naples in the yere 1595."57 Persons here does not have the correct date for Heywood's death, but the important point is that he praises Heywood. Commenting on this remark of Persons, J. H. Pollen asserts that it was made sincerely: "There is no reason to think that Fr. Persons was using an unwarranted double entendre in praising Heywood for having 'died like a


good religious man." 58

A modern assessment of Heywood's work on the English mission rejects much of the harsh criticism made by earlier commentators:

In an impossible, almost ridiculous situation, Fr. Jasper was not the failure his enemies later made him out to be. . . . [He] assisted two distinguished men, both of whom would perish in the Tower of London, Philip Howard, Earl of Surrey, and Edward Percy, Earl of Northumberland. 59

The correspondence of Persons and Allen had mentioned the work that Heywood accomplished by bringing alms and money to imprisoned Catholics. Among the more famous of these prisoners were Percy and Northumberland, both of whom had been converted by Heywood. 60

As we have suggested, many denouncements of Heywood's conduct and work on the English mission originate in sources whose objectivity is questionable. The conclusion of Basset, perhaps, comes closest to the truth. Heywood was working in very difficult circumstances. Almost immediately after his return to England, he was being hunted by the authorities. In addition, he had to mediate the quarrels among the factions of the Roman Catholic clergy in England. His solution of the fasting dispute seems to have been incorrect, but he hardly deserves the harsh judgments that

58 Ibid.
59 Basset, English Jesuits from Campion to Martindale, p. 98.
60 "Memoirs of Father Persons," ed. Pollen, in Miscellanea, IV, 93.
some of the earlier writers have passed on him. Heywood's superiors, however, were very much dissatisfied with his work, and after his release from prison executed their intention of removing him permanently from the English mission. Allen expressed his disappointment with Heywood shortly after Fr. Jasper's exile from England:

Although he had been honorably freed from prison and from the island ... in his work in England he does not walk in step with Fr. Persons, nor according to the same rules as ourselves. In such matters he is to this extent said to follow his private notion and ideas.61

In a letter to Allen, Aquaviva agreed with the views of Allen, Persons, and Barret, that Heywood should be recalled from the English mission: "We have judged in Our Lord that Father Jasper himself should be summoned to Rome, not to stay here, but to be sent from hence elsewhither wherever shall seem most suitable."62

After staying first at Rheims and later at Rome, Heywood was sent to the Jesuit house in Naples, where he seems to have become embroiled again in controversy. In his history (1619), Hospinianus gives a list of eleven complaints and admonitions said to be sent by Heywood to Aquaviva for the general reform of the Order.63

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this list there are charges of doctrinal error, of abuses in administering the sacraments, and of secret dissension among the members of the Society. According to Hospinianus, when Aquaviva refused to pay much attention to Heywood's accusations, Fr. Jasper asked permission to appeal directly to the Pope, but he was refused. 64

Heywood then supposedly made his petition to the Pope through the Bishop of Cassano (Calabria), Owen Lewis. He warned Lewis that the Jesuits in the Roman Curia might hear of the appeal and then have him sent farther away from Rome. 65 After the Pope had received Heywood's complaints, he was so disturbed that he ordered the Papal Nuncio at Naples to interview Heywood to learn more about his charges. The Jesuits, however, soon discovered the matter and took action:


Even though his plans had been thwarted, Heywood wrote to Owen Lewis that he would bear all "aequissimo animo" and that his zeal

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64 Ibid., p. 417.
65 Ibid., p. 418.
66 Ibid.
for God would remain undiminished. 67

The relation of Hospinianus is interesting because it mentions that charges of insanity were once more leveled against Heywood as had been the case in Heywood's troubles in Germany years earlier. In his account of Heywood's life, Henry More argues strongly against much of what Hospinianus had said:

Quae vitae mortisque testata encomia facile tetrum odorem de­pellunt, quem Hospinianus in sua Jesuitica Historia (seu con­flicta potius fabella), afflare conatur vero qui cum pietatis et prudentiae laude ad extremum usque spiritum vitam exegit. 68

More points out that Heywood had always followed the rules of the Society and had never communicated the internal affairs of the Jesuits to any outsider. Thus, More rejects the accusation that Heywood had appealed for help from Owen Lewis. He concludes that Hospinianus had some personal reason for maligning Heywood:

"quod Hospinianus vult esse in literis: Quas cum ipse non existi­maverit esse in lucem edendas integras, et post viginti annos man­cas recitaverit, eo fictione propinquiores demonstrat. . . ." 69

Regarding the view of Hospinianus that Heywood attempted to evade the directives of his superiors by appealing to an outsider, namely, Owen Lewis, we recall that Paul Hoffaeus and Peter Canisius had accused Heywood of similar conduct in Germany when he...

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67 Ibd.
69 Ibd.
had presented his grievances directly to the Pope.

Other accounts of Heywood's last years also present no consistent picture. Bartoli asserts that Heywood was not allowed to teach late in his life because of his "discordant opinions."\(^{70}\) Morris presents a different view: "There is nothing that requires explanation in the fact that a professor should not have been again employed in teaching, when his studies had been interrupted by the very different duties of missionary life."\(^{71}\) Basset claims that Heywood was put "on the shelf" because he had gone "mildly mad."\(^{72}\)

These divergent opinions make it difficult to form an accurate appraisal of Heywood at the end of his life. It is noteworthy, however, that none of these writers—Hospinianus, More, Bartoli, Morris, or Basset—discusses the difficulties Heywood had experienced in Germany. The personal traits that caused him many problems in his earlier work seem to have persisted in some way through the latter part of his life. Knowledge of Heywood's trials in Germany and, perhaps, in England, too, might have led biographers to view the struggles of his last years as behavior consistent with those personal traits manifested in his youthful

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\(^{70}\)Bartoli, Dell'istoria della Compagnia di Giesù, p. 277.


\(^{72}\)Basset, English Jesuits from Campion to Martindale, p. 101.
We have very little information about the details of Heywood's death. He is reported to have died while resisting the attacks of the Devil. He died in Naples on January 9, 1598. [73]

CHAPTER III

SENECAN TEXTS AVAILABLE IN ENGLAND IN 1559

The purpose of this chapter is to describe briefly the manuscripts and to list the printed editions of Seneca's tragedies that Heywood might have used for his translations. Information about the various copies of Seneca's plays available to Heywood might help to explain his method of translation, for example, changes in the meaning and the structure that he makes in his English versions.

The most recent study of the manuscripts of Seneca's tragedies reveals that there are two main divisions: (1) the "A" Tradition, of which the original has been lost but which has copies dating to the twelfth or thirteenth century; and (2) the "E" Tradition, based on the Etruscus Manuscript, transcribed in Florence at the end of the eleventh century. Heywood uses a text derived from the "A" Tradition because he follows the order of plays given in the manuscripts of the "A" group: Hercules Furens, Thyestes, Thebais, Hippolytus, Oedipus, Troades, Medea, Agamemnon, Octavia, and Hercules Oetaeus. Heywood designates his Troas (1559) as the "sixth tragedie of Seneca," his Thyestes (1560) as the "second

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2 Ibid.
tragedie of Seneca," and his Hercules Furens (1561) as the "first tragedie of Seneca." The "E" Tradition has a different arrangement of the plays and does not contain the Octavia, which is of dubious authorship. The "A" group of texts seems to have been more popular. One reason for its greater use could be that many "A" manuscripts had the famous commentary written in 1315-16 by Nicholas Trevet, an English Dominican. ³

It is difficult to determine the number of manuscripts and printed editions of Seneca's tragedies available in England at the time of Heywood's translations (1559-61). For example, even by 1862, the chief library of Oxford, the Bodleian Library, originally established in 1445, had no written copies of Seneca's dramas. ⁴ This fact is important because Heywood received his B.A. and M.A. degrees from Oxford. The libraries of certain colleges at Oxford, however, did have manuscripts of Seneca's tragedies. Henry Coxe's catalogue (1852) mentions written copies of the tragedies among the holdings of Merton College and All Souls College, both of which Heywood had attended. In Merton College the tragedies are found in a manuscript which ends with the inscription "Expliciunt tragedie Senece, etc. scripte per

³Ibid., 164.

This copy is supposed to have come to Merton College after 1479. Coxe's catalogue of the library of All Souls College, compiled in 1842, describes a manuscript of the tragedies which is said to date back to the fifteenth century. Lincoln College in Oxford also possesses a manuscript of the tragedies. This text follows the arrangement of plays in the "A" Tradition, used also by Heywood.

The first edition of Seneca's tragedies was printed in 1474-84 by Andreas Gallus at Ferrara. Other editions were soon to follow. Complete editions of the tragedies were issued in 1491 at Lyons; in 1491, 1492, and 1493 (three editions) at Venice; in 1498 at Venice and Paris; in 1500 at Leipzig and Paris; in 1506 at Florence; in 1510 at Venice; in 1511 and 1512 at Paris; in 1513

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8 Coxe, *Catalogus codicum MSS*, I, 45.

at Florence; in 1514 and 1517 at Paris; in 1522 at Venice; in 1529 at Basle; in 1536 and 1538 at Lyons; in 1541 at Basle and Lyons; in 1547 and 1548 at Lyons; in 1550 at Basle; and in 1554 at Lyons. Many editions of the tragedies were printed after Heywood had completed the translations. The first publication in England was not made until 1589, when Thomas Man and Thomas Gubbin issued the famous text by Gryphius, which is cited by Heywood. Catalogues of the Bodleian Library compiled in the


seventeenth century list no printed copy of Seneca's dramas before 1593. 12 A recent account of All Souls Library mentions a text of Seneca's tragedies, but it has not been determined whether this is a written or a printed copy. 13

Although there are no references to early printed editions of Seneca's plays in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, recent listings of the libraries at Cambridge do cite early texts; editions of the ten tragedies of Seneca by Marmita and Gaetanus at Venice in 1505, by Ascensius at Paris in 1512, and by Gryphius at Lyons in 1554. Copies of the individual plays also are mentioned; editions of Hercules Furens published by Jacobus de Breda at Deventer in 1507 and by A. Paffroed at Deventer in 1516; and an edition of Thyestes printed by Erasmus at Deventer in 1525. 14 The presence of these printed copies of Seneca's tragedies at Cambridge suggests that his works were available to college students at the time of Heywood's translation.

To what extent were Seneca's dramas included in the curricula

12 Thomas James, Catalogus universalis librorum in Bibliotheca Bodleiana (Oxford: Johannes Lichfield et Jacobus Short, 1620); and Thomas Hyde, Catalogus impressorum librorum Bibliothecae Bodleianae in Academia Oxoniensi (Oxford: E Theatro Sheldoniano, 1674).


of the grammar school and the university? Thomas S. Baynes claims that Seneca's tragedies were prescribed for the sixth form in grammar school during Shakespeare's time or even earlier, namely, about 1559, when Heywood was making the first of the translations.\textsuperscript{15}

Much later, T. W. Baldwin asserts that "Seneca's plays were but barely beginning to filter into grammar school at the end of the sixteenth century."\textsuperscript{16} A recent study of Seneca's tragedies in the curriculum of Oxford and Cambridge concludes that Seneca's tragedies were "even less prominent than in the grammar schools."\textsuperscript{17}

These views of Baldwin and Cohon may be correct. They fail to explain, however, the blossoming of interest in Seneca that took place in England about 1550 when the colleges of Cambridge staged Seneca's plays in Latin. The College Accounts of Trinity College, Cambridge, list a performance of Troades in 1551, Oedipus in 1559, Troades in 1559-60, and Medea in 1560-61. Records of Queens College, Cambridge, cite a performance of Medea in Latin about 1562.\textsuperscript{18} There may have been additional productions of Seneca's


\textsuperscript{17}Cohon, "Seneca's Tragedies in Florilegia and Elizabethan Drama," p. 121.

plays in Latin here and elsewhere in England, but we have no information about them. These presentations at Cambridge, however, indicate that copies of Seneca's tragedies must have been fairly easy to obtain even if the plays were not a part of the prescribed university curriculum.

Accounts of booksellers tell us nothing about the editions of Seneca's tragedies in demand at the time of Heywood's translation. But isolated references to Seneca's dramas occur in the inventories of goods of teachers and students about Heywood's time. For example, a notebook (1535-40) kept by Alexander Nowell, an Oxford student, lists Seneca's tragedies among his books. Queen Elizabeth made a translation of *Hercules Oetaeus* in 1561. The chorus of her work is still preserved. Thus, Seneca was known at court as well as in the universities.

These references to Seneca's tragedies and to their performances in Latin at Cambridge suggest that he was no stranger to students during the Renaissance. The staging of Seneca's dramas in Latin at Cambridge during the very period when Heywood was making the translations might indicate that he was hoping for the production of his own works. This important question will receive further consideration in our analysis of the individual

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tragedies.

In the prefatory poem to his translation of Thyestes, Heywood himself gives us some valuable information about the Senecan texts he has used. Heywood relates that Seneca has appeared to him in a dream. Seneca complains that "the Printers dyd him wrong" ($\S7^v/2$). 21 Seneca brings to Heywood a copy of the tragedies corrected by Melpomene in Elysium because the current texts used by Heywood are corrupt:

Now Gryphyus, Colineus now,  
and now and then among  
He [Seneca] Aldus blamde, with all the rest  
that in his woorks do mys  
Of sence or verse. . . . ($\S7^v/3-7$)

The Gryphius edition of Seneca referred to by Heywood was edited by Carione and was printed by Sebastianus Gryphius at Lyons in France in 1536, 1538, 1541, 1547, and 1554. 22 This very popular text was used later for the first English printing of Seneca's tragedies in 1589. 23 The Aldine text mentioned by Heywood was edited by Jerome Avantius and printed at Venice in 1517. This was perhaps the best of the published editions. Avantius

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21 This symbol $\tilde{\times}$, the trefoil, is one of the preliminary signatures of Heywood's printed text.


boasted of having made 3000 corrections of textual errors. Heywood's reference to "Colineus" is unclear. Simon de Colines was a sixteenth-century French printer, who issued many editions of classical authors, for example, Virgil, Cicero, Plautus, and Terence. Renouard's bibliography of his publications, however, mentions no edition of Seneca's tragedies. Colines might possibly have been associated with Henri Estienne, whose widow Colines married and whose establishment Colines took over. Estienne had once been a partner of Josse Badius Ascensius, who printed editions of Seneca at Paris in 1512, 1513, 1514, and 1519. Colines thus might somehow have been connected with the editions of Ascensius. Another possibility is that Colines had been related in some way with the editions of Seneca's tragedies printed at Paris between 1485 and 1491 by Wolfgang Hopyl, with whom Henri Estienne had been connected. It must be emphasized, therefore, that there is no definite reference to an edition of Seneca by Colines. We have records only of some vague relationships between

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24 Watt, Bibliotheca Britannica, II, 844.


Colines and the printers of some of Seneca's tragedies. The most likely explanation is that Colines was involved in one of the editions of Ascensius—unless Colines himself published an edition of Seneca's plays of which no record remains.

Students of Heywood's translations differ as to which text or texts of Seneca he had employed. Cunliffe asserts that Heywood used the Aldine edition. In his very careful study of Heywood's translations, Henry De Vocht maintains that Heywood used additional texts besides those he cites in the prefatory poem to Thyestes. De Vocht claims also that Heywood used the edition of Marmita printed by Isoardo de Saviliono at Venice in 1492; the edition of Marmita with emendations by Erasmus printed by Ascensius at Paris in 1512, 1513, 1514, and 1519; and the edition printed by Henricus Petrus at Basle in 1529. According to De Vocht, Heywood demonstrated sound critical sense by not following any one text too closely and by making some textual corrections entirely on his own.

In the following chapters we shall study the specific ways in which Heywood treats Seneca's tragedies. We shall find that


29 De Vocht, ed., Jasper Heywood and His Translations of Seneca, Introduction, p. xxv.

30 Ibid.
each of Heywood's translations differs in regard to its dependence on Seneca's style and plot; for example, Heywood's *Troades* (1559) is a much freer adaptation of Seneca's drama than is his version of *Hercules Furens* (1561).
The purpose of the next two chapters is to make an analysis of Heywood's Troas. We shall study the nature of his translation of Seneca's Latin and his additions to, and omissions from, the original play. We shall discuss also the plot, structure, poetic style, and diction of Heywood's work. Our Latin text will be that of F. J. Miller, which is based on the older edition of F. Leo. Wherever Heywood's text deviates from that of Miller, we shall consult Renaissance editions of the tragedies, particularly that of Ascensius printed at Paris in 1514. The latter, which contains the most famous commentaries on the play, might have been used by Heywood himself. By referring to these older editions, we can determine in some instances the reasons for Heywood's particular reading of the Latin. At times the various commentaries in these editions also can shed light on Heywood's method of translation.

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1Lucius Annaeus Seneca, Tragedies, The Loeb Classical Library, tr. with an Introduction by Frank Justus Miller (1917; rpt. 2 vols., Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1968). In our text we shall cite quotations from the Troades by line number; quotations from Miller's translation will be indicated by volume and page number.

2Tragoediae Senecae, ed. with commentaries by Marmita and Gaietanus (Venice: Joannes Tacuinus, 1498); L. Anni Senece Tragoediae, ed. by Erasmus, Gerardus Vercellanus, and Aegidius Maserius with commentaries by Marmita, Gaietanus, and Ascensius (Paris: Ascensius, 1514); L. Anni Senecae Cordubensis Tragoediae X (Basle: Henricus Petrus, 1529); and Tragoediae Senecae in Iacobi Sannazarii Opera Omnia (Lyons: Sebastianus Gryphius, 1549).
A brief summary of the Troas may be helpful. As the play opens, Troy has already been captured by the Greeks. Hecuba, the Trojan Queen, bewails her many losses. The ghost of Achilles rises from the dead to demand the sacrifice of Polyxena, Hecuba's daughter. Paris had killed Achilles in the temple of Apollo when the great Greek warrior was about to wed Polyxena. Pyrrhus, Achilles' son, carries his father's threats to the Greek king, Agamemnon, who finally yields on the advice of the prophet Calchas. The Greeks are instructed also to slaughter Astyanax, Hector's son, the last remaining hope of the Trojans. When Ulysses comes for Astyanax, his mother, Andromache, tries vainly to hide him. Ulysses casts the boy from the last remaining tower of Troy. Pyrrhus murders Polyxena over the tomb of Achilles. After all the Trojan women have been assigned to Greek masters, Agamemnon and his forces return home.

Before beginning our analysis of the Troas, we should note that there were three editions of the play, the first two printed by Tottel and the third published by Thomas Powell for George Bucke (1560?). That there were three editions testifies, of course, to the popularity of Heywood's translation. It seems quite possible that Tottel's second edition of the Troas (referred

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3It should, perhaps, be noted here that the Renaissance editors of the tragedies entitled the play "Troas." They may have based their usage of this title on the Florentine Manuscript of the dramas, which calls the play "Troas." See L. Annei Senecae Tragoediae, ed. by Joannes Schroderus (Delphis: A. Beman, 1728), pp. 386-87.
to here by Heywood) was printed before he had distributed the type of the final pages of the first edition. 4

There is some difference of opinion on which of Tottel's two printings of the Troas was the first, and for which of the two Heywood had the greater responsibility. Henry De Vocht cites the copy of the Troas in George III's library in the British Museum as being from the first edition. 5 W. W. Greg, however, argues that the copy of the Troas in the Grenville Library of the British Museum is from the first edition. 6 Both copies of the Troas bear the same date, 1559, which appears to justify Heywood's comment in the "Preface" to Thyestes that "yet ere long" the printing of the play was renewed. 7 De Vocht contends that Heywood probably had no part at all in the publication of Bucke's edition. 8 Heywood was very much displeased with Tottel's second issue of the Troas.


7 Jasper Heywood, The Seconde Tragedie of Seneca entituled Thyestes (London: Thomas Berthelette, 1560), signature $1/4$. This work will hereafter be cited in the text by the signature number and the line number.

8 Ibid., p. xlv.
He expresses this dissatisfaction in the "Preface" to Thvestes:

To Printers hands I gaue the worke:
by whome I had suche wrong,
That though my selfe perusde their prooues
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. (p1/1-9)

Heywood was so angered at the poor printing of the second edition of the Troas that he promises never again to do business with Tottel:

And to the printer thus I sayde:
within these doores of thyne,
I make a vowe shall neuer more
rome any worke of myne. (p1/17-20)

This dispute between Heywood and Tottel will receive further attention in Chapter V.

Although there is no definitive proof for either of Tottel's two editions being established as first, we have chosen for this study as our text the edition of the Troas cited by De Vocht as being the first, the copy of the play in George III's library in the British Museum.

That Heywood dedicates his work to Queen Elizabeth is interesting for two reasons. First, Heywood is said to have served her as a page in his youth.9 Secondly, the Queen may have saved him from execution when, as a Jesuit priest, he later was imprisoned for his religion.10 In the dedicatory epistle to his

10Ibid., p. 133.
play. Heywood refers to Elizabeth's study of Seneca: "The reading of whom in laten I vnderstande delightes greatly your maiesty." 11 Elizabeth herself is said to have made an English rendition of Seneca's Hercules Oetaeus in 1561. The second chorus of her drama is still preserved. 12

From this epistle, one gets the feeling that there was opposition to Heywood's undertaking because he defends himself against "reproche wherof flong with disdainfull wordes from ireful tongues, as adders stinges should strike me . . . " (A2/23-A2v/1). Although Heywood calls his labor a "daungerous note of presumption," he justifies it as a "signe to signifie allegeance and dutie toward your highnes . . . " (A2v/6-10).

Heywood presents his tragedy as a New Year's gift to the Queen because she will want to "se some part of so excellent an author in [her] owne tong. . . " (A3/8-9). Elizabeth's kindness to Heywood might also possibly forestall undue criticism towards him: "the authoritie of your graces fauour towarde thys my little worke, may be to me a sure defence and shielde against the sting of reprehending tongues" (A3/13-16). Whatever hostility may have been directed against Heywood's efforts failed to deter him because he later issued another edition of the Troas (1560) and made translations of two other plays of Seneca—Thyestes (1560)

11Jasper Heywood, The Sixt Tragedie of the Most Graue and Prudent Author, Lucius, Anneus, Seneca, entituled Troas, with Divers and Sundrye Addicions to the Same (London: Richard Tottel, 1559), preliminary signature A3, II. 9-11. This work will hereafter be cited in the text by the signature number and the line number.

12Harbage, Annals of English Drama 975-1700, p. 36.
and Hercules Furens (1561).

On the title page of the Troas, Heywood describes his play as having been written "with diuers and sundreye addicions," some of which he later explains in his preface. Before outlining his method of translation, Heywood asks the reader not to think him "arrogant" for "attempting so harde a thyng" as rendering Seneca's tragedies into English (A3v/3-11). He then provides himself with an excuse if his work is a failure: it was never meant to "come to light" but was done "for [his] owne priuate exercise. . ." (A3v/17-19). He explains, moreover, that his friends have "extorted" the play from him to have it printed (A3v/28).

In the Preface to the Readers, Heywood maintains that it is very difficult "to touche at full in all poyntes, the aucthoures minde, (being in many places very harde and doubtfull and the worke muche corrupt by the defaute of evill printed booke) . . ." (A3v/33-A4/3). In the Preface to Thyestes, Heywood will again call attention to the poorly edited issues of Seneca's tragedies (A2/23-A4/9). Other problems that Heywood mentions are his inability to imitate Seneca's "maiestye of style" and the failure of "our englishe toong . . . to compare with the latten. . ." (A4/5-9). As a translator, Heywood is concerned about deviations he has made from Seneca's play: "... if I in any place, haue swerued from the trew sence, or not kept the royaltie of speach, meete for a tragedy, impute the tone to my youth: and lack of iugement, the other to my lacke of eloquence" (A4/10-14). Heywood cites also
some of the alterations and additions that he makes to his translation of Seneca's *Troades*. In our analytical study of Heywood's *Troas*, we shall discuss these changes and his explanations for them.

At the end of his Preface to the Readers, Heywood comments on his rendering of Seneca's Latin in English: "I haue for my sclender learning, endeuored to kepe touche with the Latten, not woorde for woorde or verse for verse as to expounde it, but neglecting the placing of the wordes obserued their sence" (A4v/11-15). Our analysis will attempt to examine the accuracy of this assertion.

In "The preface to the tragedye," Heywood mentions other writers who have told the story of Troy's fall--Homer, Virgil, Dares the Phrygian, and Dictis of Crete (A5/9-12). Heywood will not repeat their tales of great battles and mighty heroes but will concern himself instead with Seneca's account:

Mine author hath not all that story pend,
My pen hys wordes in englishe must resight,
Of latest woes that fell on Troy at ende,
What finall fates the cruell gods could sende. (A5v/2-4)

In a conscious imitation of the epic style, Heywood announces his theme: "My song is mischiefe, murder miserye. / And hereof speakes, thys dolfull tragedye" (A5v/20-21). Because his story is so important and so solemn, Heywood invokes the "wofull Muse" for aid in writing it:

Thou fury fell, that from thy deepest den
Couldest cause thys wrath of hell, on Troy to lyght,
That workest woe, guyde thou my hand and pen. . . .

(A5v/22-24)
After his appeal to the Muse, Heywood declares that he will describe two main events in the play—the deaths of Polyxena and Astyanax. The motivating force behind the first death is Achilles, who seeks revenge for his murder by Paris: "Up ryseth here from hell Achilles spright. / Uengeance he craues with blood his death to quight" (A6/4-5). Achilles, however, is only an instrument of the Fates: "The sprightes the hell, and depest pittes byneathe, / 0 virgin dere, alas, do thrust thy deathe" (A6/14-15). The second murder—that of Astyanax—is imputed to Calchas, who also acts as a minister of the Fates.

Heywood's metrical preface functions like the "argumentum" in the Renaissance editions of Seneca's tragedies because it introduces and summarizes the action of the play. The usual Latin argument, however, is written in prose and is very brief. Each argument in the editions of Tacuinus, Ascensius, Henricus Petrus, and Gryphius emphasizes the importance of the "imago Achilles"—"the shade of Achilles"—which might have influenced Heywood to grant more prominence to Achilles than he receives in Seneca's original version.

Heywood follows the five-act structure of Seneca's tragedy, which is based on the use of a chorus after each act. Divisions of the acts into scenes are indicated by the listing of new speakers for each scene and by the change of meter. Heywood's two major alterations of Seneca's Troades in his work might more easily be discussed in the context of the thought and plot of
the play, but we may mention them briefly now. By inserting a long, ranting speech by Achilles' ghost at the beginning of Act II, Heywood invents an entirely new scene. In Seneca's *Troades* the few words of Achilles are recited by the messenger, Talthybius, who evidently has witnessed the return of the Ghost from the Underworld. Heywood retains the account of Talthybius but adds the scene of Achilles' ghost. The other important transformation that Heywood makes of the structure of the play is his placing of a new chorus after Act I. In the Preface to the Readers, Heywood claims that the chorus for Act I is "wanting," but he seems to have interpreted Seneca's brief chorus here as part of the dialogue between Hecuba and "the company of women" (A4v/21-23).

Heywood makes a distinction between the Chorus and the Company of Women in the list of speakers for the tragedy (A6v/10, 16). The Renaissance editions of Seneca cite only a "chorus mulierum," but this term is used also to refer to the old women who mourn with Hecuba in Act I, Scene ii--the only occasion in the play when the Chorus is listed as a speaker. Perhaps Heywood's confusion about the Chorus and the company of mourners results from this designation in the Latin texts, for he names the Chorus "Women" in Act I, and "Chorus" in Act II, Scene ii.

As for the classical dramatic unities of time, place, and action, Heywood, like Seneca, is concerned only with that of time; that is, the deaths of Astyanax and Polyxena occur within a few
hours after the play opens. In the one instance in which a setting of place is provided—Act III when Andromache stands near Hector's tomb—there is doubt because the Messenger in Act V reports to Andromache and Hecuba (who do not seem to have moved) that the Greeks have sacrilegiously used Hector's tomb as a place on which to stand for a better view of the death of Astyanax. There is no rigid unity of action in the Troas, except in the general sense that the play relates the downfall of Troy, symbolized by the deaths of Astyanax and Polyxena.

A dramatic convention employed in Seneca's play is the soliloquy. The commentaries in the Renaissance editions of Seneca's tragedies note the use of this device in the text; for example, when Ulysses speaks to himself, Ascensius remarks that "Ulysses intra loquitur." In his text, however, Heywood makes no distinction between words spoken in dialogue or in a soliloquy.

What dramatic purpose does the Chorus fulfill? Its function in Seneca's play and Heywood's Troas is puzzling. Are we to assume, for example, that the Chorus is always on stage? It does not seem so because in Act II, Scene ii, the Chorus asks Talthybius why the Greek ships delay in leaving Troy; for in the previous scene Achilles had announced that the Greeks would return home only if Polyxena were slaughtered. If the Chorus had

13"Troas," in L. Anni Senece Tragoediae, ed. by Erasmus, Gerardus Vercellanus, and Aegidius Maserius, with commentaries by Marmita, Gaietanus, and Ascensius (Paris: Ascensius, 1514), fol. cxlviiiV. This work will hereafter be cited as "Troas," Tragoediae (1514) with the appropriate folio number (and line number if pertinent).
heard Achilles' speech, its question would have been unnecessary. Only when the Chorus takes part in the dialogue does Heywood cite its presence, as in Act II, Scene ii: "Chorus" (B5v/9).

Characterization is another important dramatic tool. In this respect Seneca is lacking because there are no well-rounded characters in the Troades. The same is true of Heywood's play. Perhaps in the stichomythic debates between Agamemnon and Pyrrhus and between Ulysses and Andromache there is some insight into these figures, but even here the dialogue is more an exchange of verbal wit than of real thought. Heywood makes no modifications in the descriptions of the personages as found in the Troades, except for that of Achilles, who does not appear as a character in Seneca's play. Heywood portrays Achilles as a revenge ghost who seeks the death of Polyxena but who reveals none of the individuating traits that distinguish other revenge ghosts, for example, the mingled sadness and anger of Hamlet's father (Ham. I.v.1-190).

Turning to a consideration of the changes that Heywood makes in his version of the Troades, we see that in his Preface to the Readers, he declares that "wyth addicyon of mine owne pen, [I] supplied the want of some thynges. . ." (A4/20-22). He notes especially "the speche of Achilles spright, rysing from hell to require the sacrifice of Polixena. . ." (A4/24-26). But he gives no reason for the introduction of this new scene. In his metrical preface, Heywood describes Achilles' ghost in greater detail: "Up ryseth here from hell Achilles spright. / Uengeance
he craues with blood his death to quight" (A6/4-5). The Ghost's demands set in motion Heywood's rather simple plot: to return home the Greeks must slaughter Polyxena. Calchas, the Greek seer, will later proclaim that Astyanax also must die.

Heywood includes "the spright of Achilles" in his list of speakers in the tragedy (A6v/11). In the text of his translation, Heywood announces the entrance of the Ghost: "The sprite of Achilles added to the tragedie by the translatour" (B3v/26-27). No other character is mentioned as being present in this scene, Hecuba and the Chorus having already departed. By having Talthybius report Achilles' threats in the next scene, however, Heywood suggests that the Greek messenger has witnessed the apparition.

Achilles' ghost gives a powerful speech, the purpose of which is to intensify the tone of unremitting vengeance inflicted by the Fates on the Trojans. After recounting his great deeds and describing the miseries of his return to Troy, the Ghost declares the reason for his coming from hell: to seek revenge for the "false disceite" of Paris, who killed him in "Appoloes church" when he was about to wed Polyxena (B4v/1-7). His speech is repetitious, emotional, and bombastic:

Remembred is alowe where spretes do dwell
The wicked slaughter wrought by wyly way,
Not yet reuenged hath the depest hell,
Achilles blood on them that did him slay
But now vengeans comes the yrefull day
and darkest dennes of Tartare from beneath
Conspire the fates: of them that wrought my death. (B4v/22-28)

Achilles stresses the power of the Fates, who have already caused
the conquered nation so much woe. In overwrought language, he
continually draws attention to their desires:

No mischief, murder, wrath of hell drawth mere
and dyre Phlegethon flood doth blood require
Achilles death shalbe reuenged here
With slaughter such as Stygian lakes desyre
Her daughters blood shall slake the sprites yre. (B5/1-5)

Achilles does not seem to be seeking a "personal" vengeance be­
cause he continually asserts that "the depest hell," the "Stygian
lakes," and "the sprete of hell" require the sacrifice of Polyxena.
In the next stanza also, he places culpability for her death on
the spirits of hell:

The sprites crye out, the earth and seas do quake,
The poole of Styx, vngrateful Grekes it seath,
With slaughtred blood reuenge Achilles death. (B5/12-14)

The last stanza of Achilles' speech details the method of, and the
reason for, this horrible murder:

And for that she should then haue been my wife,
I will that Pyrrhus render her to me,
and in such solemne sort byreeue her lyfe,
as ye are wont the weddings for to see,
So shall the wrath of hell appeased be,
Nought els but this may satisfye our yre,
Here will I haue, and her I you require. (B5v/1-7)

We see here again this curious refusal on Achilles' part to assume
complete responsibility for the murder of Polyxena. Both Achilles
and the "wrath of hell" cry out for her death in a macabre
marriage ceremony. Heywood's reluctance to impute full guilt for Polyxena's death to Achilles possibly indicates his wish to insist upon the control of man's life by Fate. In this connection it is interesting to note that in his translation of Achilles' short speech from the Latin Troades, Heywood adds this comment on Polyxena's death: "for so the fates require" (B6v/8).

Besides contributing to the sense of the all-pervading doom that afflicts the Trojans, Achilles' appearance is also a forceful dramatic device that would considerably enliven a stage production. T. S. Eliot and other "Senecan" critics believe that Heywood intended the Ghost to serve as a revenge figure in a staged version of the play.¹⁴ Howard Baker and others hold the "Anti-Senecan" view that Achilles' ghost functions like the ghosts in the narratives of The Mirror for Magistrates, who return to earth to relate the causes of their "falls" from prosperity.¹⁵ The various opinions on this question will receive further attention in the following chapters of this dissertation, but for the present it is sufficient merely to mention them.


The importance attributed by Heywood to Achilles' ghost in the Troas seems even greater in light of the other famous ghost—Hector—who is not brought in as a character in the play. The passage from Seneca's Troades in which Andromache relates her vision of Hector coming to her at night is translated literally by Heywood, without any of the embellishment that attends his portrayal of Achilles. Since Hector comes to earth not to demand revenge but to warn his wife, he does not command the awe that Achilles had inspired. When he visits Andromache, Hector has changed drastically from the time of this struggle against the Greeks: he is now tired and unkempt, covered with tears and dirty hair. Achilles had risen from the underworld dressed in full battle-gear as if he were prepared to resume fighting; he remains the mighty antagonist of Troy while Hector rises as the vanquished hero. Hector's sad appearance symbolizes his inability to aid the Trojans any further, especially when Andromache later appeals to him to protect their son.

In Heywood's translation of the scene after Talthybius' announcement of Achilles' return, none of the speakers—Pyrrhus, Agamemnon, or Calchas—refers to the Ghost. It must be assumed, then, that they have been told of Achilles' threats by Talthybius. In fact, when Calchas comes to end the quarrel over Polyxena between Pyrrhus and Agamemnon, he mentions only the wishes of the Fates; he does not talk of Achilles: "The fates apoint the
Grekes to bye / theyr waies with wonted price" (C3v/25-26). To achieve greater dramatic unity, Heywood might have had other characters in the play speak of Achilles' appearance, but it is mentioned only once again--in Andromache's brief remark to the Old Man (C6/21-26).

A very important concept in Seneca's Troades, and one that is of much interest to Heywood in his translation, is that Troy is an example of how the great can fall because of the fickleness of fortune. In the opening lines of the Troades, Hecuba attributes the destruction of Troy to the Fates:

QUICUMQUE REGNO FIDIT ET MAGNA POTENS
DOMINATUR AULA NEC LEVES METUIT DEOS
ANIMUMQUE REBUS CREDULUM LAETIS DEDIT,
ME VIDEAT ET TE, TROIA, NON UMQUAM TULIT
DOCUMENTA FORS MAIORA, QUAM FRAGILI LOCO
STARENT SUPERBI. ("Troades," ed. Miller, 1. 1-6)

("Whoever trusts in sovereignty and strongly lords it in his princely hall, who fears not the fickle gods and has given up his trustful soul to joy, on me let him look and on thee, O Troy."--Troades," tr. Miller, I, 125)

In his translation Heywood retains the thought of these lines:

Who so in pompe of prowde estate,
or kingdome sets delight:
Or who that ioyes in princes court
to beare the sway of might.
Ne dredes the fates which from aboue
the wauering gods downe flinges:
But fast affiaunce fixed hath.
in fraile and fickle thinges:
Let him in me both see the face,
of fortunes flattering ioye:
And eke respect the ruthfull ende,
of the (O ruinous Troye)
For neuer gaue she plainer proofe,
then thyse ye present se:
How fraile and brittle is the state,
of pride and high degree. (A7/4-19)

We have discussed earlier the chorus which Heywood adds to the play because it is "wanting" in Seneca. Heywood's chorus contributes to the thematic unity of the play because it reiterates Seneca's view that man is subject to the domineering Fates:

O ye to whom, the lord of land and seas,
of lyfe and death, hath graunted here the powre
Lay down your lofty lookes, your pryde appeas
the crowned king, fleeth not his fatall howre.
Who so thou be, that leadst thy land alone
thy life was limite, from thy mothers wombe,
Not purple robe, not glorious glittring throne,
ne crowne of golde, redemes the from the tombe....
(B2v/27-B3/4)

As exempla of great men who have met untimely ends, the Chorus cites Aegeus, King of Athens; Jason, who had won the golden fleece; Pelias, Jason's uncle; and Tereus, King of Thrace. Even the gods, such as Saturn and Hercules, are victims of the Fates, whose decrees are changeless:

They sit aboue, that hold our life in line,
and what we suffre, downe they fling from hye
Nocarke, no care, that euer may vntwine
the thrids, that wouen are aboue the skye....
(B3/17-20)

Man should learn from the misfortunes of princes and gods to be wary of the "secrete steppe, of chaunce stelth" (B3/31). At the end of this chorus, Heywood links the destruction of Troy with the lot of all men:

and Hecuba that waileth now in care,
that was so late of high estate a Queene
a mirror is, to teach you what you are
your wandering welth, a princes, here is seene. (B3v/17-20)

Much of Heywood's translation centers on the theme expressed in
this chorus. For example, later in the play, Agamemnon declares
to Pyrrhus, "tu me superbum, Priame, tu timidum facis. . . ."
("Troades," ed. Miller, line 270). In his translation of this
line, Heywood includes a reference to Priam as a "mirror" or ex-
ample of the downfall of the great:

Thou Priame perfite proofe presentst,
thou art to me eftsones:
A cause of pride, a glas of feare,
a mirrour for the nones. (C1/13-16)

It should be no surprise that Heywood is so much concerned
with stating one of the most influential literary concepts of the
Renaissance—-the fall of the mighty as a lesson to others—-because just at the time Heywood began to translate, William
Baldwin brought forth The Mirror for Magistrates (1559), a con-
tinuation of John Lydgate's translation (1431-38) of Boccaccio's
Fall of Princes (c. 1360). Baldwin's work relates the "tragedies"
of famous historical personages, who are exempla of the way in
which Fate can overturn a prosperous man. In the preface to his
translation of Thvestes, Heywood praises not only William Baldwin
but also Thomas Sackville, a contributor to the edition of The
Mirror in 1563 (*7v/17-18, 25-28). He describes Baldwin's writ-
ings as sure to win for him "eternall fame" (*7v/27-28). Heywood
may have known Baldwin personally because John Heywood and William
Baldwin had produced plays together at court from the beginning of the reign of Edward VI to the close of the reign of Mary. Heywood's possible relationship with Sackville also is important. Like Heywood a student at the Inns of Court, Sackville was the author with Thomas Norton of the first English tragedy, Gorboduc (1561), heavily influenced by Seneca's plays in the original or in translation. It is interesting to note, too, that the first stanza of Sackville's "Tragedy of Henry, Duke of Buckingham" in The Mirror for Magistrates seems to be a paraphrase of Hecuba's opening speech in Heywood's Troas:

Who so in pompe of prowde estate,
or kingdome sets delight:
Or who that ioyes in princes court
to beare the sway of might.

Let him in me both see the face,
of fortunes flattering ioye. . . . (A7/4-7,12-13)

In The Mirror for Magistrates Buckingham warns,

Who trustes to much in honours highest trone
And warely watche not slye dame Fortunes snare:
Or who in courte will beare the sway alone,
Behold he me, and by my death beware:
Whom flatterling Fortune falsely so begilde
That loe she slewe, where earst ful smooth she smylde. 17

16 Reed, Early Tudor Drama, p. 65.

Many poems published in the popular *Tottel's Miscellany* (1557-1587) also portray the evanescence of earthly fame. In lines 1 and 2 of the anonymous poem, "The Meane Estate is to be Accompt the Best," the author declares, "The higher hall the greater fall / such chance have proude and lofty mindes." Lines 16 and 17 of Heywood's own poem "Who Wayteth on this Wauering World" in *The Paradise of Dainty Devices* likewise counsel the proud not to trust in high position: "Thus what thing hyest place atteynes, is soonest overthrowne, / What ever Fortune sets a loft, she threats to throw downe." 

It may be pertinent here to mention that Heywood employs some lines from the chorus of Act III of the *Thyestes* in the chorus he adds to Act I of the *Troas*. It is interesting, too, that in the Preface to the *Troas* Heywood does not acknowledge this borrowing. To the best of my knowledge, no other scholar has pointed out this use in the *Troas* of lines from the *Thyestes*. Both quotations from the *Thyestes* deal with the role of Fate in man's life. The first quotation from Heywood's *Thyestes* warns men not to trust Fortune:

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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. . . .
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Heywood's version of these lines in the *Troas* is only slightly different:

O ye to whom, the lord of land and seas,
of lyfe and death, hath graunted here the powre
Lay down your lofty lookes, your pryde appeas. . . .

(B2v/27-29)

The second quotation from the *Thyestes* also is an admonition to man not to seek high place:

let none rejoyce to much that good hath got.
Let none dispaire of best in worst estate
for Clothoe myngles all. . . . (C4/26-28)

In these lines in the *Troas*, Heywood changes very little. He uses "she" for "Clothoe":

In slipper ioy, let no man put his trust
let none dispayre, that heavu happes hath past
The swete with sowre, she mingleth as she lust. . . .

(B3v/1-3)

Heywood's use of these verses from the *Thyestes* in his earlier play indicates that even before the *Troas* was completed, Heywood might have planned the translation of the *Thyestes*.

Heywood adds three stanzas of his own invention to his translation of Seneca's chorus to Act II. This chorus in Seneca's *Troades* is an expression of the Stoic view that death is meaningless. Heywood's version at times is rather beautiful:

For as the fume that from the fire doth pas,
With tourne of hande, doth vanishe out of sight
And swifter then the northen boreas,
With whirling blaste and storme of raging might,
Driuthe far away and puttes the cloudes to flyght,
So fleeth the spright that rules our life away,
And nothing taryeth after dying day. (C4v/20-26)
Heywood's three stanzas apply these thoughts on death to the plight of Polyxena and Astyanax. He asserts that the slaughter of Astyanax is inevitable:

The sisters have decreed it should be so,
There may no force alas escape their hande,
The mighty Jove their will may not withstande. (C5/19-21)

Instead of translating Seneca's chorus from Act III of the Troades, Heywood borrows his Englishing of lines 959-80 from the third chorus of Seneca's Hippolytus, to which he appends some of his own verses. In the Preface to the Readers, Heywood explains that he does not translate the chorus from the Troades because it contains a number of geographical references which would "be a straunge and unpleasaunt thing to the readers, (except I should expounde the histories of eche one, which would be farre to tedious)..." (A4v/3-6). Heywood is probably correct. The names of so many ancient cities would add nothing to his work, but the chorus from the Hippolytus provides a comment on the idea that man's life is governed by the unfeeling Fates. The Chorus questions Jove as to why he is so careful to set the seasons of the year in order, yet is,

careles of mans estate alwaye?
Regarding not the good mans case,
nor caring how to hurte the ill
Chaunce beareth rule in euery place,
and turneth mans estate at will.
She gueues the wrong the vpper hande
the better part she dothe oppresse,
She makes the highest lowe to stande
her kyngdome all is orderlesse. (E2/21-29)

These generalizations about man's lot are particularly appropriate
here because they follow the scene in which the innocent Astyanax is captured. The lines that Heywood adds to this chorus point to Troy's destruction as an example of the fickleness with which "chance" treats man:

O parfitte profe of her frayltie,
the princely towres of Troye bet downe
The flowre of Asya here ye see
with turne of hand quight ouerthrowne. . . .

(E2/30-E2v/2)

In his Preface to the Readers, Heywood explains that he "endeuored to kepe touche with the Latten, not woorde for woorde or verse for verse as to expounde it, but neglecting the placing of the wordes observed their sence" (A4v/12-15). Although this statement might account for some of Heywood's less exact renderings of the Latin in English, it fails to give the reason for those places in his play where Heywood is considerably at variance with the Latin text.

We shall study those places in the play where Heywood departs greatly from Seneca. At times Heywood simply does not understand the original. Hecuba refers to the crazed Cassandra:

"quaecumque Phoebas ore lymphato furens / credi deo vetante praedixit mala. . . " ("Troades," ed. Miller, ll. 34-35). ("Whatever evils Phoebus' bride, raving with frenzied lips foretold, though the god forbade that she should be believed. . . ."-- "Troades," tr. Miller, I, 127.) Heywood, garbling these lines, interprets "Phoebas" as "Apollo," not as "Cassandra":

What euer Phebus waterishe face,
in fury hath foresayde:
At raging rise from seas, when erste,
the monstres had him frayde. (A8/9-12)

The commentaries of Ascensius and Marmita note that these lines refer to Cassandra.20

Describing their preparations for their mourning ritual, the Trojan women say, "cadit ex umeris vestis apertis / imumque tegit suffulta latus. . ." ("Troades," ed. Miller, ll. 104-105). ("From our bared shoulders our garments fall and cover only our loins with their folds."--"Troades," tr. Miller, I, 131). Heywood muddles these lines badly: "Let downe your garmente from your shoulders bare / and suffre not your clamour so to slake" (B1v/26-27).

Talthybius describes Achilles ascending to earth from the Underworld: "cum subito caeco terra mugitu fremens / concussa totos traxit ex imo sinus. . ." ("Troades," ed. Miller, ll. 172-73). (". . . when suddenly the earth with hidden rumblings rocked convulsive and brought to light her innermost recesses. . ."--"Troades," tr. Miller, I, 137.) Heywood's reading is very different:

The earth all shaken sodeynly
and from the hollow ground,
My thought I heard with roring crye
a depe and dreadful sound. (B5v/26-29)

Heywood adds the phrase "My thought I heard" possibly to make Talthybius appear a more convincing witness to Achilles' return

20"Troas," Tragoediae (1514), fol. cxxxv.
from the dead. Heywood's "depe and dreadful sound" is probably based on the reading of the Renaissance texts of Seneca, for example, that of Ascensius, which has "sonos" instead of "sinus." 21

In their debate Pyrrhus declares to Agamemnon that when the Greeks leave Troy, they will have overlooked Achilles: "excidit Achilles cuius unius manu / impulsa Troia. . ." ("Troades," ed. Miller, ll. 204-205). ("Achilles was quite forgot by whose sole hand made Troy to totter. . ."--"Troades," tr. Miller, I, 139.) Heywood has a much different meaning for these words: "Achilles rose whose onely hand, / hath geuen grekes the spoyle" (37/1-2). One possible reason for Heywood's translation of "excidit" as "rose" might be his intention of referring to the added scene in which Achilles "rose" from hell (B3v/25-B5v/7). It is interesting that Ascensius and Marmita explain that "excidit" means "fell from memory." 22

Pyrrhus tells Agamemnon that he delights in recounting the great deeds of his father: "inclitas laudes iuvat / et facta magni clara genitoris sequi" ("Troades," ed. Miller, ll. 236-37). ("Proud am I to rehearse my great sires illustrious praises and glorious deeds. . ."--"Troades," tr. Miller, I, 141.) Heywood sees additional significance in Pyrrhus's statement:

22 Ibid., fol. cxxix.
Reicyse I may your parentes prayse
and brute abrode his actes
It semeth the soon to folow well
his noble fathers actes... (88/13-16)

Heywood intends "your" to have some indefinite sense; that is, it pleases "one" to tell of "his" father's exploits. Heywood translates "laudes..." as "brute abrode,"--that is, "to praise"--and "facta...sequi" as "to follow," that is, "to imitate."

Pyrrhus mockingly rebukes Agamemnon: "dubitatur et iam placita nunc subito improbas..." ("Troades," ed. Miller, line 246). ("Dost hesitate and deem wrong what has already been approved?"--"Troades," tr. Miller, I, 143.) Heywood seems not to understand that these lines refer to Agamemnon's sacrifice of his daughter Iphigenia at Aulis: "Doubte ye herein: allow ye not that streight his will be doon" (B8v/1-2). Ascensius has a different reading from that of Miller: "Dubitatur etiam? placita nec subito probas?" The division of "etiam" and the omission of "nunc" indicate why Heywood failed to see the contrast between what was allowed--Iphigenia's death--and what is not now licít--Polyxena's murder.

Heywood fails to grasp the meaning of the original in Agamemnon's scornful comment to Pyrrhus about his desire to sacrifice Polyxena:

quis iste mos est? quando in inferias homo est

impensus hominis: detrahe invidiam tuo
odiumque patri, quem coli poena iubes.
("Troades," ed. Miller, ll. 298-300)

("What custom this: when was a human victim offered up in
honour of human dead? Save thy father from scorn and hate, whom
thou art bidding us honour by a maiden's death."--"Troades," tr.
Miller, I, 145, 147.)

Heywood incorrectly attributes the "envy" and "scorn" for Achilles
to Pyrrhus instead of to the Trojans:

What furious fransye may this be
that doth your wyll so leade,
This earnest carefull sute to make
in trauaile for the deade?
Let not such enuy towarde your fa­
ther in your hart remaine,
That for hys sacrifice ye woulde
procure an othersayne. (C2/1-8)

Heywood incorrectly translates Pyrrhus's threat to Agamemnon:

et nimium diu
a caede nostra regia cessat manus
paremque poscit Priamus. ("Troades," ed. Miller,
ll. 308-310)

("... too long has my hand refrained from killing kings, and
Priam claims his peer."--"Troades," tr. Miller, I, 147.)

Heywood mistakenly interprets "parem" as "Polyxena" instead of
"Agamemnon":

And now to long from princes slaugh­
ter doth my hande abide,
And meete it were that Polyxeine
were layde by Priames syde. (C2/21-24)

Ascensius notes that "parem" refers to Agamemnon. 24

As a rebuke to Pyrrhus, Agamemnon reminds him that Achilles
had granted Priam free passage through the Greek camp to sue for
Hector's body: "Nempe isdem in istis Thessalis navalibus / pax

24"Troas," Tragoediae (1514), fol. cxli.
alta rursus Hectoris patri fuit" ("Troades," ed. Miller, 11. 325-26). ("Yes, and in that same ship-camp of Thessaly deep peace, again did Hector's father find."--"Troades," tr. Miller, I, 149.) Heywood does not seem to realize that this passage refers to Achilles' kindness to Priam:

For why aloofe the thessale fleete,  
they lay from Troiains handes,  
And well your father might haue rest,  
he felt not Hectors brandes. . . . (C2v/17-20)

Seneca's chorus after Act II declares that there is no life after death:

hoc omnes petimus fata nec amplius,  
iuratos superis qui tetigit lacus,  
usquam est. ("Troades," ed. Miller, 11. 390-92)

(". . . so do we all seek fate, and nevermore does he exist at all who has reached the pool whereby the high gods swear."--"Troades," tr. Miller, I, 257)

Omitting the description of "lacus"--the river Styx--Heywood points to the power of the Fates--"Parcas"--as ending man's existence:

So drauthe on deathe, and life of eche thing weares,  
And neuer may the man, retourne to sight,  
That once hath felt the stroke of Parcas might.  
(C4v/17-19)

Andromache tells the Old Man about the appearance of Hector's ghost:

turbat atque agitat Phrygas  
communis iste terror; hic proprie meum  
exterret animum noctis horrendae sopor.  
("Troades," ed. Miller, 11. 434-36)

("That terror disturbs and alarms all Phrygians alike; but
this vision of dread night doth terrify my soul alone."--"Troades," tr. Miller, I, 159)

"Iste terror" refers to the ghost of Achilles; "hic sopor," to Andromache's vision of Hector. Heywood fails to perceive that these words relate to the two ghosts; he interprets this passage as a comment on Andromache's fears:

Death thankfull were, a common care
The Troians all oppres,
But me alas amaseth moste
the fearefull heuines. (C6/29-32)

Andromache expresses her courage in the face of Ulysses' taunts: ("Si vis, Ulix, cogere Andromacham metu, / vitam minare; nam mori votum est mihi" ("Troades," ed. Miller, ll. 566-67). ("If thou desirest, Ulysses, to force Andromache through fear, threaten her with life; for 'tis my prayer to die."--"Troades," tr. Miller, I, 173.) Heywood misunderstands this antithesis, that it is not death but life which frightens Andromache. Heywood interprets this passage to mean that she wishes to be scared by death, not life:

Ulysses if ye will constrayne
Andromacha with feare,
Threten my life, for now to aye
my chiefe desyre it weare. (D 3/5-8)

In her debate with Ulysses, Andromache declares that previously the Greeks had refrained from destroying tombs: "busta transierat furor" ("Troades," ed. Miller, line 670). ("... but our tombs your mad rage had spared."--"Troades," tr. Miller, I, 183.) In his translation of this line, Heywood states merely that the Greeks now violate the tombs of the dead; he makes no
mention of their past conduct in this regard: "The deade ye spare not, on theyr tombes / your furye rageth now" (D5v/31-32).

Helen bemoans the hard fate she will face now that Troy has been destroyed: "me mea traxit statim / sine sorte dominus" ("Troades," ed. Miller, 11. 906-907). ("... me has my master dragged away at once, without waiting for the lot."--"Troades," tr. Miller, I, 202-203.) Heywood interprets "dominus" as "Paris" instead of "Menelaus": "And me not captiue made by lotte / yet parys led awaye" (E4v/3-4). In their commentaries, both Ascensius and Marmita explain that "dominus" refers to Menelaus.25

Helen asks Andromache, "prostratum Ilium est, / versi penates?" ("Troades," ed. Miller, 11. 911-12). ("Is Ilium laid low, are your household gods overthrown?"--"Troades," tr. Miller, I, 201.) Heywood adapts this remark to his theme that Troy's fall is caused by the Fates: "Turnde are the fates, Troy beaten downe. ..." (E4/25).

Denying that she is responsible for the destruction of Troy, Helen blames the Trojans for capturing her:

hoc verum puta,
Spartana puppis vestra si secuit freta;
sin rapta Phrygiis praeda remigibus fui. ...
("Troades," ed. Miller, 11. 918-20)

("Count that the truth if 'twas a Spartan ship that clove your seas; but if, swept along by Phrygian oarsmen, I was a helpless prey. ..."--"Troades," tr. Miller, I, 203)

25"Troas," Tragoediae (1514), fol. cliiiiv.
Heywood does not translate the phrase "hoc verum puta" and fails to grasp Helen's meaning that she would be guilty if Greek, not Trojan sails, had carried her from Menelaus:

> When fyrst your shippes the Spartane seas and land of Grecia sought.  
> But if the Goddesse wilde it so that I theyr praye should be. . . . (E4v/7-10)

The commentaries of Ascensius and Marmita explain these lines by saying that Helen would be guilty only if she had not been abducted by Paris.26


When Helen tells Hecuba that she is to be the slave of Ulysses, Hecuba rejoices that she has deprived her new master of a more appealing prisoner: "dumque ista veniant, interim hoc poenae loco est--/ sortem occupavi, praemium eripui tibi" ("Troades," ed. Miller, ll. 997-98). ("And till those shall come, meanwhile this serves in place of vengeance on thee--I

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26 "Troas," Tragoediae (1514), fol. cliiiiV.
27 "Troas," Tragoediae (1514), fol. cliiiii/3.
have usurped thy lot, I have stolen from thee thy prize."—
"Troades," tr. Miller, I, 209.) Heywood interprets these lines
as being addressed not to Ulysses but to Priam, who has cheated
Hecuba by dying before her:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{In meane time haps this deepe distres} \\
\text{my cares can know no calme;} \\
\text{I ran the race with Priamus} \\
\text{but he hath woon the Palme. (E6v/25-28)}
\end{align*}
\]

The Messenger describes people standing in trees to view the
deat of Astyanax: "hinc pinus, illum laurus, hunc fagus gerit/
et tota populo Silva suspenso tremit" ("Troades," ed. Miller, ll.
1082-83). ("A pine-tree holds one, a laurel-tree, another, a
beech-tree, one; and the whole forest sways with clinging people."
"Troades," tr. Miller, I, 215.) Heywood takes the Messenger's
account to mean that the spectators at the death of Astyanax are
wearing garlands from the various types of trees:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Some on theyr temples weare the Pyne,} \\
\text{some beech, some crownes of baye,} \\
\text{For garlandes torne is euery tree,} \\
\text{that standeth in theyr waye. (F1/3-6)}
\end{align*}
\]

Ascensius and Marmita explain that the onlookers wear garlands.\(^28\)

A great number of Greeks and Trojans come to witness
Polyxena's death: "crescit theatri more concursus frequens..."
("Troades," ed. Miller, line 1125). ("The surging mass increases
as if thronging to a theatre..."—"Troades," tr. Miller, I,
219:) Heywood takes "theatri" as a reference to the structure of
Achilles' tomb, not to the mob of onlookers: "A sloape on heyght

\[^{28}\text{"Troas," Tragoediae (1514), fol. clvii.}\]
erected are / the bankes, in theater wyse" (F2/17-18). It is possible that Heywood's translation here may have been guided by the commentaries of Marmita and Galetanus, who note that "theatri" pertains to the description of Achilles' burial-place.29

Besides the changes that he makes in the Troas through his faulty understanding of the Latin, Heywood alters the play also by introducing minor additions, which either enlarge upon or depart from Seneca's meaning. To achieve greater clarity, Heywood often inserts in his translation the names of persons who are only indirectly mentioned in Seneca's Troades; for example, Andromache remarks to Ulysses, "sic te revisat coniugis sanctae torus. . ." ("Troades," ed. Miller, line 698). ("So may thy chaste wife's couch see thee again."--"Troades," tr. Miller, I, 185.) Heywood explains the allusion to "coniugis sanctae" by identifying Ulysses' wife as "Penelope":

God graunt the chast bed of thy godly wife Penelope,
May the receiue. . . . (D6v/25-27)

After Astyanax has been captured, Andromache tells him to be humble and to forget "senis iura per omnes / incluta terras. . ." ("Troades," ed. Miller, ll. 713-14). (". . . the illustrious sway of thy noble grandsire o'er all lands."--"Troades," tr. Miller, I, 187.) By substituting "Priam" for "senis," Heywood clarifies the

29 "Troas," in Tragoediae Senecae (1498), ed. by Marmita and Galetanus, fol. lxxxviiV.
reference to the noble ancestry of Astyanax: "thinke not on pryames great nobilitie..." (D7/17).

Heywood augments the play in other ways, too. In trying to justify the slaughter of Polyxena, Pyrrhus accuses Agamemnon of a similar crime: "Iamne immolari virginis credit nefas?" ("Troades," ed. Miller, line 331). ("So now thou deemst the sacrifice of maids a crime?"--"Troades," tr. Miller, I, 149.) In Heywood's Troas Pyrrhus explains Agamemnon's crime--the sacrifice of his daughter Iphigenia:

Account ye cruell now her death
whose sacrifice I craue.
Your own dere daughter once ye know,
your selfe to thaulters gaue. (C2v/29-32)

Pyrrhus taunts Agamemnon by asserting, "His ista iactas..." ("Troades," ed. Miller, line 337). ("Darest fling such words. ...--"Troades," tr. Miller, I, 151.) In Heywood's play Pyrrhus hurls another insult at Agamemnon: "Thus boast ye these as though in all / ye onely bare the stroke..." (C3/13-14).

Heywood expands Andromache's speech to the Old Man (see "Troades," ed. Miller, ll. 434-36) by pointing to the control of man's life by the Fates: "Would god the fates would finishe soone / the sorowes I sustaine? (C6/27-28).

In Ulysses' long speech, he tells Andromache about the prophecy of Calchas: "augur haec Calchas canit..." ("Troades," ed. Miller, line 533). ("Calchas, the augur, gives this response..."--"Troades," tr. Miller, I, 169.) In Heywood's
play this line is attributed to Andromache and is put in the form of a question: "And sayth your Augure Calchas so?" (Dlv/9). Heywood here follows the reading of Ascensius: "Vester augur hoc Calchas canit." 30

When Ulysses is testing Andromache, he declares that she is to be congratulated on her son's death because he has avoided being cast down from the tower of Troy (see "Troades," ed. Miller, ll. 619-22). To Ulysses' remark, Heywood adds the comment that Fate had marked out a particularly sad end for Astyanax: "More dolefull death by desteny / for him decreed ther was" (D4v/3-4).

At the conclusion of Andromache's plea to Ulysses that her son be spared (see "Troades," ed. Miller, ll. 707-735), Heywood introduces verses describing the helplessness of the mother's plight:

Take mercy on the mothers ruthfull teares
that with theyr streames my cheekes do ouerflowe
And spare thyss giltles infants tender yeares
that humbly falleth at thy feete so lowe. (D7v/11-14)

To Helen's portrayal of herself as the cause of the Trojans' woe (see "Troades," ed. Miller, ll. 861-71), Heywood appends another statement of her guilt: "My wedding torche hath byn the cause / of all the Troians care (E2v/20-21). She refers here, of course, to her marriage with Paris as the cause of Troy's fall.

30"Troas," Tragoediae (1514), fol. cxlvi/5.
When Helen addresses the mourning Trojan women (see "Troades," ed. Miller, 872-87), she attempts to disguise her real purpose of preparing Polyxena for her death. Heywood makes clear Helen's deception when he adds to the beginning of her speech, "To thee, the Gresians haue me sent / I bring the newes of ioy" (E3/11-12).

Heywood lengthens Hecuba's mournful remarks on the loss of Polyxena (see "Troades," ed. Miller, 955-66). Heywood's addition to Hecuba's lament describes Polyxena as the last support of this once-great Queen: "A stayer of my sory state, / and shall I now leese thee?" (E5v/23-24).

Some verses inserted by Heywood in Andromache's sad commentary on her imminent exile (see "Troades," ed. Miller, 969-71) contrast the plight of the Trojan women with that of Helen, who will return to her own land:

But as for Heleyns grieues be gone and turned to the best, She shall agayne her natieue con­trey see: and liue at rest. (E6/9-12)

The Messenger declares that Astyanax has met death with courage--"intrepidus animo" ("Troades," ed. Miller, line 1093). Heywood expands the Messenger's account of the boy's bravery: "The neerer death more free from care / he seemde, and feare of harte" (F1/25-26).

Heywood contends in his preface to the Readers that he does not translate the chorus from Act II of the Troades because it contains many geographical and mythological names that would
sound harsh in the English tongue and that would require lengthy explanation. In the non-choric sections of the play also, Heywood very often fails to translate such references: for example, in the *Troades*, the home of Paris is described as "fatalis Ide, iudicis diri domus" ("Troades," ed. Miller, line 66). Omitting the mention of Ida, Heywood translates this line very loosely as "tops of treese" and "hils" (Bl/15). The text of Ascensius contains this verse, so Heywood seems deliberately to have left it out.  

Heywood omits from his translation the passage in the *Troades* about Achilles' victory over Cycnus, the son of Neptune: "Neptunium / cana nitenten perculit iuvenem coma. . ." ("Troades," ed. Miller, 11. 183-84). After his death Cycnus was transformed into a swan. Since Heywood possibly did not understand "cana coma," he decided to exclude these verses from his *Troas*. These lines are in the Ascensius text, and there is a comment on them.  

Heywood translates very freely the mythological reference to Sigeon in Andromache's question to Helen about the fate of Polyxena:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{num per has vastum in mare} \\
\text{volvenda rupes, latere quas scisso levat} \\
\text{altum vadoso Sigeon spectans sinu?} \\
\end{align*}
\]

("Troades," ed. Miller, 11. 930-32)

("Must she be hurled into the vasty deep over the cliffs

31 "Troas," *Tragoediae* (1514), fol. cxxxvi\textsuperscript{v}/15.

which lofty Sigeum with sheer sides raises, looking out on his shallow bay?"—"Troades," tr. Miller, I, 203)

Heywood glosses over the complexities of this description:

Or will they cast her from the cliues,
into Sygeon seaes?
In bottome of the surging waues,
to ende her ruthfull dayes? (E4v/29-32)

There are other places in the Troas where Heywood for no apparent reason does not translate the Latin text; for example, Andromache declares to the weeping Trojan women that "levia perpessae sumus, / si flenda patimus? ("Troades," ed. Miller, 11. 411-12). ("Trivial woes have we endured if our sufferings can be told by tears."—"Troades," tr. Miller, I, 157.) These verses that Heywood passes over are contained in the Ascensius text.33

Ulysses explains that it is not he but the Fates who demand the death of Astyanax: "hanc fata expetunt" ("Troades," ed. Miller, line 528). It is curious that Heywood does not include this idea in his translation when many of his additions to the play express a similar theme, that the Fates govern the affairs of men. This line also is in the Ascensius text.34

In Andromache's emotional plea to Ulysses for mercy on her son, she utters the sententia, "misero datur quodcumque, fortunae

33 "Troas," Tragoediae (1514), fol. cxliiiV/7-8.
34 "Troas," Tragoediae (1514), fol. cxlviV/14.
datur" ("Troades," ed. Miller, line 697). ("What is given to misery is a gift to Fortune."--"Troades," tr. Miller, I, 185.) It is surprising that Heywood passes up the opportunity to frame this line into an English aphorism. This verse is contained in the Ascensius edition of Seneca's tragedies.35

Heywood does not translate Andromache's request to the Messenger that he disclose all the details of the deaths of Polyxena and Astyanax: "gaudet magnus aerumnas dolor / tractare totas" ("Troades," ed. Miller, ll. 1066-67). ("Great grief hath joy to dwell on all its woes."--"Troades," tr. Miller, I, 215.) This line is in the Ascensius text.36

We have seen that Heywood's major changes in his translation of Seneca's play have been made deliberately as he himself states in the Preface to the Readers (A3v/1-A4v/27). In our analysis of Heywood's less important deviations from the meaning of Seneca's play, we realize that in the majority of instances Heywood purposely chooses a meaning different from that of Seneca. There are occasions, however, when Heywood translates Seneca loosely or incorrectly because he seems puzzled by the text of the original.

CHAPTER V

FIGURES, VERSIFICATION, AND DICTION IN HEYWOOD'S TROAS

Seneca's Troades abounds with rhetorical devices like the sententia, antithesis, stichomythia, irony, and many others. Since an exhaustive study of Heywood's imitation of Seneca's poetic style would be too lengthy, it may be wiser to analyze Heywood's method of translating certain poetical and rhetorical figures employed in Seneca's tragedy.

The Latin Troades contains many highly polished sententiae, which so appealed to people in the Renaissance that hundreds of collections of them were made, including the famous edition by Erasmus entitled the Adagia, first issued in 1500 but continually enlarged in succeeding editions. By the time of Erasmus's death in 1536, there were forty-eight editions of this work. At times in his translation, Heywood fails to reproduce the sharpness of these aphorisms from Seneca. In the beginning of the play, Hecuba mourns that "Troia iam vetus est malum" ("Troades," ed. Miller, line 43). ("Troy's fall is now an ancient woe."--"Troades," tr. Miller, I, 127.) Heywood loses much of the conciseness of Hecuba's plaint: "Account as olde Troies ouerturke: / and past by many yeares" (A8/31-32). Sorrowing over her lonely fate, Hecuba asserts that "mea sors timetur, sola sum Danais metus" ("Troades," ed. Miller, line 62). ("My lot is dreaded, I only am a terror to

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the Greeks."--"Troades," tr. Miller, I, 129.) Heywood enlarges this expression considerably:

But I alas most wofull wight,
whom no man sekes to chuse,
I am the onely refuge left,
and me they cleane refuse. . . . (B1/5-8)

At other places in the *Troas*, Heywood captures the forceful brevity of Seneca's aphorisms. Agamemnon rebukes Pyrrhus: "Minimum decet libere cui multum licet" ("Troades," ed. Miller, line 336). ("Least should he will who has much right."--"Troades," tr. Miller, I, 151.) Heywood renders this verse into English well: "So much the les he ought to lyst, / that may do what he will" (C3/11-12). Pyrrhus defends his father's sparing of Priam's life: "Est regis altum spiritum regi dare" ("Troades," ed. Miller, line 327). ("'Tis a high, a kingly act to give life to a king."--"Troades," tr. Miller, I, 149.) Heywood preserves the conciseness of this *sententia*: "Well semes a noble king to giue / an other king reliefe. . . ." (C2v/21-22).

Seneca often juxtaposes contrasting ideas to form a neat antithesis. In our treatment of Heywood's errors in translating, we have already discussed several examples of his failure to render this rhetorical figure into English aptly. At other places in the *Troas*, Heywood translates Seneca's antithesis quite capably. For example, Andromache tells Astyanax that he will find either refuge or death in his father's tomb:

\[
fata si miseris iuvant, 
habes salutem; fatam si vitam negant, 
habes sepulchrum. ("Troades," ed. Miller, ll. 510-12)
\]
("If the fates befriend the wretched, thou hast a safe re­treat; if the fates deny thee life, thou hast a tomb."--"Troades," tr. Miller, I, 167)

Heywood expresses well the alternatives Astyanax must face:

If ought the fates, may wretches helpe
thou hast thy sauegarde there.
If not: already then pore fool
thou hast thy sepulchere. (C8v/29-32)

When Andromache describes Polyxena's rejoicing over her death in preference to marriage with Pyrrhus, she exclaims that "mortem putabat illud, hoc thalamos putat" ("Troades," ed. Miller, line 948). ("Death she deemed that other, this, her bridal."--"Troades," tr. Miller, I, 205.) Heywood's version of this line makes even clearer the contrast between marriage and death: "To wed she thought it death: to dye, / she thinkes a wedding day" (E5/27-28).

In reference to the mob viewing Polyxena's death, the Messenger declares that "magna pars vulgi levis / odit scelus, spectatque" ("Troades," ed. Miller, ll. 128-29). ("The greater part of the heedless throng detests the crime--and gaze."--"Troades," tr. Miller, I, 219.) Heywood, too, effectively portrays the morbid fascination of the spectators at the murder of Polyxena: "A greate parte of the people, bothe / the slaughter hate and see" (F2/25-26).

Seneca relies heavily on irony, especially in the stichomythic debates. Pyrrhus taunts Agamemnon about the terrible crimes committed by his father: "Atrei et Thyestes nobilem novi domum" ("Troades," ed. Miller, line 341). Heywood's translation
preserves the implications of this insult: "Thyestes noble flock I knowe, / and Atreus eke full well. . ." (C3/21-22). Andromache mockingly characterizes Ulysses: "nocturne miles, fortis in pueri necem, / iam solus audes aliquid et claro die" ("Troades," ed. Miller, ll. 755-56). ("Thou nocturnal soldier, brave to do a mere boy to death, at last thou darest some deed alone and in the open day."--"Troades," tr. Miller, I, 189.) Heywood makes an excellent translation of this ironic description of Ulysses:

Thou night soouldier, and stought of harte
a little chylde to slaye,
Thys enterpryse thou takste alone
and that by open daye. (D8/29-32)

Heywood like Seneca utilizes the rhetorical question greatly. In attempting to convince Ulysses that she is ignorant of her son's fate, Andromache speaks in a series of rhetorical questions:

nate, quis te nunc locus,
fortuna quae possedit? errore avio
vagus arva lustras? vastus an patriae vapor
corripuit artus? saevus an victor tuo
lusit cruore? numquid immanis ferae
morsu peremptus pascis Idaeas aves?
("Troades," ed. Miller, ll. 562-67)

("0 son, what place, what fate, hath gotten thee now? On some pathless way dost thou roam the fields? Hast the vast burning of thy fatherland consumed thy frame? or has some rude conqueror revelled in thy blood? Slain by some wild beast's fangs, dost feed the birds of Ida?"--"Troades," tr. Miller, I, 171)

Heywood employs the rhetorical question to translate this passage:

But now my little chylde (poore wretche)
alas where might he bee?
Alas what cruell desteny, what chaunce hath hapt to thee?
Art thou yet rangeing in the feeldes
and wandrest there abrode?
Or smothered els in dusty smoke
of Troy: or ouertrode?
Or haue the Greekes thee slayne alas
and laught to see thy blood?
Or torne art thou with Iawes of beastes
or cast to fowles for food? (D2v/5-16)

In his translation Heywood retains much of the imagery used
in Seneca's Troades, for example, the three similes in which
Ulysses describes the possible dangers to the Greeks if the boy
Astyanax is allowed to live: the youngster of the herd that
suddenly assumes its leadership, the little branch that grows
into a large tree, and the ashes that flame into a great fire
(D1v/17-32). In telling of her fear, Andromache declares that
"torpetque vinctus frigidus sanguis gelu" ("Troades," ed. Miller,
line 624). ("My blood stands still, congealed with icy cold."--
"Troades," tr. Miller, I, 177.) Heywood expresses Andromache's
terror by a very apt simile: "And as the yce congeales with
frost. / my blood with colde is bound" (D4v/11-12). At other
places in his translation, Heywood introduces imagery of his own.
Calchas pronounces that it is Polyxena's blood "quem fata quaerunt
..." ("Troades," ed. Miller, line 368). Heywood's rendition of
this line uses the image of the fates "thirsting" for Polyxena's
blood, a foreshadowing of her slaughter during which Achilles'
tomb will "drink" her blood (C4/13). When Andromache is afraid
that Hector's remains will be scattered on the sea, she muses,
"prorutus tumulo cinis / mergetur?" ("Troades," ed. Miller, 11. 648-49). ("But shall thy ashes, torn from the tomb, be sunk beneath the sea?"--"Troades," tr. Miller, I, 179-81.) Heywood utilizes the image of "drowning" to suggest that Hector should not be forced to endure a "second" death: "Shall Hector's ashes drowned be?" (D5/21). He employs powerful and exact imagery in translating the messenger's grisly account of Polyxena's death:

> ut dextra ferrum penitus exacta abdidit,  
> subitus recepta more prorupit cruor  
> per vulnus ingens. ("Troades," ed. Miller, 1155-57)

("When his hand, thrust forth, had buried deep the sword, with the death-stroke her blood leaped out in a sudden stream through the gaping wound."--"Troades," tr. Miller, I, 221)

Heywood's imagery conveys all the gruesome details of this description:

> But as he had, his glittering sworde,  
> in her to hilts vp doon,  
> The purple blood, at mortall wounde,  
> then gusshing out it spoon. (F3/11-14)

In Heywood's passage the sword of Pyrrhus "glitters" and is buried to the "hilts." Polyxena's blood is "purple."

In his drama Heywood uses various figures of repetition, especially alliteration, as in the first line of the Troas: "pompe of prowde estate. . ." (A7/4). Examples of this poetic device abound in Heywood's play: "gods that guyde thy ghost" (A8/3), "portly pompe of pride" (B3v/15), "darkest dennes" (B4v/27), "Now mischief, murder, wrath of hell drawth nere" (B5/1), "ruthfull ruine of thesee realmes" (B7v/29), "loytring then a loofe he lay"
(C2v/9), "beat you so your boyling brestes" (C5v/13), "priuy place" (C7v/13), "stande so stoute" (D3v/1), "must moue me more" (D7v/21), "dere daughtrer" (E6/1), "piteous playnt" (E7v/26), "crewell Calchas coulde" (F1v/11), and "spred the ships, theyr sayles abroade" (F3v/21).

Anaphora, the iteration of the same word at the beginning of several phrases or clauses, frequently marks Heywood's style. The Messenger tells of the effect of Polyxena's courage on the mob of spectators at her death: "movet animus omnes fortis et leto obvius" ("Troades," ed. Miller, line 1146). Heywood amplifies this line greatly by employing anaphora:

But most them moues her valiant mynd,
and lofty stomake hye,
So strong, so stout, so ready of heart,
and well preparde to dye. (F2v/23-26)

Heywood combines anaphora with isocolon, a balanced poetical structure, in his translation of Calchas's announcement that Polyxena and Astyanax must die: "Dant fata Danais quo solent pretio viam / mactanda virgo est Thessali busto ducis..." ("Troades," ed. Miller, ll. 360-61). ("Tis at the accustomed price fate grants the Danai their voyage. A maiden must be sacrificed on the Thessalian chieftain's tomb..."--"Troades," tr. Miller, I, 155.) In the Troas the Messenger declares that "With blood ye came, with blood ye must, / from hence returne againe..." (C3v/29-30).
Heywood often has recourse to epizeuxis, repetition of the same word without any intervening word; for example, Andromache tells the Old Man: "Then then me thought I wist it well. . ." (C5v/21). Later Andromache begs her dead husband to protect Astyanax: "Hector, Hector. . ." (C8v/5).

Heywood frequently expresses pity by the use of parenthesis, the interruption of a sentence by the interposition of words. Andromache addresses Astyanax as "my little chylde (poor wretche) . . ." (D2v/5). The Messenger sympathizes with Astyanax: "And onely he, wept not (poore foole,) . . ." (F1v/5).

Polyptoton, the iteration of words derived from a single root, is another feature of Heywood's poetic style. He utilizes two forms of the word "die" in Ulysses' rebuke to Andromache: "Who most desyres to dye: would fay- / nest liue when death drawthe on. . ." (D3v/1-2).

Heywood sometimes achieves emphasis in his verse by the displacement of the normal word order, which in some cases seems to be an imitation of the Latin construction with the adjective following the noun it modifies and with the verb at the end of the clause. In the last line of Achilles' speech, Heywood stresses the necessity of Polyxena's death: "Her will I haue, and her I you require" (B5v/7). For the Messenger's description of the bravery displayed by Astyanax and Polyxena in meeting their deaths-- "mente generosa"--Heywood has "stomack stout" (E8v/12).
The most severe criticism levelled against Heywood's poetic style is that it often is bombastic. This charge is probably most accurate in regard to the additions Heywood makes to the play. The speech of Achilles' ghost especially deserves to be characterized as bombast; the language is lurid, the imagery extravagant:

The soile doth shake to beare my heuy foote
and fearth agayn the sceptours of my hand
The poales with stroke of thunderclap ring out
The doubtful starres amid their course do stand,
and fearful Phebus hides his blasing brand.
The trembling lakes agaynst their course do flyte,
For dread and terrur of Achilles spryte. (B5/15-21)

Achilles' demand for Polyxena's death is stated with heavy emphasis on the imagery of blood:

Now mischief, murder, wrath of hell drawth nere
and dyre Phlegethon flood doth blood require
Achilles death shalbe reuenged here
With slaughter such as Stygian lakes desyre
Her daughters blood shall slake the sprites yre...
(B5/1-5)

In contrast with this bombast, Heywood often writes poetry of some rough beauty, particularly in his translation of the chorus on death after Act II, in which he effectively compares the soul's flight at death with smoke and clouds that are soon blown away:

For as the fume that from the fire doth pas,
With tourne of hande, doth vanishe out of sight
And swifter then the northen boreas,
With whirling blaste and storme of raging might,
Driuthe far away and puttes the cloudes to flyght,
So fleeth the spright that rules our life away,
And nothing taryeth after dying day. (C4v/20-26)
In addition to his imitation of Seneca's poetic figures, Heywood attempts also to reproduce in English Seneca's metrical forms. Heywood employs four different verse forms in composing the Troas: the "fourteener" or "septenary," rhymed pairs of fourteen-syllable iambic lines; the rime royal, seven lines of iambic pentameter rhyming ababbcc; decasyllabic iambic lines rhyming alternately; and octosyllabic iambic lines rhyming alternately. Each of these verse patterns seems to be a rough English equivalent of the Latin meter used by Seneca in the Troades. For example, the fourteener, Heywood's usual verse for the non-choric sections of the play, is somewhat similar to Seneca's iambic trimeter--six iambic feet to a line--his basic meter for all parts of the play except the chorus. Like Seneca, Heywood has recourse to a different verse form for the choruses. Heywood uses decasyllabic verses rhyming alternately in the chorus to Act I, which Seneca writes in anapestic dimeter. The chorus for Act II of the Troas is composed in rime royal; for this chorus in the Troades Seneca has the minor asclepiadean meter--a twelve-syllable line that opens with a spondee and closes with an iambus. Heywood's chorus for Act IV consists of stanzas of rime royal; Seneca's chorus here is constructed in the lesser sapphic meter--a line of eleven syllables with two trochaic dipodies separated by a dactyl. The chorus for Act III of the Troas, composed in octosyllabic iambic verses that rhyme alternately, is a translation of part of the third chorus of
Seneca's *Hippolytus*, written in anapestic dimeter.

Heywood composes the *Troas* in metrical forms that were popular with other poets of the Renaissance; for example, Thomas Wyatt's "The Song of Iopas Unfinished" and Nicholas Grimald's "A Truelove" are written in "Poulter's Measure," which is similar to the fourteener. In *The Paradise of Dainty Devices* Heywood's poem "Who Wayteth on this Wauering World" also employs the fourteener. All the other early translators of Seneca's tragedies—Alexander Neville, John Studley, and Thomas Newton—follow Heywood's example in using the fourteener for their works, (the one exception being Thomas Nuce, whose *Octavia* (1566) is written in decasyllabic and octosyllabic couplets). Their tragedies demonstrated to later Elizabethan dramatists that this ponderous meter was ill-suited for the developing English tragedy; for soon after Heywood's plays were published, Sackville and Norton turned to blank verse in writing *Gorboduc* (1561). Used in Surrey's translation of Book II of the *Aeneid* (1557), blank verse, of course, soon became the medium for the greatest English tragedy.

The metrical preface (A5/1-A6v/7), the speech of Achilles (B2v/5-B3v/24), and two of Heywood's choruses (C4/21-C5v/7) and (E7/17-E8/21) in the *Troas* utilize ottava rima, which had been

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adopted from Chaucer by John Lydgate for his translation (1431-38) of Boccaccio's *Fall of Princes*. Many of the tragedies in William Baldwin's *The Mirror for Magistrates* (1559) also are composed in ottava rima. We have already considered how Heywood's additions to the Troas reflect the theme of Baldwin's work and Sackville's additions to it. It is quite possible, too, that Heywood's employment of the ottava rima might have been inspired by *The Mirror for Magistrates*. These important relationships in both theme and form between Heywood and other Renaissance poets will be discussed in the last chapter of our dissertation.

Heywood departs from the fourteener as the verse form for the non-choric parts of the drama in only two places: Achilles' speech in Act II, Scene i (B3v/25-B5v/7), composed in ottava rima; and Andromache's soliloquy in Act III, Scene ii (D7/8-D7v/14), written in decasyllabic iambic lines that rhyme alternately. In this latter instance, Heywood imitates Seneca who forsakes his usual verse form—the iambic trimeter—for anapestic dimeter.

To fit Heywood's fourteener verse on the page, the printers of the octavo editions of the translations were forced to divide it into one line with four stresses and a second with three stresses. *Enjambement* frequently occurs when the metrical ictus does not coincide with the logical caesura; for example,

And suffre that which Agamemnon, suffred in good part. (D2/23-24)
With measure swifte: betwene theaul-
ters shalte thou daunce with ioye. (E1/15-16)

She shall agayne her native con-
trey see: and liue at rest. (E6/11-12)

As we have seen, all Heywood's verse forms utilize rhyme.
The printed version of the Troas often gives rhymed words a
similar orthography; for example, the word "day" is spelled "dea"
(A7/29) to rhyme with "sea" (A7/31), and "day" (A7v/16) as a
rhyme with "away" (A7v/14). Early in the play, the rhymed words
"dear" and "here" are spelled "dere" and "here" (A8/6, 8). These
same two words are later spelled "heere" and "deere" (C7v/26, 28).

In addition to end rhyme, Heywood often has recourse to a
kind of internal rhyme. The ghost of Achilles exclaims that "dyre
Phlegethon flood doth blood require. . ." (B5/2). Andromache de-
clares that "I wot not where he is. . ." (D3/28).

Heywood frequently translates the Latin word by an English
derivative: "dubitatur" ("Troades," ed. Miller, line 246)--
"doubte" (B8v/1); "praeferre" ("Troades," ed. Miller, line 332)
--"prefer" (C3/4); "arte" ("Troades," ed. Miller, line 354)--
"arte" (C3v/15); "rite" ("Troades," ed. Miller, line 365)--
"right" (C4/6); "fumus" ("Troades," ed. Miller, line 392)--
"fume" (C4v/20); "devorat" ("Troades," ed. Miller, line 400)--
"deuour" (C5/4); "corpori" ("Troades," ed. Miller, line 401)--
"corps" (C5/6); "fabula" ("Troades," ed. Miller, line 406)--
"fables" (C5/12); "sine sensu" ("Troades," ed. Miller, line 417)
In his play Heywood often translates a single Latin word by a "doublet," two English synonyms derived from the same or different linguistic sources, for example, "culpa" ("Troades," ed. Miller, line 290); "faute and blame" (Clv/18); "horrendae" ("Troades," ed. Miller, line 436); "dreade and horroure" (C6v/1-2); "questus" ("Troades," ed. Miller, line 517); "playnt and crye" (D1/10); "dolos" ("Troades," ed. Miller, line 569);
"craftes and subteltie" (D2v/19-20); "tractabis" ("Troades," ed. Miller, line 776); "welde and wreste" (E1/10); "inrigat" ("Troades," ed. Miller, line 966); "wettes, staines" (E5v/29-30); and "imber" ("Troades," ed. Miller, line 966). "streames and showres" (E5v/31-32).

Spelling in the printed Troas is very inconsistent. The same words, even when used near each other, are often given a different orthography, for example, "trueth" (D4/14), "Truthe" (D4/20), "truth" (D5/15), and "truethe" (D7v/18). There are other peculiarities in the spelling of the Troas. The letters "i" and "y" are employed interchangeably, for example, "die" (A6/18)--"dye" (A6v/4); "twise" (B2/26)--"twyse" (B2/29); and "limmes" (F1/20)--"Lymmes" (F1/20). Words may be spelled with either a single or a double "o": "doon" (B8v/2) and "done" (B8v/7); "dost" (D4v/24) and "doost" (D5v/5); and "woordes" (2v/23 and "wordes" (D3/3).

"S" and "ce" are frequently substituted for each other; for example, "pearced" (A5v/9) and "pearst" (A7v/17), and "vengeance" (B4v/6) and "vengeans" (B4v/13). Words may be spelled with or without the final "e": "boye" (A6/19)--"boy" (A6v/3); "lande" (A8/24)--"land" (B3/2); and "sounde" (B1/16)--"sound" (B1v/31).

Heywood's diction is very interesting. Many of the words in his play are now obsolete or archaic. In a few instances, too, he uses words that might possibly be of his own construction and that are utilized for the first time in the language. We shall
consider first some examples of this last category. Andromache consoles Hecuba and declares that "A little thing shall happye thee" (E5v/3). No example of "happye" as a transitive verb with the meaning "to render happy" is cited before c. 1600. 4 In praising his father, Pyrrhus tells Agamemnon that Achilles deliberately sought war: "with spede requighting hys abode / and former long delaye. . ." (B7/5-6). "Requighting" apparently has the obsolete meaning "to make up for, to compensate." The earliest previous known use of the word with this sense is in George Owen's The Description of Pembrokeshire, written in 1603 (O.E.D., s.v. Requite, v.5). Heywood translates the Latin word "rogis"--"funeral pyres"--by "roges" (B1/19). It is possible that Heywood may have been the first writer to employ this word since the only other known example of this obsolete word is found in Edmund Hickeringill's Jamaica View'd, written in 1661 (O.E.D., s.v. Roge).

Since much of Heywood's diction is obsolete, we shall take note only of those words and phrases that are particularly striking: "childbed bandes" (A8/13)--"confinement at childbirth," in use in 1495 (O.E.D., s.v. Band, sb.1, 1 c); "bewray" (C8/18)--"to expose a deception," cited from 1548 (O.E.D., s.v. Bewray, v., 2 b);

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4The Compact Edition of the Oxford English Dictionary (2 vols., New York: Oxford University Press, 1971), I, 80. All further references from this work will be cited in the text as O.E.D. under the appropriate word and section number, for example O.E.D., s.v. Happy, v.).
"brute" (B7v/25)--"reputation," in use c. 1475 (O.E.D., s.v. Bruit, s.b., 3); "carke" (B3/19)--"care, heed, pains," employed in 1482 (O.E.D., s.v. Cark, s.b., 4); "chare" (B2v/15)--"chariot, car," in use before 1300 (O.E.D., s.v. Char, s.b.2); "dankye" (C4v/13)--"wet, watery," employed before 1400 (O.E.D., s.v. Dank, a., 1); "fordo" (B4/20)--"to render powerless," in use c. 1175 (O.E.D., s.v. Fordo, v., 5); "hale our heare" (B2/12)--"to pull or tear asunder," used in 992 (O.E.D., s.v. Hale, v.1, 1 a); "to hoyse vp sayle" (E8/10)--"to hoise sail," a nautical term employed c. 1450 (O.E.D., s.v. Hoise, v. 1 a.); "hugye" (A5/24)--"huge," in use c. 1420 (O.E.D., s.v. Hugy, a.); "payse of his nobilitie" (C8/15)--"weight," a figurative meaning employed c. 1470 (O.E.D., s.v. Peise, s.b., 1 b); "in that stownde" (F3/16)--"a time of trial or pain," in use c. 1000 (O.E.D., s.v. Stound, s.b.1, 2 a); "strayne" (D5v/29)--"to afflict, distress," employed in 1382 (O.E.D., s.v. Strain, v.1, 6); "tagge and ragge" (E8v/25)--a contemptuous term for "all the components of the rabble," in use in 1535 (O.E.D., s.v. Tag, s.b.1, 10 b); "trackt of time," employed in 1503-1504 (O.E.D., s.v. Tract, s.b.3, 1 b); and "vayle" (B3/5)--"sail," with the only other known use of the word in this sense being in the Pilgrimage of the Life of the Manhode from the French of G. De Guileville, written in c. 1430 (O.E.D., s.v. Veil, s.b.1, II, 10).

There are many other interesting words in Heywood's Troas:
"alowe" (B4v/22)—"below" in use c. 1260 (O.E.D., s.v. Alow, adv. 1, 1); "bragges" (c3/7)—"arrogant or boastful language," employed c. 1360 (O.E.D., s.v. Brag, sb. 1, 2); "every chone" (B2/24)—a form of "every chone," which means "every one," used in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (O.E.D., s.v. Every, a., 10); "fransye" (C2/1)—"mental derangement, delirium," used in a literary sense c. 1340 (O.E.D., s.v. Frenzy, sb. 1); "in fine" (B3v/11)—a phrase meaning "in the end," employed c. 1450 (O.E.D., s.v. Fine, sb. 1, 1 b); "knap" (B3v/6)—"to break off short, to snap," employed in 1545 (O.E.D., s.v. Knap, v. 1, 2 b); "leames of light" (C4/25)—"gleams of light," cited first in Beowulf (O.E.D., s.v. Learn, sb. 1); "ne" (A5v/11)—a conjunction meaning "nor," in use c. 825 (O.E.D., s.v. Ne, conj. 1, B 1); "on heapes" (F2/20)—a phrase with the sense "in a prostrate mass," employed from before 1000 (O.E.D., s.v. Heap sb., 5 c); "Achilles plasters" (B7v/5)—"a healing or soothing means or measure," a figurative sense in use before 1310 (O.E.D., s.v. Plaster, sb., 1, 1 b); "rectoure" (C4v/14)—"the ruler or governor of a country, city, state, or people," in use in 1387 (O.E.D., s.v. Rector, 1); "slipper" (B3v/11)—"slippery, difficult to stand upon," employed c. 1290 (O.E.D., s.v. Slipper, a., 2); "sowndes" (E5/29)—"to swoon or faint," used before 1393 (O.E.D., s.v. Sound, v. 4); and "yongling" (Dlv/17)—"a young animal," employed c. 1220 (O.E.D., s.v. Youngling, 1 b).
There are some misprints in the text of the *Troas*. In the running titles "Seneca" is spelled "SFNECA" (A7/1); "Troas" is given as "Tcoas" (C2v), "Trcaas" (D3v), "Tcoas" (Elv), and "Tcoas" (E2v); and "Seneca" is spelled Seneneca" (E3 and E4). "SEN."--the abbreviation for "Senex"--is erroneously used for "ADR."--Andromache" (C6/21). Scene iii of Act III is mistakenly listed as "The ryrde sceane" (D7v/15). Other misprints are "Ana" (B1/23) for "And"; "treares" (B2v/3) for "teares"; "thruit" (B4v/16) for "thrust" or "thirst"; "ceast out feare" (B8/27) for "our"; "chauuce" (B8v/29) for "chaunce"; "gladdde" (C2/32) for "gladde"; "some" (C4v/6) for "sonne"; "greuons" (D3v/9) for "grewious"; "Giecyan" (E3/21) for "Grecyan"; "the prince of honour honour hie" (E3/22)--possibly an incorrect repetition of "honour" since this line already has the usual three metrical stresses; and "oppre" (E7/21) for "oppres," which would rhyme with "les" (E7/22).

After having analyzed Heywood's method of translation, his thought, his poetic style, and his diction, we may now form some conclusions about the purpose of his work. In his preface, Heywood claims that he never intended that the *Troas* "shoulde come to light" because it was "done ... for [his] owne priuate excercyse" (A3v/16-19). He explains why his play has been printed: "by request, and frendshyp of those, to whom I coulde deny nothing, this woorke against my will, extorted is out of my handes ..." (A3v/26-28). We question the literalness of his statement.
in light of the fact that Heywood went on to publish not only a second edition of the *Troas* (1560?) but also translations of *Thyestes* (1560) and *Hercules Furens* (1561). We may interpret Heywood's intentions in writing his play in quite a different way from what he asserts in the Preface to the Readers. He might really have wished for a stage production of his work at Oxford, at the Inns of Court, or even at the royal court. In Chapter III we have noted that Seneca's tragedies were performed in Latin at Cambridge during the same period in which Heywood was making his translations. It is quite possible that Seneca's plays may have been acted at Oxford, too; and this would have been a powerful inducement for Heywood, then an Oxford student, to compose his English renditions of Seneca's dramas. Heywood might also have hoped for a stage presentation of his translations at one of the Inns of Court, for example, Gray's Inn, which he attended in 1561. Heywood's association with the Inns of Court is especially important because it was here that English tragedy was born with *Gorboduc* (1561), written by Sackville and Norton, whose relationship with Heywood we have already discussed. He may well have known other dramatists from the Inns of Court, such as Christopher Yelverton (mentioned in the Preface to *Thyestes*), who was one of the authors of *Jocasta* (1566) and *The Misfortunes of Arthur* (1565?); George Gascoigne, one of the writers of *Jocasta* and the author of the *Supposes* (1566); Francis Kinwelmarsh, who also had
a hand in composing *Jocasta*; and Richard Edwards, who wrote *Damon and Pythias* (1571). Kinwelmarsh, Edwards, and Heywood all have poems printed in the edition in 1576 of *The Paradise of Dainty Devices*. This might be another indication of their friendship. Because these dramatists staged their plays at the Inns of Court from 1561 on, it is not impossible that Heywood's tragedies were presented there. Some of the dramas acted at the Inns of Court were produced at the royal court also, for example, *Gorboduc* and *Damon* and *Pythias*. Heywood's previous connections with Queen Elizabeth through his service as a page to her and possibly through his father's influence with the royal family suggest that the dedication of his work to her might have been an indirect appeal for a stage version of the *Troas*.

The most convincing evidence that Heywood wrote for a performance, of course, is found in the play itself. Each of his major alterations of the tragedy—the speech of Achilles' ghost (B4/1-B5v/7), the added chorus to Act I (B2v/25-B5v/7), the three stanzas appended to the end of the chorus in Act II (C5/13-C5v/7), and the substituted chorus in Act III (E1/9-E2v/10)—contributes dramatic force to the *Troas*. Achilles' ghost is a predecessor of the revenge ghost who would initiate the action in such dramas as Kyd's *The Spanish Tragedy* and Shakespeare's *Hamlet*. As we have already noted, the altered choruses in the *Troas* lend a certain unity to Heywood's theme, the fall of princes. His play might
have influenced *Gorboduc*, which has a similar theme: that the great can easily meet disaster.

The highly rhetorical style of the *Troas* might be another indication that Heywood wished for a dramatic production. Achilles' bombastic speech falls heavily on the ear but is nonetheless powerful (B4/1-B5v/7). The stichomythic debates or "word battles" in the drama would be interesting to an audience of lawyers and students from the Inns of Court, who themselves would be trained in oratorical skills. Heywood's *sententiae* and antithetical verses with their verbal brilliance would enhance a stage presentation of the tragedy. Heywood achieves an auricular effect through his use of the various figures of repetition, such as alliteration, rhyme, anaphora, and *epizeuxis*.

The case of Alexander Neville, who translated Seneca's *Oedipus* in 1560, perhaps casts some light on the real purpose of Heywood's work. A student at Cambridge and later at the Inns of Court, Neville asserts in the dedicatory epistle to his play that he wishes to satisfy the desires of some of his friends by having his work produced on stage:

> to ... put it [his translation] to the very same vse that Seneca himselfe in his Inuention pretended: Which was by the tragicall and Pompous showe vpon Stage, to admonish all men of their fickle Estates, to declare the vnconstant head of wauering Fortune, her sodayne interchaunged and soone altered Face. ...

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Neville's intention of making a translation of Seneca's tragedy for a stage production that would portray the whims of Fortune seems very much like what Heywood might have desired for his Troas. Neville explains that his "one purpose"--a stage performance--"caused [him] not to be precise in following the author, word for word, but sometymes by addition, somtimes by subtraction to use the aptest Phrases in giving the Sense that I could invent." Because Heywood made even greater alterations of Seneca's drama in his translation, might we not speculate that he, too, hoped for a stage presentation? If Heywood had written his translation only as an academic exercise, why would he introduce the ghost of Achilles into the play? One would presume that a translator would stick closely to the text; but, as we have seen, Heywood often departs very much from Seneca's Troades. It is a real possibility that Heywood translates the Latin very freely because his real interest lies not in an academic labor but in a dramatic production--the staging of his Troas.

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6Ibid.
CHAPTER VI

HEYWOOD'S THYESTES (1560): A STUDY OF ITS "PREFACE," DRAMATIC ELEMENTS, AND THOUGHT

The purpose of the next three chapters is to analyze Heywood's Thyestes: his method of translation of Seneca's Latin and his additions to, and deviations from, the original play, as well as plot, structure, poetic style, and diction. F. J. Miller's edition of Seneca, based on an older text edited by F. Leo, will be the basic Latin text for this study.¹ The Renaissance editions of Seneca's Thyestes available to Heywood often differ greatly from Miller's modern text. Sometimes a reading or a textual commentary from one of these Renaissance editions of the tragedies helps to explain a particular translation by Heywood.²

A summary of the plot of the Thyestes may be helpful to begin this chapter. The ghost of Tantalus, who once committed sacrilege

¹Lucius Annaeus Seneca, Tragedies, The Loeb Classical Library, tr. with an Introduction by Frank Justus Miller (1917; rpt. 2 vols., Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1968). In our text we shall cite quotations from the Latin Thyestes by line number; quotations from Miller's translation will be indicated by volume and page number.

²Tragoediae Senecae, ed. with commentaries by Marmita and Gaietanus (Venice: Joannes Tacuinus, 1498); L. Anni Senecae Tragoediae, ed. by Desiderius Erasmus, Gerardus Vercellanus, Aegidius Maserius, and Iodocus Badius Ascensius (Paris: Ascensius, 1514); L. Anni Senecae Cordubensis Tragoediae X (Basle: Henricus Petrus, 1529); and Tragoediae Senecae in Iacobi Sannazarii Opera Omnia (Lyons: Sebastianus Gryphius, 1549).
by killing his son Pelops and then feeding him to the gods, is driven by the Fury Megaera to rise from Hell for the purpose of blighting his ancestral house with more evil. Atreus plots revenge upon his exiled brother, Thyestes, and his three young sons. He offers Thyestes a share in the kingship of Argos. Thyestes returns home with his sons. Atreus cruelly murders the sons of Thyestes and feeds them to him at a banquet. Atreus then completes his vengeance by revealing his crimes to the dazed father.

In "The Epistle," Heywood dedicates his book to Sir John Mason, "one of the Queenes maiesties priuie counsaile. . . ."³ Sir John Mason was appointed to the Privy Council in 1543 and later was chancellor of Oxford University for two terms.⁴ Mason's relationship with Heywood will be discussed further in our analysis of "The Preface," a portion of which describes Mason and his deceased son (l Iv/23- l3/12).

In "The translatour to the booke," Heywood addresses his work as his "messenger," who will greet Sir John Mason, not when he is busy with worldly affairs, but "when thou him seest alone, /

³ Jasper Heywood, The Seconde Tragedie of Seneca entituled Thyestes faithfully Englished by Jasper Heywood fellowe of Alsolne College in Oxforde (London: Thomas Berthelet, 1560), preliminary signature *2, ll. 2-3. This work will hereafter be cited in the text by the signature number and the line number. It should be noted here that Berthelet died in 1555. Henry De Vocht suggests that Thomas Powell, Berthelet's nephew and printer of the third edition of Heywood's Troas, may have superintended the publication of the Thyestes also. See Henry De Vocht, ed. Jasper Heywood and His Translations of Seneca, Introduction, pp. xliii-xliv.

⁴ Dictionary of National Biography, XII, 1310-1312.
an idle houre for the shalbe moste meete. . ." (*3/15-16). If Mason at first scorns the book, Heywood directs it to "Excuse thy selfe and laie the faute in mee, / at whose commaundment thus thou comste in there" (*3v/7-8). If Mason rebukes Heywood's presumption in sending the book, Heywood counsels it to "speake nothyng for my behoue" (*3v/12). Heywood gives further directions to his book:

For tell him though thou slender volume be, 
vngreeyng gyfte for state of honour guest, 
Yet dooste thou signe of dutie bringe with the, 
and pledge thou arte of truly bounded brest.  

(*3v/21-24)


At the beginning of his "Preface," Heywood provides a time-setting for his writing:

It was the fowre and twentith daie  
of latest monthe saue one  
Of all the yere. (*4v/2-4)

The dreary winter brings forth the urge in poets "With sory style of woes to wryte / and eke of mischiefe. . ." (*4v/11-12). As Heywood is dreaming, a ghost, carrying a book, appears to him:

Full graue he was, well stept in yeres  
and comly to be seene.  
His eyes like Christall shinde: his breathe  
full sweete, his face full fyne. . . . (*5/11-14)

When the spirit reveals himself to be Seneca, Heywood embraces and kisses him. Seneca declares that his tragedies will preserve his name in immortality, but he seeks additional fame:
... some one
that might renewe my name
And make me speake in straunger speeche
and sette my woorks to sight,
And skanne my verse in other tongue
then I was woont to wright. (*6/3-8)

Seneca tells Heywood that he is searching for the author of the English Troas so that this person might translate his other tragedies also. Heywood discloses that he is the man for whom Seneca is inquiring. Seneca encourages Heywood by asserting that men will give him thanks,

When they themselues
my Tragedies shall see
In Englishe verse, that neuer yet
coulde latine vnderstande. (*6v/3-6)

Heywood realizes that he, too, may win glory by this work, but he points out that there is opposition to it:

... but well I wotte
the hatefull cursed broode
Farre greater is, that are long syns
sproong vp of Zoylus bloode.
That Red heard, black mouthd, squint eyed wretche
hath cowched euerie 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 vnderstandes not, blames,
though nought he can amende. (*6v/21-*7/8)

This reference to "Zoylus bloode" as carping critics comes from Erasmus's Adagia (1530), in which Zoilus, a fourth-century detractor of Homer, is used as a synonym for "anti-humanist." Some of the Zoili were from the universities, some were unlearned, some
were Papists, and others were lay writers of broadsides from Grub street. Believing that the translation of the classics led to the disintegration of religion and society, these people held to exclusiveness in learning. They also frequently charged the translators with inaccuracy. In the "Dedidatory Epistle" to the Troas and in the "Preface" to that play, Heywood had referred to opponents of his work when he wished to defend himself "against the sting of reprehending tongues." He must have been particularly sensitive to accusations of errors in his translation because of his freedom in rendering the play in English.

Claiming that others are far more capable than he of this labor of translation, Heywood asserts that his "greener yeares" make him unfit: "Thou seest dame Nature yet hath sette / No heares vpon my chynne" (*7/19-20). Heywood recommends writers from "Lyncolnes Inne and Temples twayne, / Grayes Inne and other mo" to translate Seneca's tragedies (*7v/5-6). He names Thomas North, Thomas Sackville, Thomas Norton, Christopher Yelverton, William Baldwin, Thomas Blundeville, and Barnabe Googe as being


6Ibid., pp. 102-105.

7Jasper Heywood, The Sixt Tragedie of the Most Graue and Prudent Author, Lucius, Anneus, Seneca, entituled Troas, with Divers and Sundrye Addicions to the Same (London: Richard Tottel, 1559), preliminary signature A3, line 17. This work will hereafter be cited in the text by the designation "Troas" with the signature number and the line number.
far more qualified than he to English Seneca's dramas (*?v/13-*8/12). It is interesting that some of these men did indeed make translations but not of Seneca's tragedies. That Heywood refers to Googe, a contemporary translator, might indicate that there was a group of men working on translations:

There Googe a gratefull gaynes hath gotte,  
reporte that runneth ryfe,  
Who crooked Compasse dothe describe,  
and Zodiace of lyfe. (*8/9-12)

It seems that Heywood knew about Googe's translation of the poems of Marcellus Palingenius, *Zodiacus Vitae* (Venice, c. 1531), before it was printed.  

Heywood's *Thyestes* appeared in March of 1560, some two months prior to the publication of Googe's *The Zodiace of Life* in April or May of 1560.  

Alexander Neville, translator of Seneca's *Oedipus* (1560), has a prefatory poem in this edition of Googe's translation.  

The two preceding chapters have discussed Heywood's relationship with the members of the Inns of Court who figured so prominently in the development of Renaissance tragedy. Conley surmises that

a few of the translations may actually have been performed at the universities, for Heywood and Adlington (Oxford)

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10. Ibid., pp. 21-23.
and Studley (Cambridge) signify their university connections on their title pages.\textsuperscript{11} Heywood's direct naming of other important writers of the Renaissance points to a "movement" of translators. Of the fifty-four known translators of the classics working between the years 1558 and 1572, over twenty were members of the Inns of Court or had some association with it.\textsuperscript{12} It is worth noting that, while Heywood mentions other literary figures and translators, he makes no reference to the other early translators of Seneca's plays: Alexander Neville, \textit{Oedipus} (1560); Thomas Nuce, \textit{Octavia} (1562); John Studley, \textit{Agamemnon}, \textit{Medea}, \textit{Hercules Oetaeus} (1566), and \textit{Hippolytus} (1567); and Thomas Newton, \textit{Thebais} (1581).

In the Preface to \textit{Thyestes}, Heywood tells Seneca his troubles with Tottel's faulty printing of the \textit{Troas} (*8v/21-\textsuperscript{f}v/20). Chapter IV on Heywood's translation of the \textit{Troas} treats these comments in detail. After Heywood completes his recital of difficulties with Tottel, Seneca sympathizes with Heywood's plight and asserts that he also has been victimized by careless printers:

\begin{quote}
That sense and latin, verse and all
they violate and breake,
And ofte what I yet neuer ment
they me enforce to speake. (\textit{Jlv}/1-4)
\end{quote}

Seneca comforts Heywood by telling him that the wise will discern

\textsuperscript{11}Conley, \textit{First English Translations of the Classics}, p. 29.
\textsuperscript{12}Ibid., p. 26.
where the printer has erred. Seneca himself will aid the translator in determining the correct reading:

I wil my selfe in these affayres,  
a helper be to thee.  
Eche Poetts tale I will expounde  
and other places harde. (Avl/19-22)

Seneca then eulogizes a dead youth, perhaps the son of John Mason, to whom Heywood's Thyestes is dedicated: "But though the sonne be gone, yet here / dothe yet the father lyue" (Audv/3-4). The Dictionary of National Biography maintains that Mason had no issue, but from these lines it seems probable that Heywood is referring to Mason's son.13

Seneca points out the debt that Heywood owes Mason: "His goodnes loe thy selfe hast felte / (q he) and that of late..." (Audv/13-14). Sir John Mason (1503-1566) had been a fellow of All Souls College, Oxford. He was appointed to the Privy Council in 1543 and served two separate terms as chancellor of Oxford University.14 Heywood's praise of Mason may have been prompted by his intercession on Heywood's behalf after he had been forced to resign from Merton College, Oxford, in November of 1558. Heywood became a fellow of All Souls in 1558, possibly through Mason's influence.15

13Dictionary of National Biography, XII, 1312.
14Ibid., 1310-1312.
15Wood, Athenae Oxonienses, I, 663-64; Boase, Register of the University of Oxford, I, 221.
After expressing his admiration for Mason, Seneca reveals that the book he carries is a copy of his tragedies for Heywood's use (43/15-18). Seneca tells Heywood that he will need this book "because the Prynters all / haue greatly wronged mee. . . ." (3/13-14). Seneca claims that this copy of the tragedies contains the correct text because it was composed by the Muse, Melpomene (3v/27-28). A woodcut of Melpomene appears on the title page of the Thyestes, published in the printing establishment of Thomas Berthelet. This same woodcut had been used in the 1556 edition of John Heywood's The Spider and the Flie, also issued from Berthelet's printing office. As is noted above, the printer of the Thyestes may have been Thomas Powell, a nephew of Berthelet, who became a freeman of the Stationers' Company on July 21, 1566.16

Seneca then gives an elaborate description of the palace and the garden of Parnassus where Melpomene transcribed this book. The parchment of the manuscript was made from the skins of fawns who play in the Muses' garden, and the golden ink composed of water from the spring in which the Muses bathe (4v/5-12). Seneca declares to Heywood that the magical properties of this book of the tragedies will inspire him and will

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enable him to correct all the faults of the printed editions of Seneca's dramas (6v/17-20).

Seneca next tells of Mount Helicon where the Muses delight in reading his plays (5/25-6/20). In the Muses' palace, pictures of the poets Homer, Ovid, Horace, Virgil, Lucan, and Seneca himself are engraved on the walls (6/9-12). There is a place also for memorials of the English poets:

... pyctures more at large, of hundreds, englysshe men.
That geeue theyr tongue a greater grace, by pure and paynfull pen. (6/17-20)

Holding open Melpomene's copy of the tragedies, Seneca urges Heywood to begin his work: "Moste dyre debates descrybe, of all / that euer chaunst to men" (7/7-8). Seneca then gives a short summary of the Thyestes:

Thyestes kepes
his brother Atreus wyfe,
And ramme with golden fleece: but yet
doth Atreus frendship fayne
With him, tyll tyme for fathers foode
he hathe his children slayne,
And dishes drest. (7/11-17)

This brief account of the action of the play is quite a contrast to the lengthy summary of the plot of the Troas ("Troas," A6/1-A6v/7). It is also much more concise than the "argumentum" of the various Latin texts of the Thyestes, for example, that of Gryphius.17

17"Thyestes," Tragoediae Senecae in Iacobi Sannazarii Opera Omnia (Lyons: Sebastianus Gryphius, 1549), p. 55. This work will hereafter be cited as "Thyestes," Tragoediae (1549) with the appropriate page number and line number.
From Seneca's book Heywood corrects his own texts of the tragedies:

I sawe how often tymes
the Printers dyd him wrong.
Now Gryphyus, Colineus now,
and now and then among
He Aldus blamde, with all the rest
that in his workes do mys
Of sence or verse: and stylly my booke,
I did correcte by hys. (H7v/1-8)

Heywood here tells a good deal about the Renaissance texts of Seneca that were available to him. Gryphius printed editions of Seneca's tragedies at Lyons in France in 1536, 1538, 1541, 1547, 1548, 1549, and 1554. The Aldine text mentioned by Heywood was edited by Jerome Avantius and printed at Venice in 1517. The reference to Colineus is unclear. Simon de Colines was a sixteenth-century French printer who issued many editions of classical authors. Renouard's bibliography of his publications,


however, mentions no edition of Seneca's tragedies. Citing van
der Haeghen's Bibliotheca Erasmiana, Henry De Vocht maintains that
Colines edited in 1534 Seneca's works after emendations by
Erasmus. But De Vocht appears to be mistaken because van der
Haeghen lists only Colines' edition of Flores L. A. Senecae
selecti . . . per Erasmum emend. at Paris in 1534. Whatever the
case, Heywood's interest in a correct Latin text might suggest
that this translation of Thyestes is more accurate than that of
the Troas, the Renaissance Latin editions of which are "corrupt

Heywood concludes the narrative portion of the Preface by
having Morpheus come to wake Heywood from his dream (7v/9-16).
This use of the "dream vision" by Heywood is interesting because
it is also a common feature of Baldwin and Sackville's The Mirror
for Magistrates, referred to by Heywood earlier, like, for example,
the appearance of "Sorrowe" to Sackville in his Induction.

After seeking in vain for Seneca and cursing Morpheus for
arousing him from his dream, Heywood seeks inspiration from the

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20 Ph. Renouard, Bibliographie des éditions de Simon de

21 De Vocht, ed., Jasper Heywood and His Translations of Seneca,
p. 339.

22 Ferdinand van der Haeghen, ed., Bibliotheca Erasmiana,
Second Series (Gand: Bibliothèque de l'Université de l'Etat,
1893), II, 50.

23 Baldwin, The Mirror for Magistrates, p. 300, line 73.
Fury Megaera:

O thou Megaera then I sayde,
if might of thyne it bee,
Wherewith thou Tantall droauste from hell,
that thus dysterboth mee,
Enpyre my pen: with pensyuenes
this Tragedie t'endight. . . . (§8/25-§8v/2)

Megaera then comes with power to enlighten Heywood: "I felte the furies force / enflame me more and more. . . ." (§8v/5-6).

After the Preface, Heywood lists the Speakers in the play (§8v/17-21). He follows the list in the Renaissance editions of Seneca's tragedies, for example, that of Ascensius. 24

Concerning the play itself, as is the case with the Troas, Heywood follows the five-act structure of Seneca's drama indicated in the Renaissance editions. Heywood does, however, add one scene to his translation of the Thyestes: a soliloquy by Thyestes in Act V, Scene iv.

Some minor differences in structure between Heywood's Thyestes and Miller's modern edition may be briefly mentioned here. Miller names the Fury who brings Tantalus back from the Underworld simply "Furia" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 23). In Heywood's translation this figure is designated as "Megaera"

24"Thyestes," in L. Anni Senec Tragoediae, ed. by Desiderius Erasmus, Gerardus Vercellanus, Aegidius Maserius, and Iodocus Badius Ascensius, with commentaries by Marmita, Gaetanus, and Ascensius (Paris: Ascensius, 1514), fol. xxxix. This work will hereafter be cited as "Thyestes," Tragoediae (1514), with the appropriate folio number (and line number if pertinent).
The servant of Atreus is called "Satelles" in Miller's text ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 204). Heywood names this person "Servant" (48v/19), the term used in the text printed by Ascensius. In Act III Thyestes debates with one of his three sons about their return to Argos. Miller assigns the name "Tantalus" to this son ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 421). Heywood designates this son as "Philistenes" (48v/20), which is the appellation employed by Ascensius in his printed text of the Thyestes.

The function of the Chorus in the Thyestes is interesting. In both Seneca's Thyestes and in Heywood's translation, the Chorus for Act I appears to be ignorant of the action that has just taken place: the coming of Tantalus to pollute the ancestral house with new sin. The Chorus naively hopes that no further horrors may spring from this family.

nec succedat avo deterior nepos
et maiori placeat culpa minoribus.
tandem lassa feros exuat impetus
sicci progenies impia Tantali.

("Thyestes," ed. Miller, ll. 134-37)

25"Thyestes," Tragoediae (1514), fol. xlv.
26"Thyestes," Tragoediae (1514), fol. xliii.
27"Thyestes," Tragoediae (1514), fol. liV.
Heywood translates this passage closely:

Nor nephew woorse then grandsier spryng from vs, 
or dyrer deedes delight the yonger age. 
Let wicked stocke of thyrstie Tantalus, 
at lengthe leaue of, and wery be of rage. (A5v/14-17)

These remarks function ironically because in Act I Tantalus has brought promise of future crime to his home, and in the following scene Atreus plans his horrible revenge upon his brother Thyestes.

The Chorus for Act II is confusing. Its opening lines are ironic:

Tandem regia nobilis, 
antqui genus Inachi, 
fratrum composuit minas. 
("Thyestes," ed. Miller, ll. 336-38)

Heywood translates these verses accurately:

The noble house at lengthe of highe renowne, 
the famous stocke of auncient Inachus, 
Appeasde and layde the threats of brethern downe. 
(B4v/2-4)

Here the Chorus acts as if it is unaware of the plan by which Atreus proposes to entrap Thyestes. In the following lines, the Chorus asks why there has been fraternal discord in the past:

Quis vos exagitat furor, 
alternis dare sanguinem 
et sceptrum scelere aggredi? 
("Thyestes," ed. Miller, ll. 339-41)

Heywood follows the meaning here carefully:

but now what furie styrrrs and dryues you thus, 
Eche one to thyrst the others bloud agayne, 
or get by gylt the golden mace in hande? 
(B4v/5-7)
The Chorus thus is ignorant of the renewal of the hatred between the two brothers that will be initiated by Atreus's revenge upon Thyestes. Heywood adds the word "now" to his translation of these lines. Heywood possibly interprets these verses as referring to the present, that the Fury is "now" urging the rekindling of the old enmity. In any case, the Chorus continues, decrying the king who seeks power alone. It praises the "golden mean" as the true ideal for man. The last few verses of this chorus stress the value of self-knowledge over power:

illi mors gravis incubat
qui, notus nimis omnibus
ignotus moritur sibi.

("Thyestes," ed. Miller, ll. 401-403)

Heywood preserves the meaning of these lines:

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 vnto him selfe vnknowne. (B5/13-16)

The third chorus also has an ironic significance because it seems to accept at face value the agreement between Atreus and Thyestes to share the kingship:

Credat hoc quisquam? ferus ille et acer nec potens mentis truculentus Atreus fratris aspectu stupefactus haesit. nulla vis maior pietate vera est; iurgia externis inimica durant, quos amor verus tenuit tenebit.

("Thyestes," ed. Miller, ll. 546-51)

Heywood again keeps the thought of these verses:

Wolde any man it weene? that cruell wyght Atreus, of mynde so impotent to see
Was soone astonied with his brothers syght.  
no greater force then pietee may be:  
Where kynred is not, lasteth euery threate,  
whom true loue holdes, it holdes eternalye.  
(C3/10-15)

These remarks about "pietee" and "loue" are, of course, in direct contrast with the views of Atreus expressed to the Servant in Act II, when he is planning his evil deed (A8/7-9). The last part of this chorus describes the fickleness of Fate that overturns even the most powerful of kings (C4/15-C4v/5). Again, such ideas are in opposition to Atreus's belief in the king's total power and authority which he states in Act II (A6v/5-B4/24). This chorus, preceding the Messenger's announcement in Act IV of the terrible murder of Thyestes' sons, frames thoughts on the conduct of an ideal king. These comments, of course, will be immediately forgotten when the horrible details of Atreus's crime are revealed.

In Act IV the Chorus is a speaker who engages in dialogue with the Messenger and hears his description of the slaughter of Thyestes' children. The Chorus prods the Messenger for full information about the crime: "Effare et istud pande, quodcumque est, malum" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 633). Heywood translates this carefully: "And this declare to vs at large / what euer be the ill" (C5/5-6). The Chorus in Act IV again functions as if it were unaware of what has transpired in the preceding scene—in which it has just been engaged in dialogue with the Messenger. The Chorus is shocked at the sudden darkness which
has fallen: "cur, Phoebe, tuos rapis aspectus?" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 793). Heywood renders this verse well: "Why doaste thou (Phebus) hide from vs thy sight?" (D2v/14). This question should be unnecessary after the announcement of the nefarious deeds of Atreus.

What is the dramatic function of the Chorus in Heywood's Thyestes? He translates the choruses from Seneca's plays literally, but several questions about the purpose of the Chorus remain un-answered. For example, is the Chorus for each act present as a speaker on stage to hear the plot develop? It would hardly seem so because the Chorus in the Thyestes most often professes ignorance of what has occurred in the action of the play, even when the Chorus has been a speaker in the dialogue, as in Act IV.

Even though Heywood follows the Renaissance editions of Thyestes in listing the Chorus as a speaker in the tragedy (B3v/21), the Chorus functions as if it were never on stage to hear the plot unfold.

Heywood uses the Chorus very differently in the Troas, where it often makes direct reference to the action of the play. For example, the Chorus which Heywood adds to Act I of the Troas comments directly on Hecuba's woes:

Hecuba that waileth now in care,  
that was so late of high estate a Queene  
a mirrour is, to teache you what you are  
your wauering welth, o princes, here is seene.  
("Troas," B3v/17-20)
Lines added by Heywood to his translation of the Chorus for Act II of the *Troas* foreshadow the death of Astyanax, which occurs later in the play: "Astianax, alas thy fataall line, / Of life is worn, to death straight shalt thou go. . ." ("Troas," C5/17-18).

The Chorus for Act III of the *Troas*, which Heywood has borrowed from his English version of Seneca's *Hippolytus*, contains several of his own verses that comment on the action of the play: "Fast dothe approche the maydes decease / and now Polyxena shall dye" ("Troas," E2v/9-10).

Thus, Heywood took great liberties with the Chorus in the *Troas*: he adds a chorus of his own invention to Act I, he appends three stanzas of his own to the Chorus for Act II, and he substitutes his English version of the Chorus for Act III of Seneca's *Hippolytus* for that of Act III of the *Troas*. Heywood had explained in the Preface to the Readers for the *Troas* that he made such alterations because "the Corus is no part of the substance of the matter" ("Troas," A4v/9-10). Why, then, does he handle the choruses in the *Thyestes* so differently, translating them literally, including in his English version the various mythological and geographical allusions that he omits from his translation of the choruses from the *Troas*? It is possible that Heywood has the choruses of the *Troas* reflect directly on the action
of the play because he thought this might enhance a stage production. In the Thyestes, Heywood seems more concerned with the play as a translation than as a dramatic production. Therefore, he translates the choruses from Seneca's Thyestes accurately; he makes no attempt to involve the Chorus more closely with the development of the action of the play as he does in the Troas.

Heywood makes one major structural change in his translation of Seneca's Thyestes. At the conclusion of the play, he appends a scene of his own construction: "The fourth Scene, Added to the Tragedy by the Translatour" (Ev/1-3). In the Preface to the Thyestes, Heywood provides no explanation for this new scene. In his translation of the Troades, Heywood in the Preface to the Readers had called attention to the scene he adds of the appearance of Achilles' ghost in Act II, Scene i (A4/24-27). The new scene of Thyestes' soliloquy in this play serves two purposes: to achieve coherence between the beginning and the end of the Thyestes and to express further Thyestes' need for revenge upon Atreus. In his soliloquy, Thyestes refers to his grandfather Tantalus, who in Act I was forced to return from the Underworld and curse his ancient house:

... thou O grandsier greate,
Come see the glutted gutts of mine,

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28. We must point out that there is at least one occasion in the Troas when the Chorus seems ignorant of the action, in Act II, Scene ii, when it asks Talthybius why the Greek ships delay in leaving Troy. Achilles had given the reason in Act II, Scene i.
with suche a kynde of meate,  
As thou didst once for godds prepare. (E4v/22-25)

In this scene that Heywood adds to his play, Thyestes calls upon Hell to bury all in darkness (E5v/13-E5v/28). This plea is an echo of his petition in Act V, Scene iii, that night and mountains should cover all life (E2v/13-E3/2). There are a number of references that are employed both in this scene of Heywood's invention and in Act I of the play: "Dytis dungeon" (Alv/11 and E4/5); the punishment of "Tityus" (A1/21 and E5/16); and the "whirlyng wheeles" of Ixion (A1/20 and E5v/1-2).

The desire for revenge is mentioned by Thyestes in Act V, Scene iii, when he requests the gods that both he and Atreus be struck down with thunderbolts:

... eche of vs is yll: if not  
At least let myne be it,  
Mee stryke: with tryple edged toole  
thy brande of flamyng fyre  
Beate through this brest... (E3/7-11)

A few lines later in this scene, Thyestes makes clearer his wishes for retribution to be visited upon Atreus:

the gods shall all  
of this reuengers bee:  
And vnto them for vengeance due,  
my vowes thee render shall. (E3v/23-26)

At the end of his new scene, Heywood pursues this theme of revenge when Thyestes demands that the heavens "Take vengeance fyrst on him, whose faulte / enforceth you to flee" (E6/3-4). Thyestes asks that if the "Skyes" must depart with "the Goddes
and sun" (E6/8), they go slowly so that Thyestes "on your wrathe, for right rewarde / to due deserts, wyll call" (E6/15-16). Addressing the gods themselves, Thyestes repeats his cries for punishment for his brother:

ye scape not from me so ye Godds, 
still after you I goe, 
And vengeance aske on wicked wight, your thunder bolte to throe. (E6/17-20)

This is interesting because in the preceding scene Thyestes had called for lightning to destroy himself (E3/9-11). In his own scene Heywood utilizes the same image to express Thyestes' hopes that Atreus suffer for his deeds.

In one sense, Thyestes' desires for revenge are inconsistent with what he had said in the last scene of Seneca's play: "... vota non faciam improba..." ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 1074). ("... no wicked pleas will I make. ...").--"Thyestes," tr. Miller, II, 177.) Heywood does not translate the important word "improba," possibly because he wishes that Thyestes not contradict himself in the new scene when he does seek revenge: "I wyll not make for mee / Peticions yet" (E2v/8-9).

The scene which Heywood adds to the Thyestes, that of Thyestes' longing for vengeance, has many similarities to that scene which Heywood inserts in his Troas, in which Achilles demands vengeance for his murder by Paris. A number of references to Hell and the Underworld mark both of these new scenes: Achilles mentions "Ditis depe" ("Troas," B5/11)--Thyestes, "king of Dytis
dungeon" (E4/5); Achilles talks of the "darkest dennes of Tartare" 
("Troas," B4/27)--Thyestes, "the depe . . . dennes, / of blackest 
Tartare" (E4/7-8); Achilles speaks of "the deepe Auerne" ("Troas," 
B4v/8)--Thyestes, "the deepe Auerne" (E4/23); Achilles calls upon 
"Phlegethon flood" and "The poole of Styx" ("Troas," B5/2, 13)-- 
Thyestes, the "Stygian poole" and "Phlegethon" (E5/6, 9); Achilles 
refers to the "burning thrut" of Tantalus ("Troas," B4v/16)-- 
Thyestes, to Tantalus "With fleeying floud to be beguilde" (E5/7); and 
Achilles recalls "the panges of Tityus" and the "hooked whele" of 
Ixion ("Troas," B4v/19, 21)--Thyestes, of "Tityus bosome rent" and 
"whirlyng wheeles" of Ixion (E5/16, E5v/1-2). More important than 
these likenesses between the two added scenes is that both of them 
center on the theme of revenge. A preceding section of this chap­ 
ter has already considered this idea in the soliloquy of Thyestes. 
In the speech of Achilles' ghost, vengeance is again the dominating 
thought. Achilles demands retribution for his ignominious death 
at the hands of Paris:

From burning lakes the furies wrath I threate, 
and fyer that nought but streames of blood may slake 
The rage of wynde and seas these shippes shal beate, 
and Ditis depe on you shal vengens take, 
The sprites crye out, the earth and seas do quake 
The poole of Styx, vngrateful Grekes it seath, 
With slaughtred blood reuenge Achilles death. 
(B5/8-14)

Thus, it is interesting that the major structural changes 
Heywood makes in both of his translations stress the necessity of
revenge. This point is important in a consideration of the possible influences of the translations, for example, on the "tragedy of blood."

As for the classical dramatic unities of place, action, and time in the *Thyestes*, neither Seneca nor Heywood observes them strictly. Concerning unity of place, the play unfolds in four different locations: near the palace at Argos where the ghost of Tantalus comes to curse the ancestral home (Act I), within the palace where Atreus plots his crime (Act II), at the shore when Thyestes and his sons return to Argos (Act III), and in the banquet hall where Thyestes eats his horrible meal (Act V). In Act I when Megaera drives Tantalus from Hell to renew the ancient curse, the scene is simply referred to by Megaera as "the house of Tantalus" (A3/1). In Act II Atreus speaks of being in "Argos towne" (A6v/14), but no description of the city is given. In Act III Thyestes refers to the "countrye bowres" of Argos as he approaches the city from the shore (B5v/19-20). When the Messenger recites the details of Atreus' crime to the Chorus in Act IV, no location is cited. Atreus mentions the setting in Act V when he approaches the banquet room in which Thyestes has just devoured his children:

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Beholde the temple opened now,
dothe shyne with many a lyght.
In glyttryng gold and purple seate
he sytts him selfe vpryght. . . . (D5/21-24)
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In the scene he adds to the play—Thyestes' soliloquy in Act V, Scene iv—Heywood gives no indication of the location. Thyestes simply calls down revenge upon Atreus.

Regarding unity of action in the play, the Thyestes simply relates the account of Atreus' vengeance. The appearance of the ghost of Tantalus foreshadows the evil that is soon to follow; Atreus tells his servant of his plans. Thyestes and his sons are duped into returning to Argos. The Messenger tells the Chorus of the crime, and Atreus informs Thyestes of his loss. In the scene which Heywood appends to the tragedy, Thyestes asks that the gods take retribution upon his brother. In a sense, Heywood's new scene contributes to the unity of action in the play by its emphasis on the theme of revenge. To repair the injustice done to Thyestes, the gods should "Take vengeance fyrst on him, whose faulte / enforceth you to flee" (E6/3-4).

Neither Seneca nor Heywood observes strict unity of time in the Thyestes; for example, how much time elapses between the decision of Atreus in Act II to trap Thyestes into returning to Argos and the arrival of the exiles in Act III? The meeting and the reconciliation of Thyestes and Atreus in Act III, Scene ii, are followed with terrible suddenness by the Messenger's narration to the Chorus of Atreus' foul deeds. Neither Seneca nor Heywood gives any information about the passage of time in the play.

A dramatic convention employed in Seneca's Thyestes is the
soliloquy. It is used five times, but Heywood acknowledges the device only twice in his translation. Heywood's use of the soliloquy in this play, however, is in marked contrast with his method in the *Troas*, where he makes no distinction between words spoken in a dialogue or in a soliloquy. In the *Thyestes*, Atreus utters a soliloquy in Act II, Scene i ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, ll. 176-204). Heywood in his translation fails to signify that Atreus's speech is a soliloquy (A6v/3). Ascensius, however, comments here: "inquit Atreus Tyrannus ad seipsum." So, even though Heywood may have been aware of this literary device, he chooses not to designate it as such in his play. In Act III, Scene ii, the words of Atreus are again intended to be a soliloquy ("Troades," ed. Miller, ll. 491-507). Heywood does not point out that this speech is a soliloquy (C1/2). In his commentary on the *Thyestes*, Ascensius notes about this passage that Atreus "dicit viso sed non intelligente fratre." Atreus speaks in a soliloquy in Act V, Scene i ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, ll. 885-901). In this instance Heywood also points out that this is a soliloquy: "Atreus alone" (D4v/2). In his edition of the tragedies, Ascensius designates this speech as a soliloquy with

29"Thyestes," Tragoediae (1514), fol. xliii.
30"Thyestes," Tragoediae (1514), fol. lli.
Thyestes utters a soliloquy in Act V, Scene ii ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, ll. 920-969). Heywood, too, points out that this speech is a soliloquy: "Thyestes alone" (D5v/18). Ascensius fails to comment on this speech, but in his text Marmita mentions that "Solus Thyestes loquitur." In Act V, Scene iii, Thyestes speaks in a soliloquy ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, ll. 999-1004). Heywood does not indicate that this is a soliloquy (D7v/23). Neither Ascensius nor Marmita mentions that this speech is a soliloquy. In his original scene added to the Thyestes, Heywood calls attention to the speech of Thyestes as a soliloquy: "Thyestes alone" (E4/4).

One of the most important themes in the Thyestes concerns the rule and conduct of the King. Seneca presents some interesting comments on kingship in the remarks of Atreus, the Chorus, and Thyestes. Atreus declares to his servant:

Maximum hoc regni bonum est,
quod facta domini cogitur populus sui
tam ferre quam laudare. ("Thyestes," ed. Miller),
ll. 205-207)

Heywood translates this passage carefully:

The greatest good
of kyngdome may be thought,
That still the people are constraynde
their princes deedes as well
To praise, as them to suffer all. (A7v/11-15)

31 "Thyestes," Tragoediae (1514), fol. 1xi̊.

32 "Thyestes," Tragoediae Senecae, ed. with commentaries by Marmita and Gaietanus (Venice: Joannes Tacuinus, 1498), fol. xxxiiiV. This work will hereafter be cited as "Thyestes" Tragoediae (1498) with the appropriate folio number (and line number if pertinent).
Atreus expresses the view that the king is accountable only to himself: "Vbicumque tantum honesta dominanti licent, / precario regnatur? ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, 11. 214-15). Heywood translates this closely:

Where leeful are to him that rules but honest thyngs alone, There raygnes the kyng by others leaue. (A8/1-3)

Atreus reiterates his view on a king's conduct: "Sanctitas pietas fides / privata bona sunt; qua iuvat reges eant" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, 11. 217-18). Heywood captures well the thought of this remark:

Such holines, such pietie, and faythe, Are priuate goods: let kyngs run on in that that likes their will. (A8/7-10)

Thus, Atreus describes the power of the King as absolute: the King's morals are dependent not upon the desires of his subjects but upon his own lusts.

The Chorus for Act II, seemingly oblivious to what Atreus has said about kingship in the preceding scene, gives its own ideas about what constitutes true kingship. It suggests that the King should be humble and that he should not seek high station:

regem non faciunt opes, non vestis Tyriae color non frontis nota regiae, non auro nitidae fores; rex est qui posuit metus et diri mala pectoris quem non ambitio inpotens et numquam stabilis favor vulgi praecipitis movet. . . .

("Thyestes," ed. Miller, 11. 344-52)
Heywood provides a literal translation of these lines:

Not ritches make a kyng or highe renowne,  
not garnisht weede with purple Tyrian die,  
Not loftie lookes, or head encloasde with crowne,  
not glittryng beames with golde and turretts hie.  
A king he is, that feare hath layde asyde,  
and all affects that in the brest are bred:  
Whome impotent ambition dothe not guyde,  
nor fickle fauour hathe of people led. (B4v/10-17)

The Chorus continues, declaring that the King should not be swayed by desire for material gain, nor shaken by thunder, storm, soldier's threat, or fear of death ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, ll. 353-68). Heywood translates these ideas into English carefully (B4v/18-B5/8). The Chorus declares, "mens regnum bona possidet" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 380). Heywood renders this verse in English, "it is the mynde that onely makes a kyng" (B5/20).

The Chorus states its ideals of kingship in aphorisms:

rex est qui metuit nihil,  
rex est qui cupiet nihil.  
hoc regnum sibi quisque dat.  
("Thyestes," ed. Miller, ll. 388-390)

Heywood has, "a kyng he is that feareth nought at all, / Eche man him selfe this kyngdome geeues at hande" (B5/28-B5v/1). This middle verse is not in the text printed by Ascensius. It evidently was not in the Latin text that Heywood used. The last few lines of this chorus praise the "golden mean," and counsel that danger lurks in high position:

Stet quicumque volet potens  
aulae culmine lubrico;  
me dulcis saturet quies;

33"Thyestes," Tragoediae (1514), fol. xlix.
This chorus urges that man not seek power; he should be "obscuro positus loco. . ." ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 394). (". . . in humble station fixed. . ."—"Thyestes," tr. Miller, II, 123.) Heywood adds a reference to "degree" in his translation of these verses: "So sette in place obscure and lowe degree, / of pleasaunt rest I shall the sweetnes knowe" (B5v/5-6). The Chorus declares, "plebius moriar senex" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 400). (". . . lowly may I die and full of years."—"Thyestes," tr. Miller, II 125.) Heywood adds a reference to man's "estate" in his translation of this verse: "An aged man I shall departe at last, / In meane estate, to dye full well content" (B5v/11-12). The added phrases in Heywood's translation of this chorus emphasize the theme that man should prefer the hidden life to the exalted position of authority. Thus, the Chorus praises the ideal of the "golden mean," which contrasts with Atreus's view that the...

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34 Andrew Marvell also has a translation of the last few lines of this chorus. See The Poems and Letters of Andrew Marvell, ed. by H. M. Margoliouth (2 vols.; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1927), I, 54-55.
power of the King is unlimited. The Chorus rejects all that Atreus believes in—unrestrained control over his subjects and complete freedom to exercise his own desires. The Chorus asserts that each man's kingdom must be within him.

The comments of Thyestes to his son about rule also differ markedly from the thoughts of Atreus. Like the Chorus, Thyestes affirms his faith in the "golden mean." He has learned painfully to place no trust in the power of kingship. Thyestes' son, however, lauds high place: "Summa est potestas" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 443). Heywood translates this accurately: "Cheefe thing is powre" (B7/15). Thyestes immediately contradicts him: "Nulla, si cupias nihil" ("Thyestes," line 443). Heywood renders this comment into English exactly: "nought worth at all, / if thou desyre it nought" (B7/15-16). His son asks Thyestes if he wishes to remain wretched when he can assume part of the kingship with Atreus: "Miser esse mavult esse qui felix potest?" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 445). Heywood gives a literal version of this line: "Who maie be happie, rather wolde / he myser yet remayne?" (B7/19-20). Thyestes replies to his son with an exhortation to avoid the dangers of high station and to pursue the humble life:

Mihi crede, falsis magna nominibus placent, frustra timentur dura. sum excelsus steti, numquam pavere destiti atque ipsum mei ferrum timere lateris. o quantum bonum est
obstare nulli, capere securas dapes
humi iacentem! ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, ll. 446-51)

Heywood preserves the thought of these lines:

Beleue me well, with titles false
the greate thyngs vs 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 striue, but careles foode
 to eate and rest to knowe? (B?/21-B?v/2)

Thyestes speaks of the burdens of high position: the temptations
to crime, the danger from enemies, the necessity for guards, the
demands of tribute from subjects, the craving for worship from
one's people, the greed for wealth, and the lust for illicit
Seneca's thought carefully (B?v/3-B8/12). Thyestes concludes his words with an idea similar to that expressed by the
Chorus: "immane regnum est posse sine regno pati" ("Thyestes,"
ed. Miller, line 470). Heywood has, "Greate kyngdome is to be
ccontent, / without the same to lyue" (B8/13-14). The Chorus and
Thyestes speak of the vices of kingship, particularly the in-
clination to use ruthless power for absolute control. Atreus,
of course, had taken the opposite point of view—that the King
may utilize all possible means to achieve supremacy. These fears
of the immoral acts of the King foreshadow the terrible crimes
that Atreus will perform to establish himself more securely in
authority: the murder of Thyestes' sons.
Thoughts on kingship in the *Thyestes* are frequently linked with comments emphasizing the dangers to those in high place from Fate and wavering Fortune; for example, after Atreus convinces Thyestes to accept his share of the kingship, the Chorus for Act III comments on the instability of high position. Fate and Chance can quickly overthrow the great:

ima permutat levis hora summis.
ille qui donat diadema fronti,

*anxius sceptrum tenet et moventes*
cuncta divinat metuitque casus
*mobiles rerum dubiumque tempus.*

("Thyestes," ed. Miller, ll. 598-606)

Heywood renders these lines into English well:

One howre setts vp the thynges that lowest bee.
he that the crownes to prynces doth deuyde,

*Hym selfe yet holdes his scepters doutfullye,*
and men of myght he feares and chaunces greate
(That eche estate may turne) and doutfull howre.

(C4/9-17)

The Chorus then specifically warns the powerful about the fickleness of Fate:

Vos quibus rector maris atque terrae
ius dedit magnum necis atque vitae,
ponite inflatos tumidosque vultus;
quidquid a vobis minor expavescit.
maior hoc vobis dominus minatur;
omne sub regno graviore regnum est.

*miscet haec illis prohibetque Clotho*
stare fortunam, rotat omne fatum.

("Thyestes," ed. Miller, ll. 607-618)
Heywood translates these lines closely:

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o ye, whom lord 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 kynge, eche kynge a subject is.

.......
for Clothoe myngles all, and suffreth not
Fortune to stande: but fates about do the dryue.
(C4/18-C4v/1)
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These words are ironic here because they precede the Messenger's account of the butchering of Thyestes' children by Atreus.

Heywood translates scrupulously the comments about Fate and Degree in *Thyestes*. This is interesting because, as Chapter IV indicates, Heywood's major additions to his translation of the *Troas* all treat this same theme. In the *Troas*, Achilles' speech declares that Fate demands the sacrifice of Polyxena, daughter of the once-mighty Queen Hecuba (Act II, Scene i). Heywood's chorus added to Act I of the *Troas* is dominated by the idea that Fate rules man's condition. In fact, as Chapter IV explains, this chorus employs several lines from Heywood's chorus for Act III of *Thyestes*: *Thyestes* (C4/18-20) for *Troas* (B2v/27-29); and *Thyestes* (C4/26-28) for *Troas* (B3v/1-3).

In place of Seneca's chorus from Act III of the *Troades*, Heywood borrows his Englishing of lines 959-80 from the third chorus of Seneca's *Hippolytus*, to which he adds some of his own verses. This chorus also describes man's life as being governed by the unfeeling Fates.
That Heywood makes such important alterations in the *Troas* to stress the role of Fate in man's life is interesting because he fails to make any such fundamental changes in the *Thyestes*, which also portrays the fall of the great—Thyestes—because of Fortune. The only major adaptation that Heywood makes in the *Thyestes* is the addition of the scene in which Thyestes calls upon the gods to wreak vengeance on his brother. This scene does not expand the theme of the domination of Fate over man's life.

Some lines in Heywood's translation of Thyestes' speech on Degree in Act III might have inspired his poem "Who Way'teth on this Wauering World" in *The Paradise of Dainty Devices*. In lines 24 and 25 of this poem, Heywood contrasts the lot of the poor with that of the great: "At homely boord his quiet foode, his drinkes in treene be tane, / When oft the proud in cuppes of gold, with wine receiue their bane." 35 In the speech of Thyestes, Heywood employs similar imagery:

> And safer foode is fed vpon,  
> at narrowe boorde alwaye,  
> While droonke in golde the poyson is. . . .

(B7v/5-7)

Heywood's poem also expresses the theme that dominates the *Thyestes*, that Fortune can quickly overturn the great: "Thus what thing hyest place atteynes, is soonest overthrowne, / What ever Fortune sets a loft, she threatens to throw downe." 36

36 *Ibid.*, ll. 16-17.
Chapter IV has already suggested that there is a relationship between the most important theme of the _Troas_--the fall of the great through the fickleness of Fortune--and William Baldwin's _The Mirror for Magistrates_ (1559), which traces the destruction of the powerful by Fortune. The _Thyestes_ also deals with the way in which man's life can be controlled by Fate. It will be remembered that in the Preface to _Thyestes_, Heywood praises Baldwin and also Thomas Sackville, a contributor to the 1563 edition of _The Mirror for Magistrates_ (*7v/17-28). Such connections between Heywood and these men indicate that they may have formed a literary circle.
Heywood follows the Latin text of Seneca far more closely in the *Thyestes* than he does in the *Troas*. There are, however, places in the *Thyestes* where he departs from the original. He occasionally misinterprets Seneca's *Thyestes* or alters the Latin sense to construct a different English meaning. He also sometimes expands ideas of the original or omits words and phrases from his translation of Seneca's Latin. This chapter will consider first those places where Heywood translates the Latin sense poorly in his English version. This study will note cases in which Heywood's translation is explained by the Renaissance editions of Seneca, particularly that of Ascensius. There are other times, however, when there seems to be no specific reason for Heywood's variation from the Latin.

In the beginning of the play, Megaera calls down confusion on the rule of Atreus and Thyestes: "superbis fratribus regna excidant / repetantque profugos..." ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, ll. 32-33). ("From haughty brothers' hands let kingdoms fall, and in turn let them call back the fugitives..."--"Thyestes," tr. Miller, II, 95.) Heywood garbles the meaning here by translating "repetantque profugos" as a reference to the instability of life: "... from brethern proude..."
let rule of kyngdome flyt,
To runagates: and swaruynge state
of all vnstable things... (A2/15-18)

Megaera wishes Tantalus to curse the home of his descendants,
("... fill the whole house with Tantalus."--"Thyestes," tr. Miller, II, 97.) Heywood follows a different text here: "Fyll vp the house of Tantalus / with mischieues and debates" (A3/1-2). The text printed by Ascensius has, "imple scelere Tantaleam domum." This wording would explain Heywood's reading.

Megaera desires that all evil blight the house of Tantalus,
"inferque tecum proelia et ferri malum / regibus amorem..." ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, ll. 84-85). ("... bring strife with thee, bring lust for the sword, an evil thing for rulers..."--"Thyestes," tr. Miller, II, 99.) Heywood confuses these verses badly, "and of th'unhappie swoorde /all loue to kynges..." (A4/8-9). He takes "malum" with "ferri," not with "amorem"; and he fails to understand that "ferri... amorem" means "lust for the sword."


1"Thyestes," Tragoediae (1514), fol. xli/9.
In Miller's text, Tantalus asserts "sequor" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 100). Heywood attributes this word to Megaera (A4v/11). Ascensius comments that Tantalus is the speaker here. In his text, Marmita also assigns this word to Tantalus. In the texts of Henricus Petrus and Sebastianus Gryphius, however, this word is given to Megaera. It appears that Heywood followed one of the latter texts.

Megaera declares that "nec suas profert sacer / Alpheos undas..." ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, ll. 116-17). ("... the sacred Alpheus no longer bears his waters on..."—"Thyestes," tr. Miller, II, 101.) Heywood translates "sacer Alpheos" as "Alpheus" (A5/14) and "undas" as "hollie waues" (A5/15). In his text, Ascensius has "sacras... undas," which would explain Heywood's meaning.


2"Thyestes," Tragoediae (1514), fol. xlii.
3"Thyestes," Tragoediae (1498), fol. xxiii/10-11.
4"Thyestes," L. Anrei Senecae Cordubensis Tragoediae X (Basle: Henricus Petrus, 1529), page 31, line 9. This work will hereafter be cited as "Thyestes," Tragoediae (1529) with the appropriate page number.
5"Thyestes," Tragoediae (1549), 59/17.
6"Thyestes," Tragoediae (1514), fol. xliii/3.
Latin editions of Seneca, Ascensius\textsuperscript{7} and Gryphius\textsuperscript{8} print the word "agri" here, but Henricus Petrus\textsuperscript{9} and Marmita\textsuperscript{10} have "Argi."

Heywood construes his own meaning here because he translates both "agri" and "Argi": "And noble feeldes of Argos feare, / theyr former drought to knowe" (A5/19-20).


In Act II Atreus speaks of his past exile, "per regna trepidus exul erravi mea. . . ." ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 237). (": . . throughout my kingdom have I wandered, a trembling exile. . . ."--"Thyestes," tr. Miller, II, 109.) Heywood applies this sentence to Thyestes, not to Atreus: "In exile wandred he [Thyestes], through out / my [Atreus] kyngdomes all a long. . . ." (A8v/19-20). In his text, Ascensius has "erravit,"\textsuperscript{11} which explains Heywood's reading of "wandred he."

Atreus speaks to his servant about his desires for revenge

\textsuperscript{7}"Thyestes," Tragoediae (1514), fol. xliii/6.
\textsuperscript{8}"Thyestes," Tragoediae (1549), 60/6.
\textsuperscript{9}"Thyestes," Tragoediae (1529), 32v/2.
\textsuperscript{10}"Thyestes," Tragoediae (1498), fol. xxiii\textsuperscript{v}/29.
\textsuperscript{11}"Thyestes," Tragoediae (1514), fol. xlv/25.
upon Thyestes, "instatque pigris manibus..." ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 269). ("... and it urges on my sluggish hands.
...") --"Thyestes," tr. Miller, II, 113.) Heywood makes an entirely different interpretation of "instatque" here: ". . . And staythe with slouthfull hands" (B1v/27).

Atreus refers to the home of Tereus, who was deceived into devouring his son Itys: "domus / Odyrsia..." ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, ll. 272-73). Heywood translates this phrase as "Thracian house..." B2/6). His alteration clarifies an otherwise obscure remark because "Thracian" was better known than the word "Odrysae," "a people of Thrace."

Mentioning again the slaughter of Itys by Procne as revenge upon Tereus, Atreus asks, "animum Daulis inspira parens / sororique..." ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, ll. 275-76). ("Inspire my soul, O Daulian mother, aye and sister, too..." --"Thyestes," tr. Miller, II, 115.) Heywood interprets these verses not as referring to the banquet of Itys, but as an appeal by Atreus to his father Pelops and to Pelops' sister, Niobe, for aid:

The stomak of thy sonne
o father thou enspyre,
And syster eke... . . . (B2/11-13)

The text printed by Ascensius has, "animum mi inspira, gnatus: parens; / Sororque." In his commentary, Ascensius explains that these lines concern the murder of Itys by his mother Procne

and her sister Philomela. In this same text, however, Marmita asserts that these verses are an appeal to Pelops. Heywood evidently follows the interpretation of Marmita.

In the text of Miller, Atreus declares about his young sons Agamemnon and Menelaus, "Tacita tam rudibus fides / non est in annis; detegent forsan dolos. . . ." ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, ll. 317-18). Heywood attributes these lines to the Servant, not to Atreus:

no secretnes there is
In theyr so greene and tender yeres:
they will your traynes disclose. (B3v/16-18)

In the text of Ascensius also, these lines are assigned to the Servant. Heywood may have based his text here on that of Ascensius.

The Chorus for Act II declares that it wishes to die unknown to its "Quiritibus" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 396). (". . . fellow citizens. . . ."--"Thyestes," tr. Miller, II, 123.) Heywood translates this word as "noble" (B5v/7). Heywood may have decided to avoid Seneca's anachronism here because "Quirites" is the Roman term for one's "fellow citizens."

Thyestes utters a maxim, "cum quod datur spectabis, et dantem aspice" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 416). (". . . when thou lookest on the gift, scan well the giver, too."--"Thyestes," ed. Miller, II, 125.) Heywood interprets this line not as a generalization, but as a reference to the kingship offered by Atreus to

13"Thyestes," Tragoediae (1514), fol. xlvii.
14"Thyestes," Tragoediae (1514), fol. xlvii/22-23.
Thyestes: "With whom the kyngdome geuen is, / behold, and well regarde. . ." (B6/17-18). Heywood's meaning here is partly explained by the reading in the text printed by Ascensius: "Cum quo datur spectabis. et tandem aspice." Heywood translates "Cum quo" as "With whom" and "tandem" as "well." There is no apparent reason, however, for his interpreting this line as a comment on kingship.

Praising the virtues of the humble life, Thyestes asserts,

{o quantum bonum est
capere secus dapes
humi iacentem! ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, ll. 449-51)

("Oh, how good it is . . . to eat one's bread, on the ground reclining!"--"Thyestes," tr. Miller, II, 129)

Heywood translates the last part of this expression in a very general way by not rendering the idea that the humble man eats his food on the ground:

Oh how great good it were,
careles foode
to eate and rest to knowe? (B7/28-B7v/2)

Thyestes says of himself, "nullus mihi / ultra Getas metatur et Parthos ager. . ." ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, ll. 461-62). "... for me no fields are harvested beyond the Getae and the Parthians. . . ."--"Thyestes," tr. Miller, II, 129-131.) Heywood follows the text of Ascensius here--"metitur" from the word "metior," "to measure." Heywood has the idea that Thyestes has no "parcels"

16 "Thyestes," Tragoediae (1514), fol. 11/17.
of land in the territories of the Getes and the Parthians:

nor parcell none doth ly,
Of grounds of mine beyonde the Getes:
and Parthians farre about. . . . (B7v/24-26)

Thyestes tells his son that his nights no longer are given to
"Baccho. . . ." ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 467). Omitting the reference to the god of revelry, Heywood translates this simply as "wine" (B8/7).

In Miller's text, the son of Thyestes speaks of the kingship offered by Atreus to his father, "nee appetendum est. . . ." ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 472). Heywood follows the text of Ascensius17 in attributing this line to Thyestes, not to his son: "Nor yet desyred it ought to be" (B8/17).

Thyestes questions, "Amat Thyesten frater?" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 476). Heywood changes this slightly by inserting "Atreus" for "frater" and "brother" for "Thyesten": "Dothe Atreus then his brother loue?" (B8/25).

Philistenes asks his father Thyestes, "Decipi cautus times?" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 486). ("Dost fear to be entrapped if on thy guard?"--"Thyestes," tr. Miller, II, 133.) Heywood's translation of this line is much different here because he translates "cautos" as "caught": "dreade ye to be / beguyled when caught ye are?" (B8v/17-18). The text of Ascensius explains Heywood's reading here: "decipi captus times?"18

17"Thyestes," Tragoediae (1514), fol. li/27.
Thyestes declares,

Serum cavendi tempus in mediis malis;
eatur. unum genitor hoc testor tamen:
ego vos sequor, non duco. ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, ll. 487-89)

("'Tis too late to guard when in the midst of dangers; but let us on. Yet this one thing your father doth declare: I follow you, not lead."--"Thyestes," tr. Miller, II, 133)

Heywood attributes these first two verses to Philistenes:

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. (B8v/19-22)

Thyestes then responds, "I followe you. I leade you not" (B8v/23).

The text printed by Ascensius also assigns the first two verses to Philistenes, but it has "hortamen est" in place of "testor tamen." This explains Heywood's reading of "this . . . is . . . my last request." Like Heywood, Ascensius assigns the last Latin verse to Thyestes.

Thyestes begs Atreus for forgiveness, "supplicem primus vides; / hae te precantur pedibus intactae manus . . ." ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, ll. 517-18). (". . . thou art the first to see me suppliant. These hands, which have never touched man's feet, beseech thee. . . ."--"Thyestes," tr. Miller, II, 135.) Heywood alters the sense here by failing to translate the idea that Atreus is the first to receive Thyestes as a suppliant, and that the hands of Thyestes have never before reached a man's feet in supplication:

19"Thyestes," Tragoediae (1514), fol. lii/5-6.
and fyrst I me submit.
These hands that at thy feete doe lye, 

do thee beseeche and praye. . . . (C2/8-10)

In his text Ascensius has "iniunctae" in place of "intactae," which explains why Heywood omitted the idea of Thyestes "touching" the feet of Atreus. 20 The reading of Ascensius, however, fails to explain why Heywood does not translate the idea that never before had Thyestes been a suppliant.

Atreus claims that praise will be due him because he is sharing his kingship with Thyestes, "fratri paternum reddere incolumi decus . . ." ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 528). (". . . to restore to a brother all unharmed ancestral dignity. . . ."--"Thyestes," tr. Miller, II, 137.) Heywood does not understand "fratri . . . incolumi" as meaning "to a brother all unharmed": "Our fathers seate to yelde to you, / and brother to releue" (C2v/1-2).

The Chorus for Act III describes the ocean grown so quiet that "vacat mersos numerare pisces. . . ." ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 593). (". . . and you may now count the fish swimming far below. . . ."--"Thyestes," tr. Miller, II, 141.) Heywood draws a much different meaning from this line by interpreting "mersos" as "dead": "and leysure is to vewe the fyshes ded. . . ." (C4/4).

The Chorus declares that fear exists even in the most powerful god who "cuncta divinat. . . ." ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 605). (". . . forsees . . . all things."--"Thyestes," tr. Miller,

II, 141.) Heywood translates this phrase as "men of myght..." (C4/16). The text printed by Ascensius has "dynastas" in place of "divinat," which explains Heywood's reading.21

The Messenger wishes to be enveloped in "atraque nube..." ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 624). In translating this phrase, Heywood alters the meaning slightly by employing the superlative degree of the adjective: "darkest cloude..." (C4v/10).

The Messenger asks what land he is in, "Argos et Sparte, pios/sortita fratres..." ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, ll. 627-28). ("Is it Argos? Is it Sparta, to which fate gave loving brothers?"--"Thyestes," tr. Miller, II, 143.) Seneca here refers to Castor and Pollux, the twin sons of Jupiter and Leda. Heywood has a different meaning for these verses because he translates "pios" as "wycked":

lythe Sparta here, and Argos that hath bred So wycked brethern? (C4v/16-18)

Heywood's interpretation of Seneca's meaning seems based on the text printed by Ascensius, which has "impios" for "pios."22

In the Messenger's account of the murder of Thyestes' sons, he mentions the "feris...Alanis..." ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, ll. 629-630). ("...the barbarous Alani?"--"Thyestes," tr. Miller, II, 143.) Heywood translates this phrase very loosely: (...people wylde?" (C4v/22).

In Miller's text, the Messenger questions, "quis hic nefandi

22"Thyestes," Tragoediae (1514), fol. lvV/7-8.
est conscius monstri locus?" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 632). ("What place is this that knows such hideous crime?"--"Thyestes," tr. Miller, II, 143.) Heywood attributes this line to the Chorus and alters the meaning slightly by assigning guilt to this troubled land: "What monstrous mischefe is this place / then giltie of?" (C5/3-4). In his text Ascensius also designates this verse as being spoken by the Chorus.23


The Messenger mentions "Tantalidae" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 657). (". . . the sons of Tantalus. . . ."--"Thyestes," tr. Miller, II, 147.) Heywood omits this reference to the descendants of Tantalus. He translates this word simply as "kyngs" (C5v/26).


In great detail the Messenger tells of Atreus's despatching of Tantalus, the oldest son of Thyestes:

\[ \text{ast illi ferus} \]
\[ \text{in vulnere ensem abscondit et penitus premens} \]
\[ \text{iugulo manum commisit. . . .} \]

("Thyestes," ed. Miller, ll. 721-23)

23"Thyestes," Tragoediae (1514), fol. lvV/11.
Heywood alters the sense here by interpreting the last part of this passage as meaning that Atreus grabs the boy by the throat, rather than that the murderer buries his weapon so deeply that his hand meets the victim's throat:

But Atreus fierce
the sowerde in him at last
In deepe and deadly wounde doth hide
to hilts, and gripyng fast
His throate in hand, he thrust him throughe.  

(The Messenger declares to the Chorus that Atreus compounded his sins with further guilt: "hactenus stat nefas, / pius est" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, 11. 744-45). ("If only the crime stops there, 'tis piety."--"Thyestes," tr. Miller, II, 153.) Heywood has a different meaning for these verses, that more crime followed the murders:

ye heare not yet
the end of all the facte,
There followes more. (D1/3-5)

Heywood's reading is based on the text of Ascensius: "hactenus non stat nefas: / Plus est."24 "There followes more" is Heywood's translation of "Plus est."


The text printed by Ascensius has "Querente aeno." 25 "Querente" would explain Heywood's "moornyng."

The Messenger describes the dark cloud of smoke from the burning of the mutilated corpses as settling on "ipsos penates. . . ." ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 775). (". . . the household gods themselves. . . ."--"Thyestes," tr. Miller, II, 155.) Heywood changes the meaning here by translating "penates" by two separate words: "the Goddes and house. . . ." (D2/9).

According to the Messenger, not even unnatural darkness can long hide Thyestes' woes from himself:

. . . tenebrisque facinus obruat tetrum novis
nox missa ab ortu tempore alieno gravis,
tamen videndum est. tota patefient mala.
("Thyestes," ed. Miller, ll. 786-88)

(". . . though heavy night, rising at dawn and at another's time, with strange shadows should bury this ghastly deed, still it must out. There is no sin but it shall be revealed."--"Thyestes," tr. Miller, II, 157)

Heywood translates these verses in a pleonastic manner by repeating the idea that night cannot hide these foul crimes:

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 seene:
thy ills shall all be spide. (D2v/3-8)


25"Thyestes," Tragoediae (1514), fol. lviiiV/12.
the meaning here by translating "superumque" as "godds," not "skies": "prince of lands and godds on hie..." (D2v/10).

The Chorus refers to "Olympos..." ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 792). Heywood makes a less specific translation of this word: "heauen..." (D2v/13).

The Chorus speaks of "nocturna...lumina..." ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 795). ("...the fires of night..."--"Thyestes," tr. Miller, II, 157.) Heywood translates this phrase in a more specific way: "...starrs..." (D2v/16).

The Chorus asks,

\[
\text{numquid struitur via Phlegraeos}\nonumber \\
\text{alta per hostes et Thessalicum}\nonumber \\
\text{Thressa premitur Pelion Ossa?}\nonumber \\
\text{("Thyestes," ed. Miller, ll. 810-12)}
\]

("Is a highway being built by the Phlegrean foe, and does Thessalian Pelion press on Thracian Ossa?"--"Thyestes," tr. Miller, II, 157)

In Heywood's translation of this passage, he adds a phrase--"vp to heauen"--to the first line and then omits "Thessalian" and "Thracian" from the last verse:

\[
is vp to heauen the way erected hie\nonumber \\
of phlegrey foes by mountaynes set vpright?\nonumber \\
and now doth Ossa Pelion ouerlie? (D3/6-8)
\]

The Chorus notes the change in the goddess Aurora after Atreus's horrible deeds:

\[
\text{stupet Eoos, assueta deo}\nonumber \\
\text{tradere frenos genetrix primae}\nonumber \\
\text{roscida lucis, perversa sui}\nonumber \\
\text{limina regni...} \nonumber \\
\text{("Thyestes," ed. Miller, ll. 815-18)}
\]

("The dewy mother of the early dawn, wont to hand o'er to the
god his morning reins, looks in amaze upon the disordered
threshold of her kingdom. . . ."--"Thyestes," tr. Miller, II, 159)

Heywood changes the meaning here greatly. He translates "deo
tradere frenos" by explaining Aurora's function of sending out
the horses of dawn. He also renders "limina" in English as
"dawnyng light. . . .":

Aurora dewysh mother of the light
that woonts to sende the horses out before,
Doth wonder muche agayne returnde to see
her dawnyng light. . . . (D3/11-14)

Marmita's comment about Aurora might have influenced Heywood's
reading of the verses describing her: "Aurora . . . fraenabat
equos eius quando recedebant ab oriente, nunc stupet."26 The text
printed by Ascensius has "lumina," not "limina."27 This would ex-
plain Heywood's "light."

The Chorus declares, "non Luna graves digerit umbras"
("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 826). (". . . no moon dispels the
darkness' heavy pall."--"Thyestes," tr. Miller, II, 159.) Heywood
interprets "digerit" as "comfort," not "dispel": "... nor light
of Moone the shades dothe comfort yet" (D3/22). Heywood may have
been influenced by the comment of Ascensius on this verse: the
moon "temperat lumine suo. . . ."28

The Chorus hopes that Nature will not cover "... mare
cingens / et vaga picti sidera mundi." ("Thyestes," ed. Miller,

26 "Thyestes," Tragoediae (1514), fol. 1xv.
27 "Thyestes," Tragoediae (1514), lix/5.


The Chorus describes the moon as being so changed by Atreus's sin that no more,

\begin{quote}
vincetque sui
fratris habenas, curvo brevius
limite currens.
\end{quote}

("Thyestes," ed. Miller, ll. 840-842)

("... shall outstrip her brother's reins, as in scantier space she speeds on her circling path."—"Thyestes," tr. Miller, II, 159)

Rendering "curvo . . . limite" as "crooked race," Heywood translates these verses strangely: ". . . with swyfter course or passe her brothers turnes, / While compasse lesse she fetts in crooked race. . ." (D3v/8-9). Heywood might have been guided in the last part of his translation here by the comment of Marmita on "curvo limite": ". . . per cursum Zodiaci qui est circulus

"Circulus flexus" might explain Heywood's interpretation of "crooked race."

The Chorus tells of the destruction of the gods: "ibit in unum / congesta sinum turba deorum" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, ll. 842-43). ("Into one abyss shall fall the heaped-up throng of gods."--"Thyestes," tr. Miller, II, 159.) Heywood modifies the meaning here by introducing a reference to "order" in his translation of these verses: "... the Gods on heapes shall out of order fall / And eche with other myngled be in place" (D3v/10-11).


30"Thyestes," Tragoediae (1514), fol. lxv.
Miller, II, 161.) Failing to translate the reference to "Librae," Heywood gives a general rendering of this verse: "... and leuelde payse of balance sway alowe. . ." (D3v/26).


The Chorus describes Capricorn as "pigram referens hiemem gelidus. . ." ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 863). ("... the frigid Goat who brings back sluggish winter. . ."—"Thyestes," tr. Miller, II, 161.) Heywood alters the meaning here by applying "gelidus to "hiemem" and failing to translate "pigram": "And Capricorne that brynges the winter colde. . ." (D4/3).


The Chorus speaks of "Plostraeque. . ." ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 867). ("... and the Wain. . ."—"Thyestes," tr. Miller, II, 161.) Heywood translates this word as "monsters. . ." (D4/7). Heywood may have based his reading on the text printed by Ascensius, which has "Monstraeque" here. 32

The Chorus cites "Arctophylax" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line

31"Thyestes," Tragoediae (1514), fol. lx.
Heywood translates this name as "bootes..." (D4/4). In their commentaries, both Ascensius and Marmita explain this name as "Bootes."\(^{33}\)

The Chorus wonders whether men have driven the sun away:
"... sive expulimus!" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 881). Heywood translates these words as meaning that the "faults" of men have repulsed the sun: "Or him by faught enforced haue to flie" (D4/21).

Content with his crimes, Atreus says to himself: "bene est, abunde est..." ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 889). ("'Tis well, 'tis more than well..."--"Thyestes," tr. Miller, II, 163.) Heywood makes a rather concise translation of these words: "Enoughe and well..." (D4v/11).

Atreus resolves, "pergam et impleto patre / funere suorum" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, II, 890-891). ("Nay, I will go forward, e'en though the father is full-fed with his dead sons."--"Thyestes," tr. Miller, II, 163.) Heywood translates "impleto" as a verb in the active voice--"fyll"--not as the past participle--"full-fed":

\[
\text{I will proceede, and fyll the father yet} \\
\text{With bloud of his...} \quad (D4v/13-15)
\]

Heywood seems here to be following the text of Ascensius, which

\(^{33}\)"Thyestes," Tragoediae (1514), fol. lx-lxi\(^v\).
Atreus tells himself, "perge dum caelum vacat" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 892). ("On! while heaven is tenantless."—"Thyestes," tr. Miller, II, 163.) Interpreting "vacat" as "call," Heywood translates this verse as "goe to therfore, / while thee the heauen doth call" (D4v/17-18). Heywood here seems to follow the text of Ascensius, which has "vocat" instead of "vacat."35

Atreus wishes that all the gods would view the meal of Thyestes: "omnes viderent" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 895). Heywood translates this to mean that the gods do not merely "see" the banquet; they are "witnesses to be." (D4v/22)

Atreus wants Thyestes to be fully aware of his grief: "... sobrio tanta ad mala / opus est Thyeste" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, ll. 900-901). ("... for such ills there needs Thyestes sober."—"Thyestes," tr. Miller, II, 163.) Heywood translates these verses less precisely, failing to include "sobrio" in his version of this passage: "... at laste / Tys best him selfe shoulde know his ylls" (D5/6-7).

Atreus desires to see Thyestes "rigescat"—"stiffen"— when he learns he has devoured his children ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 906). Heywood translating this word with a much different meaning: "... quake." (D5/15).

Atreus describes the gluttoned Thyestes as,

resupinus ipse purpurae atque auro incubat,
vino gravatum fulciens laeva caput.
eructat. ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, 11. 909-911)

("There he himself reclines at full length on gold and purple, propping his wine-heavy head on his left hand. He belches with content." --"Thyestes," tr. Miller, II, 165)

Heywood translates "resupinus" as "vpryght":

In glyttryng gold and purple seate
he sytts him selfe vpryght,
And staiyng vp his heauy head
with wine, vpon his hande,
He belcheth out. (D5/23-27)

The text of Ascensius has "incumbat" --"lean upon" --for "incubat." But since both of these Latin words have the same meaning, this textual variation does not explain Heywood's translation.

As he views Thyestes having completed his meal, Atreus wishes even greater revenge: ". . . restat etiamnunc cruor / tot hostiarum. . ." ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, 11. 914-15). (". . . there still remains the blood of all the victims. . . ." --"Thyestes," tr. Miller, II, 165.) Heywood departs from Seneca's meaning here by making a more specific reference to Thyestes' drinking the blood that "springs" from the bodies of his children:

. . . there yet remaynes,
a worser draught for thee
That sproong out of the bodyes late
of sacrificys three. . . . (D5v/5-8)

36 "Thyestes," Tragoediae (1514), fol. 1xi/12.
Atreus resolves within himself, "hoc, hoc mensa cludatur scypho" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 916). ("With this, this goblet let the meal be done."--"Thyestes," tr. Miller, II, 165.) Heywood translates this verse without mentioning the "goblet":... let therewithall / the boordes be taken vp" (D5v/9-10).

Before his meeting with Atreus, Thyestes chides himself: ". . . iam sollicitas ponite curas" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 921). Heywood alters the meaning here by translating this idea in two successive clauses: ". . . laie downe your cares, at length your greues relent. . ." (D5v/20).

Thyestes generalizes on his good fortune in being restored to eminence:

magnum, ex alto
culmine lapsum stabilem in plano
figere gressum. . . . ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, 11. 926-28)

("'Tis a great thing, when fall'n from a lofty pinnacle, to set foot firmly on the plain. . . ."--"Thyestes," tr. Miller, II, 165)

Heywood's version of this passage seems general and free because he interprets "in plano" as "Beneth":

greate happe to him, from hye
that falles, it is in suretie to be plaste Beneth. (D5v/25-D6/1)

Thyestes has premonitions of evil:

libet infaustos mittere questus,
libet et Tyrion saturas ostro
rumpere vestes, ululare libet.
("Thyestes," ed. Miller, 11. 954-56)

("Even so, I long to utter, ill-omened lamentation, I long to
rend these garments, rich dyed with Tyrian purple, I long to shriek aloud."—"Thyestes," tr. Miller, II, 167)

Heywood departs from Seneca's meaning here by interpreting these verses as generalizations about humanity, not as statements of Thyestes' feelings:

Unpleasant playntes it pleaseth them to moue:
and florysht faire it lykes with Tyrian dye
Theyr robes to rent: to wayle it likes them styll.

(D6/27-D6v/1)

Thyestes compares his own feelings of impending doom with the quick-surging sea: "... instat nautis fera tempestas, / cum sine vento tranquilla tument" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, II. 959-960). ("... oft does a fierce storm draw nigh to mariners, when without wind the tranquil waters heave."—"Thyestes," tr. Miller, II, 167.) Heywood draws a different meaning from these verses by translating "tument" as "rest," not "heave": "the sturdye stormes the shipmen ouerlye, / When voyde of wynde thassawaged seas doe rest" (D6v/4-5).

Thyestes reprimands himself for fearing "tibi luctus..." ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 961). ("... distresses... for thyself...?"—"Thyestes," tr. Miller, II, 167.) Heywood translates this phrase not as referring to Thyestes' sorrows, but as "countenaunce to see..." (D6v/6). The text of Ascensius has "vultus" here.37 This would explain Heywood's reading.

Atreus bids Thyestes drink from "poculum... gentile..."

37"Thyestes," Tragoediae (1514), fol. lxii/17.
("Thyestes," ed. Miller, ll. 982-83). ("... this cup, an heirloom. ..."--"Thyestes," tr. Miller, II, 169.) Heywood translates "gentile" differently, as "frendly": "the frendly cuppe. ..." (D7/17). Heywood did not choose to be guided by the comment of Marmita on this phrase: "quod fuit gentis nostrae."38

Thyestes declares to Atreus,

    stare circa Tantalum
    uterque iam debuimus, hinc compagibus
    et hinc revulsis, si quid infra Tartara est
    avosque nostros. ...

("Thyestes," ed. Miller, ll. 1011-1014)

("We should both of us long since have been with Tantalus. Rend asunder thy prison-bars on every side, and if there is any place 'neath Tartarus and our grandsires. ..."--"Thyestes," tr. Miller, II, 173)

In his translation of these verses, Heywood has a different meaning, that the brothers belong with Tantalus and their other ancestors:

    with Tantalus to stande,
    And auncyters of ours, if there
    in hell be any one,
    Now ought we bothe. (D8/20-23)

Heywood here employs the text printed by Ascensius:

    stare circa Tantalum
    Avosque nostros: si quis intra tartara est.
    Uterque iam debuimus.39

Thyestes declares that Phlegethon should flow "exilia supra

38"Thyestes," Tragoediae (1514), fol. lxiii.
nostra..." ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 1019). ("... above our place of exile..."
"Thyestes," tr. Miller, II, 173.)
Heywood follows the text of Ascensius, which has "exitia" here. 40
Heywood has, "To our confusion..." (D8v/7).

Repeating the idea that Thyestes can now "receive" his children,
Heywood has a very elaborate translation of these verses:

but take to thee
with ioy thy chyldren now,
And rather them embrace: at length
thy chyldren all, of thee
So long wysht for... (D8v/11-15)

Thyestes requests that Atreus at least give his sons burial:
"... scelere quod salvo dari / odioque possit..." ("Thyestes,"
ed. Miller, ll. 1026-1027). ("... what can be granted with
crime and hate intact..."--"Thyestes," tr. Miller, II, 173.)
Heywood interprets these lines not as a plea by Thyestes for his
sons' burial, but as a comment by Thyestes on the crimes of
Atreus:

... (which might haue bene
without the gylt,) to naue:
And eke without thy hate... (D8v/23-25)

Thyestes desires to cut himself open to free his children
trapped within his stomach: "... ferro liberis detur via"

("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 1044). ("... by the steel let deliverance be given to my sons."--"Thyestes," tr. Miller, II, 175.) Heywood's version of this line is not specific because he omits "steel": "... let vs therwith make way / for all my sons to pas" (Elv/3-4).


Thyestes refers to "Tartarea ... / ... nube. ..." ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, ll. 1071-72). ("... Tartarean fogs. ..."--"Thyestes," tr. Miller, II, 177.) Heywood applies "Tartarea" to "Noxque," and translates the word as "darke": "night so darke ...." (E2v/1).

Thyestes wishes that his dead children be burned: "si natos pater / humare et igni tradere extremo volo. ..." ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, ll. 1090-91). ("If I their father would give his sons to burial and commit them to the fneral flames. ..."--"Thyestes," tr. Miller, II, 179.) Heywood has,

if father I
my children do desyre
To lay in tombe, or corpses cast
to fyre as dothe behoue. ... (E3/11-15)
"abscondi et fugire a nobis." 42

Thyestes appeals to the gods for help: "piorum praesides testor deos" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 1102). ("I call on the gods who guard the innocent."--"Thyestes," tr. Miller, II, 181.) Heywood alters the meaning here by translating "piorum" as "infantes": "... the gods that guyde / al infantes, I protest" (E3v/7-8). Heywood might have been guided by the comment of Ascensius on these verses, that the gods are those who protect "natorum innocentum"--"the innocent children." 43

Besides the alterations that Heywood makes in his translation because of his faulty understanding of the original or because of problems in the Latin texts, he also makes some minor additions, which either expand upon, or deviate from, Seneca's meaning. This study compares Miller's text with the Renaissance editions of the tragedies and takes note of instances when the reading of the Renaissance text explains a particular interpretation by Heywood.

Megaera comments "fluctuque regnum casus assiduo ferat" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 36). To his translation of this passage, Heywood adds the verse, "both geue and take the ryght" (A2/24).

Tantalus speaks of the various evils that he would prefer.

42"Thyestes," Tragoediae (1514), fol. lxv.
43"Thyestes," Tragoediae (1514), fol. lxv.
to endure rather than return to earth: "... venturi... / montis ruinam..." ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, ll. 76-77). Heywood introduces an additional idea to his translation of these verses: "... or cruell cryes / that sounde in caues of hell..." (A3v/21-22).

The Chorus describes the terrible meal of Tantalus, who served his son Pelops as a dish for the gods: "... dapibus feris..." ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 150). ("... bestial viands..."—"Thyestes," tr. Miller, II, 103.) Heywood adds the adjective "deyntie" to his translation of this phrase: "... deyntie meates vnmilde..." (A6/5).

The Chorus refers to the resources of the West as "quidquid fodit Occidens..." ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 353). ("... all the mined treasures of the West..."—"Thyestes," tr. Miller, II, 121.) Heywood adds some words on the mining of "metals" which make the meaning of these verses quite clear: "Nor all that west in metalls mynes hath founde..." (B4v/18). The comment of Ascensius on this verse may have influenced Heywood’s translation: "id est fodiendo eruit populus in occidente sive auri sive gemmarum..." 44

The Chorus pictures the true king as he who has no fear, "quem non lancea militis, / non strictus domuit chalybs..." ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, ll. 363-64). ("... whom no warrior's lance nor bare

44"Thyestes," Tragoediae (1514), fol. xlvii.
steel ever mastered..."--"Thyestes," tr. Miller, II, 121, 123.)

Heywood makes a very full translation here by rendering each line of the Latin in two English verses:

Whome not the pricke of souldiers sharpest speare,
or poynted pyke in hand hath made to rue,
Nor whome the glimpse of swoord myght cause to fawe,
or bright drawen blade of glyttryng steele subdue.

(B5/1-4)

There is no obvious reason for Heywood's expansion of the meaning here unless he wishes to emphasize the courage that the true king must display in the face of military threats.

The Chorus refers to "Danuvii vadum" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 376). ("... the Danube's waves."--"Thyestes," tr. Miller, II, 123.) In his translation of these words, Heywood inserts a phrase describing the river's coldness: "... the floud of Danubye. / in frost. ..." (B5/16-17).

The Chorus speaks of the Serians: "Seres vellere nobiles. ...") ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 379). ("... the Serians for fleeces famous. ...")--"Thyestes," tr. Miller, II, 123.) Heywood expands the meaning of this reference by including the mention of "silk": "... with fleece that there of sylke dothe spryng. ..." (B5/18).

The Chorus utters a sententia on kingship: "... mens regnum bona possidet" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 380). ("... 'tis the upright mind that holds true sovereignty."--"Thyestes," tr. Miller, II, 123.) Heywood has a line of introduction to his
accurate rendering of this verse: "They neuer myght the truthe hereof denye, / it is the mynde that onely makes a kyng" (B5/19-20).

The last few lines of the Chorus for Act I emphasize the theme on which Heywood dwells so much in the Troas, that danger lurks in high place. The Chorus wishes to live in "obscuro . . . loco. . ." ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 394). Heywood includes a reference to "degree" in his translation of this phrase: "... in place obscure and lowe degree. . ." (B5v/5). The Chorus expresses a wish to die unknown to men: "... plebeius moriar senex" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 400). ("... lowly may I die and full of years."--"Thyestes," tr. Miller, II, 125.) Heywood adds another reference to degree--"meane estate"--in his version of this line: "An aged man I shall departe at last, / In meane estate, to dye full well content" (B5v/11-12).

In Act IV the Messenger characterizes the people that live under the rule of Atreus as "contumacem regibus populum suis." ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 644). ("... the people, insolent to their kings."--"Thyestes," tr. Miller, II, 145.) Heywood expands the meaning of this description by adding a reference to "traitors": "And people proude agaynst theyr prince / yf once the traytours rise. . ." (C5/27-28).

The Messenger begins to describe the spoils of war on display in the palace of Atreus ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, ll. 662-64). Hey-
wood adds a verse of introduction to this description: "... here leefull is to see." (C6/8).

The Messenger enumerates all the horrors of the grove near Atreus's palace ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, ll. 665-82). Heywood adds a phrase to his translation of these verses: "... besyde all this..." (C6v/6).

Atreus is described by the Messenger as being unaffected by the terrible sights of the palace grove ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, ll. 703-705). Heywood inserts a phrase which gives even more emphasis to the coldness of Atreus: "... but stedfast yet alway / Of mynde..." (C7v/6-7).

The Messenger recounts the murder of Thyestes' son Philistenes ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 728). Heywood adds a comment at the end of his translation of this verse: "... a piteous thyng to see..." (C8/28).

The Messenger tells of the bodies of the slain boys groaning on the spit: "... flammae magis / gemuere" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, ll. 771-72). ("... the flames made more complaint."—"Thyestes," tr. Miller, II, 155.) Heywood repeats the mention of the flames "crying" in his translation of these verses: "... or flames they be that cry, / But crie they doe..." (D2/2-3). Heywood's reading here may be based on the text of Ascensius: "an flammae gemant. / Gemuere...".

45"Thyestes," Tragoediae (1514), fol. lviii/4-5.
According to the Messenger, Thyestes is unable to digest the "cibum"—the bodies of his sons ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, ll. 781-82). Heywood adds a phrase to his translation here describing this "meal" as "so cursed kynde of food..." (D2/22).

The Chorus for Act IV asserts that after the terrible deeds of Atreus, men fear that "all" will fall to ruin ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 830). Heywood's version of this verse includes an additional phrase, that "heauen and erthe and all" may come to destruction (D3/25).

Heywood appends a line to the Chorus's rhetorical question about the fate of the world ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, ll. 875-77). He inserts in his translation here "should hugy heape of Chaos ouer lie..." (D4/16).

In Act V Atreus boasts of his triumph over Thyestes: "... hic est, sceptra qui firmet mea..." ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 971). ("... this is the day which shall make strong my sceptre. ..."—"Thyestes," tr. Miller, II, 169.) Heywood expands the meaning of this verse by repeating the idea that this day will more firmly entrench Atreus as king: "This day my sceptors may confyrme / and stablyshe my estate..." (D6v/19-20).

Thyestes describes the banquet table as "ipsa trepido mensa subsiluit solo" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 989). ("... the very table leaps up from the trembling floor."—"Thyestes," tr. Miller, II, 171.) Heywood has an additional phrase in his
translation of this line, that the table shakes: "The table to, it selfe dothe shake, / and leape from tremblyng grounde" (D7v/3-4).

Thyestes realizes that because of the premature darkness that has settled on the world after the sin of Atreus, the sky now stands empty--"desertus" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 991). Heywood translates this word as "Forsooke of sunne..." (D7v/7). Heywood's addition here makes the meaning clearer.

Thyestes asks, "Quis hic tumultus viscera exagitat mea?" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 999). ("What is this tumult that disturbs my vitals?"--"Thyestes," tr. Miller, II, 171.) Heywood's version of this line is pleonastic because he repeats the reference to Thyestes' stomach trembling: "What tumulte tumbleth so my gutts, / and doth my bowells gnawe?" (D7v/23-23).

Thyestes feels the horror of the deed he has unwittingly committed ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, ll. 1035-1039). At the conclusion of his translation of these verses, Heywood appends the line, "I here beholde agayne" (El/22).

In their short exchange near the end of the play, Thyestes declares that Atreus has killed "Natos parenti---" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 1101). ("Sons to the father---"--"Thyestes," tr. Miller, II, 179.) Heywood adds some words describing Atreus as giving Thyestes' sons to him as food that make this phrase clear: "Setst thou the soons for fathers foode?" (E3v/5). Heywood may have been influenced by the comment of Marmita on this line:
"Natos parenti; apposuisti scilicet comedendos."

Chapters IV and V on the Troas discuss Heywood's frequent failure to translate phrases and verses from Seneca's tragedy, especially mythological and geographical references. In his Thyestes, Heywood makes very few omissions in his translation. This analysis will take note of those relatively few places where Heywood chooses not to translate Seneca's Latin and will call attention to those verses in Heywood upon which light is shed by a study of the Renaissance editions of Seneca's tragedies.


In the beginning of the Thyestes, the Fury Megaera wonders when Atreus will lift his hand to slaughter the sons of Thyestes: "... et quando tollet?" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 59). Heywood does not translate this question.


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46 "Thyestes," Tragoediae (1514), fol. lxv.
the reference to "Etesian" in his translation of this line: ". . .
with yerely breathe. . . " (A5v/9).

The Chorus for Act I states, "peccatum satis est. . . " ("Thy-
estes," ed. Miller, line 138). ("Enough sin has been wrought.
. . ."--"Thyestes," tr. Miller, II, 103.) Heywood fails to trans-
late "peccatum": "Enoughe is done. . . " (A5v/18).


Atreus tells Satelles that Thyestes will yield to his entreaty to return from an exile filled with want and suffering: " . . . ac
durus labor / quamvis rigentem tot malis subigent virum" ("Thy-
estes," ed. Miller, ll. 303-304). (". . . and unfeeling toil by
their many woes will force the man, however stiff, to yield."--
"Thyestes," tr. Miller, II, 117.) In his English version of these verses, Heywood fails to translate "tot malis":

. . . and labour harde to see,
Wyll him subdue and make to yelde,
although full stoute he bee. (B3/14-16)

The Chorus for Act II generalizes on kingship: ". . . rex est
qui cupiet nihil" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 389). (". . . a
king is he who shall naught desire."--"Thyestes," tr. Miller, II,
123.) This verse is not translated by Heywood. It is not found in
the text printed by Ascensius. 47

47 "Thyestes," Tragoediae (1514), fol. xlix.
Narrating the details of the slaughter of Thyestes' children, the Messenger describes a murky star coming "e laevo aethere. .." ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 698). ("From the left quarter of the sky. . . ."--"Thyestes," tr. Miller, II, 149.) Heywood's verse omits the translation of "laevo": "from thayre. . . ." (C7/24).


Atreus commands his servant to open the doors of the banquet hall: "... festa ... domus" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 902). Heywood omits the translation of the word "festa" in his version of this line: "... the house. . . ." (D5/10).

Experiencing fears of impending sorrow, Thyestes declares that from his head have fallen "vernae ... rosae. . . ." ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 947). ("The spring roses. . . ."--"Thyestes," tr. Miller, II, 167.) In his translation Heywood omits the mention of "vernae": "... the roses. . . ." (D6/20).

Atreus brags to Thyestes about his cruel murders: "... cecidi ad aras. . . ." ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 1058). ("... I slew them at the altars. . . ."--"Thyestes," tr. Miller, II, 177,) Heywood fails to include the reference to "altars" in his translation: "... I strake them downe. . . ." (E2/3).

At the end of the play, Thyestes asserts that he will make no
evil requests of the gods: "... vota non faciam improba..." ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 1074). ("... no wicked pleas will I make..."—"Thyestes," tr. Miller, II, 177.) Heywood fails to include a translation of "improba" in his version of this line: "... I wyll not make for mee / Peticions yet" (E2v/8-9).

Thus, Heywood often departs from the Latin sense in his translation of the _Thyestes_ by misinterpretations of the original, by words and phrases added to his translation of the play, and by omissions of words and ideas from his version of Seneca's drama. But Heywood's _Thyestes_ is a much more careful translation of the Latin than is his _Troas_, which, in many cases, is a free rendering of the Latin into English. It remains for us to study Heywood's poetical and rhetorical devices in this play.
Seneca's Thyestes makes use of many such rhetorical devices as the sententia, antithesis, stichomythia, and irony. Heywood renders these poetical and rhetorical figures into English quite accurately. This chapter will study his method of translating these stylistic expressions in his own language.

In this play, even more so than in the Troas, Heywood is exact in translating Seneca's sententiae or aphorisms into English. The sententia is essential to a tragedy which is based on verbal expression rather than on dramatic action. Both Seneca and Heywood rely on this dramatic device heavily. Atreus expresses his views on kingship in the sententia, "Sanctitas pietas fides / privata bona sunt; qua iuvat reges eant" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, ll. 217-18). ("Honour, virtue, faith are the goods of common men; let kings go where they please."--"Thyestes," tr. Miller, II, 109.) Heywood captures well the thought of this remark:

Such holiness,
such pietie, and faythe,
Are priuate goods; let kyngs run on
in that that likes their will. (A8/7-10)

In a sharp statement Thyestes asserts his views on kingship: "immane regnum est posse sine regno pati" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 470). ("'Tis a boundless kingdom,--the power without kingdoms to be content."--"Thyestes," tr. Miller, II, 131.) Heywood frames this remark into an English sententia: "Greate kyngdome is
to be content, / without the same to lyue" (E8/13-14).

To contrast sharply different views, Seneca frequently frames ideas in a neat antithesis. Heywood reproduces carefully this device in English; for example, Megaera speaks of the whimsicality of Fortune: "... miser ex potente fiat, ex misero potens...." ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 35). ("... from power to wretchedness, from wretchedness to power--may this befall...."--"Thyestes," tr. Miller, II, 95.) Heywood catches the contrast here:

"Let mightie fall to miserie, / and myser clyme to myght...." (A2/21-22). Meditating on how he might make Thyestes suffer further, Atreus declares, "scidit ore natos impio, sed nesciens, / sed nescientes...." ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, ll. 1067-1068). ("... with impious teeth he tore his sons, but unwittingly, but them unwitting."--"Thyestes," tr. Miller, II, 177.) Heywood renders this antithesis into English carefully:

He rent his soons with wycked gumme,
   him selfe yet worying nought,
   Nor they therof. (E2/21-23)

In our discussion of the importance of the Chorus in the Thyestes, we have noted the great use of irony in its comments on the action of the play. When the Chorus asks the Messenger which of the sons of Thyestes was slaughtered first by Atreus, the Messenger replies with heavy irony: "Primus locus (ne desse pietatem putes) / avo dicatur: Tantalus prima hostia est" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, ll. 717-18). ("The place of honour (lest you deem him lacking in
reverence) to his grandsire is allotted—Tantalus is the first victim."—"Thyestes," tr. Miller, II, 151.) This scornful comment on the "reverence" of Atreus is transmitted in Heywood's translation:

First place, least in him thinke ye might
no piete to remayne
To grandsier dedicated is,
fyrst Tantalus is slayne. (C8/5-8)

Atreus makes a very ironic response to Thyestes' request to bury his sons: "Quidquid e natis tuis / superest habes, quodcumque non superest habes" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, 1030-1031). ("Whatever of thy sons is left, thou hast; whatever is not left, thou hast."—"Thyestes," tr. Miller, II, 173.) Heywood preserves the tone of Atreus's response:

what euer parte
yet of thy children·all
Remaynes, here shalt thou haue: and what
remayneth not, thou hast. (E1/3-6)

The Messenger in Act IV and Atreus in Act V, Scene i, have already revealed that Thyestes has unwittingly feasted on the bodies of his sons. Atreus's response to Thyestes that he already "has" what is left of his sons is terribly ironic.

Seneca makes frequent use of the rhetorical question, a dramatic device that provides insight into the minds of the characters; for example, Thyestes asks himself what causes the agony within him:

Quis hic tumultus viscera exagitat mea?
quid tremuit intus? sentio impatiens onus
numque gemitu non meo pectus gemit. 
adeste, nati, genitor infelix vocat, 
adeste. visis fugiet hic vobis dolor-- 
unde oblocuntur? ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, ll. 999-1004)

Heywood also utilizes the rhetorical question in translating this passage into English:

What tumulte tumbleth so my gutts, 
and dothe my bowells gnawe? 
What quakes within? with heauy 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'unhappe father call: 
Come neere, for you once seene, this greefe 
wolde soone asswage and fall. 
Whence murmure they? (D7v/23-D8/5)

The rhetorical questions of Thyestes disclose his inner doubts and fears just before Atreus's revelation of his revenge.

Some of the dialogue in Seneca's Thyestes is composed of stichomythia, curt rejoinders between two characters who echo each other's words. The stichomythic exchange provides a contrast to the long speech and monologue which unfolds most of the plot of the tragedy. Seneca and Heywood sometimes utilize a kind of stichomythia which does not have verbal echoes in the responses of each character. The dialogue is simply very sharp and very brief. The Servant (designated as "Satelles" in Miller and "Servant" in Heywood) questions Atreus as to how he will get revenge on Thyestes:

Satelles
Atreus
Satelles

Ferrum?
Parum est.
Quid ignis?
Heywood captures the forceful brevity of these exchanges:

Ser. What sword? Atr. To little that. Ser. What fire:
Atr. And that is yet to light.
Ser. What weapon then shall sorrow such
fynde fit to worke thy wyll?
Atr. Thyestes selfe. Ser. Then yre it self
yet thats a greater yll. (Blv/3-8)

Heywood follows carefully the imagery of Seneca in his translation; for example, the epic simile which the Messenger uses to describe the wrath of Atreus in murdering the sons of Thyestes:

Silva iubatus qualis Armenia leo
in caede multa victor armento incubat
(cruore rictus madidus et pulsa fame
non ponit iras, hinc et hinc tauros premens
vitulis minatur dente iam lasso piger)
non aliter Atreus saevit atque ira tumet. . . .
("Thyestes," ed. Miller, ll. 732-37)

Heywood translates this simile literally:

As long maend Lyon feerce amid
the wood of Armenie,
The droue pursues and conquest makes
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,
But slouthfull now, with weery toothe
the lesser calues doth threate:
None other wyse do the Atreus rage,
and swells with anger straynde. . . . (C8v/7-18)

Heywood is careful to imitate Seneca’s imagery in his translation. At times he also utilizes his own figures as in Megaera's
reference to Mount Cithaeron:

... et Cithaeronis iuga
stant parte nulla cana deposita nive
timentque veterem nobiles Argi sitim.
("Thyestes," ed. Miller, ll. 117-19)

("Cithaeron's heights have lost their snows and nowhere stand hoary now, and the lordly Argos fears its ancient drought."--"Thyestes," tr. Miller, II, 101)

Heywood makes a personification of this description:

... the tremblyng topps
of highe Cithaeron hill,
They stand not sure: from height adowne
they shake theyr syluer snowe... (A5/15-18)


In the last part of his Thyestes, Seneca utilizes a pattern of images of darkness. In his translation Heywood preserves these images. In Seneca's play, the Messenger, bringing news of Atreus's cruel murders, wishes to be enveloped in a dark cloud ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 624). Heywood translates this line literally (C4v/10). The grove near which the sons of Thyestes have been slaughtered is dark and obscure ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 655). Heywood includes these details in his translation of this line (C5/21). The smoke from the horrible meal does not ascend to the skies, but blackens all below ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, ll. 772-75).
Heywood retains this image in his English version of this line (D2/3-10). The Messenger describes night descending more quickly than she is accustomed to cover these horrible crimes ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, ll. 776-88). Heywood renders this image in English aptly (D2/ll-D2v/8). The Messenger declares that not even unnatural darkness can long hide Thyestes' woes from himself:

\[
\text{.. . tenebrisque facinus obruat tetrum novis} \\
\text{nox missa ab ortu tempore alieno gravis} \\
\text{tamen videndum est, tota patefient mala.} \\
\text{("Thyestes," ed. Miller, ll. 786-88)}
\]

("... though heavy night, rising at dawn and at another's time, with strange shadows should bury this ghastly deed, still it must out. There is no sin but it shall be revealed."--"Thyestes," tr. Miller, II, 157.)

Heywood retains both the thought and the imagery that Seneca uses in this passage:

And heuie 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 seene: 
  they ills shall all be spide. (D2v/3-8)

The Chorus stands amazed at the darkness which masks the earth after the Messenger's account of Atræus's terrible deeds ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, ll. 789-884). In his translation of this chorus, Heywood is careful to keep the image patterns of Seneca's play: the gods recall the emerging day, "day in midst of heauen" (D2v/13); Vesper admonishes the stars not to enkindle light (D2v/16); Aurora, the mother of light, is shocked to see dawn return to her so soon (D3/11-16); the star will rise no more
(D3v/3-5); and even the moon will no longer "take from vs by night the dreadfull carkes. . ." (D3v/6-7).

When Atreus, exulting in his foul deeds, refers to the darkness, he describes it as "die nolente. . ." ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 896). Heywood introduces imagery of his own by translating this phrase by a metaphor, "the drowned day. . ." (D4v/25).

Atreus wishes to dispel "tenebras, miseriae sub quibus latitant tuae" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 897). Heywood captures the thought here by translating Seneca's image: Atreus wishes to disclose to Thyestes "The darkenes all, in shade whereof / doe lurke thy myseries" (D5/1-2).

Just before Atreus will bring Thyestes the severed heads of his sons, Thyestes notices the unusual darkness:

```
vix lucet ignis; ipse quin aether gravis
inter diem noctemque desertus stupet.
quid hoc? magis magisque concussi labant
convexa caeli; spissior densis coit
caligo tenebris noxque se in noctem addidit;
fugit omne sidus.
("Thyestes," ed. Miller, ll. 990-995)
```

("The lights burn dim; nay, the very heavens, grown heavy, stand in amaze 'twixt day and night, deserted. What next? Now more, still more the vault of the shattered sky is tottering; a thicker gloom with dense shades is gathering, and night has hidden away in a blacker night; every star is in full flight."--"Thyestes," tr. Miller, II, 171.)

Heywood utilizes the imagery of the original in his version of this passage:

```
Scant burnes the fyre: 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 backwarde beaten skye
The compasse fales: and thicker myst
the worlde doth ouerlye
Then blackest darkenes, and the night
in night it selfe dothe hyde.
All starrs be fledde... (D7v/5-15)

When Atreus reveals to Thyestes that he has consumed his own
sons, the father exclaims, "hoc egit diem / aversum in ortus"
("Thyestes," ed. Miller, ll. 1035-1036). Heywood employs the same
image, that this deed "day from hens did druyue / Turnde backe to
easte" (E1/14-15).

Thyestes asks night to hear his cries ("Thyestes," ed. Miller,
ll. 1070-1071). Heywood translates this reference (E3v/1-4).
Thyestes then makes an interesting comment to Atreus, that "tu
quoque sine astris" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 1074). Heywood
translates this line exactly: "And thou arte lefte without thy
starres..." (E2v/7). Thyestes then requests the Ruler of the
World that he "nubibus totum horridis / convolve mundum..."
("Thyestes," ed. Miller, ll. 1078-1079). Heywood renders this
image into English:

... now all with cloudes
full horrible to syght,
Enwrappe the worlde... (E2v/15-17)

Thyestes wishes the gods to avenge "amissum diem..." ("Thyestes,"
ed. Miller, line 1085). ("... the banished day..."--"Thy-
estes," tr. Miller, II, 179.) Using imagery he had employed
earlier (D4v/25), Heywood translates this phrase as "the drowned
daye" (E3/2). Thyestes again requests: "aeterna nox permaneat et
tenebris tegat / immensa longis scelera" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller,
11. 1094-1095). ("... may night stay on for ever, and cover with
endless darkness boundless crimes."--"Thyestes," tr. Miller, II,
179.) Heywood translates the first part of this passage well, but
for the key word "scelera" he has "The worlde about..." (E3/21):

Let yet eternall night remayne,
and hyde with darkenes then
The worlde about... (E3/19-21)

Heywood's reading of "world" may have been based on the text of
Ascensius, which has "secla"--"saecula"--that is, "the world."¹
In their printed texts of the play, Gryphius² and Petrus³ also
have "secla." In his edition of the tragedies, however, Marmita
has "scelera."⁴ The comment of Ascensius also may have influenced
Heywood's reading here, "secula immensa, quia infinita."⁵

In the scene that he adds to the Thyestes, Heywood continues
to utilize images of darkness and night that link this scene to
Seneca's play. He preserves carefully the pattern of images in
the end of the play. Thyestes calls upon "Kyng of Dytis dungeon
darke" and ghosts that live in "blackest Tartare..." (E4/1-4).

¹"Thyestes," Tragoediae (1514), fol. lxv/8.
²"Thyestes," Tragoediae (1549), 94/28.
³"Thyestes," Tragoediae (1529), 52/22.
⁴"Thyestes," Tragoediae (1498), xxxv/40.
⁵"Thyestes," Tragoediae (1514), fol. lxv/8.
Thyestes declares that Cerberus should not fear to come to earth because all light has been banished:

The day unknowne to thee to see,
or els the lothesome light.
They bothe be fledde. . . . (E4v/11-13)

Thyestes wishes the world to be destroyed so that night might replace day (E5v/15-16).

Thyestes feels deserted by the gods and by nature; he lives now in darkness:

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. (E5v/25-28)

Thus, in his original scene, Heywood is consistent in following the imagery patterns of Seneca's Thyestes.

It is very interesting that the imagery of night and darkness employed in Heywood's Thyestes is similar to that used by Shakespeare in his Macbeth. Upon hearing that Malcolm is to succeed his father Duncan, Macbeth exclaims,

Stars, hide your fires;
Let not light see my black and deep desires:
The eye wink at the hand; yet let that be,
Which the eye fears, when it is done, to see.
(Mac. I.iv.50-53)

When, soon after, Lady Macbeth learns that Duncan is to come to Inverness, she also wishes darkness to hide her desires:

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!' (Mac. I.v.51-55)
Before Macbeth is to murder Duncan, he hopes that night will cover the crime:

COME, SEEING NIGHT,
SCARF UP THE TENDER EYE OF PITIFUL DAY;
AND WITH THY BLOODY AND INVISIBLE HAND
CANCEL AND TEAR TO PIECES THAT GREAT BOND
WHICH KEEPS ME PALE! (Mac. III.ii.46-49)

The latter part of this chapter will discuss other possible relationships between Heywood's *Thyestes* and Shakespeare's *Macbeth*.

In his *Thyestes*, Heywood makes great use of the figures of repetition, for example, alliteration. In contrast with his style in his *Troas*, however, Heywood employs alliteration in this play less obviously and more effectively. Examples of alliteration are numerous: "gape and gaspe with greedy iawe" (A1/7); "growyng gutts the gnawyng grypes" (A1/23); "get by gylt the golden mace" (B4v/7); "poyned pyke" (B5/2); "sturdie steedes" (B5/21); "That Parthus woonts with bowe to fling from farre, /
While from the feelde he falsely fayneth flight" (B5/23-24); "The seas shall washe, and swellyng surge / of seas of Sicilye" (B8/27-28); "rest with rust" (C3v/5); "feare of fyght" (C3v/11); "ditche full deepe" (C5v/13); "doome in doubtfull thyngs" (C5v/28); "fearfull flocke" (C6/27); "flame is woont to flashe" (C6v/3); "range and roame" (C7v/15); "turnes the tone to teare" (C7v/20); "So Atreus dire, betwene the babes / dothe stand and them beholdes" (C7v/23-24); "deepe and deadly wounde" (C8/15); "gripyng fast / His throate in hand, he thrust him through" (C8/16-17); "double
deathe dothe" (C8v/3); "Nor yet the smoke it selfe so sadde, / like filthy miste in sight" (D2/5-6); "sodayne suppers" (D2v/21); "drowned day" (D4v/25); "beaten bosomes" (D5v/19); "robes to rent" (D6v/1); and "Makste thou mad man" (D6v/7).

Alliteration is much more marked in the scene that Heywood adds to the play than in his translation of Seneca's Latin. This device is effective for emphasis in a description, particularly of something loathsome:

0 Kyng of Dytis dungeon darke,  
and grysly ghosts of hell,  
That in the deepe and dredfull denns  
of blackest Tartare dwell... (E4/5-7)

Heywood's original scene abounds with alliteration: "feare and famyne" (E4/10); "bleedyng browes" (E4/11); "furies fight" (E4/13); "monster more mysshapte" (E4/19); "grysly gates" (E4v/1); "gapyng grounde" (E4v/3); "lothsome light" (E4v/12); "fowlest face" (E4v/15); "hatefull hell" (E4v/16); "meetest matche" (E4v/17); "fowlest feendes" (E4v/21); "glutted gutts" (E4v/23); "fleeyng floud" (E5v/7); "frute of fickle tree" (E5/8); "filthy fowles and gnawing gripes" (E5v/15); "clinchyng clawes" (E5/25); "monstrous mawe" (E5v/28); "filthy floud of Lymbo lake (E5v/5); "choaked chanell" (E5v/7); and "the Godds, the ghosts be gone" (E5v/28). That Heywood employs alliteration to a greater extent in his own scene than he does in his rendering of Seneca's Latin points to his concern with an accurate translation. In the scene that he adds to his translation,
Heywood can utilize his own poetic skills because he is not bound to Seneca's text. The contrast between the much freer translation of the *Troas* with its heavy use of alliteration and the more careful translation of the *Thyestes* with less emphasis on alliteration indicates Heywood's greater concern in this play with the Latin text.

Seneca often employs the literary device of anaphora, the repetition of the same word at the beginning of several phrases or clauses. Before recounting the details of the slaughter of Thyestes' children, the Messenger asks,

\[
\text{an feris Hister fugam} \\
\text{praebens Alanis, an sub aeterna nive} \\
\text{Hyrcana tellus an vagi passim Scythae?} \\
\text{("Thyestes," ed. Miller, ll. 629-31)}
\]

In translating this device in English, Heywood repeats the word "or":

\[
\text{or Ister ells} \\
\text{where woont to take their flight,} \\
\text{Are people wylde? or that whiche woonts} \\
\text{with snowe to shyne so bright} \\
\text{Hircana lande? or els do here} \\
\text{the wandryng Scythians dwell? (C4v/20-C5/2)}
\]

In the scene that Heywood adds to his *Thyestes*, Scene iv of Act V, Heywood uses anaphora with *isocolon*, a balanced poetical structure, in the declaration of Thyestes that he will follow the very gods to get vengeance: "By seas, by lands, by woods, by rocks, / in darke I wander shall..." (E6/13-14).

Heywood sometimes introduces figures of repetition into his
translation. He has recourse to epizeuxis, the repetition of the same word without any intervening word, to translate Thyestes' plea that Atreus bury the dead children: "... frater hoc fratrem rogo." ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 1027). Heywood translates this as, "... this / do the brother brother pray..." (D8v/25-26).

Another literary figure Heywood utilizes in his translation is parenthesis, the interruption of a sentence by the interposition of words. He often uses parenthesis to express pity; for example, describing the cruel murders of Atreus, the Messenger questions, "quis queat eloqui?" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 684). In his translation of this verse, Heywood adds the parenthetical "alas": "... who (alas) / may it enouge be wayle?" (C6v/23-24).

In his Thyestes, Heywood also employs the rhetorical device of polyptoton, the repetition of words derived from a single root, to translate Megaera's wish that the house of Tantalus heap further shame upon itself, "et longum nefas / eat in nepotes..." ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, ll. 28-29). Heywood says, "and longer lastyng yll, / Through childerns childern spreade..." (A2/8-9).

The most frequent charge against Heywood's poetic style is that it is pompous and exaggerated. The most noteworthy example of bombast in the Troas is in the scene that Heywood adds to his translation where Achilles' ghost appears, Scene i of Act II. The most overwrought language in Heywood's Thyestes is also in the scene which Heywood appends to this translation, the soliloquy of
Thyestes in Act V, Scene iv:

O Kyng of Dytis dungeon darke,
and grysly ghosts of hell,
That in the deepe and dredfull dennes,
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 beds of steele,
and heares of crallyng snakes,
Where Gorgon grymme, where Harpies are,
and lothsome Lymbo lakes. . . . (E4/5-16)

Thyestes rants that he wishes the world to be overturned because of the horrible deeds committed by Atreus:

Spue out thy flames O Phlegethon:
and ouershed the grounde.
With vomite of thy fyrye streame,
let me and earth be drownde.
Break vp thou soyle from bottome deepe,
and gaue thou roome to hell,
That night, where day, that ghosts, were gods
were woont to raigne, may dwell. (E5v/9-16)

The language in these passages is highly emotional because Thyestes burns for revenge upon his brother. The imagery is exaggerated: discord has "bleedyng browes," the furies fight in "bedds of steele," and Phlegethon must "Spue out . . . flames. . . ." Heywood's use of bombast in his original scene contrasts greatly with his fairly straightforward rendering of Seneca's Latin in English even when the nature of the original might easily have induced him to employ a grandiloquent style, for example, the Messenger's lurid description of the murder of Thyestes' sons in Act IV, Scene i.

Heywood has much less bombast in this play than in the Troas.
One possible reason for the less frequent use of inflated rhetoric in the *Thyestes* is that by the time he wrote this play, Heywood may have abandoned his hopes for a stage production of his work, and thus concentrated more on the translation itself rather than on an adaptation of the original. Against this argument, however, is the fact that Heywood introduces his own scene into his translation of the play. This is, of course, an important alteration of the tragedy, and one that might possibly be explained in terms of a stage production.

In his *Troas* Heywood utilizes metrical forms that are roughly approximate to Seneca's verse forms. The same is true of Heywood's *Thyestes*. In this play Heywood employs only two metrical forms, the "fourteener" and decasyllabic iambic lines that rhyme alternately. In "the epistle" and in "the translautour to the booke," Heywood uses decasyllabic iambic verses that rhyme alternately. The lengthy Preface to the *Thyestes* is composed in fourteeners. Heywood's method is different here from that of the *Troas*, where he writes "the epistle" and the Preface to the Readers in prose. Heywood composes the metrical preface to the *Troas* in rime royal.

In the *Thyestes*, Heywood always renders Seneca's basic meter for the non-choric sections--iambic trimeter--by the fourteener, which is a rough equivalent in English of Seneca's Latin meter. When Seneca deviates from iambic trimeter by using the anaplectic verse form for the soliloquy of Atreus in Act V, Scene ii, Heywood...
also turns to a different verse form, decasyllabic iambic lines that rhyme alternately.

Each of Seneca's choruses in the *Thyestes* is composed in a different metrical form: asclepiadean choriambic meter for the first chorus, glyconic meter for the second chorus, sapphic meter for the third chorus, and anapastic meter for the fourth chorus. Heywood translates all these verse forms into English by decasyllabic iambic lines rhyming alternately. This again differs greatly from Heywood's method of versification in the *Troas*, in which he uses three different meters in composing the choruses: decasyllabic lines rhyming alternately for the first chorus, octosyllabic verses rhyming alternately for the third chorus, and rime royal for the second and fourth choruses.

Heywood employs the fourteener for his original scene in the *Thyestes*, Scene iv of Act V, in which Thyestes demands revenge for the evil deeds of Atreus. In the scene that he adds to his *Troas*, in which Achilles' ghost appears, Scene i of Act II, Heywood uses rime royal.

It is interesting to speculate why the versification of Heywood's *Thyestes* is so different from that of his *Troas*; for example, why does he utilize only two verse forms in the *Thyestes* when he employs four metrical patterns in his first translation? In general, Heywood is much more careful in his *Thyestes* than he is in his *Troas*. Perhaps he wishes to render his second translation in
English as carefully as he is able. A greater variety of metrical patterns in the *Thyestes* might draw attention away from the text of Seneca's play to Heywood's own poetic abilities. In the *Thyestes*, perhaps, Heywood is concentrating all his powers on an accurate rendition of Seneca's tragedy.

Heywood's two metrical forms in the *Thyestes* use rhyme. The fourteener is composed in couplets; the decasyllabic iambic verse is written in lines that rhyme alternately. The printed *Thyestes* often gives rhymed words a similar orthography; the word "great" is spelled "grette" (C7/6) as a rhyme with "sette" (C7/8), and "gret" (E1/26) as a rhyme with "get" (E1/28). The word "blood" is spelled "bloode" (A4/26) to rhyme with "woode" (A4/28); it is spelled "bloud" (D4v/15) when not used as a rhyming word.

In addition to end rhyme, Heywood sometimes has recourse to a kind of internal rhyme, as in his translation of the Chorus for Act B: "... hic bibit / altum de rapido gurgite pulverem" (*Thyestes,* ed. Miller, ll. 174-75). Heywood employs the rhymed words "drinkes" and "shrinkes" in his version of these lines: "He drinkes / the duste so deepe of gulphe that from him shrinkes" (A6v/1-2). Heywood utilizes this rhyming device also in the scene he appends to the *Thyestes* when Thyestes declares about himself that he "makes his broode his cursed foode..." (E4/21).

Chapter V discussed the difficulty that the printers of the
Troas had trying to fit Heywood's lengthy fourteener verse form with its seven iambic feet on the octavo page. They divided each verse into a line of four syllables and one of three syllables but sometimes made very awkward divisions of words in order to end the first line on the last syllable of an iambic foot. In the Thyestes, such a clumsy division of words occurs only once, in the declaration of Atreus,

And dryue my hande: let greedy parents all his babes deoure. . . . (B2/15-16)

In this play, to a much greater extent than in the Troas, Heywood translates the Latin word by an English word derived from it. There follows a long list of Seneca's Latin words and their English derivatives: "detestabilis" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 23); "detestable" (A1v/26); "irarum" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 26); "of ire" (A2/3); "tumultu" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 86); "tumulte" (A4/11); "dubitat" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 120); "doubtes" (A5/21); "fabula" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 143); "fable" (A5v/23); "neg legit" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 159); "neglects" (A6/14); "armis" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 181); "armour" (A6v/15); "flammis" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 182); "flames" (A6v/18); "in medio" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 203); "in midst" (A7v/8); "fama populi" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 204); "fame of people" (A7v/10); "adversa" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 205); "Aduerse" (A7v/11); "falsa" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 212); "false" (A7/25); "privata" ("Thyestes," ed.
Miller, line 218): "priuate" (A8/9); "imperi" ("Thyestes, ed. Miller, line 223): "imperie" (A8/20); "fraude . . . fraude" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 224): "fraude . . . fraude" (A8/21); "dependet" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 228): "depend" (A8/28); "sceptra" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 229): "sceptors" (A8v/3); "regnat" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 230): "raigneth" (A8v/5); "sacer" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 231): "sacred" (A8v/7); "exul" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 237): "exile" (A8v/19); "pars" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 238): "parte" (A8v/21); "dubius" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 240): "doubte" (A8v/25); "exempla" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 243): "examples" (B1/3); "dira Furiarum" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 250): "furies dyre" (B1/18); "monstro" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 254): "monster" (B1/25); "tumultus . . . quatit" ("Thyestes, ed. Miller, line 260): "tumulte quakes" (B1v/9); "assiste" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 276): "assist" (B2/14); "placet" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 279): "pleaseth" (B2/20); "innocens" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 280): "innocent" (b/22); "praeecepta" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 309): "precepts" (B3/35); "ambitio inpotens" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 350): "impotent ambition" (B4v/16); "favor" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 351): "faouour" (B4v/17); "claro" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 355): "cleere" (B4v/19); "stadia" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 409): "stadies" (B6/3); "nobiles" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 409): "noble" (B6/4); "palman" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 410): "palme" (B6/5); "fulgore" ("Thy-
estes," ed. Miller, line 415): "fulgent" (B6/15); "miserum" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 424): "myser" (B6v/12); "falsis" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 446): "false" (B7/21); "pietas" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 474): "pietie" (B8/21); "ira" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 504): "Ire" (C1v/7); "ira" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 519): "yre" (C2/11); "regiam" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 531): "regall" (C2v/8); "arma" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 543): "armes" (C3/3); "causis" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 552): "causes" (C3/16); "armato" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 564): "armed" (C3v/3); "turies" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 568): "towres" (C3v/7); "pax" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 576): "peace" (C3v/15); "ferventis" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 583): "frequent" (C3v22); "hora" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 598): "howre" (C4/9); "sceptrum" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 604): "sceptors" (C4/15); "stare fortunam" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 618): "Fortune to stande" (C4v/1); "fatum" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 618): "fates" (C4v/1); "monstri" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 632): "monstrous" (C5/3); "auctorem" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 639): "author" (C5/18); "aequale" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 643): "equall" (C5/25);

6 This word has the obsolete meaning, "a miserable person," cited first in 1542. See The Compact Edition of the Oxford English Dictionary (2 vols., New York: Oxford University Press, 1971), II, 509. All further references to this work will be cited as O.E.D., under the appropriate word and section number, for example, O.E.D. s.v. Miser, a. and sb., B sb., 1.
"monti" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 643): "mountayne" (C5/25);
"dubius" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 658): "doubtfull" (C5v/28);
"affixa" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 659): "affixed" (C6/1);
"tiaras" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 663): "tyre"7 (C6/9);
"triumpho . . . barbarico" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 664):
"Barbarian triumphe" (C6/11); "fama" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line
669): "fame" (C6/21); "flamma" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 674):
"flame" (C6v/3); "regnat" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 679):
"raignes" (C6v/13); "certa" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 680):
"certayne" (C6v/15); "ordo" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 689):
"order" (C7/5); "immutus" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 704):
"vnmoued" (C7v/7); "incerta" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 710):
"vncertayne" (C7v/18); "famem dubiam" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller,
line 711): "doubtfull famine" (C7v/22); "irae" ("Thyestes," ed.
Miller, line 713): "yre" (C7v/25); "dubitat" ("Thyestes," ed.
Miller, line 714): "doubtes" (C7v/27); "dubitat" ("Thyestes," ed.
Miller, line 715): "doubtes" (C8/1); "ordinare" ("Thyestes," ed.
Miller, line 716): "to order" (C8/3); "dicatur" ("Thyestes," ed.
Miller, line 718): "dedicated" (C8/7); "dubitasset" ("Thyestes,
ed. Miller, line 724): "doubtfull" (C8/20); "murmure incerto"
("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 729): "murmure . . . vncertayne"
(C8v/1-2); "iras" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 735): "Irefull
rage" (C8v/13); "venae" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 756):

7This word may be a variant of "Tiara," "a kind of turban,"
cited first in 1555. See O.E.D., s.v. Tiara, sb. 1.
"vaynes" (D1/27); "flammea" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 771): "flames" (D2/2); "piceos" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 772): "pitche" (D2/3); "fumus" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 773): "fumeth" (D2/4); "patiens" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 776): "pacient" (D2/11); "diem" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 777): "day" (D2/14); "vino" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 781): "wyne" (D2/21); "certo" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 803): "certaine" (D2v/24); "iras" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 808): "yres" (D3/4); "polus" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 825): "poale" (D3/21); "fataali . . . ruina" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 830): "fataall ruine" (D3/26); "natura" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 835): "nature" (D3v/2); "aequalis" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 885): "equall" (D4v/3); "polum" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 886); "Poale" (D4v/6); "fructus" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 906); "fruite" (D5/18): "menti" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 919); "munde" (D5v/16); "curas" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 921); "cares" (D5v/20); "pressum" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 929); "prest" (D6/2); "afflictos" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 941); "thafflicted" (D6/14); "celebrare" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 943); "celebrate" (D6/16); "terror" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 966); "terrour" (D6v/11); "causa" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 967); "cawse" (D6v/12); "consensus" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 970); "consent" (D6v/17); "celebremus" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 971); "celebrate" (D6v/18); "sceptra" ("Thyestes,"
ed. Miller, line 971): "sceptors" (D6v/19); "ore decepto" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 988): "deceiued mouthe" (D7v/1); "vile" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 996): "vyle" (D7v/19); "tumultus" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 999): "tumulte" (D7v/23); "ardenti freto" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 1017): "burnyng frete" (D8v/4); "violentus fluat" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 1019): "vyolently floe" (D8v/8); "immota" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 1020): "vnmoued" (D8v/10); "devide" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 1023): "deuyde" (D8v/18); "flammas" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 1085): "flames" (E3/3); "movet" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 1092): "moue" (E3/16); "aeterna nox" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 1094): "eternall night" (E3/19); "palma" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 1097): "palme" (E3/25); "certos" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 1102): "certayne" (E3v/7); "parares" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 1106): "preparde" (E3v/15); and "vota" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 1111): "vowes" (E3v/26). Heywood's great use of words directly derived from Seneca's Latin demonstrates his increased dependency on the text of the Latin Thyestes in comparison with his relatively free translation of the Troas. Heywood seems much more concerned in the Thyestes with an accurate translation than with his own poetic skills.

Heywood makes more frequent use in this play than in the Troas of the "doublet"--two English synonyms derived from the same or different linguistic sources. This device functions to make the
translation more full, more complete. Atreus describes Thyestes' spirit as "indocile." ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 200). Heywood employs two adjectives to translate this word: "harde / Untractable." (A7v/1). Examples are numerous: "furorem" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 101); "rage and furie" (A4v/12); "domus" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 190); "palaice . . . and bowres" (A7/9-10); "specimen" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 223); "note / and sygne" (A8/19-20); "opulenti" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 226); "ritche and fayrest" (A8/26); "sceptra" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 229); "sceptors . . . and mace" (A8v/3-4); "queritur" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 368); "complaynes or grudgeth" (B5/8); "consistet" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 478); "Shall rest and . . . asswaged be" (B8v/1); "transierit" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 510); "forget and let it pas" (C1v/20); "precantur" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 518); "beseeche and praye" (C2/10); "ira" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 519); "yre and hate" (C2/11); "citatos" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 621); "tost and turned" (C4v/4); "ferales deos" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 668); "grisly ghosts / and gods of death" (C6/19-20); "canit" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 692); "syng and . . . rehearse" (C7/12); "flevit" ("Thyestes, ed. Miller, line 702); "to weepe and teares to shed" (C7v/4); "erravit" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 708); "to range and roame" (C7v/15); "gemina caede" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 730); "double death . . . / and slaughter then of twayne" (C8v/3-4); "pectore fesso" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller,
line 807): "trenched hart and wounded wombe" (D3/3); "polum" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 886): "heauens ... / and ... Poale" (D4v/5-6); "hebetata" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 920): 
"beaten ... dullde" (D5v/19); "fugiet" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 1003): "asswage and fall" (D8/4); "mugire" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 1064): "wayle and crie" (E2/15); and "ereptum" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 1086): "lost / and hyd" (E3/3-4). Heywood's greater employment of the doublet in this translation than in his Troas indicates once again his concern with the Latin text of the Thyestes.

The discussion of rhyme in this chapter reveals that the printers of Heywood's Thyestes often give rhymed words a similar orthography. Thus, the same word may receive several different spellings. This variation in spelling occurs often in the Thyestes, but less frequently than in the Troas. Words may be spelled with or without the final "e": "bloude" (C8v/12) and "bloud" (C8v/14); "stay" (C5/16) and "staye" (C8/20); and "vppone" (C4/5) and "vppon" (C8/21). The letters "y" and "i" are used interchangeably: "fyrst" (C8/4) and "First" (C8/5). Words may be spelled with either a single or a double vowel: "dooe" (C6v/5) and "doe" (D5/2); "se" (C5v/20) and "see" (C6/8); and "swoorde" (C8v/14) and "sword" (C8v/19). There are other peculiarities of spelling: "bloode" (A4/26) and "bloud" (D4v/15); "daye" (A5/24), "day" (D4v/25), and "daie" (D6/16); "gods" (D4v/20), "goddes" (C6/18),
and "godds" (D5/27); "great" (B2/1), "grette" (C7/6), and "gret" (E1/26); and "praie" (Alv/4) and "pray" (Dl/17).

Heywood's diction in the Thyestes is very interesting. He uses some words that are now obsolete or archaic. In a few cases, he even employs words that might be new to the language. Consider first some examples of diction that might possibly be utilized for the first time in English. Philistenes speaks of the "house Dylacerate. . ." (B6v/22). "Dylacerate" is a variant spelling of the obsolete word "Dilacerate," with the obsolete meaning "rent asunder, torn." The first known example of this word occurs in 1602 (O.E.D., s.v. Dilacerate, ppl. a.). Thyestes calls for the river Phlegethon "with burnyng frete" to light upon Atreus (D8v/4). Heywood bases his translation on the Latin phrase "ardenti freto" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 1017). (". . . with glowing flood." --"Thyestes," tr. Miller, II, 173.) He seems to use "frete" in the sense of "water" or "waves"; this may be a variant of "Fret" with the meaning "agitation of waves," used first in 1558 (O.E.D., s.v. Fret, sb. 2, 4). Atreus tells of "lares turnde abought. . ." (lv/18). "Lares" is based on the Latin word "lares," "gods of the hearth" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 264). Heywood's "lares" is a plural of the Latin word "Lar," which is naturalized in the language. The first example of "Lar" as "household god" is in Thomas Bowes' 1586 translation, De La Primaudaye's French academie (O.E.D., s.v. Lar, l a). Thyestes describes the "waftyng wyne"
fleeing from his lips (D7/27). "Waftyng" is a form of the obsolete word "Waft," which has the obsolete meaning "to move to and fro, to wave," first cited in Jeremy Taylor's 1650 Funeral Sermon Preached at the Obsequies of the Countess of Carbery (O.E.D., s.v. Waft, v.2, 3).

Because many of the words that Heywood employs are now obsolete, only some of the more interesting examples will be noted: "amell" (A5v/4) — "enamel," employed first in 1340 (O.E.D., s.v. Amel, sb.); "colle" (C2/21) — obsolete form of the obsolete word "Coll," "to embrace or hug," in use first c. 1300 (O.E.D., s.v. Coll, v.2, 1); "facte" (A7/21) — a word now mostly obsolete meaning "an evil deed, a crime," employed first in 1539 (O.E.D., s.v. Fact, 1 c); "feate" (A7/11) — an obsolete word with some dialectal and archaic uses, "graceful of movement," utilized first in 1519 (O.E.D., s.v. Feat, a. and adv., A 2); "fetts" (D3v/9) — possibly a form of the obsolete word "Fet," "to make or perform a movement," cited first in 1297 (O.E.D., s.v. Fet, v. 6); "glede" (A2/26) — obsolete or rare meaning "a beam of light," used first in Studley's 1566 translation of Seneca's Medea (O.E.D., s.v. Gleed, sb.3); "imperie" (A8/20) — obsolete meaning "imperial rule," employed first c. 1300 (O.E.D., s.v. Impery, l); "leame" (C1/17) — obsolete and dialectal meaning "a leash for hounds," first used c. 1400 (O.E.D. s.v. Lyam); "meane" (A2/3) — obsolete meaning "moderation, measure," first cited in 1545 (O.E.D., s.v. Mean, sb. 1 b); "poares" (A5/13) — metaphorical usage with the obsolete or rare meaning "a passage,
channel, canal, duct," employed first c. 1400 (O.E.D., s.v. Pore, sb. 1, 2); "purtręd" (§5/23)—form of obsolete word "Porture," "to paint or ornament with pictures," utilized first c. 1394 (O.E.D., s.v. Porture, v. 1); "seelde" (B6/5)—obsolete form of the obsolete word "Seld," "seldom," employed first c. 1000 (O.E.D., s.v. Seld, adv. and a., A); "shagbut" (§5v/22)—obsolete form of "Sackbut," "an obsolete musical instrument" utilized first in 1533 (O.E.D., s.v. Sackbut, 1); "skylls" (C8/1)—obsolete form of the archaic word "Skill," "to be of importance, to matter," used first in 1460 (O.E.D., Skill, v. 1, 2 b); "stadies" (B6/3)—based on Seneca's "stadia" ("Thyestes", ed. Miller, line 409), an anglicized form of "Stadium" obsolete or rare with only one example cited, Chaucer's Boethius De Consolatione Philosophiae, c. 1374 (O.E.D., s.v. Stadie); "traynes" (B3v/18)—form of the obsolete word "Train," "treachery or guile," utilized first c. 1400 (O.E.D., s.v. Train, sb. 2, 1); "vngreeyng" (*3v/22)—variant of the obsolete Scotch word "Ungrieving," "without grieving or distressing," cited first c. 1375 (O.E.D., s.v. Ungrieving, pres. pple.); "towardness" (*2/3)—obsolete or archaic, "natural aptitude and good disposition," in use in 1509 (O.E.D., s.v. Towardness, 2), and "wryde" (E5v/23)—"to turn aside or away," employed first c. 1400 (O.E.D., s.v. Wry, v. 2, II b).

There are other interesting words in Heywood's Thyestes: "allure" (B6/16)—"to tempt by something flattering," in use in
channel, canal, duct," employed first c. 1400 (O.E.D., s.v. Pore, sb. 1, 2); "purtred" (§5/23)--form of obsolete word "Porture," "to paint or ornament with pictures," utilized first c. 1394 (O.E.D., s.v. Porture, v. 1); "seelde" (B6/5)--obsolete form of the obsolete word "Seld," "seldom," employed first c. 1000 (O.E.D., s.v. Seld, adv. and a., A); "shagbut" (§5v/22)--obsolete form of "Sackbut," "an obsolete musical instrument" utilized first in 1533 (O.E.D., s.v. Sackbut, 1); "skylls" (C8/1)--obsolete form of the archaic word "Skill," "to be of importance, to matter," used first in 1460 (O.E.D., Skill, v. 1, 2 b); "stadies" (B6/3)--based on Seneca's "stadia" ("Thyestes", ed. Miller, line 409), an anglicized form of "Stadium" obsolete or rare with only one example cited, Chaucer's Boethius De Consolatione Philosophiae, c. 1374 (O.E.D., s.v. Stadie); "traynes" (B3v/18)--form of the obsolete word "Train," "treachery or guile," utilized first c. 1400 (O.E.D., s.v. Train, sb. 2, 1); "vngreeyng" (*3v/22)--variant of the obsolete Scotch word "Ungrieving," "without grieving or distressing," cited first c. 1375 (O.E.D., s.v. Ungrieving, pres. pple.); "towardness" (§2/3)--obsolete or archaic, "natural aptitude and good disposition," in use in 1509 (O.E.D., s.v. Towardness, 2); and "wryde" (E5v/23)--"to turn aside or away," employed first c. 1400 (O.E.D., s.v. Wry, v. 2, II b).

There are other interesting words in Heywood's Thyestes: "allure" (B6/16)--"to tempt by something flattering," in use in
1401 (O.E.D., s.v. Allure, v. 1); "client" (B4/5)—"an adherent or follower of a master," employed first in 1460 (O.E.D., Client, ppl. sb. 2 b); "clyppe" (C2/21)—form of "Clip," with the archaic and dialectal meaning of "to embrace or hug," used first c. 950 (O.E.D., s.v. Clip, v. 1, 1); for Seneca's "dependet" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 228), Heywood's translation "depend a downe the lockes" (A8/28)—"depend," cited only as an intransitive verb with a literary meaning of "to hand down, be suspended," in use in 1510 (O.E.D., s.v. Depend, v. 1, 1); "featly" (*?v/18)—a variant of the adverb "Feat," "in a feat manner," with the meaning "fitting" (O.E.D., s.v.Feat, a. and adv., 6 B); "fyned" (*?v/18)—form of "Fine," "to make beautiful," employed first c. 1400 (O.E.D., s.v. Fine, v. 3, 3); "garnisshed" (#4/2)—"to decorate, ornament, or embellish," in use in the Early English Alliterative Period (O.E.D., s.v. Garnish, v., 4); "leuens" (C7/4)—variant of "leaven," used first in the sixteenth century to mean "a substance which is added to dough to produce fermentation" (O.E.D., s.v. Leaven, sb., 1); "moysted" (D6/21)—form of "Moist," "damp," employed first in 1398 (O.E.D., s.v. Moist, a. and sb., A 1); "what nill they" (A7v/2δ—archaic word "not to will," utilized first in 1390 (O.E.D., s.v. Nill, 1 d); "note" (B1v/23)—form of the verb "Not," "not know," in use c. 888 (O.E.D., s.v. Not, v. 2); "parcell . . . of grounde" (B7v/24-25)—"a portion or a piece of land," employed in 1321 (O.E.D., s.v., Parcel, sb., 2 a); "pewrde" (*?v/18)—form of
"Pure," "faultless, correct," utilized first c. 1300 (O.E.D., s.v. Pure, a. (sb., adv.), III 4); "runagates" (A2/17)--from the archaic "Runagate," "deserter, runaway," employed first in 1548 (O.E.D., s.v. Runagate, 2); "shaulme" (A5v/22)--form of "Shawm," "a medieval musical instrument of the oboe class," in use in 1390 (O.E.D., s.v. Shawn, sb. 1); "sleakte" (A3/23)--variant of "Sleek," "to make sleek or smooth by rubbing or polishing," employed c. 1440 (O.E.D., s.v. Sleek, v. 1); for Seneca's "telo," ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, line 1089), Heywood's translation "toole" (E3/9)--archaic meaning "a weapon of war, especially a sword," in use c. 1000 (O.E.D., s.v. Tool, sb. 1 b); and "the Phrygian tyre of Pelops hed" (C6/9)--form of "Tiara," "a kind of turban," employed first in 1555 (O.E.D., s.v. Tiara, sb. 1).

The printed edition of the Thyestes contains some misprints, but many fewer than in the Troas. This fact, of course, suggests that the Thyestes was more carefully printed and proofread than was the Troas. In the running titles, "Preface" is spelled with a lower-case "p" on A5 and A6. "Thyestes" is misprinted as "Tyestes" (A3/11). "Feere," meaning "spouse or companion," (O.E.D., s.v. Fere, sb. 1, 1) is erroneously printed as "feerce" (A8v/23). Another printing error is the omission of the designation "Atreus" as the speaker in the dialogue between Atreus and the Servant (B1v/23). In the Latin text printed by Ascensius, this line is preceded by the name "Atreus."  

8"Thyestes," Tragoediae (1514), fol. xlvi/17.
concluding half of a parenthesis after "Atreus)" (Clv/27). The word "were" is incorrectly used for "where" in Thyestes' wish "That night, where day, that ghosts, were gods / were woont to raigne, may dwell" (E5v/15-16).

The discussion of Heywood's method of translation notes that Heywood renders this play in a much more careful way than he does in the Troas. His translation of the Chorus for Act I of the Thyestes (A5v/1-A6v/2), for example, is based very closely on the original and includes the various mythological references that are frequently omitted from his translation of Seneca's Troades. Other examples of this concern with the Latin text are numerous. Consider, for example, Atreus's plea that all holiness be driven from the ancentral home. Heywood's version is placed under the Latin for a closer study of his fidelity to the original, even to the word order of Seneca:

Excede, Pietas, si modo in nostra domo
  Departe thou hens all pietie, / if in this house
  umquam fuisti. dira Furiarum cohors
  as yet / Thou euer werte: and now let all the flocke of furies
dyre, /
  discorsque Erinys veniat et geminas faces
  And full of strife Erinys come, / and double brands of fyre
  Megaera quatiens; non satis magno meum
  Megaera shakynge: for not yet / enough with furie greate
  ardet furore pectus; impere iuvat
  And rage dothe burne my boylyng brest: / it ought to be repleate,
  maiore monstro. ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, 11. 249-54)
  With monster more. (Bl/15-25)
In his translation Heywood does not put the verb in its usual position at the end of the English sentence, but where it occurs in the Latin verse, for example, "werte," "shakyng," and "burne."

For a contrast with Heywood's method of translation, consider Miller's rendition of this passage:

Be gone, O Piety, if ever in our house thou hadst a place. Let the dread hand of Furies come, the fiend Discord, and Megaera brandishing her torches twain; not great enough the frenzy with which my bosom burns; with some greater horror would I be filled. ("Thyestes," tr. Miller, II, 111)

Another example of Heywood's dependence on the text of Seneca--including even the Latin word order--is his translation of Atreus's remark, "venit in nostras manus / tandem Thyestes. . ." ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, ll. 494-95). Heywood has, "now comes into my hands / At length Thyestes. . ." (C1/10-11).

Chapter IV studied the verses from the first chorus of the Thyestes that Heywood employs in his original chorus for Act I of the Troas. In addition to this link between the two plays, there is much similarity between the speech of the ghost of Tantalus at the beginning of the Thyestes and the speech of the ghost of Achilles which Heywood adds to Act II of the Troas. Upon his return from the Underworld, Achilles declares that Troy is more loathsome to him than all the terrors of Hell:

The hatefull land, that worse then Tartare is and burning thruit exceeds of Tantalus, I here beholde againe, and Troye is this 0, trauell worse, then stone of Sisyphus
and paynes that passe the panges of Tityus
To light more lossome furie hath me sent
Then hooked whele, that Ixions fleshe doth rent.
("Troas," B4v/15-21)

Some of Achilles' speech here may be modelled on the expressions
of disgust for the world made by Tantalus in Heywood's Thyestes:

is ought found worse
then burning thurst of hell
In lakes alowe? or yet worse plague
then hunger is ther one,
In vayne that euer gapes for foode:
shall Sisyphus his stone,
That slypper restles rolyng payse
vpon my backe be borne?
Or shall my lymms with swyfter swynge
of whirlyng wheele be torne?
Or shall my paynes be Tityus pangs
thencreasyng lyuer styll,
Whose growyng gutts the gnawyng grypes
and fylthie foules doe fyll?
That styll by night repayres the panche
that was deuowrde by daie,
And wondrous wombe vnwasted lythe
a new prepared praie. (A1/11-A1v/4)

In his speech Achilles refers directly to Tantalus. He mentions,
too, the sufferings that Tantalus speaks of in his complaint: the
stone of Sisyphus, the wheel of Ixion, and the tortures of Tityus.
The similarities between these two speeches and Heywood's borrowing
of lines from his Thyestes for use in the Troas indicate that he
might have already decided to translate the Thyestes even before
he had finished the Troas.

The discussion of Heywood's imagery has pointed out some pos-
sible relationships between the imagery of darkness in Heywood's
Thyestes and in Shakespeare's Macbeth. Several verses in Thyestes,
whether in the original or in translation, are echoed later in Macbeth. The Servant warns Atreus of the dangers of schooling his two sons, Agamemnon and Menelaus, in evil: "In patre facient quidquid in patruo doces; / saepe in magistrum scelera redierunt sua" ("Thyestes," ed. Miller, ll. 310-311). ("Toward their father they will act as toward their uncle thou instructest them; often upon the teacher have his bad teachings turned."--"Thyestes," tr. Miller, II, 117.) Heywood translates these verses as,

What thyng against their vnkle now,  
you them enstrukte to do,  
Perhaps with you to worke the like,  
they will not be a dred.  
Such mischiefe wrought hath ofte returnde  
upon the workers hed. (B3/25-B3v/4)

Macbeth expresses a similar idea:

. . . we but teach  
Bloody instructions, which, being taught, return  
To plague the inventor. . . . (Mac. I.vii.8-10)

Debating whether to tell his sons of his murderous plans, Atreus tells the Servant,

multa sed trepidus solet  
detegere vultus, magna nolentem quoque  
consilia produnt. . . . ("Thyestes," ed. Miller,  
ll. 330-332)

("But a troubled countenance oft discloses much; great plans betray their hearer even against his will. . . ."--"Thyestes," tr. Miller, II, 119)

For these lines Heywood has,

but muche the fearfull face  
Bewrayes it selfe: euen him that faynes  
the secret wayghtie case,  
Dothe ofte betray. . . . (B4/14-17)
This idea is expressed similarly on two occasions in *Macbeth*.
Lady Macbeth warns her husband, "Your face, my thane, is as a
book where men / May read strange matters" (*Mac.*: I. iv. 63-64).
Macbeth refers again to his hiding of his feelings when he de­
clares to his wife that they should both "make our faces vizards
to our hearts, / Disguising what they are" (*Mac.*: III. ii. 32-35).
These resemblances between the two plays might suggest that
Shakespeare had read Seneca's *Thyestes* or, perhaps, Heywood's
translation. In addition to the 1560 edition of the *Thyestes*,
Thomas Newton reprinted Heywood's translation in his 1581 collec­
tion, *The Tenne Tragedies*. Thus, Heywood's translation would have
been available to Shakespeare. This question of Heywood's possible
influence on Shakespeare and on other dramatists will receive
further attention in the last chapter of the dissertation.

Chapter V discussed the likelihood that Heywood translated
Seneca's *Troades* with a stage production in mind. Five major
alterations of that play render it more suitable for a stage per­
formance. His method of translation in the *Troas* is much freer
than it is in the *Thyestes*. Many things in Heywood's *Thyestes*
point to his overriding concern with making a very careful transla­
tion, not a dramatic piece: his interest in procuring the most
correct Latin text expressed in the Preface, the literal quality
of his English version of Seneca's Latin in the non-choric portions
of the text, the lack of adaptations of Seneca's plot, the
relatively small amount of bombast, and the careful English rendering of the choruses in the *Thyestes* in contrast with the loose handling of the choruses in the *Troas*. Heywood's method of translation in the *Thyestes* might indicate that he could have abandoned hopes for a stage production of his work. If such is the case, why does Heywood make his one major alteration of the play—the scene that he adds to his translation in which Thyestes demands that the gods bring vengeance down upon his brother? As previously noted, Heywood's new scene does contribute to the thematic unity of the *Thyestes*. The tragedy begins and ends with the expression of desire for revenge to be worked upon the evil descendants of Tantalus. Heywood's original scene functions dramatically because it is a fuller statement of the feelings of Thyestes and because it provides a contrast to the dominance of Atreus in Seneca's play. In Heywood's *Thyestes*, the suffering Thyestes is allowed to vent his fury and to call upon all the gods "for right rewarde / to due deserts. . ." (E6/15-16). So, the question of whether or not Heywood intended this play for a dramatic production remains ambiguous; but certainly, by comparison with his *Troas*, this play seems less suited for the stage.
CHAPTER IX

HEYWOOD'S HERCULES FURENS (1561): A TRANSLATION

The next two chapters will study the last of Jasper Heywood's translations of Seneca's tragedies, the Hercules Furens (1561). This analysis will discuss the themes of Heywood's play, his method of translating Seneca's Latin text, the various poetical and rhetorical devices that he employs, his versification, and his diction. For this translation Heywood prints the Latin text alongside his English version. Thus, since Heywood provides us with his Latin text, there is only occasional need to consult the Renaissance editions of Seneca as we have done in the two preceding translations to determine what Latin text Heywood uses. In some cases, however, we shall examine the text and the commentaries in these Renaissance editions if it will aid our examination of his work. Where it may be helpful to our purpose, Miller's modern translation of the Hercules Furens, also, will be utilized.

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1 Tragoediae Senecae, ed. with commentaries by Marmita and Gaietanus (Venice: Joannes Tacuinus, 1498); L. Annei Senecae Tragoediae, ed. by Erasmus, Gerardus Vercellanus, and Aegidius Maserius with commentaries by Marmita, Gaietanus, and Ascensius (Paris: Ascensius, 1514); L. Annei Senecae Cordubensis Tragoediae X (Basle: Henricus Petrus, 1529); and Tragoediae Senecae in Lacobi Sannazarii Opera Omnia (Lyons: Sebastianus Gryphius, 1549).

Heywood's translation of the *Hercules Furens* was printed in 1561, shortly before he left England to seek entrance into the Jesuits at Rome in 1562. Heywood dedicates this play to Sir William Herbert (1501?-1570), an important figure in the Queen's Privy Council. His previous translation, the *Thyestes*, also is inscribed to a member of the Queen's Council, Sir John Mason. The *Troas*, Heywood's first translation, was composed to praise Queen Elizabeth. Heywood's desire to please the Queen and two of her Privy Councillors through his literary efforts is striking because of their close association with the Anglican Church and his firm adherence to the Catholic Faith. William Herbert had even been part of a committee authorized by the Queen to investigate the religious practices of the students of Oxford. In his Dedication to the *Hercules Furens*, Heywood lauds Herbert for honoring Oxford with the presence of his oldest son, Henry, later Earl of Pembroke.

There are some interesting relationships between Henry Herbert and the development of Renaissance drama. For example, Philip Massinger, the famous playwright, was a son of Herbert's confidential servant, Arthur Massinger. In 1589 Henry Herbert also

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3 *Dictionary of National Biography*, IX, 673.

4 *Jasper Heywood, The First Tragedie of Lucius Anneus Seneca, entituled Hercules Furens* (London: Henry Sutton, 1561), signature A3v, line 9-A4, line 14. This work will hereafter be cited in this paper by the signature number and the line number for both the Latin and the English texts.

5 *Dictionary of National Biography*, IX, 641.
formed his own company of players, the Earl of Pembroke's Men, one of the important acting groups in Renaissance drama. More pertinent to this study, however, is the influence of Herbert's wife, the Countess of Pembroke. The sister of Sir Philip Sidney, she organized a small literary circle which attempted to reform the bloody, powerful stage drama of the late sixteenth century by writing highly rhetorical, formal plays. Among her initiates were Thomas Kyd, Samuel Daniel, Samuel Brandon, Fulke Greville, William Alexander, and Elizabeth Carew. These authors wished to imitate the closet-drama of the French tragedian, Robert Garnier, who was greatly influenced by Seneca's polished style and dramatic techniques. They composed twelve plays notable for a strict five-act structure and close observance of the classical dramatic unities. These tragedies lacked action and spontaneity, thus providing a great contrast with the popular "tragedies of blood," such as Gismond of Salerne (1568), The Misfortunes of Arthur (1587), and Titus Andronicus (1594). Thomas Kyd, the most famous member of the Pembroke Circle, presents an interesting study because he wrote plays in both the popular and the highly formal styles. His The Spanish Tragedy (1585) is an important tragedy of blood while his translation (1594) of Garnier's Cornelia represents the closet-drama of the Pembroke Circle. Samuel Daniel's Cleopatra (1604) and Philotas (1605) are two plays emanating from the Countess of Pembroke's literary group. Because these tragedies reveal little

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6Ibid.
strong emotion and dramatic force, they had no great influence on the Renaissance theater. Thus, Heywood's relationship with Henry Herbert is filled with irony: Heywood makes the first English translations of Seneca while attending Oxford with Herbert, himself associated with the literary circle which introduced the last influence of Seneca's tragedies to English drama.

In the Dedication, Heywood discusses the purpose and the method of his translation of the *Hercules Furens*. He focuses on the importance of the translator's work, just as he does in the Preface to the Readers in the *Troas* and in the Preface to the *Thyestes*. Heywood cites Erasmus's translations of Greek tragedies as evidence of the nobility of the labor of translation (A1v/12-A2/17). Heywood considers the rendition of the classics in English as a patriotic duty, declaring that he wishes to show himself

so louing to my countreye, as to helpe for the small talent that god hath geuen me, to conduct by som meanes to further understanding the vnripened schollers of this realm, to whom I thought it shoule be no less thankful for me to enterprete som latyn work into this our owne tongue, then for Erasmus in Latyn to expounde the Greeke, to them that are already good and perfite latinistes. (A2v/13-A3/8)

Heywood emphasizes the benefits his translations will bring to scholars. He asserts that he has striven in his efforts at translation to the point that he was unable to satisfy himself
til I had through oute thys whole tragedye of Seneca a graue and wise writer so trauailed that I had in englysh geuen verse for verse, (as far as the englysh tongue permitts) and word for word wyth the latyn: whereby I might both make some tryal of myself, and as it were tech the little children to goe that yet canne but creepe. (A3/8-A3v/8)

In this statement Heywood expresses an objective for his endeavors—the furthering of knowledge for young scholars—which he had not mentioned in the two earlier translations. Chapter IV discusses Heywood's Epistle to the Troas, in which he asserts that his labors were performed so that Queen Elizabeth might "se some part of so excellent an author in [her] owne tong. . . ." Heywood holds in the Preface to the Readers in the Troas also that the translation was "done . . . for myne owne priuate excercyse. . . ." ("Troas," A3v/18-19). There is then no mention of Heywood's desire to en-lighten young scholars in the Troas. Chapter VI studies Heywood's Preface to the Thyestes, in which he uses the Ghost of Seneca to explain the reason for his translation, merely to render the Latin in English. The Ghost of Seneca declares that men will thank Heywood

When they themselues
my Tragedies shall see
In Englishe verse, that neuer yet

7Jasper Heywood, The Sixt Tragedie of the Most Graue and Prudent Author, Lucius, Anneus, Seneca, entituled Troas (London: Richard Tottel, 1559), signature A3, lines 8-9. This work will hereafter be cited in the text by the designation "Troas" with the signature number and the line number.
According to Heywood's remarks, then, his goal in composing the Troas and the Thyestes is to render Seneca's dramas in English. It is only in this last translation, the Hercules Furens, that he calls attention to his concern for the betterment of young scholars. This interest in aiding students is illustrated by a great change in Heywood's method of translating the tragedies; for example, he is much more careful to make a correct translation of the Latin text in the Hercules Furens than in either of the first two plays, especially in the Troas. The Hercules Furens has a very lengthy title, written first in Latin and then followed by the English translation. In this title, Heywood stresses the accuracy of the Latin text and of the English translation:

The first Tragedie of Lucius Anneus Seneca, entituled Hercules Furens, newly pervsed and of all faultes whereof it did before abound diligently corrected, and for the profit of yong schollers so faithfully translated into English metre, that ye may se verse for verse tourned as farre as the phrase of the english permitteth. (A1/10-20)

What a great difference between Heywood's utilization of the Latin text as stated here in the Hercules Furens and the manner in which he translates the Latin text of the Troas, where he explains that he "endeuored to kepe touche with the Latten, not woorde for woorde or

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8 Jasper Heywood, The Seconde Tragedie of Seneca entituled Thyestes (London: Thomas Berthelet, 1560), preliminary signature *6v, lines 3-6. This work will henceforth be referred to in our text as "Thyestes" with the signature number and the line number.
verse for verse as to expounde it, but neglecting the placing of
the wordes observed their sense" ("Troas," A4v/12-A4v/15). Heywood
declares that his method of translation in the Hercules Furens is
to give the English "verse for verse, (as far as the englysh tongue
permitts) and word for word with the latyn. . ." (A3/12-15). Thus,
in the Hercules Furens, Heywood is attempting to make a literal
translation. These next two chapters will reveal that Heywood does
indeed translate this last play much more precisely than either of
the first two translations. He is so concise, in fact, that his
poetic style suffers badly from his effort to render each Latin
line by a corresponding line of English verse. This chapter will
examine in detail Heywood's method of translation in the Hercules
Furens.

Another very important theme that Heywood dwells upon in the
prefatory comments to each of his plays is the stinging abuse and
harsh criticism directed against the work of translation. In the
Epistle to the Troas, Heywood expresses the hope that the Queen's
favor would be a "defence and shielde against the sting of repre­
hending tongues" ("Troas," A3/15-16). In the Preface to the
Thyestes, Heywood lashes out against the "Zoili," uncompromising
opponents of translation of the classics who continually find fault
with the labors of such translators as Heywood ("Thyestes," *6v21-
*7/8). In the Dedication to the Hercules Furens, also, Heywood
refers to his enemies, hoping that Sir William Herbert's patronage
might ward off their insults:
I thought with my self how gretly it mighte aual me, to haue the authoritie of some noble man, my shield against the sting of euil tongs. (A3v/4-8)

Heywood evidently was successful in combating the diatribes of his critics because he completed his three translations.

A topic that occupies Heywood considerably in the Preface to the Thyestes is the printing of the plays. Chapter VIII treats this matter carefully. Heywood's dissatisfaction with Tottel's publication of the Troas drove him to the printing house of Thomas Berthelet for the issuing of the Thyestes. In the Hercules Furens, Heywood makes no reference to any difficulties with the publication of his translations. He fails to provide, however, any explanation for his choice of a new printer, Henry Sutton, for the last of the tragedies.

After the Dedication, Heywood provides a formal "Argument," a summary of the plot of the Hercules Furens. This is his first use of this means of outlining the events that are the subject of the play. In the Troas Heywood includes a plot summary in the Metrical Preface. For the Thyestes, Heywood has a brief recapitulation of the action of the tragedy in the Preface. The "Argument" in the Hercules Furens is modelled on the "argumentum" from the Renaissance texts of Petrus and Gryphius. It bears little resemblance

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9 "Hercules Furens," Tragoediae (1529), preliminary signature d4; "Hercules Furens," Tragoediae (1549), pp. 5-6.
to the "argumentum" in the text printed by Ascensius. 10 Although Heywood prints the title and the text of the play in both Latin and English, he fails to include the Latin version of the "argumentum."

For our study a short sketch of the plot of the Hercules Furens may be beneficial. Juno, wife of Jupiter, is jealous of his bastard children, especially Hercules, born of Alcmena. Hercules has just completed the Twelve Labors imposed on him by Juno and returns from Hell after having redeemed Theseus and after having captured Cerberus, the three-headed dog who guards the Underworld. Hercules arrives at his kingdom of Thebes only to find that the tyrant Lycus has slaughtered the father and the brothers of his wife Megara and now plans to marry her. Hercules kills Lycus. Vengeful Juno, however, renders Hercules insane so that he murders Megara and their children. With the restoration of his senses, Hercules despairs; but Amphitryon, his human father, and Theseus convince him to spare himself and to proceed to Athens where he may seek forgiveness for his misdeeds.

As in the two previous translations, Heywood has a list of the speakers in the tragedy (B1/25-29). The Chorus is once more named as a speaker in the Hercules Furens (B1/27).

It may be appropriate here to mention that the page numbers of Heywood's translation for Act II are incorrectly given: page D3 should properly be followed by D6, D5, D4, and D7. The pagination

10"Hercules Furens," Tragoediae (1514), preliminary material.
for the rest of the play is correct.

As for the dramatic structure of the Hercules Furens, Heywood follows Seneca's division of the tragedy into five acts; but, for the first time in the translations, he does not break up the acts into scenes. For example, there are three scenes in Act II: the soliloquy of Megara (C6/4-D5/16), the dialogue between Megara and Amphitryon (D5/19-D7/20), and the long exchange among Lycus, Megara, and Amphitryon (D7/23-F5/6). Heywood marks the divisions between these scenes by the same means used in the Renaissance Latin editions of Seneca: the listing of the speaker or the speakers for each new scene. Megara's name is given for the first scene (C6/3), Amphitryon and Megara for the second scene (D5/17-18), and Lycus, Megara, and Amphitryon for the final scene (D7/21-22). In Act III there are two scenes, the first a soliloquy by Hercules (F7/24-G1/20), and the second a discussion among Amphitryon, Hercules, and Theseus (G1/23-H8/28). Heywood introduces these scenes only by listing the names of the speakers: Hercules for Scene one (F7/23), and Amphitryon, Hercules, and Theseus for Scene two (G1/21-22). In his first two dramas, Heywood indicates each scene by including the number of the scene before the names of the speakers. This is true of all scenes except the first, which has no number. In Act III of the Troas, Heywood has, "The second sceane. Andromacha" ("Troas," D7/6-7). In Act V of the Thyestes, Heywood has, "The seconde Scæne. Thyestes alone" ("Thyestes," D5v/17-19). Why does Heywood forsake
this numbering of each scene in the *Hercules Furens* where he uses the format of the Latin texts which only list the speakers for each scene? This modification of Heywood’s procedure from the two preceding translations suggests that his main concern now is with producing an accurate text. He is no longer interested in writing a dramatic production with stage directions.

In the *Hercules Furens* both Seneca and Heywood observe strictly the dramatic unities of time, place, and action—except for the beginning of the play, which has no dramatic setting for Juno’s speech calling for revenge on Hercules. The action of the tragedy is an unfolding of Juno’s vengeance in afflicting Hercules with the madness which drives him to murder his family. Regarding unity of time, the events of the story take place in rapid succession. The usurper Lycus rules Thebes when Hercules returns from the Underworld. Hercules wins back his throne and his family, but then fulfills Juno’s designs by slaughtering his wife and children. After Hercules regains his wits and realizes what he has done, Amphitryon and Theseus persuade him to preserve his own life and to crave pardon for his sins. As for unity of place, the setting for the tragedy is the royal palace of Thebes. There are specific references to Thebes by Megara in Act II (D1/27-28) and by the Chorus for Act III (I2/22).

The *Troas* and the *Thyestes* both employ the dramatic device of the soliloquy. In the *Hercules Furens* only one speech is designated as a soliloquy even though there are several other speeches that
should be similarly characterized. Juno's opening speech in Act I (B2/4-C3/2) is preceded by the phrase "Iuno alone" (B2/4). Heywood here follows the Latin text which introduces Juno's remarks by the words "Iuno, sola" (B1v/3). The Renaissance Latin editions of Seneca also denote Juno as the only speaker for Act I, for example, the text edited by Ascensius. This is the only occasion in the Hercules Furens where Heywood signifies that a character's address is a soliloquy. Even though Megara is listed as the only speaker at the beginning of Act II in both the Latin and English texts, her words are not described as a soliloquy in Seneca's Latin text (C5v/1-D4v/8) or in Heywood's translation (C6/3-D5/16). In Act II Lycus debates within himself on what steps he should take to maintain the kingship of Thebes (D7/23-E1/10). Neither Seneca nor Heywood points to this speech as a soliloquy. In the edition of the tragedies printed by Ascensius, however, Marmita comments that Lycus "secum considerans," that is, "he considers within himself." This explanation suggests that Lycus is uttering a soliloquy. When Hercules arrives in Thebes, he gives a long speech. Neither the Latin text (F6v/22-F8v/10) nor Heywood's translation (F7/23-G1/20) calls attention to Hercules' words as a soliloquy. Heywood models his translation on the Latin text. In only the one case where the

11 "Hercules Furens," Tragoediae (1514), fol. I.
12 "Hercules Furens," Tragoediae (1514), fol. XII.
Latin text indicates a soliloquy, does Heywood do likewise.

Heywood imitates Seneca in the employment of the dramatic device of foreshadowing, for example, Amphitryon's speech at the conclusion of Act II suggesting that Hercules will soon return from his trip to the Underworld and that he will conquer Lycus (F3v/14-F4v/3). Heywood translates these lines correctly:

The noyse of hell from bottome deepe 
byneathe hath made a sownde: 
We herde are, loe it is the sownde 
of Hercules his pace. (F5/3-6)

This prediction of Hercules' triumphant arrival is followed by the Chorus for Act II, which postpones the actual appearance of Hercules until Act III.

Seneca uses foreshadowing again in Act III when Theseus's recital of the battle with Cerberus indicates that Hercules will win in his present fight against Lycus (H3v/3-H7v/14). Heywood makes a precise translation of this speech (H4/5-H8/28). The Chorus for Act III follows immediately after the account of Theseus and precedes Hercules' return in Act IV from his conquest of Lycus.

The Chorus is a vital dramatic tool in Seneca's tragedies and in Heywood's translations. In the Hercules Furens the Chorus functions differently from that in the Thyestes because it reflects more frequently and more directly on the action. The Chorus of the Troas will be treated later because it presents special problems. Several times in the Thyestes the Chorus reveals its ignorance of what is happening, for example, the Chorus for Act IV, which
wonders why unnatural darkness now settles over the earth. In the preceding act the Messenger has given the reason for this phenomenon: Atreus's gruesome murder of the children of Thyestes. The Chorus in the *Hercules Furens* ruminates about man's relationship with Fate, but then also makes very specific references to the plot. The Chorus for Act I of the *Hercules Furens*, extolling the Humble Life, warns that man's life depends upon the Fates:

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while fates permitte,
At quiet lyue: the life ful quickly glides
with hastned course, and with the winged day
The whele is turned of yere and hedlong slides.
the sisters hard performe their tasks alway,
Nor mai again vntwist their threds ons spon. . . .
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\( (C4/29-C5/5) \)

According to the Chorus the Lowly will thrive, the Proud will fall:

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To restful men hoare age by cours doth fal,
and lowe in place, yet safe, and sure doth lye
The poore and base estate of cottage small:
the prowder pompe of mynd doth fall from hye.
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\( (C5/21-24) \)

The Chorus then applies these thoughts to Hercules, the son of Jupiter, by admonishing him for aspiring too much beyond the "golden mean": "To muche Alcides thou with stomack stout / the sory sprights of hell dooste haste to see" (C5/9-10).

Seneca's chorus again alludes directly to the plot when it mentions the appearance of Megara and Amphitryon (C4v/25-27). Heywood's accurate translation of these verses retains the Chorus's remarks on the development of the action of the tragedy:

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But sad here comes with losted locks of hear
loe Megaera, with lyttle cumpanye,
And slow by age draws Hercules father nere. (C5/25-27)
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Heywood makes a correct translation of the Chorus for Act II, an enumeration of the great deeds of Hercules. It concludes with a prediction that Hercules will triumph over the Underworld, which had once before yielded to the charms of Orpheus: "The place that could be thus subdued with song / that place may soon be overcome by might" (F7/19-20). In the next act, Act III, Hercules does make his first entrance in the play.

The Chorus for Act III begins with praise for Hercules' victory over the Underworld, then reflects on the inevitability of death, and concludes with a request that all Thebans be joyful because their hero has returned. This chorus again relates to the current evolution of the plot by its acclaim for Hercules and by its exhortation for rejoicing over his coming. Heywood's translation of Seneca's chorus preserves the meaning of the original by including concrete references to the unfolding of the tragedy.

Seneca's final chorus in the Hercules Furens comments on the terrible destruction by Hercules of his wife and children in Act IV. Heywood's translation of this chorus is correct. The first part of Heywood's chorus expresses pity for the sleeping Hercules (K7/1-K8/11). The Chorus then asks the gods to remove the affliction of mind from the slumbering Hercules (K8/11-13). If Hercules' sanity is not to be restored to him, the Chorus hopes that he will never be able to understand the extent of the slaughter that he has wielded (K8/13-18). The Chorus next urges that the guilty hero
should smite himself with his own weapons to atone for his crimes (K8/19-L1/12). Finally, the Chorus addresses the slain children of Hercules, now never to be trained in the martial arts. They are admonished to proceed directly to the Underworld:

To Stygian hauens goe ye of shade and night,  
goer hurtles souls, whom mischief hath opprest  
Euen in first porch of life but lately hadde,  
And fathers furye. (L1/22-25)

Thus, Heywood preserves the meaning and the spirit of Seneca's choruses, both in the Thyestes where the Chorus remains aloof from the action of the drama, and in the Hercules Furens where the Chorus involves itself in the events of the play.

Heywood translates Seneca's choruses in the Hercules Furens just as he does in the Thyestes: carefully and exactly. This accuracy contrasts greatly with Heywood's method of translating the choruses in the Troas, where he makes substantial changes. He adds his own chorus to Act I, he includes three stanzas of his own in the Chorus for Act II, and he uses his English version of the Chorus for Act III of Seneca's Hippolytus in place of Seneca's Chorus for Act III of the Troas. His justification for these alterations is given in the Preface to the Readers in the Troas: "... the Corus is no part of the substance of the matter" ("Troas," A4v/9-10). Heywood means that because the Chorus is not strictly a part of the text, he may make considerable modifications in it. Why does he later become so diligent in following the Latin in his
translation of the choruses of the *Thyestes* and of the *Hercules Furens*? In neither of these two plays does he take any liberties with the translation of the Chorus. The answer may be because Heywood's purpose in translating the *Thyestes* and the *Hercules Furens* has changed since he wrote his *Troas*. In the *Thyestes* and even more so in the *Hercules Furens*, Heywood is concentrating on a close translation, not on a dramatic production which might require considerable modifications of the text to render the tragedy more suitable for the stage. In composing his *Thyestes* and his *Hercules Furens*, Heywood is a translator, not a playwright.

Three themes central to all the translations of Heywood are Fate, Revenge, and Kingship. The first two themes, that of man's submission to Fate, and the need for Revenge, are frequently interwoven. In Heywood's *Troas*, Astyanax, Polyxena, and Troy itself are exempla of the law that even the Great must yield to inevitable Fate because they are to fulfill Achilles' demands for vengeance. In Heywood's *Thyestes*, Thyestes serves as the victim of Fate when his sons are cruelly murdered by Atreus to quench his desires for revenge. In Heywood's original scene added to the *Thyestes*, Thyestes implores the gods to avenge the horrible sins of Atreus. The rule of Fate and the power of Revenge are important concepts in the *Hercules Furens*, too, but they figure to a lesser extent than in the first two translations. The theme of Revenge in the *Hercules Furens* asserts itself with Juno's appearance in Act I. She wishes
to punish Hercules to get retribution for Jupiter's infidelities. Hercules was subject to Juno's wrath because he had been fathered by Jupiter from Alcmena, a Theban Queen. Previously, Juno had imposed upon Hercules the Twelve Labors, all of which he had performed nobly. *Hercules Furens* unfolds the details of Juno's final plans for vengeance upon Jupiter's illegitimate son.

The first chorus of the *Hercules Furens* counsels man to shun high station, for Fate destroys the Proud:

> while fates permitte,  
> At quiet lyue: the life ful quickly glides  
> with hastned course, and with the winged day  
> The whele is turned of yere and hedlong slides.  
> the sisters hard performe their tasks alway,  
> Nor mai again vntwist their threds ons spon....  
> (04/29-05/5)

The decrees of Fate are irrevocable. Hercules is bound by them, especially now that he has triumphed even over death by bringing back Theseus from the Underworld. His success makes him more vulnerable to a great downfall: "To muche Alcides thou with stomack stout / the sory sprights of hell dooste haste to see" (05/9-10). These two verses are a foreshadowing of the afflictions that Hercules will soon face. He has intruded upon the dominion of the gods by conquering death. The Chorus for Act I goes on to reiterate the principle of the "golden mean." Those of low place lie safe and secure; the Great live uncertainly, in constant peril of being overwhelmed by Fate:
To restful men hoare age by cours doth fal,  
and lowe in place, yet safe, and sure doth lye  
The poore and base estate of cottage small:  
the prowder pompe of mynd doth fall from hye. (C5/ 21-24)

In his own chorus that he adds to the first act of his Troas, Heywood points to Hercules as one of Fate's victims. Even he who had completed the Twelve Labors is unable to avoid the decrees of Fate:

Frayltie is the thrid that Clothoess rocke hath sponne,  
now from the distaffe drawne, now knapt in twayne  
With al the world, at length his end he wonne,  
whose works haue wrought, his name shold gret remain  
and he, whose trauelles, twelue, his name display,  
that feared nought, the force of worldly hurt,  
In fine alas hath found his fatall day,  
and dyed with smart of Dianyraes shurt. . . .  
("Troas," B3v/5-12)

Thus, in his first tragedy, Heywood singles out Hercules, the subject of his final translation, as one of the Great who have been toppled by Fate. This earlier mention of Hercules indicates that two years before the Hercules Furens was published, Heywood was already considering it for translation.

The idea of the "golden mean" was important to Heywood's Thyestes, also. In words similar to those of the Hercules Furens, the second chorus of the Thyestes urges men not to seek too much:

let who so lyst with myghtie mace to raygne,  
In fyckle toppe of court delght to stande.  
let me the sweete and quiet rest obtayne.  
So sette in place obscure and lowe degree,  
of pleaasuant rest I shall the sweetnes kneo.  
("Thyestes," B5v/2-6)

While the Hercules Furens, like the Troas and the Thyestes,
focuses on the somber themes of Revenge and Fate, the hopelessness of mood is muted in the last translation by the promise of forgiveness and renewal for Hercules. At the end of the play, Hercules yields to the counsel of Amphitryon and Theseus to spare his own life, and to journey to Athens where he may be cleansed from his deeds. Heywood's translation retains the note of optimism that concludes Seneca's play when Theseus consoles Hercules with the thought that he may find peace in Athens:

> Our lande for thee doth byde.  
> There Mars, his hand acquit agayne  
> and made from slaughter free  
> Restoarde to armour: loe that lande  
> (Alcides) calles for thee,  
> which wontes to quight the gods, and proue  
> them Innocent to be. (M8/20-26)

The *Troas* and the *Thyestes* express many ideas on Kingship, especially on the King's responsibilities, virtues, and conduct. In the *Hercules Furens*, also, Kingship is an important topic. In Act II, the tyrant Lycus reveals his views on the King's authority. Much of what he says we would describe today as being Machiavellian in spirit. For example, Lycus realizes that his usurpation of the Theban kingdom can be maintained only by force:

> Quod ciuibus tenere te inuitis scias,  
> Strictus tuetur ensis. alieno in loco  
> Haud stabile regnum est. (D7v/5-7)

Heywood translates these verses carefully:

> What thee thou wottst agaynst the wyll of cytesyns to get,  
> The bryght drawne sworde must it defende.  
> in forayne countrey set  
> No stable kyngdome is. (D8/9-13)
Lycus knows, too, that he must govern an unwilling people: "Ars prima regni est posse te inuidiam pati" (D8v/1). Heywood renders this thought in English well: "Chief knacke of kyngdome is to beare / Thy subiects hates eche one" (E1/1-2).

Lycus justified his slaughter first of Megara's father and then of her brothers by declaring that violence once initiated knows no check:

\[ \ldots \text{arma non servant modum} \]
\[ \text{Nec temperari facile, nec reprimi potest} \]
\[ \text{Stricti ensis ira: bella delectat cruor.} \]

Heywood preserves the meaning of Lycus's words:

\[ \ldots \text{the weapons keepe} \]
\[ \text{no measurable staye.} \]
\[ \text{For neyther easily tempred bee,} \]
\[ \text{nor yet repressed maye} \]
\[ \text{The drawne swoordes yre: the battels doth} \]
\[ \text{the bloude delyght out shed.} \]

This same idea, that the King is unable to moderate the use of force, is stated also in the *Troas* by Agamemnon in his remark to Pyrrhus, "The happy sword, once staynde with blood / vnsacyable is. . ." ("Troas," C1v/5-6). Later in the *Hercules Furens*, Lycus tells Megara that it befits her to put aside her feeling and to submit to him now that he, the conqueror, has ceased using force:

"Cum victor arma posuit, et victum decet / Deponere odia" (E4v/1-2). Heywood translates this aphorism neatly:

When conquerour hath weapons left,  
the conquerds parte shoulde bee  
To leaue his hates. (E5/1-3)
These statements maintain that the victorious king is his own moral preceptor. The loser's part is to suffer silently.

In contrast with the views of Lycus, Theseus, King of Athens, and Hercules hold that the King be virtuous. Theseus describes to Amphitryon the punishments assigned in the Underworld to tyrants, and the blessings conferred upon good kings:

Vidi cruentos carceri includi duces,
Et impotentis terga plebeia manu
Scindi tyranni. quisquis est placide potens,
Dominusque vitae seruat innocuas manus,
Ed incruentum mitis imperium regit,
Animoque parcit. . . . (H1v/6-11)

Heywood has a close translation of this passage:

The bluddy cruell captaynes I
in pryson shette dyd see,
And backe of tyrant impotent
euen with hys peoples hande
All torne and cutte. what man of myght
with fauour leades his lande,
And of his owne lyfe lorde reserves
his hurtlesse handes to good,
And gently doothe his empyre guyde
without the thyrst of blood,
And spares his sowle. . . . (H2/11-21)

The concluding lines of Theseus's speech are an explicit warning to Kings to refrain from cruelty:

Iudex futurus sanguine humano abstine,
Quicumque regnas. scelera taxantur modo
Maiore nostra. (H1v/14-H2v/2)

Heywood has an accurate translation of these verses:

Thou then that here muste be a iudge
abstayne from man his bloode,
Who so thou bee that raygnest kyng:
our gyltes are there acquytts
In greater wyse. (H2/27-H3/3)

To justify his killing of Lycus, Hercules asserts that the most pleasing sacrifice to the gods is the death of an unjust king:

\[ \text{\ldots victima haud illa amplior} \\
\text{Potest, magisque opima mactari Ioui,} \\
\text{Quam rex iniquus. (I4v/8-10)} \]

Heywood has an exact translation of these lines:

\[ \text{\ldots nor sacrifice} \\
\text{more ample any one} \\
\text{Nor yet more plentyfull may bee} \\
\text{To Joue aboue downe caste,} \\
\text{Then kyue vniust. (I5/15-19)} \]

In each of the three translations, Heywood preserves the opposing views on kingship voiced in the original play by Seneca. In the Troas Agamemnon and Pyrrhus debate about the King's authority and obligations. In the Thyestes Atreus is the spokesman for the evil king; Thyestes, for the virtuous ruler. Theseus and Hercules in the Hercules Furens cite the requirements for the just king while Lycus is the mouthpiece for, and example of, the crafty, amoral king. The opposing ideas on the King's conduct are merely presented in the three plays. No resolution of the problems is given. In the Troas Agamemnon's policy of leniency and restrain is overruled when Pyrrhus is allowed to murder Polyxena. Atreus, the bad king, triumphs over Thyestes in the Thyestes, even though there is the suggestion that Atreus himself will meet destruction. In the Hercules Furens, the tyrant Lycus is killed for his misdeeds; but Hercules, too, must endure great suffering and sorrow.
This chapter has already pointed out that Heywood makes only minor changes in his translation of the Hercules Furens. He prints the Latin text alongside his English version, so there is no problem in determining the Latin original that he uses. There are instances, however, when study of one or more of the Renaissance editions of Seneca's play may help to elucidate Heywood's reading. We shall also frequently consult Miller's modern translation of the Hercules Furens for comparison with Heywood's translation.

This analysis of the alterations that Heywood makes in his translation will show that he departs from Seneca's meaning only slightly—by a word or by a phrase. In Act I Juno is angry that mortals have been shown divine favor. She contemptuously speaks of Ariadne, whom the gods have praised, as "puellae . . . Gnossicae" (B2v/8). To make stronger her expression of feeling, Heywood translates "puellae" by the derogatory term "strumpets" (B.3/15), rather than by the indifferent word "girl" or "maiden." Heywood may have based his translation here on the comment of Ascensius, who describes Ariadne as "quam a Baccho in mercedem stupri receperat"—that she served as a prostitute.13

Juno speaks of her promiscuous husband Jupiter as "semper alienum Iouem . . ." (BIV/7). ("... always another's lover. . . ."

"Hercules Furens," tr. Miller, I, 5.) Heywood interprets "alienum" as meaning that Jove is now cut off from Juno, rather than that he is the lover of others, a list of whom is given in the following

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13"Hercules Furens," Tragoediae (1514), fol. I.
lines (B1v/8-B2v/8): "... Joue euermore / as though deuorste and
gone ..." (B2v/6-7). Ascensius may have inspired Heywood's reading
in these verses because he explains "semper alienum" as referring to
Jove's relationship with Juno--"alienatum a me"--that is, "cut off
from me."14

Heywood translates Juno's mention of "Eoo" (B3v/1) as "the
mornyng sea" (B4/1), not as "the Eastern sea." Ascensius might have
influenced Heywood here because he comments on this word, "orientali
oceano: vn oriens emergere videt," that is, "the eastern sea"
which one sees emerging at morning."15

Juno vows that she will enkindle herself to greater wrath:
"viuaces aget / Violentus iras animus..." (B3v/4-5). ("... my
angry soul shall keep up a long-living wrath..."--"Hercules
Furens," tr. Miller, I, 7.) Heywood interprets these lines differ-
ently, as meaning that Juno will drive Jove--not herself--to anger:
"a wrathfull kyndlyng rage / His mynde in madnesse shall styrre by
..." (B4/6-7). Heywood fails to follow the comment of Ascensius,
who explains that these verses refer to Juno's spirit, that "animus"
means "animus meus."16

Juno complains that Hercules has brought back spoils from the

14"Hercules Furens," Tragoediae (1514), fol. IV.
15"Hercules Furens," Tragoediae (1514), fol. IIIv.
16"Hercules Furens," Tragoediae (1514), fol. IIIv.
Underworld "ad superos. . ." (B4v/10). Heywood translates "superos" with two meanings, as "gods" and as "the upper world": "... to godds aboue" (B5/20). The sense here would indicate that "aboue" is the correct translation because Hercules is bringing Theseus and Cerberus from "below," the Underworld.

Juno asks if Hercules is victor even over Erebus, "Ereboque capo potitur. . .?" (B5v/2). ("Why does he not lord it over conquered Erebus. . .?"--"Hercules Furens," tr. Miller, I, 9.) Heywood fails to render "Erebus" in English. He uses instead the more general term "hell": "And beare the rule of captuye hell. . .?" (B6/3). Both Ascensius and Warmita comment that "Ereboque" means "inferno," that is, "hell." Heywood may well have been influenced by their explanations.

Juno bristles with anger because Hercules is allowed to go in triumph through "vrbes . . Argolicas. . ." (B5v/7). Instead of rendering this reference in English as "cities of Argolis," Heywood translates it more loosely, as "Grekishe townes. . ." (B6/13).

Juno questions herself why she should assign to others the persecution of Hercules, "Quid tanta mandas odia?" (B6v/11). ("Why to another entrust such hate?"--"Hercules Furens," tr. Miller, I, 11.) Heywood interprets "mandas" as "meditate," not "entrust" or "assign": "Such hates why dooste thou meditate?" (B7/21).

\[17\] "Hercules Furens," Tragoediae (1514), fol. IVv.
Juno calls for the land of Sicily to bring forth the entombed bodies of the Titans who once rebelled against Jove: "... Supposita monstri colla terrifici..." (B7v/2). ("... the buried frame of that dread monster..."—"Hercules Furens," tr. Miller, I, 11.) Heywood changes the meaning in his translation of this line by applying "terrifici" to "colla" and "supposita" to "monstri": "... the dredefull neckes / of monster vnderlayde" (B8/3-4).

In her wrath Juno summons the Eumenides from the depths of Tartarus, "ab imo Tartari fundo..." (B7v/6). Instead of rendering "Tartari" in English, Heywood translates it as "hell": "... from bottome deepe / ... of lowest hell..." (B8/11-12). In the edition of Seneca printed by Ascensius, Warmita comments that "Tartari" refers to "hell": "... infimae partis infernia." Heywood may have drawn his reading from this comment.

Reflecting within herself on the punishment she has designed for Hercules, Juno scornfully remarks that he should now seek to become one of the gods, "... coelitum sedes pete" (B7v/9). ("... seek the abodes of the immortals..."—"Hercules Furens," tr. Miller, I, 11.) Heywood translates this idea by two phrases, the second merely a repetition of the first: "... skale the skyes / to seates of godds make waye" (B8/17-18).

To implement her plans for revenge upon Hercules, Juno summons

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18"Hercules Furens," Tragoediae, fol. Vv.
"discordem deam" (B7v/14), Megaera, the goddess of Discord. Heywood fails to translate "discordem" as "discord." He renders it in English as "debasefull" and adds the adjective "fell" to his translation of this phrase: "... debasefull goddessee fell" (B8/28). Heywood chose not to follow the comments of Ascensius19 or Marmita,20 both of whom explain this phrase as a reference to Megaera, the goddess of Discord.

Juno calls forth Megaera from a huge cave covered over by a mountain, "ingens montis oppositi specus." (B8v/1). Heywood fails to translate the idea of the mountain "blocking" the cave. He interprets this phrase as the cavern being filled with sound: "... the roaryng dredfull denne." (C1/1).

In her anger Juno desires that Megaera bring forth her troops of Furies covered with writhing snakes: "... agmen horrendum anguibus / Megaera ducat." (B8v/8-9). ("... let Megaera lead on her band bristling with serpents."=="Hercules Furens," tr. Miller, I, 13.) Heywood translates "horrendum anguibus" by two phrases, "sette with snakes" and "dredfull... to see":

... and sette wit. snakes
her dredfull flocke to see
Lette nowe Megaera bryng to syght... 
(C1/15-17)

Juno urges Megaera to seek punishments for Hercules' violation

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19"Hercules Furens," Tragoediae (1514), fol. IV.
20"Hercules Furens," Tragoediae (1514), fol. Vv.
of the sanctuary of the Underworld: "... poenas petite violatae Stygis..." (B8v/11). ("... claim vengeance for violated Styx."


In her frenzy, Juno tells of the fire of Aetna that burns, "furit" (B8v/13). Heywood translates this word imprecisely by the long, curious phrase, "beates / so furiously to see" (C1/25-26).

Juno wishes to be maddened by the sister Furies: "... sorores. . ." (C1v/3). Heywood introduces the word "Furies" in his translation of this word: "... Furies, systers three. . ." (C2/5).

Juno declares that Jove will be repulsed by the deeds soon to be done by the hands of the insane Hercules: ". . . illas . . . manus" (C2v/1). Heywood adds the words "gyltie" and "of his" to his translation of this phrase: ". . . those gyltie handes of his" (C3/2). In his reading here, Heywood may have been guided by the comments of Ascensius21 and Marmita22 that Hercules' "hands" will be "crime-filled"--"sceleratas."

The Chorus for Act I calls attention to the Morning Star, "Phosphoros" (C2v/7). Heywood fails to render this proper name in English. He translates it as "dai star" (C3/7). Heywood may have

21"Hercules Furens," Tragoediae (1514), fol. V.
22"Hercules Furens," Tragoediae (1514), fol. V.
been influenced by the comments of Ascensius\textsuperscript{23} or Marmita,\textsuperscript{24} both of whom refer to "Phosphoros" as "lucifer," the "day star."

In a description of the morning, the Chorus pictures the earth reddened by the dawn: "Iam Cadmaeis inclyta baccis / Aspersa die dumeta rubent. . ." (C2v/13-14). (". . . now the rough brakes, made famous by Theban Bacchants, touched by the dawn, flush red. . ."--"Hercules Furens," tr. Miller, I, 15.) Heywood mistakenly interprets "baccis" as being from the word "bacca"--"berries"--and "inclyta" as "bright," not "famous": "the bushes bright that now with beries bee / Of Thebes strewd, by day do blush full red" (C3/13-14).

The Chorus describes the new day bring renewed care and toil:

\begin{verbatim}
Labor . . . durus . . .
. . . aperitque domos
Pastor, gelida cana pruina
grege demisso pabula carpit. (C2v/16-19)
\end{verbatim}

("Hard toil . . . opens all doors. The shepherd, turning out his flock, plucks pasturage still white with frosty rime."--"Hercules Furens," tr. Miller, I, 15)

Heywood interprets this passage strangely. He takes "aperitque domos" as referring to the description of the shepherd, not to the coming of another day. He translates "carpit" by two verbs--"grase" and "nipps":

\begin{verbatim}
Now labor hard . . .
. . . the shepherd doth vnfolde
\end{verbatim}

\textsuperscript{23}"Hercules Furens," Tragoediae (1514), fol. V.
\textsuperscript{24}"Hercules Furens," Tragoediae (1514), fol. VIv.
His flocks vnpend, do grase their fode to finde
and nippes the grasse, with hoary frost ful colde.
(C3/16-19)

In taking "pastor" as subject of "aperitque," Heywood may have been
guided by the comment of Ascensius, "pecudus aperit domos vt pecus
exeat. . . .," that is, that the "shepherd opens the pens so that
the sheep may go out."25

In a pastoral description, the Chorus pictures the bullock as
"Nondum rupta fronte iuuencus" (C2v/21). ("... the young bullock
... his forehead not yet broken with young horns. ..."--"Her-
cules Furens," tr. Miller, I, 15.) Heywood interprets this verse
in a highly figurative way, that the horns of the bullock are not
yet able to cut its mother at feeding: "... whose brow did dam
yet neuer teare. . . ." (C3/21).

The Chorus speaks of Philomela as "Thracia pellex. . . ." (C3v/1).
("... the Thracian paramour. . . ."--"Hercules Furens," tr. Miller,
I, 15.) Omitting this mention of Philomela, Heywood translates this
phrase simply as "The nightingale. . . ." (C4/1). Heywood may have
been directed in his reading here by the comment of Ascensius that
these words concern "luscinia," that is, "the nightingale."26

The Chorus praises the skill of the simple fisherman: "... aut suspensus spectat pressa / Praemia dextra" (C3v/8-9).

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25"Hercules Furens," Tragoediae (1514), fol. VIv.
26"Hercules Furens," Tragoediae (1514), fol. VIv.
"... or, with firm grip, watches anxiously for his prize. ..."
--"Hercules Furens," tr. Miller, I, 17.) Heywood alters the sense of these verses in his translation by rendering "spectat" in English by two verbs--"beholds and feeles"--and by including the phrase "from hye" in his English version: "... or els beholds and feeles the pray from hye / with paysed hande" (C4/8-9).

In its portrayal of men who have abandoned the humble life, the Chorus singles out the harried lawyer:

Hic clamosi rabiosa fori
Iurgia vendens improbus, iras
Et verba locat. (C3v/24-26)

("... this, trafficking in the mad wrangles of the noisy court, shamelessly lets out for hire his passions and his speech." --"Hercules Furens," tr. Miller, I, 17)

Heywood makes four small changes in his translation of this description. He fails to translate "rabiosa ... / Iurgia"--"mad wrangles." He adds the phrase "scolldyng lowde" to his translation and repeats the idea that the lawyer "sells" himself:

He sellyng at the braulyng barre his plea,
full wicked, setts his yres and scolldyng lowde
And woords to sale. (C4/24-26)

Heywood chose not to follow the helpful explanations of these verses

"Paysed" is a form of the verb "Peise"--obsolete except where in dialectal usage. This word has the obsolete meaning "to hold suspended or supported," cited first in 1388. See The Compact Edition of the Oxford English Dictionary (2 vols., New York: Oxford University Press, 1971), II, 621. All further references from this work will be designated in our text as O.E.D., under the appropriate word and section number, for example, O.E.D., s.v. Peise, v. 3.
by Ascensius[28] and Marmita[29].

In her account of the Twelve Labors of Hercules, Megara mentions the freeing of Geryon's flock: "... Notum Cithaeron pauit Oceano pecus" (C7v/4). ("... Cithaeron has fed the herd once to Ocean known."--"Hercules Furens," tr. Miller, I, 21.) Heywood misinterprets "pauit" as being from the word "pavere," "to quake," not from "pascere," "to feed." He translates the rest of the verse strangely by rendering "pecus" as a "beast passing to the sea": "Cithaeron quakte when by hym past / to sea the well knowne beast" (C8/7-8).

In her yearning for Hercules' coming, Megara declares that the world "misses" him: "orbe defenso caret" (C8v/5). ("He is banished from the world which he defended."--"Hercules Furens," tr. Miller, I, 23.) Heywood translates "caret" by the transitive verb "want," a word now obsolete having the obsolete meaning "to be absent, missing," cited first in 1435 (O.E.D., s.v. Want, v. 1 f). Heywood's translation is very clumsy: "he wants the worlde / whyc he ofte defended he" (D1/9-10).

Megara tells how Hercules broke the Vale of Tempe asunder by bursting through it with his breast: "... pectore impulsus tuo. ..." (D2v/14). ("... before the thrust of thy breast. ..."--

[28]"Hercules Furens," Tragoediae (1514), fol. VI.

[29]"Hercules Furens," Tragoediae (1514), fol. VIIv.
"Hercules Furens," tr. Miller, I, 25.) Heywood confuses "pectore"--
"breast"--with the verb "pectere," "to batter." This error causes
him to translate "pectore" by "stroake," as in stroke of the sword:
"... beaten with thy stroake..." (D3/28).

In her desire for her husband's return, Megara wishes Hercules
to drive before him "oblitos sui..." (D3v/6). ("... the self-
forgetting dead..."--"Hercules Furens," tr. Miller, I, 25.)
Heywood translates this phrase by adding the word "ghosts" to his
English version and by interpreting "sui" not as "themselves," but
as "theyr former case": "... ghosts that haue / forgotte theyr
former case..." (D6/11-12).

Amphitryon tells Megara of the fears of the wretched: "Imo
quod metuunt nimis / numquam moueri posse nec tolli putant" (D5v/
2-3). ("Nay, what they fear overmuch they think can never be set
aside or done away."--"Hercules Furens," tr. Miller, I, 27." Hey-
wood introduces two small changes in his translation of these
verses. He adds the phrase "least it may fall" to his version of
the first line, and he renders "tolli" as "rydde by remedy":

Nay what thei feare
to much least it may fall,
They thinke it neuer may be shoonde,
nor rydde by remedy. (D4/3-6)

Lycus reproaches Megara for trying to intimidate him, a king:
"... Regemque terres..." (F2v/10). ("... thou...
threatenst thy king..."--"Hercules Furens," tr. Miller, I, 49.)
Heywood's version of this phrase is awkward because he translates
"terres" by the transitive verb "fearste" with the meaning generally obsolete except where archaic or vulgar "to inspire with fear, to frighten," in use c. 1000 (O.E.D., s.v. Fear, v. I, 1). Heywood has, ". . . And fearste a kyng . . ." (F3/19).

Lycus declares that he will destroy Megara and her family, now praying for the return of Hercules: "... templa supplicibus suis / Iniecta flagrent. . ." (F2v/14-F3v/1). ("... let the temple fall blazing on its suppliants. . . ."—"Hercules Furens," tr. Miller, I, 49.) Heywood translates "supplicibus" not as "suppliants," but more generally as "heds": "... let all their temples burne / Euen throwne vpon theyr heds. . ." (F3/28-F4/1).

Upon his return from the Underworld, Hercules asks that if there is any god in heaven who is shamed by seeing a man come back from Hell, he avert his face from the sight:

quisque ex alto aspicit
Terrena, facie pollui metuens noua,
Aciem reflectat. . . . (F7v/7-9)

("Whoever from on high looks down on things of earth, and would not be defiled by a strange, new sight, let him turn away his gaze. . . ."—"Hercules Furens," tr. Miller, I, 55)

Heywood alters the meaning in his translation by taking "pollui" with "Terrena," that "the earth is polluted," not with "facie . . . noua," that is, that the gods are "polluted by a new sight":

. . . who so from hye doth see,
And dreadynge yet with countnance newe
the erthe defylde to bee,
Let hym from hens turne backe his syght. . . .

(F8/14-17)
Hercules boasts of having been to places unknown to Phoebus: "... Ignota Phoebo..." (F7v/14). Heywood fails to translate the proper name for the god of the sun: "... Unknowne to sonne..." (F8/27). Heywood's omission of "Phoebus" may be based on the comment of Marmita, who mentions the word "sun" explicitly, that Hercules had been to places "ad quam sol numquam intrat," that is, "to which the sun never enters." 30

In recounting his rescue by Hercules from the Underworld, Theseus describes Cerberus as "sibilat totos minas / Serpens per armos..." (H5v/7-8). ("... the snakes hiss threateningly along all his shoulders."--"Hercules Furens," tr. Miller, I, 71.) Heywood erroneously translates "armos" as "fieldes," not "arms": "... the threatnyng serpent stoute / Through all the fieldes aboute dooth hysse..." (H6/14-15).

At the end of Theseus's narration of the capture of Cerberus, he tells of the huge crowd now coming to meet Hercules, recent victor over Lycus:

densa sed laeto venit
Clamore turba, frontibus laurum gerens:
Magnique meritas Herculis laudes canit. (H7v/12-14)

("But see, a dense throng comes on, glad shouting, with laurel wreaths upon their brows and chanting the well-won praises of great Hercules."--"Hercules Furens," tr. Miller, I, 75)

Heywood interprets these verses not as referring to a throng

30"Hercules Furens," Tragoediae (1514), fol. XXV.
cheering Hercules now, but to those who welcomed Hercules' triumphant return to the world, which was mentioned in the earlier part of Theseus's narration. Heywood has,

therwith there came
a great resorte of men
With clamour gladde, that dyd the bay
about theyr forheads bryng:
And of the noble Hercules
deserued prayses syng. (H8/13-18)

The Chorus for Act III describes young men already assigned to the Underworld as "comis nondum positis ephebi..." (H8v/27).
("... youths with locks still unshorn. ..."--"Hercules Furens," tr. Miller, I, 77.) Heywood has an entirely different meaning for "comis ... positis," that these young boys are beardless: "... yonglings eke on whom grow yet no heares..." (I1/25).

Theseus advises Hercules to thank the gods for his conquest of Lycus:

Dii conditores vrbis, et syluestria
Trucis antra, Ceti, nobiles Dirces aquas,
Laremque regis qui aduenae Tyrium colis. (I4v/1-3)

("... do thou invoke the founders of our city, the wooded caves of savage Zethus, Dirce of far-famed water, and the Tyrian house-gods of our pilgrim king."--"Hercules Furens," tr. Miller, I, 81)

Heywood makes several changes here: he adds the mention of the dragon which guarded Thebes to his translation of the first verse, he fails to translate "Trucis Ceti," and he interprets "colis" as "enhabite," not "cherish" or "invoke." This last alteration affects the meaning of the preceding two verses by omitting the idea of
Hercules' need to pray to the gods:

O godds the buylders of the towne,
and which of dragon fell,
The wylde woods dennis, and noble waues
lykewyse of Dirces well,
And Tyrian house enhabite eke
of straunger wandryng kyng. (I5/1-6)

Marmita's comment on this passage is ambiguous. He first states that in these lines Theseus "invocat deos"--"invokes the gods"--which suggests that "colis" means "invoke." He also explains "colis" as "habitas"--"inhabit." Marmita's explication fails to clarify Heywood's reading of these verses.

Hercules mentions "pontum Scythen..." (L6v/5). ("... the Scythian sea..."--"Hercules Furens," tr. Miller, I, 107.) Heywood mistakenly takes "pontum" as "brydge" from the Latin word "pontem": "... brydge / Of Scythe..." (L7/9-10).

Amphitryon reveals the many fears that he has had for Hercules:

... quisquis in toto fuit
Rex saeuus orbe, manibus, et aris nocens,
A me timetur... ... (Miv/7-9)

("... every cruel king that rages in all the world with guilt on his hands or altars is cause of dread to me..."
"Hercules Furens," tr. Miller, I, 111)

Because Heywood interprets "manibus" as "ghosts," not as "hands," and "nocens" as "hurtyng," not as "guilty," he makes a very strange translation:

... who euer yet

31 "Hercules Furens," Tragoediae (1514), fol. XXIX.
What does Heywood mean by "hurting" the "ghosts" and the "altars"? Ascensius comments that "nocens aris" means "impius in deos," that is, "impious to the gods." Perhaps this is what Heywood intends by "hurstng" the "altars"--impiety directed against the gods. There is no explanation, however, for his reading of "manibus" as "ghosts."

The alterations that Heywood makes in his translation of the Hercules Furens result in no great deviation from the meaning of the original. His alterations involve a different interpretation of a word or phrase, a word or two added to his translation, or the substitution of a common noun in place of a proper name. Most of the changes that Heywood makes in his translation of the Hercules Furens are in Act I and in the beginning of Act II. After Act II, Heywood departs from Seneca's meaning rarely.

Besides the modifications that Heywood makes in his translation of the Hercules Furens, he also has numerous additions in his text of a word or a phrase. Heywood's intention is to be more exact, so he employs a greater number of English words to translate the Latin. In his attempt to be more precise, however, Heywood composes a very stilted, awkward translation. Because it would be cumbersome and not necessarily meaningful to call attention to every word or phrase

32 "Hercules Furens," Tragoediae (1514), fol. XXXVIIv.
that Heywood adds to his translation, this chapter will study in
great detail only the additions to Act I of the *Hercules Furens*.
Any information from the Renaissance texts of Seneca or from the
commentaries in them will be considered if it helps to explain Hey-
wood's meaning.

Juno speaks of the Pleiades as a "flock to be feared": "... timendum ... gregem..." (B1v/17). Heywood utilizes three words to translate "timendum": "stormy," "fearefull," and "affright" (B2/22-23).

In her description of the universe, Juno mentions the "golden stars": "... aureas stellas..." (B2v/3). Heywood makes a pleo-
nastic translation of this phrase: "... glyttryng starres / of golden glosse..." (B3/5-6). In this reading Heywood may have been influenced by the comment of Ascensius that the stars "multum splen-
dentes et rutilantes," that is, "glitter and shine greatly." 33

Juno complains that Ariadne, a human, has been granted the
status of a god by Jupiter: "... Mundus puellae serta Gnossicae gerit" (B2v/8). ("... the heavens wear the crown of the Cretan maid."--"Hercules Furens," tr. Miller, I, 5.) To his translation of this verse, Heywood adds "in spight of me" to strengthen Juno's expression of anger: "The skyes the Gnossian strumpets crownes / doe beare in spight of mee" (B3/15-16).

Juno pictures the land of Thebes as cruel and savage:

33"Hercules Furens," *Tragoediae* (1514), fol. I.
"... dira ac fera. . ." (B2v/9). Heywood inserts the adjective "shrewde" in his translation of this verse: "... dire, fierce, and shrewde. . ." (B3/18).

In her raving, Juno castigates Jove's female offspring as "nuribus . . . impiis. . ." (B2v/10). Heywood adds the word "Jove" to his translation of this phrase: "... Joues base daughters. . ." (B3/20). Heywood may have decided to include the mention of Jove in his translation here because both Ascensius and Marmita explain the Latin phrase as a reference to Jove's illegitimate daughters.

Driven by jealousy, Juno rails against Alcmena, the mother of Hercules (B2v/12). In his translation of this verse, Heywood adds the derisive term "drabbe" (B3/23), meaning "harlot."

Telling of Hercules' birth, Juno claims that the world--"mundus"--lost a day (B2v/14). Heywood prefixes the adjective "staying" to his translation of "mundus": "... staying worlde. . ." (B3/27).

Juno rages that Hercules is guarded by a lion: "... Leone. . ." (B4v/8). Heywood adds the adjective "fierce" here: "... lyon fierce. . ." (B5/15).

Juno accuses Hercules of destroying "foedus vmbratum. . ." (B4v/11). ("... the law of the shades. . .")--"Hercules Furens," tr. Miller, I, 9. Heywood includes the phrase "that there doo

34"Hercules Furens," Tragoediae (1514), fol. II.
35"Hercules Furens," Tragoediae (1514), fol. IIIV.
dwell" in his translation of the Latin: "... broke is the league / of sprightes that there doo dwell" (B5/22).

Juno describes Cerberus as "Atrum ... canem" (B5v/7). Heywood inserts the word "foule": "... foule black dogge. ..." (B6/13).

Juno tells of Hercules "leading"--"ducit"--Cerberus from the Underworld (B5v/7). Heywood translates "ducit" with the additional phrase "from hell awaye": "... he leades from hell awaye" (B6/14).

To Juno's portrayal of Cerberus--"Cerbero"--(B5v/8), Heywood adds the word "ugly": "... ugly Cerberus. ..." (B6/15).

Juno speaks of "Sublimis ... luna." (B7v/3). Heywood adds the word "aboue" to his English rendition of this phrase: "... haughty moone aboue. ..." (B8/5). Heywood may have been guided by the comment of Ascensius that the moon "ab alto influens ... ," "flows down from above." 36

To carry out her plan for vengeance, Juno wishes to summon the goddess Discord: "Reuocabo ... / ... discordem. ..." (B7v/13–14). Heywood introduces a reference to "hell" in his version of these lines: "... I wyll call vp / from bottome lowe of hell. ..." (B8/25-26).

Juno calls forth "crime"--"veniat inuisum scelus. ..." (B8v/3).

36"Hercules Furens," Tragoediae (1514), fol. IV.
Heywood adds the phrase "in anger woode" to his translation: "Let hatefull hurte / nowe come in anger woode. . ." (Cl/5-6).

Juno demands that Megaera "luctifica manu / Vastam rogo flagrante corripiat trabem" (B8v/9-10). (". . . with baleful hand snatch a huge faggot from the blazing pyre."--"Hercules Furens," tr. Miller, I, 13.) Heywood inserts the phrase "of hell" in his translation of these lines:

... and with her mournefull hande
for burnyng roage bryng out of hell
a huge and direfull brande. (Cl/18-20)

Juno rejoices that she has found the day of her revenge:
". . . inueni diem. . ." (Clv/7). To his translation Heywood adds "nowe . . . at length": "I haue / nowe found the day at length. . ." (C2/13-14).

The Chorus for Act I describes the "conquered night"--"nox victa. . ." (C2v/5). Heywood clarifies the meaning of this phrase by adding "with day": "... night overcome with day. . ." (C3/5). Heywood may have been influenced by the comment of Ascensius here, that day is conquered "vicinitate solis," that is, "by the coming of the sun." 37

Heywood adds the word "markt" to his translation of the Chorus's description of the Bears of Arcas with their seven stars: "... Septem stellis Arcades vrsae. . ." (C2v/9). Heywood has, "... with seuen starres markt the beares of Arcady. . ." (C3/9).

37 "Hercules Furens," Tragoediae (1514), fol. V.
Heywood inserts the word "fayre" in his translation of the Chorus's "prato . . . aperto": "... in open medowe fayre. . ." (C3/20).

The Chorus describes the birds greeting the dawn as "murmure mixto / Testata diem" (C3v/2-3). ("... proclaiming the dawn of day with varied notes."—"Hercules Furens," tr. Miller, I, 15.) Heywood adds the word "rise" to his translation here: "... with murmure myxed rise / To witnes day" (C4/2-3).

The Chorus speaks of the sailor opening his sails to the winds: "carbasa ventis. . ." (C3v/3). Heywood includes the words "sette out" in his translation: "his sailes to wynds sette out. . ." (C4/3).

In its picture of the lowly fisherman, the Chorus portrays him pulling in his catch on a "line"—"linea" (C3v/10). Heywood adds the adjective "extent" to his translation of this word: "... with lyne extent" (C4/10).

The Chorus speaks of the whirlwind—"turbine magno. . ." (C3v/14). Heywood adds the word "rolling" to his translation of this phrase: "... with rolling whirlwind gret. . ." (C4/14). Marmita comments here, "nam turbo ventorum revolutio impellens cum fulmine . . .," that is, "for a storm of wind driving with rolling lightning." 38 This comment may have inspired Heywood to include "rolling" in its picture of the whirlwind.

38 "Hercules Furens," Tragoediae (1514), fol. VII V.
The Chorus describes the greedy man as "nullo fine beatus / componit opes. . ." (C3v/18-19). Heywood adds "to holde" to his translation of these verses: "... endles happynes to holde / doth gather goods. . ." (C4/18-19).

The Chorus declares that the greedy man is really "poor"--"pauper" (C3v/20). Heywood inserts the word "full" before his translation of this word: "... full poore. . ." (C4/20).

The Chorus describes swiftly passing time as "volucrique die / Rota praecipitis veritur anni" (C4v/2-3). ("... with winged days the wheel of the headlong year is turned."--"Hercules Furens," tr. Miller, I, 17.) Heywood inserts the word "slides" in his translation of these verses: "... with the winged day / The whele is turned of yere and hedlong slides" (C5/2-3).

The Chorus criticizes the rich man who goes about in his chariot--"curru" (C4v/18). Heywood adds the word "bright" here: "... in chariot bright. . ." (C5/18).

The additions that Heywood makes to his translation of Act I of Hercules Furens are numerous, but they involve only a word or a phrase, very often an adjective before a noun. These changes delineate the meaning more fully. They do not cause the translation to differ greatly from the sense of the original. In the Troas, his first translation, Heywood adds whole lines to his English version. In his last translation, he concerns himself only with a closer
rendition of the Latin in English.

Heywood's Hercules Furens differs in yet another way from the two previous dramas because he omits almost nothing from his translation of Seneca's text. Heywood is so intent on making a full and accurate English version of Seneca's Latin that he translates every word. In the Troas, Heywood fails to translate many geographical and mythological references. In the Thyestes, his second translation, Heywood occasionally does not render in English a word or phrase from Seneca. In the Hercules Furens, Heywood is a thorough translator, omitting words from his translation in only two places. Heywood fails to translate "vagos" in the Chorus's description of the stars, "vagos / . . . ignes. . . ." (C2v/6). ("... wandering fires. . . ."--"Hercules Furens," tr. Miller, I, 13.) Heywood merely has "fires. . . ." (C3/6). Both Ascensius39 and Warmita40 comment on this phrase. They give no reason why "vagos" should be omitted.

Megara ponders Juno's hatred for her Hercules: "... sequitur opprime statim / Infesta Iuno" (C5v/14-15). Heywood does not render in English Seneca's "opprime," that is, "exceedingly": "... strayght hym pursueth shee / The hatefull Juno" (C6/21-22).

This chapter has demonstrated how faithful Heywood is to the Latin text of the Hercules Furens. His strict adherence to the original causes his style to be awkward and stilted. Chapter VIII

39 "Hercules Furens," Tragoediae (1514), fol. V.
40 "Hercules Furens," Tragoediae (1514), fol. VI. 
discusses the frequently cumbersome phraseology of Heywood's translation of the *Thyestes*. This characteristic of Heywood's *Thyestes* pervades his entire *Hercules Furens*. Much of Heywood's ponderous poetry results from his attempt, as stated in the "Dedication," to follow the Latin "word for word," to translate "in englysh... verse for verse, (as far as the englysh tongue permitts) and word for word wyth the latyn..." (A3/11-15). We shall consider some examples of Heywood's style. Heywood's translation is placed after each Latin verse for a close comparison between the two. The Chorus for Act I describes the nightingale at morning:

Pendet summo stridula ramo,
In top of bow doth sit with chauntyng song,

Pinnasque nouo tradere Soli
And to the son new rose to sprede her wyngs

Gestit, querulos inter nidos
bestirrs herself, her mournfull nests among

Thracia pellex: turbaque circum
The nightingale: and doth with birdes about

Confusa sonat, murmure mixto
confuse resound, with murmure myxed rise

Testata diem. (C2v/25-C3v/3)
To witnes day. (C3/25-C4/3)

Heywood here imitates the Latin word order by placing the subject of all six verses--"nightingale"--in the fourth line of his translation. He also composes such strange phrases as "confuse resound" and "with murmure myxed."

Megara refers to Hercules' victory over the Amazons: "Non
vicit illum caelibis semper tori / Regina gentis vidua Thermoontiae" (C8v/1-2). ("Thermodon's unwed queen of ever virgin couch could not prevail against him. . . ."--"Hercules Furens," tr. Miller, I, 23.)

In his attempt to reproduce Seneca's word order in English, Heywood writes clumsy verse:

Not hym subdewde who euer lyes
in bedde unmatcht at nyght
The wyddowe queene of them that toke
to Thermodont their flyght. (D1/1-4)

Heywood places the subject, "wyddowe queen," in the third line of his translation rather than at the beginning, which makes for a muddled reading. His rendition of "caelibis semper tori" by a subordinate clause--"who euer lyes / in bedde unmatcht at night"--is wordy and unclear.

Amphitryon has great hopes for Hercules' safe return from the Underworld because of his past successes:

"cum per arentem plagam
Et fluctuantes more turbati maris
Abiit arenas. . . . (D5v/7-9)

("
. . . when across the parched desert and the sands, billowing like the stormy sea, he made his way. . . ."--"Hercules Furens," tr. Miller, I, 29)

Heywood models his verse on the Latin syntax too closely:

. . . when through the burnyng coste,
And tumblyng after maner of
the troubled sea vp toste
He went by sands. . . . (D4/14-17)

Heywood follows the Latin grammatical structure in putting the subject and verb "He went" at the end of his English construction,
which is very confusing. Heywood's rendition of "turbati maris" as "troubled sea vp toste" has the participle after the noun it modifies, an awkward usage in English.

Lycus describes the terrors of war: "... subdita tectis face. ..." (D8v/14). ("... the torch will be set to homes. ..."

--"Hercules Furens," tr. Miller, I, 33.) Because he imitates the Latin word order, which divides the participial phrase "subdita...

face," Heywood composes the incomprehensible construction, "with vnderlayde / to housen fyry brande. ..." (E1/27-28).

Theseus speaks about the impossibility of ever returning from the Underworld: "... Gradumque retro flectere haud vmquam sinunt / Vmbrae tenaces" (G5v/3-4). ("... and never do the clutching shades permit a backward step."--"Hercules Furens," tr. Miller, I, 63.) Heywood's translation of these verses is based on the Latin syntactical structure:

And backe agayne to drawe thy pace
thee neuer doo permytte
The sprights who what they catch hold fast. (G6/5-7)

Heywood places the main verb "permytte" in the second line with its subject "sprights" following it. The subordinate clause "who what they catch hold fast" is awkward.

The Chorus for Act III praises Hercules: "Transuectus vada Tartari / Pacatis redit inferis" (I2v/8-9). ("He has crossed the streams of Tartarus, subdued the gods of the underworld, and has returned."--"Hercules Furens," tr. Miller, I, 79.) Heywood retains
his translation of "Pacatis ... inferis" as a participial phrase at the conclusion of the second verse. This construction is badly muddled: "He ouer foordes of Tartare browght / Returnde appeased beeyng hell" (I3/8-9).

Hercules pictures the shield of Pallas as "ore saxifico. . ." (I3v/2). ("... with its petrifying face."--"Hercules Furens," tr. Miller, I, 79.) Heywood's English version of this phrase is ambiguous: "... with head that eche thyng stone / that lookes vpon it makes" (I4/3-4). By placing the verb "makes" at the end of the second verse rather than after the word "that," Heywood makes a bewildering translation.

Amphitryon relates how Hercules in madness killed his wife and sons:

Quo se caecus inuergit furor?
Whether doothe the rage / and fury blynde yet goe?

Vastum coactis flexit arcum cornibus,
His myghty bowe he drew with hornes / togyther dryuen loe,

Pharetramque soluit: stridet emissa impetu
And quyer loaste: great noyse makes / with vyolence sente owt

Arundo, medio spiculum collo fugit,
The shaft, and quyght the weapon flewe / his myddle necke

Vulnere relecto. (K1v/7-11)
The wownd yet left. (K2/13-21)

Heywood copies Seneca's word order in putting the object before the verb as "Pharetramque soluit. . .": "... And quyer loaste. . ." (K2/17).
Heywood clumsily translates the participial phrase "emissa impetu / Arundo" (K1v/9-10) according to the Latin syntax, which dictates that the noun modified by the participle be put last: "... with violence sente owt / The shafte..." (K2/18-19). Heywood makes a very unwieldy translation of the participial phrase "Vulnere reicto" (K1v/11): "... The wound yet left" (K2/21).

Heywood's style in his Hercules Furens is awkward and stilted because he patterns his verse after Seneca's Latin construction. Heywood's translation of the Troas is far more free than that of the Hercules Furens, the reason for this being that in the Troas he does not bind himself to the Latin grammatical structure. As he explains in his Preface to the Troas, Heywood endeavors "to kepe touche with the Latten, not woorde for woorde or verse for verse as to expounde it, but neglecting the placing of the wordes obserued their sence ("Troas," A4v/12-15). In the Hercules Furens, Heywood utilizes a much different method of translation: his English rendition is given "verse for verse, (as far as the englysh tongue permitts) and word for word Wyth the latyn..." (A3/12-15). Heywood's parenthetical statement suggests that he knew his poetic style could not survive the burden of the Latin grammatical syntax. Indeed, as Heywood indicates, the "English tongue" does not "permit" such violence done to its construction. Heywood's translation furnishes ample proof that English verse cannot be bound to the Latin.
CHAPTER X

POETIC FIGURES, METER, DICTION, AND THE "LATIN STYLE" OF

HEYWOOD'S HERCULES FURENS

Seneca's Hercules Furens is filled with such rhetorical devices as the aphorism or sententia, irony, and stichomythia. Seneca also utilizes various figures of imagery, for example, the metaphor and the simile. Heywood reproduces these literary figures in his English translation. This chapter will analyze Heywood's attempt to incorporate in his own verse the features of Seneca's Latin style.

The "pointed statement" or sententia frequently characterizes Seneca's poetry. Heywood at times renders these aphorisms in English neatly. For example, Megara speaks about Fate: "quem saepe transit casus, aliquando inuenit" (D6v/2). ("Whom calamity oft passes by she finds at last"--"Hercules Furens," tr. Miller, I, 29.) Heywood has a sententia of his own, "Whome chaunce doothe often ouerslippe, / the same yt findes at last" (D7/3-4).

Lycus tells Megara that it is necessary for her to submit to him: "pacem reduci velle victori expedit; / Victo necesse est" (E1v/2-3). ("'Tis expedient for the victor to wish for peace restored; for the vanquished 'tis necessity."--"Hercules Furens," tr. Miller, I, 33.) Heywood translates these verses by an English aphorism:

Expedient is to conquerour
to wyshe that peace befall:
To conquerde needefull. (E2/3-5)

Amphitryon tells Hercules that it is good to recollect past trials and pains: "Quod fuit durum pati, / Meminisse dulce est" (G3v/9-10). ("... things 'twas hard to bear 'tis pleasant to recall."--"Hercules Furens," tr. Miller, I, 61.) Heywood captures the brevity of these lines:

What thyng hath once
to suffre beene a care,  
To haue remembred it is sweete. (G4/17-19)

Seneca sometimes employs stichomythia, sharp exchanges of dialogue between two characters. Heywood utilizes this same device. Lycus and Megara engage in a stichomythic debate when he demands that she yield to his desires for marriage:

Lycus. Telluris illum pondus immensa premit.
Megara. Nullo premetur onere, qui coelum tulit.
Lycus. Effare, thalamis, quod nouis potius parem
Lycus. Moriere demens. (E5v/2-7)

The dialogue here is keen, each character echoing some word used by the other; for example, Lycus's "premit," "Cogere," and "Moriere" are answered by Megara's "premetur," "cogi," and "mortem." Heywood's translation retains this stichomythia:

Lycus. The heauy payse oppresseth hym
Of all the earthe full great.
Megara. He with no burdeyn shall be prest,
that heauen it selfe sustaynde.
Lycus. Thou shalt be forst. Megara. He wots not how
to dye, that is constraynde.
Lycus. Speake, what may rather I prepare
then weddyng newe for thee
More royall gyft? Megara. Thyne owne death els,
or ells the death of mee.
Lycus. Thou shalt mad woman dye. (E6/3-13)

Heywood links his verse by his translation of the same words that Seneca utilizes to unify his own poetry: Lycus's "oppresseth" and "dye" and Megara's "prest" and "death."

Lycus and Megara continue their verbal duelling:

Megara. Imperia dura tolle, quid virtus erit?
Lycus. Obiici feris, monstrisque virtutem putas?
Megara. Virtutis est, domare, quae cuncti pauent. (E5v/11-13)

In these lines Seneca utilizes the figure of polyptoton, different forms of the same root word--"virtus"--to link these rejoinders. In his translation Heywood uses the same word--"vertue"--as a verbal connective:

Megara. Take once away the harde behests,
whats vertue then at laste?
Lycus. Dooste thou it vertue counte, to bee
to beasts, and monsters caste?
Megara. Tis vertues part, to tame the thyngs,
that all men quake to knowe. (E6/21-26)

Heywood incorporates in his tragedy the figures and the patterns of imagery of Seneca's Hercules Furens. Heywood also introduces imagery of his own to translate the Latin. The Chorus for Act I frames an aphorism on the universality of death: "Recipit populos vrna citatos" (C4v/14). ("... the urn receives the nations hurried to their doom."--"Hercules Furens," tr. Miller, I, 19.) In translating this verse, Heywood fashions a metaphor--that the urn "hides" the dead: "the tombe all people calde by death
doth hide" (C5/14).

The Chorus for Act III tells of the great multitude of souls that Hercules has met in the Underworld. Seneca uses similes to describe the huge throngs of spirits:

Quantus incedit populus per vrbes,
Ad noui ludos auidae theatri;
Quantus Eleum coit ad tonantem,
Quinta cum sacrum reuocauit aestas:

Tanta per campos agitur silentes
Turba. (H8v/12-23)

"Great as the host that moves through city streets, eager to see the spectacle in some new theatre; great as that which pours to the Elean Thunderer, when the fifth summer has brought back the sacred games... so great is the throng that is led through the silent plains."--"Hercules Furens," tr. Miller, I, 75)

Heywood translates these verses by a simile: the comparison between the number of souls in the Underworld and the crowds of people in city streets going to the theatre and the flocks attending the Olympic games. Heywood has,

As great a prease as flocke in cities streetes,
to see the playes of Theatre newe wrought:
As great as at Eleus thunder meetes,
when somer fift the sacred game hath brought:

Such heape is chast beneth by fields so dum. (I1/10-20)

When Hercules faints, Amphitryon uses two similes to describe the scene. Hercules is like a tree falling to the ground and like a mound of rocks crashing into the sea:

. . . iam totus ad terram ruit,
Vt caesa syluis ornus, aut portus mari
Datura moles. (K5v/6-8)
("... now ... his whole body goes crashing to the ground, like an ash-tree felled in the woods, or a falling mass of rock that will give a breakwater to the sea."—"Hercules Furens," tr. Miller, I, 93)

Heywood retains these two images:

... nowe all at once
    he downe to grounde doothe synke,
As in the woodes wylde asshe cut downe,
or bulwarke for to make
A hauen in seas. (K6/11-15)

Ironic is an important element of Seneca's style which Heywood imitates in his translation. Just before Juno afflicts Hercules with madness in Act IV, he prays that peace now descend upon the world. He then declares that if there is to be any other foe for him to battle, he desires that he come now:

... but yf to syght
    some other mischiefe bryng
The grownde yet shall; let it make haste:
    and any monstrous thyng
If it prepare, let yt bee myne. (I6/17-21)

These words are heavily ironic because the new enemy which assaults Hercules is one that he is unable to subdue: insanity.

Chapter VIII discusses the imagery of darkness which dominates the Thyestes. Similar imagery informs the Hercules Furens; for example, Hercules' mental derangement is a "night" obscuring the "daylight" (I5v/11-I6v/2). Heywood preserves the imagery which Seneca utilizes to portray the blackness that enshrouds Hercules:

but what meanes this? myd daye
The darknes haue encloasde abowt,
lo Phoebus gothe his waye
With face obscure without a clowde.
who dryues the day to flyght
And turnes to east? from whence doth now
his dusky hed the nyght
Unknown bryng forth? whence fyl the poale
so many rownde about
Of daytyme starres? (I6/22-17/3)

In forceful imagery framed in rhetorical questions, Hercules expresses the enormity of his guilt and the impossibility of ever obtaining forgiveness:

Quis Tanais, aut quis Nilus, aut quis persica
Violentus vnda Tigris aut Rhenus ferox,
Tagusve Ibera turbidus gaza fluens,
Abluere dextram poterit? Arctoum licet
Maotis in me gelida transfundat mare,
Et tota Tethys per meas currat manus
Haerebit altum facinus. . . . (M6v/6-12)

Reproducing in English the rhetorical questions and the powerful imagery of the original play, Heywood translates this passage carefully:

What Tanais, or what Nilus els,
or with his persyan wawe
what Tigris violent of streame,
or what fierce Rhenus flood,
Or Tagus troublesome that flowes
with Ibers treasures good
May my right hande now wash from gylt?
although Maotis collde
The waeues of all the Northen seae
on me shed out now wollde,
And al the water thereof shoolde
now passe by my two handes,
Yet will the mischiefe deepe remayne. (M7/11-23)

Seneca's original verses or Heywood's translation of them is a source for one of Shakespeare's great images, that of Macbeth's bloody hands that can never be cleansed. Macbeth makes a moving declaration of his culpability for Duncan's murder:
Will all great Neptune's ocean wash this blood
Clean from my hand? No, this my hand will rather
The multitudinous seas incarnadine,
Making the green one red. (Macbeth. II.ii.60-63)

Alliteration, the repetition of the same initial consonant sounds, is a frequent characteristic of Heywood's poetry in his Troas and his Thyestes. There is, however, much less alliteration in the Hercules Furens because in it Heywood concentrates on a careful rendering in English of the Latin text, not on his own verse style. There follow examples of Heywood's alliteration in the Hercules Furens: "golden glosse" (B3/6); "Tis tierde and.taemde" (B4/17); "sacred secrets of dire deathe" (B6/7); "gylty gostes" (B8/27); "braulyng barre" (C4/24); "stomack stout" (C5/9);
rampier rent" (D6/2); "plentuous places" (D7/11); "blasyng bryght" (F3/7); "girds her wombe with girth of glittryng gold" (F5/27);
bands of brest" (F6/2); "flouds of flitting flight" (F7/2);
guyder grette" (F8/8); "labours long" (F8/23); "house of hatefull Ditis here" (G5/5); "A lyttle lyngryng bryghtnes lo / behynde of late lefte lyght" (G5/15-16); "foule and fylthy poole" (G6/21); "slouthfull sleepe" (G7/2); "frownyng forhead" (H1/11); "noble hartye stomakt spowse" (L3/1); "bownden bodye" (L7/2); and "gylty ghosts" (L8/7). Some particularly interesting alliteration marks Theseus's description in Act IV of the various inhabitants of the Underworld. Ixion is bound to a fast-spinning wheel: "Ixion rolld on whyrlyng wheele / is tost and turned hye..." (H3/9-10). Tantalus suffers eternal thirst:
ollde Tantalus theryn
Pursues the waues, the water streams
dothe wette and washe his chyn. . . . (H3/13-16)

Birds of prey feast constantly on Tityus: "Eternall fode to

Cerberus is covered with grisly snakes:

. . . his ugly head
with fylthe full fowle to see
The serpentes lycke. . . . (H5/23-25)

Even Cerberus fears mighty Hercules: ". . . the doubtfull dogge /
strayte couched downe in denne. . . ." (H6/9-10).

A common poetic figure in Seneca's Hercules Furens is anaphora,
the repetition of the same word or phrase at the beginning of
several phrases or clauses. Heywood introduces this device in his
own verse. In Juno's assertion that she will overcome Hercules by
afflicting him with madness, she repeats the word "hoc": "Hoc, hoc
ministro. . . ." (B8v/6). In his translation of these words, Heywood
employs anaphora by reiterating the same phrase: "This meane, this
meane. . . ." (C1/11).

In the duel of words between Lycus and Amphitryon, Seneca re-
peats the words "Quemcumque," "miserum," and "videris":

Lycus. Quemcumque miserum videris, hominem scias.
Amphitryon. Quemcumque fortem videris, miserum neges. (E7v/2-3)

In these lines Seneca also utilizes chiasmus, a rhetorical device
in which the second verse balances syntactically with the first,
but with the parts reversed, as in "miserum videris" and "videris,
miserum." Heywood uses anaphora by repeating "whome," "myser," and "Knowe." He also retains the figure of chiasmus by balancing the two verses and juxtaposing "see" and "myser":

Lycus. Whome thou a myser seest, thou mayst
Knowe hym a man to bee.
Amphitryon. A myser hym denye ye maye,
whome stoute of harte ye see. (E8/25-28)

The Chorus for Act II describes the sea over which Hercules trod as "Nauem nunc facilis, nunc equitem pati" (F4v/23). Seneca utilizes anaphora by the repetition of the adverb "nunc." Heywood preserves the anaphora by using "now" at the beginning of each phrase: "... now apt to beare the ship, now horsmen hold. ..." (F5/25).

Seneca combines anaphora with *isocolon*, a balanced syntactical structure, in the Chorus's comment on the Underworld in Act II: "Quae vinci potuit regia cantibus, / Haec vinci poterit regia virtutibus" (F6v/19-20). Seneca repeats "vinci," "potuit," and "regia." Heywood's translation of these lines reproduces the anaphora by the repetition of "place" and the isocolon by the use of the parallel structure: "The place that coulde be thus subdewd with song / that place may soone be ouercom by myght" (F7/19-20).

Seneca employs the word "differ" twice in Hercules' exhortation to Amphitryon and Megara not to delay his pursuit of Lycus:

1 "Myser" has the meaning now obsolete "A miserable or wretched person," cited first in 1542 (O.E.D., s.v. Miser, B. 1).
"differ amplexus parens, / Coniunxque differ. . ." (G2v/5-6). Heywood utilizes anaphora by repeating "deferre" in his translation of these verses:

embracyng yet
deferre O father deare,
And wyfe deferre them. . . . (G3/9-11)

Seneca makes frequent use of polyptoton, the repetition of words derived from the same root. Heywood, too, employs this literary figure. Seneca has two forms of "vinco" in Megara's declaration that Hercules will come "victor ad victam domum" (D2v/6). In his translation, Heywood utilizes two variants of "conquer": "... conquerour to conquerde house. . ." (D3/11). In the Chorus's assertion that Hercules frightened even a god, Pluto, Seneca uses the noun and verb forms of the word for death--"mortis" and "mori": "... Et mortis dominus pertimuit mori" (F5v/22). Heywood translates this verse by two English words for death--"death" and "dye": "... and lorde of death hymselfe did feare to dye" (F6/22).

One quality of Seneca's heroes is that they often respond to a challenge by making promises of impossible, superhuman feats. For example, Megara rejects Lycus's demand that she yield to his demands for marriage by vowing that she would never acquiesce, even if the world were overturned:

prius
Extinguet ortus, refert occasus diem:
Par ante fida nuiibus et flammis erit,
Et Scilla Siculum iunget Ausonio latus,
Priusque multo, vicibus alternis fugax
Euripus, vnda stabit Euboica piger. (E1v/7-12)
"Sooner shall the East extinguish, the West bring back, the
day; sooner shall snow and flame be in lasting harmony and Scylla
join the Sicilian and Ausonian shores; and sooner far shall swift
Euripus with his alternating tides rest sluggish upon Euboea's
strand!"—"Hercules Furens," tr. Miller, I, 33)

Heywood preserves Seneca's emphasis on the indomitable spirit of
Megara:

naye
Fyrst shall sonne ryse extinguishe quyght,
and weste shall bryng the daye:
Fyrst faithfull peace betweene the snowes
and fyres there shall bee tryde,
And Scylla shall t'Ausonius fyrste,
oyne his Sicilyan syde,
And fyrst, the fleeyng floude that with
swyfte turnes of course doothe flowe
Euripus, with Euboick waue
shall stand full styll and slowe. (E2/14-24)

Hercules also makes promises of unyielding strength when he
threatens to destroy the whole world if his arms are not returned
to him:

arma nisi dentur mihi,
Aut omne Pindi Thracis excidam nemus,
Bacchique lucos, et Cythaeronis iuga
Mecum cremabo. tota cum domibus suis,
Dominisque tecta, cum deis templum omnibus
Thebana, supra corpus excipiam meum. . . . (M3v/9-14)

"My arms, I say! Unless they are given me, either I will cut
down all the woods of Thracian Pindus and Bacchus' groves and
Cithaeron's ridges, and along with my own body I will burn them up,
or else all the dwellings of Thebes with their households and their
masters, the temples with all their gods, I will pull down upon my-
self and lie buried 'neath a city's wreck. . . ."—"Hercules Furens,"
tr. Miller, I, 113)

Heywood again preserves the tone of outrage and savage determination
in Hercules' speech:

now excepte
restoarde my weapons be,
Of Thracian Pindus eyther I
will teare downe euery tree,
and Bacchus hollye woods, and toppes:
of mount Cithaeron hye
Burne with my selfe. and all at once
with all their housen I
And with the Lordes thereof the roofes,
with goddes of Thebes all
The Thebane temples euen vppon
my bodye will lette fall. . . . (M4/17-28)

A general comparison of Heywood's style in his three transla-
tions reveals that his Hercules Furens is different from his Troas
and his Thyestes because it has no bombast. In his Troas, Heywood's
invented scene of the appearance of Achilles' ghost in Act II, Scene
i, is written in ranting, overwrought language. The Ghost demands
blood revenge for his death at the hands of Paris. In Act V of his
Thyestes, Heywood includes a scene of his own creation, in which
Thyestes beseeches the gods for vengeance upon Atreus. This scene,
also, is composed in lurid, extravagant language. There is no such
bombast in Heywood's Hercules Furens because his purpose is to make
an accurate translation, not to write powerful poetry. There are a
number of opportunities in the Hercules Furens for Heywood to launch
into bombast, for example, the capture of Cerberus by Hercules (H5/
19-H8/28). He refrains, however, from resorting to an inflated
style. He focuses instead on a careful, if stilted, English version
of Seneca's Latin.

Heywood translates his Hercules Furens in three verse forms:
the fourteener, octosyllabic verses rhyming alternately, and deca-
syllabic lines rhyming alternately. As Chapter V and Chapter VIII
discuss, these English meters are roughly equivalent to Seneca's Latin verse forms. The fourteener is used to translate Seneca's iambic trimeter, his meter for all the non-choric portions of the text. Seneca's choruses are composed in a number of different meters: anapestic verse form for the first and fourth choruses, asclepiadean choriambic meter for the second chorus, and a combination of sapphic hendecasyllabic and choriambic glyconic meters for the third chorus. Heywood translates all these verse forms by decasyllabic lines rhyming alternately, except for some of the third chorus where he changes to octosyllabic iambic lines rhyming alternately (I2/22-I3/13) to accommodate Seneca's shift from sapphic hendecasyllabic verse form to choriambic glyconic meter (I1v/22-I2v/13). In the Hercules Furens, Heywood employs the same meters that he had used in the Troas and the Thyestes. For some reason, however, he abandons the rime royal verse form after his Troas. Heywood's refusal to adopt any new metrical patterns for his final two translations is based upon his decision to produce a simple, unadorned version of Seneca's Latin.

Each of the three verse forms in Heywood's Hercules Furens is rhymed. The printed Hercules Furens sometimes gives rhymed words a similar orthography. For example, there is a final "e" in "daye" (I2/22) when it rhymes with "staye" (I2/24); the same word is spelled "day" (C5/2) when it rhymes with "alway" (C5/4). The word "Bee" (I2/6) has a double vowel when it rhymes with "see" (I2/8);
this word receives only one vowel—"be" (I1/8)—when it rhymes with "he" (I1/6).

Infrequently in his Hercules Furens, Heywood has recourse to a kind of internal rhyme, as in "Ditis palayce dyre" (G8/27) and "Unknowne to sonne" (F8/27).

The printed edition of Heywood's Troas has problems in several cases with awkward word division because of the need to separate the lengthy fourteener verse into two lines. The resulting enjambement spoils the printing of the Troas. One example of such a difficulty is found in the printed issue of the Thyestes. In the printed edition of the Hercules Furens, there is no enjambement.

A strong indication of Heywood's increased concern with the Latin text in his final translation is the great use that he makes of English words that are directly derived from Seneca's original Latin words. In his Troas Heywood employs fewer than seventy-five English derivations from the Latin original, and he utilizes about 125 such words in the Thyestes. In the Hercules Furens, Heywood has an extraordinary number of Latin derivatives: more than 350. Heywood's greater reliance on these derivations attests to the translator's interest in the Latin. Heywood's Latin derivations from Act I will be cited here, with the complete list included in the Appendix. The Latin word is followed by the English derivation which Heywood uses to translate it: "poli" (B1v/13)—"poale" (B2/15); "parte" (B1v/14)—"parte" (B2/14); "clara . . . signa" (B2v/14)—"sygne full clere" (B3/8); "dirum, pestilens" (B3v/8)—"dire,
and pestilent" (B4/15); "monstra" (B4v/2) -- "monsters" (B5/4); "labor" (B4v/3) -- "labour" (B5/5); "inferni" (B4v/9) -- "infernall" (B5/18); "spolia" (B4v/13) -- "spoyles" (B5/27); "sacra" (B5v/4) -- "sacred" (B6/7); "dirae" (B5v/4) -- "dire" (B6/7); "monstri" (B5v/10) -- "monstrous" (B6/20); "regna" (B5v/12) -- "rayne" (B6/24); "ruina" (B6v/1) -- "ruyne" (B7/1); "regnare" (B6v/12) -- "reygne" (B7/3); "imperium" (B6v/13) -- "imperye" (B7/26); "viperea" (B7v/8) -- "vypers" (B8/16); "sedes" (B7v/9) -- "seates" (B8/18); "regno" (B8v/2) -- "raigne" (C1/3); "impietas" (B8v/4) -- "impietie" (C1/7); "armatus furor" (B8v/5) -- "fury armde" (C1/9); "rogo" (B8v/10) -- "roage" (C1/19); \(^2\) "furori" (C1v/1) -- "fury" (C2/1); "admittat" (C2v/1) -- "admytte" (C3/1); "reperant" (C2v/22) -- "repayre" (C3/22); "cursu incerto" (C2v/23) -- "course vncertayn" (C3/23); "confusa" (C3v/2) -- "confuse" (C4/2); "murmure mixto" (C3v/2) -- "murmure myxed" (C4/2); "dubius" (C3v/4) -- "doute" (C4/4); "linea" (C3v/10) -- "lyne" (C4/10); "populi fauour" (C3v/21) -- "peoples fauour" (C4/21); "iras" (C3v/25) -- "yres" (C4/25); and "curr" (C4v/18) -- "chariot" (C5/18).

One of the chief tools that Heywood employs in translating Seneca's Latin is the "doublet," two English words with similar meaning derived from the same or different Latin roots. As with the Latin derivatives, Heywood puts the doublet to greater use in

\(^2\) "Roage" is now obsolete with the obsolete meaning "funeral pyres." Heywood's use of this word may be the first time it is employed in the English language. See this word in the Oxford English Dictionary (O.E.D., s.v. Roge).
each succeeding translation. There are less than a dozen doublets in Heywood's *Troas*, twenty-five doublets in his *Thyestes*, and a great many more—84 doublets—in the *Hercules Furens*. The doublet is a translator's device, which amplifies or expands upon the meaning of the Latin. For example, Megara declares that Hercules has conquered the monsters: "monstra superauit prius..." (C5v/16). Heywood makes a very full translation of this by rendering "superauit" in English with two verbs: "... the monsters lo/ he vanquyst hathe and slayne..." (C6/24-25). The Chorus for Act I pictures Fortune as "Sordida... fortuna..." (C4v/23). Heywood fleshes out this description by using two adjectives to translate "Sordida": "... The poore and base estate..." (C5/23).

Heywood's increased dependency on the doublet with each translation reveals again that his aims have changed since he wrote the *Troas*: in the last two plays he is a translator, not a dramatist. A complete list of Heywood's doublets in the *Hercules Furens* is given in the Appendix. Only doublets from the first two acts of the play are recorded here. The Latin word is followed by the two English words used to translate it: "ferox" (B8v/5)--"fierce and stout" (B6/10); "ardentem" (B8v/7)--"feruent burnyng" (C1/14); "Vastam" (B8v/10)--"huge and direfull" (C1/20); "animo" (B8v/14)--"mynde and wittes" (C1/27); "carpit" (C2v/19)--"grase... and nipps" (C3/18-19); "Sordida" (C4v/23)--"poore and base" (C5/23); "ruenti... Oceano" (C7v/8)--"swyfte and ragynge" (C8/15); "Petiit" (C7v/14)--"sought and
draue / . . . to flyght. . . " (C8/27-28); "iusta" (D1v/14)--"iuste and ryghtfull" (D2/28); "Periculis" (D6v/1)--"peryls . . . and daungers" (D7/1); "excelso" (D6v/9)--"haughty . . . and hye" (D7/18); "vires" (D7v/8)--"pompe and . . . myght" (D8/14); "tristis" (D8v/3)--"sadde and wofully" (E1/6); "nomen" (D8v/8)--"name . . . /
And title" (E1/14-15); "excipe" (D8v/9)--"receyue and beare" (E1/17); "fidei" (E1v/14)--"faythe and truthe" (E2/28); "vultu" (E1v/5)--"face and moode" (E2/10); "contingam" (E1v/7)--"Shoulde . . . abyde . . . / Shoulde touche" (E2/11-13); "aspersam" (E1v/6)--"sprinkte . . . / . . . enbrewde" (E2/12-13); "piger" (E1v/12)--"styll and slowe" (E2/24); "spiritus" (E2v/4)--"sprights and . . . harte" (E3/8); "vocent" (E3v/2)--"doo call and . . . hapte" (E4/4); "efferatas" (E3v/3)--"fierce and furious" (E4/5); "excidit" (E8v/2)--"throwne / . . . fell downe" (F1/2-4); "notas" (E8v/5)--"renownde / and knowne" (F1/9-10); "Consumat" (F3v/2)--"consume and waste" (F4/4); "fluctibus" (F5v/8)--"waue and . . . surges" (F6/8); "genus" (F5v/9)--"stocke and . . . brood" (F6/9); and "Succurrunt" (F5v/10)--"do aide and guide" (F6/10).

This chapter has already discussed the variations in spelling of rhymed words. There are other peculiarieties of orthography in the printed edition of the Hercules Furens. The same words, even when they appear close to one another, may have a single or a double vowel: "doo" (I1/17) and "do" (I1/23); and "be" (I1/18) and "bee" (I2/6). The same words may or may not have the final "e": "long" (H4/18) and "longe" (H5/28); "day" (G5/21) and "daye"
"parte" (L5/27) and "part" (L6/21); and "common" (E7/26) and "commune" (E3/5). The letters "i" and "y" are often used interchangeably: "nyght" (G1/6) and "night" (I2/3); "lyght" (G5/19) and "light" (G8/10); and "wyll" (M6/15) and "will" (M6/18). There are other differences in spelling, too. The word "cause" may be spelled with either a "u" or a "w": "cause" (E4/15) and "cawse" (E4/27). The word "reign" receives four different spellings: "reygne" (B7/3), "rayne" (D5/8), "raigne" (C1/3), and "raygne" (I6/17).

Heywood's diction in the Hercules Furens is very different from that of the two preceding translations because he uses more Latinisms, English words formed from the Latin construction. He also employs more words not in common usage today. This chapter will study first those words that either Heywood introduced in the language or, if the word had been in use, for which there is no citation. Megara relates that Niobe has become grief-stricken: "congealde in mournyng. . ." (E3/20). Heywood is the first author who is known to apply this word to humans. "Congealed" in the Oxford English Dictionary has no listing of the participial form of the word having a meaning close to Heywood's (O.E.D., s.v. Congealed, ppl. a.). The verb "Congeal," however, is cited in a figurative sense similar to Heywood's use of the word: "to make a liquid jelly-like" in Thomas Norton's 1561 translation of Calvin's Institutions of the Christian Religion (O.E.D., s.v. Congeal, v. 4). Norton's translation was published in the same year as Heywood's
Hercules Furens. Norton also is praised by Heywood as a fine poet in the Preface to Thyestes (1560): "... Nortons ditties do delight. .." ("Thyestes," *7v/19). Whatever the relationship between Heywood and Norton, there is no mention of "congealed" earlier than that of Heywood.

Megara wonders if Hercules is now an "exul..." (D2/22). "Exul" is an obsolete word with the obsolete meaning "A banished person," cited first in Gascoigne and Kinwelmarsh's Jocasta (1566) (O.E.D., s.v. Exul,sh.). Heywood's employment of this word may have been the first. Heywood may have been associated with Gascoigne and Kinwelmarsh, two aspiring young dramatists. Kinwelmarsh, like Heywood, has poems in the 1576 edition of The Paradise of Dainty Devices. 3

The Chorus for Act III declares that in the Underworld the darkness is driven away for children by lighted torches brought before them: "... Igne praelato..." (I1v/3). Heywood translates this phrase as "with foreborne flame" (I2/3). "Foreborne" has the sense of "being carried before." There is no example in the Oxford English Dictionary of "Foreborne" with this meaning. Heywood invents "foreborne" as his own Latinism.

Hercules describes his quiver as "frayght / With Lerney shaftes..." (L8/28-M1/1). "Frayght" is a variant of "Fraught"

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3The Paradise of Dainty Devices, ed. Rollins.
with the transferred sense "Stored, supplied, filled with," first cited in William Lamborde's *A Perambulation of Kent* (1570-76) (*O.E.D.*, s.v. *Fraught*, pple. and ppl. a. 2). Heywood has the first known usage of this word.

Amphitryon recounts how Hercules was imprisoned "Syrtium brevibus vadis..." (D5v/11). ("... on Syrtes' shoals..."--"Hercules Furens," tr. Miller, I, 29.) In his translation of this phrase, Heywood adds the adjective "shelfye": "... in shallowe foordes / of shelfye Syrtes sande..." (D4/21-22). "Shelfy" has the meaning "Abounding in sandbanks lying near the surface of the water," cited first in 1576 in Sir Humphrey Gilbert's *A Discourse of a Discoverie for a new Passage to Cataia* (*O.E.D.*, s.v. *Shelfy*, a.1). Thus, Heywood's is the first known employment of this word.


In his narration of the horrors of the Underworld, Theseus mentions the plight of "infaustae Strigis" (G5v/13). ("... of the gruesome screech-owl..."--"Hercules Furens," tr. Miller, I, 63.) "Strigis" is from the Latin "strigis," a word of feminine gender meaning "screech-owl." Heywood translates this word as
"Strix"—his own anglicized version of the Latin word. This word is of Heywood's own invention. There is no listing of it in the *Oxford English Dictionary*.

Much of Heywood's diction is now obsolete. This chapter will examine some examples of obsolete diction in the *Hercules Furens* with a more detailed record in the Appendix. The Chorus for Act IV declares that the dead sons of Hercules will never partake in a warrior's training: "... not you your lims in argos barriars plaies, / Are taught to turn with wepon strong to smight. ...") (LI/15-16). "Barriers" is an obsolete word with the obsolete meaning—except in historical usage—"the name of a martial exercise during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries." This word was cited first in 1494 (*O.E.D.*, s.v. Barrier, sb. 2. b.). Hercules asks where he should bury himself: "... in / what lande my selfe engraue?" (M7/9-10). "Engraue" is a variant of the obsolete word "Ingraue," meaning "To entomb, bury," in use in 1535 (*O.E.D.*, s.v. Ingraue, v. a.). Hercules speaks of Lycus as a hostile king: "... enmiows kyng. ..." (K2/5). "Enmiows" is a form of the obsolete word "Enemious," meaning "hostile, unfriendly," employed in 1529 (*O.E.D.*, s.v. Enemious, a.).

Heywood employs some striking archaic words, a fuller list of which is found in the Appendix. Juno describes the commands of Eurystheus as "cruell hestes of tyraunt. ..." (B5/9). "Hestes" is a form of the archaic word "Hest," with the meaning "bidding,
command, behest," in use circa 1000 (O.E.D., s.v. Hest, sb. 1).

Amphitryon declares that he does not wish to be a hindrance to
the praise due to Hercules: ". . . least he should be / to thy
renowne a let" (K5/9-10). "Let" is an archaic word with the sense
"Hindrance, obstruction," cited first before 1175 (O.E.D., s.v.
Let, sb.1). The Chorus for Act III mentions the young men already
consigned to the Underworld: " . . . yonglings. . ." (I1/25).
"Yonglings" is a form of the archaic word "Youngling," meaning
"a young person," in use before 900 (O.E.D., s.v. Youngling, 1).

At times Heywood utilizes unusual diction, some examples of
which will be found both here and in the Appendix. Hercules asks
why his children are dressed in such filth:

    howe happs it that
    with fylthe so fowle bestadde
    My chyldren are? (G2/15-17)

"Bestadde" is a form of "Bested or bestead" with the sense "beset
by or with," cited in 1303 (O.E.D., s.v. Bested, bestead, pa. pple.
4). The chorus for Act II describes Pluto's hands as "pestiferas.
. ." (F5v/19). Heywood translates this Latin word by an English
word derived from it: " . . . Pestiferous. . ." (F6/19).
"Pestiferous" has the meaning "Bringing or producing a pest or

There are several misprints in the printed edition of the
Hercules Furens. Chapter IX has already called attention to the
errors in pagination. The misprint "ilides" (C5/3) is used for
"slides." The word "quos" is printed as "qnos" (C6v/1).
"Coniuxque" (G2v/6) is incorrectly employed for "Coniunxque."
"Beguylde" (G4/17) is a misprint for "Beguyle." The word "rrcipis"
(I7v/7) is a mistaken printing for "recipis." "Moueare" (M2v/13)
is a misprint for "Movere." The word "beholde" is incorrectly
printed as "b.holde" (M8/5). Despite these few errors, the printed
edition of the Hercules Furens is accurate, much more so than the
first two printings of Heywood's Troas. Of the three plays, how­
ever, the printing of the Thyestes is the most careful and con­
istent.

Many things about this final tragedy indicate that Heywood's
purpose in writing the translation has changed since he composed
his Troas. Heywood makes no major alterations from the original
in the plot of the Hercules Furens. Heywood introduces no new
scenes, nor does he deviate greatly from the sense of Seneca's
play as he had done in the first two translations. Heywood's
method of translation in the Hercules Furens reveals his concern
for the Latin text. He even prints Seneca's Latin text alongside
his English version. He makes very few changes or omissions from
the meaning of the translation. Especially noteworthy is his
accurate rendition of the choruses, which he handles so freely in
the Troas. He does, however, make numerous small additions which
render his English version of Seneca's Latin more detailed and
more precise. His reliance on Latin derivatives and on the doublet
also demonstrates his interest in Seneca's text. Heywood's reluctance to experiment with his poetic style suggests that he is concentrating only on translation. His poetry in the Hercules Furens is stilted and awkward, yet careful. All these facts affirm what Heywood claims in the Dedication to the Hercules Furens, that he wishes to so work that he "had in englysh geuen verse for verse, (as far as the englysh tongue permitts) and word for word with the latyn. . ." (A3/11-15). Why is there such a difference between Heywood's free translation of the Troas and the very accurate translation of the Hercules Furens? With each translation Heywood grows increasingly more dependent on the Latin text. In his first translation Heywood had hoped for a dramatic production of his work, so his alterations in plot and meaning render the Troas more stage-worthy. In the Thyestes and even more so in the Hercules Furens, Heywood is the translator. In his last tragedy, Heywood abandons his interest in making his translations more dramatic. He now wishes merely to make his translation an accurate version of the original.
CHAPTER XI

HEYWOOD'S CHANGING ROLE IN HIS THREE TRANSLATIONS

Chapters IV through X have examined Heywood's treatment of the texts of Seneca's plays in each of his English translations. In considering the evolution of Heywood's style from his Troas to his Hercules Furens, we are guided by Heywood's own views stated in the prefaces to each of the plays. Heywood's purpose in writing the three translations differs with each of them. As our study has shown, he alters his method of translation to accommodate his change of purpose.

In the Preface to the Readers in the Troas, Heywood provides many reasons for his loose rendering of Seneca's Latin. He declares that Seneca is a difficult author and that the Latin texts are very hard to follow:

> how harde a thyng it is for me, to touche at full in all poyntes, the aucthoures minde, (being in many places very harde and doubtfull and the worke muche corrupt by the faute of euill printed books). . . . ("Troas," A3v/32-A4/3)

This discussion of the Latin text is interesting because Heywood expresses even greater concern with the Latin text of his second translation, the Thyestes; and in his final translation, the Hercules Furens, he prints the Latin text alongside his English translation. Heywood also points out the complexities in attempting to reproduce
the elevated style of Seneca in the inferior English tongue. He asserts that it is above his power to keepe that grace, and maiestye of style, that Seneca doth when both so excellent a writer, hath past the reache of all imitation, and also thys our englysh toong (as many thinke and I here fynde) is farre vnable to compare with the latten.

("Troas," A4/4-9)

Heywood's final apology for his errors in his Troas is his youth:

... but thou (good reader) if I in any place, haue swerued from the trew sence, or not kept the royaltie of speach, meete for a tragedy, impute the tone to my youth: and lack of iugement, the other to my lack of eloquence. ("Troas," A4/9-14)

Heywood then briefly mentions the changes that he has made in his translation because there are things "wanting" in the original: the chorus that he adds to Act I, the speech of Achilles' ghost introduced in Act II, three stanzas appended to the Chorus for Act II, and a chorus that he uses to replace Seneca's chorus in Act III. Heywood justifies these alterations by claiming that in some places he finds Seneca's text "vnperfytte (whether left so of the authour or part of it lost. . . ." ("Troas," A4/17-19). The only specific reason that Heywood gives for any of these changes concerns the Chorus for Act III, which he removes because it has many references to mythology and geography that would be meaningless unless fully explained. He fails to indicate, however, that his chorus for Act III is his translation of lines 959-80 from the Chorus for Act III of Seneca's Hippolytus. Heywood defends his free handling of Seneca's choruses by stating that "the Corus is no part of the substance of the matter" ("Troas," A4v/9-10). At the end of his remarks in the Preface
to the Readers, Heywood explains how he has dealt with Seneca's Latin:

... I haue for my scelender learning endeuored to kepe touche with the Latten, not woorde for woord or verse for verse as to expounde it, but neglecting the placing of the wordes obserued their sence. ("Troas," A4v/11-15)

Thus, Heywood claims that his work is not a literal translation because he does not "expound" the Latin word for word, but renders the "sense" of the Latin in English.

Heywood's views on his method of translation here describe accurately what he does in his Troas. He does make the alterations to which he has called attention, and his method of translation is as he has characterized it: at times a fairly loose rendering. As Chapter IV discusses, Heywood takes great liberties with Seneca's text of the Troades by making numerous changes in his translation, as well as additions to, and omissions from, his English version. The most interesting alteration that Heywood has in his Troas is the introduction of the scene of Achilles' ghost rising from the Underworld to demand revenge for his slaughter at the hands of Paris.

But what is Heywood's reason for making such substantial changes in his translation? In his Preface to the Readers in the Troas, Heywood asserts that he wrote his work not for publication, but as a scholarly labor: "For neyther haue I taken thys worke first in hand, as once entending it shoulde come to light (of well doing whereof I utterly dispayred). . . being done but for myne owne priuate excer-cyse. . ." ("Troas," A3v/15-19). Heywood then maintains that friends urged him to bring forth his work: "But now . . . by request, and
frendshyp of those, to whome I coulde deny nothing, this woorke against my will, extorted is out of my handes. . . " ("Troas," A3v/25-28). This statement, of course, is a literary device in which the author feigns humility—that others, not he, desire his writing to be printed. There was antagonism towards his labors, to which Heywood calls attention in the Dedication to Queen Elizabeth. He desires her protection against those critical of his work: " . . . the authoritie of your graces fauour towarde thys my little worke, may be to me a sure defence and shielde against the sting of reprehending tongues" ("Troas," A3/13-16). This mention of enemies of his scholarly labor may refer to the "Zoili," some in academic circles who felt that translation of the Classics was wrong, a debasement of the original. But, although Heywood asserts that his is a scholarly enterprise, and although he wishes to defend himself against the attacks of academic critics, his Troas may have been composed for another purpose—for the stage. The analysis of the Troas in Chapters IV and V reveals that the changes that Heywood makes in his translation are not simply "textual." They are alterations also of the plot and theme of his translation. Heywood shapes his play into a dramatic production. The loose translation of the choruses, the bombastic style of the poetry, and the introduction of a ghost enliven Heywood's Troas. Achilles' ghost functions as a motivating force in the plot. He is a very strong dramatic figure whose presence drives the Greeks to seek revenge. Thus, Heywood's Troas might have
been composed for the stage. Supporting evidence for this possibility is that there were dramatic productions of Seneca's plays in Latin at Cambridge from 1551 to 1562. Heywood might have intended his tragedy to be shown at one of the Inns of Court, for example, Gray's Inn, or at one of the colleges of Oxford. Heywood also was acquainted with several Inns of Court dramatists, most notably Sackville and Norton, whose Gorboduc was performed at the Inns of Court in 1561. Another translator of Seneca's tragedies, Alexander Neville, wrote his English version of Seneca's Oedipus (1560) expressly for the stage. Neville was a student at Cambridge and at the Inns of Court. Heywood might easily have had aspirations similar to those of Neville: the hopes for a stage production of his translation.

Heywood's method of translation in his second play, Thyestes (1560), differs greatly from that of his Troas. In the Thyestes, he is more interested in translating the play than in composing a dramatic production. This concern for translation is demonstrated by the fact that Heywood adds a lengthy preface to the play. In this preface he utilizes the dream vision, in which the ghost of Seneca appears as a guide in his work. Seneca comes, interestingly enough, not only to inspire Heywood, but to furnish him with an accurate Latin text of the Thyestes. Heywood shows great care in the Thyestes for the meaning of the original. He translates the choruses exactly, taking no such freedom with the Latin text as he does in his Troas.
He renders in English the geographical and mythological allusions in the choruses of Seneca's *Thyestes*, the very same kinds of references that he omits or glosses over in his *Troas*. Heywood speaks of the purpose of his *Thyestes* through Seneca's ghost who encourages him by declaring that men will thank him for his labor of translation,

When they themselues
my Tragedies shall see
In Englishe verse, that neuer yet
coulde latine vnderstande. ("Thyestes," *6v/3-6)

Heywood then calls attention to those of "Zoylus bloode" who oppose translation of the classics:

And all he carpes that there he fyndes
ere halfe he reade to ende,
And what he vnderstandes not, blames,
though nought he can amend. ("Thyestes," *7/5-8)

Heywood proceeds to cite a group of translators from the lawyers' colleges, the Inns of Court: Thomas North, Thomas Sackville, Thomas Norton, Christopher Yelverton, William Baldwin, Thomas Blundeville, and Barnable Googe ("Thyestes," *7v/13-*8/12). Sackville and Norton, of course, are the authors of *Gorboduc*. Yelverton had a hand in composing *Jocasta* (1566) and *The Misfortunes of Arthur* (1565?). Heywood's relationship with these men fails to shed great light on his own goals, for although he refers to them as translators, some of these men are playwrights as well. Sackville, Norton, and Yelverton are prominent figures in the early development of Renaissance tragedy.

In his Preface to the *Thyestes*, Heywood alludes to his work only
in terms of a translation. He makes no mention of a stage performance. It is surprising, then, that he does introduce one major change in his Thyestes: the addition of a scene in which Thyestes demands revenge for the sins of Atreus. Heywood never calls attention to, nor does he provide any explanation for, this significant alteration in his plot. This added scene amplifies the theme of vengeance which dominates the tragedy. The employment of this scene is inconsistent, however, with Heywood's aim of accuracy in translating Seneca's Latin text. Heywood seems to be a man divided in his Thyestes. On the one hand, he is the diligent translator, careful to preserve Seneca's meaning. On the other hand, he still has an eye turned towards the stage because he adds an entire scene of his own invention to the play. This scene lends a certain dramatic wholeness to the tragedy because the victim of revenge, Thyestes, calls upon the gods to wreak vengeance upon the initiator of crime, Atreus.

Heywood's third and final translation, the Hercules Furens (1561), is the last step in his transition from playwright to translator. It is ironic that as Heywood grows more faithful to the original, his work becomes lifeless and stilted. In the Preface to the Hercules Furens, Heywood makes it quite clear that his goal in writing this translation is to aid young students: "... to conduct by some means to further understanding the unripe students of this realm. . ." ("Hercules Furens," A2v/16-19). He tells us that by his
method of translation, he attempts to translate Seneca's Latin literally:

... I had through oute thys whole tragedye of Seneca a graue and wise writer so trauailed that I had in englysh geuen verse for verse, (as far as the englysh tongue permitts) and word for word wyth the latyn. ... ("Hercules Furens," A3/8-15).

To demonstrate his concern for a correct Latin text, Heywood for the first time in the translations prints Seneca's Latin alongside his own English version of the Hercules Furens. Perhaps he wishes to prove his scholarly interest to the Zoili, whom he briefly refers to as "euil tongs" ("Hercules Furens," A3v/8). As Chapters IX and X have indicated, Heywood follows the Latin original so closely—even in word placement—that he makes a very awkward translation of Seneca's Hercules Furens. He makes numerous additions of a word or a phrase to flesh out his translation, and he makes only two omissions from his rendering of the original. His great use of the doublet, Latin derivatives, and Latinate diction suggests that he fulfills the purpose that he had set for himself in the Preface to translate Seneca's Latin with extreme care. In the Hercules Furens Heywood does not alter Seneca's plot or theme. He simply translates the Latin.

Heywood's reliance on the translator's devices of the doublet and the Latin derivatives increases markedly with each of the three translations: the Troas—twelve doublets and less than seventy-five Latin derivatives; the Thyestes—twenty-five doublets and some 125 Latin derivatives; and the Hercules Furens—eighty-four doublets and
more than 350 Latin derivatives. This is a great difference in the evolution of Heywood's style. Heywood's last drama, the *Hercules Furens*, is a translation, not a stage play. How do we explain this great change from the loose style of the *Troas* with its ghost and greatly altered choruses to the constricted poetry of the *Hercules Furens* with its careful but cumbersome rendering of Seneca's Latin? Heywood may have given up all hope for a dramatic production by the time he wrote his *Hercules Furens*. If this were the case, he could focus on carefully reproducing the meaning of the original without any need for dramatic embellishment. Another consideration is that Heywood's personal needs had changed. He left England--seemingly in great haste--in the same year that his *Hercules Furens* was published --1561. He was an ordained priest when he joined the Jesuits at Rome in 1562. Perhaps Heywood simply did not have the time nor the interest to shape his *Thyestes* and his *Hercules Furens* into dramas suitable for the stage--as he had done with his *Troas*. Whatever the situation, Heywood obviously works with a different method and purpose in each of the three translations. He begins the plays as a playwright and concludes his work as an academic translator.
CHAPTER XII

THE POSSIBLE INFLUENCE OF HEYWOOD'S TRANSLATIONS

In attempting to assess the influence of Heywood's translations, we note that his Troas, the most stage-worthy of the three plays, went into three editions: Richard Tottel's two editions in 1559, and a third edition (1560?) printed by Thomas Powell for George Bucke. There was one edition of Heywood's Thyestes (1560) from the printing house of Thomas Berthelet. There was only one edition also of Heywood's Hercules Furens (1561) published by Henry Sutton. Thomas Newton reprinted Heywood's three translations in his 1581 collection, The Tenne Tragedies. There was a second edition of Newton's book in 1591. ¹ A third edition of The Tenne Tragedies was published in 1623-24 by Thomas Farnabie with his own notes. ² These various editions of the translations testify to the availability of Heywood's work.

Renaissance authors and literary critics cite the importance of the Senecan translations and, in particular, of Heywood's three plays. John Studley, perhaps inspired by Heywood's success, translated four of Seneca's tragedies: Agamemnon, Medea, Hercules Oetaeus (1566); and Hippolytus (1567). In prefaces to Studley's

¹Dictionary of National Biography, IX, 781.

Agamemnon, both he and "T.B.," probably Thomas Blundeville mentioned by Heywood in the Preface to the Thyestes ("Thyestes," *8/1-4), praise Heywood greatly. In his "Letter to the Reader," T.B. points to the gratitude that Heywood has deserved for his writing:

When Heiwood did in perfect verse,
and dolfull tune set out,
And by hys smouth and fyled style
declared had aboute,
What rough reproche the Troyans of
the hardy Grekes receyued,
When they of towne, of goods, and lyues
togyther were depryued.
How wel did then hys freindes requite
his trauayle and hys paine,
When vnto hym they haue (as due)
ten thousand thankes agayne?3

Studley in The Preface to the Reader lauds Heywood and Alexander Neville, translator of Seneca's Oedipus (1560):

... the other Tragedies which are set furthe by Iasper Heiwood and Alexander Neuyle, are so excellently well done (that in reading of them it semeth to me no translation, but euen Seneca hym selfe to speke in englysh)...4

Roger Ascham in The Schoolmaster cites the work of the translators of Seneca, men, who "in translating Ovid, Palingenius, and Seneca, have gone as far to their great praise as the copy they followed could carry them..."5 Ascham's reference to the translator of

3 John Studley, Studley's Translations of Seneca's Agamemnon and Medea, ed. by E. M. Spearing (Louvain: A. Uystpruyyst, 1931); p. 16, ll. 340-51.

4 Ibid., pp. 22-23, ll. 479-84.

Palingenius pertains to Barnabe Googe, whom Heywood commends in his Preface to the *Thyestes* ("Thyestes," *8/9-12"). Googe gives testimony to Heywood's influence on his work. In the Dedication to his *Eglogs, Epytaphes, and Sonettes* (1563), Googe has themes similar to Heywood; he lashes out against those who criticize the work of translation, he claims that his book was printed for the sake of his friends, and he calls attention to the use of the dream vision in his translation. Heywood had employed the dream vision of Seneca's appearance to him in the Preface to the *Thyestes*.

Arthur Hall's dedicatory letter to Sir Thomas Cecil in his *Ten Books of Homers Iliades* (1581) suggests that Heywood's translations were a standard by which others were measured. Hall praises among other translations "the learned and painful translation of part of Seneca by M. Iasper Heywood. . . ." Hall asserts that he had been urged years before to make his translation, first by Ascham and then by Heywood:

The like [to encourage him] did also about that time the erst named M. Iasper Heywood, a man then better learned than fortunate, and since more fortunate than he hath well bestowed (as it is thought) the gifts God and Nature hath liberally lent him.

In this remark Hall alludes to Heywood's becoming a priest, which he

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8 Ibid.
evidently disapproved of. It is only remotely possible that Hall would have been aware of Heywood's secret return to England in the same year that his translation was published--1581. William Webbe in A Discourse of English Poetry (1586) gives acclaim to Heywood and the other "laudable authors of Seneca in Englysh. . . ."\textsuperscript{9}

Later in the Renaissance, there were more famous references to the translations of Seneca's tragedies although there is no specific mention of Heywood. Thomas Nashe in his Preface to Greene's Menaphon (1589) refers to the translations in his diatribe against those dramatists who rely so heavily on them:

\textldots English Seneca read by candlelight yields many good sentences (as "Bloud is a beggar" and so forth), and if you intreat him fair in a frosty morning he will afford you whole Hamlets--I should say handfulls of tragical speeches.\textsuperscript{10}

Still later in the Renaissance, Francis Meres in Palladis Tamia (1598) lauds "the translators of Seneca's tragedies.\textsuperscript{11} These references to the English translations of Seneca at the end of the century demonstrate their enduring influence--beginning with Heywood's 1559 edition of the Troas.

In addition to this external evidence of the importance of Heywood's translations as found in the remarks of authors and literary

\textsuperscript{9}The Renaissance in England, ed. by Rollins and Baker, p. 630.  
\textsuperscript{10}Ibid., p. 637.  
\textsuperscript{11}As cited in Evelyn M. Spearing, "The Elizabethan 'Tenne Tragedies of Seneca,'" Modern Language Review, IV, no. 4 (1908-09), 459.
critics of the Renaissance, there is also internal proof of their relationship to the important literature of the time; for example, Chapter IV studies the possible connections between Heywood's *Troas* and both Baldwin's *The Mirror for Magistrates* and the poems in *Tottel's Miscellany* (1557-87).

It is important to consider also the question of Heywood's influence on the plays of Shakespeare. Chapter VIII focuses on the striking resemblances between the imagery of darkness in Heywood's *Thyestes* and in Shakespeare's *Macbeth*. Chapter VIII points out as well several verbal parallels between Heywood's *Thyestes* and Shakespeare's *Macbeth*.

There are many likenesses in thought and style between Heywood's translations and many later Renaissance tragedies. A more thorough inquiry into these relationships, however, is beyond the scope of this study.

Why were Heywood's translations of Seneca so important to the literature of the Renaissance? The most obvious reason for their influence is that they were the first renderings of Seneca in English. They provided a new source of dramatic style and thought for the developing Renaissance drama. The Greek tragedians were scarcely known by the playwrights of Shakespeare's day, so "English Seneca" became the main link between the Renaissance and Classical drama. There are other ancillary reasons for the popularity of Heywood's translations, for example, his father's fame as a playwright and writer of epigrams,
or perhaps Heywood's own success with his poems in *The Paradise of Dainty Devices* (1576-1600). But the main cause for the prominence of Heywood's translations in the literature of the Renaissance lies with the plays themselves. The "English Seneca" who first came into being with Heywood's translations vitally affected the growth of Renaissance drama.
Chapter X has given the words that are derived from Seneca's Latin which Heywood employs in the first act of the Hercules Furens. There follows a complete list of Seneca's Latin words and the English derivations which Heywood employs to translate them:

"Infantis aetas" (C5v/16)--"infantes age" (C6/24)
"monstra" (C5v/16)--"monsters" (C6/24)
"tenera" (C6v/5)--"tender" (C7/10)
"pressus" (C6v/9)--"prest" (C7/17)
"stabula...dura" (C6v/10)--"stables dyre" (C7/19)
"monstra" (C7/11)--"monsters" (C8/21)
"numerosum" (C7/11)--"numerous" (C8/21)
"defenso" (C8v/5)--"defended" (D1/10)
"prosperm" (C8v/7)--"prosperous" (D1/13)
"Virtus" (C8v/8)--"vertue" (D1/15)
"armis" (C8v/9)--"armes" (D1/17)
"regni" (C8v/11)--"reygne" (D1/21)
"exulem" (D1v/11)--"exul" (D2/22)
"seruit absens" (D2v/1)--"absent serues" (D3/1)
"possessum" (D2v/10)--"possesst" (D3/19)
"parentes" (D3v/3)--"parentes" (D6/5)
"populos" (D3v/7)--"people" (D6/13)
"spolia" (D3v/8)--"spoyles" (D6/15)
"regna" (D4v/4)--"rayne" (D5/8)
"florere" (D4v/5)--"flouryshe" (D5/9)
"Defende" (D4v/7)--"Defende" (D5/13)
"casta fide" (D4v/12)--"chaste...faythfulness" (D5/20)
"labore" (D5v/1)--"labours" (D5/26)
"opressus" (D5v/6)--"Oppressed" (D4/11)
"fretum" (D5v/9)--"freate" (D4/17)
"possideo" (D6v/14)--"Possesse" (D7/24)
"nobles" (D6v/15)--"noble" (D7/26)
"titulis" (D7v/1)--"titles" (D8/2)
"virtus" (D7v/2)--"vertue" (D8/3)
"Sceptra obtinentur" (D7v/4)--"sceptors are obtayne" (D8/7)
"stabile" (D7v/7)--"stable" (D8/13)
"regali" (D7v/8)--"regall" (D8/16)
"popularis" (D7v/14)--"peoples" (D8/28)
"nomen" (D8v/8)--"name" (E1/14)

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"regia" (D8v/8)--"regall" (E1/15)
"patienti" (D8v/9)--"pacient" (E1/18)
"aeterna" (D8v/10)--"eternall" (E1/19)
"arma" (D8v/12)--"armour" (E1/23)
"expedit" (E1v/2)--"Expedient" (E2/3)
"Pacem" (E1v/2)--"peace" (E2/4)
"particeps" (E1v/2)--"partener" (E2/5)
"extinguet" (E1v/8)--"extinguishe" (E2/15)
"Pax ... fida" (E1v/9)--"faithfull peace" (E2/17)
"populo" (E2v/2)--"people" (E3/4)
"Commune" (E2v/3)--"commune" (E3/5)
"pars" (E2v/3)--"parte" (E3/6)
"Mistumque nomen" (E2v/8)--"myxed name" (E3/15)
"rogos" (E2v/9)--"roages" (E3/18)
"fata" (E3v/2)--"fates" (E4/3)
"imperia" (E3v/4)--"imperies" (E4/7)
"sceptra" (E3v/5)--"sceptors" (E4/9)
"arma" (E3v/7)--"armes" (E4/13)
"causa" (E3v/7)--"cause" (E4/15)
"temperari" (E3v/10)--"tempred" (E4/19)
"ira" (E3v/11)--"yre" (E4/21)
"delectat" (E3v/11)--"deleyght" (E4/22)
"causa" (E3v/14)--"cause" (E4/27)
"regnantem" (E4v/3)--"raignyng" (E5/5)
"catenaes" (E4v/11)--"chaynes" (E5/21)
"Grauent" (E4v/11)--"greeue" (E5/21)
"longa" (E4v/11)--"long" (E5/22)
"Regale" (E5v/8)--"royall" (E6/11)
"sceptroque" (E5v/8)--"sceptors" (E6/15)
"seruit" (E5v/10)--"serue" (E6/19)
"virtus" (E5v/11)--"vertue" (E6/22)
"virtutem" (E5v/12)--"vertue" (E6/23)
"monstrisque" (E5v/12)--"monsters" (E6/24)
"Virtutis" (E5v/13)--"vertues" (E6/25)
"partes" (E6v/4)--"parte" (E7/7)
"monstra" (E6v/8)--"monsters" (E7/15)
"defensos" (E6v/9)--"defended" (E7/18)
"communis" (E6v/13)--"common" (E7/26)
"monstra" (E7v/4)--"monsters" (E8/7)
"grauius" (E7v/6)--"greeuous" (E8/11)
"infans" (E7v/10)--"infant" (E8/19)
"pretia" (E7v/11)--"price" (E8/21)
"sonum" (E8v/6)--"sownde" (F1/11)
"Mitra ... barbara" (E8v/7)--"barbarous mytar" (F1/13)
"tener" (E8v/8)--"tender" (F1/15)
"barbaricum" (E8v/11)--"barbarous" (F1/21)
"virtus" (E8v/12)--"vertue" (F1/23)
"virginum" (E8v/14)--"virgins" (F1/27)
"oppressi" (E8v/14)--"oppressed" (F1/28)
"probante" (F1v/14)--"approyng" (F2/27)
"sceptras" (F2v/10)--"sceptors" (F3/20)
"victor" (D2v/13)--"victor" (F3/25)
"templas" (F2v/14)--"temples" (F3/28)
"tyrannus" (F3v/6)--"tyrant" (F4/11)
"regentem" (F3v/9)--"rules" (F4/18)
"paresque" (F3v/11)--"parent" (F4/21)
"Humana" (F3v/12)--"humane" (F4/23)
"motu templas" (F4v/1)--"temples . . . with mouyng" (F5/1)
"sonuit" (F4v/2)--"hath made a sownde" (F5/4)
"sonitus" (F4v/3)--"sownde" (F5/5)
"diuidis" (F4v/7)--"deuyde" (F5/9)
"regnet" (F4v/8)--"raynes" (F5/10)
"freti" (F4v/17)--"freat" (F5/19)
"spolium nobile" (F5v/1)--"noble spoile" (F6/1)
"regna" (F5v/6)--"rayne" (F6/6)
"innumeras" (F5v/13)--"Unnumbred" (F6/13)
"irreucabiles" (F5v/16)--"vnreuked" (F6/16)
"populis" (F5v/17)--"people" (F6/17)
"pestiferas" (F5v/19)--"Pestiferous" (F6/19)
"Ars" (F6v/2)--"art" (F7/1)
"sonitum" (F6v/3)--"sound" (F7/3)
"clarius" (F6v/5)--"cleerer" (F7/5)
"resonat" (F6v/5)--"resounde" (F7/5)
"Secreta" (F7v/4)--"secretes" (F8/7)
"Paresque" (F7v/15)--"parent" (F8/9)
"seundo . . . sceptro" (F7v/6)--"seconde scepters" (F8/12)
"polus" (F7v/14)--"poale" (G1/1)
"diro" (F8v/1)--"dyrer" (G1/1)
"tertiae" (F8v/12)--"thyrde" (G1/3)
"renare" (F8v/3)--"raigne" (G1/5)
"noctis aeternae chaos" (F8v/3)--"eternall nyght of hell" (G1/6)
"nocte" (F8v/4)--"nyght" (G1/7)
"contempta" (F8v/5)--"contemnde" (G1/9)
"cessare" (F8v/8)--"ceasse" (G1/15)
"templas" (F8v/9)--"temples" (G1/18)
"sacrum" (F8v/10)--"sacred" (G1/19)
"armorum" (F8v/10)--"armour" (G1/19)
"silentem" (G1v/1)--"silent" (G2/1)
"membra" (G1v/2)--"membres" (G2/3)
"Deceptus" (G1v/5)--"deceyude" (G2/8)
"possidet" (G1v/10)--"possesse" (G2/20)
"Ingrata" (G1v/12)--"Ungratefull" (G2/23)
"differ" (G2v/5)--"deferre" (G3/10)
"differ" (G2v/6)--"deferre" (G3/11)
"poenas" (G2v/10)--"paynes" (G3/20)
"securae . . ./ . . . menti" (G3v/3-4)--"mynde secure" (G4/6)
"Vitalis aurae" (G3v/5)--"vitalyre" (G4/9)
"Reemanet" (G3v/8)--"remaynes" (G4/14)
"fructu" (G3v/8)--"frute" (G4/16)
"populis" (G4v/6)--"people" (G5/11)
"afflictiti" (G4v/9)--"afflicted" (G5/18)
"labor" (G4v/14)--"labour" (G5/27)
"vrget" (G5v/2)--"vrgge" (G6/4)
"quieta" (G5v/5)--"quiet" (G6/10)
"curas" (G5v/6)--"cares" (G6/11)
"dubius" (G5v/10)--"dowbtfull" (G6/19)
"resonat" (G5v/13)--"resoundeth" (G6/26)
"tremens" (G6v/5)--"tremblyng" (G7/10)
"facie" (G6v/9)--"face" (G7/18)
"soli" (G6v/12)--"soyle" (G7/23)
"aeeterno" (G6v/13)--"eternall" (G7/25)
"Immotus aer" (G7v/1)--"ayre vmoued" (G8/1)
"horrida" (G7v/2)--"horrible" (G8/4)
"sede" (G7v/5)--"seate" (G8/9)
"obscuro" (G7v/6)--"obscure" (G8/11)
"tumultu" (G7v/11)--"tumulte" (G8/21)
"fluctu" (G7v/12)--"floode" (G8/23)
"tyranni" (G8v/2)--"tyrant" (H1/3)
"maiestas" (G8v/5)--"maiestie" (H1/9)
"fama" (G8v/10)--"fame" (H1/19)
"rector" (G8v/13)--"rector" (H1/25)
"aequi" (G8v/13)--"equi" (H1/26)
"authorem" (H1v/4)--"author" (H2/28)
"exemple" (H1v/5)--"example" (H2/10)
"impotentis . . ./ . . . tyranni" (H1v/7-8)--"tyrant impotent" (H2/13)

"imperium" (H1v/10)--"emphyre" (H2/19)
"abstine" (H1v/14)--"abstayne" (H2/28)
"fama" (H2v/3)--"Fame" (H3/5)
"nobilem" (H3v/1)--"noble" (H4/2)
"deformem" (H3v/7)--"deformde" (H4/14)
"longo" (H3v/9)--"long" (H4/18)
"dirus" (H3v/12)--"dyre" (H4/24)
"populorum" (H4v/2)--"peoples" (H5/4)
"sono" (H4v/11)--"sounde" (H5/21)
"viperis" (H4v/13)--"vypers" (H5/26)
"Longusq.ue Draco" (H4v/14)--"dragon longe" (H5/28)
"Serpens" (H5v/8)--"serpent" (H6/14)
"vocis" (H5v/8)--"voyce" (H6/17)
"monstra" (H6v/6)--"monsters" (H7/11)
"lucis ignotae" (H6v/13)--"lyght vnknowne" (H7/25)
"catenas" (H7v/1)--"chayne" (H7/28)
"mouit" (H7v/2)--"moued" (H8/4)
"bella" (H7v/5)--"battells" (H8/9)
"pura . . . spatia" (H7v/7)--"spaces pure"(H8/13)
"poli" (H7v/7)--"poale" (H8/13)
"spoliare" (H8v/7)--"spoyle" (I1/5)
"tertiae" (H8v/7)--"thyrde" (I1/5)
"sacrum" (H8v/15)--"sacred" (I1/13)
"longae . . . noctis"(H8v/16)--"longer night" (I1/14)
"aequa currus" (H8v/18)--"equal . . . chariots" (I1/16)
"secretam" (H8v/18)--"secrete" (K1/17)
"frequentat" (H8v/19)--"frequent" (K1/17)
"celebrare" (H8v/21)--"celebrate" (I1/19)
"longa" (H8v/24)--"long" (I1/22)
"virgines" (H8v/26)--"virgins" (I1/24)
"Matris . . . nomen" (I1v/1)--"mothers name" (I2/1)
"infans" (I1v/1)--"infant" (I2/1)
"noctem" (I1v/3)--"night" (I2/3)
"Luce" (I1v/6)--"lyght" (I2/6)
"Stat Chaos" (I1v/8)--"Chaos stands" (I2/8)
"color" (I1v/9)--"colour" (I2/9)
"fatum" (I1v/14)--"fate" (I2/14)
"hora" (I1v/21)--"houre" (I2/21)
"dies" (I1v/23)--"daye" (I2/22)
"Solemnes" (I1v/27)--"solemne" (I2/26)
"fertilis" (I1v/29)--"fertyle" (I2/28)
"Pax" (I2v/1)--"peace" (I3/1)
"medium" (I2v/3)--"myddle" (I3/3)
"longo" (I2v/6)--"long" (I3/6)
"labor" (I2v/7)--"labour" (I3/7)
"populo" (I2v/13)--"poplar" (I3/13)
"poena" (I2v/20)--"paynes" (I3/22)
"victor" (I2v/21)--"victor" (I3/24)
"laeua" (I3v/1)--"fethe" (I4/1)
"odoris" (I3v/10)--"odours" (I4/19)
"vapor" (I3v/11)--"vapour" (I4/21)
"nobiles" (I4v/2)--"noble" (I5/3)
"liquir" (I4v/7)--"lycour" (I5/13)
"amplior" (I4v/8)--"ample" (I5/16)
"labores", (I4v/11)--"labours" (I5/21)
"quiesque" (I4v/12)--"quyetnesse" (I5/21)
"stet" (I4v/13)--"stande" (I5/26)
"Aeterna" (I5v/1)--"eternallye" (I5/28)
"cursus" (I5v/1)--"course" (I6/1)
"pax" (I5v/1)--"peace" (I6/1)
"labor" (I5v/2)--"labour" (I6/3)
"tempestas" (I5v/3)--"tempest" (I6/5)
"Violenta" (I5v/4)--"vyolent" (I6/7)
"turbet" (I5v/4)--"Disturbe" (I6/7)
"cessent" (I5v/7)--"cease" (I6/13)
"graulis" (I5v/7)--"greeuous" (I6/15)
"herba" (I5v/8)--"herbe" (I6/15)
"Regnent tyranni" (I5v/9)--"tyrantes raygne" (I6/17)
"parat" (I5v/10)--"prepare" (I6/21)
"Monstrum" (I5v/11)--"monstrous" (I6/20)
"medium diem" (I5v/11)--"myd daye" (I6/22)
"obscurso" (I5v/12)--"obscure" (I6/25)
"diem" (I5v/13)--"daye" (I6/26)
"nox" (I5v/14)--"nyght" (I6/28)
"Ignota" (I6v/1)--"Unknown" (I7/1)
"polum" (I6v/1)--"poale" (I7/1)
"parte" (I6v/3)--"parte" (I7/5)
"feruet" (I6v/4)--"feruently" (I7/17)
"Iraque" (I6v/4)--"yre" (I7/7)
"parat" (I6v/4)--"prepares" (I7/8)
"Stat" (I6v/6)--"stands" (I7/11)
"falsum" (I6v/11)--"false" (I7/24)
"labor" (I7v/1)--"labour" (I8/1)
"spatia" (I7v/1)--"spaces" (I8/3)
"aether" (I7v/3)--"ayre" (I8/5)
"tertio" (I8v/2)--"thyrde" (K1/4)
"pestifera" (I8v/6)--"pestiferous" (K1/12)
"sonat" (I8v/12)--""soundes" (K1/24)
"furor" (K1v/7)--"fury" (K2/14)
"postes" (K2v/2)--"poasts" (K3/3)
"horridum" (K2v/6)--"abhorde" (K3/12)
"Sonat" (K2v/9)--"resoundeth" (K3/16)
"monstrum" (K3v/8)--"monster" (K4/16)
"infans" (K3v/10)--"infanet" (K4/19)
"paratam" (K4v/2)--"prepare" (K5/3)
"sacrum" (K4v/13)--"sacrifyse" (K5/26)
"Stat" (K4v/14)--"stande" (K5/27)
"prona" (K5v/1)--"prone" (K6/1)
"trementes" (K5v/4)--"tremblyng" (K6/7)
"quieti" (K5v/11)--"quietnesse" (K6/21)
"Remouete" (K5v/13)--"Remoue" (K6/25)
"parens" (K6v/1)--"parent" (K7/1)
"Feruide" (K6v/7)--"feruent" (K7/7)
"mentem" (K6v/12)--"mynde" (K7/13)
"requies" (K6v/13)--"quietnesse" (K7/13)
"Pars" (K6v/14)--"parte" (K7/14)
"falsa" (K6v/17)--"false" (K7/17)
"lucis requies noctisique" (K6v/20)--"light...rest...nyght" (K7/20)

"longam" (K6v/24)--"long" (K7/24)
"feroci" (K7v/1)--"fierce" (K8/1)
"motu . . . / . . . vano" (K7v/6-7) -- "mouing vayn" (K8/7)
"Vexato" (K7v/9) -- "vext" (K8/9)
"pietas" (K7v/12) -- "pietee" (K8/12)
"Virtusque" (K7v/13) -- "vertue" (K8/14)
"motu" (K7v/14) -- "mouing" (K8/14)
"Error" (K7v/15) -- "errour" (K8/15)
"sonent" (K7v/19) -- "sound" (K8/20)
"poli" (K7v/24) -- "pale" (K8/23)
"catenis" (K7v/25) -- "chains" (K8/25)
"Resonet" (K7v/27) -- "resound" (K8/27)
"clamore" (K7v/27) -- "clamour" (K8/27)
"oppressit" (K8v/24) -- "opprest" (L1/23)
"furo" (K8v/25) -- "furye" (L1/25)
"noti" (K8v/26) -- "knowne" (L1/27)
"regio" (L1v/5) -- "region" (L2/4)
"oceano" (L1v/8) -- "ocean" (L2/11)
"auras" (L1v/9) -- "ayre" (L2/12)
"inferna" (L1v/12) -- "infernall" (L2/18)
"parens" (L1v/16) -- "parent" (L2/26)
"Spolio leonis" (L2v/2) -- "lyons spoyle" (L3/3)
"spolia" (L2v/5) -- "spoyles" (L3/10)
"victor" (L2v/8) -- "victor" (L3/15)
"Nox longior" (L2v/10) -- "longer nyght" (L3/19)
"obtinet" (L2v/12) -- "obtayne" (L3/24)
"authcrem" (L3v/13) -- "author" (L4/6)
"ira" (L3v/4) -- "yre" (L4/7)
"victor" (L3v/5) -- "victour" (L4/10)
"inermem" (L3v/10) -- "vnarmed" (L4/19)
"Differte" (L3v/12) -- "Deferre" (L4/23)
"grauius" (L4v/13) -- "greuows" (L5/26)
"pars" (L4v/14) -- "parte" (L5/27)
"Crimen" (L5v/10) -- "cryme" (L6/19)
"parte" (L5v/11) -- "parte" (L6/21)
"nepotes" (L5v/13) -- "nephewes" (L6/25)
"sonet" (L5v/13) -- "sownde" (L6/26)
"polus" (L5v/14) -- "poale" (L6/27)
"flammas" (L5v/14) -- "flames" (L6/28)
"medium" (L6v/9) -- "myddle" (L7/18)
"montium" (L6v/10) -- "mountaynes" (L7/19)
"inquieta" (L6v/10) -- "vnquiet" (L7/20)
"attonitum" (L6v/14) -- "astonyde" (L7/27)
"tumultu" (L6v/14) -- "tumulte" (L7/28)
"proprium" (L7v/1) -- "propertie" (L8/2)
"Dira furiarum" (L7v/2) -- "furies . . . dyre" (L8/4)
"sparsos" (L7v/8) -- "disperste" (L8/15)
"poeas" (L8v/12) -- "penawnc" (M1/3)
"error" (L8v/5) -- "error" (M1/9)
APPENDIX II

DOUBLETS IN ACTS III, IV, AND V OF HEYWOOD'S HERCULES FURENS

Chapter X studies the reliance of Heywood on the doublet in the Hercules Furens. We have cited the doublets used by Heywood in Acts I and II of his play. There follows a list of the doublets for the remainder of the Hercules Furens. The Latin word is followed by the two English words employed to translate it:

"Obscura" (F8v/1) -- "darke and shadefull" (F8/18)
"decipiunt" (F8v/15) -- "delude and mocke" (G1/24)
"tantum" (G1v/13) -- "so greate and heynous" (G2/16)
"dura" (G3v/2) -- "harde and heavy" (G4/3)
"Horrenda" (G3v/4) -- "dreadfull ... and horryble" (G4/7)
"Ingens" (G4v/5) -- "huge and gapyng" (G5/9)
"flexibus multis" (G5v/7) -- "with many turnes / and wyndyngs" (G6/13-14)

"Palus ... foeda" (G5v/11) -- "The foule and fylthy poole" (G6/21)
"frendens Dolor" (G6v/4) -- "frettyng ragyng wrathe" (G7/8)
"viridi ... facie" (G6v/9) -- "with face so greene and fayre" (G7/18)
"alligat" (G7v/7) -- "doothe holde and ouergoe" (G8/14)
"limina" (G8v/2) -- "posts / And thresholds" (H1/2-3)
"Scindi" (H1v/8) -- "torne and cutte" (H2/15)
"Rapitur" (H2v/5) -- "is tost and turned" (H3/10)
"abuit" (H2v/8) -- "wette and washe" (H3/16)
"auida" (H2v/14) -- "greedy rauenyng" (H3/27)
"nobilem" (H3v/1) -- "noble woorthy" (H4/2)
"torpescit" (H3v/4) -- "full dull and slowe doothe lye" (H4/8)
"bella" (H4v/6) -- "warres and blouddy fyght" (H5/12)
"saeuus" (H4v/10) -- "fierce and cruell" (H5/19)
"vasto" (H4v/11) -- "great and roaryng" (H5/21)
"minax" (H5v/7) -- "threatnyng ... stoute" (H6/14)
"properante partu" (H8v/4) -- "with swiftned birth in hast" (I1/2)
"durum" (I1v/14) -- "hard and heuy" (I2/14)
"Pingues" (I1v/25) -- "fatte fayre" (I2/24)
"uapor" (I3v/11) -- "vapour ... and fume" (I4/21-22)
"Violenta" (I5v/4) -- "vyolent and dyre" (I6/6)
"agros" (I5v/6) -- "grownde ... and fieldes" (I6/11-12)
"turbida" (I6v/12) -- "Troubled daselde" (I7/23)
"sensere" (I6v/14) -- "haue felte and knowne" (I7/28)
"compesce" (18v/5) -- "asswage and laye awaye" (Kl/10)
"furor" (K1v/7)--"the rage / and fury" (K2/13-14)
"somnum" (K5v/4)--"sleepe and quietnes" (K6/8)
"somno" (K5v/11)--"sleepe and reste" (K6/22)
"torua" (K6v/27)--"vnryght ragyng" (K7/27)
"insanos" (K7v/11)--"madde and yll" (K8/11)
"patens vnda" (K7v/28)--"wide open wafting waue" (K8/28)
"planctu" (K8v/5)--"plaint and cry" (L1/5)
"fortes" (K8v/10)--"strong and stowt" (L1/9)
"ymbrae" (K8v/22)--"shade and night" (L1/22)
"inquieta" (L6v/10)--"vnquiet restlesse" (L7/20)
"proprium" (L7v/1)--"propertie and yre" (L8/2)
"ferum" (L7v/7)--"fierce and stowte" (L8/14)
"ius" (L8v/13)--"force and duetie" (M1/26)
"mederi" (M2v/1)--"heale / and loose" (M2/27-28)
"decus" (M2v/9)--"honour and renowne" (K3/18)
"vertam" (M4v/5)--"turne and ouerthroe" (M5/10)
"tam tarde" (M5v/7)--"so slowlye . . . / . . . with suche staye" (M6/13-14)
"imperium" (M5v/12)--"wyll, / and Imperye" (M6/23-24)
"solutam caede" (M7v/11)--"acquit . . . / . . . from slaughter free" (M8/21-22)
"Facere innocentes . . . superos" (M7v/13)--"to quight the gods, and proue / them Innocent to be" (M8/25-26)
APPENDIX III

OTHER EXAMPLES OF INTERESTING DICTION IN THE HERCULES FURENS

Chapter X considers Heywood's diction in the Hercules Furens. This Appendix presents a closer study of Heywood's diction. Heywood employs a great number of obsolete words in his Hercules Furens. Hercules describes Amphitryon and Theseus as having "bashefull counthawnces..." (L5/2). "Bashefull" has the obsolete meaning "daunted, dismayed," cited in 1552 (O.E.D., s.v. Bashful, a. 1). Juno asserts that Orion "doth fraye" the gods (B3/4).

"Fraye" is a form of the word "Fray," obsolete except in poetic usage, which has the meaning "to make afraid, to frighten," in use in 1300 (O.E.D., s.v. Fray, v. 1). Theseus tells of the birds in Hell, one of them being a "grype" (G6/23). "Grype" is a variant of the obsolete word "Gripe," meaning "a vulture," first cited c. 1250 (O.E.D., s.v. Gripe, sb. 2). The Chorus for Act IV declares that Hercules' sons will never ply the bow and arrow: "... the weapon of the Scythian quivuer light / With steady hand to paise sent out from bowe..." (L/19). "Paise" is a variant spelling of the word "Peise," obsolete except where dialectal, with the obsolete meaning "to balance, poise," employed in 1388 (O.E.D., s.v. Peise, v. 3). Amphitryon asks Theseus to recount the great deeds of Hercules: "... of his renowne / declare vs all the rate..." (G3/27-28).

"Rate" has the obsolete meaning "Standard of conduct or action,"
cited c. 1470 (O.E.D., s.v. Rate, sb. III. 10). The Chorus for Act III advises the people of Thebes to rejoice, to "goe royle" (I2/26). "Royle" is an obsolete form of "roil"—obsolete except where dialectal—with the obsolete or rare meaning "to move about vigorously," in use c. 1400 (O.E.D., s.v. Roil, v. 2). Amphitryon prays that Jove will stop Lycus from committing his foul deeds: "... of kyng so cruell slake / The wycked hande..." (F4/24-25). "Slake" is an obsolete word with the obsolete meaning "to diminish the force or fury of," employed in 1300 (O.E.D., s.v. Slake, II. 9). Juno mentions that Titan the day "doth trayne" (B4/26). "Trayne" is an obsolete or archaic word with the obsolete or archaic meaning "to drag, haul," cited c. 1450 (O.E.D., s.v. Train, v. I. 1). The Chorus for Act II tells of Orpheus charming the Underworld "with tunes vnwont" (F7/4). "Unwont" is a rare or obsolete word meaning "Unusual, uncustomary," in use c. 1400 (O.E.D., s.v. Unwont, ppl. a. 1). Juno is angry that Hercules with his neck opened up the stars to sight: "His necke unwryde the starrs aboue..." (B7/13). "Unwryde" is an obsolete word with the obsolete meaning "to uncover or lay bare," employed c. 825 (O.E.D., s.v. Unwry, v. 1 a).

Heywood utilizes archaic diction in the Hercules Furens. The Chorus for Act II wishes that the Underworld be exposed to sight: "... let the syght of daye / to sory sprights of hell apparent lye..." (F6/23-24). "Apparent" is an archaic word with the archaic meaning "open to sight, visible, plainly seen," cited in
1393 (O.E.D., s.v. Apparent, a. and sb. 1). Amphitryon begs Hercules to save himself and not to bereave the old man of his help: "... I thee beseche / my desert age yet spare. ..." (M2/3-4). "Desert" has the archaic meaning "Deserted, abandoned," in use in 1480 (O.E.D., s.v. Desert, a. 1).

Heywood has some unusual diction in his Hercules Furens. Juno complains that she is shut off from the other gods: "... how great is myne allonely parte?" (E3/5-6). "Allonely" is a form of "Alone," with the literary meaning "unaccompanied, solitary," cited c. 1300 (O.E.D., s.v. Alone, a. and adv. 1). Hercules desires to go to the "farthest bonde / of Tartarus. ..." (L8/11-12). "Bonde" is a variant spelling of "Bound," meaning "a limit or boundary," in use in 1387 (O.E.D., s.v. Bound, sb. 1 2). The Chorus for Act II speaks of Orpheus: "... he Eurydicien them craues among" (F6/28). "Craues" has the sense of "demanding or seeking," but there is no example of this meaning in the Oxford English Dictionary as pertaining to a person. "Crave" has the obsolete meaning "to demand a thing" (O.E.D., s.v. Crave, v. 1). The Chorus for Act III describes the souls in the Underworld as "taking forth their gate. ..." (Il/21). "To take the gate" is an idiom in the Scottish and Northern dialects. It has the sense "To take the road, to go away," employed c. 1300 (O.E.D., s.v. Gate, sb. 2 2). Theseus wonders if the sight of the slaughtered bodies of Hercules' family is not an apparition from the Underworld of a "helly heape" (L2/20). "Heape"
has the meaning "A great company, a multitude," cited first in *Beowulf* (O.E.D., s.v. Heap, sb. 3). Juno asserts that Jove has given the heavens over to prostitutes—"hoores" (B2/13). "Hoores" is a form of "Whore," used c. 1100 with the meaning "prostitute" (O.E.D., s.v. Whore, sb. 1).
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The dissertation is therefore accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

12-19-73

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