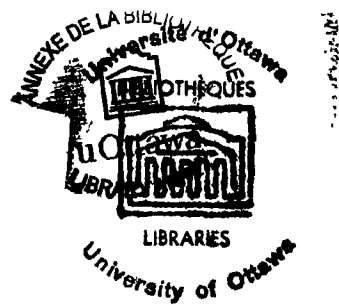


IMAGERY IN THE TRAGEDIES OF GEORGE CHAPMAN



By

Patricia A. Demers, B. A., M. A.

A Thesis

Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies
in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements
for the Degree Doctor of Philosophy

University of Ottawa

April, 1974

UMI Number: DC53917

INFORMATION TO USERS

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted. Broken or indistinct print, colored or poor quality illustrations and photographs, print bleed-through, substandard margins, and improper alignment can adversely affect reproduction.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if unauthorized copyright material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.

UMI[®]

UMI Microform DC53917
Copyright 2011 by ProQuest LLC
All rights reserved. This microform edition is protected against
unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code.

ProQuest LLC
789 East Eisenhower Parkway
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
(English)

UNIVERSITY OF OTTAWA
Ottawa, Ontario

TITLE: Imagery in the Tragedies of George Chapman
AUTHOR: Patricia Demers, B. A., M. A. (McMaster University)
SUPERVISOR: Dr. J. A. Kramer
NUMBER OF PAGES: ix, 250

ABSTRACT

Through a survey of the understanding of imagery and the popularity of emblem literature in Chapman's day, along with an outline of the salient images in his poems, translations, and comedies, this study backgrounds its analysis of the imagistic worlds of his tragedies with a theoretical and practical view of Chapman's "word-pictures." Written in an age of renowned dramatic imagists and nascent English criticism, his tragedies both mirror this contemporaneity and retain their ethical creator's distinctiveness. Moreover, in their linking of symbol with fact and in their pictorial vividness, the outstanding images of these plays are primarily emblematic. They reiterate and extend the concerns of his earlier writing, but, most importantly, they create the world of each play. This study provides an investigation of these tragic worlds. Their range and multiteity are impressive, encompassing the prominence of the tree, the ship, and the statue in Bussy's world of primal noblesse and postlapsarian policy, the drizzling nadir of Byron's evaporated honour, the non-spontaneous fixity of Bussy's avenger, the absolute Clermont, the forensic furnace of Chabot's heart-deadening trial, and the eternal opposition of the stoic and the strategist in a philosophically recreated Rome. While linked together as expositions of a single soul in an inimical universe, the tragedies remain, however, attractingly separate and unique. For the careful reader and image hunter, "the understander," their perceptions about the dilemmas facing virtue,

nobility, integrity, and honour in an incredulous, pragmatic, or openly hostile world also yield insights concerning the multi-talented but non-serene mind of their poet-creator.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

In addition to my gratitude for the patient corrections and helpful suggestions of my supervisor, I am also indebted to those professors of graduate courses at the University of Ottawa, Dr. A. P. Campbell, Dr. J. A. Kramer, Dr. H. M. Pollard, Dr. R. N. Pollard, and Dr. R. St-Jacques, whose teaching, association, and encouragement have provided me with valuable and sustaining resources.

TO MY PARENTS

PREFACE

When setting out on a study of imagery, one should perhaps weigh cautiously the sometimes extravagant claims with which such undertakings can advertise themselves. True, the student of a play's imagery has probably already considered the structure of its plot and come to some assessment about the nature and impact of its characters; and all of these judgements have doubtless served as the cylinder through which he tries to focus the kaleidoscopic whole of the play's imagery. Of course, it is understandable for this student to look upon his imagistic focusing as of quintessential value in approaching and understanding a given play and thereby in shedding light on the theses or hobbyhorses of the playwright who produced it. But while I admit freely to supporting most of these tacit principles, and balking somewhat at having to trumpet my own fanfare, I do find that image studies usually emerge either in a shroud of esoteric recondita or in a drearily clinical report about the literary cadavre. In setting out to examine the images in the works¹ of George Chapman, in his tragedies mainly, I have attempted to shake off the aura of both the benediction and the autopsy.

A second element in my investigation, the emblematic nature of Chapman's imagery, may also require some preliminary clarification. Professors, critics, and guest lecturers frequently resort to calling an image "emblematic" without really explaining what they mean. It was this sort of puzzling fuzziness which sent me off to explore the origin

and span of popularity of the pictographic mode of emblem literature and which led to the growing association I have been making between the emblematisers in general and Chapman as an imagist in particular.

To write so dispassionately about the genesis of this study, however, actually seems quite antithetical to its concerns. For it does not purport to be comprehensive and conclusive, nor does it hope to drain some of its penchants into bloodless and impersonal analyses. Yet the proposal that an image can reveal all of its creator has always seemed rather shallow and facile to me. More engaging, though less immediately rewarding, is the view on which I propose to found this examination, that a study of a tragedian's images can indeed offer important, if not essential, insights about his works and can also permit his readers to indulge in speculation--as guarded as his images--about the nature of the creator himself.

CONTENTS

	PRELIMINARIES	i
I	PROSPECTS AND RETROSPECTS	1
II	AN IMAGISTIC AND EMBLEMATIC AGE	10
III	ISSUES AND IMAGES	33
IV	THE TRAGEDIES <u>BUSSY D'AMBOIS: NOBLESSE AT THE CROSSROADS</u>	76
V	<u>THE CONSPIRACY AND TRAGEDY OF CHARLES DUKE OF BYRON: THE EVAPORATION OF HONOUR</u>	99
VI	<u>THE REVENGE OF BUSSY D'AMBOIS: FIXITY AND THE ABSOLUTE MAN</u>	121
VII	<u>THE TRAGEDY OF CHABOT ADMIRAL OF FRANCE: PRECARIOUS PRECISIANISM</u>	137
VIII	<u>THE TRAGEDY OF CAESAR AND POMPEY: VICTORY AND ITS VENEER</u>	157
IX	IMAGES OF A WORLD	171
	APPENDIX I	178
	APPENDIX II	180
	NOTES	182
	BIBLIOGRAPHY	236

If then we frame mans figure by his mind,

("Hymnus in Noctem," l. 123)

PROSPECTS AND RETROSPECTS

Probably the sober Mr. Chapman was never seen jumping to a lavolta, or pacing to a galliard, or footing it to a coranto. A rousing game of quoits may never have interested him. No reckless dilettante, he hardly could have been an eyebrow raiser at the Mermaid. Both scholar and huntsman, he was neither pundit nor neophyte, neither hawk nor gull; but at times he deported himself as each of these. He amassed no fortune, was no money grubber, and berated those who were. Yet he spent his literary career in constant search of patronage and under the ever-present threat of debt. His utterances could be piously orotund, almost hierophantic, at one moment, and petulantly caustic and defensive at the next. The range of his writing along with its varied power and appeal mirrors the quixotic nature of its creator. However, Chapman's works demonstrate more than human foibles and wrong-headed persistence. They also reveal the inimitable greatness of the man, a greatness residing in an unabashed ethical fervour, an eternal concern with lighting, not merely thrilling, the mind, a genuine inclination towards and devotion to learning and scholarship, and a poet's perception that could be wilfully opaque at times and luminously precise at others.

A student of Chapman's works realizes early that such greatness can become hypnotic--and puzzling, exhausting, even infuriating. It reaches the point where an attraction to Chapman begins to demand justification. Empty shibboleths like "sustained weightiness" and

"unchallenged reputation" afford little help, as the Chapman devotee arrives at the ponderous though unshocking confession that this uneven and grand, erring and memorable man writes in a way that arouses, indeed exhorts, a kindred spirit.

Chapman does not permit of easy distillation onto paper. The alembic of data, dicta, and disquietude which this process requires is both sizeable and allusive. Perhaps because of the scanty knowledge of his affairs, or because of the mercurial aspect of some of his works and the staid lugubriousness of others, to sketch Chapman seems to invite the continual revision of an imagined palimpsest of features, impressions and judgements. For the sketch remains just that; maybe solely on account of the sketcher, it never reaches an exact likeness. It will not be framed for a public gallery, nor ever boast the clarity of photographic reproduction. But Chapman's own vocabulary may be able to describe it. It might "bristle" with "forms" or "surge" into the "spheres;" public gaze might hold it in "aversation," but private reflection can "exquire" into its "reexstructured" "noblesse." Hopefully, to these "understanders" it can be made "pervial."

The second son of a Hitchin yeoman, Chapman spent his youth in this Hertfordshire locale. The exact time when his attendance in the household of Sir Ralph Sadler began is not certain; but, until the death of this distinguished diplomat in 1587, Chapman probably served in both of his homes, in Standon Hall, Herts, and in Duchy House in the Strand, London. Anthony Wood speculated that he went up first either to Cambridge or to Oxford in 1584, although he was without doubt

concerning Chapman's residence at Oxford. As Wood described the writer's university studies, "he was observed to be most excellent in the Lat. and Greek tongues, but not in logic or philosophy, and therefore I presume that that was the reason why he took no degree here."³ Havelock Ellis imagined Chapman coming to London in 1589 when The Jew of Malta was being mounted, thus furnishing, as he contended, "the Marlowesque inspiration for Chapman's early plays."⁴ But Chapman's open presence in London seems doubtful. In 1585 he had entered into debt to two city sharks, Wolfall and Adams by name; since his father's death bequeathed to him the meagre prospects of two silver spoons and one hundred pounds, it seems only a prudent move on Chapman's part to be absent "by yonde the seas."⁵ Presumably having returned by the time his first poem was printed in 1594, he spent at least the next twenty years writing comedies, tragedies, and poems, and working on the translations of Homer, Musaeus, Hesiod, and Petrarch. He was imprisoned twice: as a result of the Wolfall debt in 1599/1600 and, along with Marston and the volunteer Jonson, because of offending passages in their collaboration, Eastward Ho!, in 1605. Friend and supporter of the unfortunate Keymis and Raleigh, he enjoyed the all-too-brief patronage of Prince Henry, and never withdrew support from his scandal-hounded second patron, Robert Carr, Earl of Somerset. With the likelihood of another arrest for debt approaching in 1614, Chapman, depicted by his creditor as "of mean or poor estate,"⁶ left London for Hitchin. Such a retirement "within the Castle of [his] Innocence"⁷ was no muffled exit, but rather, as Chapman himself was to urge of the Earl of Somerset, a "Retreate . . .

to some strength." Having returned to the obscurity of Hitchin, Chapman completed his Odysses, continued to write occasional verse, may have revised The Tragedy of Chabot Admiral of France,⁹ and finished translating The Crowne of All Homers Workes, a collection of the Batrachomyomachia and the Homeric hymns and epigrams. He died at the age of seventy-five, in 1634. Although little is known of the activities of his last years when living with his brother Thomas, Chapman's poetic epilogue to the Homeric hymns does intimate the very private value he placed on an un-public existence and the criterion by which he hoped to be judged:

As Night the life-enclining starrs best showes,
 So lives obscure the starriest soules disclose.
 For me, let just Men judge by what I show
 In Acts expos'd how much I erre or knowe. (ll. 74-77)

John Wolfall Junior had deprecated his father's debtor for "verry vnadvisedly [spending] the most parte of his tyme and his estate in ffrutlesse and vayne Poetry."¹⁰ However, Chapman's literary contemporaries did not agree. Anthony Wood extolled him as "a person much famed in his time for the excellency of his muse" and "of most reverend aspect, religious and temperate."¹¹ He cited the admiration of Spenser, Daniel, Shakespeare, Marlowe, Sidney, and Warner. Nashe reportedly championed the story that Marlowe had wished only Chapman to continue his Hero and Leander.¹² In his friendships with Raleigh, Marlowe, Roydon, and Warner, he came to respect Thomas Harriot, the mathematician, to whose esteemed censure his solitary labour of the

last half of the Iliads was submitted, and the Earls of Northumberland¹³ and Derby, whom he lauded as "most ingenious" and "deepe searching."

This respect was surely mutual; for, when imprisoned with Raleigh, the Earl of Northumberland kept in his library "among its few English books¹⁴ Chapman's translation of Homer." As an index of Chapman's wider

circulation, Robert Allot's English Parnassus of 1600 contained over¹⁵ eighty extracts from poems attributed to him. A native

Herefordshireman, John Davies, valued him in the face of his impecunity¹⁶ as "Father of our English Poets" and "treasurer of that company."

Samuel Daniel saluted this translator as "my Homer-Lucan."¹⁷ Dramatists of the day, in particular, recognized his worth. Webster paid

enthusiastic tribute to "that full and heightened style of Master¹⁸

Chapman." Despite the vituperation of their later relationship, Jonson had earlier told Drummond of his love of Chapman, and had conceded "That¹⁹ next himself only Fletcher and Chapman could make a Mask." Moreover,

Chapman's friendship with Inigo Jones with whom he had worked in preparing The Memorable Maske of the Inns of Court for the marriage of the Princess Elizabeth in 1613 remained unclouded and strong. This friend celebrated him with a memorial in the churchyard of St. Giles-in-the-Fields, a Roman altar bearing the inscription ob honorem bonarum²⁰ literarum familiari suo.

Later remembrances have not always been so laudatory. In introducing his own translation, Pope patronized Chapman's Homer as²¹ lacking in "Discretion," and later Arnold agreed, eschewing Chapman's²² "curious complexity" in favour of Homer's "plain simplicity." In his

famous denouncement of Chapman's best known play, Dryden considered Bussy D'Ambois mere deceit, "a hideous mingle of false poetry and true Nonsense,"²³ while D'Urfey proposed an improvement by cheering up the tragic conclusion. But Edmund Gosse was not even conciliatory; he roundly condemned Chapman's plays as "bombastic, loose, and incoherent to the last extreme."²⁴ James Russell Lowell did not find Chapman hypnotizing; "a poet for intermittent rather than consecutive reading,"²⁵ he claimed. Adolphus Ward shied away from calling Chapman "pedantic,"²⁶ but recognized him as "a genuine scholar." Edwin Whipple was perhaps most cautious in his evasive praise of this "irregular genius."²⁷

The specific nature of his genius has merited varying comments from different critics. Swinburne characterized it as peculiarly "dramatic;" Janet Spens termed it "undramatic;" Havelock Ellis developed it as "intimately personal;"²⁸ and C. S. Lewis found it "sultry." With its ambivalence and sometimes surprising acuteness, Swinburne's essay actually provided one of the first critical studies. Though he admitted that Chapman scarcely passed beyond Demosthenes' practising stage, he also viewed him as "not too discredibly far beneath Marlowe," as a poet of his own making and of Nature's, "equidistant . . . from the mere singing bird and the mere student."²⁹ While Professor Schoell³⁰ has painstakingly annotated how close Chapman remains to "the mere student," scholars have generally shown interest in plotting the development (or attrition)³¹ of his tragic conception, in outlining what they consider dominant influences,³² and in attempting to identify a unifying theme in his works.³³

Attractive though the position of maverick may be, I do admit that my understanding of Chapman's writings, his tragedies in particular, is indebted, yet hopefully not enslaved, to foregoing studies. Moreover, my own growing conviction about the emblematic nature of Chapman's images has no doubt been nurtured unconsciously by reading them.³⁴ Hence it seems that a statement about discovery on my part would not only be arrogant but also dishonest. However, since my wish is not to produce a critical pastiche, I can at least clarify my specific and unique purpose. An interest in a writer's tragedies cannot neglect the natural corollary of concepts of his craft, stage, and philosophy.³⁵ Their symbiotic relationship is undeniable, but I am not setting out to make this an exclusive concern. Much more appealing seems to me an investigation of how a writer, as erudite, ethical, yet contorted as Chapman, forms his images. With almost surprising simplicity and regularity, his best images are poetic word-pictures. Despite their at times heavy freight of recondite allusions, these word-pictures are not exotic or fabulous in character. Rather, in their forthrightness, in their crystallization of character, or situation, or concept, and in their linking of symbol with fact, they appear to me to be primarily emblematic.

With inviting artistic and literary precedent in Whitney's "Janvs double looke"³⁶ and Bacon's "Janus of Imagination,"³⁷ I propose to adopt a similar prospective-retrospective stance. Framed by his comedies, translations, and poems, Chapman's tragedies enjoy a singular yet interconnected importance in his writings. An ancient Elizabethan who knew

Marlowe and may have worked with Shirley, Chapman wrote all of his tragedies in the Jacobean period and was aware of many of its obsolescent and innovational features. His age was, at one time, as emblematic as ours in cinematic; at another, it was on the brink of scientific revolutions which would explode forever the moral interpretation of nature essential to emblem literature.³⁸ Chapman's images, in a sense, join this past and future and render them for a literary moment static. I hope to elucidate this contention by offering a brief exposition of the theory and practice of imagery as understood by Renaissance and modern critics and writers, along with an account of the short flourishing of emblem literature in Chapman's day. Hopefully a general view of the major images in Chapman's works will serve to clarify the significance of his picture-making powers and to introduce a specific discussion of these powers in the tragedies.

Whosoever loves not Picture is injurious to
Truth and all the wisdom of Poetry.

(Ben Jonson, Timber, Or Discoveries)

AN IMAGISTIC AND BIBLIOTIC AGE

As the distinctive mark of the fabricating *ποιητής*, the Roman vates, and the Coleridgean synthesizer, poetic imagery has received almost universal acclaim. Aristotle's assertion, that "Metaphor gives style clearness, charm, and distinction as nothing else can," seems to evoke a much later echo in Dr. Johnson's conclusion, that "A simile, to be perfect, must both illustrate and ennoble the subject; must shew it to the understanding in a clearer view, and display it to the fancy with greater dignity." For the beholder, this fantastic *εἰκῶν* or shadowing-forth imago may summon up remembrances of every man's "room of pictures" (Ezekiel viii. 12), while for the creator, it draws imperceptibly on "the whole of his sensitive life from early childhood."

Yet some observers have judged differently; *φαντασία* can deceive; *μιμησις* can debase, and metaphor can obscure. Book X of The Republic makes Plato's position clear; the fantastic (*φανταστική*) as opposed to the icastic (*εικαστική*) artist (a distinction first made in The Sophist) would not be admitted to his well-ordered commonwealth because "he is an image-maker whose images are phantoms far removed from reality." Several centuries later, a concern with this very problem led Jacopo Mazzoni to limit the field of imitation rather severely to an exact likeness: "la propria natura, e l'eccellenza dell'idolo oggetto dell'arti imitanti è, ch'egli sia d'vna cosa sola d'vno." The artist he envisages works under demanding restraints:

"si ristrigono solamente a rappresentare l'vnita della cosa, che vogliono rassomigliare."⁵ Almost a decade before Mazzoni, Stephen Gosson had found the problem too vexing even to merit restraints. An ex-poet whose about-face to morality rivalled the invective of Bale's embrace of Protestantism, Gosson proposed stripping the poets of their vicious mask of words to "disclose their reproch, bewray their vanitie, loth their wantonnesse, lament their folly, and perceive their sharpe sayinges to be placed as pearles in dunghils."⁶ Thankfully, many of his countrymen did not rally round his cause but, on the contrary, adopted a more cautious tenor similar to Mazzoni's. Prior even to Gosson's railing, in writing of "Figures and Tropes," George Gascoigne had relied on the motto of "Nothing in excess" and issued the warning to "eschew straunge words, or obsoleta et inusitata, vnlesse the Theame do giue iust occasion."⁷ Later, George Puttenham concurred, reminding his reader of the potential deception of the figure of transport found in metaphor, "a certain doublenesse, whereby our talke is the more guilefull and amusing."⁸ However, in writing of the ornament and amplification provided by the device of "Omiosis or Resemblance," Puttenham also devoted attention to these three divisions:

"Resemblance by Pourtrait or Imagery, which the Greeks call Icon, Resemblance morall or misticall, which they call Parabola, and Resemblance by example, which they call Paradigma."⁹ It is interesting to note that in the next century and a post-Chapman era, the cautionary and seminal observations of early critics like Gascoigne and Puttenham would grow into the enlightened axiom of Decorum, as trumpeted by

Hobbes, wherein "Imagery [¹⁰would be] discreetly ordered and perfectly registered in the memory."

But successful imagery is not always discreet, nor must it be deceitful. Its success is the result of several sometimes arbitrary, sometimes mercurial factors. I think it is in large measure determined by the degree to which the image has been entertained in, shaped by, and in control of the poet's imagination, and can exert the same influence on its audience. Most of these "factors" are not only impossible to settle conclusively but also difficult to define. However, the theorists who endorse the accomplishments of imagery, with its devices ranging from metaphor, simile, icon, parable, and paradigm to iterative, mimetic, and allusive expression,¹¹ generally throw light on these problem areas in doing so.

Imagination for Aristotle is both kinetic and generative; its domain is phantasms, and its analogues are light and knowledge. As he recapitulates in the De Anima, "imagination will be just this movement, never originated apart from sensation, incapable of existing in non-sentient beings, and enabling its possessor to act and to be affected in many ways, and being itself both true and false."¹² In addition to aligning imagination with knowledge (De Anima, III. vii), he also utilizes its etymology in this deduction: "Since sight is the most prominent sense, imagination has taken its name from light, as there is no seeing without light" (III. iii). Emerging from this teleological argument, Aristotelean *φαντασία* is that which presupposes sense-perception and precedes thought and assertion.¹³ In The Poetics, the

image-making quality initiated by this imagination is productive of "an art which imitates by language alone."¹⁴ Imitation is the hallmark of literature; unlike Plato's *μιμησις*, though, it can be a source of learning (1448^b8) and the organic presentation of a "universal form" (1455^b1).¹⁵ Where Plato's criteria were moral, Aristotle's are aesthetic; hence, from the point of view of truth and morality, Plato found poetry culpable, while Aristotle assesses tragedy's pre-eminence over epic in the literary terms of its better handling of imitation. For the dialectician of the Academy, imitation was culpable in its remove from the reality of universals; for his pupil, imitation highlights the mental capacity of its maker as it ascends from a presentation of human action to an awareness of universal significance.

Chapman's age witnessed the fusion--problematic but practical too--of the once-divisive Greek polarities: the poem as imitation and the poet as maker were allowed to co-exist. The critics of the Italian Renaissance afford important links with this formative ancient background, especially since their numerous tomes were devoted ostensibly to discussions of the feature of imitation and practically to interpretations of Aristotle and Horace along with explanations of Plato.¹⁶ Their concepts of imitation, however, were far removed from Aristotle's sense of organic unity and closer to the idea of mundane, instructive representations. Pietro Pomponazzi, a foremost Aristotelean, came very close to expounding the Renaissance Horatian theory of teaching and delighting;¹⁷ in the *De incantationibus* he affirmed that the "material images" of poetry are necessary to instruction in "abstract matters" in

order "ut in ueritatem veniamus, & rude uulgus instruamus."¹⁸ In defending The Divine Comedy, Mazzoni underscored the importance and nature of correct imitation: the closer the imitation, the more worthy would be the Image or "Idolo" that is its vehicle.¹⁹ Torquato Tasso recognized the value of such imitation in the improvement of individual lives; moreover, his Discorsi del poema heroico was also an elevation of the imitative poet to the status of a mystical, and not merely scholastic, theologian. In Bernard Weinberg's translation, Tasso asserts that "the art of leading men to the contemplation of divine things and of arousing them in this way by means of images, as the mystical theologian and the poet do, is a much more noble operation than teaching by means of demonstration, which is the function of the scholastic theologian."²⁰ Despite their remove from ancient Greece, it is possible to understand how these theories of "idolo" or *εἰκὼν* are still related to the insight-arousing activity of *γλυπτικόν*.²¹

As representatives of a younger culture and a less developed profession, the Renaissance English critics are initially more concerned with rules of prosody than ethical imitations. But railers like Gosson functioned positively to re-root their concerns in the Horatian commonplaces about the poet's role and dignity. Thus at one end of the spectrum is Wilson's Arte of Rhetorique with its comments about the wonderful enrichments provided by "apte Metaphores," while at the other stand Sidney's Defence of the "peerless poet" whose "perfect pictures . . . yieldeth to the powers of the mind an image of that whereof the philosopher bestoweth but a wordish description, which doth neither

strike, pierce, nor possess the sight of the soul so much as that other doth" and Day's Declaration concerning the rhetorical scheme of icon,²² "an image or artificiall description of that we meane to deliver."

Sidney's non-affirming ranger within "the zodiac of his own wit" is a forceful silencer of any Momus like Gosson; his art is a noble compendium of Aristotle, Plutarch, and Horace, "an art of imitation, . . . that is to say, a representing, counterfeiting, or figuring forth--to speak metaphorically, a speaking picture--with this end, to teach and delight."²³

On account of his attitudes about the imperfection of poetry, Bacon is not always allowed to follow Sidney in the development of critical argument; yet this English Plato, "Athenian Verulam,"²⁴ buttresses

Sidney's praise in many instances and deserves a hearing. Using the faculty psychology of medieval tradition,²⁵ Bacon envisages poetry working under the aegis of the imagination and affecting the triple purpose of "delight, magnanimity and morality;" but it also partakes of the divine "because it raises the mind and carries it aloft."²⁶ The

most embroiling type of poetry is the parabolical which, as The Advancement explains, can either "demonstrate and illustrate" or "retire and obscure." However, as a result of the sea change undergone²⁷ in The Wisdom of the Ancients, Bacon becomes receptive of the "pliant stuff" of parable, and in the De Augmentis he perorates metaphorically about the value of such a communion between the human and the divine.

Demonstrating a curiously non-scientific animus, he likens parabolic poetry to "a kind of breath from the traditions of more ancient nations, which fell into the pipes of the Greeks."²⁸ The glories of poetry,

whether mirrored in its "perfect pictures" or infused into its "pliant stuff," remain: its heritage, elevation, and potential for illumination.²⁹

Writers, too, were evidently thinking from within this poetic. In such an age of speaking pictures and poetic divination, how fitting it is that a critic like .ebbe speaks in his dedicatory address of "drawing this Poeticall discourse,"³⁰ and poets as diverse as Crashaw and Chapman refer to the battle "Twixt pen and pensill . . . / Which might draw vertue better to the life,"³¹ and to a similar picta poesis dilemma when "words want Art, & Art wants words" While in the Carmen Deo Nostro Crashaw relied on both word and picture, many other poets, realizing the unique interrelation of the two modes, fashioned verse that was itself a picture, an emblem of their thought. For, as Professor Praz reminds us, "emblems and conceits are fruits of the same tree,"³³ and "every potential image contains a potential emblem." In penning his secretarial handbook, Angel Day was of the same opinion as he expressed the Horatian commonplace of his age in this comparison of the writer and painter: ". . . the excellencie of the writer, and paynter concurrereth in one, who the more that eche of them studieth by perfection, to touch all things to the quicke, by so muche the more nearer doe they both aspire, to that exquisite kinde of cunning."³⁴ That such an imagistic age was also markedly emblematic bears witness to a logical co-existence: "While poetry was regarded as 'a speaking picture' and painting as 'dumb poetry', the emblem convention, in which poem and picture were complementary to each other, could flourish."³⁵

The flourishing of emblem literature, in particular, is

understandably connected with those influences that contributed to the simultaneous importance of the image, namely, Florentine Neoplatonism and, in the post-Gutenberg Renaissance, printing. Plotinus, who was to be translated by Ficino, was an early advocate of the imagistic wisdom contained in what he understood as the hieroglyph. He termed this "manifestation of knowledge . . . a distinct image, an object in itself." In the eighth tractate of *Ennead V*, he stated his case: "As it seems to me, the wise of Egypt--whether in precise knowledge or by a prompting of nature--indicated the truth where, in their efforts towards philosophical statement, they left aside the writing-forms that take in the detail of words and sentences . . . and drew pictures instead, engraving in the temple-inscriptions a separate image for every separate item: thus they exhibited the absence of discursiveness in the Intellectual Realm." ³⁶ When translating this passage, Ficino inserted a supportive gloss in which he lauded--albeit mistakenly--the Egyptian comprehension of time: "The Egyptians comprehend this whole discourse in one stable image, painting a winged serpent, holding a tail in its mouth." ³⁷ In the Neoplatonic context, the whole of nature functions as a "hieroglyph" of truth, and symbolism becomes its mode of revelation. ³⁸ Thus, the metaphor used by the poet, in striving "to make known the unknown," ³⁹ bespeaks his cosmology, his "vision du monde." But Neoplatonism could admit of both an "absence of discursiveness" and the activity of speculative minds. Ficino's theology itself was esoteric; while he extolled the universality and availability of the visual hieroglyph, Ficino also realized that the arcana could be protective

and prohibitive. His support of such exclusivism was undeniable. "The ancient theologians covered all the sacred mysteries of divine things with poetic veils," he attested, "that they might not be diffused among profane people."⁴⁰ Pico was also engaged in being "intelligible only to a few"⁴¹ and in purposefully adumbrating his mysteries for the puzzlement and exclusion of the uninitiated. "For Dionysius says the divine ray cannot reach us," preached the Augustinian Egidio da Viterbo in praise of these efforts, "unless it is covered with poetic veils."⁴² Even the poetry accompanying an emblem could be as veiled and enigmatic as the picture itself, for both plate and gloss demanded an insightful and refined consciousness in its audience. In the dialogues of Bruno's unillustrated emblem book, De Gl' Heroici Furori, Tansillo constantly reiterates this truism to his interlocutor, Cicada, as he explains to him the significance of a series of emblems. When outlining the difference between the enthusiast-lover devoured in flames and the serene phoenix, he draws a distinction between two sorts of awareness which is more like a rehearsal of Neoplatonic tenets; the scale of values is certainly an ascending one in this clarification: "la differenza de l'amor sensuale che non há certezza ne discretion de oggetti, da l'amor intellettivo il qual há mira ad un certo et solo, á cui si volta, da cui é illuminato nel concetto, onde é acceso ne l'affetto, s'infiamma, s'illustra, et é mantenuto nell'unita identita et stato."⁴³

However, the Gutenberg age touched more than initiates. Not surprisingly, the sixteenth century saw over thirty editions of the

Hieroglyphics of Horapollo, which enticed many translators and even prompted drawings from Albrecht Dürer.⁴⁴ Such an explanatory compilation of the moral truths incorporated in the representation of various animals, objects, and occurrences had an appeal that was both popular and arcane; its undecorated and terse statements evoked an intuitive understanding, yet also purported to be gleanings from the culture of an ancient people. A century later Francis Quarles backgrounded "Hieroglyphikes" for his reader as "an Aegyptian dish, drest on the English fashion."⁴⁵ Specifically, his "fashion" was a free adaptation of what was loosely understood as the didactic vehicle of the hieroglyph into the undisguised and intentionally digressive homilies of one who watches the candle of life flicker for seventy years. Quarles's description of the emblem, in his accompanying volume, demonstrates the close interrelation, in fact, the synonymy of the two visio-graphic genres. As Quarles explains, "'An embleme is but a silent Parable. . . . And why not presented so, as well to the eye, as to the eare? Before the knowledge of letters, God was knowne by Hieroglyphicks; And indeed, what are the Heavens, the Earth, nay every Creature, but Hieroglyphicks and Emblemes of His Glory."⁴⁶

The emblem used many of the same correspondences between the natural world and eternal truth as the hieroglyph, and enjoyed its vogue as a natural "outgrowth of the hieroglyphic fashion."⁴⁷ An emblem usually consisted of a moral symbol presented in picture form, prefaced by a motto, and followed by a versified gloss. Its format was extremely flexible, however; the tripartite Lemma-Icon-Epigram of Andrea Alciati

could extend into the nine-part division of Henry Hawkins. Such variety, in addition to the pleasurable instruction and visual entertainment it provided, accounts for its wide success. Even though Henry Green, in commenting on the emblems of the renowned juriconsult of Milan, termed them "trifles for a day rather than monuments for ages,"⁴⁸ other reviewers have been more favourable in their assessment. According to Ruth Wallerstein, emblem books easily served as Renaissance "encyclopedias"⁴⁹ and, as Robert Clements views them, they provided "textbooks of rhetoric in the seventeenth century, just as the rhetorical dictamina had been used in the Middle Ages."⁵⁰ Contemporaries--whether as audience, contributors, or dabblers--were also largely favourable in their comments. Emblem literature attracted such designers as Dürer, Michelangelo, Titian, and Parmigiano. Abraham Fraunce defended and clarified emblems as reliant on yet distinct from symbols: "Emblema ita constituitur, vt generalis sit illius praeceptis & doctrina: symbolum autem proprium est, & ad vnus alicuius hominis institutum indicandum, accommodatum."⁵¹ Aware of the integral unity binding the visual and the graphic, Giordano Bruno composed and explained emblems; as Tansillo explains his priorities, "basta che stiamo sú la signification de l'impresa et intelligenza de la scrittura, tanto quella che é messa per forma del corpo de la imagine, quanto l'altra ch'è messa per il piu de le volte e dechiaration de l'impresa."⁵² Samuel Daniel introduced the mode to his fellow Englishmen; although he translated the thoroughly unimportant emblems of Paulus Jovius, his preface is noteworthy as a reiteration of the accepted arguments for the value of

emblem literature. Daniel stated his case citing Aristotelean precedent: "Yet I say, that to represent vnto the sence of sight the forme or figure of any thing, is more natural in act, & more cōmon to al creatures then is hearing, and thereupon sayth Aristotle, that we loue the sence of seeing, for that by it we are taught and made to learne more then by any other of our sense: whereby we see that all men naturally take delight in pictures," ⁵³

A look at noteworthy English examples ⁵⁴ may furnish more specific information about the nature and range of this mode. Although printed in 1614, Thomas Combe's Theatre of Fine Devices is a translation of an earlier work by Guillaume de la Perrière entitled Le Theatre des Bons Engins (1539). Combe's address "To The Reader" highlights one of the reasons for the appeal of emblems, since "pictures that especially are discerned by the sense, are such helps to the weakness of comon vnderstandings, that they make words as it were deedes, and set the whole substance of that which is offered, before the sight and Conceit of the Reader." ⁵⁵ Consisting largely of continental borrowings, Geoffrey Whitney's Choice of Emblemes (1589) is important for ushering this literature into England and for his extensive theorizing about the mode which surpassed Daniel's initial attempts. His introduction settles the origin of "emblem" in the Greek verbs describing the placement of ornaments, "εμβάλλεσθαι, vel επεμβλησθαι," and informs the reader of the guiding emblematic principle: "For, all doe tende vnto discipline and morall preceptes of liuing." ⁵⁶ Francis Thynne's naked emblems "(for soe I doe terme them, because they are not clothed with engraven

pictures)"⁵⁷ were printed in 1600 with the title Emblemes and Epigrames. Perhaps as a fitting reflection of their wife-worrit creator who also persistently battled poverty, his "emblemes" purvey soothing platitudes and mere commonness. Not without due regard to the task it must accomplish, his description of "Poetrye" attempts to be uplifting, but is scarcely more than ordinary:

. . . such enargye and life
doth in learn'd verse abound,
That sence, and witt, and hart, it doth
⁵⁸
both ravish and confounde.

Henry Peacham's Minerva Britanna (1612), though a more original work, presents its reader with the common emblematic tenet, "to feede at once both the minde, and eie."⁵⁹ Henry Godyere's Mirrour of Maiestie (1619)⁶⁰ is acceptably anti-papal, for his emblems or badges of honour are addressed, as were those of Whitney and Peacham, to the royalty and nobility ruling in his day. The works of Jenner and Hawkins attest to the ready service which the emblem painlessly provided as either homily or meditation. The Soules Solace (1626),⁶¹ Thomas Jenner's compilation of thirty-one homiletic emblems garnered from the images used by preachers in their sermons, affords a handy sourcebook for priests seeking means to amplify their address.⁶² Its tone is hardly non-sectarian, though; after rehearsing the non-official emblematic code for his reader, that "men are more led by the eye then eare," Jenner proceeds to berate "the Papis Masse" as "a needlesse Ceremonie," to ridicule the ignorance of "popelings who obscure light,"

and to denigrate the "foolishness of Transubstantiation." Protestant⁶³ banner that it was for Jenner, the emblem sees Catholic duty under Henry Hawkins. The book which is now attributed to this English Jesuit, Partheneia Sacra (1633),⁶⁴ indicated the ready-made tool the emblem possessed to further the reconstructive compositio and the subsequent analysis and colloquy of the meditative exercise; as the title page announces them, his "piovs devises and emblemes" are Marian devotions, "Contriued Al TO THE HONOUR of the Incomparable Virgin MARIE Mother of GOD; For the pleasure and deuotion especially of the Parthenian Sodalitie of her Immaculate Conception." Perhaps the most famous of the emblematisers is Francis Quarles, whose double collection Emblemes and Hieroglyphikes of the life of Man (1639) enjoyed its popularity at the zenith of the emblem tradition. Relying on illustrations by Marshall, Simpson, and Payne, and borrowing others from the designs for Hugo's Pia Desideria made by Boetius à Bolswert,⁶⁵ Quarles chooses a scriptural text which he ruminates on and embellishes in his accompanying poetry. Although the quality of the verses in Quarles's five books of emblems may seem tiresomely iterative to us, their value as illustrative glosses should not be underrated. Rosemary Freeman urges us to consider them in this light: "Obviousness is an asset rather than a handicap in emblem writing: the picture supplied the central theme, and the more points of likeness the author can find, the more often he can repeat the theme in a different way, the better the emblem will be."⁶⁶

A closer examination of two characteristic yet curious examples of this literature might perhaps demonstrate the immediate fascination

of reading (or viewing) an emblem book. Whitney's emblem in praise of Sir Francis Drake (Figure 1) recalls the preparation he had made, in addressing his reader, for the directing of emblems to certain contemporaries "as I thinke the Emblemes doe best fitte & pertaine vnto." The emblem is addressed to Richard Drake, the cousin of Sir Francis. Clearly this icon is a fitting celebration of Drake's circumnavigation of the globe (1577-1580), but it is an elevation too. Its motto is "Auxilio diuino," and hence the accompanying verse delineates the fearless navigator as bolder than Jason because "God was on his side,/ And through them all, in spite of all, his shaken shippe did guide" (ll. 5-6). The woodcut itself is enough to attract attention and certainly furthers Whitney's motto. An apparently divine hand holds the all-encompassing cord which appears to be connected almost umbilically to the prominent vessel elevated above the earth; the position of the Golden Hind may cause us to recall Cowley's later praise of "Drake's Sacred vessel" and "This Pythagorean ship."⁶⁷ Thus human elevation, as Whitney presents it, is vitally dependent upon divine assistance and is quite a distinctive visualization of what Bussy would term a great man's putting "a girdle round about the world" (Bussy D'Ambois, I. i. 23).⁶⁸

The third plate in Jenner's collection (Figure 2), depicting a man emptying a bucket of dirty water onto a floor in the foreground and a similar bucket being emptied into a sea in the background, serves as an illustration of "A Remedy Against Dispaire." When "read" correctly, the picture furnishes an example of the impossibility of ridding our souls of sin by our own efforts, in contrast to the forgiving



Figure 1
 "Auxilio diuino," from Whitney's Choice of Emblemes, Part II, p. 203.

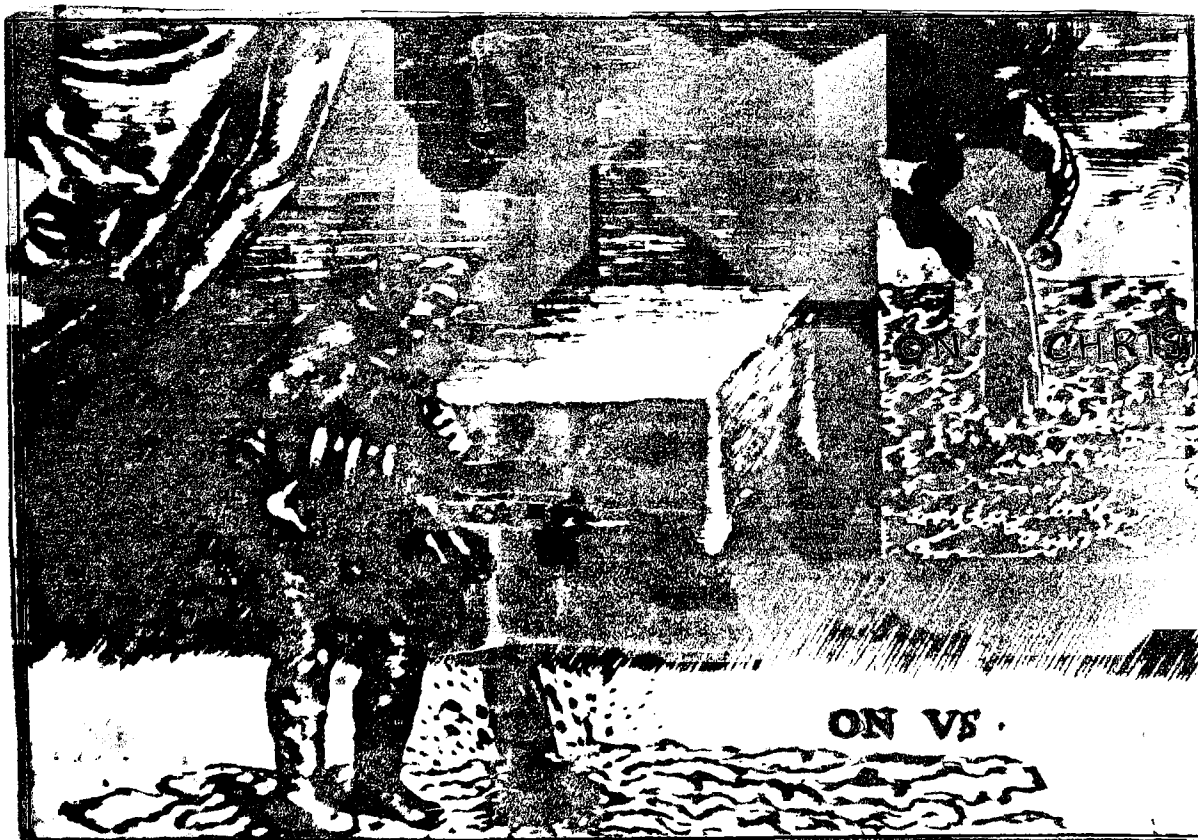


Figure 2
 "A Remedy Against Dispaire," Emblem 3 from Jenner's The Soules Solace.

sea of Christ's mercy figured in "this great all-comprehending maine,/ Which able is, [our] sinnes to abolish plaine" (ll. 17-18). Emblems prove to be blendings of many things: the contemporary and the timeless, the visual and the fantastical, the everyday and the eschatological.

Just as the metaphors of the poet revealed his "vision du monde," the plates and verses of the emblem~~atist~~ rallied his audience through their interpretation of the universe, of the known environment, and, most tellingly, of man's circumambient conditions. Like the fashion for images, the emblem tradition relied on striking the same symbolic chord of nature--whether for rendering the abstract, eulogizing the great, or meditating on the saintly. The communion provided in Nature's potent Book was at once receptive of symbolic connection and productive of its own inimitable images. In explaining the symbolic icons of the "Alexandrian" library at Milan to a Congregation of his fellow Barnabites in 1626, Christoforo Giarda spellbound his audience with this treatment of Nature's Book of Symbols: "He Spoke--and with a word all the elements, and within the elements all the species of things, all animals on the earth, all kinds of fish in the water, all the variety of birds in the air, all the prodigies in the fiery sphere, all the stars in heaven and its lights--these He turned into so many Symbolic Images, as it were, of those perfections and made and designed them all at once and presented them in the library of this Universe, or if you prefer, in this theatre, to the contemplation of man." Giarda continued by describing the compounded and superior symbolism that issues from these natural phenomena:

Do you desire the power of persuasion? These [that is, the symbolical images of the Arts and Sciences] are like silent messengers, dumb interpreters, witnesses worthy of all faith and authority. Do you desire the enjoyment of elegance? What type of eyeglass, what mirror, what rainbow in the sky did ever show the sun to such delight of the spectators as the Symbolic Images--those clearer eyeglasses, those more brilliant mirrors, those more gorgeous rainbows--show the forms of the Sciences in the most elegant way? The golden chains which were said to issue from the mouth of Hercules and to bind the ears and minds of men are as nothing compared to the attraction exercised by this art.

Not even a Gallic Hercules could match the force of these supra-natural artistic symbols. Such were the potent ally and nutritive spring of the co-flourishing of image and emblem.

As a literary artist, Chapman seems to have been attuned to both of these features--at once verbal and graphic, natural and intellectualized; and, if Plato's famous image from the Theaetetus does not mix metaphors too insolubly, they appear to have served as midwife⁷⁰ to much of his poetic expression. While admitting that it is not conclusively provable⁷¹ that Chapman had direct knowledge of emblem literature, I find, however, that his writings do contain persuasive arguments which suggest a pictorial bias, a composed painterly awareness, and an instinctive⁷² recognition of analogies on Chapman's part, in addition to several parallels with the foregoing theories. In his address to Matthew Roydon

prefacing Ovids Banquet of Sence, the support he lends to the device of ⁷³
Enargia has a distinct ut pictura, poesis colouring. Just as he argues for "high, and hartly inuention exprest in most significant, and vnaffected phrase" in poetry, he presents the painter's situation as analogous: "it serues not a skilfull Painters turne, to draw the figure of a face onely to make knowne who it represents; but he must lymn, giue luster, shaddow, and heightening; which though ignorants will esteeme spic'd, and too curious, yet such as haue iudiciall perspective, will see it hath, motion, spirit and life." ⁷⁴ While Chapman is clearly referring to the aesthetic effect of perspective, his understanding of like-mindedness in the special reader has a particular visual emphasis through his use of this specific technical term. Nicholas Hilliard's contemporary treatise, written between 1598 and 1603 and entitled The Art of Limning, explains the particular operation and effect of perspective: ". . . you cannot measure any part of your pictures by his true superficial, because painting perspective and forshortning of lines, with due shadoing acording to the rule of the eye, by falshood to expresse truth in very cunning of line, and true obseruation of shadoing For perspective, to define it brefly, is an art taken from or by the efect or judgement of the eye, for a man to express anything in short'ned lines and shadowes, to deseau⁷⁵e bothe the vnderstanding and the eye." The limning Chapman refers to in the device of Enargia is definitely ingenious illumination. The perspective it uses and requires of its audience, however, is not deceptive, but of paramount and undiminished importance. Such a

perspective is the same intellectual key that allows the happy few to recognize, as his dedication of The Divine Poem of Musaeus to Inigo Jones in 1616 encourages, that "Ancient Poesie, and ancient Architecture,⁷⁶ require to their excellence a like creating and proportionable Rapture." But Chapman's patience with those lacking this perspective hardly stays at as even a mark. Almost twenty years after Ovids Banquet, in justifying Andromeda Liberata, Chapman's patience with "ignorants" has lessened. Yet, while his attitude towards detractors becomes increasingly contumelious, his zeal (reminiscent of Ficino's and Pico's) to protect the wealth of poetry "from the base and prophane Vulgare"⁷⁷ becomes correspondingly more pronounced. The "misteries and allegorical fictions of Poesie," he affirms, are similar to the "divers vailes of Hieroglyphickes." His attitude as to the existence of mystery and allegory "before Hieroglyphicks or Fabel were conceiued" is like the one Bacon came to adopt in the De Augmentis. The cabalistic import of these mysteries was transferred privately, Chapman asserts, "from the Fathers to the Sonnes of Art." For the light-bearing observer, their protective "vtter barke" can lead to the discovery of some "sappe of hidden Truth." Such a discovery involves the same search that Chapman had described earlier when presenting his half-completed Odysses to the Earl of Somerset: the search for the allegorical soul within the "fictive" body.⁷⁸ The success of this discovery depends, as the probing reader of the Iliads is informed, on the superiority of "nature above Art in Poesie," in furthering the search of Homer's "deepe and treasurous hart," and in providing "the fit key / Of Nature,

79

. . . / With Poesie to open Poesie." The mysteries of his poems and translations find their resolution, not in mere observation, but in the acceptance that *φαντασία* can transform appearances meaningfully; they require the same discernment and intuitive understanding as does a reading of Horapollo and the same awareness of the omnipresent Book and perceptive human observation that Giarda was unfolding.

It is this sort of knowledge, at once discursive, experiential, and pictorial, that lies behind such heraldry as:

Life is Roote and Crest

To all mans Cote of Nobless; his soule is

Field to that Cote; and learning differences

All his degrees in honour, being the Cote. (Euthymiae Raptus, ll. 362-65)

A similar habit of mind leads him to figure in the "forkt distinction" of the letter Y "the forme mans life beares" ("Virgils Epigram of this letter Y," ll. 2-3), and to "analogize" the operation of the world with the faculties of man, "with this our little world" (Eugenia, ll. 721-45). His similes and metaphors can be reliant as much on dateless wisdom as on contemporary events. Similes like those comparing the confusion that "Fame-thriuing Vere" (Hymnus in Cynthiam," l. 335) wreaked in the siege of Nymeghen in the Low Countries to the havoc that Euthimya as a Panther causes in her pursuers, or the city of Cadiz conquered by Essex to the solitary Hero (Hero and Leander, III. 199-206), comparisons from life like the admonition to retreat with the same strength as that found in the example of General Norris ("To The Earle of Somerset," The Crowne of All Homers Workes, ll. 84-104), and purposeful anagrams like his

salute to the "full Spring of Man" ("Pro Vere, Autumni Lachrymae," l. 2) in Horatio Vere--all testify to Chapman's opinion that "Similes may be . . . drawne from the honourable deeds of our noble countrimen, and clad in comely habit of Poesie." Like Whitney, he affirms that the morality--of either poetry or emblem--does allow of topical application; and, with reference to the case of Chapman in particular, imagery as the poetic fusion of "perception and conception" does obtain.

The received opinion among those critics who have commented on his imagery is that it is in general sensuous and potentially metaphysical. However, this kind of apprehension need not lead to images which are predominantly "grotesque" and "loud." For on the contrary, Chapman's analogy-oriented consciousness does not seem to distort or trumpet its way onto the page, nor lend itself to a mere rhetorical exercise, but rather, appears to be spurred into production by the generating guide of an emblematic co-relative. Perhaps contentious reactions to this approach could be suspended until the following pages seek to analyze pertinent images from a selection of his comedies, poems, and translations in the hope that--although Chapman may not have fulfilled its promise--my position will become lucidius olim.

But the truth is, my desire and strange disposition
in all things I write is to set downe uncommon and
most profitable coherents for the time.

("To The Understander," Achilles Shield)

ISSUES AND IMAGES

With his profound learning and insight, the poet can assume the roles of light-bearer, civilizer, and teacher to those around him. The world in which he works, however, proves to be indifferent and uninformed at best, and beastly and contemptible at worst. His audience is indeed fit though few. These happy few may be able to discern in the images of the learned poet the rubric by which to follow the ceaseless dichotomy between the potential he affords and the reality he must endure. As if it were written in arresting reds and blacks, Chapman's imagistic rubric displays this ambivalence; furthermore, it assumes even greater immediacy by his choice, similar to the emblemist's, of objects and occurrences gathered from the familiar yet continually puzzling realm of circumambient nature. Important as the centre of his microcosm, man can also be the menial of a living death. The firmly rooted tree of his life can be dashed in the fury of a tempest: his apparent fullness may yield to a realization of utter vapidness. When streams seem to strengthen in cascading over a hill or in pouring into the sea, they also become enveloped, as can their human analogues, in the unfathomable and the ineluctable. Attractive but dreadful, this recipient sea functions as the scape on which the frail human bark sails. The poet, as Chapman envisages him, is forever outlining the attitudinal polarities that infuse these analogously sylvan and marine existences; choices between sense and soul, light and dark, reward and virtue, the outward and the inward recur. Together with his emblematic

images, they form Chapman's poetic vision.

Throughout his works Chapman remained the loyal supporter of the poet and of learning in the face of their numerous and ignorant detractors. Perhaps these allegiances have their strongest iteration in his poetry itself. In the dedicatory epistle of his first published work, The Shadow of Night (1594), Chapman delineates the pursuit of knowledge as "that Herculean labour." With borrowings from Comes¹ and in the spirit of Paul (Ephesians vi. 13-17), he details the implements necessary to such an undertaking: "Men must be shod by Mercurie, girt with Saturnes Adamantine sword, take the shield from Pallas, the helme from Pluto, and haue the eyes of Graea (as Hesiodus armes Perseus against Medusa) before they can cut of the viperous head of benumbing ignorance," The hymns further this Herculean² and victorious³ character. As at Erymanthus, the transformed "Calydonian bores" ("Hymnus in Noctem," l. 84) pose the same threat that requires a conqueror, one with the force both to combat a negative version of his own strength, typified by the constraining "Herculean vigour" (l. 164) of ambition and avarice,⁴ and to "cleanse this beastly stable of the world" (l. 256). True to form as the valiant one, "Thebane Hercules" ("Hymnus in Cynthiam," l. 127) personifies the calm of "the vertue-temperd mind" (l. 132), and such mental "bewtie" (l. 472) emerges as wisdom. Chapman's most sustained treatment of the power of knowledge occurs in Euthymiae Raptus or The Teares of Peace (1609). Its dialogue between Peace and the interlocutor becomes a form of sermon as Chapman steps to the pulpit and challenges his reader. "Regular

Learning" that "Serues the Plebeian and the Lord alike" (ll. 327, 330) does not interest him; in its commonness, it is really "Learning lov'd by none" (l. 332), a remarkable contrast to the ideal Learning "that should difference set" (l. 327). Chapman's concern here is the same as in his earlier telescoped one-liner addressed to his friend Jonson: "Degrees of Knowledge difference all Degrees."⁵ Yet I suspect that this later Chapman dictum, "Art, the more oulde, growes euer the more greene,"⁶ may help to explain the poet's ever-bourgeoning emphasis on Learning in The Teares of Peace. Two essential influences, "Learning and impulsion" (l. 378), operate on the potential of the human image to impress it with divine Substance and "inuest / Man with Gods forme in liuing Holinesse" (ll. 378-79). One senses the rising tension of Chapman's pulpit manner as he exposes the blindness of the active man, the carelessness of the passive man, and the acquisitiveness of the intellectual man, all of whom are substantially removed from the content and control of true knowledge which seeks to form itself in "Gods image" (l. 514). The poet-preacher explicates such an envisioned ascent in this climactic passage:

. . . but th' effect

Proper to perfect Learning; to direct

Reason in such an Art, as that it can

Turne blood to soule, and make both, one calme man;

So making peace with God; doth differ farre

From Clearkes that goe with God & man to warre. (ll. 556-61)

But with his ever-green art (and perhaps ever-reddening face), the

preacher does not release his audience at this point; instead, he pursues his themes of the ascent, control, and conquest involved with Learning in relentlessly stentorian fashion. Probably the least tedious aspect of his prolonged peroration is the selection of valuable and axiomatic observations which the reader manages to skim from the boiling mixture of his poem; among the most noteworthy and resonant are:

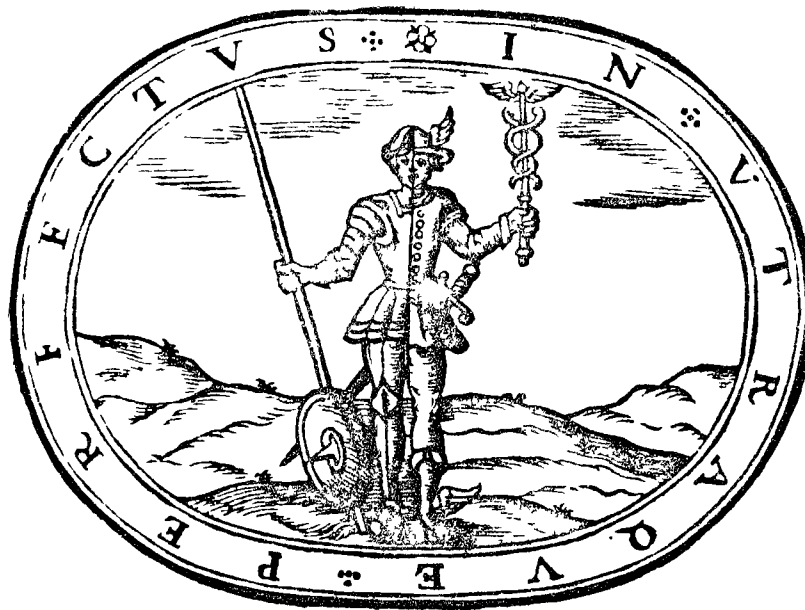
Herculean Learning conquers (l. 198);

True Learning calmes, and can subdue (l. 712); and

Live well ye Learned; and all men ye enthrall (l. 757).

Chapman advances self-knowledge as the propaedeutics to the knowledge of God (ll. 969-72); hence, the apocalyptic tenor of his conclusion, in which the appearance of a Gallic Hercules (ll. 1106-07) accounts for the poet's ability to hear "the musique of the Sphears, / And all the Angels . . . (ll. 1110-1),⁷ proves eminently suitable. Chapman's corollary to his royal exemplar is fitting as both an accolade and epilogue "because a Princes maine state stands / In his owne knowledge, and his powre within" (ll. 1212-03). It may cause the reader of emblem literature to consider the more graphic treatment of the unity of Arts and victory which Godyere foresaw in his neatly seamed amalgam-prince (Figure 1).⁸ Even at the close of his life,⁹ when his cause for writing was the far from exemplary character of the now-estranged Jonson, Chapman still maintained the superiority of Learning--especially to self-laudatory reading and arrogant pontificating.¹⁰ As his "Invective" against "egredious Ben" (l. 187) trails off, the voice of the creator of The Shadow of Night and The Teares of Peace re-echoes when the

Embleme 13



What coward Stoicke, or blunt captaine will
 Dis-like this Vnion, or not labour still
 To reconcile the Arts and victory?
 Since in themselues Arts haue this quality,
 To vanquish errorrs traine: what other than
 Should loue the Arts, if not a valiant man?
 Or, how can he resolute to execute,
 That hath not first learn'd to be resolute?
 If any shall oppose this, or dispute,
 Your great example shall their spite confute.

Figure 1

angered Hitchin worthy persists in alluding to "mans true and worthiest knowledge rude, / Which is to knowe and be, one Compleat man" (ll. 190-191).

The closest version of the "compleat man" that Chapman's poems adduce is the figure of the poet himself. While such a creator always attempts to illuminate, his method can at times adumbrate his meaning. Although eschewing the role of satirist,¹¹ Chapman the poet writes the "Hymnus in Noctem" with the satyr hope "That all mens bosoms . . . / . . . may be lanced wide, / And with the threates of vertue terrified" (ll. 26-8). Yet his address to Roydon mentions the much more elusive task of striking "fire out of darknesse." Armed with Herculean learning and professing these diverse intentions, the poet that Chapman figures forth embodies both a creative and corrective vigour:

Therefore Promethean Poets with the coles
 Of their most geniale, more-then-humane soules
 In liuing verse, created men like these,
 With shapes of Centaurs, Harpies, Lapithes,
 That they in prime of erudition,
 When almost sauage vulgar men were growne,
 Seeing them selues in those Pierean founts,
 Might mend their minds, asham'd of such accounts. (ll. 131-38).¹²

In spite of the extra-humanity of the poet's soul, though, Chapman is prepared to accept a meagre audience for his ethical and profoundly human labours. A blending of impatience and common sense seems to explain his adoption of the Horatian stance contentus paucis lectoribus,

when, at the outset of The Shadow of Night, he resolves upon "satisfying my selfe if but a few, if one, or if none like it." However, by the time he was completing his gloss to the "Hymnus in Noctem," the first element in this blending evidently predominates. He will not submit his figures and similes to justification "because he hopes they will be proud enough to iustifie themselues, and proue sufficiently authentically to such as vnderstand them; for the rest," Chapman proclaims, "God help them I can not (do as others), make day seeme a lighter woman than she is, by painting her."¹³ In his composition of the next year, Ovids Banquet of Sence (1595),¹⁴ the distinction between the understander and the querist has widened into the gulf separating the hated "prophane multitude" and the personally addressed "serching spirits, whom learning hath made noble, and nobilitie sacred."¹⁵ Not to "empty, and dark spirits," but to "light-bearing intellect(s)" does Chapman dedicate his efforts. For the benefit of such a restricted audience, he is careful to explain the particular eminence of poetry above prose.¹⁶ To employ plainness as the special ornament of poetry, in Chapman's view, "were the plaine way to barbarisme." The "motion, spirit and life" that the absolute and fantastic poet diffuses into his work through the use of enargia are closely related to the expressive adumbration provided through "obscuritie." His argument in support of such obscurity is at once consistent with his loathing of the ordinariness of every Cobbler's song and defensive in preparation for expected criticism: "Obscuritie in affection of words, & indigested concets, is pedanticall and childish; but where it shroudeth it selfe

A Comparison of a Printer's Device and an Emblematist's Design

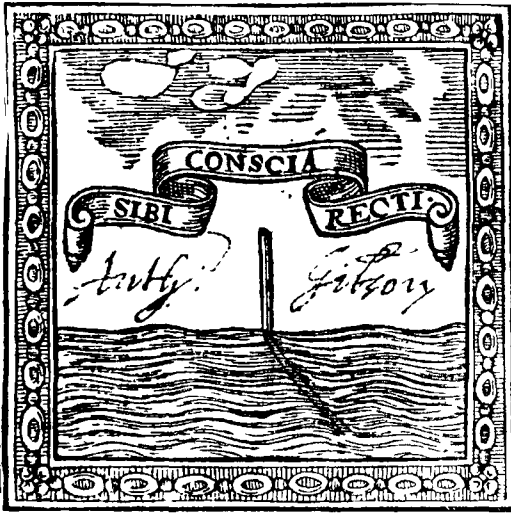


Figure 2
Frontispiece of Ovids Banquet of Sence,
copied from McLure's reproduction of
the Title-page (Bodleian Library).

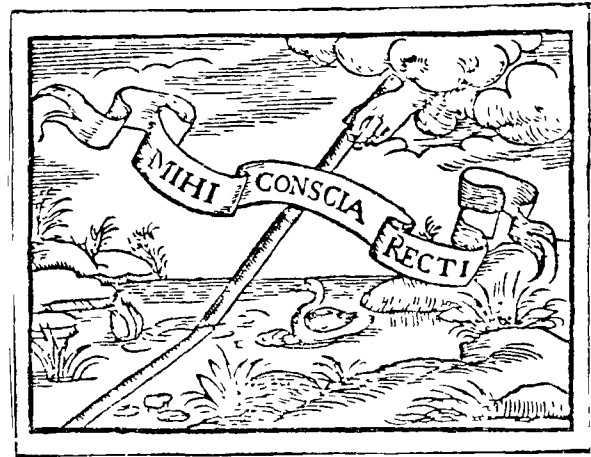


Figure 3
"Nec te quesiveris extra," from
Peacham's Minerva Britanna,
p. 67.

in the hart of his subiect, vttered with fitnes of figure, and
 expressiue Epethites; with that darknes will I still labour to be
 shadowed." ¹⁷

In their own solemn and would-be majestic way, his poems are
 actually attempts to fulfil the promise of their creator's mistress
 Philosopher, moving "through euery thing obscure / To full perfection." ¹⁸
 However, even though his readers can point to the many flaws in this
 hoped-for perfection and admit frankly to the vitriol of his protective
 ripostes to detractors, Chapman's zeal in affirming the necessity and
 wealth of the poet's role, and his devotion to them, remain an
 undeniably worthy hallmark. The jewel of his unlucky Andromeda
Liberata (1614), that he was to be called upon to defend so shortly,
 presented to the Earl of Somerset and the Countess of Essex on the
 occasion of their wedding, is still a glittering hope to its fifty-five
 year-old creator. For poetry appears both child-like in its flight and
 potentially divine in its intimations:

This little Soules Pulse, Poesie, panting still
 Like to a dancing pease vpon a Quill,
 Made with a childes breath, vp and downe to fly,
 (Is no more manly thought); And yet thereby
 Euen in the corps of all the world we can
 Discouer all the good and bad of man,
 Anatomise his nakednesse, and be
 To his chief Ornament, a Maiestie:
 Erect him past his human Period

And heighten his transition into God. (ll. 35-44)¹⁹

Despite the benighting pall of "dull Poet-Haters"²⁰ and the "Artificiall
webbe"²¹ of critical victimizers, Chapman's remarkable faith in the
instructive, stellar, and enrapturing potential of the poet prevails.

But the world in which his detractors live definitely merits no such reverence. In contrast to the pious elevation of his art stands the awful truculence of his approach to defamers. The cherished calm of the learned man deserts Chapman often. In fact, he seems to make provision in almost every poem for a form of topical tirade or Chapman harangue. When he is about to climax (or cliff-hang) Ovids Banquet of Sence, he enters upon a disquisition about "these dog-dayes" (ll. 1) of patronage. In the midst of Hero's solitude and dissimulation, he finds time to pity her, while also launching an offensive on the greater hypocrisy of others. "Nothing is thy sin," he shrives his heroine with confidence, "Wayd with those foule faults other priests are in" (Hero and Leander, IV, 210-11). In dedicating Eugenia (1614) to the heir of William, Lord Russell, he executes a variation on the theme of the "dog-dayes" of non-recognition which characterize a world "having alwaies an Epimethean, and after wit." The unpleasant metaphor of Vigiliae Tertiae likens the desirous gaping mouths in this "clamorous game-giuen world" to "wounds" (l. 833). As he announces his retreat within the Castle of his Innocence when introducing his "Iustification of Andromeda Liberata" (1614), he closes with a final broadside directed at the "baser" sort from whom he proposes to defend himself "by an eternall contempt." To a friend who has written a play, he bemoans the

hackish popularity of the times as, like Timon or Master kinsayder, he regrets that "All things are made for sale." ²² Later, he chooses the occasion of the publication of Grimeston's translation of Coeffetau to inveigh against "dull Opinionists" who "Consume their stupid liues in learned mists." ²³

Both the comedies and the Homer continue these emphases in favour of learning and the poet and in unflagging opposition to ignorance and defamers. In the comedies, ²⁴ the trickster or poseur ²⁵ who initiates and controls the action always operates at the expense of the unlearned. Thus, an illiterate like Medice suffers in "his base-bred ignorance" ²⁶ at the hands of a prince as adept as Vincentio and a lord as calm as Strozza. Although characters like Quintiliano would, predictably, want knowledge to be worthwhile--"Do'st thou delight to heare thy sonne begge in Latin?" (Day Day, II. iv. 221)--Chapman, the comic creator, still disdains "any vaine estimation of the vulgar." ²⁷ The poetry he espouses is accorded its fullest treatment in his prologue to The Masque of the Inns of Court (1613). Unsurprisingly, it is intended to "answer certaine insolent obiections," and so it distinguishes between the Insania of "euery Ranck-brainde writer" and the superior diuinus furor which ²⁸ "make(s) gentle, and noble, the neuer so truly-inspired writer." In ²⁹ brief, his comedies present a topsy-turvy world where Lysander's aphorism, "Who hates not the vulgar, deserves not loue of the vertuous" (The Widow's Tears, IV. iii. 72-3), reigns.

The outstanding example of Chapman's poetic loyalties resides in his Homer--noteworthy too for its exposition of how the learned

translator fares. His complete Homer was a cumulative³⁰ effort,³¹
 beginning with the translation of Book XVIII, entitled Achilles Shield,
 in 1598, followed by a volume containing the first twelve books of the
Iliads in 1608,³² and the whole twenty-four books in 1611. Late in 1614,
 the Odyssey first appeared in half-complete form, annexed to the Iliads,
 as a New Year's gift for the Earl of Somerset in celebration of his
 new appointment as Lord Chamberlain. By 1616 both epics were available
 in complete form and, with the addition of The Crowne of All Homers
Workes in 1624, "The Worke that [Chapman] was borne to doe is done."³³
 From the musically varied blank-verse effect of the "swinging"
 fourteeners of the Iliad to the intricacies of the rimed decasyllabic
 couplets of the Odyssey,³⁴ the dedications, glosses, and verses that
 accompany each installment appear to gain in hierophantic momentum.
 A particularly engaging sidelight that Chapman's addresses and prefaces
 in prose early afford is a view of the embroiling character of the
 translator himself. In what he terms the "tedious induction" of his
 dedication of The Seauen Bookes to Essex, he acknowledges the unworthiness
 of "this poor scribling, this toy," yet also allies his undertaking
 with "poore Learning" as "the inseparable Genius of this Homericall
 writing I intend."³⁵ From his position of material, not intellectual,
 poverty, he implores the English Achilles for protection in the face
 of the "vicious furie of the two Atrides--Arrogancie and Detraction;"
 he imagines Essex as his bulwark "against all those whose faces
 Barbarisme and Fortune have congealde with standing Lakes of
 impudencie, . . . being damd up with their muddie ignorance." But his

poverty is actually a double-edged weapon; he excuses the penury of his effort since its very non-liberality protects against "uulgar prophana-tion," and also pleads his case about the inhibiting aspect of the money problem which "distracts invention necessarie euen in translation."

What succeeds in raising Chapman's prose above mere querulousness is his proselyte's zeal about Homer and his hope of touching the happy few of his readers. As early as 1598, Homer looms impressively on Chapman's horizon as "this most excellent Poet and Philosopher"³⁶ and "our divinest Poet" who wrote "from a free furie, an absolute and full soule."³⁷ Evidently this translator has made what W. B. Stanford would call a "mythopoeic leap"³⁸ in attempting to make Homer his own. Along with his belief in Homer's pre-eminence, however, another constant in Chapman's view is his deprecation of the "groveling capacitie" of "the herde" in their "Lernean fen of corruption."³⁹ But to the "Under-stander," "to him that is more than a reader,"⁴⁰ Chapman utters his mind. What appears to be his "beyond-sea manner of writing" is actually a suitable ornamenting of expression. And, as for the pleasure which supposedly results from praise and the self-doubt from censure, Chapman proffers this confident and peremptory manifesto: "To be short: since I had the reward of my labours in their consummation and the chiefe pleasure of them in mine owne profit, no yong prejudicate or castigatorie braine hath reason to thinke I stand trembling under the ayry stroke of his feverie censure, . . . but the satisfaction and delight that might probably redound to everie true lover of vertue I set in the seat of mine owne profit and contentment." However much he may diverge from its

assuring calm, such a statement appeals to me as one of the most likeably problematic in Chapman's writing, combining as it does the individual and protectively private pleasures of creation with the hope of issuing some virtuous and public effect.

This curious mixture diffuses itself through all of the views expressed in his Homer about the poet, the translator, and their world. Poetry is phoenix-like, but clearly not akin to riches. "No gold can follow where true Poesie flies."⁴¹ Moreover, it is superior to prose (ll. 102-05), for, as the "kernell" (l. 136) of "our Tree of man" (l. 132), poetry is both hidden yet procreative:

Obscur'd, though her Promethean facultie

Can create men and make even death to live. (ll. 137-38)

Just as Chapman returns to the notion of the Promethean poet of the "Hymnus in Noctem," he also reiterates his stand on the necessity of a light-bearing and properly prepared audience. As in Herbert's liturgical *Perirrhanterium*, Chapman offers his reader a classical Lavabo in the injunction, "Lest with foule hands you touch these holy Rites / . . . Wash here."⁴² Cleansing would seem mandatory for one approaching "the first and best . . . of all bookes extant in all kinds." "Divine Poesie" is to be preferred over "all worldly wisdome," Chapman avers in this "Preface To The Reader," as much as the contemplative life outdistances the active.⁴³ Furthermore, precisely because he is a poet, and not a grammarian or a critic, is Chapman able to "receive" Homer's "divine rapture, . . . the inward sense or soul of the sacred Muse."⁴⁴ It is understandable that he would respond favourably to Politian's praise of

the Orphic and harmonizing powers of Homer and that he would build into such praise his own conception of the difference between the Iliad and the Odyssey: "in one, the Bodie's fervour and fashion of outward Fortitude to all possible height of Heroicall Action; in the other, the Mind's inward, constant and unconquered Empire, unbroken, unaltered with any most insolent and tyrannous infliction." ⁴⁵ Chapman's poet is both inspired and inspirational; like the hierophant whom Telemachus defends (Odyssey, I. 527-38), the poet in his primal state carries the Jove-given news, and he also deploys it to the benefit of his hearers, "for Poesie's Pen / (Through al theames) is t' informe the lives of Men." ⁴⁶

When conveying this information, Chapman as translator adopts a fairly licensed and interpretive style. Out of respect for his master, he strives "with arte to pierce / [Homer's] Grammar and etymologie of words," ⁴⁷ and hence would seem to be an early advocate of Pound's twentieth-century advice: "T' ain't what a man sez, but wot he means" ⁴⁸ that the traducer has got to bring over. The implication of the word." Without regret Chapman dismisses the cavils of overlearned critics and "what ropes of sand they make with their kinds of intelligencing knowledge." ⁴⁹ He defends his translating license with foreseeable tenacity, and perhaps questionable conviction, when he quizzes his reader: "What fault is it in me to furnish and adorne my verse (being his Translator) with translating and adding the truth and fulnesse of his conceit, it being as like to passe my reader as his, and therefore necessarie?" ⁵⁰ At times Chapman even dares to disagree with the

51

interpretation of his chief Latin authority, Spondanus; in humble yet assertive Millet garb, Chapman explains that "onely where the sence and soule of my most worthily revered Author is abused, or not seene, I still insist, and gleane these few poore corne eares after all other men's harvests."⁵² But to those who would charge him with over-reliance on "other men's harvests," Chapman issues this stern and almost coy challenge: "I would faine learne of my learned Detractor, that will needs have me onely translate out of the Latine, what Latine translation telles me this?"⁵³

His temper with detractors is usually not as controlled. In answering their taunts, Chapman composes some of his most vicious animal images. For the barbarous, beastly, and asinine worldlings who either criticize or refuse to recognize his Iliad, he envisions a horrid meal, when he pictures them as "Asses at Thistles, bleeding as ye eate."⁵⁴ A truly Marstonian choler appears to inspire him in confronting the prophanities of "Wolf-fac't wordlings . . . as the barkings of puppies or foisting hounds."⁵⁵ Although defamers like the "certaine envious Windfucker" who alleged that his Homer was based solely on the Latin text can provoke the translator's ire in 1611, Chapman continues to write for the understander and, in 1624, is still able to uphold the difference between merely modern learning and ancient wisdom; proponents of the former merit a scabious metaphor, while devotees of the latter are assigned warmth and vision:

And though our mere-learn'd men, and Modern wise,
 Taste not poore Poesie's Ingenuities,
 Being crusted with their covetous Leprosies,

.....

Yet th' ancient learn'd, heat with celestiall fire,
 Affirmes her flames so sacred and entire
 That not without God's greatest grace she can
 Fall in the wid'st Capacitie of Man.⁵⁶

As poet, playwright, and translator, Chapman strove to rekindle this flame. The vigour of his recurring themes and their statement within a context as immediate as that of the emblemist show how, in assembling his "profitable coherents for the time," he attempted to contain these issues within "the wid'st Capacitie of Man."

Chapman's view of microcosmic man does not exalt the sovereignty of this combined ruler and universe; on the contrary, it makes his readers conscious of the obverse of the microcosm's coin. Although man's little world might appear self-sufficient, chaotic shapelessness may result if its controlling authority is more ventral than mental and if its arrogation of selfhood does not submit to the recognition of a primordial Intelligence. The imagistic nodule of the "Hymnus in Noctem,"

In him the world is to a lump reuerst,

That shruncke from forme, that was by forme disperst (ll. 101-02), indicates the regression of the blind, dark, avaricious, and ruined microcosm into undistinguished amorphousness. However, in his pursuit of Corinna the enraptured Ovid calls upon the undiminished potential of

the microcosm for assistance; this invocation paints an upliftingly cosmic backdrop to Ovid's desire of Orphic skills:

O that as man is cald a little world

The world might shrink into a little man,

To heare the notes about the Garden hurld. (Ovids Banquet, 20. 1-3)

As Peace also argues in Euthymiae Raptus, the world should be "disposde" (l. 813) to forming man. Such a disposition implies more than a self-contained harmony; it also intimates the existence of natural referents and analogues--be they floods, currents, rivers, seas, or trees. In his verses addressed "To yong imaginaries in knowledge," Chapman attempts to anatomize their little worlds by outlining that blood, flesh, bones, and nerves serve only "externall circumscription" (l. 59), while their animating guide remains internal:

Gods image in a soule eternifide,

which he that shewes not in such acts as tend

To that eternesse, making that their end:

In this world nothing knowes, nor after can,

But is more any creature then a man. (ll. 62-66)

Eugenia corroborates this lesson: the mind is man's centre, "The bodie onely, made her instrument" (l. 634). As the analysis in Andromeda Liberata makes clear, a true understanding of the microcosm initiates an extra-corporal ascent.⁵⁷ With a realization that "this small world of ours / Is but a Chaos of corporeall powers" (ll. 129-30), "mans mortall Monarchie" (l. 148) ceases its proud sway, when "the Soule mounts" (l. 139) and surveys a larger world, an all-encompassing

"Fabricke" (l. 140).

The microcosmic concepts of the emblematisers are, almost predictably, more simplistic than Chapman's. In the figurations of Combe and Peacham (Figures 4-6), man lives in a world of masks and disguises. His Protean abilities only throw into relief his penchant for duplicity. In a world where "Maskers . . . abound," Combe warns his reader, "you shall finde but few in any place, / That carrie not sometimes a double face" (ll. 6-8). The Protean man of Peacham's woodcut, linked as he is to the human and the animalistic, carries the emphasis on the devices necessary to "bring the gaines" (l. 6). Homo microcosmus, as Peacham presents him, is but a physiological cosmos. This "little world" (l. 2) contains the sun of day and the moon of night and is "framed" of the "threefold" elements "of Earth, Fire, Water" (ll. 13-14). Such a design points up the understandable difference separating the popular sententiae of the emblem, perhaps best summarized in Thynne's pronouncement, "Behould man is the litle world,"⁵⁸ from the more metaphysical images of reversal and ascent which compose Chapman's view of man's little world.

Although it lacks the consistently theological thrust of Donne's microcosm, this view is still more closely related to the private cerebrations of the Dean of St. Paul's than to the more available fare of the emblematisers. In the Devotions resulting from his serious illness of 1623, Donne used his sickbed as an opportunity to probe the specific example he presented of the "miserable condition of man."⁵⁹ His "little world" is a physiological and phenomenal complexity that seems more



Figure 4
 "Most men do use some colour'd shift, / For to conceal their craftie drift,"
 Emblem VI from Combe's Theatre of Fine Devices.



Figure 5
 "Per far denari," from Peacham's Minerva Britanna, p. 205.

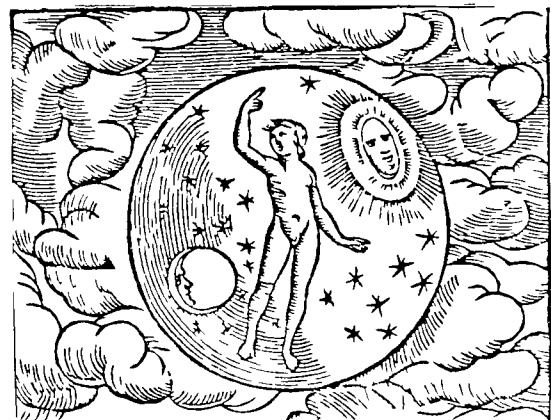


Figure 6
 "Homo Microcosmus," from
 Peacham's Minerva Britanna,
 p. 190.

allied to the reversals of Chapman's lucubrations in the "Hymnus in Noctem" than to the cosmography of Peacham's homo microcosmus; he experiences "these earthquakes in himself, sudden shakings; theses lightnings, sudden flashes; . . . these rivers of blood, sudden red waters." Like the microcosm of Eugenia, Donne's little world affirms that "earth is the centre of my body, heaven is the centre of my soul." Similar to Chapman's view, Donne's concept of the microcosm can fluctuate between ennoblement and imprisonment. At one moment it seems "too little to call man a little world; except God, man is a diminutive to nothing." However, at the next the creator of these thoughts appears enslaved by them:

" . . . in a close prison, in a sick bed, any where, and any one of my creatures, my thoughts, is with the sun" As in Euthymiae Raptus, Donne's world is disposed to forming man; but the emergent construct is a telling analogue of his own plaintive situation. Aware of the spiritual and physical sickness of his microcosm, "his misery, as the sea, swells above all the hills, and reaches to the remotest part of this earth, man; who of himself is but dust, and coagulated and kneaded into earth by tears; his matter is earth, his form misery." Whether upon the altar of his sickbed or in the embroiling dichotomies of his Holy Sonnets, Donne's little world remains a heterogeneous and riddling mixture, "made cunningly / Of Elements, and an Angelike spright," a combination of "contraryes meet in one." During the sickness that did lead to his death, he composes an eloquent plea for the sort of ascent Chapman had hinted at earlier in Andromeda Liberata. Moreover, with characteristic solemnity and inimitable compactness, Donne's

memorable flight soars above any unfortunate allegorizing, as he cries aloud:

Looke Lord, and find both Adams met in me,
 As the first Adams sweat surrounds my face,
 Lay the last Adams blood my soule embrace.⁶⁶

Closely related to the view of man as a microcosm stands his position as the exemplar of a living death. Such a condition finds comic iteration in the dilemmas of Monsieur D'Olive wherein the newly returned knight, Vandome, is confronted with the predicaments of a self-cloistered mistress whose husband's tactlessness has "entoomd . . . quick" (I. i. 114) and an embalmed sister whose body has been preserved by her grief-stricken husband "as fresh as if she liu'd" (I. i. 157). However, despite their chronological inconsistencies, the explorations of Donne from his "grave"⁶⁷ of a sickbed and the universal plight figured in Quarles's emblem of "this body of death" (Figure 7) would seem to afford better introductions to this sombre reality than the comedy's breezy treatment. Amidst the thunder of the deprecating images and epithets of the "Hymnus in Noctem," Chapman describes those who have sold themselves to gain "as men robd and rackt, / Furtherd in life: from shades with shadows blackt" (ll. 304-05). The prologue to Chapman's (or the Interlocutor's, dedication to Peace in Euthymiae Raptus takes the form of this drum-rolling, image-packed catalogue in which he recognizes and renounces

This loade of life, in life; this fleshie stone,
 This bond, and bundle of corruption;



*O wretched Man that I am; who shall
deliver me from the body of this Death?*

Rom. 7. 24. Will. Simpson. Sculp.

Figure 7
From Book V, Embleme VIII of Quarles's Emblemes.

This breathing Sepulchre; this spundge of grieffe;

This smiling Enemie; this household-thiefe;

This glasse of ayre; broken with lesse then breath;

This Slaue, bound face to face, to death, till death. (ll. 1015-20)

As Eugenia recapitulates, in our mutable and mortal existences "we die euery day" (l. 541).

One way in which the world is disposed to forming man is in its image or emblem of the tree. Whitney's most noteworthy emblems involving trees all function as moral exempla (Figures 8-10). The lofty Pine that can be overthrown in sudden storms stands as a warning to those "that truste to muche in fortunes smiles" (l. 5), just as the gallant Palm whose base is infested with frogs and serpents figures the undermining power of envy. In contrast to these failings, the Laurel which is "bothe freshe, and greene" (l. 1) and weathers any storm is an emblem of "the man that hathe a conscience cleare" and "doth constant stande" (ll. 5, 7). Among Peacham's emblems, trees serve similar instructive ends; but in these cases, the emblematiser seems more aware of the universality and topicality of their import (Figures 11-14). Since, in his plate of the decaying Elder, "are all Traditions ment" (l. 7), Peacham draws his analogy between those "puffed vp with pride, . . . [who] die, moulder downe, and fall" and "this Elder growing on the wall" (ll. 10-12). To celebrate his ueen, he pictures a fully branched Olive tree whose "outstretcht armes" offer "To shield and shade, the innocent from harmes" (ll. 7, 9). Similar to Whitney's Pine, Peacham's tree furnishes a lesson to those in government who would stoop "vnto the



Figure 8
 "Nimium rebus ne ride secundis,"
 from Whitney's Choice of Emblemes,
 p. 59.

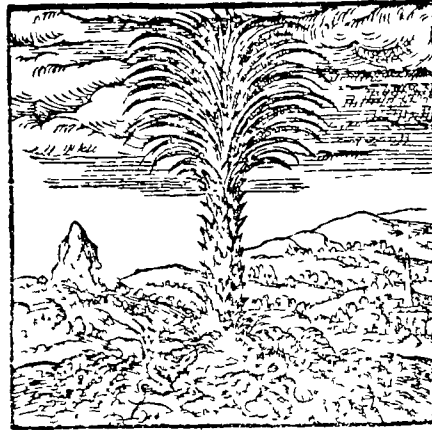


Figure 9
 "Invidia integritatis affecta,"
 from Whitney's Choice of
Emblemes, p. 118.



Figure 10
 "Murus aeneus, sana conscientia,"
 from Whitney's Choice of Emblemes,
 p. 67.



Figure 11
 "Humanae traditiones," from
 Peacham's Minerva Britanna,
 p. 6.

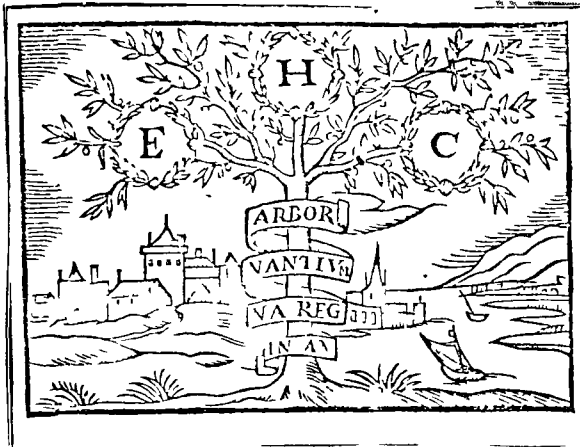


Figure 12
 "To The Thrice-Vertuous, And Fairest
 of Queenes, Anne Queene of Great Britaine.
 In Anna regnantium arbor. Anna
 Britannorum Regina," from Peacham's
Minerva Britanna, p. 13.



Figure 13
 "Ni undas ni vientos," from
 Peacham's Minerva Britanna,
 p. 60.



Figure 14
 "Nitor in adversum," from
 Peacham's Minerva Britanna,
 p. 167.



Figure 15
 Embleme 13, addressed to the
 Earl of Arundel, from Godyere's
Mirroure of Maiestie, p. 25.

blast of fate, / And fawne on Envie, to your ruine bent" (ll. 9-10);
 in contrast, because the ancient and firmly rooted Cypress endures,
 "it should Imprese be, / Of Resolution, and true Constancie" (ll. 5-6).
 The endurance of 'hitney's Laurel and the flourishing of Peacham's
 Cypress are comparable to the "fruitfull vertue at full height" (l. 4)
 which Godyere's noble tree (Figure 15) ⁶⁸ shining in the "Sunne of
 Royall fauour" (l. 8) figures.

Chapman's tree images operate within this familiar sphere of
 human analogues and theoretical concepts. His picture of a fully grown
 tree which casts broad shadows in summer ("Hymnus in Cynthiam," ll. 479-
 484) images his concept about protective obscurity in a way that previews
 Peacham's emblem of the regal Olive tree. ⁶⁹ Dowsecer's distinction
 between the Oak-like toughness and strength of the giant men during
 the golden age and the feeble pygmies of the present (An Humorous Day's
Mirth, II. ii. 80-83) recalls the distance separating the Laurel and
 the Pine in 'hitney and the Cypress and the Elder in Peacham. ⁷⁰ From
 his translation of the Iliad, Chapman was no doubt aware of the rich
 Homeric mine of tree images. In the verses addressed to Prince Henry,
 he draws a comparison between "a flourishing and ripe fruite Tree" (l. 125)
 and "our Tree of man" (l. 132). ⁷¹ Using the rhetorical device of
⁷²merismus, Chapman anatomizes the protective structure and generative
 cycle of this natural emblem:

Nature hath made the barke to save the Bole,
 The Bole the sappe, the sappe to decke the whole
 With leaves and branches, they to beare and shield

The usefull fruite, the fruite itself to yeeld

Guard to the kernell, and for that all those

(Since out of that againe the whole Tree growes). (ll. 126-31)

The seed of the tree is Chapman's analogue for the hidden "Queene of Arts" (l. 135) in man, his soul of Poetry, which lies hidden like the kernel "obscur'd" (l. 137). In Homer's battle-oriented epic, tree images as indices of either fortitude or conquest abound. Ajax slays and leaves Simoisius as a wheel-wright, having hewn "a Poplar shot aloft" (IV. 520), wearies of lugging it home and abandons it where "the goodly plant lies withring out his grace" (l. 528). Homer compares the defeat of Orsilochus and Crethon at the hands of Aeneas to the fall of "two tall fir-trees" (V. 557). Agamemnon harries the Trojans "as in a stormie day / In thicke-set woods a ravenous fire wraps in his fierce repaire / The shaken trees" (XI. 143-45). Teucer's slaying of the unfortunate soldier Imbrius is likened to "an Ash on some hil's top" (XIII. 168) which has recently fallen and is about to be disfigured. Similarly, Asius falls "like an Oake, a Poplar or a Pine / Hewne down for shipwood" (ll. 369-70), while the Cretan King, Idomeneus, shows his valour by striking down the "high tree" (l. 412) of Alcahous whose staunchness is reminiscent of Peacham's Cypress. In depicting the contest between Hector and Patroclus for possession of a corpse, the translator follows his original in comparing these combatants to the East and South winds striving to make trees, "barkie Elmes, wild Ashes, Beeches bound" (XVI. 701), bend to their force.

Just as the tree images have fluctuated between intimations of

protection and exposure, victory and defeat, the recurrent image of the flow of water undulates between positive and negative values. Although the positive value of this image which usually involves the growth and propulsion of smaller into larger bodies of water predominates, certain negative aspects of this cycle of growth indicate a less optimistic progress. His picture of the once-bounteous streams that run dry in the desert provides an apt introduction to the chaotic world of the "Hymnus in Noctem;" Chapman intentionally runs the promise of his "hunderd streames" (l. 53) into the desiccation of "the gulfie desart" (l. 58) as testimony in support of his thesis:

So all things now (extract out of prime)

Are turnd to chaos, and confound the time. (ll. 61-2)

Yet Chapman's plea that Elizabeth acknowledge the merit of the expeditions of Raleigh and Keymis in Guiana employs the image of a river running from the mountain to the sea to positive effect; his intention is that such a presentation of ever-growing strength will persuade his monarch to "let thy soueraigne Empire be encreast" ("De Guiana, Carmen Epicum," l. 63). A similar positiveness informs his image of flowing water used to compliment Jonson on the occasion of the publication of Sejanus; Chapman praises the caution of his friend's gently nurtured and "chaste Muse" ("In Seianum Ben. Ionsoni," l. 45) which, creeping from the "little Brooke" (l. 33) of its beginning, has proceeded into a stream and finally into "a goodly Riuer" (l. 39). Vandome's advice to the long-grieving St. Anne, that as rivers branch out from a flood so affections should diversify and carry one away from undue sorrow (Monsieur D'Olive,

III. i. 24-30), resembles the position Chapman adopts in writing "Of Friendship." As a river "greater and greater growes" (l. 8) in flowing to the sea, Chapman enjoins his reader, we should befriend those men who "make good to their ends, / Increase of goodness" (ll. 11-12). The image of the narrow fountain that feeds the ample river in his Memorable Masque carries an interesting analogy with poetry. Spectacles or masques, no matter how extravagant, "(having Poesie, and Oration in them, and a fountaine, to be exprest, from whence their Riwers flow) should expressiue-ly-arise out of the places, and persons for and by whome they are presented; without which limits, they are luxurious, and vaine" (The Memorable Masque, ll. 186-89). The deaths of two prominent men, Prince Henry and Lord Russell, account for Chapman's famous elegies; however, while An Epicede Or Funerall Song closes with a mention of the "euerlasting Riwer" (l. 641) of grief, Eugenia envisions the ever-increasing strength of a river as comparable to Lord Russell's pursuit of virtue which "growes more great and strong still" (l. 351).

The connection between the flow of water and its eventual terminus in the sea is both natural and problematic. Donne's prayer, "I have, O Lord, a river in my body, but a sea in my soul, and a sea swollen into the depth of a deluge, above the sea,"⁷³ affords some suggestion of the expansiveness coupled with inundating power which the sea presents. The work of the emblematisers attests further to the mystery of the sea. The sails and oars of the galley which Combe pictures (Emblem XLIII) are concrete extensions of his motto, "When one meane

failes then by and by, / Another meane we ought to try." Whitney's ship emblems (Figures 16-18) propound a more consciously moral allegory. While the gallant bark that founders in a storm demonstrates the inexorable turn of Fortune's wheel, the persistent ship that weathers all difficulties stands as an emblem of constancy as it "winnes / That wished port where lasting joy beginnes" (p. 137, ll. 11-12). Whitney's sea emblem which urges this sort of virtue figures forth a marine psychomachia, for "By raging Sea, is ment our ghostlie foe, / By earthe, mans soule: he seekes to ouerthrowe" (ll. 11-12). The ship emblems of Minerva Britanna (Figures 19-21) follow much the same course of adjuration and caution. Just as the "dread-nought Argo, cuts the foaming surge" (l. 1), one verse argues, we should act with directness and confidence; even in times of peril, another urges, "the valiant mind" (l. 1), comparable to the storm-tossed ship, takes courage and resolutely endures. The flimsy bark of Opinion, however, is destined to destruction, while the rock representing "Manlie Constancie of mind" (l. 5) stands impenetrable. Reminiscent of either Brant's Narrenschiff or Barclay's adaptation, Godyere's emblem addressed to the Bishop of Winchester (Figure 22) is a contenting depiction of "the Romaine Faith" (l. 1) as an "ore burden'd Vessell, . . . / . . . opprest by its owne weight, / . . . with sinfull soules so stuft, and over-freight" (ll. 6-8). The ship emblems of Jenner, Hawkins, and Quarles are, expectedly, more anagogical in their tenor than the foregoing. Jenner's ship (Figure 23) is more than a fisher of souls; it both carries and directs its passengers:



Figure 16
 "Res humanae in summo declinat,"
 from Whitney's Choice of Emblemes,
 p. 11

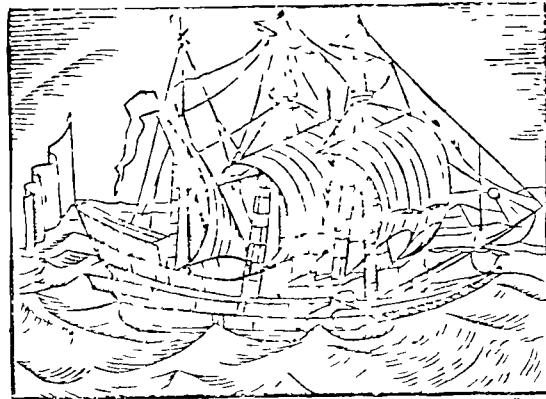


Figure 19
 "In actione consistit," from
 Peacham's Minerva Britannia, p. 54.

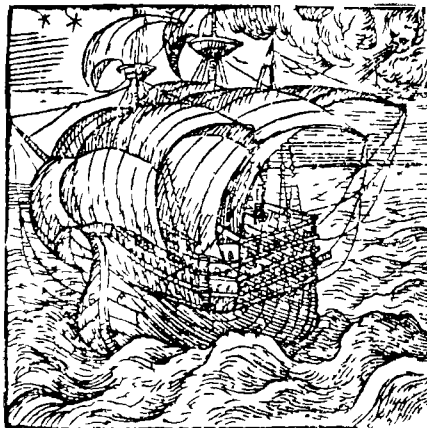


Figure 17
 "Constantia comes victoriae," from
 Whitney's Choice of Emblemes, p. 137.

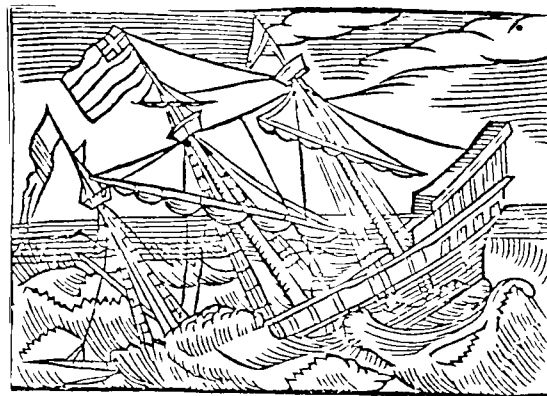


Figure 20
 "His graviora," from Peacham's
Minerva Britannia, p. 165.



Figure 18
 "Constanter," from Whitney's
Choice of Emblemes, p. 129.

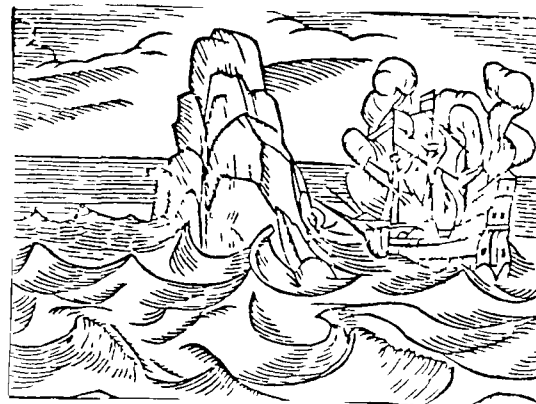


Figure 21
 "Nec igne, nec unda," from Peacham's
Minerva Britannia, p. 158.



Figure 22
Embleme 22, from Godyere's Mirroure of Maiestie



Figure 23
"The Equality of Iustification by Christ," Emblem XXX, from Jenner's
The Soules Solace.

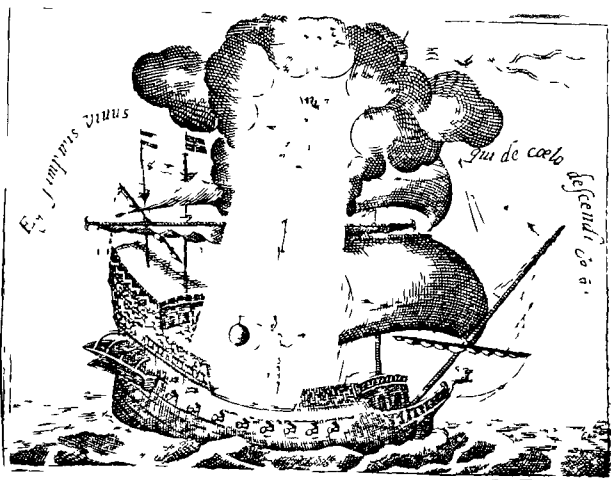


Figure 24
The Emblem of The Ship from Hawkins's
Partheneia Sacra, p. 253.



*Let not the water-flood overflow me,
neither let the deepe swallow me up.
Ps: 69 17. Will Simpson sculpsit ~*

Figure 25
From Book III, Emblem AI of
Quarles's Emblemes.

The Ship beares all, all arriue at one hower,

Christ is this Ship, all his are shipt in him. (XXX, ll. 14-15)

Hawkins characterizes the sea as "the great Diet, or Parliament held of waters,"⁷⁴ and discourses upon it as an awesome congregation of Marian graces and virtues; his ship, or "artificial Dolphin of the Seas,"⁷⁵ is the vehicle of Mary who, like the good wife of Proverbs xxxi. 14, holds a valuable cargo and supports the life-giving mast of her divine Son (Figure 24). Although in the context of Quarles's emblems boats and nets are unnecessary to rescue wise souls,⁷⁶ the marine world (Figure 25) is still one of peril and travail:

The world's a Sea; my flesh, a Ship, that's man'd

With lab'ring thoughts; and steer'd by Reasons hand. (III. xi. 1-2)

Chapman's sea and ship imagery relies on much of the same allegorical background,⁷⁷ but the recurring picture of shipwreck, whether on the seas or in port, seems to weigh this artist's views most heavily on the side of the grim ordeal of marine and, by analogy, terrestrial existence. The chaos of his inverted times evokes the poet's tears for "the shipwracke of the world" ("Hymnus in Noctem," l. 10). Several years later, in dedicating Euthymiae Raptus to Prince Henry, this same observer realizes how static the situation is as he describes "mens Reasons, and their Learnings, shipwrackt quite" ("Inductio," l. 16). But while Peace attempts to chart a learned course for the Interlocutor, this participant in the dialogue steers with trepidation and doubt. Peace likens the ravages of Flattery and Avarice to the turbulence of the sea as it "driues Shippes gainst roughest windes, with his fierce

Tide" (l. 498). She also characterizes Learning as that ultimate navigator who "takes the Helme, / And gouernes freely; stering to one Port" (ll. 669-70). The Interlocutor, however, in the very act of following his divine "guide" (l. 938) "to this calme Shore" (l. 940), loses control and begins to founder: "I fall againe, and, in my hauen, wracke" (l. 942).⁷⁸ The self-doubt of Chapman's dark night of the soul, as he founders in such a heavenly haven, finds expression in a telling series of reactions to solitude, penury, and seeming inequity; the poet momentarily persuades himself

That, all my Reading; writing, all my paines
 Are serious trifles; and the idle vaines
 Of an vnthrifitie Angell, that deludes
 My simple fancie; and, by Fate, extendes
 My Birth-accurst life, from the blisse of men. (ll. 945-49)

Translating the first of Petrarch's Psalms affords him another opportunity to lament the shipwreck of the individual (stanza 5), while creating the dialogue which attempts to justify Andromeda Liberata leads him to picture the poor reception of his allegorical work as an in-port shipwreck.⁷⁹ As man is a ship, his life is a sea, and one hopes for the "grace of Homers Sea-man, / In this life's rough Seas tost."⁸⁰ The situation of Leander would seem to afford a worthwhile paradigm of marine imagery as Chapman deploys it. The young man is like a ship⁸¹ laden with this "prize of Loue" (III. 66). Although within himself Leander is manning "Loues compleate Fleete" ("Argument of the Sixt Sestyad," l. 4), Chapman makes it clear that it is no adventure-bound

argosy but merely a tragically immobile appearance:

So serious is his trifling companie

In all his swelling ship of vacantrie. (VI. 131-2)

Whether sharing in Leander's transgression or attempting to obtain knowledge, man cannot escape the sea of trial and, sometimes, of defeat. Capriccio realizes the rigours of such an existence, for, as he remarks, "A man must be a second Proteus, and turne himselfe into all shapes (like Vlisses) to winde through the straites of this pinching vale of miserie" (The Memorable Masque, "The Presentment," ll. 23-5).

Of course the sea of life is one of the mainstays of the Odyssey. In glossing a passage about the hold of Calypso over "her loved guest" (I. 98), Chapman announces that "the Allegorie driven through the whole Odysseys" concerns the arrival "at the proper and onely true naturall countrie of every worthy man, whose haven is heaven and the next life, to which this life is but a sea in continuall aesture and vexation." Although the sea with its waves that "eat of the ravenous maine" (III. 128) and the "appetites" (XXIV. 390) it feeds emerges as a primarily destructive force, it also proves to be a constructive foil to the heroic stability of Ulysses. Chapman indulges in a three-and-one-half-line explication of Nausicaa's two words, *δλεπος βροτος*,⁸⁴ to heighten the worth of Ulysses in terms of his sea adventures:

This man no moist man is (nor watrish thing,

That's ever flitting, ever ravishing

All it can compasse, and, like it, doth range

In rape of Women, never staid in change).

This man is truly manly, wise, and staid,

In soule more rich the more to sense decaid. (VI. 311-16)

Upon completing his translation of the Odyssey, Chapman brings the "adventurous Barke" (l. 7) of his Homeric labour to port and sighs with content that, as he expresses it, "through his great Renowner I have wrought, / And my safe saile to sacred Anchor brought" (ll. 3-4).⁸⁵

As the fitting polarities of such a life of "continuall aesture and vexation," ceaseless dichotomies are bound up in and inform Chapman's emblematic figurations. But there is no actual volleying of attitudes. The emphasis always falls clearly on the better choice and on the recurring suggestion of the best situation.

The dilemma between body and soul is constant; it extends from the lamentable reality of the "Hymnus in Noctem" where "bodies liue without the soules of men" (l. 48) and "soules praise our shapes, and not our shapes our soules" (l. 180) to the similar imbalance of "A Hymne To Ovr Sauour on the Crosse," when "true pietie weares her pearles within, / And outward paintings onely prank vp sinne" (ll. 41-2) and our soul becomes so "rapt . . . / With flatteries of our base corporeall forme, / (Which is her shadow) that she quite forsakes / Her proper noblesse" (ll. 229-32).⁸⁶ Chapman's readers must recognize, as he adjures them in the Dedication of Andromeda Liberata, that shadows are as removed from forms as is the body from the soul:

For as the Bodies Shadow, neuer can

Shew the distinct, and exact Forme of Man;

So nor the bodies passionate affects

Can euer teach well what the Soule respects. (ll. 63-66)⁸⁷

By means of its grace, the soul also provides the link in the cycle connecting the mind with God:

The mind a spirit is, and cal'd the glasse

In which we see God; And corporeall grace

The mirror is, in which we see the minde. (Andromeda, ll. 24-43)

Similarly, the contest between the outward and the inward is weighed in favour of the latter. Just as "wisest Ladies loue the inward parts" ("Hymnus in Noctem," l. 349), Chapman comments, in a manner reminiscent of both Plato and Ficino, that

In-sight illustrates; outward brauerie blindes,

The minde hath in her selfe a Deitie,

And in the stretching circle of her eye

All things are compast,("Hymnus in Cynthiam," ll. 443-46)⁸⁸

Chapman's choice of Minerva over Juno is not surprising. Nor is this further corroboration of a mental, self-reflecting vision unpredictable:

For as a glasse is an inanimate eie,

And outward formes imbraceth inwardlie:

So is the eye an animate glasse that shoves

In-formes without vs. (Hero and Leander, III. 235-38)

Such an inner vision will never partake of the glittering realm of external rewards, nor should it ever try, for "The worth that weigheth inward, should not long / For outward prices" (Euthymiae Raptus, ll. 56-7).⁸⁹ As his versification of Epictetus⁹⁰ underlines, the stoical

choice is the only one, yet also double-edged:

Things within thee prise:

Onely within, thy helpe and ruine lies. ("To liue with little,"
ll. 37-8)

For those--like his princely patron--correctly armed with learning, the choice will be fortuitous. Resembling Hercules' wisdom at the crossroads and removed from the scriptural perversions of Marlowe's Barabas,⁹¹ such a choice will involve the embrace of the serpent and the dove (Epicede, l. 250).

In the figure of the circle stands Chapman's foil to the contests, vexations, and debates of these polarities. Unlike Donne's centre of decay and misery,⁹² Chapman's Plotinian⁹³ circle embraces hope ("Hymnus in Noctem," ll. 6-7) and contentment (Ovids Banquet of Sence, 54. 1-2). It can receive its impetus in the kiss bestowed by Julia on the infatuated⁹⁴ Ovid (Ovids Banquet, 99) or in the praise of the nascent imperialism of England ("De Guiana," l. 184). Just as love can be circular--whether proposed as part of Chapman's dedicatory courtesy to Lady 'alsingham ("To My Best Esteemed And Worthely Honored Lady," l. 40) or adopted as a motto by the gallant Vandome (Monsieur D'Olive, I. i. 11-12), the perfection of the soul (Hero and Leander, III. 246), of the Godhead ("A Hymne To Ovr Sauour on the Crosse," l. 8), of military skills (Eugenia, l. 339), and of personal magnetism ("Pro Vere," l. 39) can also be intimated by the use of this adjective. Standard of this erudite poet, the circle serves as his most important figuration of the potential completeness, richness, and

perfection of knowledge. Learning encloses our actions, he suggests, "in the narrow way / To God and goodnesse, . . . / As in charm'd circles" ("To yong imaginaries in knowledge," ll. 23-5). While, as a **translator**, he uses the same idea to laud the perception of Odysseus' "circularly-witted Queene" (Odyssey, XIV. 525),⁹⁵ he also relies on the favourite idea of the concentric circles formed by **dropping** any object in still water to **promote** his doctrine about the unique interrelation of Truth and Poetry:

So Truth and Poesie worke, so Poesie, blazing
 All subjects falne in her exhaustlesse fount,
 Works most exactly, makes a true account
 Of all things to her high discharges given
 Till all be circular and round as heaven.⁹⁶

In the following chapters I hope to investigate the workings of this learned poet's private vocabulary and reappearing images in the distinct worlds of his five tragedies. Like the **multeity** of his other accomplishments, the tragedies seem to be not only reflections consistent with Chapman's other literary undertakings but creations deserving individual attention also. Hopefully, the foregoing discussion has paved the way for this investigation by emphasizing the facts that Chapman was not writing his tragedies in a vacuum, that he continued to cherish humanistic ideals along with Christian ethics, that he was never a milquetoast dabbler, but rather an impassioned devotee of Learning whose passages written in praise of the knowing or blame of the ignorant were scarcely disguised, and that the explicitness and

recurrence of many of this poet's word-pictures suggest the seventeenth-century correlative of a pictorial bias, that is, the use of noticeably emblematic imagery.

I see almighty AEther in the smoke
Of all his clouds descending, and the sky
Hid in the dim ostents of tragedy.

1

(Bussy D'Ambois, IV. i. 109-11)

THE TRAGEDIES

Chapman did not deprecate the drama. His praise of this form recalls both ancient precedent and contemporary theories. Like the drama which Plato described as representing "the acts and fortunes of human beings" and the tragedy in which Aristotle manifested the "imitation of a noble and complete action,"² the tragedy Chapman proposes, "whose subject is not truth, but things like truth,"³ is mimetic. Yet, as his epistle dedicating The Revenge of Bussy D'Ambois to Sir Thomas Howard continues, he is most concerned with the instructional content of this natural fiction:

"material instruction, elegant and sententious excitation to virtue, and deflection from her contrary, being the soul, limbs, and limits of an autentical tragedy." The license he claims for the tragedian rests harmoniously with his earlier defense of the fantastic enargia employed by the poet. Moreover, the didactic prominence which he apportions to tragedy is in tune with his other pronouncements on the stage. Although Sidney and Bacon both realized the expanse separating the theatre of their day from the past glories of Greece and Rome, they possessed an enthusiasm about this art which Chapman's efforts to bestow on stages "a respect due to them" (The Revenge of Bussy D'Ambois, I. i. 334) evidently mirror. Recalling Sidney's Tragedy which "teacheth the uncertainty of this world, and upon how weak foundations gilden roofs are builded" and Bacon's Drama which is "a kind of musician's bow by which men's minds may be played upon,"⁴ Chapman aligns himself with the deserved laurels of "The Theaters of Athens and of Rome" ("Coronet," X.7),

and addresses his efforts and invitation to follow to searching-spirited light bearers whose tastes run to the histrionic, that is, to "wits, that in-ayme / At higher Objects" ("Prologus," All Fools, ll. 5-6).

His images provide the penetrating music of his tragedies. They are the unique magic of Chapman's stage. Or, in the critical jargon of our times, they are his attempts to "define the indefinable"⁵ which, as he spins the threads of this "second world,"⁶ invest his "three-dimensional"⁷ art with the suddenly perceived relationship between "an abstract theme and a subject closer to the experience of the senses."⁸

Bussy D'Ambois: Noblesse at the Crossroads

The prospective-retrospective stance of Chapman's emblematic imagery finds its fullest statement in his first and probably best known tragedy. The opening speeches initiate chorically the tenuous equipoise of values; at the outset images and emblems acquire the differing connotations which will continue to fluctuate for the duration of the action. As the play moves through its succession of tableaux, the initial emblems of tree, statue, and ship will re-appear--often with bloody punctuation. Aiding in the progression of these tableaux will be the recurring presentations of the parasitic and increasingly violent banquet; furthermore, the continual debate between those Chapman polarities of light and dark, fortune and reason, reward and virtue, flourishing and retreating will energize each iconistic portrait.

Poor and removed from the glitter of the court, Bussy nevertheless delivers an opening meditation **that** demonstrates how knowledgeable he is

about this absent world. His speech is powerful and revealing, but this is so precisely because it seems to lack the oratorical polish and stentorian presence of a public address.⁹ Bussy ruminates aloud and, fittingly, on the very issues which his subsequent entry into the court will test, develop, invert, and affirm. Although Bussy could easily seem to be the cynical outsider, his observations are clearly those of an astute and one-time insider. They form a speech that is as compacted an introduction as the opening paragraph of a Dickens novel; if Chapman is weaving strands, then this beginning seems to be a huge and at times knotted skein of figurations and dilemmas. However, closer analysis yields the realization that this apparently loose progression of images is actually far from haphazard in its arrangement, but rather, is propelled by the suggestibility which would animate a mind as sensitive as Bussy's and would appeal to a creator as analogy-oriented as Chapman.

In a way reminiscent of the Old Testamental promise of Ezekiel xvii.¹⁰ 22-4, Bussy describes the flourishing of great men "As cedars¹¹ beaten with continual storms" (l. i. 5). But such greatness seems neither as deservedly central as in Jahweh's promise nor as durably steadfast as the Laurel of Whitney and the Olive and Cypress of Peacham. Bussy is quite aware of the deceptive appearance of "brave barks" (l. 109), when he uses this arboreal metaphor to inform his would-be deceiver that he knows that "outward gloss/ Attract(s) Court eyes, be in-parts ne'er so gross" (ll. 109-10). The laurel is the only tree which fares well in this tragedy. Whitney's emblem of the manly and clear conscience serves the messenger with a means of describing Bussy's heroic explosiveness in the six-part encounter in

which "D'Ambois (that like a laurel put in fire, / Sparkled and spit) did much more than scorn" (II. i. 69-70). He accords the fall of stout Barrisor, like "an Oak / Long shook with tempests" (ll. 94-5), the epic treatment of Homer's battle-brave men¹² and the same emblematic significance as the Pine of both Whitney and Peacham. Later, when reconciling himself with the Guise in the presence of their king, Bussy's gesture is demonstrably and grandly pacific, as he presents his "hand (stuck full of laurel, in true sign / 'Tis wholly dedicate to righteous peace)" (III. ii. 124-5).¹³ The final appearance of this tree, in Comolet's characterization of Montsurry's about-to-be-punished wife as his "laurel / And sweetest sleeper" (V. i. 14-5), couches an unsuccessful attempt to pacify this cuckold's rage. Montsurry's torture is a wild proof of how distinctly pervious his "laurel" can be. Earlier, Bussy had pictured his own determination in this simile of the lowly box-tree:

(Though ne'er so much beneath you) like a box-tree

I would (out of the toughness of my root)

claim hardness in my lowness (IV. i. 85-7)

But such tenacious solidity emerges as a liability in the inverted world of tragedy ruled by "purblind Chance" (V. iii. 47). In describing this paradoxical outcome, Monsieur draws his analogy between the strangely happy fortunes of hollow trees and like¹⁴ men:

Yet, as the winds sing through a hollow tree,

And (since it lets them pass through) let it stand;

But a tree solid, since it gives no way

To their wild rages, they rend up by th'root:

So this full creature now shall reel and fall,

Before the frantic puffs of purblind Chance

That pipes through empty men, and makes them dance. (V. iii. 42-8)

In a similar vein, Tamyra completes the play's tree images with this moribund resumé of arboreal man:

Man is a tree, that hath no top in cares;

No root in comforts; and all his power to live

Is given to no end, but t' have power to grieve. (ll. 66-8)

Chapman has been concerned neither with the Platonic *φυτόν ουρανίου* ("heavenly plant") nor with the Aristotelean arbor inversa, but rather, with a distinctive version of the topsy-turvy creature that Swift meditated upon.¹⁵ Swift's broomstick was "an Emblem of a Tree standing on its Head"¹⁶ and hence indicative of the animal reverence and rational subservience of man. Chapman's figure of man, however, seems to rely more on the natural backdrop of the emblematisers to portray the change of human fortunes in the face of worldly tempests.

As Bussy's speech continues, he compares the flourishing of great men to the work of "Unskilful statuaries, who suppose, / (In forging a Colossus) if they make him / Straddle enough, strut, and look big, and gape, / Their work is goodly" (ll. 7-10). Although Brooke cites the probable source in Plutarch,¹⁷ Chapman's figure--however much indebted to gleanings from Xylander--is particularly vivid because of its pictorial nature. Bussy is aware that these mementoes of "tympanous statists" (l. 10) are inflated merely with their own esteem. Like the mortal span of the great ones they commemorate, the statues will topple

or erode, and reveal that they "are nought but mortar, flint and lead" (l. 17). Mere impressive exteriors distance these colossi from the true giant of learning which Peacham delineated (Figure 1). In contrast to "The Monuments that mightie Monarches reare,/ Colosso's statiiies, and Pyramids high," which "In tract of time, doe moulder downe and weare," Peacham supports the durability of "wise wordes taught, in numbers sweete to runne,/ Preserued by the liuing Muse for aie," which "Shall still abide, when date of these is done." Chapman's image is equally removed from the solidity of the pillars of Hercules which Bacon chose as the frontispiece for the Instauratio Magna (Figure 2). They represent the limits of classical science which the men of the great instauration, signified by the venturesome bark, will be equipped to pass beyond. But positive intimations of such colossal eminence are not entirely absent from Chapman's tragedy. Significantly, Bussy prefaces his own exit with a desire that at least ensures heroic grandeur even if it does not negate mortality. The vigour instilled by learning and the resultant voyages whereby knowledge will increase ("augebitur scientia") which the plates of both Peacham and Bacon communicate seem to imbue these preparations which Chapman's confident though mortally wounded hero proclaims:

. . . I am up
 Here like a roman statue; I will stand
 Till death hath made me marble. (V. iii. 143-5)

Bussy cannot avoid the cold lifelessness about to overtake him, but neither is his wish a monomaniac vaunt. Instead, he composes a desire for the senatorial, classic, Augustan, aloof, and enduring qualities of marble.

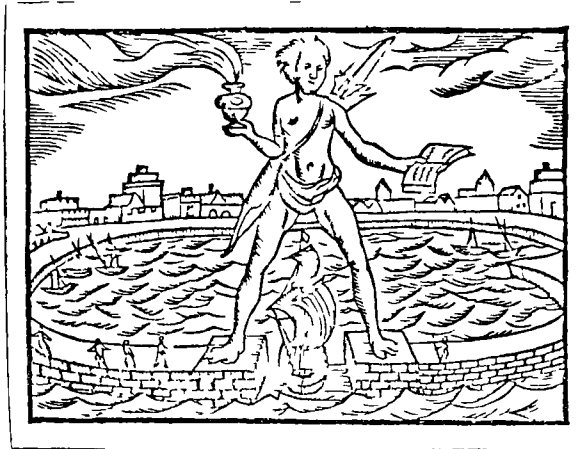


Figure 1
 "Vlterius durabit," from Peacham's Minerva Britannia, p. 161.



Figure 2
 The title-page of Francis Bacon's Instauratio Magna.

Despite the bugbear of chronological inconsistency, his proclamation seems to me to rely on the same brand of uplifting human purposiveness that radiates from Peacham and Bacon, coupled with a recognition of the inescapable facts of mortality and death. Such a wish emerges as an emblem of the hero himself, one "young, learned, valiant, virtuous, and full mann'd" (V. iii. 38) who yet is doomed to "reel and fall" (l. 46).

To some, Bussy's opening speech may seem to be a muddled vacillation between general comments and specific analogies. Yet I find that it moves with admirable direction and increasing momentum from the description of an inverted world and its apparently great men to a fittingly metaphorical definition of the very evanescence of mortality:

Man is a torch borne in the wind; a dream

But of a shadow, summ'd with all his substance. (ll. 18-9)

20

Pindar's image of man as *σκιας οναρ*, a dream of a shadow, imparts to the opening of Chapman's tragedy the same aura of ephemerality as Quarles's frontispiece of a bubble confers on his Hieroglyphikes of the Life of Man. Shadows flit in and out of Chapman's play at various opportune moments. Following her nocturnal assignation, Tamyra finds herself the prey "of every shadow" (III. i. 6), while her husband berates the cowardly murderers who have almost frustrated his plans because of their susceptibility to "The fearful shadows that your eyes deluded" (V. iii. 116). Moreover, the play closes with the expression of an attitude similar to the definition of the opening, as Bussy observes after being wounded:

21

Man is of two sweet courtly friends compact,

A mistress and a servant: let my death

Define life nothing but a Courtier's breath.

Nothing is made of nought, of all things made;

Their abstract being a dream but of a shade. (V. iii. 130-4)

Such Pindaric intimations of evanescence frame a tragic universe of interminable dichotomies. One imagines that the frail human animus, tossed so continually between these polarities, begins to lose resilience and even reality, as it either capitulates to one side or another or becomes so rarefied as to be able to transcend them. The world which Bussy describes from the vantage of his green retreat evidences the Ciceronian ²² inversion wherein "Fortune, not Reason, rules the state of things" (I. i. 1); its system is regressive and upside-down for "Reward goes backwards, Honour on his head" (l. 2). Following closely on Bussy's differentiation between the external appearance and inward reality of colossic statues, Monsieur offers this man who apparently "neglects the light, and loves obscure abodes" (l. 18) an invitation to the heightened and glittering reality of the court which he is confident will win Bussy:

. . . Do thou but bring

Light to the banquet Fortune sets before thee,

And thou wilt loathe lean Darkness like thy Death. (ll. 61-3)

But Bussy is no easy catch for Monsieur's lures; he is completely aware of the reversed ambushes of courtly life, where one benefits the unneedy, progresses in gain, and correspondingly declines in belief (ll. 97-101). He knows how minimal the distance is separating attractive "outward gloss" (l. 109) from "gross" "in-parts" (l. 110). For the edification of his audience, he proposes to evince a didactic distinction between the

exterior of the courtier which will convince Monsieur he is his lackey and his private intention to set virtue in a new courtly mode. He uses this agricultural ²³ metaphor to underline the difference between liveried appearance and instructional reality:

. . . a smooth plain ground
 Will never nourish any politic seed;
 I am for honest actions, not for great:
 If I may bring up a new fashion,
 And rise in Court with virtue, speed his plough. (ll. 122-6)

The burden of Chapman's tragedy, however, is the impossibility of such an ideal. In a postlapsarian world, this pursuit of virtue destroys its would-be inculcator: his appearance is too tangible not to be mistaken for and hence to entrap his reality. And so his entry into the court world entails a bloody duel and an eventually fatal liaison. In the one instance, he is afforded the dubious support of his benefactor in defense of his action which will make empty-souled "cowards ~~fear~~ / To touch the reputations of full men" (II. i. 165-6); in the other, he drives his beloved into the night-time and conscience-stricken horror of a love-hate syndrome where loving and loathing couple (II. ii. 170) and "love is hateful without love again" (l. 172). Furthermore, their liaison involves Bussy's acceptance of the deceitful conundrum proffered by Comolet, that "the direct is crooked" (II. ii. 220), along with Tamyra's exchange of confidence for weakness in a spotted conscience (III. i. 8-9) as she comes to the conclusion reminiscent of homiletic literature and morality plays,²⁴ that "Our bodies are but thick clouds to our souls" (III. i. 59). One

observer finds his position dangerously tenuous; another, grandly laudable. Montsurry comments about the parthian shot in Monsieur's regard of Bussy since "He turns his outward love to inward hate" (III. i. 111); on the contrary, Henry upholds his newly entered courtier as a Golden Age exemplar "that in himself / (Without the outward patches of our frailty, / Riches and honour) knows he comprehends / Worth with the greatest" (III. ii. 92-5). Invocations of light and dark²⁵ fluctuate in validity and emphasis as the wheel of the affair grinds to its tragic conclusion. Tamyra calls upon the light of the heavens and the guardian of the underworld, "Sin or Cerberus" (IV. i. 201), to testify to her innocence, while Bussy invokes both the illuminating "King of Flames" (V. ii. 39) and the oracular "Prince of shades" (l. 45) to lend him²⁶ assistance in knowing where to turn. But darkness seems to triumph over light, hollowness over fullness. Just as un-solid trees and "empty men survive" (V. iii. 48) in contrast to the unluckily solid, the non-reconciliation of Tamyra and Montsurry takes the form of a forever darkening relationship; in Montsurry's imagistic dismissal,

. . . as this taper, though it upwards look,

Downwards must needs consume, so let our love. (V. iii. 252-3)

How similar is this theme to Whitney's emblematic delineation (Figure 3); although representing an inverted torch, the device which he borrows from Paradin's Devises Héroïques pictures both the feeding and extinguishing, vital and morbid, aspects of love. Radiance and rejuvenation, however, even if posthumously conferred and only potentially workable, do have their day. In a sense, the Friar's eulogy brings a scintillating if

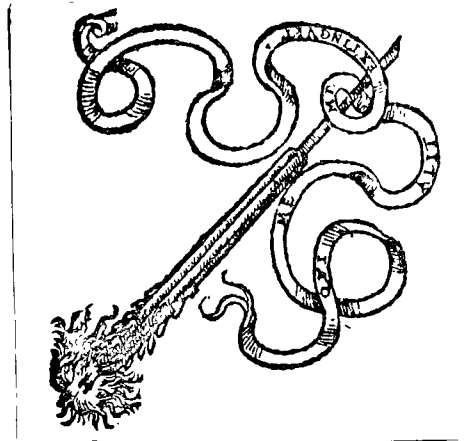


Figure 3
 "Qui me alit me extinguit," from Whitney's Choice of Emblemes, p. 183.
 Cf. Bussy D'Ambois, V. iii. 252-3.

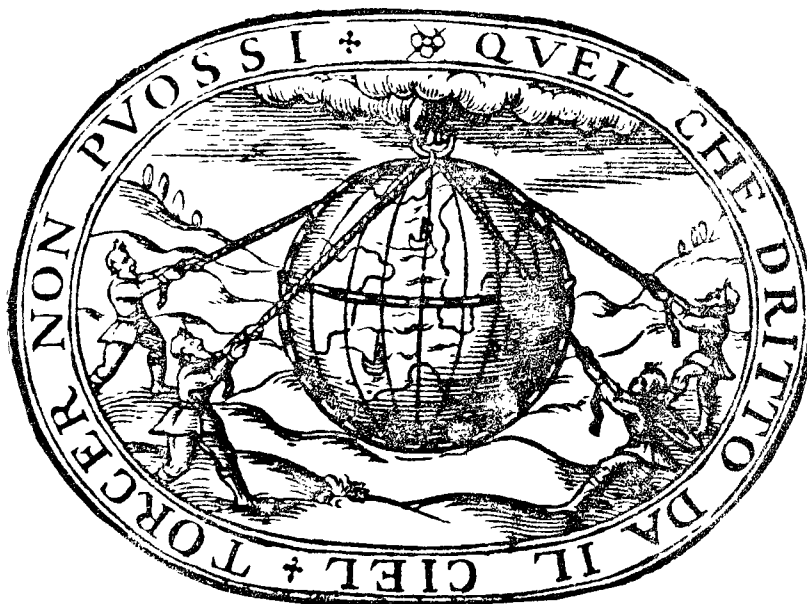


Figure 4
 Embleme 9, addressed to the Lord Admiral, from Godyere's Mirroure of Maiestie, p. 17, sig. D. Cf. Bussy D'Ambois, I. i. 23.

ambiguous close to the dichotomy-hounded career of Bussy D'Ambois:

Farewell brave relicts of a complete man:

Look up and see thy spirit made a star,

Join flames with Hercules: and when thou set'st

Thy radiant forehead in the firmament,

Make the vast continent, crack'd with thy receipt,

Spread to a world of fire: and th' aged sky,

Cheer with new sparks of old humanity. (V. iii. 268-74)

Thus the avowedly virtuous courtier, ignominiously slain by murderers in the hire of his mistress's husband, is apotheosized into the stellar hero. This eagle's highest flight proves to be magnificently beyond death.

Having moved closer and closer to its central definition, Bussy's opening speech reiterates his observations on the inverted world, its seeming-great, and fleeting mortality by means of an extended marine image. Like the foregoing analogies, definition, and dichotomies, this image also introduces an important thread into the tragedy. The picture of circumnavigating (Figure 4) ²⁷ "great seamen" (I. i. 20) who must rely on the assistance of "A poor staid fisherman, that never pass'd / His country's sight, to waft and guide them in" (ll. 26-7) furnishes Bussy with the emblematic basis for his lesson:

We must to Virtue for her guide resort

Or we shall shipwrack in our safest Port. (ll. 32-3)

It recalls the exemplum of reversed fortune presented by Whitney's sinking galleon and previews the action-bound salvation of Peacham's

argosy. Monsieur's opening speech takes up this image of the sea of the world and uses it to further the ambitious dreams of a would-be heir. Throwing his support behind the all-consuming power of the sea as Whitney pictured it, he compares kingly acts to the ineluctable force of the sea:

His deeds inimitable, like the sea
 That shuts still as it opens, and leaves no tracts
 Nor prints of precedent for poor men's facts. (ll. 38-40)

These differing marine images betoken diverse loyalties from the outset--one to virtue, the other to regal power. While both suggest danger, the former, as the pilot (a tug?) guiding the tall ship, strives to avert it, and the latter, as the erasing sea, forcibly supplies it. Hence, Monsieur's invitation to "Leave the troubled streams, / And live as thrivers do at the well-head" (ll. 82-3) seems to be a particularly ominous lure and a noticeably non-humanist paraphrase of Linacre's famous motto.²⁸ For the disturbance caused by non-recognition will hardly be smoothed by its remove to the well-head. When Bussy has left his retreat, Monsieur praises him in his new setting with a simile that recalls his earlier description of royal power. Evidently, Bussy possesses a similarly indomitable spirit, for, as Monsieur sees him,

His great heart will not down; 'tis like the sea
 That partly by his own internal heat,
 Partly the stars' daily and nightly motion,
 Ardour and light, and chiefly by the Moon,
 Bristled with surges, never will be won

(No, not when th' hearts of all those powers are burst)

To make retreat into his settled home,

Till he be crowned with his own quiet foam. (I. ii. 138-46)

While this sea's chief control is tellingly lunar, its climax has equally provocative political and sexual implications. Later, following the duel, the image of the sea recurs. Although admitting that "his great spirit something overflow" (II. ii. 2), Tamyra does not surprise us in favouring Bussy's exoneration. The Guise, however, views Bussy's pardon as indicative of the unseemly wavering of royal disposition which he imagines running "like a turbulent sea, / Here high, and glorious . . . / And here so low, it leaves the mud of hell / To every common view" (II. 25-8). The growth of Bussy's tug into a ship is insupportable to the Guise; as he reasons to Monsieur, this upstart "takes more wind than we with all our sails" (III. ii. 133). By far the most unsavoury marine imagery concerns women in general and Tamyra's liaison in particular.²⁹ Monsieur exchanges a bawdy comment with the Guise about going "a whole voyage" (III. ii. 230) with Pero in order to allay any suspicion on their part about his extremely fruitful talk with this crucial informant. When alone, he pauses to consider the demure feminine veneer which houses "the unsounded Sea of women's bloods" (I. 286) being pumped from the Scylla and Charybdis of their hearts. During the paroxysm of his rage, Montsurry carries these unflattering metaphors to an unparalleled height. Likening his vehemence to "the enraged seas" (V. i. 44), he addresses his wife as a Siren and, far from forecasting Peacham's invincible preserve of manly constancy, commands her to "sing, and dash

against my rocks / Thy ruffi'n Galley, laden for thy lust" (ll. 60-1).

The final marine references of the play belong to Monsieur and they reflect his stand on the errantry and pointlessness of Nature. A man of merit, he contends, can be overcome as swiftly as an apparently well fortified war ship containing great supplies of gunpowder. With the same freakish calamity that befalls solid trees,

. . . a disorder'd spark that powder taking,

Blows up with sudden violence and horror

Ships that kept empty, had sail'd long with terror. (V. iii. 23-5)

Monsieur relies on a similar comparison of marine tumult and the human condition to place the tragedy of Bussy in even greater relief. In a way this cynical pragmatist affords the most succinct postlapsarian comment on Bussy's fate; the tumbling of the sea "on the Lybian sands" (l. 49) cannot match the chaos of Fortune as she "swings about the restless state / Of Virtue, now thrown into all men's hate" (ll. 55-6).

Among the key notions which are introduced in the first scene and are to become punctuation marks of the play's progress in tragedy are the mentions of flame, banquet, glass, and blood. Just as the torch in the wind figures human evanescence, the flame can also function in describing the duel, the state of courtiers, and the apotheosis of the hero. While the duellists meet "Like bonfires of contributory wood" (II. i. 44), less spontaneity characterizes the more insidious combustion of the "enchanted flames" (IV. i. 80) of Monsieur's glories and the raging fire (IV. i. 160-1) of Montsurry's love. Yet Bussy dies affirming the enlightening aspect of flames. It is not always remembered that

30

Chapman's hero's last words emblemize his outcome as a cautionary indication:

O frail condition of strength, valour, virtue,

In me like warning fire upon the top

Of some steep beacon, on a steeper hill. (V. iii. 188-90)

However, he does not depart in the hollow didacticism of a self-proffered negative example. Rather, with his picture of this beacon as "a falling star / Silently glanc'd--that like a thunderbolt / Look'd to have struck, and shook the firmament" (ll. 191-3),³¹ Bussy imparts a glorious potential to his end, an intimated transcendence that relies less on the acerbic instruction of Timon's epitaph and more on the continuing reminder of both grandeur and mortality mingled in the barrow at Hronesness.³²

In the opening scene also, Monsieur extends an invitation to "the banquet Fortune sets before [Bussy]" (I. i. 62), but the subsequent banquets trace the peril of such feasts. Henry invites his two supposedly reconciled knights "to a banquet" where he hopes to sacrifice "Full cups to confirmation of [their] loves" (III. ii. 128-9). However, by the time Monsieur has been informed of the "banquet" (l. 194) enjoyed by the newly arrived courtier and his secret mistress, his final invitation (l. 412) to the loved one who has just rated him as "the curs'd fount / Of all the violence, rapine, cruelty, / Tyranny and atheism flowing through the realm" (ll. 392-4) does indeed evoke great apprehension.

The mirror finds reiterated mention too. Bussy captures the deceitful appearance of the court in his image of it as "that enchanted

glass" (I. i. 85). with similar intent, we hear that the French court is a "mere mirror of confusion" (I. ii. 27) to the English. Yet reflections can be as ghastly as they can be flattering. The combatants in the duel face one another and feed on each other's spirits, we are told, "As one had been a mirror to another" (II. i. 46). And when Bussy's clandestine affair becomes known to him, Monsieur instructs the dumb-stricken Montsurry in the use of "a glass of ink" in order "to make ready black-fac'd Tragedy" (IV. ii. 90-1).

Clearly the most recognizable outline of tragedy follows the path of the mentions of blood in the play.³³ Maffé's warning, "These crowns are sown in blood, blood be their fruit" (I. i. 216), proves to be a prophecy. Mentions of it literally spirt forth from the time of the affair's disclosure. It encompasses the machinations of Monsieur, the gulling responses of the proud Bussy, his humbled abasement, and the continuing torment of those who survive. Monsieur contemplates "the unsounded Sea of women's bloods" (III. ii. 286), as Bussy counters with a comparison of Monsieur's "stormy laws" to "gushing blood, / Like to so many torrents" (IV. i. 77-9) and with his plans to "rush into [Monsieur's] blood" (IV. ii. 157). The passionate rage of Montsurry's anger leads Comolet to urge the staying of this husband's "vengeful blood" and "bloody hand" (V. i. 2, 9) and Tamyra to plead that he dissolve his tyranny in her "heart blood" (l. 129). Her letter in blood testifies to the failure of both these negotiations. While the Friar's ghost warns of "bloody deeds past and to come" (V. ii. 10), the disguised Montsurry explains the letter as written in "the ink of lovers" (l. 89)

and wins Bussy's support of this "sacred witness of her love" (l. 90). The fearless courtier challenges the vengeful Count to a contest that he (Montsurry) might not admit cowardly "blood" (V. iii. 102) in his veins, and even when wounded, proposes that his "weighty blood" (l. 166) balance the scales in favour of the reconciliation of husband and wife. But the sight of Tamyra's "bleeding wound" (l. 175) is the "killing spectacle" (l. 181) which turns his brilliant sun to blood.³⁴ While Comolet's ghost bemoans the "blind rage of blood" (l. 189), Tamyra recognizes that the scruples of the soul can outweigh the sins of the blood (l. 217), and Montsurry is left with the continuing wrestling of honour and blood (ll. 232-3).

Chapman's tragedy depicts the gap separating mere flourishing from native noblesse, the alliance joining Nature into an absurd relationship with Fortune, and the systematic entrapment of primordial virtue in an inimical world. These are the attitudinal absolutes whose iterative presence makes the reading of this tragedy so engrossing and at times bewildering. From the very beginning (I. i. 6), Bussy has questioned the flourishing--be it sign of endurance or hauteur--of great men; and just as assuredly has Monsieur hoped to rekindle the latter half of this possible amalgam so that young D'Ambois be "apt to take / Fire at advancement, to bear state and flourish" (ll. 49-50). Yet he succeeds too well in this task, as he himself acknowledges with regret that Bussy "spreads and flourishes" (III. ii. 134). But the flourishing that Monsieur has come to fear is the nascent glimmering of this courtier's prematurely extinguished native noblesse. Even his

benefactor had lauded "A free man's eminence" (II. i. 159) as prologue to Bussy's defensive though self-assured plea:

That I may so make good what God and Nature
 Have given me for my good: since I am free
 (Offending no just law), let no law make
 By any wrong it does, my life her slave. (ll. 193-6)

His exuberant defense,

Who to himself is law, no law doth need,
 Offends no King, and is a King indeed. (ll. 204-5),

is idealistic but patently anachronistic in the non-millennial world in which he lives. Tamyra's recognition of the excesses of his "greatness" (III. ii. 3), Bussy's own contention about the "noblesse" (l. 77) of merit, and Henry's praise of this Golden Age exemplar of "Man in his native noblesse" (l. 91) notwithstanding, such ancient nobility is quelled by forces blind to and oblivious of both merit and grandeur.

Fortune, the blind and wheel-bound goddess of the emblematisers (I. i. 113-5), is a powerful lumbering presence in the vicissitudes of Chapman's tragedy. She "rules the state of things" (l. 1) in place of Reason, spreads her banquet before Bussy (l. 62), and, more insistent and predictable than the surge of waves, controls "the restless state / Of virtue" (V. iii. 55-6). Ironically, she may seem disposed to Bussy's rise (I. i. 128) and Tamyra's invocation of stasis (II. ii. 165); however, her curious attachment to Nature proves how hostile such absolutes can be to human advancement. Although Monsieur relies on the bond of Nature in stating his case for the pardoning of Bussy to his brother

(II. i. 141), he also forecasts his final view of unproportioned Nature by suggesting that, if the Caesarean faculties of D'Ambois be allowed to perish, then "Nature's a courtier and regards no merit" (IV. i. 102). Despite Guise's support of the "decorum" (V. iii. 30) of her actions, the fate of Chapman's hero lends more weight to Monsieur's view, "that Nature hath no end / In her great works, responsive to their worths" (ll. 11-2). Bussy's scintillating life and tragic end both attest to and surpass Monsieur's cynical estimate that

. . . Nature lays
 A mass of stuff together, and by use,
 Or by the mere necessity of matter,
 Ends such a work, fills it, or leaves it empty
 Of strength, or virtue, error or clear truth;
 Not knowing what she does (ll. 12-17)

The opening scene confirms Bussy's entry into the court amidst a flourish of virtuous outpourings. Virtue will be the guide (l. 32), exemplar (ll. 79-81), and means (l. 126) of his rise. However, the subsequent action of Chapman's tragedy depicts not only the differing valencies of such a standard but also its eventual enfeeblement. Although Henry admits of some apprehension in having Bussy sought out for "fear to make mild Virtue proud" (I. ii. 63), he doubtless exults in his Eagle's summation of the Law as the "impregnable defence / Of . . . oppressed Virtue" (III. i. 52-3). Yet veneers at times counterfeit equally persuasive arguments. Having lifted the veil of "women's virtuous looks" (III. ii. 294), Monsieur proceeds to cloak the terror

and rapacity of his invitation to an honest fraternal interchange with the strengthening of his love of Bussy's virtues (ll. 316-7). But this vicious logomachy³⁵ concludes with a perceptive brother's indictment. Bussy exposes the rapine of his interlocutor's life by envisioning it as the twisted thread which Lachesis draws from a bowl "Defil'd, and crown'd with Virtue's forced soul" (l. 407). From the world of the play Bussy's standard emerges as a demanding, entrapping one. While Monsieur recognizes that the very attribute of virtuousness contributes to Bussy's fullness (V. iii. 38), he also sketches it as an ironic preparation for decline (ll. 46-8). In addition, Tamyra affirms the awesome hold of virtue over sin in the scrupulous soul (ll. 217-8). And, most significantly, Bussy's final words corroborate the frailty and human susceptibility "of strength, valour, virtue" (l. 188).

In peering through "the dim ostents" of Chapman's tragedy, the reader can traverse its knotted density and investigate--or portage--its rivers of imagistic suggestiveness. Encountering turgid text and beset with an array of critical guide-maps,³⁶ the land-bound explorer busies himself cutting paths and notching trees to clear his way to comprehension; the water-fascinated voyageur, though, approaching from the sea and accommodating his bark to follow the course of rivers and streams, is as prepared as his would-be guides to pursue a bend in the stream, enjoy its varying stretches of placidity and turbulence, and marvel at the torrential cascade of its renewing finality, its tragic uplifting.

. . . see in his revolt how honour's flood
Ebbs into air, when men are great, not good.

("Prologus," ll. 23-4)

THE CONSPIRACY AND TRAGEDY OF CHARLES DUKE OF BYRON:
THE EVAPORATION OF HONOUR

Charles de Gontaut, Duke of Byron, is no reincarnation of Bussy D'Ambois. The superficial similarities he bears to Chapman's earlier hero only serve to outline more clearly the distance between them. The Prologue awards him the status of an autumnal star (l. 12) and a fanfare of loud music (I. ii) announces his entrance--so unlike the posthumous stellification and quiet, choric self-introduction of Bussy. Byron approaches the discontented La Fin, "alone, and heavy countenanc'd" (II. i. 54), in a way reminiscent of Monsieur's approach of Bussy, just as La Fin's description of the chaotic influence of the moon (III. i. 6-16) recalls the lunar control of Monsieur's imagistic delineation of Bussy's "great heart" (Bussy D'Ambois, I. ii. 138-46). But in The Conspiracy the roles of victimizer and prey are reversed, and the mention of the moon is not part of an ominous encomium but of an admitted lure. It is Byron who is played upon when he commiserates with La Fin as surely as it is he who falls the victim of this Machiavel's "feigned passion" (III. i. 1). His heroic vaunts about leaving his statue eternally rooted on a mountain (III. ii. 141-55),¹ being a "law rational" (III. iii. 145), and filling his sails "with a lusty wind" (III. iii. 136) are quite removed from Bussy's marbled death stance as "a Roman statue" (V. iii. 144), his defense of that kingly prerogative to "do a justice which exceeds the law" (III. i. 199), and his humble reliance on (or appearance as) a virtuous guide to prevent "shipwreck in our safest Port" (I. i. 33).

The Tragedy casts Byron's pronouncements in an even less sympathetic light. Unlike Bussy's eventual joining with Hercules (V. iii. 270) and his rugged stand as a box-tree (IV. i. 85), Byron appropriates the Atlas-like role of Hercules (III. i. 151) and considers himself a lofty and unbeaten "cedar on Mount Lebanon" (V. iii. 13) disdaining the box-tree lowliness of his judges. But, as Henry remarks, Byron's eventual port is only "despair and ruin" (III. ii. 69), and, in Epernon's view, his outcome is a disappointment of previous stellar potential, comparable to "An exhalation that would be a star / . . . [which fell] , when the sun forsook it, in a sink" (IV. ii. 292-3). Self-pitying hyperbole seems to dominate his conclusion that "Virtue in great men must be small and slight, / For poor stars rule where she is exquisite" (V. ii. 186-7) and hence to distinguish it also from the detached choric utterance of Monsieur about the fate of "this full creature [who] now shall reel and fall" (Bussy D'Ambois, V. iii. 46). Although similar features, such as a shared encomiastic treatment of Elizabeth, outbursts of viciousness, riddles, chess games, and forms of choric commentary, may appear to link the plays more closely together, in reality such similarities separate them even more. While Bussy's King praises Elizabeth's court, Byron's King proposes an educative sojourn there to calm his splenative Duke (III. ii. 274-84). The viciousness of the honest assessments which Bussy and Monsieur engage in resides wholly in verbal power; in contrast, the revelation of La Brosse² adds to the tension of The Conspiracy by unleashing the Duke's physical rashness and extracting his confession about a pitiful preference of flattery, so foreign to the searing truth

of Bussy's encounter with Monsieur. The riddle of the easily won Pero about chastity is fitting to the information she offers in Bussy D'Ambois yet far removed from the equally appropriate riddle of good fame which the masquers present in The Tragedy of Byron. While Henry III and the Guise are playing chess at the time of Bussy's noticeable initiation at court, Henry IV proposes "a battle at the chess" (IV. ii. 95) to the fiery Duke as a prelude to his arrest for treason. Though the chorus of Guise and Monsieur underscores the tragic irony of fullness and solidity, the observations of Epernon which recount "of what contraries consists a man!" (Tragedy, V. iii. 189) seem more tailored to the fluctuations and paradoxes of character which have created Byron's tragedy. Both worlds are "quite inverted" (Tragedy, I. ii. 14), but the reader might find the inversions which account for the tragedy of Byron to be self-created, explicable, and distinct from the external and inscrutable forces which appear to dominate Bussy's universe.

If these inversions seem intelligible, however, the images which depict Byron's status and dilemmas seem more compacted than those of Bussy D'Ambois. Although their picturing power still makes them generally emblematic, they function more as part of a deliberate cluster and less as independent images. The Prologue itself provides an example of such an imagistic conglomerate and also introduces one of the key metaphors of Chapman's play. Just as the wealthy autumnal star, having been "Wash'd in the lofty ocean, thence ariseth, / Illustrates heaven, and all his other fires / Out-shines and darkens" (ll. 13-15), Byron's rise involves a similarly scintillating ascent to the ocean of the sky. But the thirst

for "his country's love" (l. 18) leads him to the empoisoning spring of Policy whose effects reverse inflation into deflation, ascent into descent: "He bursts in growing great, and, rising, sinks" (l. 21). His flood of honour evaporates, or, as Chapman expresses, "Ebbs into air" as testimony of the outcome "when men are great, not good" (l. 24). In addition to its warning about the hero's character, such an introduction also indicates the working of an image unit which with varying degrees of lucidity and coherence will reappear throughout The Conspiracy and Tragedy of Charles Duke of Byron.

The sharing of the same lead role links these two parts together as a single play in an even more remarkable and necessary³ fashion than I and II Tamburlaine. In fact, The Conspiracy seems only a prelude to The Tragedy. While Tamburlaine emerges from Part One as an undeniable cosmic power, the only issue of The Conspiracy is the overhasty and indeed tenuous reunion of King and subject, soon to be shattered by the opening lines of The Tragedy. The closest link--actually, the lifeline--between the two parts is the imagery which in The Conspiracy always seems about to receive the final punctuation which The Tragedy ultimately bestows.

Perhaps the image of evaporation contains the keynote for the whole play. It provides Byron, Henry, and the observant Janin with revealingly different explanations. In attempting to calm the "feigned passion" (III. i. 1) of La Fin, Byron uses the simile of the supposedly temperate air:

That evenly interpos'd betwixt the seas
And the opposed element of fire,

At either toucheth, but partakes with neither;

Is neither hot nor cold, but with a slight

And harmless temper mix'd of both th' extremes. (III. i. 42-6)

It seems indicative of Byron's own naïveté that he should consider air remaining harmlessly unaffected when stretched between such extremities as fire and water, heat and cold. In his passage "through things call'd good and bad" (l. 41), according to Byron, man is similarly untouched; yet his own tragedy testifies powerfully to the contrary. One of the glories of Elizabeth's court and thus of her kingdom is its openness and amplitude, fittingly conveyed as "unbounded as the ample air" (IV. i. 12); and later Henry comments that we can only expect impartial judgement when "the air contain'd within our ears" (V. ii. 58) refrains from "offensive sounds" (l. 60) and its own tumult within in order to perceive and moderate "differences without them" (l. 66). Although in The Tragedy even La Fin cautions Byron to "give temperate Air / To [his] unmatch'd and more than human wind" (I. ii. 44-5), the Duke's rashness and its resultant criminality prevail and reach their drizzling nadir⁴ in Janin's observation. Byron's cloud-like eminence (I. ii. 56) as he proudly hawks at kingdoms either evaporates or condenses into an abrupt and inglorious end:

. . . suddenly, the fowl that hawk'd so fair,

Stoops in a puddle, or consumes in air. (III. i. 210-11)

Such Byronic condensation is surely quite removed from Horapollo's instructive hieroglyph about heavenly learning (Figure 1).⁵



Figure 1
Πῶς παιδείαν, from a 1551 edition of Horapollon's Hieroglyphics.
 Cf. Byron's Tragedy, III. i. 210-11.

The air that images such an ignominious end also allows for the beginning of deceptive inflation. Flattery can be just as misleading as the heart-deadening accumulation of knowledge which the Lyonese bluestocking, Georgette de Montenay, lamented in her emblem, "Scientia inflat,"⁶ for its inflation is as insubstantial and fictionally regressive as Donne's "superficies of air."⁷ Recalling the Prologue's image of the man who "bursts in growing great" (l. 21), Henry cautions Byron against a credulous acceptance of the "empty breath" (III. ii. 259) and "passions of wind" (l. 260) of hired flatterers. The praises they bestow, like the empty vaunts of the eulogistic verses prefacing a volume of poetry,⁸ are worthless; in Henry's deprecation (which could also be a backhanded compliment for Byron), they are "fitter to blow up bladders than full men" (l. 266). The foremost reason why Byron has such a difficult time convincing his audience of the rightness of his cause resides in the calm, sagacious, and deservedly respected figure of Henry IV. The King's wisdom throws his subject's spleen into unflattering relief. Henry remains undaunted in his efforts to convince Byron of the false inflation of flatterers:

. . . who in swelling

Your veins with empty hopes of much, yet able

To perform nothing, are like shallow streams

That make themselves so many heavens to sight. (V. ii. 69-72)

This monarch goes as far as to suggest the remedy of deflation, to "pierce them to the very earth" (l. 78), and graciously extends a clement yet curt invitation to "leave them and be true to me / Or you'll be

left by all" (ll. 79-80). Following the King's condemnation of him as "an atheist . . . and a traitor / Both foul and damnable" (Tragedy, IV. ii. 250-1), Byron's reaction of injured innocence is hardly credible. He pictures himself as an abused anvil, "the seed and wombs of others' honours" (l. 272), and the slave of a tyrannical bellows, "A property for a tyrant to set up / And puff down with the vapour of his breath" (ll. 273-4). Significantly, now that his once-clandestine anvil is no longer "lin'd with wool" (Tragedy, I. ii. 54), Byron has still to realize the identity of the harmoniously flattering blacksmith who has inflated his own bellows. This frenzied metaphor of the accused is both predictably misinformed and damningly revealing.

The two elements found in the Prologue, air and water, afford workable analogues for Byron's tragedy. Just as the air which stretches to heaven yet holds evaporated honour, the water can form a flood yet also ebb into air. The flow of smaller into larger bodies of water is a central image for it does more than illustrate the play's chain of command: it depicts a threat as constant as evaporation--envelopment. Savoy uses this image to describe the position of the newly exiled La Fin, likened to a greedy little river, in face of his King, who is the roaring devouring sea (I. i. 183-92). Later he uses the image of "a little brook being overrun / With a black torrent" (II. ii. 188-9) to taunt Henry in a different way about the defeat of the rebellious Du Maine at the hands of the singularly superior torrential force of Byron. Henry counters with his comparison of Byron to "the wild and slippery element" (l. 234) of water which is carried in open vessels and

prevented from overflowing by the presence of "treen cups" (l. 233), comparable to the Duke's assistance by Colonel Williams, who "Swum in Byron, and held him but to right" (l. 238). Indicative of the unhealthy surreptitiousness of his policy for gaining support, Byron suggests that he winds about his prospects "like a subtle river" searching for "the easiest parts of entry on the shore" (III. i. 68, 71). He seems more of a forecasting of Webster's Flamineo who would be as "engaged to mischief . . . / As rivers to find out the ocean"⁹ and less of an example of a nationally admired Duke. Imperceptive as well, he proposes joining his stream with La Fin's (l. 75) and openly warms to this piece of Savoy's questionable geography and purposeful obsequiousness: "All honours flow to me, in you their ocean" (III. ii. 24). Byron's torrential pride is easily harnessed to feed the subtle streams of Savoy and La Fin. As the Duke previews his mountain statue, his description of one particular feature makes clear the successful manipulation of his flatterers; interestingly, this comparison recalls the earlier position of Savoy himself:

I'll pour an endless flood into a sea
 Raging beneath me, which shall intimate
 My ceaseless service drunk up by the King,
 As th' ocean drinks up rivers and makes all
 Bear his proud title. (ll. 170-74)

But Byron's bruised pride cannot match the politic guile and elasticity of Savoy's volteface, as he turns his "streams another way" (l. 196) at the entry of the King's nobles, Nemours and Soissons.

The full extent of Byron's victimization becomes apparent in The Tragedy wherein he attempts to justify himself from a standpoint noticeably different from the confident and lofty height of his envisioned statue. No longer is he the nutritive source but the inundated "Stygian flood" (IV. i. 62) whose enemies are attempting to drown in itself. The very rivers who have fed him and are hiding in his sea, "since their deserts / Are far from such a deluge" (ll. 63-4), are trying to flood him by denouncing him to the King. Turbid though his metaphorical justification may be, it is an incomplete explanation of his position as victim, for it exonerates the principal victimizer. As he mounts the scaffold, he uses the image one last time in delivering his comments on death, a compendium of pitiable narcissism and willful blindness. Apparently this traitor considers himself one "whose ends will make him greatest, and not best" (V. iv. 145)--predictably superlative extensions of the Prologue's epithets. He advises those about him to "imitate streams, / That run below the valleys and do yield / To every molehill" (ll. 152-4). Yet despite such compliant yielding, these streams evidence an unsettling reaction to torrents which have previously been compared to Byron's force:

. . . when torrents come,
 That swell and raise them past their natural height,
 How mad they are, and troubled! (ll. 155-7)

Then Byron seems to reverse the attractiveness of the streams and the uproar of the torrents by concluding with this puzzling view of kingship:

. . . Like low [streams]

With torrents crown'd, are men with diadems. (ll. 157-8)

These frenetic images mirror their speaker and outline the appalling extent of his self-victimization.

Along with the images depicting the flow of rivers and currents, specifically marine imagery also appears. Like the vastness of the body of water it describes, this sea imagery usually denotes the greatness--genuine, proposed, or illusory--of its speaker. The exiled La Fin's boast which he enjoins Byron to carry to his King is a significant recasting of the Prologue's praise of the Duke as an autumnal star "in the lofty ocean" (l. 13). La Fin's promise "to lift the sea / Up to the stars" (Conspiracy, III. i. 119-20) begins his account of paradoxical future feats which closes with this noteworthy blend of ranting anarchy and flunking logic:

. . . to dissolve all laws

Of nature and of order, argue power

Able to work all, I can make all good. (ll. 125-7)

Surely such raving reflects just as unfavourably on La Fin's impossible yet envenomed plans for vindication as it does on the ease with which his imperceptive interlocutor is duped into supporting him, to "put off from this dull shore of [ease] / Into industrious and high-going seas" (ll. 149-50). True, the Duke is awarded flattering plaudits about his sea-going abilities. For Henry's benefit, Savoy pictures Byron "on his brave beast Pastrana" sitting "like a full-sail'd Argosy / Danc'd with a lofty billow" (II. ii. 67-9), and later, still for Henry's edification, describes

the battle deeds of this superior subject by attributing to such a warrior Peacham's virtue of "manlie constancie," as he breaks his enemies "like billows 'gainst a rock" (l. 131). Byron himself is quite adept at pre-viewing his own marine activities; the endless flood pouring from his statue will feed a supposedly voracious kingly sea to indicate his "lasting worth" (III. ii. 176), while, following La Brosse's unhappy revelation, his forced exuberance about untrussing the slaveries of "all worthy spirits" (III. iii. 130) takes the form of setting out on "life's rough sea" with "his sails fill'd with a lusty wind" (ll. 135-6). He proceeds to outline the perils similar to those endured by Peacham's storm-tossed galleon; the description of "his rapt ship run on her side so low / That she drinks water, and her keel plows air" (ll. 138-9) merely prefaces his confident pronouncement that "There is no danger to a man that knows / That life and death is" (ll. 140-1). But there is a great difference between proposing marine activities and actually "being a sea" (IV. i. 30), just as there can be as much danger as grandeur in being "a mighty promontory" (l. 190). Elizabeth's speech seems to contain the sobering antidote for Byron's projected eminence. In addressing her visitor, she draws a comparison between a vast, overhanging, but eroded promontory and those corrupted great ones who by "building out / Too swelling fronts for their foundations, / When most they should be propp'd are most forsaken" (ll. 196-8). But her advice evidently goes unheeded for The Tragedy not only recalls the "turbulent sea" (I. i. 117) of civil war but also focuses finally on the rude tumult of Byron's own uncalm sea (V. iv. 203-4).

Although this play does not appear to move through a series of tableaux in the same fashion as Bussy D'Ambois, it creates its own aura of the stately presence and political confrontations which coexist almost expectedly in courts and embassies. Utilizing such a backdrop, The Conspiracy presents two outstanding pictures at its exhibition of Byron. Both deserve the name hieroglyphics, as, with true pictographic and moral ardour, they interpret their sights as signs of Byron's quixotic potential. Savoy's picture of the Duke on his horse easily becomes a Golden Age recasting:

They do the best present the state of man
 In his first royalty ruling and of beasts
 In their first loyalty serving. (II. ii. 72-4)

Neither duress nor subjugation inheres in this idyllic situation, only willing co-operation. The speaker loses no time in elevating his picture to the status of "a doctrinal and witty hieroglyphic / Of a blest kingdom" (ll. 78-9), particularly significant in terms of the lesson it bluntly delivers to its royal audience:

. . . to express and teach
 Kings to command as they could serve, and subjects
 To serve as if they had power to command. (ll. 79-81)

Though Henry's unventuresome comment about Savoy's wit "That can make anything of anything" (l. 85) signals this pupil's adroit halt to his lesson, Savoy's hieroglyphic has been an aptly timed and strangely revealing device.¹² Though his description began with Byron as the kingly rider, it closes not only with the suggestion of Henry as rider but also,

and more importantly, with the impossibly ideal intimation of the interchangeability of bearer and rider. The mental picture it suggests recalls Whitney's comparable emblem (Figure 2) in praise of Sir Philip Sidney, who by virtue of being one of those "men of iudgement graue, / Of learning, witte, and eeke of conscience cleare"¹³ controls his tramping steed; interchangeability would be as inapt here as it is fitting in Chapman's context. In addition to its appropriateness as a political figuration, Savoy's hieroglyphic provides a subtle yet strong base for his purposeful insinuations to Henry about his subject's inflating pride. Elizabeth's speech contains the second hieroglyphic which also delivers a lesson, but one specifically designed to benefit her French visitor. Having explained the analogy between the eroded promontory and corrupted men, she concludes her teaching with a description of the heavens as "A perfect hieroglyphic to express / The idleness of such security" (IV. i. 207-8) as that provided by the apparent sturdiness of the promontory. She supports "the grave labour of a wise distrust, / In both sorts of the all-inclining stars" (ll. 209-210) by clarifying how the appearance of the stars to the earth-bound observer need not indicate their astronomical position: "The fixed stars waver, and the erring stand" (l. 213). Twinkling results not from movement but fixity, while steady shining emanates from erring or wandering planets.¹⁴ Perhaps her lesson is either too direct or too obscure, for, while he admits that "the stars / . . . are divine books to us" (ll. 216-7), Byron politely dismisses the Queen's counsel with the confident assessment, "I need it not" (l. 220).



Figure 2

"Non locus virum, sed vir locum locum ornat," from Whitney's Choice of Emblemes, p. 38. Cf. Byron's Conspiracy, II. ii. 67-81.

However, when he faces the condemnation of the Chancellor, Byron shows how much he was in need of such advice, for all he now can rely on is a sacrilegiously self-appropriated acquittal from God. The basis for such a vindication is his tragically unsound view of himself as one of God's "truest images" (Tragedy, V. iii. 100).

With this tragedy, in particular, the reader is quickly impressed by the amount of natural analogues and the ease with which they work. Such correspondences find their best explanations in extended image units, in agglomerations like those describing the hieroglyphics. Perhaps the most outstanding is Byron's account of the effects of the self-exiled Duke d'Aumale's treason. As d'Aumale was fleeing France, he

. . . had his statue torn

Piece-meal with horses, all his goods confiscate,

His arms of honour kick'd about the streets,

His goodly house at Annet raz'd to th' earth,

And (for strange reproach of his foul treason)

His trees about it cut off by their waists. (Conspiracy, I. ii. 148-53)

The ducal narrator, full of the integrity of a loyal subject at this point, carefully adduces a series of moral positions to explain each of these justifiable assaults against traitors:

To seek without them that which is not theirs,

The forms of all their comforts are distracted,

The riches of their freedoms forfeited,

Their human noblesse sham'd, the mansions

Of their cold spirits eaten down with cares,

And all their ornaments of wit and valour,

Learning, and judgement, cut from all their fruits. (ll. 158-64)

Tree analogues are especially prominent. In addition to this concluding correspondence, Byron later prefaces his enquiry at the house of the astrologer with an observation about the doom that awaits fortunate men who, "like trees that broadest sprout, / Their own top-heavy state grubs up their root" (III. iii. 29-30). The Tragedy traces the distance Byron moves away from his initial stand and the growing inevitability of his second. The King and his infant heir are left to defend their own "tree of rule" and to cut from it "all trait'rous branches" (I. i. 113). For, while Byron laments the withering of the "goodly tree" (III. i. 27) of religion, a scion from the no longer vital tree of empire, he also proposes to be a hardy weather-beaten "blackthorn" (l. 127) and a loftily pristine "cedar on Mount Lebanon" (V. iii. 13). However, despite their box-tree lowliness, his judges manage to reduce his proud eminence with awesome finality. Following the Prologue's example, stars provide a workable analogue too. Although La Brosse indicates the curious difference separating the ignorant yet fatal stars from sapient yet helpless men (III. iii. 5-6), his reckless client assumes that he is "a nobler substance than the stars" (l. 109), and continues with this arrogant clarification:

I have a will and faculties of choice,

To do, or not to do: and reason why

I do, or not do this: the stars have none;

They know not why they shine, more than this taper. (ll. 112-15)

Epernon's later comments on Byron's unfulfilled stellar potential (Tragedy, IV. ii. 291-5), though, bring proposals of superiority and treasonous actions into closer alignment, while Byron's self-protective righteousness about the "envious stars" (V. ii. 203) of his accusers remains a pathetically inadequate ploy. Clouds also run an analogue gamut, extending from the thoughtful adjuration of Picoté to the unwilling involvement of Byron. Although Picoté advises the admittedly superior Duke to avoid destroying himself by adopting an emblematic ¹⁵ position (Figure 3) of unsullied height, "Like those steep hills that will admit no clouds, / No dews, nor least fumes bound about their brows, / Because their tops pierce into purest air" (Conspiracy, I. ii. 104-7), Byron's tragedy is proof either of the inadequacy of his height or of the susceptibility of his lowness. When imprisoned, he wishes to escape his uncertain status as a cloud, but despite his visions about "recovering heat and lightness" and being "by the sun / Made fresh and glorious" (Tragedy, V. iii. 46-8), his re-ascendancy is not only doubtful: it remains impossible.

Earlier when Byron had considered how "immortal" it would be "to die aspiring" (Conspiracy, I. ii. 31), he cited the example of "happy Semele, / That died compress'd with glory!" (ll. 37-8); and before his execution he makes the claim to have been "Like Orpheus casting reins on savage beasts" (Tragedy, V. ii. 10). Such extravagant boasts must cause the reader to question both the perceptiveness and the credibility of this Chapman hero. As surely as Faustus recognized a difference ¹⁶ between happy and "hapless Semele," there would seem to be a comparable expanse separating the fanfare of Byron's supposedly Orphic skills from

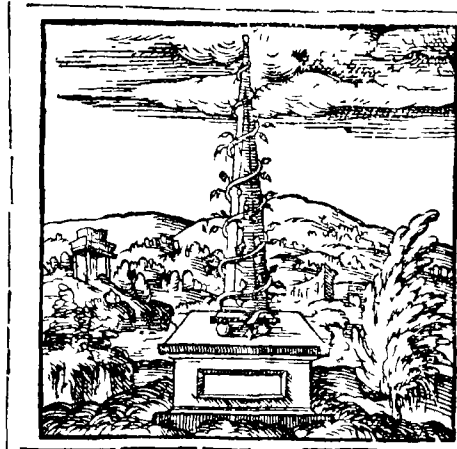


Figure 3
 "Te stante, virebo," from Whitney's Choice of Emblemes, p. 1. Cf.
Byron's Conspiracy, I. ii. 104-7.



Figure 4
 "Orphei Musica," from Whitney's Choice of Emblemes, p. 186. Cf.
Byron's Tragedy, V. ii. 10.

the quietly circular suasiveness of Whitney's emblem (Figure 4) celebrating "Orpheus with his harpe, that sauage kinde did tame." And, ¹⁷ if his boasts seem wide of the truth, so also do his logical powers seem wanting. It is in the least foreboding to hear a protagonist declare about Fortune that "I will win it though I lose my self" (Conspiracy, II. i. 146), and far from indicating ameliorative intent when, in talking of the country he has repaired, such a hero vows to "ruin it again to re-advance it" (Tragedy, I. ii. 35). Yet Byron's deficiencies have not eluded his King. Henry announces early enough that his subject has been surpassed in terms of experience and brain (Conspiracy, II. ii. 219), and diagnoses that Byron's "adust and melancholy choler" (l. 43) warrants the prescription of "temperate English air" (l. 49). Yet temperance never seems to be associated with Byron. Rather, from his first to his final appearance, the rashness of a chameleon temperament and the ineffable hauteur of the self-destructive overreacher seem to characterize his behaviour. Despite its predictability, one senses the tragic waste when the Duke, who had previously argued that "To have stuff and form, / And to lie idle, fearful, and unus'd, / Nor form nor stuff shows" (Conspiracy, I. ii. 35-7), meets the "decretal end" (Tragedy, V. iv. 229) of his death. His form has been blasted, ¹⁸ his cannon outshot, his stuff abused. Furthermore, his final sermon relies on his own negative example to preach of the worthlessness of once-prominent statues (ll. 254-5). Yet, in his own inimitable "Byronic" manner, Chapman allows flashes of inconsistency to mar such penitence and thus to hinder the resolution of his hero's puzzle. On the scaffold

this traitor enjoins his relatives "To keep their faiths that bind them to the King" (l. 233), and the man Henry has condemned as an atheist commands his soul to "Bear the eternal victory of Death" (l. 261).

The spectrum of diverse critical views¹⁹ that such a creation has provoked, varying from outright condemnation to a realization of this foreseeable tragedy with a difference, are not entirely surprising; for, as my examination of its imagery has attempted to illustrate, a play in which heroic vaunt evaporates pitifully and word and deed oppose one another so palpably, continues to exercise the attraction of a puzzling certainty.

In all successes Fortune and the day
To me alike are; I am fix'd, be she
Never so fickle;

(The Revenge of Bussy D'Ambois, III. iv. 162-4)

THE REVENGE OF BUSBY D'AMBOIS: FIXITY AND THE ABSOLUTE MAN

In a world where man is insignificant "unless he be a politician" (I. ii. 141), Clermont D'Ambois, the most reluctant and unlikely of avengers, devotes himself quite assiduously to being "no politician" and "no lawyer" (IV. i. 48, 57). However, his significance is not to be doubted. He does not suffer for being no "great and politicke man . . . [who] Never explores himself to find his faults." ¹ Moreover, he offers no pale recastings of the desire to enjoy fame in a statue; hence, he is also unlike the "sleight man" who stands "Starke as a statue" and "whose learning formes not lifes integritie." ² His lack of such greatness and sleightness seems commendable indeed. But Chapman's gleanings from Solfius's Epictetus furnish more than foils for his Senecal hero. The poetry he composed at about the same time as the play corroborates the durability of Clermont, for "Best men are long in making!" ³ The power of such a hero resides not in overt bluster but in learning-infused calm which can permit him to demonstrate the same yielding strength Chapman described in "Of Sufferance." The confident bearer of a truly humane crown, "this absolute Clermont" (II. i. 90) impresses his audience with the stoic reserve of his position "To love nothing outward" (IV. v. 4).

Yet when "all is one" (IV. v. 13), such reserve seems almost inaccessible: the depiction of a "Senecal Saint" ⁴ can tax even hagiographic enthusiasts. But while Chapman's play is predictably demanding and scant of the immediate rewards which an impatient reader might expect, its hero

is no milquetoast fifth business desperately injected as a catalyst for action. Whether lecturing on the contemporary and ancient theatre (I. i. 323-74), or clarifying his creed of absolutism (IV. v. 4-13), or explaining oneirocriticism (V. i. 42-53), or reflecting on anamnesis (V. v. 128-38), Clermont is evidently a personage to be reckoned with. And perhaps because he is just such a curious authority and such a temperamentally ill-suited avenger (III. ii. 109-16), he remains a difficult yet undeniably dominant character. In addition to his usually self-appointed eminence as a pundit, Clermont moves in a play that seems crowded with incidents both unintentionally humorous and outrightly bizarre. The appearances of a bloodthirsty virago, eager to accept--if not usurp--the duty of her philosophic brother, a pusillanimous criminal who must be coaxed into a duel of revenge, and a noble mistress who blinds herself in tears of grief afford studies in extremity which actually border on caricature. Maybe as more of a reflection of the reader than the playwright, this tragedy seems able to boast of a dash of cynicism in its repartees. Tenuous examples might include the thanks announced by the Guise "for this / Virtuous digression" (I. i. 375-6) following Clermont's lecture on the theatre, the observation of Baligny about the ease with which Clermont stimulates digressions in others (II. i. 235-7), the comment of Maillard on the prettiness of the hero's absolutism (IV. v. 14), and his remark on the euphony (if not the echo) of Clermont's defense of the subject whose acts are governed by native noblesse (IV. v. 26). However, without forcing the play into the niche of a Ulyssean manifesto or a renunciation of Bussy,⁵ the reader might

realize that its difficulty and singularity reside in the figure of its hero. He imparts its at times benumbing aura of surety and calm determination. Despite his negation of the sort of conflict we may have considered germane to a tragic situation, Clermont's rigorous and isolating Stoicism seems to me to account for and contain the essence of Chapman's drama in a way comparable to the manner in which the Christianity of Corneille's eponymous hero supplies the mantic fervour of Polyeucte.

Chapman's Clermont is his own creation--as historically ⁷ unreal as he is distinctively alive. Not only did such a person never exist, but this fiction manages to kill Montsurry on stage when the actual Montsoreau was still alive. His creator borrowed the details of his capture from Grimeston's account of the arrest of the bastard D'Auvergne. ⁸ Swinburne proposed that unfavourable response to this sort of license apparently resulted in the defensive assertiveness of Chapman's Preface, intended to silence those "maligners" who demand "autentical truth . . . in a poem, whose subject is not truth, but things like truth."

Chapman's natural fiction is as far removed from historical accuracy as from close association with his heroic predecessors. Even though verbal echoes and a proposed fraternal bond link Clermont with Bussy, these brothers and the plays in which each moves are as distinct from one another as they both are from Byron. Bussy and The Revenge share an out-of-joint world, ruled by "Fortune, not Reason" (Bussy D'Ambois, I. i. 1), and resembling "untun'd confusion" (The Revenge of Bussy D'Ambois, I. i. 12). But further verbal parallels only serve to

outline the distance between them. When Monsieur describes Clermont as hanging "upon the ear of Guise, / Like to his jewel" (I. i. 152), we can understand this stoic's different prominence as teacher of a patron and friend by recalling Henry's explanation to his eagle of a subject, that "Truth's words like jewels hang in th' ears of kings" (Bussy, III. ii. 6). When Monsieur invites Clermont to present "a true glâss" (I. i. 194) of himself, he must fence with such a mirror more dextrously than he had to do with his brother (Bussy, III. ii. 327) in order to prod him into responding; Clermont eventually accepts by borrowing a phrase from Monsieur's earlier taunting of Bussy. He informs his willing listener that he is apt for anything "But killing of the King" (I. i. 278), and the moment he starts using Bussy's argument about the random greatness of birth (Bussy, III. ii. 75-8; Revenge, I. i. 282-3), this interchange which never really began comes to an abrupt halt. Montsurry's treatment of his wife also uses images of the earlier play; when he speaks of blood no longer able to quench her lust which engenders with death (I. ii. 27-32), he recalls both his own vicious picture of Tamyra as a Siren dashing Bussy's "ruffi'n Galley" (V. i. 61) against Montsurry's rocks, and Bussy's assessment of Monsieur's penchant to "kiss horror, and with death engender" (III. ii. 399). This vituperative cuckold describes himself as haunted by the Furies (I. ii. 102), but Bussy had early asserted his desire to be the haunter of his court enemies (I. ii. 194). The biggest difference between the two plays clearly resides in the attributes of the heroes; as the Guise characterizes Clermont, in contrast to his brother:

He hath the crown of man, and all his parts
 Which learning is; and that so true and virtuous
 That it gives power to do as well as say
 Whatever fits a most accomplish'd man;
 Which Bussy, for his valour's season lack'd;
 And so was rapt with outrage oftentimes
 Beyond decorum. (II. i. 84-90)

Clermont affords less evident contrasts with Byron too. While Crequi used the example of "the camel that of Jove begg'd horns" (Conspiracy, IV. i. 139) to underscore the wrongheadedness of the Duke, Clermont himself uses the same example (II. i. 176-7) when preaching about the seemly exteriors of pompous French nobles. The picture of Clermont on his brave Scotch steed (II. i. 246-9) is predictably less detailed and encomiastic than that of Byron on Pastrana (Conspiracy, II. ii. 67-81), but so is the Atlas-like prominence which Clermont assigns to the Guise (II. i. 266-7) ¹⁰ distinct from and superior to the Atlas-like role of Hercules which Byron petulantly arrogates as his thankless task (Tragedy, III. i. 151-3). Reminiscent of the Bussy of the green retreat, Clermont has no colossic designs; he knows how soon silly height can topple (III. ii. 59-60). His depiction of the God-like strength in man that yields only to the divine cosmic frame (III. iv. 66-71) and of the subject "who breaks no law [and] is subject to no king" (IV. v. 25) recalls Bussy's defense of his own prelapsarian magnificence as one "who to himself is law, no law doth need, / Offends no King, and is a King indeed" (II. i. 203-4). Yet The Revenge of Bussy D'Ambois leaves us with only

faint glimmerings of the earlier hero. When Aumale describes the captured Clermont "As something sacred fallen out of the sky" (V. i. 39), could Chapman be asking us to consider this brother as a fallen spark of Bussy's Herculean stellification? And when the assuaged Charlotte decides to "turn to earth" (V. v. 203), could she not be affording a subtle intimation that only through bloodied experience has she been able to acquire the ascetic wisdom¹¹ of her brother's opening position, "Procumbit?"

But the wisdom of Clermont is by no means absent from The Revenge of Bussy D'Ambois. In fact, it provides the peculiar élan of this play.¹² A hero who so totally incarnates Epictetus's motto of *ανεκον και αστερον* seems bound to pose a problem to approach with justice and without an disinterested yawn or a suspicious smirk. We remember that Strozza had his virtuous Cynanche convincing him of the rightness of stoic endurance and so, by the sacred medicine of patience, was able to bring about his own cure and proclaim himself a virtuous man.¹³ Similarly, the studious Clarence in his love of Eugenia was able to bare his musical soul, yet still remain Tomford's "strange and riddle-speaking friend."¹⁴ True, Clermont enjoys the friendship of the Guise and the devotion of the Countess but, in a more covert way, he stands alone.¹⁵ The play's images demonstrate this singularity in action. The teeter-totter of dichotomies that we have come to recognize as Chapman signposts balances its way into a delicate equipoise and finally appropriates a rigid stasis that becomes quite unimportant in the stoic scheme of things. Clermont's fire, which others assign to him, never shows the characteristics of spontaneous combustion, but rather, only blazes forth in controlled and

determined instances. His unquestioned nobility seems to endanger (if not victimize) itself by being so unpolitic and "credulous" (IV. iii. 81). And yet his Epictetan crown enables him to endure and surpass what others consider curiosities; his final gesture proves how completely he lived "never . . . / To please man worldly" (V. v. 162-3).

Clermont's learning affords not only the crown of the man but the direction of his life and the ambience of the play. It is not merely an enchanting "bubble" (I. i. 262); on the contrary, it is a lifelong and philosophic devotion. Clermont studies "How to be truly noble, truly wise" (i. i. 151), for his learning is "but an art to live well" (l. 170).¹⁶ Even Monsieur lauds him, albeit pragmatically, in recognizing that Clermont's "soul, more learn'd, is more ingenuous, / Searching, judicial" (ll. 216-7); in a similar vein, the moral adjuration of the completely Christianized Ghost of Bussy--"Reform, ye ignorant men, your manless lives" (V. i. 15)--indicates the chastened and sober tenor of this play. Since learning is "the crown of man" (II. i. 84), how fitting it is that Clermont praises Edward de Vere, patron of the arts and seventeenth Earl of Oxford, for having been "Valiant, and learn'd, and liberal as the sun" (III. iv. 92). Equally judicious in the light of his subject and the nature of the playwright is the stirring paean which the Guise offers in defense of his friend, one of "unwearied mind / Rightly to virtue framed" (IV. iv. 14-5). Clermont's knowledge involves the seeing paradoxes of ascent and fixity. "The great rising / And learning of his soul" (ll. 25-6), the Guise contends, confirm his position as "this Senecal man" (l. 42), just as they ensure that "Fix'd in himself, he

still is one to all" (l. 46).

Such Senecalism is really far from rigid, for the energizing vitality of Clermont's knowledge throws into relief the death-in-life existence of others. "noblesse" is "lost" and "quick buried" (II. i. 153) in Montsurry; the foiled Baligny reflects that being "buried quick" seems better than existing as a mere puppet or "property for state" (IV. iv. 57-8); and the surviving female trio, having decided that "Too easy 'tis to die" resolves to "forsake the world" and "to cloisters fly" (V. v. 209, 212, 208), as Henry sepulchrally intones the play's knell by pronouncing "this fatal room / . . . the famous D'Ambois tomb" (II. 218-9).

While Clermont's absolutism naturally creates contrasts, the dominant characteristic of his temperament is to cancel out extremes and polarities and reduce them to either stoic calm or utter triviality. Living in a "declining kingdom" (I. i. 1) so inferior to its previous state wherein "things most lawful / were once most royal" (II. 19-20), Clermont does indeed condemn the appearances which Epernon ably summarizes as "outward greatness, and the guises / That vulgar great ones make their pride and zeal" (II. 155-6). His unflagging concern is with things inward and contemplative; Ficinian reasoning supported a similar stand, arguing that "if . . . the way of inner or spiritual ascent is the real access to the good and perfect life, all outward life which is directed away from contemplation must be qualified as bad and imperfect." Clermont is the Florentine's echo as he denounces the vapidness of the "Huge heaps of outside in these mighty men" (l. 311), the mental deprivation of

"these painted men, / All set on out-side" (II. i. 192-3), and the faulty logic of those who esteem honour "with wise men, as the price / And value of their virtuous services" (III. ii. 30-1). When outlining the poles separating good and bad, he also makes it clear that the pursuit of matter always shortchanges the mind:

. . . Good and bad hold never
Anything common; you can never find

Things' outward care, but you neglect your mind. (III. iv. 55-7)

The fixity he adopts in the face of good or ill fortune permits him to envisage the accomplishment of the rare human feat, "to join himself with th' Universe / In his main sway, and make (in all things fit) / One with that All, and go on round as it" (IV. i. 139-41). While the Guise corroborates Clermont's attainment of Senecal absolutism (IV. iv. 42-6), the hero himself continues his steadfast campaign against "the unprofitable things" (IV. v. 38) which consume our attention and in favour of "All that doth profit" (l. 40) which we neglect. Because of the silence of this heroic "mouthpiece,"¹⁹ the Countess concludes with an antithesis which Clermont may have considered singularly apposite, in the promise that she will "In heaven's course comfort seek, in earth is none" (V. v. 215).

In addition to the dichotomies which it tends to subsume, Clermont's vitality is of a very cautious and self-controlled sort. He is hardly the type of the blood-crazed, treacherous avenger; the inimitable Charlotte can safely lay claim to these traits as her sole domain. Rarely is the mention of bloodshed associated with Clermont. Frequently, however, is

it connected with Charlotte who, in the testimony of her husband, "thirsts for" (I. i. 118) it and who herself anxiously awaits the attainment of Revenge's "bloody laurel" (I. ii. 3). Her noble brother realizes that if her madness were given vent "blood would flow in rivers" (III. iv. 148). Renel commiserates with Baligny by describing the ferocity of Charlotte in this negative comparison: "There is no tiger not more tame than she" (IV. ii. 38). He also appears to sympathize with the out-ranked Lord-Lieutenant about the undesirability of such honour, in his remark that "Vile men advanc'd live of the common blood" (l. 18)²⁰. And, before his death, the Guise adds an ominous coda to this view. The wounded Duke silences Henry's specious logic about shedding his blood "to save the blood / Of many thousands" (V. iv. 50-1) with the prophecy that the King "will find one drop of blood shed lawless / Will be the fountain to a purple sea" (ll. 52-3). Following such preparations, Clermont's confrontation with Montsurry functions as a consciously bloody climax.²¹

Although this hero is described as "fiery" (II. i. 92), we realize quickly that his fire is always controlled. Only Charlotte, "full of her brother's fire" (I. i. 109), has hopes of being incendiary. For while Tamyra muses about the weaker sense of scintillation cherished in the memory of her lover "That (rarefying the thin and yielding air) / Flew sparkling up into the sphere of fire" (l. ii. 17-8), the Guise, "In chief heat of his [Clermont's] faction" (I. i. 149), qualifies his attribution of fire to "this absolute Clermont" (II. i. 90) by adding that "He can control that fire, as hid in embers" (l. 94). Fulfilling

Aumale's dread about the irrepressible force of "his fiery hands" (III. i. 78), Clermont sparkles with lightning to elude his hired cantors; even when halted, he reacts as Bussy's brother, casting "a blaze of such disdain, / . . . / As something sacred fallen out of the sky" (IV. i. 37, 39). But as a friend and not a combatant, Clermont departs himself with characteristic temperance and reserve:

For when love kindles any knowing spirit,

It ends in virtue and effects divine

And is in friendship chaste and masculine. (V. i. 186-8)

His friend, though, is less stalwart and more approachable. Despite his contention that kingly justice "should be hot as fire" (IV. iv. 11), the Guise advances toward his own death with the understandable yet stoically disappointing awareness of fear "melting like snow within me with cold fire" (V. iv. 9).

The marine images of the play substantiate Clermont's prominence as surely as they reflect unfavourably on other characters. Eulogized by the Guise for being "as true as tides" (II. i. 96), the hero is also a loyal ship's mate who "now [his] master calls," and seeing that the vessel of the Guise has sailed, resolves to cast himself "after him into the sea, / Rather than here live, ready every hour / To feed thieves, beasts, and be the slave of power" (V. v. 183, 190-2). His resolute stance is quite different from the position of Henry, who is, as Renel images him, like the merchant whose "wealth is swoln in mind, / When yet the chief lord of it is the wind" (IV. ii. 27-8). The King's self-description is no more flattering either. In

contrast to Peacham's emblem of the rock of manly constancy, Henry pictures himself to the dying Guise with this non-regal sort of negative comparison:

. . . nor is a rock, oppos'd
 To all the billows of the churlish sea,
 More beat and eaten with them than was I
 With your ambitious mad idolatry. (V. iv. 46-9)

Clermont's studies have liberated him from such pitying characterizations. Even though he considers himself the benefactor, Monsieur attests that Clermont's manhood shows "spirit, and means, and lustre" (I. i. 89); later, Clermont defends the divine potential of true noblesse against the frozen conventions of "common nobles' fashions" (III. iv. 113). This knowledgeability renders him more of an astute observer and pedagogue than a protagonist.

As a teacher his most reliable aid is the pictographic analogy. Whether using a lion, a camel, or an eagle as his example, he always manages to deliver a message, whether about true noblesse, or deserved privilege, or undefiled taste. Ideally, this absolute teacher encourages his followers to uphold and further the advance of moderation and balance over intemperance and disproportion. As distinct as a picture from a real animal, or as a tamed lion from a wild one who still retains "th' innative fire of spirit and greatness" (II. i. 159) is the soft French noble "Chain'd up in ease and numb security" (I. 163) from his truly noble potential. Similarly, "foolish great-spleen'd camels" (I. 176) who asked Jove for horns are comparable to the unwise who beg for meaningless privileges and whose questions never turn within (I. 193).

22

The eagle furnishes a timely lesson in self-protectiveness, for the drawing in of its talons to avoid "rebating of their sharpness" (III. ii. 19) intimates an analogous path whereby our mental acumen need not be dulled by "vile and vulgar admirations" (l. 22). Clermont's use of such pictorial aids may not move us to elevate Chapman to any Audubon echelon, but it does cause us to realize how ably and completely this playwright, so aware of the verbal energias "requird in absolute Poems,"²³ concurred with ebbe's adjuration about the poet's multi-faceted and perspective-conscious vision: "In a picture some thing delighteth beeing sette farre of, something nearer, but a Poet should delight in all places as well in sunne as shaddowe."²⁴ As befits an Epictetan proselytizer, Clermont's decisive criterion is balance. When he informs us that his main objection to revenge is the imbalance it causes between "private cause" and "public laws" (III. ii. 115-6), we might recall Horapollo's hieroglyph representing justice, the wing of an ostrich, chosen because it is "more equally balanced than any other bird."²⁵ It is just this sort of well-complemented interrelationship that lies behind the Countess's toxophilic observation about government, "things are like archers, and their subjects shafts"²⁶ (IV. iii. 53).

The word-pictures of this play provide the foremost indication of its singularity. And if these images are not directly traceable to emblem books, I suggest that this too reflects on the nature of the play with its unique blending of garrulous and homiletic flavours. Yet any discussion of the images of The Revenge would remain incomplete if it did not include some acknowledgement of the hero's closing and

perhaps finest metaphorical display. Clermont's ante mortem analysis²⁷ of disrobing affords a stirringly metaphysical return to synthesis:

The garment or the cover of the mind,
 The human soul is; of the soul, the spirit
 The proper robe is; of the spirit, the blood,
 And of the blood, the body is the shroud.
 With that must I begin then to unclothe,
 And come at th' other. (V. v. 170-5)

Its analytical progress is mathematically precise, yet its subject remains at the same time immensely accessible. For some readers this explication of his approaching death might be a temptation to reconstruct

Herbert's dressing of Aaron²⁸ by reversing the assumption of garments and hence of pastoral responsibility into the stripping of the body and its eschatological revelation of the soul. For others it may suggest a human though less arresting view of the Crashavian "purple wardrobe."²⁹ For others still Clermont's journey of divestiture may seem to be following the dictates of such a Ficinian exhortation as:

"O divine race clothed with a mortal vestment; make yourself naked, separate yourself as much as you can. . . . O minds too ignorant of yourselves, O blind hearts! Please arise from this deep sleep; please come to reason at last. For if you come to reason you will breathe happily."³⁰

His "aversation" (III. iii. 8) to the whole voyage of vengeance and his preference of the more abstruse and humanistic path indicated in his final conjecture may account for some of the negative critical

31

reaction to this most punctilious of protagonists. True, his dilatory caution and consciously non-Achillean virtues do not contribute to an action-centred drama; in fact, they tailor a revenge tragedy into a moral apologia for its very existence. But on the contrary, they also preclude even the faintest hint of morality vice. Clermont offers none of the entertainment of a Worldly Man, nor of a protean Ambidexter, nor definitely of a faddish New Gyse. His import, like that of the play in which he moves, concerns the staid and never facile sobriety of a lesson by positive example.

'Tis dangerous to play too wild a descant

On numerous virtue, . . .

.

A musical hand should only play on her,

Fluent as air, yet every touch command.

(The Tragedy of Chabot Admiral of France, V. i. 92-8)

THE TRAGEDY OF CHABOT ADMIRAL OF FRANCE: PRECARIOUS PRECISIONISM

Perhaps the reader whose favourite French monarch is St. Louis, whose pleasurable reading extends to Thomas à Kempis, and whose spirit is excited as much by the tenacious simplicity of Teresa as by the fervent humility of Bernanos's Curé would be readily disposed to the warm reception of this play. And doubtless, there would also be a host of critics eager to castigate her namby-pamby impressionism and apparently unquestioning devotion. Surely, judgements about the priggishness, the unsaintly pride, and the mawkish sentimentality that tinge the play's depiction of the noble justicer abound,¹ they would argue. And can anyone wholly (or even honestly) accept the utter piety and unswerving concern with absolutes² that Chabot purveys, they would query. Furthermore, they would contend, how can one possibly concentrate on Chapman as the author of a work that seems to have been significantly revised by Shirley?³ Impressive issues all, and yet my initial and not-easy-to-articulate positiveness persists. Having early convinced myself that the pristine halo I had devised for Chabot demanded unblinkered and serious scrutiny, I concur quite freely with the unhappy many that there are indeed blemishes and quirks, distortions and exaggerations surrounding this hero. But something resilient and magnetic about Chabot remains. Maybe part of the explanation of this triumphant residue (or indelible halo) involves the essence of Chabot's rigorous pursuit of absolute justice which, strangely enough, renders him a most delicate protagonist, an admirable yet precarious precisian. Such precisianism is too easily scorned, too heavy-handedly negated. For its nature is refined and its trial in the

forensic furnace of Chapman's play demonstrates both its enduring worth along with the irreparable harm of the whole testing ordeal. As his Father-in-law's observation intimates, Chabot's tragedy highlights the necessity, in Milton's phrase, of a "volant touch"⁴ when dealing with such a fascinatingly rare breed of nobility and virtue.

Whether as a result of Shirley's emotive and sentimental revisions or as part of Chapman's original intent to deal with a singular and hence misunderstood man of integrity, the play's presentation of Chabot appears to follow almost a deliberate thrust and parry of plaudit and peculiarity; characterization thus creates its own sequences of dramatic laus and vituperatio. Allegre experiences no qualms as the loyal servant defending his master's total yet humane devotion to justice as an arbiter who "truly weighs and feels," as "a man, both soul and nerve" (I. i. 59, 80). However, although blame is far from Allegre's purpose, his description of Chabot's utter scrupulosity includes the logical but not always welcome corollary that "The Admiral is not flexible" (l. 86). And while the hero's hallowed protestations of "Love and allegiance" (l. 130) to his King and of "Pure and inviolable" (l. 128) concord with the Constable are still fresh in our minds, the Chancellor provides a reverberatingly pragmatic countermeasure with his observation that "a precisian / In state is a ridiculous miracle" (ll. 232-3). The precise and the cheverel are clearly at odds. Moreover, during the central three acts in which this precisianism itself is doubted, tested, and proven, even Chabot's affirmations are severely grilled and buffeted by his at times dissenting and at times incredulous audience. Despite Francis's confidence that

"Chabot's no traitor" (II. i. 3), his Queen is quite sceptical of the abundant power wielded by such "a Colossus" (l. 38)⁵ and attempts to expose further chinks in this subject's superhuman armour by sneering about his turn to mortality (III. i. 80). In the midst of these cross-currents Chabot walks as a force of assurance and calm, a confident Orpheus and a subduing Hercules, whose shield is yet as precious as it is penetrable:

I walk no desert, yet go arm'd with that
 That would give wildest beasts instincts to rescue
 Rather than offer any force to hurt me--
 My innocence, which is a conquering justice
 And wears a shield that both defends and fights. (II. ii. 53-7)

But his self-negating explanation to Francis,

Myself am nothing
 Compar'd to what I seek; 'tis justice only

The fount and flood both of your strength and kingdom's. (II. iii. 14-6), may begin to strike too altruistic and pious a note to ring true, and may cause some readers to second the King's warning about the flattery of "mad opinions" (l. 142). So notwithstanding Montmorency's opinion of him as "a true, most zealous patriot" (III. i. 215) and Chabot's own defense as being "far . . . in soul from such a rebel" (III. ii. 135), the Proctor-General lays the charge of "giantism against heaven" (l. 97) upon France's foremost justicer. Yet when opinion turns in Chabot's favour, it does so with an awesomely torrential vigour. Francis⁶ immediately recognizes the "free justice" of "this man of confidence"

(IV. i. 171, 195), and offers his pardon--only to find it judiciously denied by the unjustly accused who judges pardon to be unnecessary (ll. 236-40). While the King is busy discerning the sun-etched glories of "this envied lord" (l. 431), Chabot's Father-in-law reports to Francis the debilitating effects of his trial. Although the Admiral appropriates a fully heroic stance in his wish to "stand and look / His destiny in the face at the last summons" (V. i. 29-30), he evinces what may seem to be the rather puerile reasoning of thinking the King "unkind" (l. 79). Moreover, our reaction to the Queen's puzzled comment on this news,

Can he in this show spirit, and want force

To wrestle with a thought? (ll. 33-4),

can weigh the balances of our judgement on Chapman's hero. If we sense the same doubt and decide to extend it to a hasty resolution, then Chabot does indeed emerge as a precarious and easily discredited protagonist. However, if we choose to regard this query as the unconsciously exposed tip of Chabot's characterizational iceberg, then we may find ourselves willing to assent to the inextricable and tragic bond uniting integrity with vulnerability. Then we might grope our way to a realization of the grim rapacity bound up in the hidden "engine" (V. iii. 49) that has mortally wounded Chabot. Balk as we may at Chabot's humble refusal of the sanguine monument Francis proffers him, at his martyrous pleas for the forgiveness of his accuser, and at the knee-bending abasement and fervid respect of his death stance, we might also come to realize the ineffable tragedy surrounding and the dramaturgic onus of presenting a character whom, as Francis eulogizes him, "this world / Deserv'd . . .

not" (ll. 206-7).

The presence of apparent echoes from previous plays makes the distinctiveness of Chabot's tragic universe even more pronounced. Like the inverted, untuned, out-of-joint worlds of the other tragedies, Chabot's tragedy is set "in this vile, degenerate age" (I. i. 16). However, while Byron's greatness and lack of goodness were reprehensible, Chabot's greatness becomes the prey of the supposed goodness of others. As Allegre's explanation of the difference between the Admiral and the Constable clarifies, such epithets evidently carry reversed valencies in this context:

. . . great men are not safe

In their own vice where good men by the hand

Of kings are planted to survey their workings. (ll. 20-2)

Furthermore, the "Gordian beyond the Phrygian knot" (l. 119), with which image of the Chancellor seems to hail the exterior concord reuniting Chabot and Montmorency, provides an ominous introduction to his politicized machinations, whereas Pero's observation about Montsurry's rashness in cutting "a Gordian when he could not loose it" (Bussy D'Ambois, IV. i. 217) served as prologue to the bloody results of Monsieur's disclosure. Similarly, the prediction of Chabot's Father-in-law, that, since he (Chabot) has been so politically reconciled with Montmorency, he "must be one in all, / One in corruption" (I. ii. 41-2), underlines the division between courtly and Stoical absolutism. Although Byron proposed to shoot his shaft at the sun as proof of his own highness and rightness (Byron's Conspiracy, I. ii. 40-4), Chabot intends to direct his at the Chancellor's

"globe of light" (II. ii. 84) as proof of the superiority of "naked truth and deeds" (l. 82). And while Henry's promise to sift Byron's actions "And pour more than you think into the siève" (Byron's Tragedy, III. ii. 120) should have served as a warning to the about-to-be-quelled traitor, Chabot employs the same metaphor to affirm his refined confidence before the trial (II. iii. 106-07). In berating "that trust in greatness" (III. i. 22) which has led to his son-in-law's arrest, Chabot's Father causes us to recall the remark the Countess had passed about Clermont's credulity (The Revenge, IV. iii. 81). Moreover, as this seasoned observer continues in his feeling harangue against those "that thrust/ Your heads into a cloud, where lie in ambush / The soldiers of state" (ll. 23-5), he suggests the difference separating Byron's Marlovian and emblematic piercing "into purest air" (Byron's Conspiracy, I. ii. 106) and the pratfalls that lurk in the more pervasively polluted (or more disturbingly convective) troposphere of Chabot's universe. His warning too about the wild descants improvised "On numerous virtue" (V. i. 93) recalls both the tenuousness of Byron's tuneful state (Byron's Conspiracy, V. ii. 88, 107) and the decisiveness with which Bussy silenced the belittling "descants" (Bussy D'Ambois, I. ii. 190) of his court taunters. The inflexible wholeness of Chabot's standards is suited neither to improvisation nor to interrogation. However, I find the salient feature which distinguishes The Tragedy of Chabot from its forerunners is its lack of internal commentary which, consciously or not, focuses on the key issue with almost empathic insight. Monsieur and the Guise in Bussy D'Ambois (V. iii. 1-56), Epernon in Byron's Tragedy (V. iii. 189-98),

and Clermont in conjunction with his devoted patron and friend in The Revenge of Bussy D'Ambois (II. i. 83-94; III. iv. 159-65), all contribute significant commentary on the essence of each tragic situation. Though he may seem much like Clermont in being his own spokesman, Chabot is actually a moral isolate in his universe. He does not live in a milieu of "contraries" and "impossible mixtures" (Byron's Tragedy, V. iii. 189, 190) but, with a noticeable difference of impact, in an atmosphere of constant mixtures, fluidity, and fusion. Francis may be able to analyze his Chancellor with this simile of germination:

What a prisoner

Is pride of the whole flood of man! For as

A human seed is said to be a mixture

And fair contemperature extracted from

All our best faculties, so the seed of all

Man's sensual frailty may be said to abide,

And have their confluence in only pride. (IV. i. 366-72);

but such analysis remains demonstrably feeble when applied to the inculpable, inflexible, and absolute integrity of his maligned justicer.

I admit freely that most readers of Chapman's play will find such impassioned support of his protagonist hard to digest. Righteousness and inflexibility would seem to make more of a case for pious hypocrisy than for heroic nobility. Yet perhaps this form of reaction to Chabot's absolutism results from an unwillingness (maybe even an inability) to grant that such refinement and scrupulosity can exist, that it would be

falsely modest of Chabot to deny them, that his affirmations are more honest than arrogant, and that withall such moral eminence is humanly pregnable and vulnerable. Tested in the furnace of injustice and cauterized in the flame of envy, Chabot's principles withstand the ordeal. But the cooling medicine of supplication proves unequal to the gaping hurt it must heal. This is the metaphorical burden of Chapman's tragedy.

Quite appropriately, one of the first images of Chabot's justice compares the ordinary conception of the Admiral to "a picture wrought to optic reason" (I. i. 68). Those who extend only "lateral or partial glances" "cannot well judge what the main form is" (ll. 74, 72). But as Allegre explains, for those who "stand and in a right line view it" (l. 71), Chabot's image will reflect one who "truly will all styles deserve / Of wise, just, good" (ll. 79-80). His vision of justice is both singular and comprehensive, while others can only perceive kaleidoscopic particles of this whole. The Chancellor proffers his debased version of "A Gordian beyond the Phrygian knot" (I. i. 119); the Advocate clozes about "the very soul of our state" (V. ii. 123); and Francis acknowledges it as "being the prop of every kingdom" (V. iii. 175). However, this monarch must also admit with some regret that Chabot has been able to contain "The knot and contract of it all in him" (l. 177).

His ability to contain, to endure, and to rise above comes into particular prominence with the marine, arboreal, and calorific imagery of the play. Chabot's devotion to justice alone prompts Allegre to compare his master's fiery "brave anger" over an inequitable bill to "a winter's

sea" (I. i. 36, 43). Though not intoxicated with any shallow draughts "of the stream royal" (I. i. 6), Chabot proudly declaims in Francis's presence his quest of justice which is "The fount and flood both of your strength and kingdom's" (II. iii. 16). In terms of marine imagery, other speakers are more cautious and seem more concerned with the perils of analogous courtly life. As a fittingly homiletic and emblematic flourish on the occasion of his official reconciliation with the Constable, Chabot pays perceptive tribute to his Father-in-law's wisdom as a rare court seaman; as he interprets this relative's presence:

Since height of place oft dazzles height of judgment,
 He takes his top-sail down in such rough storms,
 And apt's his sails to airs more temperate. (I. i. 149-51)

A demonstration of the almost prophetic validity of the old gentleman's measured approach to subtle temperateness follows closely. The Treasurer sets to work convincing the Constable not to be

. . . like a dull and standing lake,
 That settles, putrifies, and chokes with mud;
 But, like a river gushing from the head,
 That winds through the under-vales, . . .

 Till, with the ocean meeting, even with him
 In sway and title his brave billows move. (ll. 196-202)

Tempted in spite of his convictions, Montmorency realizes that, in turning away from the Admiral, he is drowning his envy by provoking "the tempest" (I. i. 209). But even though his Father-in-law warns about

the dubious honour of "thy titles / And swelling offices that will, i' th' end, / Engulf thee past a rescue!" (I. ii. 12-14), the eminent justicer is confident that he tastes "no sweets to drown in others' gall" (II. iii. 43). True, those who have tried to "Float in the waves of an imagin'd favour" (IV. i. 451) have indeed shipwrecked in their unvirtuous haven.⁸ Poyet is left in the dilemma faintly reminiscent of Horace's ship of state,⁹ as he faces "devouring quicksands" and tries to calm Francis's "high-going sea, or in that tempest / . . . ruin to eternity" (V. ii. 160, 165-7). But an internal tempest provoked by the surprising contretemps he has encountered on the judicial high seas damages the bark and contributes to the "hasty ebb" (V. i. 10) of Chabot's life. The loyal tributary of the royal flood becomes a swollen river of grief:

. . . and, as

A river, lift his curl'd and impetuous waves

Over the banks, by confluence of streams

That fill and swell their channel; for by this time

He has the addition of Allegre's suffering. (V. i. 16-20)

The play's tree images also depict the toll that Chabot's principled endurance exacts. The Treasurer's unctuous comment at the public reconciliation, that "by concord least things grow / Most great and flourishing like trees . . ." (I. i. 121-2), serves as prologue to his policied attempts to defeat Chabot. For despite the Admiral's assurance that if Francis lacked divine favour then his own fabric should be ruined, "[His] stock want sap, [his] branches by the root / Be torn to death" (II. iii. 34-5), he finds his flourishing and once firmly

rooted tree withering as a result of rude transplanting "by strong hand" (V. iii. 53). Although the Admiral is deeply moved by the unjust treatment of his servant, he continues in this imagistic explication to distance the physical and hence reparable harm suffered by Allegre from his own moral and cerebral torture which remains by its very personal intensity irreparable. The climactic presentation of this horticultural experiment images for the reader the atrophying effect of Chabot's ordeal:

The engine is not seen that wounds thy master
 Past all the remedy of art or time,
 The flatteries of court, of fame, or honours:
 Thus in the summer a tall flourishing tree,
 Transplanted by strong hand, with all her leaves
 And blooming pride upon her, makes a show
 Of Spring, tempting the eye with wanton blossom;
 But not the sun, with all her amorous smiles,
 The dews of morning, or the tears of night,
 Can root her fibres in the earth again,
 Or make her bosom kind to growth and bearing;
 But the tree withers(ll. 49-60)

The student of emblem literature could attempt a form of pictorial comparison by overlaying Godyere's sun-favoured, fruitful, and noble tree with Peacham's decaying elder.

The furnace in which Chabot is tried is heated at once by the flames of his own incorruptible standards and by the burning incredulity and envious passion of others to reduce such integrity to less questionable

fallibility. Knowing the "brave anger" (I. i. 36) that can fire the Admiral in the case of unjust suits, the Treasurer proposes to the pliable Montmorency "To let him burn himself in the King's flame" (l. 180), and the Secretary endorses the Constable's gain since it would be "better you / Extinguish his fires than **he** made his fuel, / And in your ashes give his flame a trophy" (ll. 225-7). The "green faggot" (II. ii. 19) of Montmorency takes fire at these flames of faction, as he finds the thunderbolts of his insurrection hastily forged by a single-viewed smithy:

. . . where the Chancellor, his chief Cyclops, finds

The fire within him apt to take, he blows,

And then the faggot flames as never more

The bellows needed, till the too soft greenness

Of his state habit shows his sap still flows

Above the solid timber, with which, then,

His blaze shrinks head, he cools, and smokes again. (ll. 20-6)

Chabot's trial is indeed a test of his innocence which, like the "constant heart" of Combe's emblem (Figure 1),¹⁰ endures. But the human stithy Chapman presents is mortal and sensitive. The grinding ordeals of state-craft surely affect their millstones,¹¹ just as the cloud-ensconced but "ever-burning furnaces wherein / Your brittle {lasses of estate are blown" (III. i. 30-1) jealously pour their "yellow fire" (l. 26) on any troublesomely principled and trusting interloper. Unlike its formative, solidifying, and purifying effects with glass, clay, and metals, flame provides Chabot's heart-deadening inferno. Chapman's play depicts the

Let fire or sword their choler wreake,
 A constant heart can nothing breake.



Like to the Stith I count the constant hart:
 The Stith endures the heauie hammers beat,
 And doth not shrinke nor yeeld in any part,
 Though smiths lay on & thump it till they sweat.
 Eu'n so should men in chances ouerthwart,
 Whē paines increase & fortune seemes to threat,
 Yet in their course with constant purpose run,
 And still persist till they haue honour wonne.

Figure 1

Embleme LXVII from Combe's Theatre of Fine Devices.

internal substance of the noble man, who is curiously unalloyed with
disloyalty and culpability, as far more brittle than glass or clay.¹²

Too late the Queen attempts to outline the tragic hazard:

Such fiery examinations and the furnace

May waste a heart that's faithful (IV. i. 32-3)

Despite the purity of his metal Chabot has "felt a scorching trial" (l. 187); moreover, the knowledge that "the same severity" of "so many fires" (ll. 358-9) when applied to his accusers will easily reveal their impurities and defects must be of doubtful comfort to the non-vindictive though vindicated justicer.

Chabot has placed confidence in the purifying, rarefying emanation of his own inner light. This certainty has been his private and superior flame. In the qualifying reductions of its rhetoric, Asall's metaphysical analysis has actually articulated Chabot's interior calm:

The sun's rich radiance, shot through waves most fair,

Is but a shadow to his beams i' th' air;

His beams, that in the air we so admire,

Is but a darkness to his flame in fire;

In fire his fervour but as vapour flies,

To what his own pure bosom rarefies:

And the Almighty Wisdom, having given

Each man within himself an apter light

To guide his acts than any light without him

(Creating nothing not in all things equal)

It seems a fault in any that depend

On others' knowledge, and exile their own. (I. i. 96-107)¹³

Yet the attempts to impugn this purity with eclipse (l. 223) precede and overshadow Francis's recognition of the sun-enlightened "heavenly virtue [of] this envied lord" (IV. i. 431). And the "naked¹⁴ truth" of the defense Chabot proposes to submit to the Chancellor's arid "words" proves too chary of policed worth. His plans to "shoot a shaft at all [Poyet's] globe of light; / If lightning split it, yet 'twas high and right" (II. ii. 84-5) are both luciferous and doomed. However Herculean in their integrity, private emanations cannot hope to displace Cyclopean brightness.

The tragic purgation¹⁵ or, more correctly, leeching of Chabot's trial also assumes a heavy metaphorical load. Susceptible to boiling blood and fevers in the execution of his duties as justicer (I. i. 44, 55), Chabot becomes the object of the court's pregnant or sanguinary desire either for a scapegoat or a mirror reflection. As Allegre's heterogeneous imagery explains the effects of the Chancellor's faction upon the court:

... such an expectation hangs upon 't,

Through all the Court, as 'twere with child and long'd

To make a mirror of my lord's clear blood,

And therein see the full ebb of his flood. (II. ii. 32-5)

Francis licenses such an operation to "give proud veins vent, / As will bewray their boiling blood, corrupted / Both gainst [his] crown and life" (II. iii. 203-05), and seems initially to agree with the judges's apparent exposure of the hypocritical censure he assumes Chabot has cast on "The blaze of riotous blood . . . in others" (IV. i. 148).¹⁶

But while the King later admits that he was incensed with "troubled blood" (l. 447), Chabot begins to experience an iciness creeping over his heart (ll. 383-4). The wound to his soul and the consequent "hasty ebb of life" (V. i. ll) cause him to "bleed afresh" (l. 76) and demand the "new surgery" (l. 78) of royal supplication. However, in spite of the fiery determination of the Admiral's "adamantine nerves" (l. 82) and Francis's confidence in the curative "balsam" (l. 88) of his favour, Chabot's noble soul succumbs to the moral wound of reckless interrogation. As Peter Ure has aptly characterized this hero, "he is like the healthy victim of an exploratory operation who dies under the knife because of the surgeon's careless over-confidence."¹⁷

Pasquier's account of the trial of Chabot announced its didactic intent at the outset: "pour enseigner tous les Iuges de n'accommoder leurs volontez en iugeant, aux volontez extraordinaires des Roys leurs Maistres."¹⁸ But the conclusion of Chapman's play suggests that this tragedian is definitely about higher things. Having been falsely accused and having legitimately declined pardon, Chapman's justicer, who in the exercise of his own public responsibilities was known to be more sensitive and tender than a "needle / In a sun-dial" (I. i. 48-9), does not withstand this ordeal whose implications extend beyond the physical reality of a trial. The precision of his principles cannot and will not adapt to the circular ambitions and sophistic geometry of cheverel minds. In the world of this play it is either an indictment or an invitation to disaster that Chabot's private sphere of personal integrity is not circumscribed by the "ambitious lines" (I. i. 190) with which the Chancellor punningly

describes court circles. The Admiral is clearly no "animal politicum" (I. 185). Hence, while Francis can at one point attempt to influence his justicer by upholding the positive--if nebulous--ideal of the "truly circular" (II. iii. 138) judgement and can at another invite the vindicated Chabot to return to favour and "live still circled here, / The bright intelligence of our royal sphere" (IV. i. 459-60), the iris of Chabot's disposition is neither as pliable nor as accommodating as this royal light-bearer expects. However lacking in chronology and demanding of modification it may be, Chabot's private, heart-encircling sphere reminds me of Godyere's depiction of religion (Figure 2).

The differences in import are admittedly palpable. Godyere's heart is the Church, engirded with a "spiny pale" of "sharpe conflicts" which are kept in check by the "manuall chaine"¹⁹ of Religion. In tailoring this icon to fit the situation of The Tragedy of Chabot, one might consider both the outer chain and the inner heart to be the hero's. Yet despite the apparent strength of his principles in withstanding the thornily ambitious lines which surround his heart, the barbs of this link-forged opposition exert their deadening effect on the central and interiorly vulnerable organ.

Chabot's tragedy encompasses the private world of a public person. Perhaps such a tragedy belongs only to its hero; maybe more consciously fallible readers, and less sensitive sun dials, do not need such a humanizing (or sentimental) education. And yet I find The Tragedy of Chabot Admiral of France engaging, even magnetic, fare. As the "transplanted" tree becomes the "translated" exemplar,

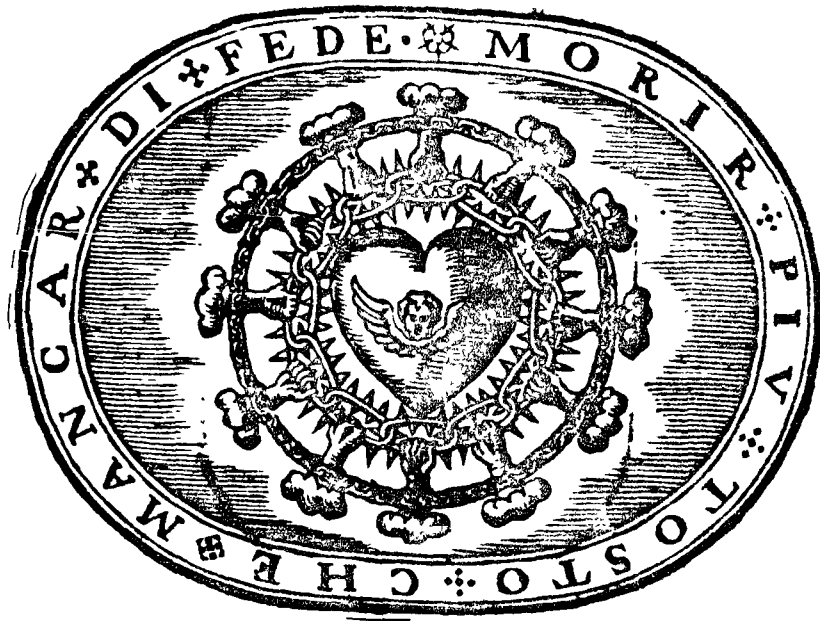


Figure 2
Embleme 5 Addressed to the Archbishop of Canterbury,
from Godyere's Mirrour of Maiestie, p. 9.

this hero affords a stirringly human realization of the inadequacy of judicial and personal integrity in a world where such virtue--admittedly pristine and precise--is gainsaid.

. . . and Caesar (in spite of all his fortune)
without his victory victor. (The Argument)
would Caesar knew, sir, how you conquer'd him -
In your conviction!

(The Tragedy of Caesar and Pompey, V. i. 201-2)

THE TRAGEDY OF CAESAR AND POMPEY: VICTORY AND ITS VENEER

Whether Chapman turned to Rome at the beginning or towards the end of his career as a tragedian,¹ he set out to evince a suitably distinctive thesis, that "Only A Just Man Is A Free Man" (The Argument). The strange blend of explicitness and exclusiveness which such a proposition entails could argue for either a fervent new playwright or a seasoned and perhaps embittered one who sees fit to devise arguments. However, for the Chapman reader the statement presents no great impasse, only a further extension of its creator. Jonson found it necessary to address himself "To The Reader In Ordinary" and "To The Reader Extraordinary"² as he recast the state of Rome during Catiline's conspiracy. On the contrary, when recreating such luminaries as Caesar, Brutus, Coriolanus, and Antony, Shakespeare used a timeless human stage for his notables to strut their hour. In The Tragedy of Caesar and Pompey Chapman's main concern is not with the pulse of the state, nor with the appeal of the flesh and blood realities to whom he is giving voice. His task lies in breathing life into the minds and philosophies that directed his Romans. Furthermore, this tragedy possesses several features which stamp it as unique even within the Chapman canon. His predictably labyrinthine rhetoric demonstrates a preference for syntaxy twists and wry puns; he goes as far as to admit a satiric scene (II. i) which consciously parodies, yet subtly reflects the activities of more noteworthy citizens. While his characterizations of Caesar, Pompey, and Cato are indebted to Cruserius's Plutarch,³ the traits he has chosen to emphasize and the tenets he prizes impart a

distinction to these embodiments of oft-thumbed tales. Moreover, the play's images--probably the most disparate and least unified of any of the tragedies--afford a fitting intimation of the fortune-mad world of externals in which the man of integrity must adopt the Argument's theme.

Though he is far from preparing his reader for a tongue-in-cheek drama, once Chapman has decided to pen an argument, he finds a place to highlight the play's "admirable narrations" and concludes his description of these speeches with this significant example of rhetorical diaphora: "which yet not conducing to their ends, war ends them." If the reader is not aware of the studied nature of such diction by this point, the conscious paradox of the fate of the Consuls and Cato, "slaughtered with their own invincible hands," and the forcefully alliterative anadiplosis of the closing depiction of Caesar "(in spite of all his fortune) without his victory victor" make clear Chapman's character preferences and rhetorical skills. In recounting the life of Cato, Plutarch had commented that Caesar was the vanquished captive with this observation: "ἐκείνον δ' εἶναι τὸν εὐλωτότα καὶ νενικημένον," which Cruserius had rendered as "illū victum esse & captum."⁴ Chapman's brevity compounds the reversals of this situation with memorable intensity.

A further demonstration of these skills and the feature of his tragedy which is unique is Chapman's use of a satiric scene which forms its own commentary on the main action. As in the opening of The Memorable Masque,⁵ a disaffected mortal and a devil hold the stage. But they do not spend their time lamenting "how hard this world is to a man of wit" (The Memorable Masque, l. 20), nor displaying the ease with which the

bellows of the errant wit can be puffed up, nor indeed providing an "Antemaske" (The Memorable Masque, l. 160) for a blissful hymeneal celebration. Fronto is no Capriccio; lacking his flighty though haughty sparkle, he presents instead the vision of oppressive and ragged despair. Like Spenser's nightmarish recluse,⁶ Fronto appears equipped "with a halter in his hand" and bewails the outcome as "Wars, wars, and presses fly in fire about" (II. i. 1). The tumult of such times spells an end to his previous indolence and villainy. No longer able to sport the fine feathers of a knave, he prepares to capitulate to despair, for "only show is all / That this world cares for" (ll. 22-3). And if it lacks the pathos of a bare bodkin, his intended quietus can boast at least the homophonous promise to "step out of all / The cares 'tis steep'd in"⁷ (ll. 23-4). However, the eruption of the serpentine Ophioneus interrupts and re-directs his plans. Not as recognizable as the god of the underworld in The Memorable Masque, this very literal "devilish serpent by interpretation" (l. 60) originates by his own claim in the writings of "the old stoic Pherecides" (l. 57) and may be indebted to an equally recondite source in Origen's Contra Celsum.⁸ When Ophioneus has convinced Fronto that a life of villainy is still possible through his supernatural aid, his new disciple kneels to pay sacrilegious homage to this "sacred and puissant" (l. 136) inspirer; and thus broad-headed impudence and ophitic policy become fast allies. But their alliance is no isolated tranche de vie sandwiched into the tragic plot: it is a strategically placed and levelling reflection on this action. After Caesar and Pompey have presented their pleas for the entry of their troops into Rome and

the outcome is a tenuous balance between "war" and "peace" (I. ii. 302-03), the attempted suicide of Fronto causes a deliberately unheroic stir. With none of the stridency of the triumvirs's claims, he comments on the distinctly mortal and debilitating effects of the wars which result when

. . . the two suns of our Roman heaven,

Pompey and Caesar, in their tropic burning,

With their contention all the clouds assemble. (I. i. 1-3)

Using staging of a somewhat doubtful value, Chapman even allows the flight of Pompey, his family, and followers to illustrate Fronto's account, to supply this reporter with a more urgent rationalization of his escape from "this past-helping pickle" (l. 95), and to introduce the lures of Ophioneus about the rewards of serving him. Indicative of the serpent-devil's instruction is the adjuration, reminiscent of that of Marston's Bilioso,⁹ that it would be preferable to "go lame in the fashion with Pompey, than never so upright, quite out of the fashion, with Cato" (ll. 165-8). Although Pompey's own position is quite the reverse (III. i. 116-7; IV. iii. 42-4), Fronto's decision to follow Ophioneus's guidance bespeaks an entirely different form of tutelage than that which the triumvir undergoes. In the face of imminent ruin, Fronto accepts the guidance of his pragmatic tutor; he opts for the solution of convenience. While his decision to fill the post of the dying Lord Chief Censor in Sicilia may indeed be, as J. B. Ingledew¹⁰ has suggested, Chapman's satiric allusion to the autocratic Master of the Revels, Edmund Tilney, it is primarily a settling counterpoint to all the noble plans, heroic words, and brave deeds--all the indomitability

and integrity--which encase this scene.

The distinction between Plutarch's biographies and Chapman's characters also underscores the dominant concern of this tragedy. The biographer tells of Caesar's ill-equipped troops and his narrow escape from death; but because Caesar is a foremost strategist, Plutarch's General admits that "Today victory has been with the enemy, if they had had a victor in command,"¹¹ and then promptly carves an apparent success out of his initial ruin at Pharsalia. In addition, he professes to begrudge Cato the sparing of his life. The tragedian, however, is concerned with depicting the slave of ambition, a conqueror who remains "without his victory victor." Hence, even Caesar recognizes, in surveying the carnage of the fallen and the self-executed, that

. . . we have slain, not conquer'd! Roman blood
Perverts th' event, and desperate blood let out
With their own swords. (IV. iv. 1-3)

Cato's judgement on the new victor is predictably the most deprecating and perceptive:

. . . Caesar now is conquer'd in his conquest,
In the ambition he till now denied,
Taking upon him to give life, when death
Is tenfold due to his most tyrannous self;
No right, no power given him to raise an army
Which in despite of Rome he leads about,
Slaughtering her loyal subjects like an outlaw;
Nor is he better. (IV. v. 32-9)

As Plutarch writes of him, the son of Strabo was the exact antithesis of his father: modest, temperate, persuasive, tactful, generous, and dignified. Yet Pompey too is described as a slave, "a man who was a slave to fame and loath to disappoint his friends."¹² Submitting to their plans at the expense of his own, Pompey leads his over-confident forces to the field and ends up fleeing by ship after reuniting with his wife, Cornelia. But as he is led off by his eventual murderers, Plutarch's Roman borrows this excerpt from Sophocles to demonstrate his emancipation in defeat: "Whatever man unto a tyrant takes his way, / His slave he is, even though a freeman when he goes."¹³ Chapman's Pompey shows a similar development, yet because he exists in the medium of drama, his progress from the initial surety of his proclamation "that not my ambition / Hath brought to question th' entry of my army" (I. ii. 149-50) to the final illumination of his decision to "build all inward" (V. i. 206) entails a humanizing and experiential revelation.¹⁴ Though absent during the central acts, his spiritual guide exerts a powerful influence. Since Pompey's awareness is indebted to Cato, the reader is always conscious of this Stoic's philosophical presence. Hence, I find it impossible to assent to the first half of Professor Parrott's statement, whose illogicalness he seems to glance at slightly as he proceeds to qualify his contention about Cato's absence: "The central idea of the just man standing alone, fearless and free, against all encroaching tyranny, is quite forgotten, or only in so far recalled as Pompey himself is used to embody this idea."¹⁵ For it is Cato who provides the philosophical intensity of The Tragedy of Caesar and Pompey. Interestingly, Plutarch looked upon the particular

biography of Cato Minor as an attempt to delineate "as it were a likeness
 of the soul" ("ὡςπερ εἰκόνα ψυχῆς υπογραφομένης").¹⁶ Slow to anger
 even as a child, Cato demonstrated a remarkable emotional affection for
 his brother, yet with equally noteworthy fortitude, endured the harassment
 and trials of his wives and sister. A confirmed pedestrian, he was also
 tireless in the exercise of his duties as a quaestor. The severity of his
 denunciation of Caesar's tyranny (ixvi. 2) stemmed largely from his
 knowledge of the illegality and negation of personal integrity involved.
 Plutarch recounts how Cato debated the Stoic paradoxes, "namely, that the
 good man alone is free, and that the bad are all slaves" ("τὸ μόνον εἶναι
 τὸν ἀγαθὸν ἐλευθέρων δούλους δὲ τοὺς θάλους σφαινας").¹⁷ Cruserius had trans-
 lated: "Solum bonum virum libertū esse, omnes malos seruos."¹⁷ Significantly,
 Chapman's epithet "just" replaces "good," while those who do not fit this
 label are not "bad," but merely the residual majority. And although the
 monument commemorating the only "free" and "unvanquished" saviour ("σωτήρα
 καὶ μόνον ἐλευθέρων καὶ μόνον ἀήττητον")¹⁸ was erected
 according to Plutarch by his followers and fellow Uticans, Chapman allows
 Caesar to make the magnanimous proposal of a "sumptuous tomb" (V. ii. 221)
 to celebrate this tragedy's "unreclaimed man" (l. 185).

Theorizing about the state of man in general abounds in the play--
 as much in epigrammatic one-liners as in larger image units. The most
 compacted theorizing occurs among the Kings of Epirus, Iberia, Thrace,
 and Cicilia in conversation with Gabinius and Demetrius. Their maxim
 interchange, or "unburthening" (III. i. 42), has some of the air of a
 contest:

Ep. Free minds, like dice, fall square whate'er the cast.

Iber. Who on himself sole stands, stands solely fast.

Thrace. He's never down whose mind fights still aloft.

Cil. Who cares for up or down, when all's but thought?

Gab. To things' events doth no man's power extend.

Dem. Since gods rule all, who anything would mend? (ll. 36-41)

The Kings, interestingly, stand united in their praise of the lofty, self-sufficient, and conquering mind; the nobles, however, speak less of victory and more of human incapacity in the face of the "gods." The Stoic tenor of the play's philosophic pronouncements, though, definitely favours an ennobling and elitist view of man over sighs about his helplessness and submission. In a post-prandial session Statilius reiterates the Argument's claim by means of his rhetorical inquiry into "Why was man ever just but to be free / Gainst all injustice, . . ." (IV. v. 47-8). Yet worldliness cannot tinge one's description of such mortal absolutism; its human truth is extra-worldly. As Demetrius's clarification explains, "worldly greatness is the chief worldly goodness; and all worldly goodness . . . has ill in it, which true good has not" (V. i. 136-8). The absolutes of human justice, freedom, and goodness find their validation in the soul's natural correlatives of "immortality and knowledge" (V. ii. 143). Significantly, Chapman's "mirror of men" (l. 178) dies not with a personal reflection but with the simultaneously elevating and deprecating pronouncement, "Just men are only free, the rest are slaves" (l. 177). Admittedly, this generalized tenet is meant to be a statement about his own freely just end; yet it also castigates those who are not equally

Stoical. After plucking out his own entrails, Cato still manages to moralize. Such a concern with fine statements and uplifting philosophies invests Chapman's tragedy, for me, with an almost operatic sense of the dramatic, if not of the histrionic.¹⁹

Perhaps because "inevitability" seems an understatement to describe Caesar and Pompey, because the characters present either an infectious torpor or an equally inescapable penchant for sententiae, and because the natural setting is dutifully balanced "As Nature works in all things to an end" (IV. v. 97), perhaps for all of these reasons the recurrent mention of Fortune itself produces disturbances whose effects are distinctly measurable and superable. Although Pompey early disavows any relationship with "blind Fortune" (I. ii. 165), he comes to implore her steady and uncommon assistance for his cause if she will "Displume her shoulders, cast off her wing'd shoes, / Her faithless and still-rolling stone spurn from her" (II. iv. 139-40), and eventually receives rebuke for his egregious subjection to "Protean fortune, and her zany, war" (IV. i. 32). Antithetical and even inadvisable though it may be, the reader may find himself enjoying much more the frankness of Caesar's self-accusation in his admission that "It was not Fortune's fault, but mine, Acilius, / To give my foe charge, . . ." (II. iii. 10-11).

The particular characters housed in such an ambience of theorizing and declamation present little in the way of surprises too. Since we are informed at the outset that one Roman will remain "without his victory victor," Pompey's public vilification of "false Caesar," of his "golden speech" gilding a "copper soul," and of his merely "painting

speech" which consists of "no solid knowledge" (I. ii. 232-40)²⁰ is consonant but hardly captivating stuff. Knowing of the people's wish to avoid the "danger of the yet still smoking fire / Of Catiline's abhorr'd conspiracy" (I. ii. 36-7), the reader can appreciate the degree of antipathy in Pompey's charge that his rival's greatness is fired by "A heat mere fleshly, and of blood's rank fire" (l. 255). This plaintiff himself will hope to extinguish the "false fires" (IV. iii. 64) of "praise and dispraise by event" (l. 59) and "Rest in these embers [his] unmoved soul" (l. 72), while the accused will aver that when "the two suns of [the] Roman heaven" cause tempests of blood, the effect is slaughter and not victory as desperation succumbs to fear (IV. iv. 1-3).

On the contrary, the images which depict Cato's world emanate a pontifical calm and assurance. All is no longer one for this form of absolute Chapman man: "For all is nothing" (I. i. 47). This early dismissal of the whole gamut of external influences, stimuli, and rewards defines the philosopher's stand, yet also defies anything like empathic reaction from his audience.²¹ He declaims with unsentimentalized certainty about the "aspen soul" (l. 71) of the creature who fears the gods, and in contrast to the servitude of Caesar to his ambitions, pronounces that being "in every justice / Better than Caesar, . . . " he has been a "victor ever to my wish, / Gainst whomsoever ever hath oppos'd" (IV. v. 27-31). Cato's superior justice, described in such inquiries as, ". . . is not every just man to himself / The perfect'st law?" (ll. 71-2), is a Stoic revisiting of Bussy's primal noblesse. But unlike Bussy's situation, Cato's justice prompts him to display

the hold of his own rule, not of the law's, in his death. In Cato's view Death is Sleep's natural brother, and is also "better, being more rich, and keeps the store; / Sleep ever fickle, wayward still, and poor" (ll. 34-5). Confident of the immortality of the soul and of knowledge and anticipating reunion with "the Consuls' souls, / That slew themselves so nobly" (ll. 134-5), Cato kills himself, and leaves his philosophical antagonist envying his usurping of Caesar's right to pardon his untrammelled spirit.

The human counterbalance of Caesar's pragmatism and Cato's Stoicism is Pompey. True, he arrives eventually at a Stoic plateau, but his progress--by its very existence--creates at least one eligible protagonist. In discussing the political influence of Pompey, his mentor compares him to the sun which, although at daybreak is largely "beneath the earth," will mount to a noontime height. Cato is set on proving a point exactly the opposite of Henry IV's exposition of his unshadowed greatness.²² Cato's comparison is meant to arouse caution, not awe:

So Pompey's army enter'd Italy,

Yet Pompey's not in Rome; but Pompey's beams

Who sees not there? And consequently he

Is in all means enthron'd in th' empery. (I. ii. 58-61)

Yet Cato exonerates his friend's motives, "since he [Pompey] loves his country, / In my [Cato's] great hopes of him, too well to seek / His sole rule of her" (ll. 135-7). Pompey is no passive observer and affords no resemblance to the imperilled barks of the emblematisers. Not wishing to feel himself "beat about the ears, and toss'd / With others' breaths

to any coast they please" (ll. 146-7), he speaks in his own defense too. When a rival sun, or a product of the fiery political furnace of Caesar, looms before Pompey in the form of a peace offer, he considers his reaction to this piece of Caesarean policy by recalling the more dominant calorific imagery of Chabot and alluding to the effects of the second sun in the Roman heaven:

Devices of a new forge to entrap me!
 I rest in Caesar's shade, walk his strowed paths,
 Sleep in his quiet waves? I'll sooner trust
 Hibernian bogs and quicksands, and Hell mouth
 Take for my sanctuary. (III. i. 99-103)

Although Pompey enters battle with all the ardour of a roused Lybian lion (II. ii. 20-39), he slinks away from it in disguise and seeming defeat, not as "A Pompey, or a Caesar, but [as] a man" (IV. iii. 92). However, this essentially human awareness affords the firm basis for Stoic growth. Once he has freed himself from externals, risen above motion, and come to "rest above the heavens" (V. i. 197), Pompey is able to evince this ascetic manifesto:

I'll build all inward; not a light shall ope
 The common outway; no expense, no art,
 No ornament, no door will I use there,
 But raise all plain and rudely, like a rampier
 Against the false society of men
 That still batters
 All reason piecemeal, and, for earthy greatness,

All heavenly comforts rarefies to air. (V. i. 206-13)

Not to be duped by any Byron-like evaporation of ideals, he proposes an inspirational though austere, isolated, and soon-to-be-terminated existence as a flesh and blood Pantheon:

I'll therefore live in dark, and all my light

Like ancient temples, let in at my top. (ll. 214-15)

A triumvir is murdered and a philosopher commits suicide. "Statists' spirits" (I. i. 90) and "politic dross" (I. ii. 231) survive. In the Argument's terminology the free men are dead and the unjust remain. Philosophies are dutifully expounded and the most demanding and virtuous of their exponents are predictably exterminated. But there is little intensity and less passion in this last of Chapman's tragedies to be considered. Instead, mediocrity, tedium, and lack of polish are ineradicable features. ²³ If this work comprises the playwright's farewell to the stage, it would seem a dismal omen indeed for a defender of Chapman's artistry.

Whether as an early and incomplete work or as one hastily revised for possible production, The Tragedy of Caesar and Pompey stands as a cumbersome reminder of Stoic moralizing and its stolid moraines.

He is quick, thinking in clear images;

I am slow, thinking in broken images.

He becomes dull, trusting to his clear images;

I become sharp, mistrusting my broken images.

Trusting his images, he assumes their relevance;

Mistrusting my images, I question their relevance.

Assuming their relevance, he assumes the fact;

Questioning their relevance, I question the fact.

When the fact fails him, he questions his senses;

When the fact fails me, I approve my senses.

He continues quick and dull in his clear images;

I continue slow and sharp in my broken images.

He in a new confusion of his understanding;

I in a new understanding of my confusion.

(Robert Graves, "In Broken Images"¹)

IMAGES OF A WORLD

In my presumptuous naïveté I used to arrogate the first person singular role of Graves's poem quite confidently, and just as cavalierly assign the clarity which ends in confusion to what I used to consider was a willfully contorted, turbid, paratactic, and pleonastic Chapman. Now I've questioned these assumptions and, hopefully, emerged with "a new understanding of my confusion." Although in a most uncharacteristic idiom, Chapman could be the speaker of the poem and could be alluding to more popular contemporaries enjoying undue success or, in a less chronological sense, to any detracting poetaster or sciolist. Moreover, I used to grant nodding but not very thoughtful assent to other memorable snatches which seemed for me to possess some sort of general significance. There was the combination of pictographic and homiletic metaphors along with the unequivocal disparagement of the audience of Strindberg's opening of his Preface to Miss Julie: "Dramatic art, like other art in general, has long seemed to me a kind of Biblia Pauperum--a Bible in pictures for those who cannot read the written or printed word; and the dramatic author a lay preacher, who hawks about the ideas of his time in popular form--popular enough for the middle classes, who form the bulk of theatrical audiences, to grasp the nature of the subject without troubling their brains too much." This statement always seemed widely applicable, and yet my attention kept returning to it as I troubled my brain in becoming a more dedicated reader of Chapman. Similarly, I used to consider that Leon Edel's description of the world of consciousness which the biographer discovers was irrefutable but hardly compelling stuff;

as Edel sees the biographer, "he discovers recurrent images and recurrent modes of thought; patterns have a way of repeating themselves, for each writer has his own images and his own language and his own chain of fantasy; there is no writer, no matter how rich and varied his imagination, who does not possess his own individual world of words and his peculiar vision of reality." As I began to "make haste slowly"³ --whether with Augustan or Erasmian precedent--in studying the tragedies, I came to realize the particular applicability of this phrasing of a role for either the biographer or the image hunter in the worlds of Chapman's five tragedies. Time has also provided me with that Bergsonian resistance,⁴ against everything happening at once; and so now I am able not only to catalogue the private vocabulary of these plays and my own embarrassingly recurrent epithets and rose-coloured words about them, but also to sketch the distinct worlds that this playwright's word-pictures create for each one.

Bussy's universe is one circumscribed by primal nobility and human sensuality. The protagonist's mistake, however, is to consider that activities in both realms can be entirely self-legislated. Yet although noble words are at odds with somewhat ordinary deeds, Bussy is no seducing braggart. In leaving his green retreat for the demanding task of inculcating courtly virtue which he proposes, he praises no cloistered virtue. But he also leaves a warm and isolated fruitfulness for a meretricious society and doubtful gains. The play's emblems of tree, statue, and ship further this dichotomy. The weather-tested cedar becomes a solid liability, the empty memorial a marmoreal fixture, and

the virtuously moored ship a prey of the vengeful Scylla and Charybdis. Yet his attempt is grand, his presence scintillating, and his impact ennobling. In an age of iron well after the time of the classical Olympians, it is we who are the poorer for his absence and who assume some of the common, societal, postlapsarian guilt for his demise.

The world of the Byron plays is at once more galvanic and falsely confident than that of Bussy. It is an ambience of assertion, indeed of arrogation, pomp, and display--all of which dissipates or evaporates in an ephemeral bubble. The sun bathed star eclipses itself, and the hawking cloud drizzles ignominiously out of existence.

A positiveness and confidence of a completely different sort inform the world of The Revenge. Clermont's resolution and fixity are not really the exact antitheses of his brother's principles. But their tempo and timbre, colours and cadences are surely less dramatically pyrotechnic and chromatically arresting. The absolute man is calm, capable of seeing "all" as "one," yet incapable of rousing his audience about any great urgency in being a disciple.

Chabot's world may be closer to that of The Revenge than I care to admit. Yet it possesses an urgency and a pathos that are not easily dismissed. The Admiral is an unerring Bussy, a properly self-confident Byron, and perhaps too an enervating Clermont. But the play immures him in its own forensic fiery furnace and herein lies the difference. Virtue is tested, not in order to be refined, but to be debilitated. Chapman's Daniel emerges with his principles intact, yet not unscathed. Sacrificed needlessly on such a non-Herbertian altar and licked by the peevishness

of non-Crashavian flames, his heart succumbs to fracture and death.

The meetings of an ambitious triumvir and a philosopher, a defeated general and his wife, and a suiciding Stoic and his son compose the public and private worlds of Caesar and Pompey. But Chapman's Rome is not aglitter with Lupercalian feasts and stentorian addresses. It is a world of confrontation and overt battle, in which victory remains private and covert. The victor retains the liability: enslavement to ambition and its harpy, success. His victim realizes he is not bound, yet defeat does take the toll of his life. The cool detachment and submission of both the victorious victim and his uncompromised philosopher-tutor militate against tragedy in this world of moral thesis and antithesis.

Is there a possibility of synthesis emerging from such rummaging about in a playwright's mental lumber room? Is this room merely an attic filled with the literary memorabilia of bygone days and eras, as Professor Schoell's clinical judgement that "La pente de sa nature l'inclinait à ces belles comparaisons toutes parfumées d'antiquité"⁵ would imply? Is his "involved, ramifying style"⁶ a perverse dismissal of readers or an attempt to explore the many and intricate facets of his subject's meaning? Is he an angry old man "wrestling with this world"⁷ as much as with his own mature yet fickle genius? True, his learning and reading are conspicuous, his style is uneasy and exacting, and his tenor uncalm and fitful. He rides his hobbyhorses for virtue, knowledge, integrity, nobility, and honour with relentless zeal. And even if he does not demonstrate prodigious success with waging on his various dramatic races,

neither does he capitulate in a frenzy to winning. Although I prefer not to chart Chapman's progress from Marlovian titanism to sober Christian humanism, or from dramaturgic success to Stoic stasis, or from the moral involvement of the singular man to the cynical disengagement of the philosopher, I think a study of this tragedian's images underscores not only the attitudinal absolutes but also the particular insights into his conception of the human dilemma that each play affords. His vision is neither Cassandran nor Utopian. It is informed with the learning and spurred into creation by the presence of the notebooks of the scholar. It is also alive with the perceptivity of the poet. Moreover, it translates into its most successful imagery when it lays aside the heavy classical baggage or decides against daubing onto itself the cloyingly antique perfume. In these instances, clear even mundane objects prevail: the tree, statue, ship, bubble, cloud, furnace, and forge. Though they may later evoke a wealth of recondite precedent, their first and widest claim--like that of the plates of the emblematisers--is to a knowledge of the immediate world of circumambient nature. I suggest that Chapman's literary emblematiser is an important facet of his tragic vision for it demonstrates the keenness of his eye in observing and rendering useful the life around him. To his tragedian's role of presenting the interactions of men in their universe, it lends a distinctive symbolism, an emblematic shorthand. To the dilemmas confronting such singular men as Chapman's heroes in their inimical universes of policy, pragmatism, profit, and pretense, his emblematiser lends memorable piquancy. To the eternal rifts separating potential from practice, claim from actuality, and

private from public realms with which literature always deals, it lends an immediacy neither lurid nor bathetic.

Mindful of Sassoon's just deprecation of those who "can only memorize and mumble," I too feel my curiosity somewhat humbled by the "grandeur" of Chapman's ghost. It is not the grandeur of the dilettante or of the defiant atheist for, as Professor Grierson notes, while Chapman did not write from within a recognizable religion, he also did not endorse its opposite. Neither is it the grandeur of a definite unilinear progression, for Chapman's works are tessellated with a wide-ranging host of sources, influences, and favourite sages. In addition, their genre, length, and profundity present a vast and continually fluctuating scope. Yet for the Chapman devotee the unquestionably humane ardour of their creator remains an uplifting constant. Conscious of the dangers of viewing his heroes as a reflection of their creator, I still think that an image of a man as well as his world radiates from his writing: surely this must be the major attraction for studying him. With as many contradictions and perhaps too with as much assurance, Chapman devotes himself to the Bussy-like task of raising a new fashion for virtue; yet he is not unaware of the necessity for Cato-like calm. Like his temperament, Chapman's genius is restive--embracing a knowledge of both man's primal greatness and his soul-negating universe. The picture which his "broken images" form, as they serve to illustrate his tragic Biblia, is one, not of a painter, nor of a homilist, but of a man.

APPENDIX I

With due respect and apologies to such a master as Jonson,
I submit this acrostic in feebly emulative fashion;
Random jottings run amok, it may easily be libelled,
But by your judgement, dear reader, it remains to be reconciled.

George Chapman As An Emblematic Imagist: Variations On A Theme

Granted that attracting plebeians was hardly his plan--
Even the literature itself he may not have scanned,
Or considered its popularity desirable to pursue:
Removed from "exquirings" and readily "pervial" too--
Granting all this, one still is left to ponder why
Emblematic images provide such a frequent panoply.

Could it be that this multi-talented but non-serene man--
However much a cicerone and a stentor at command--
Amidst his antiquarian reverence and ever-present warnings
Perceived the plectrum for his mental lyre as residing
Much closer to his world than the dicta from an Athenian porch,
And closer yet than the texts of a private Florentine court,
Near enough to be of an everyday, almost mundane, sort?

As this tragedian drew from all he knew, could he not have attempted,
Solipsistic as every creator proves, to leave his work personally imprinted?

A nalogies to reiterate and reinforce concept, character, or crux--
 N ot mere ornaments, but a hallmark which credits their maker much.

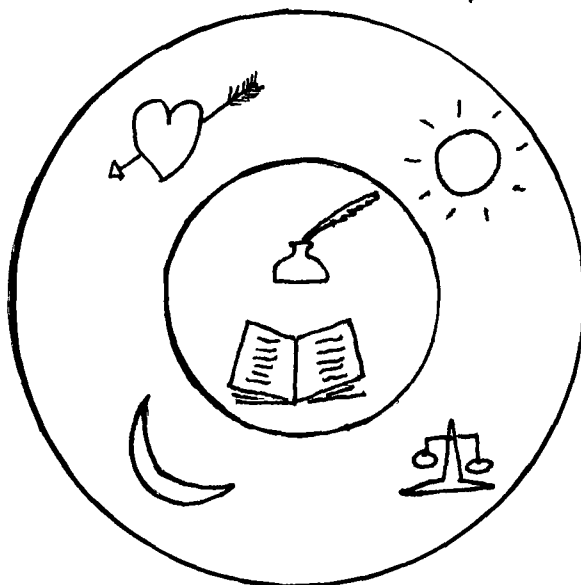
E nergizing, engaging, educative emblematic,
 M emorable, almost mnemonic, moralist,
 B elabouring bibliophile and levelling berator,
 L evanter, libertarian, and arduous lucubrador;
 E rudite yet errant, evocative though eristic,
 M elpomene's votary, but not always Minerva's metrist,
 A llegorical, Achillean, and Odyssean by turns,
 T autological and truculent too, we discern;
 I ntense, idiosyncratic, idiomatic elitist,
 C ensorious, but also capacious, imagist.

I con as image and image as emblem,
 M irror of a mind and mind of a chapman,
 A ctivated by analogy and analogizing by resemblance,
 G round in the real and realizing in ascendance,
 I llustrating a concept and conceptualizing the senses,
 S cene painting appropriately and self-appropriating thereby
 T heory as drama and drama as eidetic entelechy.

APPENDIX II

A second onslaught may indeed tax your patience, dear reader,
But, another revisiting solicits your forbearing demeanour.
As proof of the emblem's addictive attraction,
I humbly present my own iconic compaction--
Would that a Dürer had volunteered its design!
However, to these puerile doodlings I trust you'll be resigned.
Though our times are no longer so willingly symbolic--
As the celluloid and the cosmetic replace the allegorical and chthonic,
Though neither Vaenius, Alciati, Ripa, or Cartari,
Nor Hawkins, Jenner, Peacham, or Whitney
Are household words in our aerospace milieu,
Their fascination makes it difficult to bid a curt adieu;
And so with more of those apologies liberally sprinkled
And hoping that Chapman's brow will not be too gravely wrinkled,
I leap once more into the imitative and, this time, emblematic breach,
Knowing these earth-bound musings to be within every devotee's reach.

To George Chapman: vates asper καὶ πολῆτης γραφικὸς
Pro sapientia καὶ ὑπερ δὲ κῆς



In Chapman's ever-unfolding galaxies of imagistic insights,
 He animates a literary cosmos as poet-translator-playwright;
 Encircling the soul of reading and writing, as they rotate,
 Are those influences which seem, in retrospect, to dominate.
 The love which this old bachelor describes
 Is neither saccharine nor steamy, but, ideally, dignified;
 The justice he propounds can be both codified and natural,
 Allowing of Draconian jeremiads and ingenuous self-acquittals;
 His sun is an illuminating and radiant solar plexus,
 Though bound to the day and potentially garish and infamous;
 The moon reigns over the time of velvet inspiration:
 Deep-searching, ebon, silver-browed figuration.
 Concentric circles continue to emanate from this mind-flung pebble,
 Encompassing his world, his room of pictures, and engaging ours as well.

NOTES

PREFACE

1

Following is a list of the standard editions of Chapman's works, his translations, poems, and plays, on which quotations will be based. Chapman's Homer, Bollingen Series XLI, ed. Allardyce Nicoll, In Two Volumes (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1956); cited hereafter as Homer. The Poems of George Chapman, ed. P. B. Bartlett (1941; rpt. New York: Russell & Russell, 1962); cited hereafter as Poems. The Plays of George Chapman: The Comedies, ed. Allan Holaday (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1970); cited hereafter as Comedies. Notes to the comedies have been collated from The Plays of George Chapman: The Comedies, ed. T. M. Parrott, In Two Volumes (1914; rpt. New York: Russell & Russell, 1961). The Plays of George Chapman: The Tragedies, ed. T. M. Parrott, In Two Volumes (1914; rpt. New York: Russell & Russell, 1961); cited hereafter as Tragedies. For Bussy D'Ambois only quotations will be based on the edition of Nicholas Brooke for The Revels Plays (London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1964); see note to chapter four.

PROSPECTS AND RETROSPECTS

1

Biographical information has been gathered from several sources: Jean Robertson, "The Early Life of George Chapman," MLR, 40(1945), 157-165; Mark Eccles, "Chapman's Early Years," SP, 43(1946), 176-93; C. J. Sisson and Robert Butman, "George Chapman, 1612-22: Some New Facts," MLR, 46(1951), 185-90; Jean Jacquot, George Chapman (1559-1634), sa vie, sa poésie, son théâtre, sa pensée (Paris: Société D'Éditions Les Belles Lettres, 1951), pp. 4-58.

Jacquot develops the relationship between Chapman, via his maternal grandmother, Margaret Nodes, and the historian-diplomat, Edward Grimeston, whose General Inventory of the History of France provided important information for two of Chapman's tragedies, The Conspiracy and Tragedy of Charles Duke of Byron and The Revenge of Bussy D'Ambois, pp. 4-6. He also characterizes Hitchin as "un foyer de la religion réformée," p. 8; however, such native allegiances do not seem to have affected Chapman. His assignment of speeches to Clermont in support of the St. Bartholomew Massacre in The Revenge of Bussy D'Ambois (II. i. 206-19) and to Byron in praise of Philip II of Spain in The Tragedy of Byron (IV. ii. 116-55) would seem to argue more for the wilful flouting of religion and less for any pious adherence on his part.

2

In 1625, Chapman inscribed his translation of the Batrachomyomachia to Ralph Sadler, Esquire, the eldest grandson of the distinguished diplomat in commemoration of the household in which his "youthe was initiate." See Eccles, p. 177.

3

Anthony à Wood, Athenae Oxonienses, ed. P. Bliss (London: F. C. and J. Rivington, 1815), II, 575.

In his portrait, Thomas Marton went as far as to attribute a "contempt of philosophy" to Chapman; see History Of English Poetry From The Twelfth To The Close Of The Sixteenth Century, In Four Volumes, ed. J. C. Hazlitt (London: Reeves and Turner, 1871), IV, 321-22.

4

Chapman With Illustrative Passages (Bloomsbury: The Nonesuch Press, 1934), p. 9.

5

In the statement of John Wollfall, Jr., as quoted by Eccles, p. 184.

6

In the joint statement of Richard Holman and Roger Jones of 1617, as quoted by Sisson, p. 185.

7

"A Free And Offenceles Ivstification: Of a lately publisht and most maliciously misinterpreted Poeme; Entituled. *Andromeda liberata*," Poems, p. 331; italics mine.

8

"To My Ever Most-Worthie-To-Be-Most-Honor'd Lord The Earle Of Somerset," Homer, II, 508.

9

In her study Stuart Politics in Chapman's Tragedy of Chabot (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1928), Norma Dobie Solve contends that Chapman reworked the story of Chabot found in the ninth chapter of the sixteenth book of Etienne Pasquier's Les Recherches de la France to fashion it into a play of political propoganda suitable to the situation of 1621 surrounding the Overbury scandal. Interpreting "the whole play as a monumental piece of propoganda for the much-maligned and still disgraced Earl of Somerset," she casts contemporaries in Chapman's roles; in addition to the picture of Somerset in Chabot, Montmorency becomes a portrait of Villiers, Poyet of Bacon, and the Proctor General of Coke. See pp. 120-148.

10

Eccles, p. 184.

11

Wood, II, 576.

12

Alfred Joyes, "The Sign of the Golden Shoe," Tales of the Mermaid Tavern (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, 1924), p. 57.

13

"To My Deare And Most Worthy Friend Master Mathew Roydon," Poems, p. 19.

14

M. C. Bradbrook, The School of Night: A Study in the Literary Relationships of Sir Walter Raleigh (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1936), p. 8.

15

Jacquot, p. 32.

- 16 "To my highly vullued Mr George Chapman, Father of our English Poets," The Complete Works of John Davies of Hereford, ed. Rev. A. Grosart (1878; rpt. New York: AMS Press, 1967), II, 59-60.
- 17 A Defence of Ryme, The Complete Works in Verse and Prose of Samuel Daniel, In Five Volumes, ed. Rev. A. Grosart (1896; rpt. New York: Russell & Russell, 1963), IV, 64.
In "Notes and Observations, Lucan--Marlowe--?Chapman," RES, 24(1948), 317-21, L. C. Martin suggests that Chapman assisted the publisher, Thorpe, by preparing Marlowe's translation of Lucans First Booke in 1600.
- 18 "To The Reader," The White Devil, in John Webster and Cyril Tourneur: Four Plays, ed. J. A. Symonds (New York: Hill and Wang, Inc., 1956), p. 21.
- 19 "Conversations With Drummond," Ben Jonson, In Eleven Volumes, ed. C. H. Herford, Percy and Evelyn Simpson (Oxford: At The Clarendon Press, 1925-52), I, 133.
- 20 C. H. Herford, Percy and Evelyn Simpson, "Inigo Jones and Chapman," Ben Jonson, X, 697.
- 21 "Preface," The Iliad of Homer, trans. A. Pope, ed. Maynard Mack (London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1967), p. 21.
- 22 "On Translating Homer," On The Classical Tradition, ed. R. H. Super (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1960), p. 114. Arnold also discredited Keats's praise of Chapman's translation with the testy observation that "Keats could not read the original," p. 112.
- 23 "Dedication to 'The Spanish Fryar'," The Dramatic Works of John Dryden, ed. M. Summers (London: The Nonesuch Press, 1932), V, 120.
- 24 The Jacobean Poets (London: John Murray, 1894), p. 40.
- 25 The Old English Dramatists (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin And Company, 1893), p. 99.

26

A History of English Dramatic Literature to the Death of Queen Anne, New & Revised Edition (London: Macmillan and Co., 1899), II, 449.

27

The Literature of the Age of Elizabeth (Boston: Houghton, Osgood And Company, 1878), p. 156.

28

Algernon Charles Swinburne, George Chapman, A Critical Essay (London: Chatto and Windus, 1875), p. 30; Janet Spens, "Chapman's Ethical Thought," Essays and Studies, 11(1925), 150; Ellis, p. 5; C. S. Lewis, English Literature in the Sixteenth Century Excluding Drama (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1954), p. 512.

29

Swinburne, pp. 173, 171.

30

Franck L. Schoell, Etudes sur l'humanisme continental en Angleterre a la fin de la Renaissance (Paris: Librairie Ancienne Honoré Champion, 1926). Professor Schoell traces Chapman's borrowings from Ficino, Gyraldus, Comes, Erasmus, Xylander, Wolfius, Stephanus, and Spondanus.

31

Una Ellis-Fermor judged his tragedy to be a guide to his age, as it "simultaneously resists, escapes from and reflects the mood of spiritual uncertainty that bewilders his contemporaries," in her study The Jacobean Drama: An Interpretation (London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1936), p. 53. In The Moral Vision of Jacobean Tragedy (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1965), pp. 47-83, Robert Ornstein furthers this judgement. Irving Ribner reviews Chapman's tragedies as overly philosophic attempts "to come to terms with the fact of evil in the world," in Jacobean Tragedy: The Quest for Moral Order (London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1962), p. xi; he also recalls the position of an earlier critic, Frederick S. Boas, who had confronted the problem of the lacking vitality of Chapman's tragedies, yet had asserted that they do concentrate on "the spectacle of the 'just man' struggling with circumstance," in his text An Introduction To Stuart Drama (London: Oxford University Press, 1946), p. 40. Eugene Waith focuses on the recurrence of the Herculean hero in the tragedies, in his book The Herculean Hero in Marlowe, Chapman, Shakespeare and Dryden (London: Chatto & Windus, 1962).

32

John William Wieler contends that the main influence resides in the growing stoicism of Chapman's works with its attendant lessening of tragic, artistic, and dramatic effects, in George Chapman--The Effect of Stoicism Upon His Tragedies (1949; rpt. New York: Octagon Books, 1969). In The Tragedies of George Chapman: Renaissance Ethics in Action (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1954), Ennis Rees favours the Platonism of Ficino over the tenets of Epictetus as more influential; his Chapman is a constant didact, an unswerving Christian humanist.

33

In analyzing Chapman's poems, Douglas Bush had early characterized their author as "a brine-encrusted Odysseus," in Mythology and the Renaissance Tradition in English Poetry, New Revised Edition (New York: W. W. Norton & Company Inc., 1963), p. 207. In Homeric Renaissance: The Odyssey of George Chapman (London: Chatto & Windus, 1956), George de F. Lord strives to present the harmony and grace which accompany Odysseus' voyage of self-knowledge, as he envisages it; he studies Chapman's Iliads and Odysseys "not only as interpretations of Homer but as English epics" which treat of "moral evolution," pp. 9, 15. With a wider range, Jean Jacquot views the plays and poems as variations on what he understands as the fundamental theme, "l'opposition de la vie spirituelle et du monde," op. cit., p. 58. In editing Bussy D'Ambois, Nicholas Brooke pictures Chapman struggling "throughout his work to create a comprehensive image of the quality of human life;" see "Introduction," Bussy D'Ambois, The Revels Plays, p. xix. Charlotte Spivack sees his unity in "the governing principle of Platonic dualism," in George Chapman (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1967), p. 30. Having outlined the forms of Chapman's learning in George Chapman: A Critical Study (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1966), Millar MacLure concludes that at its centre beams the sacred poetic task of revealing "man's true nature and possibility," p. 228.

34

In Forme E Motivi Nelle Poesie E Nelle Tragedie Di George Chapman (Firenze: Valmartina Editore, 1957), Marcello Pagnini describes the associative poetics of this writer and agrees with Professor Praz "che la sua mente era quelle d'un emblematista, e cioè d'un poeta che costruisce figure sensibili cui è affidato il compito di trasmettere un insegnamento morale," p. 33. MacLure concurs as he argues that, since Chapman's writing involves "finishing, even forcing, an analogy, exhausting his image," he emerges as "orator and emblematist," p. 229.

35

Such is the thesis of Caroline Spurgeon in outlining how "the little word-picture used by a poet or a prose writer" can "illustrate, illuminate and embellish his thoughts;" see Shakespeare's Imagery And What It Tells Us (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1935), p. 9.

While Spurgeon's study affords a model for a sort of examination of imagery, it is not a model I propose to follow. Despite the scientific fervour of her inquiry, the bald examinations of content that it yields, along with its beliefs in the values of listing and enumerating instances divorced from their context, do not seem to me to further one's understanding of specific plays or of the creative poet who produced them.

Since, in his unpublished doctoral thesis, "An Analysis and Comparison of the Imagery in the Tragedies of Chapman, Heywood, Jonson, Marston, Webster, Tourneur, and Middleton," Diss. University of Arkansas 1963, Louis Charles Stagg adopts Spurgeon's method as a model, I find his resultant cataloguing even further removed from my purposes. Operating on a sketchy attitude towards each tragedy, Stagg unfortunately abandons any idea of predominant or indicative imagery and instead charts his way through the tragedies. It seems doubtful that he spent much time deliberating on the quickly dismissed hypothesis, "if numerical totals mean anything at all" (p. 102), and even more unlikely that he pondered long over his own wish about "another sort of criterion than mere numbers by which the force of imagery can be measured" (p. 397). His subsequent publication, An Index to the Figurative Language of George Chapman's Tragedies, Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1970), provides a dictionary of word frequencies which once again underlines Stagg's priorities.

The following progression which I propose to undertake will, hopefully, bespeak my criteria: a preliminary, backgrounding examination of Chapman's repeated images in the comedies, poems, and translations with which he was engaged at the time of his composition of the tragedies, an understanding of Chapman's zeal about the mantic role of the poet, and an analysis of each tragedy in terms of its dominant and emblematic imagery.

36

Whitney's 'Choice of Emblemes,' A Fac-Simile Reprint, ed. Henry Green, With An Introductory Dissertation, Essays Literary And Bibliographical, And Explanatory Notes (London: Lovell Reeve & Co., 1866), p. 108.

37

The Second Book of the Advancement of Learning, The Works of Francis Bacon, In Six Volumes, ed. J. Spedding, R. L. Ellis, D. D. Heath (London: Longmans and Company, 1875), III, 382.

38

George Boas, trans., "Introduction," The Hieroglyphics of Horapollo, Bollingen Series XXIII (New York: Pantheon Books, 1950), p. 41.

AN IMAGISTIC AND EMBLEMATIC AGE

1

Rhetoric, trans. W. Rhys Roberts (New York: The Modern Library, 1954), III. 1405 8-9. The Life of Pope, Samuel Johnson: Rasselas, Poems, and Selected Prose, ed. Bertrand H. Bronson (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1958), p. 390.

2

The etymology and meaning of "image" can be moot and tendentious. For instance, the OED lists seven general meanings for the word, ranging from "artificial imitation," "optical appearance," "semblance," "counterpart," "mental representation," and "graphic description" to "simile, metaphor or figure of speech," V, 51-2. The root of this word is the Latin imago, "imitation" or "conception," and while its seventh meaning is obviously most important for this study, it is difficult to neglect the significance of the other six. Moreover, in defining "icon," derived from εἰκών meaning "likeness," "similitude" or "simile," this Dictionary cites Puttenham's The Arte of English Poesie (1589) as the first instance of the meaning of "simile," or, as Puttenham expressed it, "Resemblance by imagerie," V, 12.

3

T. S. Eliot, "Excerpts From The Use of Poetry and the Use of Criticism," in T. S. Eliot: Selected Prose, ed. John Hayward (Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1953), p. 95.

4

The Republic of Plato, trans. F. M. Cornford (New York: Oxford University Press, 1945), X. 604, p. 337.

5

As quoted from Della difesa della Comedia di Dante, Pt. 1 (1587), sec. 15, by Bernard Weinberg, A History of Literary Criticism in the Italian Renaissance, In Two Volumes (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961), I, 325.

6

The Schoole of Abuse, ed. Edward Arber (London: Queen Square, Bloomsbury, 1869), p. 20.

7

Certayne notes of Instruction concerning the making of verses or ryme in English, ed. Edward Arber (London: Queen Square, Bloomsbury, 1869), p. 36.

8

"Of Figures And Figuratiue Speeches," The Arte of English Poesie (1589), ed. Edward Arber (London: Queen Square, Bloomsbury, 1869), III. vii, p. 166.

9

Puttenham, p. 248.

10

Thomas Hobbes, "The Answer of Mr Hobbs To Sr. William D'Avenant's Preface before Gondibert," in Literary Criticism of Seventeenth-Century England, ed. I. W. Taylor (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1967), p. 284.

11

While admitting that "imagery-hunting can be annoying claptrap," Carol McGinnis Kay also attends to the wide scope of imagistic devices, in "Traps, Slaughters, and Chaos: A Study of Shakespeare's Henry VI Plays," Studies In The Literary Imagination, 5(1972), 2.

12

Aristotle's DE ANIMA In The Version Of William Of Moerbeke And The Commentary Of St. Thomas Aquinas, trans. Kenelm Foster, O. P. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1951), Book III, Chapter iii, p. 394. Note the dual potential of the imagination.

Chapman's gloss on stanza 23 of Ovids Banquet of Sence seems to be indebted to this source; see Poems, p. 59.

13

Sir David Ross, editor, "Introduction," Aristotle De Anima (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1961), p. 50. Ross terms imagination "an intermediate between sense-perception and thought."

14

Poetics, trans. Ingram Bywater (New York: The Modern Library, 1954), 1447^a29. However, Aristotle's treatment of "metaphor" in particular is definitely secondary; it is considered only to be a part of diction, fourth in importance in the tragic whole, and is defined succinctly as "giving the thing a name that belongs to something else" (1457^b8-9).

15

Richard McKeon, "Literary Criticism and the Concept of Imitation in Antiquity," in Critics and Criticism, ed. R. S. Crane (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1952), pp. 117-145.

16

Baxter Hathaway views the literary criticism of the Italian Renaissance as a battle between "a desire for realism" and "a demand for the marvelous" in his study Marvels and Commonplaces (New York: Random House, 1968); Marvin T. Herrick describes its critical method

as the use of Aristotle to illuminate Horace, in his book The Fusion of Horatian and Aristotelean Literary Criticism, 1531-1555 (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1946).

17

Donald Leman Clark traces how the Horatian option ("aut prodesse uolunt aut delectare poetae," De Arte Poetica, l. 333) became coupled into a Renaissance partnership in Rhetoric and Poetry in the Renaissance: A Study of Rhetorical Terms in English Renaissance Literary Criticism (New York: Russell & Russell, 1963). See also C. O. Brink, Horace on Poetry, In Two Volumes (Cambridge: At The University Press, 1971), II, 67.

18

As quoted from Opera (1567), p. 201, by Weinberg, I, 260.

19

"L'Idolo oggetto loro sia tanto più dègno, e più eccellente, quanto che rappresenterà meglio quella cosa sola a imitatione della quale è fatto;" see Weinberg, I, 325.

20

Weinberg, I, 340.

21

Father Walter J. Ong reminds us that "gignoskein . . . suggests having 'insight' into, being able to break down into parts and analyze," in his article "From Allegory to Diagram In The Renaissance Mind: A Study in the Significance of the Allegorical Tableau," JAAC, 17(1959), 424.

22

Thomas Wilson, "From The Arte of Rhetorique (1560)," in English Literary Criticism: The Renaissance, ed. O. B. Hardison, Jr. (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1963), p. 43. Sir Philip Sidney, A Defence of Poetry, ed. J. A. Van Dorsten (London: Oxford University Press, 1966), p. 32. Angel Day, The English Secretary, or Methode of Writing of Epistles and Letters: With A Declaration of such Tropes, Figures, and Schemes, as either usually or for ornament sake are therin required. Now newly revised and in many parts Corrected and amended (London: Printed by P. S. for C. Burbie, and are to be sold at his shop, at the Royall Exchange, 1599), p. 99. University of Michigan Microfilm, STC 380.

23

Sidney, p. 25.

In Timber, Or Discoveries, Jonson traced the source of poetry as a "speaking picture" to Plutarch's essay, Latinized as De Audiendis Poetis; see Ben Jonson, VIII, 609.

24

Samuel T. Coleridge, "Essay IX," Section 2, The Friend: A Series of Essays To Aid in The Formation of Fixed Principles In Morals, Politics And Religion, With Literary Amusements Interspersed (1867; rpt. Freeport: Books for Libraries Press, 1971), p. 323.

25

In "The Metaphor of Conception And Elizabethan Theories of The Imagination," Neophilologus, 50(1966), 455, Jay L. Halio describes the understanding of the operation of the imagination inherited from the medieval empirical tradition: "Its location is in the front cell or ventricle of the brain, and one of its main functions is to convey impressions (in the forms of images) from the senses to the rational judgement, or reason, situated in the central cavity of the head."

26

The Second Book of The Advancement of Learning, III, 329-45.

27

Paolo Rossi, Francis Bacon: From Magic To Science, trans. S. Rabinovitch (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1968), pp. 88-95. Rossi outlines Bacon's growth from his view of the pedagogical significance of myths and parables in The Advancement to his acceptance of their allegorical value in The Wisdom of the Ancients. While Bacon had presumed that the lesson preceded the story, he came to accept the notion of the story's pre-eminence; his uncertainty about myths and parables graduated into the ready acknowledgement witnessed in The Wisdom of the Ancients and the De Augmentis.

28

Translation of the De Augmentis Scientiarum, Book II, IV, 317-18.

29

"The Elizabethans, like later poets, were writing from within their own poetic;" see Rosemund Tuve, Elizabethan and Metaphysical Imagery, Renaissance Poetic and Twentieth-Century Critics (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1947), p. 17.

30

William Webbe, A Discourse of English Poetrie (1586), ed. Edward Arber (London: Queen Square, Bloomsbury, 1871), p. 14.

31

"An Epigramme," The Poems English Latin and Greek of Richard Crashaw, ed. L. C. Martin (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1957), p. 235.

32

"A Coronet For His Mistresse Philosophie," ix. 1, Poems, p. 85.

33

Mario Praz, Studies In Seventeenth-Century Imagery, Second Edition Considerably Increased (Roma: Edizioni Di Storia E Letteratura, 1964), pp. 14, 15.

Frances Yates offers a similar contention in "The Emblematic Conceit in Giordano Bruno's De Gli Eroici Furori and in the Elizabethan Sonnet Sequences," JCI, 6(1943), 102: "The emblem and the conceit are vitally linked together because they both have the same meaning. In short, the conceit is an emblem."

34

The English Secretorie 1586, A Scolar Press Facsimile (Menston: The Scolar Press, 1967), p. 44. In this earlier edition Day also called upon "an Embleme of Alciat" to underline his point about the great distinction between "wisedomes garmentes" and true nature, p. 16.

35

Rosemary Freeman, English Emblem Books (1948; rpt. London: Chatto & Windus, 1967), p. 5.

In arguing for pageantry as "the quintessence of emblematic art," Glynne Wickham presents a similar interrelationship: "The amity within the partnerships between poet and artificer in both genres displays a mutual understanding and acceptance of the respective scene conventions in which they were working," Early English Stages 1300 to 1660, In Two Volumes (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1963), II, 209, 244.

36

Philosophies of Art and Beauty: Selected Readings In Aesthetics From Plato To Heidegger, ed. A. Hofstadter and R. Kuhns (New York: The Modern Library, 1964), p. 157.

37

As translated by George Boas, "Introduction," The Hieroglyphics of Horapollo, p. 28.

38

E. H. Gombrich, "Icones Symbolicae, The Visual Image in Neo-Platonic Thought," JCI, 11(1948), 168.

39

S. K. Heninger, Jr., "Metaphor as Cosmic Correspondence," Medieval and Renaissance Studies, ed. John Heady (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1967), p. 3.

40

As quoted from Opera Omnia, p. 386, by Paul O. Kristeller, The Philosophy of Marsilio Ficino, trans. V. Conant (Gloucester: Peter Smith, 1964), p. 26.

41

As quoted from Pico's correspondence by Edgar Wind, Pagan Mysteries In The Renaissance (London: Faber and Faber Limited, 1958), p. 19.

42

As quoted by Wind, p. 21.

43

Giordano Bruno, De gl' Heroici Furori, texte établi et traduit par Paul-Henri Michel (Paris: Société D'Éditions Les Belles Lettres, 1954), Prima Parte, Dialogo Quinto, p. 261.

44

Boas includes these drawings in his translation.

45

"To The Reader," Emblemes and Hieroglyphikes of the life of Man, (London: Printed For William Freeman at the Bible in Fleet Street, 1710), p. 321. The Emblemes were first published separately in 1635, the Hieroglyphikes in 1638; the first joint edition appeared in 1639.

46

Quarles, Emblemes, "To The Reader," p. 1.

47

Liselotte Dieckmann, "Renaissance Hieroglyphics," CL, 9(1957), 313.

48

Andrea Alciati and His Books of Emblems: A Biographical and Bibliographical Study (1872; rpt. New York: Burt Franklin, 1950), p. ix.

49

Studies in Seventeenth-Century Poetic (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1950), p. 180.

50

Picta Poesis: Literary and Humanistic Theory in Renaissance Emblem Books (Roma: Edizioni Di Storia E Letteratura, 1960), p. 65.

51

Liber Tertius de Symbolis, Emblematis, & Hieroglyphicis Abrahami Fransi Insignium, Armorvm, Emblematum, Hieroglyphicorum Et

Symbolorum, quae ab Italis Imprese nominatur; Excudebat Londini, Thomas Orwinus: Impensis Thomae Gubbin, & Thomae Newman, 1588, sig. N3, University of Michigan Microfilm STC 544.

52

De gl' Heroici Furori, op. cit., Dialogo Quinto, p. 243.

53

"To The Frendly Reader," The Complete Works in Verse and Prose of Samuel Daniel, op. cit., IV, 16.

54

A helpful listing is provided by Samuel Schuman, "Emblems and the English Renaissance Drama: A Checklist," RORD, 12(1969), 43-56.

55

The Theatre of Fine Devices, Containing an hundred morall Emblemes. First penned in French by Guillaume de la Perriere and translated into English by Thomas Combe (London: Printed by Richard Field, 1614). University of Michigan Microfilm STC 549.

56

Whitney, "To The Reader," n. p. This preface accompanied the first printing of A Choice of Emblemes in Leyden in 1586.

57

Emblemes and Epigrames, ed. F. J. Furnivall for EETS (London: J. Trübner & Co., 1876), p. 2.

58

Thynne, p. 37.

59

Minerva Britanna 1612, A Scholar Press Facsimile (Leeds: The Scholar Press, 1966). As with all the emblem books, references and reproductions will be taken from the edition quoted.

60

The Mirrour of Maiestie, or The Badges of Honour Conceitedly Emblazoned, with Emblemes annexed Poetically Vnfolded (London: Printed by William Jones, dwelling in Red-crosse streete, 1619). University of Michigan Microfilm STC 1098.

61

The Soules Solace, Or Thirtie and one Spirituall Emblems (London: Sold by Thomas Jenner, at the South Entrance of the Royall Exchange, 1626). University of Michigan Microfilm STC 742.

62

Freeman, p. 87.

63

Jenner's anti-papist acrimony is particularly evident in emblems 11, 17, and 28.

64

Partheneia Sacra 1633, English Emblem Books No. 10, Selected and Edited by John Horden, Introductory note by Karl Josef Höltgen (Menston: Scolar Press, 1971).

65

Yates, p. 108.

66

Freeman, p. 127.

67

"Ode. Sitting and drinking in the chair, made out of the Reliques of Sir Francis Drake's Ships," l. 42 and "Upon the chair made out of Sir Francis Drake's Ship: Presented to the University Library in Oxford, by John Davis of Deptford, Esq.," l. 3, The Complete Works in Verse and Prose of Abraham Cowley, ed. Rev. A. B. Grosart, In Two Volumes (1881; rpt. New York: AMS Press, 1967), I, 156, 169.

68

Both Parrott and Brooke draw the parallel with Whitney's emblem; see Tragedies, II, 548 and Bussy D'Ambois, The Revels Plays, p. 5.

69

"From the introduction to Christoforo Giarda's Bibliothecae Alexandrinae Icones Symbolicae, Milan 1626," included as an Appendix by Gombrich, p. 190; the excerpt which follows is from the same source, p. 191.

70

I suggest this metaphor with more hope of a successful delivery than Chapman intended when, in the address "To The Most Honored Earle, Earle Marshall" prefacing Achilles' Shield, he lamented the "lame and defective" birth of Homer at the hands of "the French midwife" (Scaliger), Homer, I, 546.

71

The popularity and availability of emblem books tend to argue for his acquaintance with them. However, keeping in mind Freeman's exposition of their obvious character, we should consider the point made by Praz that Chapman's readership was probably not as popular or

general as that of the emblemist: "Quarles's Emblemes supplied the wider public with a cheap substitute for that metaphysical wit which authors like George Chapman and John Donne provided for a more refined audience," op. cit., p. 163. Cf. T. O. Beachcroft, "Quarles and the Emblem Habit," Dublin Review, (March 1931), 94: "It is plain that Quarles was doing in the marketplace what other metaphysicals were doing for a more exacting audience."

72

In his unpublished Ph. D. thesis, "The Animate Glass: Chapman's Dramatic Evolution," Diss. University of Rochester 1964, James Eugene Parsons argues for the opposition of visual and audible emblems of posture and pose in Chapman's dramatic works composed between 1596 and 1608. In describing "visual awareness" as the most distinctive characteristic of Chapman's drama, he writes, "In his consistent employment of composed, painterly metaphors; his emblem-like use of the stage; his recurrent presentation of a visual scene with a variety of verbal interpretations; and his sophisticated self-conscious utilization of costume, gesture and physical position, he demonstrates a visual sensitivity that amounts nearly to a fundamental disposition of the mind," pp. xiv-xv.

MacLure cites several instances of emblematic practice in the poems; see pp. 40, 53, 63.

73

In The Arte of English Poesie, Puttenham explains this poetical ornament derived from the Rhetoric of Quintilian as a device for keeping "speeches smoothly and tunably running; . . . the Greeks called Enargia, of this word argos, because it geueth a glorious lustre and light," III, iii, p. 155.

74

"To The Trvlie Learned, and my worthy Friende, Ma. Mathew Royden," Poems, p. 49; cf. Day's comparison of the writer and painter quoted above from The English Secreterie 1586, p. 44.

75

A Treatise Concerning The Arte of Limning, ed. Philip Norman, Malpole Society, 1(1911-1912), 20. When comparing Shakespeare's Sonnet XXIV and Chapman's Ovids Banquet, A. J. Gilbert cites the latter half of this excerpt, in his article "Philosophical Conceits in Shakespeare and Chapman," ES, 54(1973), 118-21.

76

C. H. Herford, Percy and Evelyn Simpson, "Inigo Jones and Chapman," Ben Jonson, X, 697.

77

"A Free and Offenceles Ivstification: Of a lately publisht and most maliciously misinterpreted Poeme; Entituled. Andromeda liberata," Poems, p. 327.

78

"To The Most Worthily Honored, My Singular Good Lord, Robert, Earle of Somerset," Homer, II, 5.

79

"To The Reader," Homer, I, 10, ll. 139-42.

80

Chapman's gloss appended to "Hymnus in Cynthiam," n. 19, Poems, p. 44.

81

Austin Warren, Richard Crashaw: A Study in Baroque Sensibility (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1939), p. 177.

82

T. S. Eliot's statement about Chapman's "direct sensuous apprehension of thought" is now almost a landmark; see "The Metaphysical Poets," T. S. Eliot Selected Essays (London: Faber and Faber, 1932), p. 116. H. . . . wells characterized his images as "sunken," "reflective," and at times "violent," in Poetic Imagery, Illustrated From Elizabethan Literature (New York: Columbia University Press, 1924), pp. 30, 184, 185. Elizabeth Holmes supported Chapman's imagery as "frequently approaching the metaphysical kind of the seventeenth century" and as indicative of "the epiphany of thought through sense," in her study Aspects of Elizabethan Imagery (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1929), pp. 72, 73. George illiamson studied Chapman's images as "a link which permits us to see how the current of poetry descended in a direct line to the 'Metaphysical poets,'" in The Donne Tradition: A Study In English Poetry From Donne To The Death of Cowley (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1930), p. 68. Rosemund Tuve views Chapman's logic as less stern than that of later Metaphysical poets, in Elizabethan and Metaphysical Imagery, p. 267. Jean Jacquot treats Chapman's dialectic between appearance and reality as metaphysical and Donnean, op. cit., pp. 249-54.

83

The judgement of Frederic Ives Carpenter, Metaphor and Simile in the Minor Elizabethan Drama (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1895), pp. 100, 107.

84

The somewhat uncertain opinion of Dieter Mehl, "Emblems in English Renaissance Drama," Ren. Drama, n. s. 2(1969), 39-57. He first contends that Chapman's "quotation of emblems often seems to be a merely rhetorical device used for the purposes of stylistic embellishment as well as moral argumentation and example" (p. 46); however, he examines the closing of Bussy D'Ambois (V. iii. 252-62) in proof of the thesis "that Chapman was anything but a mere rhetorician . . ." (p. 52).

85

Chapman's promise to become "clearer in the future" ends the single version he wrote of "A Coronet For His Mistresse Philosophie."

ISSUES AND IMAGES

1
Schoell outlines Chapman's indebtedness to Comes's Mythologiae, VII, 11 and 12, pp. 490, 495; see p. 179.

2
Poems, p. 19.

3
In his study of the perplexing allegory of the poem, "Chapman's The Shadow of Night: An Interpretation," SP, 38(1941), 584-608, Roy Battenhouse suggests a possible source of the Hercules images in Bruno's Spaccio della Bestia Trionfante; see p. 594, n. 24.

Schoell stresses the importance of Comes, Mythologiae, VII, 1, "De Hercule," p. 183.

4
A similar Homeric chain of ambition appears in An Epicede Or Funerall Song, l. 161. Bartlett cites Chapman's source in Comes, Mythologiae, "De Iunone," along with the Iliad, VIII. 16; see Poems, p. 424.

5
"In Seianvm Ben Ionsoni Et Musis, et sibi in Delicijs," l. 92; Poems, p. 92.

Schoell (p. 229) traces Chapman's source to Xylander's translation of Plutarch's essay, De Profect. Virtut. Sent., 78 D. However, despite the impressive instances of Chapman's borrowings from Plutarch that Schoell's immense scholarship evinces, I still find it difficult to accept a strictly bibliophilic origin, devoid of sensual and experiential immediacy, for Chapman's images which Schoell suggests in this statement: "alors que d'autres poètes puisent leurs images dans leurs reminiscences du monde extérieur, Chapman puise les siennes dans ses souvenirs des livres qu'il a lus, et surtout des Opuscules de Plutarque;" see p. 93.

6
"Mr: Geo: Chapman In worthy loue of this new worck, and the most autenticall Aucthors," l. 14, Poems, p. 364.

7
S. K. Heninger, Jr. reminds us that imperfect and merely human ears "could not hear the music of the spheres," p. 10.

8

Reproduced from Godyere's emblem addressed to the Earl of Southampton, Embleme 13, The Mirrour of Maiestie, p. 27, sig. E2. The limerick quality of the accompanying verse of course distances Godyere's poetry considerably from Chapman's.

9

While she assigns no definite date to Chapman's "Invective," Bartlett does dismiss the notion that it was a death-bed composition; she locates its cause in Jonson's "Execration Vpon Vulcan" (1623), and laments its tenor with the observation that "It has always been painful for biographers of both poets to consider this bitter conclusion of a friendship that had been so close in the early decade of the century;" see Poems, p. 477.

In their appendix concerning "Inigo Jones and Chapman," C. H. Herford and Percy and Evelyn Simpson go as far as to assign a specific date of 1634 to the poem. They present Chapman as the noble champion of the poorly treated Jones and pass a similar comment on the unhappily ruptured friendship: "That Chapman's last piece of writing should be a vindictive repudiation of his old friend, written when both of them were crippled with an illness which proved fatal, is a melancholy fact;" see Ben Jonson, X, 693.

10

"An Invective Wrihten By Mr. George Chapman Against Mr. Ben: Johnson," Poems, pp. 374-78.

11

In the Renaissance sense of the scourging, searing, flailing satyr-satirist, as depicted by Alvin kernan, The Cankered Muse: Satire of the English Renaissance (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1959).

12

Schoell uses this excerpt as indicative of Chapman's view about the "enseignement moral" of all poetry, p. 88.

13

Chapman concludes his notes to the first hymn with this assertion; see Poems, p. 30.

14

Its device, reproduced by MacLure and described as "a gnomon rising from the sea" (p. 49), invites comparison with Peacham's emblem from Minerva Britanna, p. 67, which makes a similar case for the "conscience cleere within" (l. 11). See Figures 2 and 3, p. 41 of my text.

15

"To The Trvlie Learned, and my worthy Friende, Ma. Mathew Royden," Poems, p. 49.

16

K. G. Hamilton cites Chapman as the "unusual" and "occasional voice" which, in a time when the composition of poetry was governed by rules concerning prosody and rhetoric, stresses "the essential peculiarities of poetic style;" see The Two Harmonies: Poetry and Prose in the Seventeenth Century (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963), pp. 17, 43.

17

"To . . . Mathew Royden," Poems, p. 49. The Prologue to his "Ivstification" of Andromeda Liberata continues this praise of obscurity; see Poems, p. 327.

18

"A Coronet For His Mistresse Philosophie," VI. 3-4, Poems, p. 84.

19

Schoell (p. 234) suggests the influence of Xylander's version of Plutarch's De Socratis genio, 581 E. However, Chapman's delightful images and illuminating message definitely raise his lines above enslavement to the pedestrian and corrupt text of Xylander.

20

"In Seianvm . . . Delicijs," l. 115.

21

Prologue, "Ivstification of Andromeda Liberata," Poems, p. 329.

22

"To his Ingenuous, and much lou'd Friend, the Author," l. 7, Poems, p. 367.

Chapman's observation is not passed with the frank assertiveness of Alice of Bath; rather, it seems more comparable to Marston's railing against "Thou brutish world, that in all vileness drown'd, / Hast lost thy soul," "Satyre. VIII. A Cynicke Satyre," ll. 140-41, The Poems of John Marston, ed. Arnold Davenport (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1961), p. 144. It recalls too the unhappy confession that Shakespeare's misanthropic exile extracts from two of Alcibiades' mistresses, that "we'll do anything for gold," Timon of Athens, IV. iii. 150, The Complete Plays and Poems of William Shakespeare, ed. W. A. Neilson and C. J. Hill (Cambridge: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1942).

23

"To his long-lou'd and worthy friend, Mr. Edward Grimeston, Sergeant at Armes, of his vnweared and honored labors," ll. 9-10, Poems, p. 368.

24

Scanty though such mention of the comedies may be, I trust it will be excused in view of my more pressing engagement with the tragedies. However, they do provide engrossing fare. While each comedy supplies a different indication of Chapman's myriad powers as a playwright, all of these plays assist in delineating their creator, a man who is too often considered solely dour. In The Blind Beggar of Alexandria, for instance, he can spend time on the nonsense rhyme of "handy dandy prickly prandy" (ii. 79-80) and enjoy turning an old saw into as silly an espousal as, "I hold thee dearer then the Poungranet of mine eye, and thats better by three pence then the aple of mine eye" (vii. 40-42). He revels in the taxonomical twists of An Humorous Day's Mirth with its declension of Monsieur Verbum (I. v. 55-89) and takes evident delight in Lemot's proposed role as "schoolemaster" to wives (IV. i. 70). On the one hand, he can devote himself to the radiant expression of the vows of love uniting Vincentio and Margaret (The Gentleman Usher, IV. ii. 129-79), and on the other, pour as much gusto into Valeriano's disquisition on this "Horned Age" (All Fools, V. ii. 224-303). One of May Day's many treats is Quintiliano's gastronomic description of battle (IV. v. 1-82), while Monsieur D'Olive boasts the wry devil's advocacy of having a Puritan, one of the sect so obnoxious to James I, take up the King's cause in arguing against tobacco only to find opposition in an equally strong counter blast (II. ii. 164-276). His happier version of Petronius' Widow of Ephesus story ends fittingly with the "malipert" figure of the bungling Governor (The Widow's Tears, V. v. 160-288). A suitability of an entirely different sort closes The Memorable Masque; in its unity, warmth, and intimations of potential for growth, the Hymn to Hymen infuses a quiet mellifluousness into the ending of Chapman's hymeneal pageant.

25

Parsons suggests that Chapman's comedies display the progressive questioning of this assumption of pose and that the resultant negative response is demonstrated forcibly in the death of Byron which represents "the death of pose," op. cit., p. 317.

26

The judgement passed upon him by Vincentio, The Gentleman Usher, I, i. 123.

27

As stated in his dedication of The Widow's Tears, "To the right Vertuous and truly noble Gentlemen, Mr Io. Reed of Mitton, in the countie of Glocester Esquire," Comedies, p. 479.

28

The Memorable Masque, ll. 178, 204-12, Comedies, pp. 569-70. He uses a similar description of poetry's "twofold rapture" in the dedication of his half-complete Odysseys to the Earl of Somerset, in the next year; see Homer, II, 6.

29

This epithet seems particularly applicable to The Widow's Tears where it recurs frequently; see V. iv. 28 and V. v. 209.

30

When facing such a monumental effort as his Homer, Chapman's reader cannot afford to be dabbling. Although apparently lacking any Keatsian apprehension of "wild surmise" and hastily adducing the palliative about my major concern with the tragedies, I submit also that when Chapman's Homer "swims into [one's] ken," it foils the mere scavenger of bits and pieces which hint of his literary emblematicism. Instead, short sentences and phrases gleaned from the epics begin to live in the mind of the reader. In recalling the martial clamour of the Iliad, there are the observations that "the earth did blush with blood" (X. 413), that each man must save himself since "your healths lie in your hands" (XV. 683), that the warriors themselves are pawns, for "god gainst god / Enterd the field" (XX. 76-7), and that the confrontation is grimmest for the vanquished, as "Troy swum in tears" (XXIV. 698). In the more reflective world of the Odyssey one begins to understand the soul-making idea of the journey in reading of the hero that "the sea had soakt his heart through" (V. 612), along with the mysterious journey of death as Anticlea explains to her son that "like a dreame, the soule assumes her flight" (XI. 278). In addition to the many instances of sly humour, such as the reader's discovery of the reason for having wool-lined slings (Iliad, Commentarius, XIII. 195-98), there is the more sombre reality which Odysseus attempts to teach an arrogant suitor, that "Of all things breathing, or that creepe on earth / Nought is more wretched than a humane Birth" (Odyssey, XVIII. 188-9).

31

Dates are based on Nicoll's "Introduction," Homer, I, xv-xix.

32

Bartlett dates these Iliads in 1609, Poems, p. 479. They may well not have appeared until then since the Stationers's Register entry, as Nicoll explains, is late in 1608,

33

Epilogue to The Lesser Homerica, l. 1, Homer, II, 614; italics mine.

34

George G. Loane commends Chapman's verse forms: "He wrote the Iliad in the swinging fourteeners which give something of the swift magnificence of the Greek hexameter, and the Odyssey in free heroic couplets untrammelled by the periodical pauses of Pope's epigrammatic style;" see "Chapman's Homer," Cornhill Magazine, 156(1937), 637.

While H. C. Fay attributes a "'blank-verse' feeling" to his fourteeners, in his articles "Poetry, Pedantry and Life in Chapman's Iliads," RES, n. s. 4(1953), 21, Allardyce Nicoll finds the decasyllabics of the Odyssey more licensed and obscure, in his "Introduction," Homer, II, xi.

35

"To The Most Honored now living Instance of the Achilleian vertues eternized by divine Homere, the Earle of Essex, Earle Marshall &c," Homer, I, 503-06.

36

"To . . . Essex," Homer, I, 505.

37

Dedication of Achilles Shield, "To The Most Honored Earle, Earle Marshall," Homer, I, 546.

38

The Ulysses Theme: A Study in the Adaptability of a Traditional Hero (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1963), p. 6. On the contrary, H. C. Fay sees Chapman's belief in "Homer's infallibility" and his "preoccupation with the philosophical function of poetry" as powerful motives behind the obscurity which separates this translator from a correct understanding of Homer, in the article cited above, pp. 15-18.

39

Dedication of Achilles Shield, Homer, I, 545-7. The idea of the Lernean fen is still with Chapman in 1624; as he completes the Homeric epigrams, he mentions the "errant vapors of Fame's Lernean Fenn" (l. 6). See Homer, II, 614.

40

"To The Understander," Homer, I, 548-50; he writes for the more-than-readers in his address at the opening of The Seauen Bookes of the Iliades, Homer, I, 507.

41

"To The High Borne Prince of Men, Henrie Thrice Royall Inheritor to the United Kingdoms of Great Brittain, &c," l. 69, Homer, I, 4.

42

"To The Reader," ll. 1, 4, Homer, I, 7.

43

The emphases here are consistently Ficinian. See Kristeller, pp. 353-59. In The Platonic Renaissance In England, trans. J. P. Pettegrove (New York: Gordian Press, 1970), Ernst Cassirer affirms that this translator lived "completely in the manner and thought of

Ficino's work . . . " (p. 111). Interestingly, Schoell points out that Ficino's name is not mentioned in Chapman's work: he was a completely assimilated mentor; see Schoell, p. 14, n. 1.

44

"The First Booke, Commentarius," Homer, I, 42.

45

"To The Most Worthily Honored, My Singular Good Lord, Robert, Earle of Somerset, Lord Chamberlaine, &c," Homer, II, 4.

46

Dedication of The Lesser Homerica, "To My Ever most-worthie-To-Be-Most-Honor'd Lord The Earle of Somerset, &c," ll. 57-8, Homer, II, 508.

47

"To The Reader," ll. 107-08, Homer, I, 9; italics mine.

48

"Letters of Ezra Pound, Edited by D. D. Paige," Hudson Review, 3(1950), 60. In a later letter, however, he also remarked that "The first essential is the narrative movement, forward, not blocking the road as Chapman does," p. 64. Pound's essay, "Translators of Greek: Early Translators of Homer," confirms the ambivalence which this poet-scholar found in Chapman who "remains the best English 'Homer', marred though he may be by excess of added ornament, and rather more marred by parentheses and inversions to the point of being hard to read in many places;" see Literary Essays of Ezra Pound, Edited with an Introduction by T. S. Eliot (New York: New Directions, 1954), p. 249.

49

"The Thirteenth Booke, Commentarius," Homer, I, 277. Chapman relies on the same sort of puzzling entrapment ("ropes of sand") as does Herbert in "The Collar," l. 22, The Works of George Herbert, ed. F. E. Hutchinson (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1941), p. 153.

50

"The Fourteenth Booke, Commentarius," Homer, I, 295; this view recurs in "The Seventeenth Booke, Commentarius," Homer, I, 369.

51

Schoell treats of Chapman's reliance on the annotated Latin translation of Homer by Jean de Sponde, pp. 162-77; he also attends to the imaginative departures offered to the English translator in Scapula's Greek Lexicon, p. 156. H. C. Fay adduces at least three additional influences in Valla's Latin prose Iliad, Eobanus's Latin verse Iliad, and Calepinus's Latin Dictionary, in his article "Chapman's Materials For His Translation of Homer," RES, n. s. 2(1951), 121-28.

- 52 "The Sixteenth Booke, Commentarius," Homer, I, 347.
- 53 Chapman's marginal apology for his means of translating the Scylla passage, Odyssey, XII. 130-48, Homer, II, 212.
- 54 "To The Reader," l. 260, Homer, I, 12.
- 55 "The Preface To The Reader," Homer, I, 14-18.
- 56 "To My Ever Most-Worthie-To-Be-Honor'd Lord The Earle of Somerset," ll. 127-35, Homer, II, 510. Schoell outlines how Chapman's knowledge of Plato's Ion has really been digested from Ficino, pp. 5-6.
- 57 A similar impulse to ascend informs all of Quarles's fifth book of emblems; see especially V. xiii.
- 58 "Embleme 16. Mann," Emblemes and Epigrammes, p. 17.
- 59 John Donne, I. Expostulation, Devotions Upon Emergent Occasions Together with Death's Duel (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1959), p. 9. Further quotations from the Devotions will be based upon this copy of the 1624 text.
- 60 I. Meditation, Devotions, p. 8.
- 61 II. Meditation, Devotions, p. 12.
- 62 IV. Meditation, Devotions, p. 23.
- 63 VIII. Meditation, Devotions, p. 50.
- 64 Holy Sonnet V, ll. 1-2, Donne Poetical Works, ed. H. J. C. Grierson (1929; rpt. London: Oxford University Press Paperbacks, 1971), p. 295.
- 65 Holy Sonnet XIX, l. 1, Donne Poetical Works, p. 302.

66

"Hymne to God my God, in my sicknesse," ll. 23-5, Donne Poetical Works, p. 337.

67

III. Meditation, Devotions, p. 17.

68

The pagination and enumeration of emblems in The Mirrour of Maiestie are erratic and inconsistent. Since this emblem addressed to the Earl of Arundel precedes the one also numbered "13" addressed to the Earl of Southhampton, one can conclude that William Jones or his typesetter meant "12" in the case of Figure 15.

On the idea of the flourishing Cypress, in general, cf. Hosea xiv. 8.

69

Euthymiae Raptus pictures "Murther" with a rugged hide, "as an aged oke" (l. 1144).

70

Elsewhere in the comedies, Rinaldo speaks of a genealogical "Tree of all [his] race" (All Fools, I. i. 389), Angelo explains lovesickness to Francischina in terms of "his tree of life" being "scorch't and blasted with the flames of . . . beauty" (Monsieur D'Olive, II. iv. 61-2), and the tree of The Memorable Masque, "vast withered and hollow Tree, being the bare receptacle of baboonerie" (ll. 141-2), indicates an antimasque by its very hollowness.

71

Cf. Donne's tree analogy, XIX Meditation, Devotions, p. 123.

72

Sister Mary Grace Schonlau shows how this device involving the division of a whole into parts which Puttenham suggested for amplification and ornament is given serious treatment in The Revenge of Bussy D'Ambois (V. v. 168-75), in her unpublished doctoral thesis, "A Study of the Language of Eloquence And The Principles of Decorum, Verisimilitude, and Imitation in the Plays of George Chapman," Diss. Saint Louis University 1958, p. 107.

73

XX. Prayer, Devotions, p. 137.

74

Hawkins, p. 234.

75

Hawkins, p. 245.

76

See Quarles, II. iii.

77

In defining the use and scope of Allegory, Puttenham, significantly, launches into this extended series of marine examples: ". . . if we should call the common wealth, a shype; the Prince a Pilot, the Counsellours mariners, the stormes warres, the calme and hauen peace, this is spoken all in allegorie." See The Arte of English Poetrie, III, xviii.

78

Schoell details Chapman's indebtedness to the adage of Erasmus, In Portu Impingere, I, v, 76, p. 46.

79

Predictably, this is the charge laid by the voice of the unlearned populace, Pheme, in the Justification, "Dialogus," l. 4, Poems, p. 332. In the comedies, Vandome's reaction to the news of the death of his sister and the immurement of his mistress befits the unsettling effect this information must cause for a newly returned traveller whose "Ruthles Sea of woes / Wracks . . . within [his] Hauen, and on the shore" (Monsieur D'Olive, I. i. 174-5). In The Widow's Tears the ship references seem to be freighted with the commonness of maxims; there is reference to "the shipwrack of . . . patience" (II. iv. 44), advice to "ship not in one Barke, / All your abilitie" (III. ii. 67-8), and mention of a returned lover as being driven by wind "back to harbour" (V. iii. 4).

80

"To His Loved Sonne, Nat. Field, And His 'ether-cocke Woman," ll. 4-5, Poems, p. 365. See also Ovids Banquet of Sence, 44. 8-9; "Of Sodaine Death," l. 20; An Epicede, ll. 11-14; Eugenia, ll. 250-55; Dedication of Andromeda Liberata, "To The Right Worthily Honoured, Robert Earle of Somerset, &c. And His Most Noble Lady the Lady Frances," l. 89.

81

L. C. Martin likens Chapman's Leander to "a ship captured at sea," in his edition of Marlowe's Poems (New York: Gordian Press, 1966), p. 73. However, such a likeness hardly extends to a presentation of Hero as the Pirate-Victrix; her blood "Ebd with Leander" (III. 324) and although "Leanders beauties were imbarkt" (l. 328), the exchange applies to both sides since "Hero Leander is, Leander Hero" (l. 357).

82

In his article "Chapman's 'Hero and Leander'," English Miscellany, 5(1954), 41-94, D. J. Gordon analyzes the seriousness of Chapman's continuation of Marlowe using the Aristotelean and Ficinian emphases of

form, matter, and essence. Since Chapman took Marlowe's arguments seriously, Gordon contends, his four sestiams are neither aridly moralizing nor blindly contradictory; on the contrary, his work is essentially and logically tragic for "The essence of Hero and Leander is their love and their suffering. . . . The end of the lovers is . . . dramatically appropriate to the poet's characterization of their actions" (p. 85).

83

While it is hard to go as far as accepting the proposition of Donald Smalley, that the experiences of Odysseus are for Chapman "a revelation of the ways of God to man," made in "The Ethical Bias of Chapman's Homer," SP, 36(1939), 183, it is just as difficult not to assent to the view of P. B. Bartlett, that "Ulysses was the hero of Chapman's heart," expressed in her article "The Heroes of Chapman's Homer," RES, 17(1941), 269. In his study of the Odyssey, George de F. Lord presents the sea as one of Chapman's "explicit symbolic patterns of passions in constant conflict with reason," op. cit., pp. 61, 157. Charles H. Taylor, Jr. is of a similar opinion, as he describes the sea as "an ancient emblem of the whole realm of the irrational," in his article "The Obstacles to Odysseus' Return: Identity and Consciousness in The Odyssey," Yale Review, 50(1961), 577.

84

Lord explains that a consultation of Scapula's Lexicon would only have yielded the meaning of "living mortal," which Chapman magnificently embroiders and surpasses, p. 95.

85

Homer, II, 431-22; cf. The Faerie Queene, I, xii. 42.

86

Schoell details Chapman's borrowing (ll. 226-32) from Ficino, in Convivium Platonis de Amore, Commentarium. Sexta Oratio. cap. 17: Quae Comparatio inter pulchritudines Dei, Angeli, Animae, Corporis, n. 8.

87

Bartlett cites the same Ficinian Commentary, II. ii and II. iv, as having inspired these lines, Poems, p. 462.

88

Similar to Ficino's loyalty in his translation of Plato's Philebus; see Kristeller, p. 358.

89

In the world of this poem, the difference between the inward and the outward parallels the distinction between truth and falsehood; see ll. 316-21.

90

From Discourses, IV. ix, "Ad eum qui impudens esse coeperat;" see Schoell, p. 257.

91

Whitney illustrates this Herculean dilemma in his emblem entitled "Bivium virtutis et vitis," p. 40; Barabas perverts the injunction of Matthew x. 16 into his promise to "show myself to have more of the serpent than the dove," in The Jew of Malta, II. iii. 36-7, The Complete Plays of Christopher Marlowe, ed. Irving Ribner (New York: The Odyssey Press, 1963), p. 198.

92

X. Meditation, Devotions, p. 63; XXI. Meditation, Devotions, p. 140.

93

In Ennead VI, Tractate ix, Plotinus states: "The natural course of the soul is in a circle round its centre, the point to which it owes its rise. . . . The soul is not a circle in a sense of a geometric figure but in that it at once contains the Primal Nature (as centre) and is contained by IT (as circumference), and that it owes its origins to such a centre." This extract is based on The Essence of Plotinus, trans. Stephen Mackenna (New York: Oxford University Press, 1934), pp. 217-18.

94

Even though the topoi for such an enfatuating feast are negative, the image of concentric circles clearly evinces Ovid's hope in the perpetuity of his bliss. For explanations of the enslaving, non-Christian, and bestial descent of this banquet, see J. F. Kermodé, "The Banquet of Sense," Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, 44(1961), 68-99; and James Phares Myers, Jr., "'This Curious Frame': Chapman's Ovid's Banquet of Sense," SP, 65(1968), 192-206.

95

This is a particularly happy Chapman rendering of περιφρων Πηνελόπεια (XIV. 373); the Greek text is based on Homer Odyssey, Books XIII-XXIV, with Introduction and Notes by W. W. Merry (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1896), p. 29. The words could have been delivered as the "very careful Penelope." In his translation, Richmond Lattimore renders them as "circumspect Penelope," The Odyssey of Homer (New York: Harper & Row, 1965), p. 219. But Chapman's translation pursues a distinctive interpretation of circumspection in its highest accolade of the "circularly-witted Queene."

96

"To The High Borne Prince of Men," ll. 119-23, Homer, I, 7.

THE TRAGEDIES

1

For this tragedy only quotations will be based on Nicholas Brooke's edition. It seems indicative of approval of the 1607 version that scholarly articles written after Brooke's edition usually follow his copy rather than Parrott's.

There are two copies of the play; one was printed in 1607, the other in 1641. This posthumous publication claims on its title page to be "much corrected and amended by the Author before his death." While editors like Boas (1905), Parrott (1910), and Lordi (Regents Renaissance Drama Series, 1964) accept this later edition, Nicholas Brooke (The Revels Plays) and Maurice Evans (The New Mermaids, 1965) retain the original version with a few additions from the 1641 copy.

In her article "The 1641 Edition of Chapman's Bussy D'Ambois," HLQ, 14(1951), 171-201, Berta Sturman questions the validity of the 1641 copy, and concludes that the blatantly theatrical changes and the deletion of rhymed couplets and characteristic Chapman coinages, like "tympanous statists" and "semi gods," indicate poor hack work and scarcely point to Chapman. However, her dismissal of the 1641 copy seems too ambitious. Both Evans and Brooke favour an emendation that is at times creative, at times theatrical. They accept the former (usually in concert) and deny the latter in their own expanded versions of the 1607 edition.

As part of the creative change, for example, Evans accepts the change from "laden for thy lust" to "rigged with quench for lust" in Montsurry's bitter address to Tamyra as his ruffi'n galley" (V. i. 61-2). He prefers the later copy because of its verbal parallel to The Revenge (I. ii. 27-9), and also because the pun on "rigged" is typical of Chapman; Brooke, however, is "not sure it is an improvement" (p. 114).

Representative of the theatrical change is the removing of the Friar's apostrophe from the end of the play to immediately after the death. While the earlier version keeps attention on Bussy's heroic figure, in the later version his body is carried off and the emphasis is laid on the more sentimental but less heroic attempt at reconciliation. The intention of this sort of change is to clarify. Therefore, Bussy concludes his self-justification scene (II. i. 192ff.) with the decision to seduce Tamyra, and Tamyra offers Bussy pearls which she had previously refused and engages in a long speech to characterize her as a fallen woman (III. i. 42ff.). Such categorizations and offerings of melodrama seem foreign to Chapman's original copy.

2

The Republic, X. 602; Poetics, 1449^b24-5.

- 3 "To The Right Virtuous And Truly Noble Knight Sir Thomas Howard, Etc.," Tragedies, I, 77.
- 4 A Defence of Poetry, p. 45; Translation of the "De Augmentis Scientiarum," The Second Book, The Works of Francis Bacon, IV, 316.
- 5 John Middleton Murry, "Metaphor," Countries of the Mind, Essays in Literary Criticism (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1931), p. 9.
- 6 Wolfgang H. Clemen contends that "in the human world of the dramas, these images form, as it were, a second world," in The Development of Shakespeare's Imagery (London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1951), p. 9.
- 7 Alan S. Downer, "The Life Of Our Design: The Function Of Imagery In The Poetic Drama," Hudson Review, 2(1941), 243.
- 8 Una Ellis-Fermor claims that imagery "reveals a significant and suddenly perceived relation between an abstract theme and a subject closer to the experience of the senses in such a way as to transfer to the rightly apprehending mind the shock, the stimulus with which the union of these two stirred the mind of the poet himself." See The Frontiers of Drama (London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1945), p. 79.
- 9 In his article "George Chapman," Scrutiny, 4(1936), 46, James Smith presents reverse views: that Bussy's first speech is "neither well ordered nor cogent" and that "as the play advances it becomes more and more obvious that Bussy is not possessed of a clear head."
- 10 Cf. also Daniel iv. 10 and Revelations xxii. 2.
- 11 In his vain self-characterization as a cedar, Marlowe's Edward II perversely misinterprets the warning of Mortimer about Gaveston; see Edward the Second, II: ii. 16, 38-40.
- 12 Parrott, however, compares Chapman's simile with the Aeneid, ii. 626-63; see Tragedies, II, 551.

13

The B text (1641 copy) contains a notable instance in which its emender seems to have been attuned to Chapman's sense; as an ominous prelude to their fraternal colloquy, Monsieur--who is to comment later on the fates of solid trees--addresses Bussy as "that still-flourishing tree" (III. ii. 403). See Tragedies, I, 43.

14

The advice which Antonelli proffers Lodovico, to "have a full man within you" (The White Devil, I. i. 45), merits comparison; Lodovico's description of the rapacious degeneracy of his world in which "Fortune's a right whore" (I. i. 5) recalls the opening of Chapman's tragedy, but the dissatisfaction of Webster's Count is more violent and direct than the theme-announcing choric introduction which Bussy affords. See John Webster and Cyril Tourneur: Four Plays, op. cit., pp. 23-4.

15

A. B. Chambers, "'I Was But an Inverted Tree': Notes toward the History of an Idea," Studies in the Renaissance, 8(1961), 291-9.

16

Jonathan Swift, "A Meditation Upon a Broom-Stick: According to the Style and Manner of the Honourable Robert Boyle's Meditations," A Tale of a Tub With Other Early Works 1696-1707, ed. Herbert Davis (1939; rpt. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1965), p. 240.

17

Brooke's appendix (p. 155) includes the proposed source from the Moralia, I. i. 6-17, 779F: "Ad Principem ineruditem." Cf. Caesar's imposing Colossic presence (Julius Caesar, I. ii. 134) and Cleopatra's vision of her immortalized Roman Hercules and demi-Atlas (Antony and Cleopatra, V. ii. 82-3).

18

"Vltorius durabit," Minerva Britanna, p. 161, ll. 1-3, 7-9.

19

As reproduced and explained by Margery Purver, The Royal Society: Concept and Creation (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1967), p. 46.

20

Pythian viii. 95, The Odes of Pindar Including The Principal Fragments, with an Introduction and an English Translation by Sir John Sandys (London: William Heinemann, 1924), p. 268.

While Pindar's ode celebrates the wrestling prowess of Aristomenes, it also pays tribute to the goddess of peace and child of justice, φειλοφρον Ἡσυχία, Δίκαια . . . Θυγατερ (ll. 1-2), for her ability to quell such titans as Porphyryon and Typhōeus (ll. 12-21). If it did not actually contain a note about this feature of the ode, Chapman's hypothetical commonplace book may have triggered his mind when writing Bussy D'Ambois.

21

Parrott (Tragedies, II, 560) glosses these "friends" as "body and soul;" Brooke (p. 136), as "passion and reason."

22

Brooke (p. 155) suggests that Chapman's knowledge of Plutarch arrives via Cicero, Tusc. Disp., V. 25.

23

The metaphor of sowing and reaping enjoys a remarkable currency in this play. Bussy uses it to preface (I. i. 119-20) and punctuate (ll. 122-6) his virtuous proclamation. However, Maffé prophesies a different kind of fruit (l. 216) and Bussy's court performance evokes a less than healthy agricultural prognosis from Beaupré (I. ii. 84). The metaphor enters into Pero's riddle (III. ii. 250) and Monsieur's bawdy dismissal of her (ll. 268-9). It lends a curious piquancy to Monsieur's questions of the cuckolded husband (ll. 270-1) and to his protestations of interest in Bussy (ll. 317-8). The policy of Bussy's countermeasure is equally foreboding (IV. ii. 170-3), while the fruitfulness of a harvest is denied to the starved non-reconciliation between Tamyra and Montsurry (V. iii. 250-1).

24

Rosemund Tuve cites this image as particularly medieval in its combination of "extreme concreteness . . . with narrow or odd 'radical' bases" and as reminiscent of the allegorical approach of Guillaume de Deguileville's Pélerinage de la vie humaine; see Allegorical Imagery: Some Mediaeval Books and Their Posterity (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1966), p. 171.

25

Peter Bement demonstrates how Chapman's use of darkness and light clarifies "complex ethical questions," in his article, "The Imagery of Darkness and of Light in Chapman's Bussy D'Ambois," SP, 64(1969), 187-98.

26

Brooke (pp. 123-4) finds Bussy's double invocation "strange" and judges that the image of the sun awakening "enchanted night" (V. ii. 43) has "more rhetorical power than clarity."

27

Although Godyere's emblem (Figure 4) depicts would-be world controllers who are distinctly earth-bound, his plate addressed to the Lord Admiral invites comparison with Whitney's emblem dedicated to Drake. While they are not actually engaged in putting "a girdle round about the world" (I. i. 23), Godyere's contestants are concerned with asserting their control over this globe fastened to the sky by tugging at its dependent cords. In this instance the emblematiser ridicules the absurd attempts of pride and violence, just as Whitney earlier had lauded reliance on divine aid.

28

"Ad fontes" was a clarion call to those interested in "purifying the great works of classical science and medicine from medieval accretions," See Douglas Bush, Prefaces to Renaissance Literature (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1965), p. 72.

29

The pleasingly different tone of Ovid's marine metaphors affords a considerable contrast. This Roman amorist is as carried away by loving as "a canoe over rapids" (ut rapida concita puppis aqua) and his desire bellows forth and carries him along like "a gust catching a yacht about to tie up and driving her out to sea" (ut subitus prope iam prensa tellure carinam tangentem portis ventus in alta rapit), Amores, II. iv. 8 and II. ix^b. 7-8. Text is based on Ovid's Amores, English Translation by Guy Lee with Latin text (New York: The Viking Press, 1968), pp. 66-7, 84-5.

30

Brooke comments (p. 139) that "Bussy himself is now an emblem."

31

Brooke suggests (p. 158) the possible influence of Euripides, via Plutarch V. iii. 191-3. 1090C: "Non posse suaviter vivi secundum Epicteti decreta."

32

While Timon writes an epitaph which visits upon his passers-by a plague and enjoins them not to tarry (Timon of Athens, V. iv. 70-3), Beowulf requests his barrow by the sea "to gemyndum minum leodum" (l. 2804), Beowulf and The Fight at Finnsburg, ed. Fr. Klaeber (Lexington: D. C. Heath and Co., 1950), p. 105.

33

In the "Introduction" of his edition of the play for The New Mermaids, Maurice Evans argues that "Blood in its various senses . . . is at the heart of the play and forms the source of Bussy's anger or Tamyra's desire or Monsieur's jealousy alike" (p. xiv).

34

In a note on "Bussy D'Ambois's Dying Words," TLS, March 1, 1923, p. 143, George Loane contends that Tamyra is the "sun" of l. 182 and hers is the "blood" of l. 187. The reasoning he employs, that "it is far more characteristic of Bussy's proud and chivalrous nature to find all human life embittered by his lady's blood than by his own," is not entirely convincing.

35

In her doctoral study, Sr. Mary Grace Schonlau examines the rhetorical excellence of this verbal match (p. 176). In addition to its evidence of paroemion and asyndeton, Chapman creates a throbbing pulse for the colloquy by his use of hissing sibilants, iterated dentals, and forceful repetitions (anadiplosis and diaphora).

Among the critical comments on this play, those which attempt to characterize its hero are by far the most revealing and divergent. While for some Bussy emerges as a titanic extravagance, for others he seems to be an uneasy blending of morality and ambiguity, and for others still he remains more of an experience than a lesson.

For Hardin Craig he is an example of "psychological titanism;" for Roy W. Battenhouse a "Hercules figure;" for Michael Higgins "the last of the giants;" for Elias Schwartz "the sum of all virtue;" and for Millar MacLure a "Marlovian extravagance." See "Ethics in the Jacobean Drama," The Parrott Presentation Volume, ed. Hardin Craig (New York: Russell and Russell, 1935), p. 32; "Chapman and the Nature of Man," ELH, 12(1945), 97; "The Development of the 'Senecal Man,' Chapman's Bussy D'Ambois and Some Precursors," RES, 23(1947), 30; George Chapman (1559-1634) sa vie, sa poésie, son théâtre, sa pensée, pp. 133, 194; "Seneca, Homer and Chapman's Bussy D'Ambois," JEGP, 56(1957), 164; George Chapman: A Critical Study, p. 109.

While Claire-Eliane Engel spends time delineating the historical Bussy in her article, "Les Sources du Bussy d'Amboise de Chapman," Revue de littérature comparée, 12(1932), 587-92, other students of Chapman's drama focus on its creator's paramount moral concerns. Using the Iliad and Odyssey as her tape measures, Janet Spens fits the poetry of the play into the "moral ideal;" with stoicism as his standard, William Wieler recounts the intentional "antithesis between word and deed" which Bussy presents; raising his banner of Christian humanism, Ennis Rees is forced to see Bussy's claims as "ironic;" in tracing Chapman's progress from "melodrama to morality," Robert Ornstein pictures Bussy as "the Marlovian superman moralized and turned anti-Machiavel;" in comparing Chapman with Marlowe, Sidney Homan contends that Chapman was bound to reject Bussy "as Marlowe did Faustus." See "Chapman's Ethical Thought," Essays and Studies, 11(1925), 161; George Chapman--The Effect of Stoicism Upon His Tragedies, p. 32; The Tragedies of George Chapman: Renaissance Ethics in Action, p. 36; The Moral Vision of Jacobean Tragedy, pp. 48, 51-2; "Chapman and Marlowe: The Paradoxical Hero and the Divided Response," JEGP, 68(1969), 402.

Other observers have considered Chapman's hero ambiguous, if not paradoxical. William McCollum holds the denigrating opinion that Chapman "did not sense the defect in Bussy's knowledge;" Madeleine Doran dismisses the play without great sympathy as a work which slipped away from its abstrusely ethical author; C. L. Barber lays upon Bussy the bald and somewhat naive charge of "hypersensitivity;" Irving Ribner sees Bussy's roles fluctuating--as an ordinary human being who evinces the corruption of natural virtue, an example of Golden Age humanity in a postlapsarian world, and a choral commentator. See "The Tragic Hero and Chapman's Bussy D'Ambois," UTQ, 18(1949), 231; Endeavors of Art: A Study of Form in Elizabethan Drama (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1954), pp. 354-5; "The Ambivalence of Bussy D'Ambois," REL, 2(1961), 41; Jacobean Tragedy: The Quest for Moral Order, pp. 23-8.

The scholars whose comments on Bussy are most appealing all recognize that he surpasses mere extravagance, morality, and ambiguity. Edwin Muir sees him as a "cross between Adam and Achilles crossed again by something quite different, the Renaissance man stepping out of the

Middle Ages into the new world." Peter Ure suggests that Chapman could be indulging in a "secret and irrational love-affair with his hero, whom he values because he is astonishing, wasteful, and altogether unlike ordinary men." Millar MacLure finds Bussy more of an "experience" than a demonstration, and Raymond Waddington studies how the play's Prometheus-Hercules motif functions as a symbol of "human transmutation." See "'Royal Man': Notes on the Tragedies of George Chapman," Essays on Literature and Society (London: The Hogarth Press, 1949), p. 27; "Chapman's Tragedies," Jacobean Theatre, Stratford-Upon-Avon Studies, I(1960), 233; George Chapman: A Critical Study, p. 124; "Prometheus and Hercules: The Dialectic of Bussy D'Ambois," ELH, 34(1967), 48.

After weighing the usefulness of each of these perspective guide maps, the future charter of Chapman territory is well advised to pause over Robert Adams's helpful and entertaining article, "Critical Myths and Chapman's Original Bussy D'Ambois," Renaissance Drama, 9(1966), 141-61. In discussing the play's reputation, Adams exposes some of the potential "moats" around Bussy as he successfully explodes ten major myths about Chapman: that the 1607 and the 1641 versions of his play are only variants, that Chapman was "fantastically consistent" in his ideas; that it is best to treat Bussy in connection with Chapman's other tragedies, that random quoting is helpful, that Chapman lacked control of his structure, that Bussy remains totally inscrutable, that the play is a one-man performance, that Chapman's psychological realism is not relevant today, and that he is basically a philosopher.

Sobered, yet perhaps recklessly independent, the Chapman devotee can begin his own "exquirings."

THE CONSPIRACY AND TRAGEDY OF CHARLES DUKE OF BYRON:
THE EVAPORATION OF HONOUR

1

MacLure aptly comments on Byron's "giantism prefiguring the meglomania of Mount Rushmore," op. cit., p. 139. In his doctoral thesis, "The Animate Glass: Chapman's Dramatic Evolution," James E. Parsons threads his theme of destructive posture into this observation: "Byron's hallucinatory mental statuary is the master builder of the self-destructive monuments of pose" (p. 317).

2

Johnstone Parr cites several popular booklets to validate his contention that "everyone learned in astrological lore in Chapman's day knew that a malignant Caput Algol in one's horoscope presaged one's decapitation," in his article "The Duke of Byron's Malignant 'Caput Algol'," SP, 43(1946), 198.

3

Not a subscriber to the view of Tamburlaine as a ten-act moral play which Professor Battenhouse advances in his book Marlowe's Tamburlaine: A Study in Renaissance Moral Philosophy (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1941), I prefer the structural analyses of distinct parallels and differences between I and II Tamburlaine which are the concerns of G. I. Duthie, "The Dramatic Structure of Marlowe's 'Tamburlaine the Great,' Parts I and II," ES, 1(1948), 101-26; and Clifford Leech, "The Structure of Tamburlaine," TDR, 8(1964), 34-46.

4

L. C. Stagg points out how Byron, "the once proud cloud, drizzles himself ignominiously out of existence," in his article "Characterization Through Nature Imagery in the Tragedies of George Chapman," Ball State University Forum, 9(1968), 43.

5

D. J. Gordon explains that in composing his Hieroglyphica Valeriano borrowed Horapollo's image of dew falling and extended it into a distinction "between profane learning (Doctrina gentium) which is like bitter waters that bring forth no fruit, and heavenly learning (Doctrina coelestis) which brings forth much fruit." He offers this explanation along with a copy of Horapollo's hieroglyph in his article "The Imagery of Ben Jonson's The Masque of Blacknesse and The Masque of Beautie," JWCI, 6(1943), 126, 136.

6

Robert J. Clements quotes from Emblèmes, ou devises chrestiennes (Lyon, 1571), p. 87, op. cit., p. 71; one line in particular of de Montenay's accompanying verse, "Ouvre le sens & le coeur mortifie," is much in the spirit of Chapman's later deprecation of walking dictionaries, Euthymiae Raptus, l. 531.

7

Donne considers the transience of time and place with this airy ramification: "How thin and fluid a thing is air, and how thin a film is a superficies, and a superficies of air!" XIV. Meditation, Devotions Upon Emergent Occasions, pp. 88-9.

8

See Parrott's note, Tragedies, II, 606.

9

John Webster, The White Devil, I. ii. 335-6, John Webster and Cyril Tourneur: Four Plays, op. cit.

10

See Chapter III, Figure 20, p. 65.

11

In The Jacobean Drama: An Interpretation, Una Ellis-Fermor explains the "defiance and tension" of Byron's speech as "the measure of Chapman's resistance to the fatalism more common in his age" (p. 64); however, she concludes that this hero must fall in the face of "Chapman's stern sense of public responsibility and knowledge of the instability of human fortune" (pp. 65-6).

Parrott notes that Shelley chose lines 140-143 as the motto for his Laon and Cythna, Tragedies, II, 607.

12

Freeman calls this passage (II. ii. 66-81) "a speaking picture" with "its interpretation and its moral lesson . . . all present," English Emblem Books, p. 6. Clements views Byron and his horse as "symbols of royalty ruling and loyalty serving," Picta Poesis, p. 79. Praz uses Savoy's description as illustrative of Chapman's "emblematical bias," Studies in Seventeenth-Century Imagery, p. 220.

13

"Non locus virum, sed vir locum ornat, To The Honorable Sir Phillip Sidney Knight," A Choice of Emblemes, p. 38, ll. 7-8.

14

See Parrott's gloss, Tragedies, II, 608.

15

Though Whitney pictures "A mightie Spyre, whose toppe dothe pierce the skie" (l. 1), and not a steep hill, the key notion of loftiness obtains both in the emblemist's figure of the inter-relationship of Church and State and in the Frenchman's simile for Byron's absoluteness. See "Te stante, virebo," A Choice of Emblemes, p. 1.

16

Of course, Faustus's desire of Helen invests his perception with quirks too; he even admits that this fabled dame is "Brighter . . . than flaming Jupiter / When he appeared to hapless Semele," Doctor Faustus, V. i. 114-5.

17

"Orphei Musica," A Choice of Emblemes, p. 186, l. 1.

18

Commenting on what he termed the "classics" of the Byron plays, Algernon C. Swinburne remarks about the "pathos of a high and masculine order in the last appeals and struggles of the ruined spirit and the fallen pride which yet retain some traces and likeness of the hero and the patriot that has been;" see George Chapman: A Critical Essay, pp. 92, 95. In his essay "Shakespeare and the Stoicism of Seneca," T. S. Eliot mentions the "conspicuous . . . self-dramatization" with which such Chapman heroes as Bussy, Byron, and Clermont die; see Selected Essays (London: Faber and Faber Limited, 1932), p. 129.

19

Foremost in the condemning vanguard is Ennis Rees with his views on the wrongness of Byron's cause, his lack of integrity, and his godlessness; see The Tragedies of George Chapman: Renaissance Ethics in Action, pp. 52, 60, 66. John William Wieler earlier defended the position that Byron was "doomed because of discontent," George Chapman--The Effect of Stoicism Upon His Tragedies, p. 58.

Several scholars adduce reasons for qualifying Chapman's success in The Conspiracy and Tragedy of Charles Duke of Byron. In An Introduction to Stuart Drama, Frederick S. Boas finds it overloaded with historical detail (p. 33). When comparing the heroes of Chapman's first two tragedies, Jean Jacquot judges Byron to be more static than Bussy and concludes that he is mainly "un personnage passif dominé par l'orgueil et manoeuvré par quelques intrigants;" see George Chapman (1559-1634) sa vie, sa poésie, son théâtre, sa pensée, p. 194. In Endeavors of Art, Madeleine Doran sees "irresolution" as the "fault of the Byron plays" (p. 356). Robert Ornstein laments the victory of morality over drama, while Irving Ribner considers Byron more blackened by sin than Bussy; see The Moral Vision of Jacobean Tragedy, p. 60, and Jacobean Tragedy: The Quest for Moral Order, p. 22.

Others, however, have recorded the contradictions and complexities which make Chapman's tragedy engaging fare. Janet Spens was an early praiser of its hero's eminence; her previously cited monograph, "Chapman's Ethical Thought," describes "Chapman's greatest creation" as "a soldier of genius" whose "personality is on a Titanic scale" and whose hallmark consists of "overflowing vitality" (p. 155). Peter Ure has advanced at least three worthwhile views on separate occasions; in "The Main Outline of Chapman's Byron," SP, 47(1950), he describes Byron as "an Alexandrian hero of corrupted virtue" (p. 571) who also resembles "those Renaissance toys of pleated paper" (p. 568); in "Chapman's Tragedies," Jacobean Theatre, Stratford-Upon-Avon Studies, I(1960), he recognizes that this play bursts the "cerements of moralized drama" (p. 229), but he also labels its hero as a "wildfire without a centre" (p. 240); in "A Note on 'Opinion' in Daniel, Greville and Chapman," MLR, 46(1951), he explains that the ruin of Byron lies in his following of opinion (p. 335). At least two other scholars have continued to stress the importance of this tragedy in more recent articles. G. R. Hibbard confidently asserts that it is a better play than Bussy because Chapman's attitude was "more mature and ambivalent," in "Goodness and Greatness: An Essay On The Tragedies of Ben Jonson and George Chapman," Renaissance and Modern Studies, 11(1967), 41; and Sidney Homan is in agreement, finding that Chapman's "lingering fascination with the superman type" leads to a creation that is more "complex" than Bussy because of its more numerous "contradictions," in "Chapman and Marlowe: The Paradoxical Hero and the Divided Response," JEGP, 68(1969), 392, 405.

THE REVENGE OF BUSSY D'AMBOIS: FIXITY AND THE ABSOLUTE MAN

1

"A great Man," Poems, ll. 1, 3, p. 228.

2

"A sleight man," Poems, ll. 12, 26, pp. 230-1.

3

"Of Friendship," Poems, l. 31, p. 242.

4

The term coined by Charlotte Spivack as the title of her discussion of Clermont, Chabot, and Cato, George Chapman, pp. 132-51.

5

The departure point for critical views of the Ulyssean manifesto sort appears to be Clermont's own analysis of and dispassionate removal from the character of Achilles; see III. iv. 14-25, repeated in Chapman's poetry under the title "Of great men," Poems, pp. 249-50. Although in his study of Chapman's Odyssey, Homeric Renaissance: The Odyssey of George Chapman, George de F. Lord posits that the translator's view of Odysseus shows "no traces of borrowing or even of the recognizable influence of Epictetus and Wolfius" and that Odysseus demonstrates "nothing like a Stoic's detachment from the world" (p. 23), Elias Schwartz uses the helpful gauge of discovering "what a writer believed at a particular time" by understanding "what he wrote at that time" as the basis for his contention that the dual influence of Seneca and Homer contributed to the unequivocal rejection of Bussy and the emergence of Clermont as "a new ideal," in his article "Seneca, Homer and Chapman's Bussy D'Ambois," JEGP, 56(1957), 164. Janet Spens was an earlier supporter of the direct ratio linking Byron to Achilles and Clermont to Ulysses; see "Chapman's Ethical Thought," p. 151.

From the standpoint of Christian humanism, Ennis Rees is quick to recognize Clermont's didactic superiority over his brother; despite the hero's manifest incapability, Rees finds him "human" and "admirable," The Tragedies of George Chapman: Renaissance Ethics in Action, pp. 93, 101, 114, 125. Eugene Waith, however, has suggested the unique interdependence of these two brothers whose complementary natures seem to him as "necessary" as those joining Tasso's Rinaldo and Godfredo; see The Herculean Hero in Marlowe, Chapman, Shakespeare and Dryden, p. 109.

6

John William Wieler suggests that, in its lacking conflict and catharsis, and conversely, in its superabundant control, The Revenge "negates tragedy;" see George Chapman--The Effect of Stoicism Upon His Tragedies, pp. 110-111. In his article "Chapman and the Nature of Man," ELH, 12(1945) R. W. Battenhouse had earlier equated "Senecal" with "static" (p. 96), while Jean Jacquot described the doctrinal expositions

of the play with the epithet "immobile;" see George Chapman (1559-1634), sa vie, sa poésie, son théâtre, sa pensée, p. 194.

7

For details of Chapman's historical license, see Parrott, Tragedies, II. 572.

8

George Chapman: A Critical Essay, p. 52.

9

Brooke's opinion of the verbal parallel is, as stated before, not as enthusiastic; see his edition of Bussy D'Ambois, p. 114.

10

His natural though deathly ascent "up to the stars" (V. iv. 18) reaffirms this position.

11

Admittedly a mercurial term, when one considers how differently Bussy's pious (or peevish) isolation can be interpreted as prologue to his avowedly virtuous (yet apparently vertiginous also) court activities.

12

The motto which Chapman appends to "A Hymne to Ovr Sauilour on the Grosse," Poems, p. 227.

13

See The Gentleman Usher, V. ii. 8-13; V. iv. 59-62.

14

Sir Giles Goosecap, The Comedies of George Chapman, ed. T. M. Parrott, IV. iii. 13, II, 653.

15

MacLure, however, questions Clermont's self-sufficiency in light of the fact that he dies because of his devotion to the Guise; see George Chapman: A Critical Study, pp. 130-31.

16

Cf. "Of Learning," Poems, p. 248.

17

As Kristeller summarizes, The Philosophy of Marsilio Ficino, p. 353.

18

Later, the Guise concurs in his judgement of Baligny, V. i. 125.

19
 MacLure remarks quite astutely that Clermont provides an instance of "the mouthpiece as hero," op. cit., p. 127.

20
 Cf. the corroboration of the Countess, IV. iii. 79, and of Umbra Bussy, V. i. 6, and also Clermont's own ironic echo, V. i. 135.

21
 See V. v. 2, 4, 8, 9, 15.

22
 Interestingly, for Horapollo the "hawk" was a symbol of "a god, or something sublime, . . . or superiority, or victory, or Ares;" it also could symbolize the soul. See The Hieroglyphics of Horapollo, Numbers 6 and 7, pp. 59-60.

23
 See The Dedicatory Epistle of Ovids Banquet of Sence, "To The Trvlie Learned, and my Worthy Friend, Ma. Mathew Royden," Poems, p. 49.

24
A Discourse of English Poetrie, p. 91.
 Cf. Nicholas Hilliard's concern with the technical aspect of perspective in his treatise The Art of Limning, as quoted in Chapter II, p. 29.

25
Hieroglyphics, Number 118, p. 112.

26
 Both these observations climax in Clermont's admission that "There's no disputing with the acts of kings" (V. v. 151). Lillian Haddakin cites the source of Clermont's deference in the medieval jurist, Bracton; see "A Note on Chapman and Two Medieval English Jurists," MLR, 47(1952), 551.

K. M. Burton, however, has made it clear that the import of Chapman's play is far from political, in her article "The Political Tragedies of Chapman and Ben Jonson," Essays in Criticism, 11(1952), 404-5.

27
 In her previously cited doctoral dissertation, "A Study of the Language of Eloquence and the Principles of Decorum, Verisimilitude, and Imitation in the Plays of George Chapman," Sister Mary Grace Schonlau considers this passage an example of serious merismus, p. 107.

28

"Aaron," The Works of George Herbert, ed F. E. Hutchinson (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1941), p. 174.

29

Crashavian clothing metaphors present an array of ramifications: divine, as in the excerpt quoted from "On our crucified Lord Naked, and bloody," l. 4, human, as in "In memory of the Vertuous and Learned Lady Madre de Teresa that sought an early Martyrdome," l. 72, and natural or climatic, as in "An Himne for the Circumcision day of our Lord," l. 18; references are based on The Poems English, Latin and Greek of Richard Crashaw, ed. L. C. Martin, Second Edition (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1957).

30

As quoted by Kristeller from Opera Omnia, p. 659, in The Philosophy of Marsilio Ficino, p. 357.

31

Opposition to Clermont is almost predictably easy to chart. Ellis-Fermor found him to be an "unregenerate prig" of as puritanical a dye as Chapman himself; Ornstein has viewed him as "Guyon in Jacobean dress"--without commenting that this Guyon is in no need of a Palmer; and Ribner has judged him unfavourably as a "wooden" failure. See The Jacobean Drama: An Interpretation, p. 70; The Moral Vision of Jacobean Tragedy, p. 74; Jacobean Tragedy: The Quest For Moral Order, p. 22.

Although the few positive reflections I have encountered are neither as numerous nor as recent as the denunciations, they do raise some worthwhile counterbalances. Parrott looked upon Chapman's Senecal man as "his ideal figure of the revenger;" Boas considered that the play was probably received as "a medley of perverted history and transcendental philosophic doctrine" in its day, but that today it exercises the "singularly appealing charm" of the later phase of English humanism. Battenhouse has placed the writer in the direct context of his work by suggesting that Chapman was "by intention" a Senecal Man, while Michael Higgins has viewed Clermont in connection with his more scintillating brother as a further "embodiment of Renaissance individualism." See Tragedies, II. 573; An Introduction to Stuart Drama, pp. 39-40; "Chapman and the Nature of Man," ELH, 12(1945), 107; "The Development of the 'Senecal Man,' Chapman's Bussy D'Ambois and Some Precursors," RES, 23(1947), 30.

THE TRAGEDY OF CHABOT ADMIRAL OF FRANCE: PRECARIOUS PRECISIANISM

1

In his Introduction to Stuart Drama Frederick Boas labels Chabot "too self-conscious an embodiment of righteousness to stir deeply the sympathy of a theatrical audience" (p. 138), while in his Critical Study Millar MacLure judges the hero's innocence to be "a rather oppressive leitmotif" (p. 145).

2

In her previously cited article, "A Note on Chapman and Two Medieval Jurists," Lillian Haddakin traces the absolutism of Chabot's stand in II. iii. 78-88 about a king's concern with only general principles of law to Fortescue's De Laudibus Legum Angliae. In The Moral Vision of Jacobean Tragedy Robert Ornstein describes the play as the dramatization of "the conflict between absolutist prerogative and the medieval ideal of the rule of law" (p. 76), while in her study, George Chapman, Charlotte Spivack highlights Chapman's concern over "inner fortitude" and "eternal verities" (p. 44).

3

In Stuart Politics in Chapman's Tragedy of Chabot Norma Dobie Solve proposed that the play was a late effort (1621) by Chapman to convince James to reinstate the Earl of Somerset; she viewed Chabot as Chapman's topical rendering of the Overbury scandal. Well before this study, Swinburne confidently asserted in his Critical Essay that "the subject, the style, the manner, the metre, the construction, the characters, all are perfectly Chapman's" (p. 69).

Other scholars, however, have been more cautious. Parrott considered collaboration between Shirley and Chapman "almost incredible," yet set out on the "easy task" of analyzing their joint work and respective contributions to the play; see Tragedies, II, 632. Derek Crawley both advances and disagrees with some of Parrott's claims; among the instances of Shirley's independent revisions, he finds the maudlin sentimentality of the last scene and the contradictory presentation of Francis undermine "Chapman's interest in moral teaching." See "The Effect of Shirley's Hand on Chapman's The Tragedy of Chabot Admiral of France," SP, 63(1966), 677-96.

4

Paradise Lost, XI. 561, John Milton Complete Poems and Major Prose, ed. Merritt Y. Hughes (New York: The Odyssey Press, 1957), p. 446.

5

Cf. Francis's acceptance of her argument, or ironic echo, in IV. i. 17.

6

As Crawley suggests, some of the inconsistency of Francis's characterization in IV. i. may be due to Shirley's revision.

7

The exception, of course, is the choric spokesman, Chabot's Father-in-law.

8

The echo from the ninth chapter of the sixteenth book of Etienne Pasquier's Les Recherches de la France is obvious; Pasquier warns his reader: "Belle leçon à tout Iuge pour demeurer en soy, & ne laisser fluctuer sa conscience dedans les vagues d'une imaginaire faueur, qui pour fin de jeu le submerge." Solve includes this chapter as Appendix C, pp. 157-60.

9

Horace is concerned that his ship avoid such extremities: "Nuper sollicitum quae mihi taedium, / Nunc desiderium curaque non levis, / Interfusa nitentes / Vites aequora Cyclades." Quotations are based on Quinti Horatii Flacci Opera Omnia, ex recensione A. J. Maclean (New York: American Book Company, 1858), Carminum, I. xiv. 17-20.

10

Reproduced from The Theatre of Fine Devices. Also worthy of consideration when studying Chabot is Embleme X's insistence on the balance of justice with its motto: "Use iustice still with due regard, / Respect no person nor reward."

11

See I. ii. 42-6, 53-4.

12

Unlike the illuminating ointment of John ix. 11.

13

Although the wording differs, the same antithesis between the "apter light" within and the light without and between "the minds ioy" and "the bodies" informs Chapman's image in "A Hymne To Ovr Sauour on the Crosse," ll. 243-68; see Poems, pp. 225-6.

14

The King, however, insists on Chabot's use of a net of foolishness; see IV. i. 137.

15

Although Francis applies this image to the Chancellor (V. iii. 140), in Poyet's case such purgation impresses us not as tragic but as retributive.

16

Perhaps the curtness of Francis's second metaphor may be due to a deletion by Shirley of a lengthier and characteristic Chapman passage.

- 17 "Chapman's Tragedies," Jacobean Theatre, Stratford-Upon-Avon Studies, 1(1960), 243.
- 18 Solve, p. 157.
- 19 Embleme 5 Addressed to the Archbishop of Canterbury, The Mirrour of Maiestie, p. 9, ll. 3, 4, 7.
- 20 Irving Ribner suggests that Chabot's tragedy is his "education," in Jacobean Tragedy: The Quest For Moral Order, p. 39.

THE TRAGEDY OF CAESAR AND POMPEY: VICTORY AND ITS VENER

1

The date of this play's composition is uncertain. Although it was licensed by the Master of the Revels, Sir Henry Herbert, and entered in the Stationers's Register in 1631, Parrott argues upon the "somewhat intangible evidence of style and rhythm" for a date close to the composition of The Revenge of Bussy D'Ambois, in 1612-13. About the problem of revision for possible stage presentation, Parrott "acquits Chapman of inveracity" by suggesting that he withdrew the play from the King's Men at Blackfriars and only late in life sent the "interpolated manuscript" to the printer; see Tragedies, II, 655-7. In "Chapman's 'Caesar and Pompey': An Unperformed Play?," MLR, 49(1954), 466-9, J. R. Brown questions the validity of the 1653 edition's claim about presentation on the Blackfriars stage; he finds no traces of a book-keeper's hand, concludes that it was never performed when first sent to the publisher in 1631, and judges that it was probably begun and left unfinished in the period between 1605 and 1612 or 1613. In "The Date of Composition of Chapman's Caesar and Pompey," RES, n. s. 12(1961), 144-59, J. B. Ingledew, however, examines the play in support of his contention that except for II. i it was written by 1607 at the latest and probably by 1605. He avers that the fact that Caesar and Pompey preceded Byron, The Revenge, and Chabot invalidates the "views of Chapman as poet, dramatist, and thinker" and causes us to reconsider the theses of critics like Wieler and Ornstein for whom such a sequential development is a keystone.

2

Catiline His Conspiracy, Ben Jonson, ed. C. H. Herford, Percy and Evelyn Simpson, V, 432.

3

This Latin Plutarch was first printed in Frankfurt by André Wechel in 1599. It consists of the translations of two noted German humanists: the Lives translated by Hermannus Crusenius (Hermann Crüser) and the Morals translated by Guilielmus Xylander (Wilhelm Holtzman). Professor Schoell described Caesar and Pompey in light of Chapman's other tragedies as "la plus plutarquienne de toutes, car toute son armature, ou presque-- à la différence des tragédies françaises de Chapman--est tirée de Plutarque, et c'est encore Plutarque auquel Chapman fait le plus souvent appel pour en garnir les vides ou en rehausser le style." See Etudes sur l'humanisme continental en Angleterre à la fin de la Renaissance, p. 79.

J. B. Ingledew points to instances of Chapman's use of Lucan also, as in II. i. 87-9, and specifically of his use of parts of the Pharsalia not translated by Marlowe, as in V. i. 9-12; V. i. 26-31; V. i. 266-9; see "Chapman's Use of Lucan in Caesar and Pompey," RES, n. s. 13(1962), 283-8.

4

Quotations from Plutarch's Lives will be based on two sources: the Latin text printed in Frankfurt in 1620 bearing this title page, Plutarchi Chæronensis Quæ Exstant Omnia, cum Latina Interpretatione Hermanni Cruserii: Gulielmi Xylandri. Accedit nunc primvm libellus eivsdem de Fluuiorum Montiumque nominibus, cum versione Maussaci, Et Doctorvm virorum Notis, Et Libellis Variantium Lectionvm ex mss. Codd. S. Ron. Imper. Vicarij ad Annos XII. Francofurti, In Officina Danielis ac Dauides Aubriorum, & Clementis Schleichij. Anno M. DC. XX, (hereafter referred to as Plutarchus Cruserii) and three volumes (V: Pompey; VII: Caesar; VIII: Cato the Younger) of the Graeco-English text of the Loeb Classical Library, Plutarch's Lives, With an English Translation by Bernadotte Perrin, In Eleven Volumes (London: William Heinemann, 1914-26). The observation appears in Cato, lxiv. 5, Plutarch's Lives, VIII, 392; the Latin translation in Plutarchus Cruserii, p. 791 B.

Although the copy which I examined of the 1620 Latin Plutarch housed in the Rare Book Collection of the McLennan Library at McGill University is probably a later edition than the one used by Chapman, its title page is adorned with an emblem concerning the role of the translator whose import I think this English Homeri Metaphrastes would have endorsed. It is a heavily laden, almost overburdened, device, but its theme of the amity uniting creator and translator is unmistakable. A magisterial Pegasus stretches across the summit, under whom appear two intertwining cornucopias, intersected at the angle of their juncture by Mercury's Caduceus. The cloud-tufted base on which all of this classical iconography is erected consists of the winningly simple thematic signature of two hands joined together in friendship.

5

Ingledeu makes the comparison in "The Date of Composition of Chapman's Caesar and Pompey," p. 153.

6

See The Faerie Queene, I. ix. 35-6. Of course, while Fronto is easily dissuaded from suicide, Spenser's Man of Despair is unable to kill himself by hanging although "For thousand times he so him selfe had drest" (54).

7

More of a label than a name, derived from the adjective οφιοειδης, α, ον meaning "of, belonging to, or like a serpent;" as defined in A Greek-English Lexicon, Compiled by H. C. Liddell and R. Scott (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1894), p. 1099.

In "A Neglected Play By Chapman," SP, 58(1961), 145, Elias Schwartz terms Ophioneus "a comic Mephistophilis."

8

See "The Date of Composition of Chapman's Caesar and Pompey," p. 153.

9

Bilioso declaims that he "had rather stand with wrong than fall with right," a recognizable echo of the intentionally more disgusting directness of his interlocutor (Malevole) who has averred earlier that he "had rather follow a drunkard, and live by licking up his vomit, than by servile flattery." See The Malcontent, ed. M. L. Wine, Regents Renaissance Drama Series (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1964), IV. v. 66-7, 90.

10

He sketches the line of office holders from Tilney, to his nephew Sir George Buc, and finally to the brother of the poet who licensed the play in 1631, Sir Henry Herbert; see "The Date of Composition of Chapman's Caesar and Pompey," pp. 155-6.

11

Caesar, xxxix. 6, Plutarch's Lives, VII, 539. Cf. Pompeius, Plutarchus Cruserii, p. 654 A: "Vnde dixit apud amicos Caesar, victoriam fuisse eo die penes hostē futuram, si vincere sciuisset."

12

Pompey, lxvii. 4, Plutarch's Lives, V, 291.

13

Pompey, lxxviii. 4, Plutarch's Lives, V, 321. Cf. Pompeius, Plutarchus Cruserius, p. 661 A: "Quisquis domum elatam tyranni accesserit, fit illius seruus, licet liber venit."

14

Such a view of Pompey is almost a critical commonplace. Derek Crawley considers Pompey the play's central figure because "with his very human frailty, [he] moves us deeply whenever he is confronted with a quandary;" see "Decision and Character in Chapman's The Tragedy of Caesar and Pompey," SEL, 7(1967), 297. His views are closely related to those of Elias Schwartz who argues, against the charges of inconsistent characterization, that Pompey develops in the course of the action; see "A Neglected Play By Chapman." Peter Ure suggests that Pompey is caught in the dilemma "between a world of inward Peace and discipline and an outward world of 'Opinion,' and that he initially capitulates to the latter but eventually embraces the former; see "A Note on 'Opinion' in Daniel, Greville and Chapman," MLR, 46(1951), 335. J. William Wieler sees Chapman's sympathies lying with Pompey and not with Cato, and finds it ironic that despite his remove from Plutarch's Pompey Chapman "should have produced the only portrait of a Stoical man that our human understanding can readily accept;" see George Chapman--The Effect of Stoicism Upon His Tragedies, p. 147.

Ennis Rees provides a dissenting voice; he attempts to discredit the notion of Chapman's development towards Stoicism and finds Pompey's virtue inadequate in judging that "Pompey's passions are essentially those of an active man, and are never really subjugated to the soul." See The Tragedies of George Chapman: Renaissance Ethics in Action, p. 151.

15

Tragedies, II. 658.

16

Cato, xxiv. 1, Plutarch's Lives, VIII, 290, 291. Cruserius uses the phrase "animi effigiem," Cato Minor, p. 770 C.

17

Cato, lxvii. 2, Plutarch's Lives, VIII, 398, 399; Cato Minor, Plutarchus Cruserii, p. 792 C.

18

Cato, lxxi. 1, Plutarch's Lives, VIII, 406, 407. Cf. Cato Minor, Plutarchus Cruserii, p. 794 A-B: "ac mox populus Vticensis concurrat, vna voce benefactorem, seruatorem, solum iniunctum appellantes."

19

MacLure goes as far as to call Cato a slave: "He who looks forward to a continuance of human society beyond death is not free, but bound by that hope." See George Chapman: A Critical Study, p. 156.

20

Pompey further exposes the meretricious aspect of Caesar's appeal by commenting about the sand that is "the rope" (I. ii. 235) of his rival's great parts. Thus he threads into his charges the earlier image of Cato (I. 140) and causes us to recall the Herbert-like disclaimer of the scaffold-bound Duke of Byron (Byron's Tragedy, V. iv. 54).

21

Frederick Boas endorses this view, for while he calls Cato "the real hero," he recognizes that such a creation lacks "dramatic vitality." See An Introduction to Stuart Drama, p. 40.

On the contrary, Jean Jacquot writes about the sense of struggle, which I think is foreign to, or has definitely passed by for, such an absolute man as Cato. Characters like Clermont and Cato, however, apparently exhibit for Jacquot "la lutte de l'esprit contre les servitudes de la matière." See George Chapman (1559-1634) sa vie, sa poésie, son théâtre, sa pensée, p. 196.

22

See Byron's Tragedy, V. i. 140-6.

23

As a representative sampling of critical views of the play's impact, consider Peter Ure's judgement that "Its historical hurly-burly never achieves full form or meaning," "Chapman's Tragedies," p. 243; and Sr. Mary Grace Schonlau's conclusion that Caesar and Pompey's "lack of unity . . . represents an indecorum," "A Study of the Language of Eloquence and the Principles of Decorum, Verisimilitude, and Imitation In the Plays of George Chapman," p. 386.

IMAGES OF A WORLD

- 1
Collected Poems (London: Cassell, 1965), p. 80.
- 2
 "Author's Foreword," Miss Julie, Twelve Plays By August Strindberg,
 Translated from the Swedish by Elizabeth Sprigge (London: Constable, 1955),
 p. 61.
- 3
Literary Biography (New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1959),
 p. 53. Cf. Robert Ornstein: "Only if we surrender ourselves to the moods
 of the individual plays--only if we enter as it were, the tragic universes
 in which the actions unfold--can we 'know' the ethics of 'the tragedies,'" The Moral Vision of Jacobean Tragedy, p. 46.
- 4
 Edgar Wind explains the Renaissance currency of "festina lente"
 or "σπουδὴ βραδέως" in Pagan Mysteries in the Renaissance, p. 90.
- 5
Etudes sur l'humanisme continental en Angleterre à la fin de la Renaissance, p. 86.
- 6
 Charles Kendrick Cannon, "Chapman on the Unity of Style and
 Meaning," JEGP, 68(1969), 263. Cannon supports the latter option.
- 7
 Robert K. Presson, "Wrestling With This World: A View of George
 Chapman," PMLA, 84(1969), 44-50.
- 8
 Siegfried Sassoon, "Grandeur of Ghosts," Poems Newly Selected 1916-1935 (London: Faber and Faber, 1941), l. 12, p. 43.
- 9
 Sir Herbert J. C. Grierson, Cross Currents in English Literature of the XVIIth Century, or The World, The Flesh & The Spirit, Their Actions & Reactions (1929; rpt. London: Chatto & Windus, 1951), p. 34. Grierson also passes this noteworthy comment about Chapman's talent: ". . . Chapman was no dramatist, though a genuine if pedantic poet" (pp. 102-3).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Chapman Texts

Bussy D'Ambois. The Revels Plays. Edited by Nicholas Brooke. London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1964.

Bussy D'Ambois. The New Mermaids. Edited by Maurice Evans. London: Ernest Benn Limited, 1965.

Chapman's Homer. Bollingen Series XLI. Edited by Allardyce Nicoll. 2 vols. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1956.

The Plays of George Chapman: The Comedies. Edited by Allan Holaday. Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1970.

The Plays of George Chapman: The Comedies. Edited by Thomas Marc Parrott. 2 vols. 1914; rpt. New York: Russell & Russell, 1961.

The Plays of George Chapman: The Tragedies. Edited by Thomas Marc Parrott. 2 vols. 1914; rpt. New York: Russell & Russell, 1961.

The Poems of George Chapman. Edited by Phyllis Brooks Bartlett. 1941; rpt. New York: Russell & Russell, 1962.

Texts of Renaissance Criticism, Emblem Books, and Source Materials

Bacon, Francis. The Advancement of Learning and The "De Augmentis Scientiarum." The Works of Francis Bacon. Edited by J. Spedding, R. L. Ellis, D. D. Heath. 6 vols. London: Longmans and Company, 1875.

Bruno, Giordano. De gl' Heroici Furori. Texte établi et traduit par Paul-Henri Michel. Paris: Société D'Éditions Les Belles Lettres, 1954.

Combe, Thomas. The Theatre of Fine Devices, Containing an hundred morall Emblemes. First penned in French by Guillaume de la Perriere and translated into English by Thomas Combe. London: Printed by Richard Field, 1614. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Microfilm, STC 549.

Daniel, Samuel. A Defence of Ryme. The Complete Works in Verse and Prose of Samuel Daniel. Edited by Rev. A. Grosart. 5 vols. 1896; rpt. New York: Russell & Russell, 1963.

Day, Angel. The English Secretorie 1586. A Scolar Press Facsimile. Menston: The Scolar Press, 1967.

_____. The English Secretary, or Methode of Writing of Epistles and Letters: With A Declaration of such Tropes, Figures, and Schemes, as either usually or for ornament sake are therein required. Now newly revised and in many parts Corrected and amended. London: Printed by P. S. for C. Burbie, and are to be sold at his shop, at the Royall Exchange, 1599. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Microfilm, STC 380.

Fraunce, Abraham. Abrahami Fransi Insignivm, Armorum, Emblematicvm, Hieroglyphicorum, Et Symbolorum, quae ab Italis Imprese nominantur; Excudebat Londini, Thomas Orwinus: Impensis Thomae Newman, 1588. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Microfilm, STC 544.

Gascoigne, George. Certayne notes of Instruction concerning the making of verses or ryme in English. Edited by Edward Arber. London: Queen Square, Bloomsbury, 1869.

Godyere, Henry. The Mirrour of Maiestie, or The Badges of Honour Conceitedly Emblazoned, with Emblemes annexed Poetically Vnfolded. London: Printed by William Jones, dwelling in Red-crosse streete, 1619. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Microfilm, STC 1098.

Gosson, Stephen. The School of Abuse. Edited by Edward Arber. London: Queen Square, Bloomsbury, 1869.

Green, Henry. Andrea Alciati And His Books of Emblems: A Biographical and Bibliographical Study. 1872; rpt. New York: Burt Franklin, 1950.

Hawkins, Henry. Partheneia Sacra. English Emblem Books No. 10. Selected and Edited by John Horden. Introductory Note by Karl Josef Hölting. Menston: Scolar Press, 1971.

The Hieroglyphics of Horapollo. Bollingen Series XXIII. Translated by George Boas. New York: Pantheon Books, 1950.

Hilliard, Nicholas. A Treatise Concerning The Arte of Limning. Edited by Philip Norman. The Walpole Society, 1(1911-12), 15-50.

Hobbes, Thomas. "The Answer of Mr Hobbs To Sr. William D'Avenant's Preface before Gondibert." Literary Criticism of Seventeenth-Century England. Edited by E. W. T aylor. New York: Alfred Knopf, 1967.

- Jenner, Thomas. The Soules Solace, Or Thirtie and one Spirituall Emblems
London: Sold by Thomas Jenner, at the South Entrance of the Royall
Exchange, 1626. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Microfilm,
STC 742.
- Jonson, Ben. "Conversations With Drummond" and Timber, Or Discoveries.
Ben Jonson. Edited by C. H. Herford and Percy and Evelyn Simpson.
11 vols. Oxford: At The Clarendon Press, 1925-52.
- Peacham, Henry. Minerva Britanna 1612. A Scholar Press Facsimile.
Leeds: The Scholar Press, 1966.
- Perrin, Bernadotte, translator and editor. Plutarch's Lives.
The Loeb Classical Library. 11 vols. London: William Heinemann,
1914-26.
- Plutarch. Plutarchi Chaeronensis Quae Exstant Omnia, cum Latina
Interpretatione Hermanni Crusarii: Gulielmi Xylandri. Accedit
nvnc primvm libellus eivsdem de Fluuiorum Montiumque nominibus,
cum versione Maussaci, Et Doctorvm virorvm Notis, Et Libellis
Variantium Lectionum ex mss. Codd. diligenter collectarum Et
Indicibus Accvratiss Cum Gratia & Privilegio S. Ron. Imper.
Vicarij ad Annos XII. Francofurti, In officina Danielis ac
Dauides Aubriorum, & Clementis Schleichij. Anno M. DC. XX.
Rare Book Collection, McLennan Library, McGill University.
- Puttenham, George. The Arte of English Poesie (1589). Edited by
Edward Arber. London: Queen Square, Bloomsbury, 1869.
- Quarles, Francis. Emblemes and Hieroglyphikes of the life of Man.
London: Printed For William Freeman at the Bible in Fleet Street,
1710.
- Sidney, Sir Philip. A Defence of Poetry. Edited by J. A. Van Dorsten.
London: Oxford University Press, 1966.
- Thynne, Francis. Emblemes and Epigrames. Early English Text Society.
Edited by F. J. Furnivall. London: N. Trübner & Co., 1876.
- Webbe, William. A Discourse of English Poetrie (1586). Edited by
Edward Arber. London: Queen Square, Bloomsbury, 1871.
- Whitney, Geoffrey. Whitney's 'Choice of Emblemes.' A Fac-Simile Reprint.
Edited by Henry Green. London: Lovell & Reeve Co., 1866.
- Wilson, Thomas. "From The Arte of Rhetorique (1560)." English Literary
Criticism: The Renaissance. Edited by O. B. Hardison, Jr.
New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1963.

Critical Texts

- Boas, Frederick S. An Introduction To Stuart Drama. London: Oxford University Press, 1946.
- Bradbrook, Muriel C. The School of Night: A Study in the Literary Relationships of Sir Walter Raleigh. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1936.
- Bush, Douglas. Mythology and the Renaissance Tradition in English Poetry. New Revised Edition. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1963.
- _____. Prefaces to Renaissance Literature. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1965.
- Carpenter, Frederic Ives. Metaphor and Simile in the Minor Elizabethan Drama. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1895.
- Cassirer, Ernst. The Platonic Renaissance In England. Translated by J. P. Pettegrove. New York: Gordian Press, 1970.
- Clark, Donald Leman. Rhetoric and Poetry in the Renaissance: A Study of Rhetorical Terms in English Renaissance Literary Criticism. New York: Russell & Russell, 1963.
- Clements, Robert. Picta Poesis: Literary and Humanistic Theory in Renaissance Emblem Books. Roma: Edizioni Di Storia E Letteratura, 1960.
- Doran, Madeleine. Endeavors of Art: A Study of Form in Elizabethan Drama. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1954.
- Eliot, Thomas Stearns. T. S. Eliot: Selected Prose. Edited by John Hayward. Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1953.
- _____. Selected Essays. London: Faber and Faber, 1932.
- Ellis, Havelock. Chapman With Illustrative Passages. Bloomsbury: The Nonesuch Press, 1934.
- Ellis-Fermor, Una. The Frontiers of Drama. London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1945.
- _____. The Jacobean Drama: An Interpretation. London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1936.

- Freeman, Rosemary. English Emblem Books. 1948; rpt. London: Chatto & Windus, 1967.
- Grierson, Sir Herbert J. C. Cross Currents in English Literature of the XVIIth Century, or The World, The Flesh & The Spirit, Their Actions & Reactions. 1929; rpt. London: Chatto & Windus, 1951.
- Hamilton, K. G. The Two Harmonies: Poetry and Prose in the Seventeenth Century. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963.
- Hathaway, Baxter. Marvels and Commonplaces. New York: Random House, 1968.
- Herrick, Marvin T. The Fusion of Horatian and Aristotelean Literary Criticism, 1531-1555. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1946.
- Holmes, Elizabeth. Aspects of Elizabethan Imagery. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1929.
- Jacquot, Jean. George Chapman (1559-1634), sa vie, sa poésie, son théâtre, sa pensée. Paris: Société D'Editions Les Belles Lettres, 1951.
- Kernan, Alvin. The Cankered Muse: Satire of the English Renaissance. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1959.
- Kristeller, Paul O. The Philosophy of Marsilio Ficino. Translated by V. Conant. Gloucester: Peter Smith, 1964.
- Lewis, Clive S. English Literature in the Sixteenth Century Excluding Drama. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1954.
- Lord, George de F. Homeric Renaissance: The Odyssey of George Chapman. London: Chatto & Windus, 1956.
- MacLure, Millar. George Chapman: A Critical Study. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1966.
- Ornstein, Robert. The Moral Vision of Jacobean Tragedy. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1965.
- Pagnini, Marcello. Forme E Motivi Nelle Poesie E Nelle Tragedie Di George Chapman. Firenze: Valmartina Editore, 1957.
- Parsons, James Eugene. "The Animate Glass: Chapman's Dramatic Evolution." Diss. University of Rochester, 1964.

- Praz, Mario. Studies in Seventeenth-Century Imagery. Second Edition Considerably Increased. Roma: Edizioni Di Storia E Letteratura, 1964.
- Rees, Ennis. The Tragedies of George Chapman: Renaissance Ethics in Action. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1954.
- Ribner, Irving. Jacobean Tragedy: The Quest For Moral Order. London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1962.
- Rossi, Paolo. Francis Bacon: From Magic To Science. Translated by S. Rabinovitch. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1968.
- Schoell, Franck L. Etudes sur l'humanisme continental en Angleterre a la fin de la Renaissance. Paris: Librairie Ancienne Honore Champion, 1926.
- Schonlau, Sister Mary Grace. "A Study of the Language of Eloquence and the Principles of Decorum, Verisimilitude, and Imitation in the Plays of George Chapman." Diss. St. Louis University, 1958.
- Solve, Norma Dobie. Stuart Politics in Chapman's Tragedy of Chabot. University of Michigan Publications in Language and Literature. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1928.
- Spivack, Charlotte. George Chapman. New York: Twayne Publishers, 1967.
- Spurgeon, Caroline F. E. Shakespeare's Imagery And What It Tells Us. Cambridge: At the University Press, 1935.
- Stagg, Louis Charles. "An Analysis and Comparison of the Imagery In the Tragedies of Chapman, Heywood, Jonson, Marston, Webster, Tourneur, and Middleton." Diss. University of Arkansas, 1963.
- _____. An Index to the Figurative Language of George Chapman's Tragedies. Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1970.
- Stanford, W. B. The Ulysses Theme: A Study in the Adaptability of a Traditional Hero. Second Edition. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1963.
- Swinburne, Algernon Charles. George Chapman: A Critical Essay. London: Chatto & Windus, 1875.
- Tuve, Rosemund. Allegorical Imagery: Some Mediaeval Books and Their Posterity. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1966.

- _____. Elizabethan and Metaphysical Imagery: Renaissance Poetic and Twentieth-Century Critics. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1947.
- Waith, Eugene. The Herculean Hero in Marlowe, Chapman, Shakespeare And Dryden. London: Chatto & Windus, 1962.
- Wallerstein, Ruth. Studies in Seventeenth-Century Poetic. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1950.
- Weinberg, Bernard. A History of Literary Criticism in the Italian Renaissance. 2 vols. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961.
- Wells, Henry W. Poetic Imagery Illustrated From Elizabethan Literature. New York: Columbia University Press, 1924.
- Wickham, Glynne. Early English Stages 1300 to 1600. 2 vols. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1963.
- Wieler, John William. George Chapman--The Effect of Stoicism Upon His Tragedies. 1949; rpt. New York: Octagon Books, 1969.
- Williamson, George. The Donne Tradition: A Study in English Poetry From Donne to the Death of Cowley. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1930.
- Wind, Edgar. Pagan Mysteries in the Renaissance. London: Faber and Faber, 1958.

Articles and Chapters

- Adams, Robert P. "Critical Myths and Chapman's Original Bussy D'Ambois." Renaissance Drama, 9(1966), 141-61.
- Barber, C. L. "The Ambivalence of Bussy D'Ambois." REL, 2(1961), 38-43.
- Bartlett, Phyllis B. "The Heroes of Chapman's Homer." RES, 17(1941), 257-80.
- Battenhouse, Roy W. "Chapman and the Nature of Man." ELH, 12(1945), 87-107.
- _____. "Chapman's The Shadow of Night: An Interpretation." SP, 38(1941), 584-608.

- Beachcroft, T. O. "Quarles and the Emblem Habit." Dublin Review, March, 1931, p. 94.
- Bement, Peter. "The Imagery of Darkness and of Light in Chapman's Bussy D'Ambois." SP, 64(1967), 187-98.
- Brown, John Russell. "Chapman's 'Caesar and Pompey': An Unperformed Play?" MLR, 49(1954), 466-9.
- Burton, K. M. "The Political Tragedies of Chapman and Ben Jonson." Essays in Criticism, 11(1952), 397-412.
- Cannon, Charles Kendrick. "Chapman on the Unity of Style and Meaning." JEGP, 68(1969), 245-64.
- Chambers, A. B. "'I Was But an Inverted Tree': Notes toward the History of an Idea." Studies in the Renaissance, 8(1961), 291-99.
- Craig, Hardin. "Ethics in the Jacobean Drama: The Case of Chapman." The Parrott Presentation Volume. Edited by H. Craig. New York: Russell and Russell, 1935.
- Crawley, Derek. "Decision and Character in Chapman's The Tragedy of Caesar and Pompey." SFL, 7(1967), 277-97.
- _____. "The Effect of Shirley's Hand on Chapman's The Tragedy of Chabot Admiral of France." SP, 63(1966), 677-96.
- Dieckmann, Liselotte. "Renaissance Hieroglyphics." CL, 9(1957), 308-21.
- Downer, Alan S. "The Life of our Design: The Function of Imagery in the Poetic Drama." Hudson Review, 2(1949), 242-63.
- Duthie, G. I. "The Dramatic Structure of Marlowe's 'Tamburlaine the Great,' Parts I and II." ES, 1(1948), 101-26.
- Eccles, Mark. "Chapman's Early Years." SP, 43(1946), 176-93.
- Engel, Claire-Eliane. "Les Sources du Bussy d'Amboise de Chapman." Revue de littérature comparée, 12(1932), 587-95.
- Fay, H. C. "Chapman's Sources for his Translation of Homer." RES, n. s. 2(1951), 121-8.
- _____. "Poetry, Pedantry and Life in Chapman's Iliads." RES, n. s. 4(1953), 13-25.
- Gilbert, A. J. "Philosophical Conceits in Shakespeare and Chapman." ES, 54(1973), 118-21.

- Gombrich, E. H. "Icones Symbolicae: The Visual Image in Neo-Platonic Thought." JWCI, 11(1948), 163-92.
- Gordon, D. J. "Chapman's 'Hero and Leander'." English Miscellany, 5(1954), 41-94.
- _____. "The Imagery of Ben Jonson's The Masque of Blacknesse and The Masque of Beautie." JWCI, 6(1943), 122-41.
- Haddakin, Lillian. "A Note on Chapman and Two Medieval Jurists." MLR, 47(1952), 550-3.
- Hallio, Jay L. "The Metaphor of Conception and Elizabethan Theories of the Imagination." Neophilologus, 50(1966), 454-61.
- Heninger, S. K., Jr. "Chapman's Plagiarism of Poliziano's Rusticus." MLN, 73(1958), 6-8.
- _____. "Metaphor As Cosmic Correspondence." Medieval and Renaissance Studies. Edited by John M. Headly. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1967.
- Hibbard, G. R. "Goodness and Greatness: An Essay on the Tragedies of Ben Jonson and George Chapman." Renaissance and Modern Studies, 11(1967), 5-54.
- Higgins, Michael. "The Development of the 'Senecal Man,' Chapman's Bussy D'Ambois and Some Precursors." RES, 23(1947), 24-33.
- Homan, Sidney. "Chapman and Marlowe: The Paradoxical Hero and the Divided Response." JEGP, 68(1969), 391-406.
- Ingledeu, J. B. "Chapman's Use of Lucan in Caesar and Pompey." RES, n. s. 13(1962), 283-88.
- _____. "The Date of Composition of Chapman's Caesar and Pompey." RES, n. s. 12(1961), 144-59.
- Kay, Carol McGinnis. "Traps, Slaughter, and Chaos: A Study of Shakespeare's Henry VI Plays." Studies in the Literary Imagination, 5(1972), 1-26.
- Kermode, J. F. "The Banquet of Sense." Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, 44(1961), 68-99.
- Leech, Clifford. "The Structure of Tamburlaine." TDR, 8(1964), 34-46.
- Loane, George G. "Bussy D'Ambois's Dying Words." Times Literary Supplement, 1 March 1923, p. 143.

- _____. "Chapman's Homer." Cornhill Magazine, 156(1937), 637-44.
- Lord, George de F. "The Odyssey and the Western World." Sewanee Review, 62(1954), 406-27.
- Martin, L. C. "Notes and Observations, Lucan--Marlowe--?Chapman." RES, 24(1948), 317-21.
- McCollum, William G. "The Tragic Hero and Chapman's Bussy D'Ambois." UTQ, 18(1949), 227-33.
- McKeon, Richard. "Literary Criticism and the Concept of Imitation in Antiquity." Critics and Criticism. Edited by R. S. Crane. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1952.
- Mehl, Dieter. "Emblems in English Renaissance Drama." Renaissance Drama, n. s. 2(1969), 39-57.
- Muir, Edwin. "'Royal Man': Notes on the Tragedies of George Chapman." Essays on Literature and Society. (London: The Hogarth Press, 1949.
- Myers, James Phares, Jr. "'This Curious Frame': Chapman's Ovid's Banquet of Sense." SP, 65(1968), 192-206.
- Ong, Father Walter J. "From Allegory to Diagram in the Renaissance Mind: A Study in the Significance of the Allegorical Tableau." JAAC, 17(1959), 423-40.
- Paige, D. D., editor. "Letters of Ezra Pound." Hudson Review, 3(1950), 53-65.
- Parr, Johnstone. "The Duke of Byron's Malignant 'Caput Algol'." SP, 43(1946), 194-202.
- Perkinson, Richard H. "Nature and the Tragic Hero in Chapman's Bussy Plays." MLQ, 3(1942), 263-85.
- Presson, Robert K. "Wrestling With This World: A View of George Chapman." PMLA, 84(1969), 44-50.
- Robertson, Jean. "The Early Life of George Chapman." MLR, 40(1945), 157-65.
- Schuman, Samuel. "Emblems and the English Renaissance Drama: A Checklist." RORD, 12(1969), 43-56.
- Schwartz, Elias. "A Neglected Play by Chapman." SP, 58(1961), 140-59.

- _____. "Seneca, Homer and Chapman's Bussy D'Ambois." JEGP, 56(1957), 163-76.
- Sisson, C. J. and Robert Butman. "George Chapman, 1612-22: Some New Facts." MLR, 46(1951), 185-90.
- Smalley, Donald. "The Ethical Bias of Chapman's Homer." SP, 36(1939), 169-91.
- Smith, James. "George Chapman." Scrutiny, 3, 4(1935, 1936), 339-50, 45-61.
- Spens, Janet. "Chapman's Ethical Thought." Essays and Studies, 11(1925), 145-69.
- Stagg, Louis Charles. "Characterization Through Nature Imagery in the Tragedies of George Chapman." Ball State University Forum, 9(1968), 39-43.
- Sturman, Berta. "The 1641 Edition of Chapman's Bussy D'Ambois." HLQ, 14(1951), 171-201.
- Taylor, Charles H., Jr. "The Obstacles to Odysseus' Return: Identity and Consciousness in The Odyssey." Yale Review, 50(1961), 569-80.
- Ure, Peter. "A Note On 'Opinion' in Daniel, Greville and Chapman." MLR, 46(1951), 331-38.
- _____. "Chapman's Tragedies." Jacobean Theatre, Stratford-Upon-Avon Studies, 1(1960), 227-47.
- _____. "The Main Outline of Chapman's Byron." SP, 47(1950), 568-88.
- Waddington, Raymond E. "Prometheus and Hercules: The Dialectic of Bussy D'Ambois." ELH, 34(1967), 21-48.
- Yates, Frances. "The Emblematic Conceit in Giordano Bruno's De Gli Eroici Furori and in the Elizabethan Sonnet Sequences." JWCI, 6(1943), 101-21.

Miscellaneous

- Arnold, Matthew. On The Classical Tradition. Edited by R. H. Super. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1960.
- Battenhouse, Roy W. Marlowe's Tamburlaine: A Study in Renaissance Moral Philosophy. Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1941.

- Brink, C. O. Horace on Poetry. 2 vols. Cambridge: At the University Press, 1971.
- Clemen, Wolfgang. The Development of Shakespeare's Imagery. London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1951.
- Coleridge, Samuel T. The Friend: A Series of Essays To Aid in The Formation of Fixed Principles In Morals, Politics and Religion, With Literary Amusements Interspersed. 1867; rpt. Freeport: Books for Librairies Press, 1971.
- Cornford, Francis M., translator. The Republic of Plato. New York: Oxford University Press, 1945.
- Cowley, Abraham. The Complete Works in Verse and Prose of Abraham Cowley. Edited by Rev. A. Grosart. 2 vols. 1881; rpt. New York: AMS Press, 1967.
- Crashaw, Richard. The Poems English Latin and Greek of Richard Crashaw. Edited by L. C. Martin. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1957.
- Davies, John. The Complete Works of John Davies of Hereford. Edited by Rev. A. Grosart. 1878; rpt. New York: AMS Press, 1967.
- Donne, John. Devotions Upon Emergent Occasions Together With Death's Duel. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1959.
- _____. Donne: Poetical Works. Edited by H. J. C. Grierson. 1929; rpt. London: Oxford University Press Paperbacks, 1971.
- Dryden, John. The Dramatic Works of John Dryden. Edited by M. Summers. London: The Nonesuch Press, 1932.
- Edel, Leon. Literary Biography. New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1959.
- Foster, Kenelm, O. P., translator. Aristotle's DE ANIMA In The Version of William of Moerbeke and The Commentary of St. Thomas Aquinas. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1951.
- Gosse, Edmund. The Jacobean Poets. London: John Murray, 1894.
- Graves, Robert. Collected Poems. London: Cassell, 1965.
- Herbert, George. The Works of George Herbert. Edited by F. E. Hutchinson. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1941.

- Hofstadter, A. and R. Kuhns, editors. Philosophies of Art and Beauty: Selected Readings in Aesthetics From Plato to Heidegger. New York: The Modern Library, 1964.
- Horace. Quinti Horatii Flacii Opera Omnia. Ex recensione A. J. Maclean. New York: American Book Company, 1858.
- Jayne, Sears Reynolds, translator. Marsilio Ficino's Commentary on Plato's Symposium. The University of Missouri Studies, No. 1. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1944.
- Johnson, Samuel. Samuel Johnson: Rasselas, Poems, and Selected Prose. Edited by Bertrand H. Bronson. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1958.
- Klaeber, Fr., editor. Beowulf and The Fight at Finnsburg. Lexington: D. C. Heath and Co., 1950.
- Lattimore, Richmond, translator. The Odyssey of Homer. New York: Harper & Row, 1965.
- Liddell, H. G. and R. Scott, compilers. A Greek-English Lexicon. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1894.
- Lowell, James Russell. The Old English Dramatists. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1893.
- Lackenna, Stephen, translator. The Essence of Plotinus. New York: Oxford University Press, 1934.
- Marlowe, Christopher. Marlowe's Poems. Edited by L. C. Martin. New York: Gordian Press, 1966.
- _____. The Complete Plays of Christopher Marlowe. Edited by Irving Ribner. New York: The Odyssey Press, 1963.
- Marston, John. The Malcontent. Edited by H. L. Wine. Regents Renaissance Drama Series. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1964.
- _____. The Poems of John Marston. Edited by Arnold Davenport. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1961.
- Merry, J. W., editor. Homer Odyssey, Books XIII-XXIV. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1896.
- Milton, John. John Milton: Complete Poems and Major Prose. Edited by Merritt Y. Hughes. New York: The Odyssey Press, 1957.

- Murry, John Middleton. Countries of the Mind: Essays in Literary Criticism. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1931.
- Noyes, Alfred. Tales of The Mermaid Tavern. Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, 1924.
- Ovid. Ovid's Amores. English Translation by Guy Lee With Latin Text. New York: The Viking Press, 1968.
- Panofsky, Erwin. Studies In Iconology: Humanistic Themes in the Art of The Renaissance. 1939; rpt. New York: Harper and Row, 1962.
- Pope, Alexander, translator. The Iliad of Homer. Edited by Maynard Mack. London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1967.
- Pound, Ezra. Literary Essays of Ezra Pound. Edited by T. S. Eliot. New York: New Directions, 1954.
- Purver, Margery. The Royal Society: Concept and Creation. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1967.
- Ross, Sir David, editor. Aristotle De Anima. Oxford: At The Clarendon Press, 1961.
- Sandys, Sir John, editor and translator. The Odes of Pindar Including The Principal Fragments. London: William Heinemann, 1924.
- Sassoon, Siegfried. Poems Newly Selected 1916-1935. London: Faber and Faber, 1941.
- Shakespeare, William. The Complete Plays and Poems of William Shakespeare. Edited by W. A. Neilson and C. J. Hill. Cambridge: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1942.
- Solmsen, Friedrich, editor. The Rhetoric and The Poetics of Aristotle. New York: The Modern Library, 1954.
- Strindberg, August. Twelve Plays By August Strindberg. Translated From The Swedish by Elizabeth Sprigge. London: Constable, 1955.
- Swift, Jonathan. A Tale of a Tub With Other Early Works 1696-1707. Edited by Herbert Davis. 1939; rpt. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1965.
- Symonds, J. A., editor. John Webster and Cyril Tourneur: Four Plays. New York: Hill and Wang, Inc., 1956.

Ward, Adolphus William. A History of English Dramatic Literature To The Death of Queen Anne. New and Revised Edition. London: Macmillan and Co., 1899.

Warren, Austin. Richard Crashaw: A Study in Baroque Sensibility. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1939.

Warton, Thomas. History of English Poetry From the Twelfth To the Close of the Sixteenth Century. Edited by W. Carew Hazlitt. 4 vols. London: Reeves and Turner, 1871.

Whipple, Edwin P. The Literature of The Age of Elizabeth. Boston: Houghton, Osgood and Company, 1878.

Wood, Anthony à. Athenae Oxonienses: An Exact History Of All The Writers And Bishops Who Have Had Their Education In The University of Oxford. Edited by Philip Bliss. 2 vols. London: F. C. and J. Rivington, 1815.