Are the Paratexts of *Sejanus His Fall* an Homage to Edward de Vere?

by Heidi J. Jannsch

In her 2019 *Oxfordian* article “Why was Edward de Vere Defamed on Stage—and His Death Unnoticed?” Katherine Chiljan summarizes the apparent disregard of Edward de Vere’s passing in June 1604 and discusses the attempts by Ben Jonson, John Marston and George Chapman to preserve the reputation of the Earl in their 1605 play *Eastward Ho*. Chiljan suggests that the imprisonment of Jonson and Chapman following the release of *Eastward Ho* may have in fact been a punishment for their earlier collaboration on *Love’s Martyr*, but another, more contemporary publication also featured the names of these authors and may have also been an attempt to preserve the Earl’s memory. Is it possible that led by Jonson, poets and playwrights, including Chapman, Marston and others, were acknowledging de Vere’s contributions to literature within the paratexts included in the 1605 publication of *Sejanus His Fall*? An examination of the poems preceding *Sejanus* suggests that the authors were attempting to provide a documented tribute to the recently deceased Oxford despite having been directed to remain silent about his literary activities.

First performed at court in 1603, *Sejanus* was apparently well received, but later “hissed off the stage” when performed for the public at The Globe in 1604 (Jonson and Ayres 58–59). The play was entered into the Stationers’ Register in November 1604, but not printed until after the copyright changed hands to Thomas Thorpe in August 1605. Jonson later stated he was accused of “popery and treason” for *Sejanus*, but similar to the questions surrounding
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the accusations from Eastward Ho, it is not clear exactly when the accusations were made or if they applied to the performance or the publication of the play. Donaldson indicates that the publication of Sejanus, “with the elaborate annotation…vouching for the play’s historical accuracy, together with the free admission that the text ‘in all its numbers is not the same as that which was acted on the public stage’ seems to imply that troubles had already overtaken the play after its first performance…” But he also admits “given these uncertainties, it is not easy to know precisely what the fuss was about when Jonson was summoned before the Privy Council, and how exactly the charges of popery and treason were sustained” (Donaldson 190).

What is known, however, is that both Sejanus and Eastward Ho were first published in the same period—between August and September of 1605. At the same time, efforts were being made to remove Oxford from the historical record. In his paper, “The Use of State Power to Hide Edward de Vere’s Authorship of the Works Attributed to ‘William Shake-speare,’” James Warren writes “those who controlled state power believed it was necessary to separate the plays from the court in the public mind, and the best way they found to do that was by cutting the connection between the plays and the author.” He goes on to describe the time frame of these efforts:

It was perhaps only after James was securely on the throne—in the final year of Oxford’s life and in the years immediately following his death—that Robert Cecil, with future generations in mind, sought to carry out the full-scale effort to airbrush Oxford from the historical record that had begun earlier (Warren 20, my italics)

Jonson, Chapman, and Marston were willing to put their names in print on Eastward Ho to defend de Vere even though, as Chiljan relates, “authorities
evidently preferred a wholesale blackout of eulogies for, or discussion about, Oxford/Shakespeare.” Might these authors have also attempted to “enlighten” the blackout at this time in the publication of Sejanus? An examination of the Sejanus paratexts indicates that this may have indeed been the case.

**Interpreting the Sejanus Paratexts**

In his article, “The Ambiguous Ben Jonson: Implications for Assessing the Validity of the First Folio Testimony,” Richard Whalen considers Jonson’s involvement in the prefatory matter of Shake-speare’s First Folio, commenting that “readers were on the alert for ambiguous passages” (Whalen 134).

Whalen notes that “deliberate ambiguity was a common literary practice in the dangerous political climate of Jonson’s day and…writers like Jonson resorted to it when expressing unwelcome truths that might offend and lead to reprisals or punishment” (Whalen 127).

Is it possible that Jonson used his talent for ambiguity to challenge the “wholesale blackout of eulogies” and attempted to honor Oxford in 1605? If this were his intention, the paratexts of Sejanus would have been a good place to make this attempt. In Censorship and Interpretation: the Conditions of Writing and Reading in Early Modern England, Annabel Patterson states:

> In general, late modern criticism has not paid enough attention to the interpretive status of introductory materials in early modern texts. All too often given over to the province of bibliographers, or even omitted from standard editions, dedications, engraved title pages, commemorative poems and epigraphs are lost to sight. Yet often their function is to alert the reader to his special responsibilities (Patterson 48, my italics)

Because modern scholars have not traditionally paid close attention to the prefatory materials of Elizabethan texts, they may have overlooked these alerts. However, Patterson notes the “provocative semantics of the pre-text was recognized by law, when in the Printing Act of 1662 required that all ‘Titles, Epistles, Prefaces, Proems, Preambles, Introductions, Tables, Dedications,’ be brought to the licenser for scrutiny along with the main body of the text” (Patterson 48). Prior to this act, then, writers like Jonson must have known that their paratexts might not be as closely examined as the works themselves and may have employed them to convey provocative information to readers, hence making the requirement in the 1662 Act necessary.
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**Jonson’s Epistle and the Second Pen**

Jonson states in his *Sejanus* epistle “To the Readers” that the subject matter of the play is in no way a statement on any current events or people and provides his sources for the abundant marginal notes included throughout the play to reinforce this fact.\(^3\)

He goes on to state that he has removed all the contributions of a “second Pen” whom he describes as “so happy a Genius.” Although this unnamed writer originally had a “good share” of the play, Jonson tells readers he removed this share and replaced it with his own, inferior material:

> Lastly I would inform you, that this Book, in all numbers, is not the same with that which was acted on the public Stage, wherein a second Pen had good share: in place of which I have rather chosen, to put weaker (and no doubt less pleasing) of mine own, then to defraud so happy a Genius of his right, by my loathed usurpation.

It has been suggested that “the second Pen” was either William Shakespeare or George Chapman (Chambers, III, 368). Jonson tells readers he has removed all the sections written by the other author, however, so there is no way to make a definite identification based on the text.

Of course, this may have been the point. Jonson’s mention of the “second Pen” implies there is another author he wants us to be aware of without mentioning the name of the author or leaving any trace of the author’s work in this publication. If the play is all Jonson’s, why mention another author at all? William W.E. Slights, in *Ben Jonson and the Art of Secrecy*, calls his insistence that he has removed the contributions “…curious—and more than a bit suspicious…” (Slights 6). Chapman and Marston added their names to *Eastward Ho*—so if the co-author of *Sejanus* was one of them, or anyone else for that matter, why not give them credit for the collaboration?

In her examination of Jonson’s work, Patterson notes that, “Disclaimers of topical intention are not to be trusted, and are more likely to be entry codes to precisely that kind of reading they protest against” (Patterson 57). So, Jonson’s mention of the removal of all contributions of the “second Pen” might be primarily intended

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> Lastly I would inform you, that this Book, in all numbers, is not the same with that which was acted on the public Stage, wherein a second Pen had good share: in place of which I have rather chosen, to put weaker (and no doubt less pleasing) of mine own, then to defraud so happy a Genius of his right, by my loathed usurpation.

> Fare you well. And if you read slander of me, and like, I shall not be afraid of it though you prate me out.

> Nam enim nihil sumus sepsis.

> But that I should plant my felicity, in your general saying Good, or Well, &c., were a weakness which the better sort of you might worthily censure, if not absolutely hate me for.

> *Ben Jonson and no such.*

> *Quem Palma magna marciun, donumque redduci opusum.*

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From Jonson’s “To the Readers” in Sejanus His Fall 1605.
to bring attention to this second Pen’s contributions, serving as a “disclaimer not to be trusted.” If there was an attempt to “airbrush” this author out of the historical record—as Warren and Chiljan suggest was happening with Oxford at this time—mentioning a second author without providing his name would make sense if Jonson’s collaborator was Oxford.

Jonson then signs this letter in a unique way, as “BEN, JONSON. and no such.” The next line is a quote in Latin from Horace “Quem palma negata macrum, donate reductum opimum.”, which translates as: ‘[whom] denial of the palm sends…home lean, its bestowal plump’ (Jonson and Ayres 52).

Jonson’s signature is followed by “and no such”. This phrase could indicate that he meant to be self-deprecating here, as if signing his work, “Ben Jonson, not one to be affected by the weight of the palms (your praises) anyway, since I am already such an weighty writer.” Modern reprints of the letter sometimes change the period after “such” to a comma to accomplish this interpretation, but with Jonson’s reputation for overseeing the printings of his publications, the punctuation most likely appeared as he intended in the 1605 edition. Philip Ayres indicates that in this edition of Sejanus.

Very few errors were made, even in Jonson’s copious marginal notes, and most of those were put right in proof, a testimony to the care of Eld and of Jonson, who not only presented his printer with scrupulously prepared fair copy but clearly supervised the printing process itself, altering in proof tiny details that to a printer could hardly seem to need changing” (Jonson and Ayres 2, my italics)

Since Jonson had a reputation for ensuring that his works were printed with accuracy, it is reasonable to believe that the arrangement and punctuation in To the Readers were as he intended. If Jonson wanted readers to be aware of his co-author—which he seems to have intended by mentioning the “second Pen” to begin with—his signature can also be understood to include a cosignatory. The phrase “no such” has the same meaning as “nonesuch” defined as “something which is unparalleled, incomparable, or unrivalled,” as used by Robert Greene in Menaphon:

“This paragon, this nonesuch…”

“BEN, JONSON. and no such.” does not appear to have been used by Jonson in any other prefatory letters,6 so it could be intended here as a reminder that the work was a collaboration with an unparalleled “Genius” writer whose own work made Jonson’s appear “weaker” by comparison. Could Jonson be indicating that he doesn’t really want us to exclude the second Pen/ happy Genius/ paragon writer from our thoughts just yet? Examining the rest of the paratexts with an eye for the “second Pen” reveals several additional anomalies.
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George Chapman’s Cyrrhan Poet

In commentaries on Sejanus, George Chapman is sometimes suggested as a candidate for the title of “second Pen.” One reason for this suggestion is Chapman’s commendatory poem “In SEIANUM BEN IONSONI Et Musis, et sibi in Deliciis,” translated by Philip Ayres as “On Ben Jonson’s Sejanus—his own and the muses’ favorite” (Jonson and Ayres 53).

When considering whether these authors were intending to acknowledge de Vere without naming him, this translation is quite interesting. Attributing the authorship of Sejanus as Ben Jonson’s “own and the muses’ favorite” blurs the attribution: it can be read as meaning two authors, one Ben Jonson, and the other, a favorite of the muses. In Edmund Spenser’s dedication to Oxford in Fairie Queene (1590) de Vere is described as being one “most dear” to the muses (the Heliconian imps).

And also for the love, which thou doest beare
To th’ Heliconian ymps, and they to thee,
They unto thee, and thou to them most deare….

While John Soowthern in Pandora (1584) also wrote of de Vere being respected by the muses:

De Vere merits a silver Pen
Eternally to write his honour.
A man so honoured as thee,
And both of the Muses and me.

Chapman referring to Oxford as “the muses’ favorite” would be consistent with these descriptions. A later compliment indicated that he held Oxford in high esteem. In The Revenge of Bussy d’Ambois, Chapman would write admiringly about Oxford, stating

…He was beside of spirit passing great,
Valiant, and learn’d, and liberall as the Sunne,
Spoke and writ sweetly, or of learned subjects,
Or of the discipline of publice weals;
And ’twas the Earle of Oxford…

The phrase “liberall as the Sunne” used by Chapman is acknowledging Oxford’s patronage to writers by associating him with Apollo, the patron of the arts. In his video presentation “John Gerard Knew. . .,” Alexander Waugh notes several writers in addition to Chapman who associated de Vere with Apollo including Gabriel Harvey, John Soowthern, Thomas Nashe, Thomas Watson, Angel Day, Lucas de Heere, Henry Lok, Francis Meres, John Weever, Thomas Edwards, and Francis Davison.
In his *Sejanus* poem, Chapman provides almost six pages of poetry that has been described as “... convoluted and cloudily metaphoric...” (Barton 92). But in line 17 of the fourth page of his poem, Chapman first mentions Apollo, calling him “the great Cyrrhan Poet” and launches into a rant about Poet-haters being hurled into darkness and describes how he, himself, is guarding the “Poetique Name.”

A reference to “the great CYRRHAN Poet” on the fourth page of Chapman’s Poem in *Sejanus His Fall*—1605.

A few lines later, Chapman refers to “Our Phoebus” followed by a listing of members of the Privy Council. This second Apollo reference seems to mean King James, a distinction from the Cyrrhan Poet section where Chapman is referring to Apollo in the artistic sense. Interestingly, Ayres attributes “Our Phoebus” to King James, but he doesn’t attempt to associate the aforementioned “great Cyrrhan Poet” as meaning anyone other than the god Apollo (Jonson and Ayres 58–9).

Apart from distinguishing one incarnation of Apollo from the other (one as the patron of the arts and one as the divine ruler) would there be any significance to using the cognomen “Cyrrhan Poet” to imply the recently deceased Oxford? A connection with Cyrrha as a final resting place for poets is presented in a poem by Giovanni Quartario lamenting the death of Petrarch: *Carmen Funereum de Morte Petrarce* (*Funereal song on the death of Petrarch*). In “Placing Petrarch’s Legacy,” David Lummus provides a translation of the portion where Quartario comments on where Petrarch should be buried:

Therefore, let us perform his funeral with divine honor. Let us bury the most excellent of the poets on the high summit of Cyrrha. Let a
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sculpted pyramid standing forth from the air on three columns truly bear witness as his eternal tomb. And let engraved golden words teach about the man lying inside. And let Apollo, residing there, confirm the splendor of his work. But may Nyssa not envy the gift given to Cyrrha. The Muses have approved. Their grieving sighs have instructed.

Later in his career Chapman did translate “Petrarchs Seven Penitentiall Psalms” but there is no way to know if he was familiar with Quartario’s laments about the poet or if he intended readers to make the association between Petrarch’s and Oxford’s deaths. It can be seen, however, that Chapman references Cyrrha in terms similar to those he used for Oxford. In the 1595 Ovid’s Banquet of Sense Chapman had written:

Then did Cyrrhus fill his eyes with fire,
Whose ardor curld the foreheads of the trees,
And made his greene-loue burne in his desire,
When youth, and ease, (Collectors of loues fees)
Entic’d Corynna to a siluer spring…

Chapman includes a marginal note for readers:

*Cyrrhus is a surname of the Sun, from a towne called Cyrrha, where he was honored.*

Chapman using the title “Cyrrhan Poet” when he had previously defined Cyrrhus as a “surname of the Sun” would support the theory he was referring to Oxford, whom he later described as “liberall as the sunne.” If he did intend to refer to de Vere, his placing the title “CYRRHAN Poet” in large capital letters in the 17th line of the page would have been an appropriate place to suggest the 17th Earl, using an allusion to the patron of the arts in language similar to his later comments about the man.

Chapman’s marginal note from Ovid’s Banquet of Sense.

Years later, in The Times Displayed in Six Sestyads, Samuel Sheppard would mention Apollo in regard to Sejanus, insinuating that Apollo had dictated the work to Jonson. This would seem to make Apollo the “second Pen” Jonson
was referring to in the epistle. Sheppard’s mention of *Sejanus* in the stanza praising Ben Jonson follows stanzas about Shake-speare that have been decrypted by Stritmatter and Waugh and connect the name Shake-speare to an aristocratic writer. Sheppard’s allusion to *Sejanus* immediately following his own cryptography may indicate he was aware of the attempts to covertly commemorate de Vere’s work in the *Sejanus* commendatory poems.

While the section in Sheppard’s poem lauding Shake-speare begins “*Apollo rageth that the noble bay/ Is worn by those that do not merit it…*” Chapman’s own mention of guarding the Poetique Name and Poet-Haters being hurled into darkness could be metaphors for the ignorance that would result from the removal of de Vere’s name from his literary accomplishments. Chapman seems to acknowledge the danger of mentioning this topic and retreats from it with “flie, flie, you are too neare…”

After Chapman concludes this poem, it is followed by another one he wrote without a title. A clue to the intended addressee of this second poem may be in the form of the poem itself, however, as it is a Shakespearean sonnet. In fact, several of the other commendatory poems in *Sejanus* are also in sonnet form, but, sonnet or not, the remaining poems have one interesting similarity: none of them is actually addressed to Jonson.

**The Sejanus Commendatory Poem Titles**

At the very beginning of his epistle *To the Readers*, Jonson draws attention to the commendatory poems that follow by stating “the voluntary Labours of my Friends prefix to my Booke, have relieved me in much, whereat (without them) I should necessarily have touched…”

Although the poems included in the 1605 publication of *Sejanus* do not provide any information that specifies they are addressed to Oxford, they do appear to be a concerted effort to acknowledge an author without using his name. Of the nine poems, only the first one by Chapman names Jonson in the title. Chapman then offers an untitled sonnet, and this and the remaining poems do not mention Jonson in the titles or the text. The ambiguously addressed titles include the following:

- For his worthy Friend, the Author
- To the Deserving Author
- To his learned, and beloved Friend, upon his aequall worke.
- Amicis, amici nostril dignissimi, dignissimis, Epigramma
  (Translation—
  To the most worthy friends of our most worthy friend)
- Upon Sejanus
- To him that hath so excell’d on this excellent subject
- To the most understanding Poet
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This list might not seem extraordinary at first glance, since commendatory poems of the time utilized a variety of addresses and forms, but when compared to the poems included in the paratexts of Jonson’s *Volpone*, printed just two years later, a striking contrast can be seen. As shown in the table below, Jonson’s name is all but absent from the *Sejanus* poems while he is consistently named in all but one of the *Volpone* poems, in the title, the text or (in some cases) both.

Thomas Roe and George Chapman contributed poems to both *Sejanus* and *Volpone*. As noted above, in *Sejanus*, Chapman’s first poem’s title can be interpreted as including a second author, while his second poem lacks a title. In his contribution to *Volpone*, Chapman is specific about to whom he is referring: “To his deare Friend, Beniamin Ionson.” Thomas Roe has one ambiguously addressed poem in *Sejanus* “To his learned, and beloved Friend, upon his aequall worke” while one of his two contributions in *Volpone* is much more direct: “To my friend Mr. Jonson. Epigramme.”

| Commendatory Poem Titles Comparison, indicating whether Jonson is named in title OR text |  |
|---|---|---|
| *Sejanus His Fall*; Commendatory Poem Title *indicates sonnet form | *Volpone* Commendatory Poem Title |  |
| In SEIANUM BEN IONSONI Et Musis, et sibi in Deliciis. (On Ben Jonson’s *Sejanus*—his own and the muses’ favorite.) | Yes | AD UTRAMQUE ACADEMIAM, De BENIAMIN JONSONION (To each University, concerning Ben Jonson) | Yes |
| (Untitled)* | No | Amicissimo & meritissimo BEN: IONSON. (To the most friendly and deserving Ben Jonson) | Yes |
| For his worthy Friend, the Author* | No | To my friend Mr. Jonson. Epigramme. | Yes |
| To the Deserving Author* | No | To the Reader. Upon the Work | No |
| To his learned, and beloved Friend, upon his aequall worke. | No | To my deare friend, Mr. Beniamin Ionson, upon his FOXE | Yes |
| Amici, amici nostril dignissimi, dignissimis, Epigramma (To the most worthy friends of our most worthy friend) | No | To my good friend, Mr. Ionson | Yes |
| Upon Sejanus* | No | To the Ingenious Poet | Yes |
| To him that hath so excell’d on this excellent subject* | No | To his deare Friend, Benjamin Ionson | Yes |
| To the most understanding Poet* | No | To my worthily-esteemed Mr. Ben: Ionson. | Yes |
|  |  | To the true Mr. in his Art, B. Ionson. | Yes |
Both publications also include one poem by an author with unidentified initials (Jonson and Ayres 69; Jonson and Parker 76), but *Sejanus* includes two by authors using pseudonyms, CYGNVS and ΦΙΛΟΣ.¹⁴ If the intention of the poets was to acknowledge the great pseudonymous writer, William Shakespeare, then including two poems by authors using pen names to sign their sonnets may have been meant as another clue as to the true addressee.

In addition to his reputation for overseeing the printing of his works, Jonson also had a reputation for disliking sonnets. While none of the poems in *Volpone* are in this form, six of the *Sejanus* poems are written in various sonnet forms. Jonson composed only six sonnets during his entire thirty-year writing career,¹⁵ so it seems strange that many of his fellow writers would choose this form to commend him. Edward de Vere, on the other hand, was a nephew of Henry Howard, the Earl of Surrey, who “created the rhyming meter and quatrains of the Elizabethan or Shakespearean form of sonnet” (Whittemore 37). Although *Shakespeare’s Sonnets* was not published until four years after *Sejanus*, sonnets had been publicly associated with Shakespeare by 1598 when Francis Meres commented in *Palladis Tamia*: *Wit’s Treasury*:

> The witty soul of Ovid lives in mellifluous & honey-tongued Shakespeare, witness his Venus and Adonis, his Lucrece, his sugared sonnets among his private friends, &c.

**Sejanus Ever After**

If Edward de Vere had been the co-author of *Sejanus*, presumably those who had seen the production at court would have known this fact and may have seen the nod to the Earl in the mention of the “second Pen,” the Apollo references, the sonnet forms, and absence of an author’s name in the indirect poem titles. Perhaps these attempts at a commemoration were let go since the general public would not have understood the references. Or perhaps not. As noted above, it is unclear to what the *Sejanus* “popery and treason” charges actually applied, so perhaps part of the punishment of Jonson and Chapman during this time was for this attempted homage to de Vere.

*Sejanus* was not published in quarto again but Jonson’s 1616 folio *The Workes of Benjamin Jonson* does include the play. The 1616 edition, however, contains only two of the commendatory poems from the 1605 publication: Hugh Holland’s sonnet “For his worthy friend, the Author” and an edited version of Chapman’s first poem with the alternate title “Upon Sejanus.” This edit served to remove Jonson’s name from the only poem in which it had been included in the first printing. There is no mention of the “second Pen” in the 1616 dedication letter addressed to Esme Stuart, and the extensive marginal notes within the 1605 text of the play were not included in the folio edition.
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These alterations seem to indicate that Jonson’s objectives in the publication of *Sejanus* at this point were drastically different from what they had been in 1605. However, Jonson does maintain the connection with our “second Pen” candidate in his folio by including the name Will. Shakespeare in the list of “principall Tragoedians” who acted in the play at court in 1603. Doing this ensured that *Sejanus* would continue to be associated with William Shakespeare by future readers and ultimately inspired this revealing Oxfordian examination of the 1605 edition.

**Acknowledgments**

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Endnotes

1. *Sejanus* is used throughout to indicate the play *Sejanus His Fall*.

2. In the letters written by Jonson and Chapman during their imprisonment, the two authors ask for assistance from various aristocrats but “neither Chapman nor Jonson ever explicitly mentions the printing of *Eastward Ho!* in these letters” (Brunmuller, 453). Van Fossen asks of *Eastward Ho*: “Was it the production of the play or its publication that brought about the imprisonment of the authors? No final answer is possible on the basis of the evidence at hand” (5). A similar uncertainty is expressed by Ian Donaldson about the accusations concerning *Sejanus*.

3. Jonson describes the need for him to provide these annotations in order to defend himself from those who are casting “hilles upon Vertue.” The OED conveniently provides a denotation used by Oxford’s uncle, Arthur Golding.

    Hill, v.1—transitive. To cover, cover up; protect. Now dialect.1565
    A. Golding tr. Ovid Fyrst Fower Bks. Metamorphosis i. f. 6 Go hylle your heades.
    Casting “hilles upon Ver[tue]” would be an apt phrase to describe the covering of Vere’s literary opus that was happening at this time (see Warren).


5. The OED Online entry for “such” equates “no such” with “none such” and “nonsuch.” Definitions in these entries also include “none of the kind,” “A person who has no equal; a person to whom no other can be compared, a paragon,” and “the most eminent person or thing of a specified class, kind, or place.”

6. See Berger, Massai, Demetriou.

7. R.P. Corballis asserts the “second Pen” is Chapman. Referring to Corballis’ assessment, Brennan (46) denies the possibility that the term “our hearde” used in Chapman’s first poem alludes to Chapman’s troubles collaborating with Jonson on *Eastward Ho!*” He is “not so convinced” and is “disinclined to corroborate Corballis’ suggestion regarding “our Hearde.” Barton is also dubious, “Chapman’s celebration of Sejanus prefixed to the 1605 quarto, is so convoluted and cloudily metaphoric that it...
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is impossible to be certain whether or not the poem contains a reference to the collaborative nature of the acting text. At no point, however, does he seem to intimate any involvement of his own greater than that of an "admiring observer" (92).

8. See Alexander and Wright.


10. See Waugh, “Samuel Sheppard Knew…”

11. A capitalized E and O in Earthly and Odors appearing diagonally near the end of the section may just be a happy coincidence with the initials used by de Vere on some of his early poetry. Then again, Chapman is using the metaphor of the overwhelming smell experienced when standing too close to flowers and needing to move away from them. If the E-O in the words “Earthly” and “Odors” is meant to indicate the Earl of Oxford—the very subject he needed “flie, flie” away from—maybe the capitalization was intentional. Seventy lines of Chapman’s poem, including the ones enabling this E-O configuration, were removed from the Folio version of 1616. The title of the poem was also changed in 1616 to read simply “Upon Sejanus.”

12. See Jonson, Seianus His Fall for the original poems and Jonson and Ayres for modernized versions.

13. Roe’s other poem addressed “To the Reader” is the one Volpone poem that does not mention Jonson by name, but epistles addressed to readers wouldn’t be expected to include the author’s name.

14. Coincidentally, the pen names CYGNVS (Latin for ‘Swan’) and ΦΙΛΟΣ (or ‘Philos’—Greek for ‘friend’ or ‘beloved’) in a covert memorial to de Vere could provide a new meaning to Jonson’s phrase used in his encomium to Shake-speare in the First Folio: “and though thou hadst small Latin and lesse Greek from thence to honour thee I would not seeke for names…”

15. See Riddel, 193 quoting Drummond: “he cursed Petrarch for redacting Verses to Sonnets, which he said were like that Tirrants bed, wher some who were too short were racked, others too long cut short” [ll 60–63.]
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Are the Paratexts of Sejanus His Fall an Homage to Edward de Vere?
