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A CRITICAL OLD-SPELLING EDITION OF THE TRAGEDY OF CLEOPATRA, QUEEN OF AEGYPT
BY THOMAS MAY.

Rice University, Ph.D., 1964
Language and Literature, general

University Microfilms, Inc., Ann Arbor, Michigan
RICE UNIVERSITY

A CRITICAL OLD-SPELLING EDITION OF

THE TRAGEDY OF CLEOPATRA, QUEEN OF EGYPT

BY THOMAS MAY

by

Joe Wilkes Berry, Jr.

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Thesis Director’s signature:

[Signature]

Houston, Texas

May, 1964
I am grateful to Professor Carroll Camden, the director of the dissertation, whose knowledge and helpfulness were indispensable; and to Professor John Velz and Professor Niels C. Nielsen, who generously gave time and encouragement to this project. I am also grateful to Dr. Gene Stephenson Ewton who shared with me her valuable experience in the editing of a dramatic text.
TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

I. Thomas May: The Man ........................................... 1.
II. Thomas May: The Plays ....................................... IX.
III. The Tragedy of Cleopatra: The Sources ................. xix.
IV. The Tragedy of Cleopatra: The Text .................... lxiii.

THE TEXT OF THE PLAY

Title Page ............................................................ 1.
Dedication ............................................................ 2.
Act I ................................................................. 4.
Act II ............................................................... 22.
Act III ............................................................. 42.
Act IV ............................................................. 60.
Act V ............................................................. 79.
INTRODUCTION

I. Thomas May: The Man

The May family name first appears in local records in Eastern Sussex during the latter years of the thirteenth century, but it was not until 1537 that the poet's great grandfather began acquiring manors which would ultimately make the Mays a county family. When this Thomas May died in 1553, he left three sons, the second of whom was George May, the poet's grandfather. Not content with his modest inheritance, he sought his fortune in industry and trade, specifically in iron-founding, which proved to be a highly lucrative endeavor. He acquired additional property and at his death in 1593 left his son, Thomas May, a considerable estate.¹

The young heir was married to the daughter of Edward Rich, who was the head of a prominent family in Essex. To this union several children were born, including a son, Thomas, in 1595. Neither the place nor the exact date of the poet's birth is definitely known, but it is certain that he was born under a sign presaging a life of disappointment.²

In 1603 the elder Thomas May was knighted by James I, and as the son of a gentleman, young Thomas received the fashionable education of the day which consisted of several years


²Chester, pp. 15-16.
at one of the universities, an apprenticeship to the law at an Inn of Court, and usually the grand tour of France and Italy. Although we have no conclusive evidence, Thomas May was probably financially unable to make the trip to the Continent by the time he had completed his legal training.  

On September 7, 1609, Thomas May, aged fourteen years, was admitted fellow-commoner of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge.  

He appears to have been a conscientious student who was passionately interested in classical studies, which formed the university curriculum in those days. Like his fellow students, he read all the Latin poets and historians as well as the principal Greek writers, but unlike most of his schoolmates, May maintained his interest in the classics throughout his life.

In 1613 May graduated from Cambridge as a Bachelor of Arts, and for the next year we have no information concerning his activities. The next official mention of May comes when he entered Gray's Inn on August 6, 1615. Sons of gentlemen usually took up residence at the Inns in order to learn enough law to fit them for future service as justices of the peace and also to experience life in London in the company of other young aristocrats.

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3Chester, pp. 20-22.


5Chester, p. 26.
Whatever advantages Gray's Inn had to offer Thomas May were suddenly discontinued in July, 1616, when Sir Thomas died. In succeeding days the disappointing truth came to light that the deceased knight had been less than prudent in his management of the family fortune and that Mayfield Manor would have to be sold to meet outstanding debts. Consequently, May rather suddenly plummeted from the lofty status of gentleman to the humble station of an orphan with his own way to make in the world.  

A realistic appraisal of his abilities quickly revealed that writing was the only career for which he was at all suited. May's first literary production was a comedy, The Heir, which was performed at the Bull by the Company of the Revels in 1620. For the next several years we lose sight of May once more, but in 1626 he emerges as the author of two Roman tragedies, The Tragedy of Cleopatra, Queene of Aegypt and Julia Agrippina, Empresse of Rome, acted respectively in 1626 and 1628. He probably wrote his Tragedy of Antigone the Theban Princesse at about the same time.  

According to most recent evidence, a second comedy, The Old Couple, followed approximately ten years later.

May's private life during the years he was working as a dramatist is almost a complete mystery, but we do know that

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6 Chester, pp. 28-30.

7 Chester, pp. 31-32.
he was one of a company of playwrights who met nightly for conversation and refreshment at a London tavern. As a "son" of Ben Jonson, May was intimate with Tom Randolph, Cartwright, Richard Brome, and others.

In addition to Jonson, May knew other prominent playwrights; for instance, we know that he wrote commendatory verses for the plays of Massinger, Ford, and Shirley. Moreover, when Ford was accused of having stolen the plot for The Lover's Melancholy from Shakespeare, May defended him in the following quatrains:

'Tis said, from Shakespeare's mine your play you drew; What need? -- when Shakespeare still survives in you; But grant it were from his vast treasury reft, That plund'rer Ben ne'er made so rich a theft. 8

May's dramas never enjoyed success on the stage and to supplement his income he turned to translations which occupied most of his time from 1626 to 1631. His endeavors in this field include: Lucan's Pharsalia, 1626, 1627; the Georgics of Virgil, 1628; some of the epigrams of Martial, 1629; parts of Barclay's Icon Animorum, 1631. These translations were responsible for the esteem in which May was held by his contemporaries.

Having advanced from the status of playwright to that of poet, May won the attention of the court in 1627. Chester

suggests that influential men such as Holland, Pembroke, and Weston were instrumental in May's rise because of gratitude to the young scholar who had dedicated three of his translations to them.⁹ Lacking money and influence, May was never a thoroughgoing courtier; consequently, he is mentioned only infrequently in official documents of the period.

In 1627 May observed the King's visit to the fleet with verses beginning:

Oft may returning Janus here
Find thee, great Charles, for every year
He finds thee greater far.¹⁰

Three years later May was firmly enough in royal favor to be permitted to dedicate his Continuation of Lucan to the King. With the success of this work, apparently Charles became May's patron to some degree. Clarendon writes of the poet:

Yet since his fortune could not raise his mind, he brought his mind down to his fortune, by a great modesty and humility in his nature . . . He was cherished by many persons of honour, and very acceptable in all places . . . he had received much countenance, and a considerable donative from the king . . . .¹¹

Anthony à Wood also refers to May's being honored by the King:

⁹Chester, p. 44.

¹⁰Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 2d series, II (1627-28), 238. Cited in Chester, p. 45.

Afterwards [i.e., after graduating from Cambridge], 
. . . he retired to and mostly lived in, the city of 
Westminster, where performing divers things for the 
honor of this nation, never parallell'd by any English 
man before, was graciously countenanced by king Charles 
I and his royal consort . . . . 12

Further evidence of royal favor is May's own statement that 
he wrote his two historical poems, The Reigne of King Henry 
the Second (1633) and The Victorious Reigne of King Edward 
the Third (1635) in obedience to the King's command.

Despite these signs of royal favor May was not a conspicu-
ous object in the court's eye. In fact, the only record we 
have of an actual appearance of May at court reveals that 
although he was admired by the King, his was not a familiar 
face at court. The incident is recorded in a letter of 
February 27, 1633-4 from G. Gerrard to the Earl of Strafford:

On Monday after Candlemas-day, the Gentlemen of the 
Inns of Court performed their Masque at Court; they 
were sixteen in Number, who rode through the Streets 
in four Chariots, and two others to carry their Pages 
and Musicians, attended by an Hundred Gentlemen on 
great Horses, as well clad as ever I saw any, they 
farre exceeded in Bravery any Masque that had formerly 
been presented by those Societies, and performed the 
dancing Part with much applause . . . They were well 
used at court by the King and Queen, no Disgust given 
them only this one Accident fell, Mr. May of Gray's-
Inn, a fine poet, he who translated Lucan, came athwart 
my Lord Chamberlain in the Banqueting House, and he 
broke his Staff over his Shoulders, not knowing who he 
was, the King present, who knew him, for he calls him 
his Poet, and told the Chamberlain of it, who sent

for him the next Morning, and fairly excused himself to him, and gave him fifty Pounds in Pieces.13

Francis Osborne also mentions this episode:

This I can attest for the man [Pembroke, the Lord Chamberlain], that he was intolerable choleric and offensive, and did not refrain whilst he was Chamberlain, to break many wiser heads than his own: Mr. May that translated Lucan having felt the weight of his Staff; which had not his Office, and the place, being the Banquetting House, protected, I question whether he would ever have strook again . . . . 14

Two courtiers whom May cultivated during the period 1630-1639 were Endymion Porter and Sir Kenelm Digby. These gentlemen were well-known patrons of arts and letters, and May dedicated works to each of them. In 1631 he dedicated his Tragedy of Antigone the Theban Princesse to Porter, a compliment which was probably repaid by gifts.15 Cleopatra and Julia Agrippina were dedicated to Digby, a versatile and gifted man who was a friend of Ben Jonson and Clarendon.

When Jonson died in 1637, the poet laureateship and the position of chronicler to the City of London were vacated. The King recommended May for the latter:

The King to [the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London]. We understand that the place of historian to the city

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15 Dorothea Townshend, Life and Letters of Mr. Endymion Porter (London, 1897), p. 131.
of London is become void by the death of Benjamin Johnson. We recommend Thomas May, whom we know to be every way qualified for that employment, expecting that you forthwith choose him to the said place.16

A recalcitrant group of Puritan aldermen balked at the royal recommendation, passing over May in favor of Francis Quarles, who received the appointment in 1639.

Although we may wonder how May could have hoped to receive the laureateship in competition with so prominent a poet as Davenant, he did consider himself an important candidate for the honor and was, therefore, seriously disappointed when it went to the other poet. This disappointment would probably have gone unnoticed if May had not cast his lot with the Parliamentary cause in 1640. From this time on charges were made by the royalists that May's defection was the result of his resentment rather than of principle.

The charge appears in *Mercurius Vapulans* in 1643:

> Another though he calls not himself Mercury, yet is Majanatus, who failing of the laureat wreath, envies the Crowne it selfe, and puts his fictions into grave pose, as if he stood to be City Chronicler.17

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16 *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic*, 1637. 2d series, II, 395. Cited in Chester, p. 54.

17 *Mercurius Vapulans*: or the Whipping of poore British Mercury set out in a Letter directed to him from *Mercurius Urbanus*, younger Brother to Aulicus Dated Nov. 4, 1643, in a contemporary Ms. note in the British Museum copy. p. 2.
Clarendon repeats the charge which he seems not to have tempered even for the sake of his former friendship with May:

upon his majesty’s refusing to give him a small pension, which he had designed and promised to another very ingenuous person, whose qualities he thought inferior to his own, he fell from his duty, and all his former frien’s, and prostituted himself to the vile office of celebrating the infamous acts of those who were in rebellion against the King; which he did so meanly, that he seemed to all men to have lost his wits, when he left his honesty; and so shortly after died miserable and neglected, and deserves to be forgotten.  

Wood, too, joins in the denunciation of May adding his own charge of atheism:

but he found not that preferment from either [the King or his consort], which he expected, grew discontented, sided with the presbyter’ans upon the turn of the times, became a debauchee ad omnia, entertain’d ill principles as to religion, spoke often very slightly of the Holy Trinity, kept beastly and atheistical company . . . and endeavour’d to his power to asperse and invalidate the king and his cause.

It is interesting to note how the ill-tempered Wood distorted Aubrey’s original comment:

As to Tom May, Mr. Edmund Wyld told me that he was acquainted with him when he was young, and then he was as other young men of this towne are, soil. he was debaucht ad omnia: but doe not by any means take notice of it -- for we have all been young.

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18 Clarendon, I, 39-40.
19 Wood, III, 810.
By taking Aubrey's most sensational phrase and omitting his qualifying statements, Wood has fashioned a vicious indictment against his political enemy.

One of May's contemporaries defended him in the poem "The Great Assizes Holden on Parnascus by Apollo and his Assessours," 1645. Here May is one of a jury trying such journals as Mercurius Britannicus and Mercurius Aulicus on charges of abuse of privilege. The defense comes when Mercurius Aulicus challenges May's presence on the jury:

To which the Pris'ner pleads his innocence,
And puts himselfe upon a legall tryall,
But he withall exhibits a denyall
Against a Jurour, for his suit it was,
That May on his arraignment might not passe:
For though a Poet hee must him confesse,
Because his writings did attest no lesse;
Yet he desir'd hee might be set aside,
Because hee durst not in his truth confide:
Of May among Twelve men hee never lov'd:
For hee beleev'd that out of private spite
Hee would his conscience straine, t'undoe him quite.
Hee likewise of offences him accus'd,
Whereby his King Apollo was abused;
And with malicious arguments attempts
To prove him guilty of sublime Contemps,
But chiefly he indeavour'd to conclude,
That hee was guilty of ingratitude;
Which crime Parnassus Lawes doe so oppose,
As in that State, it for high Treason goes.

Then May stept forth, and first implor'd the grace
And leave of Phoebus to maintaine his case;
Then to the Learned Consistory sues,
That they would him or censure, or excuse:
Then calls the Gods, and all whom they protect,
The Starres, and all on whom they doe reflect;
The Elements, and what's compos'd of these,
Him to acquit from all disloyalties.
If by just proofes (said hee) thou canst evince,
That I have been ungratefull to my Prince,
Then let mee from these groves bee now exil'd
To Scythian snowes, or into deserts wild;
Yea, I invoke the Gods that I may feele
The Gyants valour, or Ixions wheele,
If it bee found I have transgressed thus,
As 'tis informed by lying Aulicus.
Apollo then darts forth an awfull ray
From his impiercing eye, which silenc'd May,
So Kings (if they be just) may rule like Gods,
And be observed by their lookes, and nods.
He Aulicus rebuk'd, because hee knew
His accusations from meere malice grew:
And him advis'd in peace to stand aside,
If hee desir'd with favour to be try'd.21

In spite of this defense and the cooling of partisan
passion through the years, the charge that May spitefully
deserted the King is still repeated. Chester, in his pub-
lished dissertation, is at pains to prove the possibility
of May's having acted out of sincere conviction while ad-
mitting that it is also possible the poet was motivated at
least in part by opportunism and disappointment. Chester
attaches much importance to May's having been a student in
Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, which from its earliest
foundation had been Puritan in tone. One clause in its
charter speaks of the master as one who "Papismum, Haereses,
superstitiones, et errores omnes ex animo abhorret et
detestatur."22 Archbishop Laud denounced Sidney Sussex College
in 1628 as a hotbed of Puritanism23-- a charge which is well

21 The Great Assizes Holden on Parnassus, 1645. Reprinted
in No. 40 of the Spenser Society Publications (London, 1885),
pp. 15-17.

22 Charles W. Stubbs, The Story of Cambridge (London,

23 DNB article on Cromwell.
borne out by the fact that most of the college's alumni supported the Puritans in later years. Even Oliver Cromwell was a Sidney Sussex man, who earned the title of benefactor of the college because he did not melt down its valuable plate as he did that of the other colleges during the Civil Wars.24

In the light of these facts there is a very real possibility that May had developed political convictions which were similar to those of the Puritans. We must also take into account May's extensive knowledge of Martial, Juvenal, Lucan, and Statius. Trevelyan points out that "when Milton was an undergraduate, . . . familiarity with the great pagan names and stories suggested to young patriots, as Royalist writers observed with regret, the civic ideals of the ancient republics."25 Aubrey testifies that familiarity with this material had precisely this effect on May: "May's translation of Lucan's excellent poeme made him in love with the republique, which tang stuck by him."26

Another point to consider is that many of Parliament's supporters came from the social class to which May belonged.

The descendants of clothiers, who purchased old lands with new money, or of the richer yeomen who 'gentlesed'  

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24 Chester, p. 23.


26 Aubrey, pp. 55-56.
their sons, were sooner or later accepted into the circle of families, many of whom had risen in the same way after the Black Death or the fall of the monasteries. But the period of social probation was irritating to such aspirants while it lasted, and is said to have been a frequent cause of Roundhead proclivities in the Great War.27

Certainly this passage is an accurate description of the family of Thomas May, whose grandfather, an iron-founder, had purchased "old lands" and whose father had tried to tighten his son's grip on the proverbial silver spoon.

In an unpublished dissertation Sister Mary Ransom Burke takes a balanced and realistic view of the matter, concluding that May was, to all appearances, a believer in the sacredness of kingship but an opponent of tyranny. Consequently, when he was forced to choose between tyranny and rebellion, he chose the latter, assisted, perhaps, in his choice by a motive of resentment at having been refused the laureateship.28

Although a French historian wrote in the middle of the last century that May was attached to Fairfax during the wars and frequently took up military quarters, there is no evidence to support this statement.29 If May did not serve Parliament by bearing arms, however, he was invaluable as a pamphleteer.

27Trevelyan, p. 5.

28See the unpubl. diss. (Fordham, 1943) by Sister Mary Ransom Burke, "The Tragedy of Cleopatra, Queen of Aegypt," p. xlii.

His first political publication was *A Discourse Concerning the Success of Former Parliaments* (1642), which attempted to bolster Parliament's cause through an appeal to tradition. May apparently published an account of the battle of Newbury after this, for several of his contemporaries refer to it:

and surely however Poets have got an ill name, I had rather believe in the supplement of Lucan, then the relation of the battell of Newbury.  

John Taylor, the Water-Poet, also alludes to May's authorship of this pamphlet, claiming the title of "Water-Poet Laureat:"

if my place be not sequestred for the use of Tho. May for his Poeticall relation of his Excellencies Victory at Newbury, and more Poeticall interpretation of Touch Not Mine Anointed . . . .

The same writer in another work lists the ingredients for a medicine which,

when it is well beaten, mix it with the Braines of Booker, May, Wither, Mercurius Britannicus, Prinne, and two or three hundred Knaves Braines more, it is an approved medicine for the encrease of Rebellion, for the grumbling in the gizzard, the flux of the Tongue, or the melancholly mubblefubbles, provided it be taken fasting (upon a full stomacke) at five of the clocke in the morning after Dinner.  

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30 *Mercurius Vapulans*, p. 2.


Probably because of his successful pamphleteering, May became Secretary of Parliament sometime during 1645. We know hardly anything of his private life from this time until his death in 1650. In 1647 May’s best known prose work, History of the Parliament of England, appeared and was followed in 1650 by A Breviary of the History of Parliament.

While serving as Secretary of Parliament May lived in the vicinity of Westminster, but before his appointment he probably lived in Allhallows the Great. In 1644 "Thomas May, Allhallows the Great" was assessed forty pounds by the committee for the advance of money. 33

During the last decade of his life, he was reviled not only as a political turncoat but also as a dissipated heretic. Wood writes that he entertained ill principles as to religion, spoke often very slightly of the Holy Trinity, kept beastly and atheistical company, of whom Tho. Chaloner the regicide was one. 34

Of course, Wood gleaned this information from Aubrey, who noted that May was "a great acquaintance of Tom Chaloner. Would, when inter pocula speake slightly of the Trinity." 35

34 Wood, III, 810.
35 Aubrey, p. 56.
The charge of atheism rests solely on these accusations made by ardent Royalists, who can hardly be considered objective commentators on May. That the poet spent a great deal of time in his cups is a better substantiated accusation. William Rowe, a Parliamentarian, wrote in a letter to Cromwell vis à vis one Lt. Col. Dolman:

Sir H. Vane hath had much converse of late with him; I shewed him your letter, he was not soe well satisfied yesterday (as doubting whether he did not clubb it with Tom Chaloner, Tom May (when living) and that gangue. But he is otherwise assured too day, upon inquiry, for it seemes he naturally hates potting . . . .

The implication made by one of May's own party is that he, Chaloner, and "that gangue" did not hate potting.

When May died on November 13, 1650, Aubrey claimed that he "came to his death after drinking with his chin tyed with his cap (being fatt); suffocated." Marvell, who had a personal dislike for May, composed the following poem which he called "Tom May's Death:"

As one put drunk into the Packet-boat,
Tom May was hurry'd hence and did not know't.
But was amaz'd on the Elysian side,
And with an eye uncertain, gazing wide,
Could not determine in what place he was,
For whence in Stevens ally Trees or Grass?
Nor where the Popes Head, nor the Mitre lay,
Signs by which still he found and lost his way.

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37 Aubrey, p. 56.
At last while doubtfully he all compares,
He saw near hand, as he imagin'd Ares.
Such did he seem for corpulence and port,
But 'twas a man much of another sort;
'Twas Ben that in the dusky Laurel shade
Amongst the Chorus of old Poets laid,
Sounding of ancient Heroes, such as were
The Subjects Safety, and the Rebel's Fear.
But how a double headed Vulture Eats,
Brutus and Cassius the Peoples cheats.
But seeing May he varied streight his Song,
Gently to signifie that he was wrong.
Cups more than civil of Emathian wine,
I sing (said he) and the Pharsalian Sign,
Where the Historian of the Common-wealth
In his own Bowels sheath'd the conquering health;
By this May to himself and them was come,
He found he was translated, and by whom.
Yet then with foot as stumbling as his tongue
Prest for his place among the Learned throng.
But Ben, who knew not neither foe nor friend,
Sworn enemy to all that do pretend,
Rose more than ever he was seen severe,
Shook his gray locks, and his own Bayes did tear
At this intrusion. Then with Laurel wand,
The awful Sign of his suprem command,
At whose dread Whisk Virgil himself does quake,
And Horace patiently its stroke does take,
As he crowds in he whipt him o'er the pate.
Like Pembroke at the Masque, and then did rate.
Far from these blessed shades tread back agen
Most servil' wit, and Mercenary Pen.
Polydore, Lucan, Allan, Vandale, Goth,
Malignant Poet and Historian both.
Go seek the novice Statesmen, and obtrude
On them some Roman cast similitude,
Tell them of Liberty, the Stories fine,
Until you all grow Consuls in your wine.
Or thou Dictator of the glass bestow
On him the Cato, this the Cicero.
Transferring old Rome hither in your talk,
As Bethlehem's House did to Loretta walk.
Foul Architect that hadst not Eye to see
How ill the measures of these states agree.
And who by Romes example England lay,
Those but to Lucan do continue May.
But the nor Ignorance nor seeming good
Misled, but malice fixt and understood.
Because some one than thee more worthy weares
The sacred Laurel, hence are all these teares?
Must therefore all the World be set on flame,
Because a Gazet writer mist his aim?
And for a Tankard-bearing Muse must we
As for the Basket Guelphs and Gibellines be?
When the Sword glitters o'er the Judges head,
And fear has Coward Churchmen silenced,
Then is the Poets time, 'tis then he draws,
And single fights forsaken Vertues cause.
He, when the wheel of Empire, whirlith back,
And though the World's disjointed Axel crack,
Sings still of Ancient Rights and better Times,
Seeks wretched good, arraigns successful Crimes,
But thou base man first prostituted hast
Our spotless knowledge and the studies chast.
Apostatizing from our Arts and us,
To turn the Chronicler to Spartacus.
Yet was thou taken hence with equal fate,
Before thou couldst great Charles his death relate.
But what will deeper wound thy little mind,
Hast left surviving Davenant still behind
Who laughs to see in this thy death renew'd
Right Romane poverty and gratitude.
Poor Poet thou, and grateful Senate they,
Who thy last Reckoning did so largely pay.
And with the publick gravity would come,
When thou hadst drunk thy last to lead thee home.
If that can be thy home where Spencer lyes
And reverend Chaucer, but their dust does rise
Against thee, and expels thee from their side,
As th' Eagles Plumes from other birds divide.
Nor here thy shade must dwell, Return, Return,
Where Sulphrey Phlegeton does ever burn.
The Cerberus with all his Jawes shall gnash,
Megaera thee with all her Serpents lash.
Thou rivited unto Ixion's wheel
Shalt break, and the perpetual Vulture feel.
'Tis just what Torments Poets ere did feign,
Thou first Historically shouldst sustain.
Thus by irrevocable Sentence cast,
May only master of these Revels past.
And straight he vanisht in a Cloud of pitch,
Such as unto the Sabbath bears the Witch.38

The attacks of his enemies notwithstanding, Parliament
ordered that May be buried with appropriate ceremony in the
south Transept of Westminster Abbey. The ironic sequel to

this stately interment is that in 1661 Charles II ordered the removal of the bodies buried in the Abbey since 1641. Therefore, May's body was exhumed, and the insult added to this injury is that in 1668 Davenant, May's rival for the laureateship, was buried in May's original resting place.\textsuperscript{39}

\textsuperscript{39}Chester, p. 75.
II. Thomas May: The Plays

The following five plays by May are extant: The Heir, printed in 1622 and again in 1633; The Tragedy of Antigone the Theban Princesse, printed in 1631; The Tragedy of Cleopatra, Queene of Aegypt, printed in 1639 and (with Agrippina) in 1654; The Tragedy of Julia Agrippina, Empresse of Rome, printed in 1639 and (with Cléopatra) in 1654; and The Old Couple, printed in 1658.

A sixth play, a Latin Julius Caesar, was never printed, but the manuscript, now lost, has been reported several times. It is recorded in Biographia Dramatica (1812 ed., i, 503), more fully in Halliwell-Phillipps's A Dictionary of Old English Plays (1860 ed., p. 136), and repeated by Hazlitt:

A Latin tragedy by Thomas May. The original MS. of this play, which is in five short acts, was in the possession of Stephen Jones. The author has affixed his name at the conclusion of the piece.

(Manual 1892, p. 124.)

Bentley observes that most of this information is probably not first-hand, and that the evidence for the authorship or even the existence of this play is so slight as to make speculation concerning its date futile.1 Admitting the impossibility of certain knowledge about a play which has vanished without a trace, Chester speculates that it was probably written sometime between 1625 and 1630 when May's

attention was engaged by Roman history, as witness not only his English tragedies but also his translation of *Pharsalia.*

The *Heir* was printed for Thomas Jones, *Antigone* for Benjamin Fisher, *Cleopatra* and *Julia Agrippina* for Thomas Walkly, and *The Old Couple* for Samuel Speed. We know that *The Heir* was acted in 1620, probably at the Bull by the company of the Revels, but there is no evidence that *Antigone* was ever acted. The title page of the first edition of *Cleopatra* bears the statement, "Acted 1626," and in the first edition of *Julia Agrippina* on the same page with the list of "Speakers" appears the statement, "Acted 1628." Fleay's supposition that the Revels Company performed *The Old Couple* along with *The Heir* has been discredited by the discovery of a note by Edmond Malone stating that *The Old Couple* was first performed in 1636 (see below).

It is generally assumed that *The Heir* was written in 1620, and the similarities in tone and language between it and *The Old Couple* lead Chester to assert that the latter was written at approximately the same time. Schelling accepts 1619 as the probable date of composition. Bentley has recently challenged this date on the basis of a manuscript note made by Edmond Malone opposite the entry for *The Old Couple*.

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2 Chester, p. 99.


in his copy of Langbaine:

'Acted first in 1636 as appears by the Office Book of Sr. Henry Herbert, of which I have made a copy June 22, 1789.'\(^5\)

Malone never published his copy of the book, but a few of the unpublished items are preserved because Malone noted them in the margins of certain of his books which are now in the Bodleian.\(^6\) None of the conjectural arguments for an earlier date for The Old Couple can override the evidence that it was acted in 1636 and presumably composed only shortly before.

Cleopatra and Julia Agrippina were apparently written in the years in which they were performed, 1626 and 1628, respectively. Romantic elements in Antigone and some dependence on Romeo and Juliet, a major source of The Heir, indicate that it may have been written earlier than the two Roman tragedies; however, this evidence is largely cancelled out by May's leaning heavily on his translation of the seventh book of Lucan's Pharsalia, published in 1627, for one scene in Antigone. For this reason, 1627 is probably the earliest date which can be assigned to the play.

The Old Couple is available in R. Dodsley's anthology,

\(^5\)Reported by W.J. Lawrence, T.L.S., Nov. 29, 1923, p. 820. Chester was apparently unaware of the existence of this note from Sir Henry Herbert's office-book, for he does not mention it.

\(^6\)Bentley, p. 839.
A Select Collection of Old English Plays. 7 It is the most original of May's dramas, for we know of no single source to which he went for his material. 8 This play holds in nearly perfect solution the realistic, satirical elements of Jonsonian comedy and the romanticism nourished in May by his reading of Shakespeare and Fletcher:

when he essayed to imitate the Jonsonian comedy ofhumors, he departed, under the pull of his romantici smo the ascendency of Fletcher in the theatre, from what seems to have been his original intention; and produced tragi-comedies in which, although the Jonsonian characteristics are present, the dominant tone is the romanticism of Shakespeare and his 'royal' successor. 9

The title of the play and the recurring gibes at avarice reveal the influence of Jonson as do such tag names as Earthworm, Freeman, Fruitful, Dotterel, Trusty, Sir Argent Scrape, Lady Whimsey, and Lady Covet. But characters named Eugeny, Artemia, Euphues, and Matilda participate in thoroughly romantic scenes which take place in caves and shady woods and which reach a climax when separated lovers are reunited by an incredible turn of events.

The characters are differentiated well, but May's


8 No source is mentioned by Langbaine in either his An Account of English Dramatick Poets or his Momus Triumphans or the Plagiaries of the English Stage, nor have later commentators suggested a source.

9 Chester, p. 80.
satirical attacks on the foolish Sir Argent Scrape and Lady Covet are never caustic enough to produce real aversion to them. The dialogue is amusing and witty, and the action moves at a pleasantly brisk pace. The chief defect of the play is the careless construction of the sub-plots, which seem divorced from the main plot or are left unresolved at the end of the play.

*The Heir* is also available in Dodsley's anthology. Less original and entertaining than *The Old Couple*, this play, too, exhibits a union of the realistic and the romantic, although the realism is relegated to a sub-plot. Here again it is impossible to designate a single, definite source, but it is obvious that May reworked several popular themes. Chester suggests that May possibly drew on *Volpone* for the miserly Polymetes and the false report of death and on the eighth novel of Barnabe Riche's *Farewell to the Military Profession* (1581) for the basic device of a girl escaping her father's house in a boy's disguise with the help of her lover to avoid marrying the repulsive old man selected by her father. In both works the situation is saved by the return of a long absent brother.\(^\text{10}\) Of course, these elements were conventional and familiar to every Elizabethan play-goer.

Several unmistakable borrowings from Shakespeare occur in the drama:

\(^{10}\) Chester, p. 87.
1. From *Romeo and Juliet*, the situation in which a young man and a young woman fall in love at first sight, only to learn that they are the children of rival houses and that their parents will oppose a marriage between them.

2. From *Measure for Measure*, the situation in which an official offers to pardon a criminal on condition that the young woman who is pleading for the culprit's life will become his mistress.

3. From *Much Ado About Nothing*, a constable and watch much given to malapropisms.

4. From *The Comedy of Errors*, the situation in which two brothers, separated by shipwreck in infancy are reunited. Although this is common material, the conjunction in *The Heir* of shipwreck and the place Syracuse suggests that May had Shakespeare's earliest comedy in mind.11

Although the sub-plot is handled artistically in that it echoes the events of the main plot on a lower level of society, it touches the main plot only at the conclusion of the play. A more serious weakness in *The Heir* is its failure to maintain any suspense regarding the outcome. From the moment the missing brother appears in a disguise easily penetrated by the reader or audience, the question of the solution is merely "when" rather than "how."

There is no modern edition of *Antigone*. May takes the basic story from Sophocles, but it is not a simple translation of Sophocles. The opening scene in which Antigone discourses upon the sad events which have followed the incestuous love of Oedipus and Jocasta is taken directly from the fragmentary *Phoenissae* of Seneca. From Statius' *Thebaid* May borrows

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11 Chester, pp. 87-88.
the vivid description of the warfare between Oedipus' sons, Eteocles and Polyneices, and the account of the visit of Argia, Polyneices' widow, to Thebes to give him burial. May's translation of Lucan's *Pharsalia* contains a detailed description of the awful field littered with corpses after the battle; May incorporates this passage verbatim into *Antigone* to describe the field before Thebes. Moreover, Lucan's account of the visit of Sextus to the witch Erichtho provides the details in May's drama of the activities of the three ghoulish hags whom Creon consults to discover the future. Finally, the climax of the tragedy in which Haemon commits suicide when he finds that Antigone has poisoned herself in her tomb seems to have been inspired by *Romeo and Juliet*. In Sophocles, Antigone strangles herself in the tomb.\(^{12}\)

May's characters, especially Antigone and Creon, are more individualized than the same characters in Sophocles. Antigone is a wise and articulate young woman rather than a shy girl with little experience of the world, and Creon is a cruel tyrant who is responsible for his misdeeds, rather than a mere instrument in the hands of a fate intent upon the destruction of the last member of the house of Oedipus. Despite several moving scenes, such as the meeting of Antigone and Argia over the body of Polyneices and the ghastly interview between Creon and the witches, *Antigone* is better suited to the closet than the stage.\(^{13}\)

\(^{12}\)Chester, pp. 121-124.

\(^{13}\)Chester, pp. 125-126.
The only modern edition of Julia Agrippina is a German one by F. Ernst Schmid. For the character of the male-spirited empress May has drawn on Jonson's conception of her in Sejanus and on Lady Macbeth. Other sources of the play are the Annales of Tacitus, Joannes Xiphilinus' epitome of Dio Cassius' Roman History, and scattered material from Suetonius, Petronius Arbiter, Sallust, Pliny, and Virgil.

This drama, despite a slow, stilted beginning and a chronic paucity of action, succeeds in holding the attention of the reader because of the successful delineation of the character of Agrippina. A ruthless termagant at the beginning of the drama, she becomes a pitiful figure when Nero turns against her, and we perceive that her fault lay in an exaggerated maternal instinct rather than in personal lust for power. Her eloquent denunciation of Nero in the fourth act is memorable, but she attains her greatest stature by the stoic dignity with which she dies.

The tragedy contains a few effective scenes such as Narcissus' appeal to Claudius to checkmate Agrippina before she can destroy him. Another strong scene is that in which Nero and his mother abandon all pretenses of affection and

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15 Chester, p. 113.

16 Bentley, p. 838.
respect for one another and reveal their true natures. The romantic sub-plot which concerns the love affair between Otho and Poppaea before the latter succumbed to Nero's enticements is also well handled.

Perhaps the most serious dramatic defect in Julia Agrippina is that the two opposing forces are both wicked; consequently, when Nero triumphs, the reader experiences no satisfaction that cosmos has been re-established in place of chaos or that society has been purged of its corruption.¹⁷

It would, of course, be absurd to suggest that Thomas May was a major Caroline dramatist; however, his five extant plays reveal that he was an erudite and competent artist whose work merits the attention of any serious student of seventeenth century drama. If his plays sometimes seem to lack action; if his sub-plots tend to be sketchily developed and irrelevant; if his poetry seldom attains brilliance, it is no less true that the plays are highly readable and interesting, that without exception each contains at least a few strikingly delineated characters and dramatically effective scenes, and that May has successfully combined Jonsonian realism and Fletcherian romance.

¹⁷Chester, pp. 109-110.
III. The Tragedy of Cleopatra: The Sources

In re-telling the familiar story of Antony and Cleopatra Thomas May drew most of his material from the classical sources which were the logical starting-point for any writer who wished to treat the old tale of love and honor. These histories and biographies which supplied the basic narrative were Dio Cassius' Roman History, Plutarch's Life of Mark Antony, and Suetonius' Life of Caesar Augustus. May also borrowed a few details from Florus, Callimachus, Pliny, Solinus, Strabo, Appian, and Lucan.

Throughout the play the author has carefully noted in the right margin the sources of his material. Dio Cassius is listed 49 times, Plutarch 39 times, Suetonius 5 times, Florus 2 times and Strabo, Callimachus, Appian, Pliny, Solinus, and Lucan one time each. Although this marginal notation is very helpful in studying May's use of sources, we must not assume that every instance of borrowing has been pointed out. There are several passages which can be easily traced to Dio Cassius or Plutarch and yet have no marginal reference.

For instance, Lucilius' attempts to dissuade Antony from committing suicide and Antony's rebuke of this ignoble counsel (V.1.14-16) are taken from Dio with no marginal note. Also in II.111 Cleopatra's soliloquy upon the necessity of Canidius' persuading Antony to allow her to accompany him to the war reflects Plutarch's influence although he is not cited.
From Florus May took the account of the Battle of Actium, especially the passage in which Antony's castle-like ships are contrasted to Octavius' small and agile ones (III.1. 54-57). The description of the island of Pharos to which Antony retired in the guise of Timon the misanthrope after Actium (III.11.38-42) comes from Strabo. The lines which Antony reads aloud when first discovered as Timon are a freely expanded imitation of one of Callimachus' Epigrams concerning Timon (III.111.1-4). Appian's Civil Wars serves as the source of Cleopatra's defense before Octavius against the charge that she had aided Cassius and his fellow assassins in the battle at Philippi (V.111.54-64). Pliny, Solinus, and Lucan furnish the suggestions for the Psylls, the African tribe whose unique powers in curing snake bites Octavius hoped would revive Cleopatra (V.11v.1-16).

A brief survey of the relationship of May's version of the Cleopatra story to that found in Plutarch is interesting because it reveals both significant similarities and striking differences.¹

Plutarch's presentation of Cleopatra is substantially the same as Dio's, although Plutarch is more gallant or at least more moderate than Dio, who treats her maliciously.

¹Heinrich Wolf, "Thomas May's Tragedy of Cleopatra Queen of Aegypt" (Strassburg, 1914). A thorough examination of May's classical sources and his treatment of them may be found in this work. There is only a short section on May's contemporary sources.
In both works she is a wanton, lewd woman with great physical beauty, shrewd intelligence and cunning through which she had already conquered the affections of Julius Caesar and later estranged Antony from his beloved Rome. Ruled by an immeasurable ambition, she used both Caesar and Antony as tools in the accomplishment of her grand scheme to become the mistress of a world empire. When she was convinced that Antony was incapable of furthering her designs, Cleopatra entertained the idea of turning her blandishments on Octavius. Only when her coquetry failed to win him did she decide to escape the humiliation of adorning his triumph by committing suicide, and in the face of death her heart turned again to Antony.²

Hardin Craig writes of Plutarch's emphasizing Cleopatra's attractive qualities:

In Plutarch Antony is blamed for falling victim to infatuation and throwing away the world for love of Cleopatra. Plutarch is mainly interested in the downfall of the great Roman and its significance in politics, history, and morals. He dwells on the magnificence of Cleopatra, tells about her gifts of gold and silver, the sumptuousness of her household, the splendor of her feasts, how eight wild boars were roasted whole in the Kitchen of Antony, and so on. Cleopatra is beautiful, flattering, charming; but she is also great. She ruled a kingdom unaided; she was cultured; she knew many languages; and, characteristically, Plutarch tells a good deal about her humor and describes the sports and amusements of Antony and Cleopatra in Alexandria.³

²Wolf, pp. 52-53.

May depicts the Egyptian queen in much the same way. In the opening scene Titius, Plancus, and Canidius testify to her beauty, her incontinence, her fabulous wealth (I.1.20-38), her wit and accomplishments (I.1.66-82). As in Plutarch she possesses an inordinante ambition which Antony's extravagant gift of three kingdoms cannot satisfy:

\begin{verbatim}
AN. . . . Blush not, my Love, nor let Rome's bounty force 
    Thy modesty: these Crowns from thy fair brow 
    Receive more lustre then they can bestow.
TI. I think he need not greatly fear her blushing.
PL. No Marcus no; alas these petty Kingdoms 
    (Though too too great to be so ill bestow'd) 
    Are not the scope of her ambitious aymes!
\end{verbatim}

(I.11.85-91)

Nor does anyone doubt that she would presume to ask Antony to transfer the seat of empire from Rome to Egypt (I.11.221-225).

Despite these similarities between Plutarch's and May's characterizations of Cleopatra some important differences are immediately apparent. May has altered the classical source and shifted emphases in order to ennoble the characters as much as possible. This attempt to elevate them and to elicit sympathy and admiration is especially noticeable in the treatment of Cleopatra. He does not picture her as betraying Antony to Octavius by ordering her fleet to go over to Caesar or her troops to forsake Antony. Although she does promise Caesar's envoy, Thyreus, that she will command her lieutenant at Pelusium to surrender the city, May allows her to justify her action by pointing out that Pelusium belongs to her and
that Antony can suffer no injustice if she yields her own possession; besides, she observes that Antony is already beyond help—not merely because soldiers have deserted him but because he has lost the sine qua non of ultimate success, the strength of his own soul (IV.iv.1-15).

May also improves the queen's image by refraining from presenting her spectacular deceptions during Octavius' visit. Plutarch records that she gave Caesar a brief inventory of her money and treasure in which Seleucus, one of her servants, detected many noteworthy omissions and brought them to Caesar's attention. After venting the royal spleen upon the tell-tale Seleucus, Cleopatra squirms gracefully by protesting to Caesar that she had guilelessly kept back a few baubles with which to secure the favor of Octavia and Livia.⁴ May deletes this evidence of Her Majesty's cupidity and cunning. To Caesar's charges that she had abetted Antony's cause against his own, Plutarch's Cleopatra "began to clear and excuse herself for that she had done, laying all to the fear she had of Antonius."⁵ In May's tragedy Cleopatra admits freely that she loved Antony, a man worthy of love, and aided him voluntarily (V.iii.45-50). Instead of making shameless attempts to draw Octavius into her net she simply investigates his intentions to ascertain whether she may reasonably hope for


⁵Plutarch, p. 112.
privileged treatment at his hands.

When she sees that he does not love her but merely wants to exhibit her in Rome -- when she realizes that her hopes are illusory, then her love for Antony returns in all its power. All her thoughts are now centered on her dead lover whose forgiveness she begs for her misdeeds, expiated with tears and blood.

Even the differences in the physical appearance of Cleopatra during this scene with Caesar in the two works reveal May's determination to make her as glamorous as possible. Plutarch describes her as "marvellously disfigured," having torn out her hair, lacerated her face with her nails, and ripped her stomach, and with eyes "sunk into her head with continual blubbering."6 There is no indication at all in May that Cleopatra received Caesar in so unfetching a state of dishabille; in fact, she is quite regal in her mourning, and Caesar feels the necessity of fortifying himself with a prayer to Cupid and a dutiful glance in Livia's direction:

How sweet a sorrow dwells upon that brow! How would she look in smiling dalliance? Oh pardon me thou powerfull God of Love, That durst presume to tempt thy Deitie. Forgive my confidence. I now excuse Antonius weaknesse, but stay there my heart, My vertuous Livia is more fair then she. (V.iii.13-19)

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6Plutarch, p. 111.
The dramatist's account of Cleopatra's experimenting with various poisons and using prisoners as victims presents her as far more merciful than Plutarch's cruel murderess who kills many men to satisfy her curiosity. In the classical story she observes the effects of the poisons which kill with the greatest violence and torment as well as those which are more gentle. Only after she had "daily made divers and sundry proofs" does she conclude that the asp's venom produces the gentlest and speediest death. The dramatic version finds Cleopatra granting a virtual boon to two condemned men:

Dare you die  
A lesse dishonorable way, to scape  
The common hangman's hand, and from a Queen  
Receive your death, and that an easier death?  
(IV.1.40-43)

When the first prisoner slips quietly into fatal sleep from the asp's sting, Cleopatra resolves that she will die in the same way. The experiment successfully concluded, she graciously reprieves the second prisoner:

Wee'll try no more, as for thy draught of poyson  
Thus we discharge thee of it, and from death  
Doom'd by the law our royall pardon frees thee.  
(IV.1.55-57)

This incident does much to exalt the queen or at least to make her less objectionable.

Of course, the classical source bristles with anecdotes which denigrate Antony as the debauched and wayward abdic- tor of responsibility. Plutarch describes him as a sensual,
pleasure-seeking man who allows Cleopatra to rule him while he forgets honor, duty, home and family.

Now, Antonius was so ravished with the love of Cleopatra, that though his wife Fulvia had great wars, and much ado with Caesar for his affairs, and that the army of the Parthians (the which the king's lieutenants had given to the only leading of Labienus) was now assembled in Mesopotamia ready to invade Syria; yet, as though all this had nothing touched him, he yielded himself to go with Cleopatra into Alexandria, where he spent and lost in childish sports... and idle pastimes, the most precious thing a man can spend, as Antiphon saith: and that is, time.?

To please his paramour he gives her territories won with Roman blood and degrades his country's honor. In her arms he is unmanned, and his effeminacy is nowhere more evident than in his lacking the moral strength to obtain satisfaction after Cleopatra's cruel betrayal. He even wishes to spend the last hours of his life in her embrace.

Antony, like Cleopatra, appears more noble in May's drama than in Plutarch. His basest traits are either missing entirely or they have been considerably softened to make him more admirable. For instance, May does not cast Antony as firmly in the role of the faithless husband as does his biographer. Titius alludes briefly in the opening scene to Antony's marriage, and Cleopatra later taunts him for giving Fulvia and Octavia the honorable name of wives when she was content to be his mistress (IV.iv.33-38), but these are the

7Plutarch, p. 36.
only direct references to his marriage. More important is the fact that there is no scene between husband and wife; indeed, Octavia does not appear at all. Since we do not see this good and pathetic woman, Antony's sins against her do not operate very forcefully on us.

As in the source May's Antony infuriates the Romans by bestowing the three crowns of Cyprus, Coelosyria, and Phoenicia upon Cleopatra; however, he delivers an eloquent little speech to excuse this presumptuous deed:

Admire not, friends; the God-like power of Rome
Is more declar'd by what it gives away
Then what it holds. But these are still our owne
And Cleopatra Romes deserving friend.
(I.i.11.95-98)

Antony also has an answer to the objection that he is an absentee triumvir who should not hold such great power while living far from Rome. In Antony's view the situation is virtually identical to an earlier one when the Senate and Camillus fled to Veii before the barbarous Gauls.

Tis not the place, nor marble walls that make
A Senate lawfull, or decrees of power,
But convocation of the men themselves
The sacred order by true Magistrates.
Then Rome is here; here both her Consuls are,
Here are her axes, and her fasces born,
And no small number of that sacred order
Are here assisting . . .
(II.1.1-8)

The Antony of May's tragedy is good and inclined to forgive even in the face of blatant provocation. Whereas Plutarch writes that Antony became jealous of Caesar's
ambassador and had him whipped because he spent too much
time in private conference with the queen and received her
favors, May presents Antony as a naive man who believes
Cleopatra's protestations of innocence although he was
alerted to the mysterious goings-on between her and Thyreus
by his trustworthy friends. He simply does not think her
capable of such treachery; consequently, after a few mo-
ments of indignant blustering he releases Thyreus without
so much as a sound thrashing.

Antony's meekness also prompts him to accept final de-
feat without quarreling with his fate. He makes no accusa-
tions, indulges in no recriminations even at the nadir of
his fortunes when friends and troops have deserted him. In
Plutarch he storms back into Alexandria after the defection
of his navy, screaming that Cleopatra has betrayed him, but
in May's drama he calmly endures the blows of fortune and
does not reproach Cleopatra. This means that Cleopatra's
fleeing into her tomb and sending the false report of her
death to Antony lack motivation in the play because she enters
the tomb before the last battle, and Antony gives no evidence
of being angry with her when he returns in defeat. Plutarch
says that when Antony returned in a rage against her,
Cleopatra fled into her tomb and sent him word of her death
because she was afraid of his fury.

May creates sympathy for Antony by inventing the passage
in which the broken commander expresses anxiety concerning the
future welfare of his associates, Lucilius and Aristocrates. One of his last acts is to give them a letter of introduction to Caesar -- a significant addition to the story in view of May's tendency to ennoble the characters.

In Plutarch, Octavius is an insolent young snob, whose self-confident plotting and smug hypocrisy make him distasteful. He is the archetypal upstart, Fortune's unfeeling fair-haired boy on whom success dotes and to whom power gravitates. His ultimate victory over Antony is as inevitable as the displacement of Hyperion by Apollo, but Octavius triumphs, not because he is more splendid, but because he knows the rules and the tricks of the game and plays without scruples.

Octavius is not an attractive character in The Tragedy of Cleopatra, but May places him in as favorable light as possible. He follows Plutarch in describing Octavius' grief at the death of Antony, with the exception that Octavius laments publicly in the play rather than in seclusion as in Plutarch. In the dramatic version he mourns Antony not only as a friend, companion, and brother-in-law but also as "the aider of my infant fortunes." This passage argues a humility in Octavius which is previously unsuspected, and the passage as a whole reveals the haughty victor as a man of some compassion.

The playwright certainly makes Octavius more palatable by suppressing entirely his ignoring Antony's attempt to negotiate with him and his refusing to respond to Antony's overtures for a reconciliation. Plutarch writes that "Caesar
would not grant unto Antonius' requests" that he might live at Athens like a private man if Caesar would not let him remain in Egypt. This high-handed dismissal of his broken rival's suit is well lost if Caesar is to win any sympathy. We must remember, however, that although these changes are important, they are few, and in general May's presentation of Caesar agrees with Plutarch's.

May usually follows his sources almost slavishly, but in his treatment of Cleopatra's death he borrows only the basic historical facts from Plutarch. Instead of taking her final leave of Antony at his tomb, May's Cleopatra bids his corpse farewell in her palace. The words she speaks on this occasion are very different in the two works, for in Plutarch she is wholly concerned with Caesar's preventing her suicide and taking her to Rome. Desperately she pleads that the gods of the dead will permit them to be joined in death. In the play Cleopatra sees her way clear to the suicide and, therefore, glories in her "second coronation day" when she will meet her departed lover. The only words she directs to Antony's corpse are optimistic:

Farewell thou fading remnant of my Love. When I am gone, I'll leave these earthly parts

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8 Plutarch, pp. 100.
9 Wolf, p. 49.
10 Plutarch, pp. 113-114.
To keep thee company; never to part,
But dwell together, and dissolve together.
(V.v.51-54)

In his study of the sources of the play Wolf points
out that May apparently worked directly from Plutarch rather
than from North's translation.\textsuperscript{11} The following comparison
provides strong evidence for this view:

\textit{Plutarch: Σοφος σοφους σωστων, διν ἔστων σοφοι.}

\textit{North: A Wise man if that he be wise indeed:}
\textit{May by a wise man have the better speed.}

\textit{May: Wisemen, if truly wise, save wise men still.}

Although May has not acknowledged the influence of con-
temporary authors on his tragedy by giving their names in
the margin, there can be no doubt that he knew most of the
Cleopatra plays of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth
centuries.\textsuperscript{12} I shall discuss May's relationship to three
of those plays written during the first two decades of the
seventeenth century by Fletcher, Daniel, and Shakespeare.

Collaborating with Massinger, Fletcher wrote \textit{The False
One} about 1620, but it was not published until 1647. Dealing
with the events immediately following Julius Caesar's victory

\textsuperscript{11}Wolf, p. 51.

\textsuperscript{12}These include: Jodelle's \textit{Cléopâtre Captive} (1545),
Garnier's \textit{Marc Antoine} (1578, trans. into English by the
Countess of Pembroke in 1590), Daniel's \textit{Cleopatra} (1594),
Brandon's \textit{The Virtuous Octavia} (1598), Shakespeare's \textit{Antony
and Cleopatra} (1606-1608), and Fletcher and Massinger's
\textit{The False One} (c. 1620).
over Pompey at Pharsalia, this play seems to have influenced May only slightly. There are no passages in which the language closely resembles May's. Achoreus, the Egyptian priest, appears in The False One and in May's drama but in none of the other Cleopatra plays. There is a possibility that May's attention was directed to this figure by Fletcher, but more probably May included him because he appears in Lucan's Pharsalia, which May translated in 1626. The marked differences between the two Achoreuses also cast doubt on May's taking him from Fletcher. In the latter, Achoreus plays a major role as the wise counselor of young King Ptolemy, while in May he participates very little in the action. The two dramatists also place entirely different words in the mouth of the priest, with the minor exception that in both dramas Achoreus announces his intention of going into the temple to pray -- in Fletcher for Ptolemy and in May for Egypt.

Fletcher: I'le goe pray Sir, (For that is best counsel now) the gods may help ye. (IV.i.48-49)

May: I'll go within and make an offering To great Osiris. (II.iv.74-75)

This similarity, of course, proves nothing, for there can hardly be anything unusual in priests' praying.

13Citations from Fletcher are to The Works of Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher, Vol. IV, ed. Morton Luce (London, 1912).
The scene in which Julius Caesar learns of Pompey's death in *The False One* is strikingly similar to the scene in May's drama in which Octavius mourns Antony. When the head of the murdered Pompey is brought to Julius Caesar, he breaks out in lamentation for his opponent, but Socca doubts the sincerity of his general's sorrow with these words:

If thou beest thus loving, I shall honour thee:  
But great men may dissemble, 'tis held possible,  
And be right glad of what they seem to weep for;  
There are such kind of philosophers. Now do I wonder  
How he would look if Pompey were alive again,  
But how he would set his face.  

(II.i.160-165)

In similar manner Lucilius expresses his suspicion of the genuineness of Octavius' sorrow for his dead opponent. In an aside he comments: "Most royall Caesar-like dissimulation" (V.ii.63). Further agreement between the two dramas cannot be established.

May's debt to Daniel's *Cleopatra* (1594) is more obvious, especially in Cleopatra's speeches. Here we find a number of passages in which the train of thought is reminiscent of Daniel's tragedy although these similarities are seldom definite verbal parallels. Some of the closer parallels are:

Daniel: That Rome should see my scepter-bearing hands  
Behind me bound, and glory in my teares;  
That I should passe whereas Octavia stands,  
To view my misery, that purchas'd hers.  
No, I disdaine that head which wore a crowne,
Should stoope to take up that which others give;
I must not be, unlesse I be mine owne . . . .
(11. 67-73)\footnote{14}

May: You'd wcep to see great Cleopatra led
A wretched captive through the streets of Rome
Before proud Caesar's chariot, mock'd and flowted,
And from a Queen become Octavia's drudge.
No, no, my girles, I will be still my self
And from this seat of state look down in scorn
On Rome and Caesar's threats as things below me.
(V.v.34-40)

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Daniel: For looke what I have beeene to Antony,
Thinke thou the same I might have beeene to thee.
(11. 673-674)

May: . . . had your share of rule
In Egypt lyen, I had been Caesar's friend.
(V.iii.49-50)

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Daniel: And you deare reliques of my Lord and Love.
(The sweetest parcels of the faithfull'st liver,)
(11. 1106-1107)

May: . . . this that here lies dead
Was but the house that lodg'd my dearest Lord,
That earthly Mansion, that did once contain
The kindest, noblest, and the truest soule
That ever liv'd . . . .
(V.v.23-27)

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Daniel: So shall I act the last of life with glory,
Die like a Queene, and rest without controule.
(11. 1198-1199)

May: That Cleopatra liv'd and di'd a Queen.
(V.v.70)

*************************

Daniel: O rarest beast (saith she) that Affrick breedes,
How dearely welcome art thou unto me?
The fairest creature that faire Nylus feedes
Me thinke I see, in now beholding thee . . .
Better than Death, Death's office thou dischargest,
That with one gentle touch canst free our breath:
And in a pleasing sleepe our soule inlargest,
Making our selves not privy to our death.

(II. 1509-1520)

May: Thou precious worme, that canst redeem alone
The losse of honour at a rate so easie,
That kill'est as gently as the hand of age,
And art miscall'd a plague of Africa, . . .
On thee I trust, one gentle touch of thine
Can free this life from loathed servitude . . .

(IV.1.62-71)

These similarities indicate that May was familiar with the Daniel tragedy and had patterned some of his wording after Daniel's.

Turning now to May's relationship to his most famous contemporary, we find that Shakespeare's influence is especially strong in the Timon episode. May found Timon associated with Antony in Plutarch's report that after Actium

Antonius, he forsook the city and company of his friends, and built him a house in the sea, by the Isle of Pharos . . . saying that he would lead Timon's life, because he had the like wrong offered him, that was before offered unto Timon . . . 15

Shakespeare does not present his Antony in the guise of Timon, but in Timon of Athens there is a scene between Timon and Alcibiades (IV.iii.48-177) which is very similar to the scene in May's third act between Antony (Timon) and Aristocrates

15Plutarch, p. 96.
Received without part(s) \[\underline{\text{missing}}\].

Filmed as received.

University Microfilms, Inc.
that course; but tis too slow a plot. / Oh for a speedy way
to kill the world!" (III.i.11.53-54).

It is not entirely fair to compare *Antony and Cleopatra*,
one of Shakespeare's most masterful dramas, with the work of
an obscure Caroline dramatist, but a study of similarities
and differences between the two plays is interesting. Appar-
tently May had studied Shakespeare's work closely, especially
after he decided to treat the same material. In the arrange-
ment of this material there are many correspondences between
the plays; of course, we must remember that both dramatists
used the same classical sources and that both followed those
sources rather faithfully. However, in several places which
lack a direct source Shakespeare's influence can be detected.
Several scenes or parts of scenes appear to have been taken
over by May from Shakespeare's work.  

As Philo deplores the unwholesome influence of Cleopatra
on Antony in I.i of Shakespeare's play, so Titius and Plancus
wag disapproving heads over the same matter in May's opening
scene. Both plays show Antony refusing to heed messengers
from Rome; in Shakespeare he does not let the messengers
speak -- in May he refuses to read the letters they have brought.
Before the last desperate land battle Shakespeare has a soldier
tell Antony that the troops are awaiting him; and in May,
Canidius comes forward and points out that the time is propi-
tious for the attack.

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16 Wolf, p. 56.
Besides these parallels between the two tragedies in scenic arrangement the influence of Shakespeare's thought can be recognized in various passages, and in several instances May has followed his great predecessor closely:

Shakespeare: Now, for the love of Love and her soft hours, Let's not confound the time with conference harsh. (I.i.45-46)

May: No affairs
Of what import or height so ere, shall have
Power to disturb the pleasures of this night. (I.i.153-155)

****************

Shakespeare: Let us grant, it is not
Amiss to tumble on the bed of Ptolemy;
To give a kingdom for a mirth . . . . (I.iv.16-18)

May: Three wealthy Kingdoms got with Roman blood,
And our forefathers valour, given away
As the base hire of an adulterous bed. (I.i.167-169)

****************

Shakespeare: my former fortunes
Wherein I lived, the greatest prince o' the world,
The noblest; and do now not basely die,
Not cowardly put off my helmet to
My countrymen, -- a Roman by a Roman
Valiantly vanquish'd. (IV.xv.53-58)

May: Fortune, I blame not thee; I have enjoy'd
What thou could'st give, and on the envy'd top
Of thy proud wheel have long unshaken stood . . .
Nor is my fall so much degenerate.
My strength no arms but Roman arms subdue,
And none, but Monarch of the world succeeds. (V.1.25-33)

May is also indebted to Shakespeare for part of the description of Cleopatra's barge on the river Cydnus. Of course,
Plutarch is the source from which both dramatists worked, but Plutarch says nothing about the winds’ being in love with the sails of the ship. Shakespeare says: "Purple the sails, and so perfumed that / The winds were love-sick with them . . . ." (II.11.198-199). May's description is very similar: "and the winds / In amorous gales did kisse thy silken sayls" (I.11.136-137).

In most details, however, May's description of the barge is different from Plutarch's and Shakespeare's, for they carefully note that the poop was gold; the sails purple; the oars silver, and Cleopatra's pavilion made of a delicate gold fabric. May ignores the colors, making his description far less sensuous than Plutarch's and decidedly austere in comparison with Shakespeare, who even perfumes the sails and describes the effects of the wind on Cleopatra's cheeks. She would certainly have awarded the palm to Shakespeare instead of May on the basis of this passage.

There are other significant differences between the dramas. Perhaps the most obvious is the longer period of time covered by Shakespeare's work, which begins before the death of Fulvia. May's drama opens much later, after Antony has been to Rome, married Octavia, and returned to Egypt.

Not only is the time period longer in the Shakespearean play, but also the scope is greater -- everything is on a larger scale, more sweeping and extensive. Doubtless because at least in part of the rapid and frequent shift of scene
from Alexandria to Rome to Syria to Athens, there is an undeniable sense of vastness in *Antony and Cleopatra*. The reader never forgets that the issues are cosmic, the characters colossal, and the stakes a world empire. This impression is supported by many references in the play to the tripartite division of the world and the inescapable realization that the triumvirs, the three pillars of the world, are among the *dramatis personae*. Lepidus, Pompey, and Pompey's friends do not appear at all in May's tragedy, but in *Antony and Cleopatra* they are constantly trying to obtain more power or retain that which they already possess. Octavius and Antony also see their struggle more in political terms with the mastery of the world the victor's reward.

In Shakespeare's play Egypt is the antithesis of Rome, the headquarters of passion, luxury, sensual pleasure, as opposed to the reason, practicality, and austerity of Rome. Cleopatra expresses this contrast by making mirth the direct opposite of a "Roman thought."

We are aware of strife between the dissolute but still strangely vital corruption associated with Egypt and the cold competence of Rome reaching out through firm self-assertion to the benefits of universal rule.  

More than the Mediterranean separates Rome from Egypt, for they are symbols of two conflicting philosophies of life.

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The "distance" separating the two countries is developed significantly by the association of Egypt with feasting. Even after Actium Antony orders "some wine, within there, and our viands" (III.xi.73), and after the trying interview with Thyreus he proposes:

Let's have one other gaudy night: call to me
All my sad captains; fill our bowls once more;
Let's mock the midnight bell.

(III.xiii.183-185)

Act IV, scene 11, closes with an echo of this same preoccupation with eating and drinking: "Let's to supper, come, / And drown consideration" (IV.11.44-45). There are numerous other references to banqueting in Egypt which point up the temperance and discipline of Rome.

Even Cleopatra's sexual appeal is often presented by means of food imagery. She describes her status with Caesar as that of "a morsel for a monarch" (I.v.31), and Enobarbus calls her Antony's "Egyptian dish" (II.v.1.133). Antony himself sneers at her as "a morsel cold upon / Dead Caesar's trencher" and as "a fragment of Gneius Pompey's" (III.xiii.116-118). It is appropriate that the Queen of Egypt should be associated with food:

Other women cloy
The appetites they feed; but she makes hungry
Where most she satisfies . . . .

(II.11.241-243)

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The strict dichotomy between Rome and Egypt, which is also seen in an imagery of hotness for Egypt and coldness for Rome\textsuperscript{19}, is not nearly so prominent in May's tragedy. In fact, May presents Egypt more as the pitiful victim of Roman arms than as a sultry rival. This theme is stated most clearly in II.iv as Achoreus discusses Egypt's danger on the eve of Actium with two other Egyptians, Glaucus and Seleucus:

> What clime so farre, what region so remote,
> But that the Roman fortune reaches thither?
> All nations share in this.

\textit{(II.iv.56-58)}

Seleucus bitterly resents that other nations must suffer bloodshed because of Rome's intestine brawls. He asks Rome:

> Was it not enough,
> That first your conquests strew'd the earth with slaughter,
> And dy'd all Regions with their natives blouds,
> But your dissentions still must tear the world?

\textit{(II.iv.70-73)}

They know that if Antony conquers, Egypt will flourish, but by the same token, "If he should fall, the fury of the warre / Would light on Aegypt most . . . " \textit{(II.iv.77-78)}.

The Romans in May's drama think of Egypt not so much as an exotic and mysterious place but as a backward, uncivilized wasteland. Plancus can conceive of nothing worse than the possibility of Antony's promising to remove the capital of the empire from Rome to "Egypt's swarthys sands" \textit{(I.11.221-222)}.

\footnote{Charney, p. 107.}
Haughty Octavius is contemptuous of Achoreus and the Egyptian religion, and when the old priest offers to show him "th'Aegyptian rites and mysteries, / And all the Deities that we adore" (V.11.30-31), Octavius responds, "Most willingly, Achoreus, I would see / Gods, but not Oxen" (V.11.32-33). A suggestion that they view the bodies of the Ptolemys brings another supercilious rebuff from Caesar: "I'd see Kings only, not dead carcasses" (V.11.41).

Unlike Shakespeare's play, May's Cleopatra lays great stress on the theme of stoicism, especially at the end of the drama. Of course, Shakespeare's characters speak of dying in "the high Roman fashion," and they make the attempt to cheer themselves up and to think well of themselves when confronted with adversity; in fact, they exhibit the kind of pride which T.S. Eliot identifies with stoicism. However, May's characters are preoccupied with this theme to a greater degree.

As early as II.iv on the eve of the battle of Actium the Egyptians, Glaucus and Achoreus, agree on the need for inner strength to accept what the gods send:

GLA. What heaven is pleas'd to send, we must endure.  
ACH. True sonne; and let a wise man place his strengths within himself, nor trust to outward aids.  
That whatsoever from the Gods can come  
May find him ready to receive their doom.  
(II.iv.112-116)

Just before his death Antony reviews the achievements of his

life and concludes that after such a glorious career he will exit with dignity:

Glutted with life and Empire now I go
Free and undaunted to the shades below.
(V.1.34-35)

Cleopatra, too, is stoic in her acceptance of death which she sees as the way to eternal union with Antony and the attainment of true sovereignty. No longer does she fear the assaults of war or treason or fortune:

My state is constant now, my thoughts above
The fear of dangers or opposing foes.
(V.v.12-13)

In the moments before applying the asp to her breast Cleopatra chides her maids for weeping since honor dictates that she must not purchase life with humiliation:

No, no, my girles, I will be still my self
And from this seat of state look down in scorn
On Rome and Caesar's threats as things below me.
(V.v.38-40)

Another difference between the two dramas is the attitude of Cleopatra toward Julius Caesar. In Shakespeare she speaks irreverently of her former lover:

Did I, Charmian,
Ever love Caesar so?
Char.
O that brave Caesar!
Cleo. Be choked with such another emphasis!
Say, the brave Antony.
Char. The valiant Caesar!
Cleo. By Isis, I will give thee bloody teeth,
If thou with Caesar paragon again
My man of men.
(I.v.67-75)

Charmian herself could not have praised Caesar more enthusiastically than does May's Cleopatra. Pleading with Octavius to grant her death, she says:

I have liv'd
These many years too long; I should have dy'd
When that great Worthy, that renowned Caesar
Was basely murther'd in Romes Capitoll.
(V.iii.29-32)

Cleopatra again reveals her deep admiration for Julius Caesar as she denies having aided his murderers:

Witnessse thou glorious starre, which the great soule
Of noble Julius, when he left the earth,
Added to heaven, how innocent I am
From any fault in that . . . .
(V.iii.58-61)

While Thyreus urges her to accept Octavius as her new lover, the queen muses:

There was a Caesar, lov'd me once; but I
Am not so proud to think it was my merit,
Though he would say I did deserve farre more
Then he could utter, that great Julius,
Whose name and actions fill'd the triple world.
(IV.i.137-141)

Julius is mentioned more frequently in the May drama as well as more favorably. The dramatist reveals some knowledge of psychology in having Antony suddenly change the subject each time the name of his titanic predecessor comes up. He is
not anxious to hear Julius praised since he obviously is already acutely aware that Julius had preceded and bettered him in feats of war, politics, and love.

Critics used to charge Shakespeare with inconsistency in his characterization of Cleopatra because during the first three acts she is merely a vain, conniving sensualist, but in acts four and five she is Antony's dignified and faithful lover who follows him to death. In recent years other students of the play have come to Shakespeare's defense, arguing that Cleopatra is a highly complex character who can accommodate various qualities in her make-up. Although she is obviously more sober and exalted in the last half of Shakespeare's drama, it is misleading to suggest that she is so radically changed that the Cleopatra of the first three acts is unrecognizable in the gracious lady of the last two.

Kirschbaum points out that Cleopatra is still, however transformed, the same courtesan -- avid of love, impatient, jealous of rivals, quick-tempered, voluptuous, feline, thinking in sheerly feminine terms. She meets death perfectly in character as a woman preparing for a rendezvous with her lover. Dying becomes a voluptuous experience, and the caress of death and Antony blend into one.

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Similarly, Stirling sees the "old" Cleopatra alongside the "new" one. Concerned with the pervasive satire in *Antony and Cleopatra*, he carefully avoids placing too much emphasis on Cleopatra's transformation. Stirling's examination of her final speeches reveals that they contain selfishness and egoism as well as renunciation.\(^{23}\)

No one has stated the case for the unity of the character of Cleopatra more convincingly than E.E. Stoll. C.H. Herford (*A Sketch of Recent Shakespearean Investigation, 1893-1923*) had criticized Schücking's assertion that Shakespeare's Cleopatra was in fact two distinct women, and Stoll concurred in the criticism.

As it seems to me Mr. Herford is quite right in finding her even now, as through her sorrow for the loss of Antony and fear of being led in triumph she rises above herself, Cleopatra still. . . . There are glimpses of her humour, for instance, not only in her death scene but at Antony's death. And her spontaneous explosiveness appears when she calls Dolabella a liar and vents her rage on Seleucus, as when she called Antony one, raved against the Messenger, and threatened Charmian with bloody teeth. She is not wholly sublime and ideal as Professor Schücking takes her now to be. She abuses the gods and rails at Fortune when Antony dies, as she has always done at whatever thwarted her. She remembers Octavia continually and vindictively, with her modest eyes and her dulness. . . . And how from beginning to end, through all her fits and starts she keeps her languorous, voluptuous manner . . . I need not undertake to show.\(^{24}\)

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Shakespeare's Cleopatra gains her new nobility because she is profoundly moved by Antony's misfortunes. The turning-point comes when Antony surprises her in close conference with Caesar's envoy, Thyreus, and gives her a vicious verbal lashing:

I found you as a morsel cold upon
Dead Caesar's trencher; nay, you were a fragment
Of Cneius Pompey's; besides what hotter hours,
Unregister'd in vulgar fame, you have
Luxuriously pick'd out; for, I am sure,
Though you can guess what temperance should be,
You know not what it is.

(III.xiii.116-122)

To his bitter denunciations Cleopatra gives only soft answers: "O, is't come to this?" "Wherefore is this?" "I must stay his time." "Not know me yet?" These replies are a far cry from the coarse taunts she flings at Antony earlier in the play.

Even her holding back part of her treasure, her blandishments of Octavius, and her false message to Antony that she is dead do not deprive her of her new nobility, because the first two are merely ruses to allay Octavius's suspicions, and the last is done in a moment of terror. It is clear that Cleopatra recognizes her devotion to Antony and has determined to die.

In May's tragedy the transformation of Cleopatra does not come until much later. Although May's Cleopatra never

\[25\text{Craig, p. 1072.}\]
mocks Antony the way Shakespeare's does, on the occasion of being discovered with Thyreus she does not show the humility and contrition which Shakespeare's queen shows. After Antony's death this Cleopatra still hopes to manipulate things so that she may obtain Octavius's love while saving her life and her throne. In her interview with Octavius she is carefully probing his intentions to discover what chances she has of success. Only when he carelessly reveals his lack of love by reproaching her does she surrender her scheme and begin to realize that her allegiance still belongs to Antony:

no signes of love at all,
No smile, nor amorous glance, I was deceiv'd
And meerly coosen'd by base Thyreus.
But I must hide my fears, and clear this brow
The better to effect my purposes.
(V.iii.80-84)

From this moment Cleopatra is a truly magnificent queen.

In many ways Shakespeare depicts Antony as a less attractive character than does May. I have already discussed the differences between Plutarch's and May's conceptions of Antony, and Shakespeare generally follows Plutarch's description. In addition to being adulterous and dissipated Shakespeare's Antony is somewhat sadistic, for he not only orders Thyreus flogged but takes delight in it:

Is he whipp'd?
First Att. Soundly, my lord.
Ant. Cried he? and begg'd a' pardon?
(III.xiii.132-134)
Enobarbus, the cynical commentator, disapproves of his master's passionate excesses, and shortly after this incident defects to Caesar. Shakespeare also follows Plutarch in having Antony return to Alexandria blaming Cleopatra for his final defeat. Of course, Antony is not without nobility in Shakespeare's play, and in his death he is considerably heightened.

Although May generally depicts Antony as a gentler and more pitiful character than do Plutarch and Shakespeare, it is significant that he includes the material about Antony's dishonorable behavior toward Artabazus, king of Armenia. Shakespeare's Antony may be sottish, idle, and cruel, but he has not betrayed an ally's trust, taken him prisoner, and led him in triumph through the streets of Alexandria. This act is base and unworthy, a reproach against Rome less easy to forgive than anything Shakespeare records of Antony.

Unlike Shakespeare, May stresses the righteousness of Antony's cause in the war against Octavius. Antony's Roman friends are republicans who realize that their leader must share the blame for perverting Rome's ancient political system. Even Canidius, normally Antony's most enthusiastic apologist, asks Titius and Plancus:

Is it become a care worthy of us
What woman Antony enjoys? Have we
Time to dispute his matrimonial faults,
That have already seen the breach of all
Romes sacred laws, by which the world was bound?
Have we endur'd our Consuls state and power
To be subjected by the lawlesse arms
Of private men, or Senators proscrib'd,
And can we now consider whether they
That did all this, may keep a wench or no?
(I.i.95-104)

However, Canidius favors Antony as the lesser of evils and
believes that he would be more likely to resign his imperial
powers than Octavius (I.i.116-126).

Antony himself, after cataloguing Octavius's injustices
in refusing to divide the provinces and armies formerly
held by Pompey and Lepidus, pays homage to republican prin-
ciples with a dramatic pledge:

If Fortune aid us in a cause so just,
And we return victorious, noble Romans,
I make a vow, and let it be recorded,
Within two moneths after the warre is ended,
I will lay down the government I hold,
And freely then resigne my power again
Unto the Senate and the people of Rome.
(II.i.87-93)

If we suspect with Titius that "the resignation of a power
so great / Will be a temperance too great for him" (II.i.
102-103), this concern with justifying his cause is, never-
theless, effective in making us more sympathetic with Antony.

What relationship, then, exists between Antony and
Cleopatra and The Tragedy of Cleopatra? May certainly found
Shakespeare's work a rich mine, yielding suggestions for
dialogue and scenic arrangement. When we remember some of
Shakespeare's most stirring scenes such as Cleopatra's
tantrum over the marriage of Antony and the revelry aboard
Pompey's barge, we regret that May did not borrow more material than he did. However, we must not fail to see that May has created a few brilliant scenes of his own which would be a credit to any dramatist -- Cleopatra's using all her feminine wiles to persuade Antony to take her with him to Actium and Antony's retiring to Pharos in misanthropic remorse.
IV. The Tragedy of Cleopatra: The Text

Thomas Walkeley

260. Octobris 1638.
Entred for his Copies under the handes of Master Clay and Master Mead warden Two Playes called
The tragedy of CLEOPATRA, and
JULIA AGRIPINA empressse of Rome.
by Thomas May.1

Master Hum. Moseley

20 Novemb. 1658
Entred for his copies by vertue of an assignment under ye hand
and seale of THOMAS WALKLEY, all
his estate & right in ye booke
or copies following, vizt...
The Tragedy of Cleopatra, Queen
of Egypt & Julia Agrippina, Empresse
of Rome, by Tho: May, Esq.2

I have collated four copies of the 1639 issue of The
Tragedy of Cleopatra, one from each of the following places:
Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington D.C.; the Henry E.
Huntington Library, San Marino, California; the Harvard
University Library; and the Library of Congress. I made a
secondary examination of copies from the British Museum and
the Carl H. Pforzheimer Library, New York City, especially
to see whether obvious misprints in the four collated copies
had been corrected.

1A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers
of London; 1554-1640 A.D., Vol. IV ed. Edward Arber (London,

2A Transcript of the Registers of the Worshipful Company
of Stationers; From 1640-1708 A.D, Vol. II ed. Eyre and
Title Page:
THE/ TRAGEDIE / OF / CLEOPATRA / Queen of Aegypt // By T.M. /
Acted 1626. // Luc. / ------quantum impulit Argos, / Iliacasque
domos facie Spartana nocenti, / Hesperios auxit tantum
Cleopatra furores. // LONDON, / Printed by Thomas Harper for
Thomas / Walkly, and are to be sold at his shop / at the
flying Horse neer York / House 1639.

Head Titles:
TO THE MOST / ACCOMPLISH'D / Sr. Kenelme Digby.
THE TRAGEDIE OF / CLEOPATRA
THE SPEAKERS

Running Title:
The Tragedie of CLEOPATRA

Collation:
12mo, A2-E4. Title page unsigned (verso blank). TO THE MOST /
ACCOMPLISH'D / Sr. Kenelme Digby, A2, A2V. Head-piece, text,
with head title and ornamental initial "S", B. Head-pieces,
B8, C3V, C11, D6V, E4. Catchwords: B-C, SOS. C-D, CLE.
D-E, GAL. Anomalous catchwords: Phenice (Thence), CV.
PL. (GLA.), C3. Sinc (Since), D3V.

1654

I have collated two copies of the 1654 issue: one in the
Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington D.C. and one in the
Princeton University Library. The collation of the copies
in the Folger and Princeton libraries is identical to that
of the 1639 copies. Even the most obvious misprints remain uncorrected.

It is impossible to ascertain whether or not May saw Cleopatra through the press, but the absence of any variants in the copies consulted for this edition indicates that he did not have anything to do with the printing. The text is relatively free of errors, suggesting that the printer's copy may have been some sort of transcript, such as a prompter's copy, rather than the author's foul papers.

The absence of press variants between the 1639 and 1654 "editions" of the play was interpreted by James Bladon in 1868 as meaning that there were not really two editions at all but rather that the 1654 was merely an issue of the unsold sheets of the first edition with a new title page. Sister Mary Ransom Burke investigated this matter carefully, concluding that Bladon's suggestion was accurate. A brief summary of her findings will clarify the issue.

This method of disposing of old material by issuing the unsold sheets of an early edition was rather commonly adopted by printers and book-sellers. Kirwood has found the 1599 copies of John Harington's translation of Orlando Furioso to

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3 James Bladon, "Thomas May's Tragedy of 'Agrippina'," Notes and Queries, 4th series. II (1868), 132.
4 Burke, pp. cxiv-cxxiv.
be the unsold sheets of the 1591 edition with a new title page.⁵ Greg has discovered that the 1646 Bussy D'Ambois consists of the remainders of the 1641 edition.⁶ W.R. Parker shows that Peter Parker reissued Henry Vaughan's Olor Iscanus in 1679 with a new title page⁷, and Matthew Baird has shown that the 1605 Converted Courtezan or The Honest Whore, Part I, by Dekker, is a composite reissue of sheets from the 1604 edition.⁸ Book Prices Current suggests that even the 1633 edition of May's The Heir was a reissue of the old sheets.⁹ If Moseley did reissue the sheets of the 1639 Cleopatra in 1654, he was following an accepted procedure.

There is every probability that there was a supply of extra 1639 sheets, for there is no reason to believe that May's Roman tragedies were greatly in demand in 1639. However, during the next decade May acquired some prominence as secretary of Parliament and as a political writer. New editions of May's Pharsalia in 1650 and 1655 and the publication of his Breviary in 1655 reflect a revival of interest in May at


⁹Book Prices Current (London, 1916), 484.
this time, and it is plausible that Moseley took advantage of this modest increase in May's popularity to dispose of the remaining sheets of Cleopatra and Agrippina.

More conclusive proof that the 1654 copies are reissues of the 1639 edition may be found in the total lack of variants among copies bearing the two separate dates. Also the watermark, a crowned fleur de lis, in the paper on which Cleopatra is printed, is the same throughout all 1639 and 1654 copies examined by Burke. The application of the "ruler test" suggested by McKerrow substantiates a belief in the single printing of the play. A ruler laid across any given page of both issues cuts the same letters in identically the same manner.

There is a seventeenth century manuscript of Cleopatra in the British Museum (Royal MS. 18c. vii). Chester alludes to the manuscript, but Burke was apparently unaware of its existence and would have been unable to obtain a copy of it in any case because material from the British Museum was unavailable to her for the duration of the war. Thorough research, and a number of inquiries have failed to turn up as much information as an editor could wish concerning the origin of the manuscript. The Keeper of the Manuscripts has

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10 W.W. Greg, "On Certain False Dates in Shakespearean Quartos," Library, IX (1908), 381-409, states that "It is, indeed, rare to find the same mark occurring in two independent books . . . ."

11 Burke, pp. c:xxiii-cxxiv.
written me that he has no more information about it than that contained in Warner and Gilson's *Catalogue of Royal and King's Manuscripts*. The entry reads:

On two leaves (11 3/4 in. x 7 1/2 in.) at the beginning (ff. 1,2) is a fragment in another hand, doubtless from Thomas Ross's continuation of Silius Italicus, containing 124 lines descriptive of the close of the mission of Scipio Africanus, the elder, to Antiochus, King of Syria, at Ephesus, and the proceedings of the Senate on his return to Rome prior to the appointment of Lucius Scipio, consul, to the province of Greece in preference to Caius Laelius (B.C. 190). Cf. other fragments in 7 A. XII, art. 21, and 17 A. XX. Beg. 'But when the Empire of the Night was done'; ends with the beginning of the speech of Africanus in favour of his brother Lucius, 'Thus Africanus doth himselfe declare', with the catchwords 'I should'. Not autograph.

Paper; ff. 34. Folio. 12 1/2 in. x 7 3/4 in. XVII cent. Not in the old catalogues.

Thomas Ross (d. 1675) was a poet and politician, and the fragment preceding *Cleopatra* is from his "The Second Punick War between Hannibal and the Romanes . . . Englished from the Latine of Silius Italicus; with a continuation from the Triumph of Scipio to the Death of Hannibal" (in verse), published in London in 1661. The dedication to the king is dated Bruges, 18 November, 1657. Since these dates indicate that Ross's poem was not written until after May's death in 1650, it seems reasonable to assume that the manuscript containing a portion of the poem was also produced after May's death.

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13 Thompson Cooper, *DNB* article on Thomas Ross.
In a brief note on the manuscript, Bernard Wagner does not mention Ross's fragment but concludes that the manuscript is not of first importance and was written later than the copy used for the printed edition of the play. For example, in V.v.90, the scribe began to write "begs" (the reading of the duodecimo), but rejected this reading in favor of "craves."  

I have examined a microfilm of the manuscript and found it to be a very clean transcription, written in a large, legible hand. Typographical errors in the printed edition have been corrected, and there are quite a few instances in which different words have been substituted, although the general meaning and tone has been retained in every case. A few speeches have also been assigned to characters who do not speak them in the printed edition.

One of the first questions which comes to mind regarding a manuscript copy of a play is: could it have served as a prompter's copy? Aside from the evidence that this manuscript appears to be later than 1650 (at least 24 years after the sole recorded performance of the play), there are further indications that it was not a prompter's copy. For instance, the speech prefixes have not been regularized; sometimes Antony is "AN." and at others, "ANT." Moreover, no actors' names are substituted for characters' names as speech prefixes; neither are additional stage directions included beyond the

rather sketchy ones in the printed edition.

On the basis of the slender amount of information we have, I believe the manuscript copy was produced after the author's death and lacks textual authority. Although the latter half of the seventeenth century seems to be somewhat late for people to be making copies of printed books, I suggest that the scribe desired a copy of May's tragedy and was either unable to obtain one or had a more abundant supply of time and patience to write out a transcript than money with which to purchase a printed copy.

My edition of *Cleopatra* is based on the principles outlined by Fredson Bowers, in his introduction to *The Dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker*\(^{15}\), for a critical old-spelling edition of a play. The objective of such an edition is to provide a text as nearly identical to what the author intended as possible, eliminating the reproduction of meaningless errors and inconsistencies. The printed text was followed carefully; therefore, emendations were made only when necessary. Old spelling, of course, has been retained, and punctuation altered as little as possible.

I have silently regularized certain features of the purely formal presentation of the text. For example, speech prefixes have been standardized, and confusing punctuation at the ends of speeches in the text itself has been normalized. However,

\(^{15}\)Cambridge, 1953, I, ix-xviii.
I have not substituted exclamation points for question marks after non-interrogatory speeches, because the use of the question mark in this way was common practice in the seventeenth century and should not confuse anyone. In no instance has a significant change been made without due notation.

Act headings appear in the printed text, and I have added scene headings along with a few stage directions in brackets. Counting each iambic pentameter line as one dramatic line, even if it is divided between two speakers, I have numbered the lines within each scene. Signature numbers of the 1639 edition of the play have been included in brackets in the right hand margin.

The apparatus to the text consists of interleaved explanatory notes, substantive variants from the manuscript (identified as "MS.") , notation of substantive emendation, and emendations of accidentals. By substantive emendations are meant those which affect the meaning of a passage; by accidental, those which are typographical (spelling, punctuation, capitalization) but which are part of the text itself and should therefore be recorded.

Words in the text which are treated in the explanatory notes are marked with a superscript n. When recording substantive variants from the manuscript, I have placed the reading in my edition to the left of the slash and the reading from the manuscript to the right, followed by "MS."
I.1.15 Lords / frends MS.

Emendations of the printed edition are recorded by first giving the reading of my edition, then the reading of the printed copies.

I.1.75 Medes / Medcs
TRAGÉDIE

OF

CLEOPATRA

Queen of Egypt.

By T. M.

Lond 1626.

LUC.

LONDON,
Printed by Thomas Harper for Thomas Wkelby, and are to be sold at his shop at the Flying Horse near York House 1639.
TO THE MOST

ACCOMPLISH'D

Sr. Kenelme Digby.

Sr.
That it pleased you to cast an eye of favour upon these poor Plays has given me the boldnesse, not only to publish them (which I thought not to have done) but to shelter them, though most unworthy, under that name, to which for authority and approbation the richest pieces that this nation can boast, might be proud to flie. You are to learning what learning is to others a gracefull ornament; and known not only able to receive, but fit to make that which we call literature; it being nothing else but rules and observations drawne at the first from such able natures as yours is; and by your daily conversation is better expressed, then wee by writing can define it. Your composition was made to justifie those old Philosophers who resembled a man to the whole world. For as in the world all varieties do meet to make a perfect harmony: so in the largnesse of your soule the severall abilities of most different Nations are conjoinde to an honourable advantage of one entire temper, where the predominancies are magnanimity, prudence and gentlenesse. But I dare not offer to crowd into a narrow Epistle your noble Character, which will require a longer Treatise and a
**Head title. Sr. Kenelme Digby.** English diplomatist, naval commander, philosopher, and author who exemplified the Renaissance ideal of the "complete man." Digby was reared in the Roman Catholic faith. In 1617 he accompanied his cousin, Sir John Digby, who was ambassador to Spain, and in 1618 Digby entered Gloucester College, Oxford, where he studied under the noted mathematician, Thomas Allen. After leaving the University in 1620, he travelled to France, Italy, and back to Spain where he met Prince Charles and the duke of Buckingham. Digby joined the Prince's entourage and returned to England where James I knighted him and named him gentleman of the privy chamber to the Prince.

In 1625 Sir Kenelm married Venetia Stanley. When she died eight years later, he retired to Gresham College for two years, occupying himself with chemical experiments.

Digby professed Protestantism after 1630 but was a Roman Catholic again by 1635. He was a member of the Catholic circle around Queen Henrietta Maria and active in the royalist cause during the 1640s and 50s. At the Restoration he was confirmed as chancellor to the queen mother Henrietta Maria. He was on the council of the Royal Society when it was formed in 1663. In January, 1664, he left the court and spent the remaining two years of his life in literary and scientific pursuits.

(For a fuller discussion of Digby's career see the article by Sidney Lee in DNB.)
n1.2 these poor Plays. Cleopatra was issued with The Tragedy of Julia Agrippina in 1639 and 1654.
better pen. For the defects in these two Plays, I that have already been so much obliged to your goodnesse in other matters, cannot here despaire of your forgivenesse, which is the only thing that puts confidence into

Your most obliged and devoted servant

Tho. May.
THE TRAGEDIE OF
CLEOPATRA.

ACTUS PRIMUS.

TITIUS, PLANCUS,
CANIDIUS.

TI.
Shame and dishonour to the Roman name
A triumph held at Alexandria
Only to honour Cleopatraes pride?

PL.
Ah Marcus, this Aegyptian Queen was made
To be the ruine of Antonius.

CA.
To be the pleasure of Antonius.

PL.
How can you jest Canidius, on a theame
So sad?

CA.
How Plancus can you prophesie
So sadly on so merry an occasion,
As is the love of Ladies?
Head title. CLEOPATRA / CEOPATRA
Let Canidius

Have his own way, Munatius, tis in vain
To talk to him.

CA.

Would you could let me have
Antonius his way, upon condition
I suffer'd you to censure gravely of it,
And prophesie my ruine. But my Lords,
You were as good be merry too, and take
Your share of pleasure in th 'Aegyptian Court.
You'll do no good with these perswasions.
He loves the Queen, and will do so in spite
Of our morality.

PL.

Tis too too true,
That face of hers, that beauty in the bud
Not fully blown, in yeers of innocence
(If any yeers of hers were innocent)
Set off with no adulterisme of art,
Nor cloath'd with state and pompous Majestie,
But in a fortune clouded and distrest
A wretched prisoner in her brother's Court,
Yet then I say that charming face could move
The manly temper of wise Julius Caesar.
That Mars in heat of all his active warre,
When he pursu'd the flying Pompey hither,
I.1.15 Lords / frends MS.

I.1.19 spite / spite.

I.1.20 Tis too too true / Tis like enough MS.

I.1.24 adulterisme / adulterismes MS.

I.1.27 A wretched prisoner in her brother's Court. In accordance with Egyptian tradition she was wife and joint ruler with her brother Ptolemy XIII from 51 to 49 B.C. when she was expelled by him.

I.1.31 Pompey. 106-48 B.C. Roman general who, with Caesar and Crassus, formed the First Triumvirate in 60 B.C. Though a gifted general, Pompey lacked political enterprise. He fled before Caesar's advance into Rome and was subsequently defeated at Pharsalus. He sailed to Egypt in search of asylum, but Ptolemy XIII had him assassinated. When Caesar reached Egypt, he had the assassins executed and Pompey's ashes restored to his widow.
His sword yet reeking in Pharsalia\textsuperscript{e} slaughter
At sight of her became a doting Lover:
And could we think that our Antonius
A man not master of that temperance
That Caesar had, could finde a strength to guard
His soul against that beauty now set off
With so much wealth and majesty?

CA.

No surely.
I did not think Antonius was an Eunuch.
Nor could I have believ'd he had been worthy
To be a successour in Caesar's power,
Unlesse he had succeeded him in her.
Great Julius noble acts in warre and state
Assur'd the world that he was wise and valiant:
But if he had not falne in love with her
I should have much suspected his good nature.

PL.
Nay then, Canidius, it shall be yours.

CA.

Or what indeed were greatnesse in the world
If he that did possesse it, might not play
The wanton with it? This Aegyptian Queen
Is a state-beauty, and ordain'd by fate
To be possest by them that rule the world.
Great Pompey's sonne enjoy'd her first, and pluck'd
Her Virgin blossom. When that Family,
Pharsalia. Pharsalus was a city of Thessaly, Greece, near which Caesar defeated Pompey in 48 B.C.

I.1.47 PL.: Nay then, Canidius, it shall be yours. /
   TI.: Nay then, Canidius, it must bee yours. MS.

I.1.50 This / this

Whose ruine fill'd the World, was overthrown,
Great Julius next came in as conquerour
To have his share, and as he did in power,
Succeeded him in Cleopatraes love.
Now our Antonius takes his turn, and thinks
That all the legions, all the swords, that came
To make his greatnesse up when Julius dy'd,
Could give no greater priviledge to him
Then power to be the servant to this Queen.
Thus whosoere in Rome be conquerour
His laurell wreath is Cleopatraes love.
And to speak justly of her, Nature teem'dn
To build this woman for no meaner height.
Her soule is full of greatnesse, and her wit
Has charms as many as her beauty has.
With Majestie beyond her sex she rules
Her spatiouse Kingdomes, and all neighbour Princes
Admire her parts. How many languages
Speaks she with elegance? Embassadors
From th'Aethiopians, Arabs, Troglodites,n Plutarch.
From th'Hebrews, Syrians, Medes, and Parthians
Have in amazement heard this learned Queen
Without the aid of an interpreter
In all their severall tongues returne their answers;
When most of her dull predecessor Kings
Since Ptolemaeus Philadelphusn time
ruine / ruines MS.

Julius / Iulius

teem'd / seem'd MS.

teem'd. Brought forth, produced, gave birth.

Trogloctes. Trogloctae ("cave-dwellers") were a primitive people who dwelt in natural or artificial caves, mostly on the Red Sea coast south of Egypt, but also on the Arabian and Iranian coasts, in northwest Africa, and on the north side of the Caucasus. Their lands on the Red Sea coast were explored by agents of Ptolemy II and III. They mostly went naked, ate the bones and hides as well as the flesh of their cattle, and drank a mixture of milk and blood. They squeaked like bats, talked gibberish, and buried their dead by pelting them with stones. They kept women in common and were governed by "tyrants." (The Oxford Classical Dictionary.)

Medes / Medos

return their answers / return them answers MS.

Ptolemaeus Philadelphus. Ptolemy II Philadelphus (308-246 B.C.). Elected joint ruler with his father in 285, succeeded to the throne in 283-282. He conquered important districts in Syria and Asia Minor during the First Syrian War. Ptolemy II and his advisers created
most of the scientific system of the Ptolemaic financial administration, planted Greek settlements in Egypt, and instituted the Ptolemaic ruler-cult, with its priests of Alexander and a growing number of deified members of the dynasty. He built the Pharus, the Museum, the Library, and other edifices and institutions of Alexandria as well as a canal from the Nile to the Red Sea. (The Oxford Classical Dictionary.)
Scarce understood th'Aegyptian tongue, and some
Had quite forgot the Macedonian.

TI.

How well Canidius descants on this theame!

PL.

I'll lay my life it pleases him; the man
Is deep in love, and pity tis he has
So great a rivall as Antonius.

CA.

Well use your wit upon me; but I doubt
If any man could search your secret thoughts,
Tis envy, not morality that makes
You taxe his love, how gravely ere you talke.

TI.

But can Canidius think it should be just
In our Antonius to forsake for her
His lawfull wife the good Octavia?

CA.

Then like a Roman let me answer, Marcus.

Is it become a care worthy of us
What woman Antony enjoys? Have we
Time to dispute his matrimoniall faults,
That have already seen the breach of all
Romes sacred laws, by which the world was bound?

Have we endur'd our Consuls state and power
To be subjected by the lawlesse arms
Of private men, or Senators proscrib'd,
Octavia. Sister of Augustus and wife of Antony, whom she married after the death of her first husband. She spent the winters of 39-38 B.C. and 38-37 with Antony in Athens, and in 37 was instrumental in bringing about the Treaty of Tarentum. In 35 she set out for the East with supplies and 2000 picked men for Antony's army but was forbidden to proceed beyond Athens. She rejected her brother's advice to leave Antony's house. She was divorced by Antony in 32, but her nobility, humanity, and loyalty won her universal esteem and sympathy.

I.1.96 Have / have
And can we now consider whether they
That did all this, may keep a wench or no?
It was the crime of us, and Fate itself
That Antony and Caesar could usurpe
A power so great; beyond which we can suffer
No more worth thinking of. Nor were't to us
Any great fortune if Antonius
Were honest of his body.

PL.

Have we then,
Who have been greatest Magistrates, quite lost
All shew of liberty, and now not dare
To counsell him?

CA.

A shew of liberty
When we have lost the substance, is best kept
By seeming not to understand those faults
Which we want power to mend. For mine own part
I love the person of Antonius;
And through his greatest loosenesse can discern
A nature here, honester then Caesars.
And if a warre do grow twixt them (as surely
Ambition would ere long finde out a cause
Although Octavia had not been neglected)
Rather then Rome should still obey two Lords,
Could wish that all were Antony's alone.
Who would, I think, be brought more easily
I.1.119 here / freer MS.
I.1.123 still obey / ever serve MS.
I.1.124 Antony's / Anthony's
Ii,iii

Then Caesar, to resigne the government.

TI.

Would I could think that either would do so.

Here comes her servant Mardio. Enter Mardio.

MAR.

Noble Lords,

The Queen by mee entreats your company

At supper with the Lord Antonius.  [B3.]  130  

CA.

Mardio return our humble services,

Wee'll instantly attend her. Now my friends,

Can you a while put off austerity,

And rigid censures, to be freely merry?

TI.

It may be so. Wee'll try what wine can do. Exeunt.

[ACT I, Scene ii]  

A Feast preparing. EUPHRONIUS,

GLAUCUS, CHARMIO.

EU.

GLAUCUS, let more of this perfume be got.

GLA.

I have enough in readinesse; or else

'Twoud be too late to think on't now, the Queen

Is upon entrance.

EU.

CHARMIO, art thou sure
I.1.127-128  TI.: Would ... **Mardio.** /
            PL.: Would ... **Mardio.** MS.

I.1.129  The Queen by mee entreats / The Queen entreats MS.

I.1.131  **Mardio / Marcio**

I.1.132  my friends / my Masters MS.
Those tapers stand just as the Queen commanded?
CHA.

Tis the same order that Antonius
When last he feasted here, so much admir'd;
And said 'mongst all the curiosities
That he had seen, the placing of those lights
Did not the least affect him.
EU.

Though the Romans
In power and warlike state exceed us farre,
Yet in our Court of Aegypt they may learn
Pleasure and bravery, n but art thou sure
That all things here are well?
CHA.

As exquisite
As the Queens wish would have it. Hark they come.

ACHOREUS the Priest, ANTONIUS, CLEOPATRA,
CANIDIUS, TITIUS, PLANCUS.

CLE.

To say, my Lord, that you are welcome hither
Were to disparage you, who have the power
To make your self so, what ere you see
In Aegypt is your own.
AN.

What Aegypt holds
If I be judge, not all the world besides
Can equalize.
I.11.5 Those / These MS.

I.11.9 lights / lights.

I.11.13 bravery. Display, show, ostentation, splendour.

Cf. Measure for Measure, I.111.7-10:

My holy sir, none better knows than you
How I have ever loved the life removed
And held in idle price to haunt assemblies
Where youth, and cost, and witless bravery keeps.

I.11.14-15 In the MS. Euphranius's speech ends with the words, "But hearke they come." Charmio's speech is omitted.

I.11.18 what / for what MS.
Will'rt please you take
Your place, and these your noble Roman friends?

AN.

Father Achoreus, sit you neer to mee.
Your holy Orders, and great age, which shews
The Gods have lov'd you well, may justly challenge
A reverence from us.

CLE.

Great Julius Caesar
Did love my father well; he oft was pleas'd
At houres of leisure to conferre with him
About the nature of our Nile, of all
The mysteries of Religion, and the wonders
That Aegypt breeds.

ACH.

He had a knowing soule,
And was a master of Philosophy
As well as Warre.

AN.

How like the spangled sky
These tapers make the high-arch'd roofe to show?
While Cleopatra like bright Cynthia
In her full orbe more guilds the cheerfull night.
Shee's still at full; yet still me thinks she waxes,
And grows more fair and more majesticall.
I.11.21 Will'nt / My Lord, will'nt MS.

III.11.35 Cynthia. Cooper's *Thesaurus* (1573) identifies Cynthia as "one of the names of Diana." Diana (Artemis) was the daughter of Zeus and Leto and the twin sister of Apollo. As Apollo was a god of light, sometimes identified with the sun, so Diana was a goddess of light and was identified with the moon.

I.11.37 waxes / vexes
CLE.

My Lords, you Romans, whose victorious arms
Have made you Masters of the world, possesse
Such full and high delights in Italy,
That our poor Aegypt can present no pleasure
Worth your acceptance; but let me entreat
You would be freely merry, and forgive
Your entertainment.

AN.

'tis entertainment
That might invite and please the Gods. Me thinks,
Jove should descend, while Cleopatra's here,
Disguis'd for love, as once for fear he was,
When bold Typhaeus scal'd the starry sky,
And all the Gods disguis'd in Aegypt lurk'd.¹

Love were a nobler cause then fear to bring him,
And such a love as thine.

CLE.

If I could think
That ere great Jove did play such feats as those,
I'de now beleeve that he were here disguis'd,
And took the noble shape of Antony.

AN.

This complement so farre transcends, it leaves
No answer for a wit so dull as mine.
I.11.47-50 Jove . . . lurk'd. Typhaeus (Typhon) was a monster, often confused with the Giants, but originally and properly distinct from them. He was born by Earth to Tartarus after the defeat of the Titans. He had a hundred heads of dragon shape, which uttered the sounds of all manner of beasts, also mighty hands and feet. When he attempted to usurp Jove's power, the father of the Gods disguised himself and fled in terror to Egypt. Criticized for his cowardice, Jove attacked Typhaeus with his thunderbolts, overthrew him, and cast him into Tartarus. In another version of the story Jove buried the monster under Mt. Aetna in Sicily where his raging causes the eruptions of the volcano.

I.11.53 feats as those / pranks as these MS.

I.11.55 Antony / Anthony

I.11.57 a wit so dull as mine / so dull a braine as mine MS.
A SONG.

Not hee, that knows how to acquire 
But to enjoy, is blest.
Nor does our happinesse consist 
In motion, but in rest.

The Gods passe man in blisse, because 
They toile not for more height; 
But can enjoy, and in their own 
Eternall rest delight.

Then, Princes, do not toile, nor care; 
Enjoy what you possesse. 
Which whilst you do, you equalize 
The Gods in happinesse.

Tl.

Minutius Plancus, I was thinking now 
How Hannibal was charm'd at Capua, n 
When that delicious n place had mollifi'd 
His rough and cruell soul, and made him learn 
The lessons of soft love, and luxury.

Pl.

There was no cause, Marcus, for such a thought. 
For our Antonius in the heat of all 
His active life knew how to revell well.

An.

Let this soft Musique cease, and louder sound. 
This second course is mine. Call in Lucilius.
nI.11.71 Hannibal ... Capua. The great Carthaginian general wintered at Capua in 216 B.C., where it was alleged (falsely?) that luxurious quarters undermined the discipline of his troops.

nI.11.72 delicious. Characterized by or tending to sensuous indulgence; voluptuous, luxurious.
Enter LUCILIUS with three Crowns.

Fair Cleopatra, for addition

To what thou hold'st, the world-commanding Rome
Prepresents these Crowns, and by my hand invests
Thee, Cleopatra Queen of wealthy Cyprus,\textsuperscript{\textit{n}}
Of Coelosyria,\textsuperscript{\textit{n}} and Phoenicia.
Blush not, my Love, nor let Romes bounty force
Thy modesty: these Crowns from thy fair brow
Receive more lustre then they can bestow.

TI.

I think he need not greatly fear her blushing.

PL.

No Marcus no; alas these petty Kingdomes
(Though too too great to be so ill bestow'd)
Are not the scope of her ambitious aymes!

CLE.

My Lord, I dare not make excuse, or plead
Unworthinesse, where once Antonius wisdome
Has made election to conferre his favours.

AN.

Admire\textsuperscript{n} not, friends; the God-like power of Rome
Is more declar'd by what it gives away
Then what it holds. But these are still our owne
And Cleopatra Romes deserving friend.

CA.

I cannot choose but think how fit a state
For Cleopatra Cyprus Kingdome is;
\text{I.i.11.83} \textbf{Cleopatra Queen of wealthy Cyprus.} Cyprus is closely associated with Venus. After she rose from the sea foam, she was borne to land on a sea-shell. She first stepped ashore on the island of Cytherea, and then went to Paphos on Cyprus. Paphos was the most ancient seat of her worship. It is most appropriate that Cleopatra should rule "Venus Ile."

\text{I.i.11.84} \textbf{Coelosyria.} The Greeks called Syria Coele Syria to distinguish it from "Syria between the rivers" or Mesopotamia. On the death of Alexander in 323 it was assigned to Laomedon, who was in 319-318 ejected by Ptolemy I. Thereafter it was disputed between Ptolemy and Antigonus, till on the latter's death in 301 it was partitioned between Seleucus I, who occupied the north, and Ptolemy I, who retained the south, to which the name Coele Syria was now restricted; the boundary was the river Eleutherus. Eventually the term Coele Syria was restricted to Antioch and the neighborhood of Damascus.

\text{I.i.11.95} \textbf{Admire.} To feel or express surprise or astonishment; to wonder, to marvel, to be surprised. Cf. \textit{Twelfth Night, III.iv.165:}

\text{Wonder not, nor admire not in thy mind, why I do call thee so . . .}
And shall believe that it was ominous
That noble Julius Caesar after all
Those foure rich triumphs which he held at Rome,
When he resolv'd with like magnificence
To build a Temple to the Goddess Venus
From whom his house derive their pedigree,
Within his stately Temple, to expresse
The Image of that Goddess, he set up
Fair Cleopatraes figure in the place
Supposing her to be the Queen of Love.
You know my Lord Antonius, this is true.
And Cyprus ever was fair Venus Ile.

AN.
'Twas well observ'd noble Canidius.

CA.

Fill me some wine. Health to the Cyprian Queen.

AN.

Drink it to me Canidius; and I thank thee.
Let it go round, my friends.

CLE.

I ever thought
My self much bound to brave Canidius
Since I was happy in his company.

AN.

How fit it is, no other Cyprian Queen,
But Cleopatra shall the Poëts know,
n.I.11.101 ominous. Of the nature of an omen, serving to foretell the future, presaging events to come, portentous. Cf. Richard the Third, IV.1.41, where the queen, realizing her sons' danger, rebukes one of them for addressing her as "mother:" "Thy mother's name is ominous to the children."

I.11.103 Rome, / Rome

I.11.106 pedigree, / pedigree

I.11.116 friends / friends
Whose fancies now shall raise that Kingdome higher.
More amorous now will Paphos\textsuperscript{n} mountains show,
And all those flowery Meads, the Fields of love,
Ore which no windes but Western ever blow.
The aire it self will yield a sweeter breath
while Cleopatra reignes the Cyprian Queen.

PL.
How amorous in his language he is grown.

TI.
The times, I fear Minutius, will require
A rougher language shortly. We shall heare
As soon as any news can come from Rome.

AN.
But long ago was I enforc'd to know
That Cleopatra was the Queen of love,
When first I met thee in Cilicia,\textsuperscript{n}
And down the silver stream of Cydnus,\textsuperscript{n} thou
In Venus shape cam'st sayling, while the aire
Was ravish'd with thy Musick, and the windes
In amorous gales did kisse thy silken sayls.
Thy maids in Graces\textsuperscript{n} habits did attend,
And boys, like Cupids, painted quivers bore,
While thousand Cupids in those starry eyes
Stood ready drawn to wound the stoutest hearts.

CLE.
You came like Mars himself in threatning arms
To ruine me, and my poor Country then.
I.11.121 fancies now shall raise / fancies shall advance MS.

nI.11.122 Paphos. A city in Cyprus situated near the southwest coast. The city was sacred to Venus and was one of her favorite haunts.

I.11.130 As soon / Assoon

nI.11.133 Cilicia. A province in southeast Asia Minor, separated by the Taurus range from Lycaonia and Cappadocia on the north, and by the Amanus range from Syria on the east, and extending toward the sea.

nI.11.134 Cydnus. In ancient geography, a river of Cilicia, flowing into the Mediterranean Sea about 12 miles south of Tarsus.

nI.11.138 Graces. In Greek mythology, goddesses whose parentage is variously given, generally three in number, the personification of loveliness or grace, perhaps originally goddesses of vegetation. In legend they appear generally in a subordinate position, as attendants on some greater goddess. Their names are Aglaia (brilliance), Euphrosyne (joy), and Thalia (bloom).
I took that shape, because I knew no strength
No power on earth was able to resist
The conquering fury of Antonius.

That face of thine resisted me, and did
So sweetly conquer, I was proud to yield;
And more rejoyn'd in that captivity,
Then any Roman in a triumph did. Enter Hipparchus

How now, what news with thee?

Letters from Rome, my Lord.

From whom?

Geminius.

To morrow wee'll peruse them. No affairs
Of what import or height so ere, shall have
Power to disturb the pleasures of this night.
Our them to night is love, which oft has made
The Thunderer\textsuperscript{N} himself a while lay by
The weary burden of his government.
Come lead away.

'Twere fit to read them now.
None knows what gain a little time may be.
n.I.ii.157 Thunderer. Jove or Zeus, who is a god of the sky. He wields the thunderbolt and the lightning; he sends the sudden storm.

I.ii.159 TI. (speech prefix) / lacking
AN.
You may peruse them Titius; lead away. Exeunt.

Manent TITIUS, PLANCUS.
Can no affairs of what import so ere
Break one nights pleasure? Well Antonius,
The tottering state thou holdst, must be supported
By nobler vertues, or it cannot stand.

PL.
Cyprus, Phoenice, Coelosyria,
Three wealthy Kingdoms got with Roman bloud,
And our forefathers valour, given away
As the base hire of an adulterous bed.
Was Cyprus conquer'd by the sober vertue
Of Marcus Cato, to be thus bestow'd?

TI.
This act will please yong Caesar.

PL.
'Twill displease
The Senate, Marcus, and Antonius friends.

TI.
Alas, he knows not what true friendship means,
But makes his friends his slaves, and which is worse
Slaves to his lusts and vices; could he else
Slight our advice so? men, whom Rome has seen
Wearing her highest honours, and of birth
As great as his. Unlesse he change his minde
I shall believe my friendship was ill plac'd,
And strive to place it better.
I.11.163  Well / well

\[I.11.171  \textbf{Marcus Cato}. 95-46 B.C. Roman patriot and Stoic philosopher. In 58 B.C. Cato was sent to annex Cyprus after Rome had made large unsecured loans to Ptolemy Auletes, whose brother ruled Cyprus. Cato sided with Pompey against Caesar on the outbreak of the civil war in 49 B.C. After the battle of Pharsalus he retired to Utica, where he put himself to death on receiving intelligence of the victory of Caesar at Thapsus. He had a reputation for scrupulous fairness and honor, and his death was considered noble and courageous.

I.11.172  TI.: This . . . Caesar. / PL.: This . . . Caesar. MS.

TI.: 'Twill . . . Plancus . . . friends. MS.

I.11.174-181  TI.: Alas . . . better. /
PL.: Alas . . . better. MS.
This last act
Will quickly be at Rome.

They have enough
Already, noble Plancus; think you not
It will be censur'd that the Roman name
Was much dishonour'd by that base surprize
Of Artavases the Armenian King?
Whom through the streets of Alexandria
He led in triumph bound with golden chains
Forcing the captive King (if all his threats
Could have enforc'd so much) prostrate t'adore
Proud Cleopatra, as if all his acts,
And all the honour of his armes were due
To her and not to Rome. Calvisius too
In Senate late accus'd him for bestowing
On Cleopatra that so farre renown'd
And famous Library of Pergamus,
In which there were two hundred thousand Books.
How many such wilde actions have her charms
Enforc'd his weaknesse to?

His Testament,
Which now at Rome the Vestall Virgins keep,
Of which we two are privy to the sealing,
Should it be known, would stirre all Romans hate,
I.11.181-182 PL.: This ... Rome. / TI.: This ... Rome. MS.

I.11.182-199 TI.: They ... to? / PL.: They ... to? MS.

^I.11.196 **Library of Pergamus.** Magnificent library founded by Eumenes II at Pergamum in Asia Minor. It enjoyed wide fame and was reputed to contain 200,000 rolls. In one perhaps not fully reliable account, the Library of Alexandria was destroyed by fire while Caesar was besieged there, and subsequently, it is said, Antony presented the Pergamene books to Cleopatra as the nucleus of a new collection.

I.11.199-212 PL.: His ... do? /

    TI.: His ... Alexandria (l. 204).

    PL.: But ... do? MS.

^I.11.200 **Vestall Virgins.** Among the ancient Romans, a virgin consecrated to Vesta and to the service of watching the sacred fire. The institution of the vestal virgins was one of the oldest features of the Roman religion. First there were two virgins, then four, and eventually six. They entered the service of the goddess from six to ten years of age, and the term of service lasted thirty years. The vestal virgins had custody of a number of sacred objects.
Willing his bodie, though he dy'd at Rome, 
To be interr'd at Alexandria.
But if a warre 'twixt him and Caesar grow
(As needs it must, although not yet declar'd)
For Caesar now is levyng men and money
Through Italy, Spain, France and Germany,
Against what foe can his designe be bent
But our Antonius? If a warre I say
Twixt them should happen, tell me, noble Titius,
What should we do?

TI.

Fight for Antonius.

PL.

True friend, were he himself, or were there hope,
Or possibility he could be so.
But shall our valour toile in sweat and bloud
Only to gain a Roman Monarchy
For Cleopatra, and th'effeminate rout
Of base Canopus? Shall her timbrels fright
Romes Captoll, and her advanced pride
Tread on the necks of captive Senators?
Or, which is more, shall th'earths Imperiall seat
Remove from Rome to Aegypts swarthys sands?
For who can tell if mad Antonius
Have promis'd her, as Caius Marius once
Promis'ed the Samnites, to transferre the state?
I.11.210 If / if

I.11.217 th'effeminate / the vicious MS.

I.11.218 Canopus. In ancient geography, a seaport of Egypt, about 15 miles northeast of Alexandria, on the Canopic Mouth of the Nile. It had considerable trade and wealth.

I.11.218 Shall / shall

I.11.223 if mad Antonius / whether Antonius MS.

I.11.224 Caius Marius. 157-86 B.C. A Roman general who won distinction by overthrowing the Teutones, Cimbri, and Germanic invaders of Gaul and Italy at Aquae Sextiae and Vercellae in 102 and 101. Long-standing feuds between Caius Marius and Sulla and the aristocrats led to civil strife. Caius Marius took ruthless vengeance on his enemies; the Romans were delirious with joy when they learned of his death.

I.11.225 Samnites. Inhabitants of Samnium, a region in the southern Apennines. They were primitive and warlike people who lived mostly in agricultural villages. The Samnites fought implacably in the Social War on the side of Caius Marius against Sulla and the aristocrats.
TI.

It may be so, his dotage is enough
To grant it her, her pride enough to aske it.

Minutius Plancus, in this whole discourse
Thou speak'st my very thoughts; no more, here comes Lucilius, whither so fast? Enter Lucilius.

LU.

My Lords,

Down to the Fort to wait upon the Consuls,
The Roman Consuls both, Titus Domitius, Dio. Cass.
And Caius Sossius are from Rome arriv'd Suetonius.

Here at Pelusium, what the matter is
Is not yet known.

PL.

Wee'll go along with thee;

This now begins to look like businesse, Marcus. Exeunt.

ACTUS SECUNDUS

ANTONIUS, SOSSIUS, DOMITIUS, CANIDIUS, TITIUS, PLANCUS,

VENTIDIUS.

AN.

Tis not the place, nor marble wals that make
A Senate lawfull, or decrees of power,
But convocation of the men themselves
The sacred order by true Magistrates.

Then Rome is here; here both her Consuls are,
Here are her axes, and her fasces born,
\textsuperscript{2}I.i.1.226 \textit{dotage}. This word is not applied to Antony in North's \textit{Plutarch}, but it occurs twice in Shakespeare's \textit{Antony and Cleopatra} (I.i.1, I.i.121). Starnes and Talbert (\textit{Classical Myth and Legend in Renaissance Dictionaries}, Chapel Hill, 1955) suggest that Shakespeare may have taken the word from Cooper's \textit{Thesaurus} where it occurs in the sketch of Cleopatra:

The name of divers great Ladies, speciallye Queenes of Aegypt. Of whome one excelling in pleasantnesse and sharpmes of witte, first allured unto hir Iulius Caesar, afterwards Marcus Antonius, companion in the Empyre with Augustus, whome shee brought into such dotage, that in following hir appetite, he aspyred unto the whole Empyre . . . .

\textsuperscript{3}I.i.1.229 thoughts; / thoughts

\textsuperscript{4}I.i.1.234 \textit{Pelusium}. A city at the northeast extremity of the Nile Delta, Egypt, southeast of modern Port Said, at what was called the Pelusiac mouth of the Nile.

\textsuperscript{5}II.i.2 power / right MS.

\textsuperscript{6}II.i.6 \textit{her axes, and her fasces}. In Roman antiquity, bundles of elm or birch, with an ax bound in with them, the blade projecting. They were borne by lictors before the superior Roman magistrates as a badge of their power over life and limb. It is interesting that Mussolini adopted the axes and fasces as the symbol of his regime, from which it acquired the name "fascist."
And no small number of that sacred order
Are here assisting; when the barbarous Gaules
Had taken Rome, when all the Senate fled,
And with Camillus their Dictator then
At Veii liv'd, Rome then at Veii was,
As now in Aegypt. Fathers, know the face
Of your assembly, know your lawfull power.
Consult, decree, and act what ere may be
Happy, and prosperous for the Common-wealth.

SOS.

Whilst power of laws, whilst reverence of the Senate,
And due respect t'a Consuls dignity
Could give protection to the Consuls persons
We did maintain thy cause Antonius
Against proud Caesar's faction. Now since laws
Are put to silence, and the Senate forc'd,
The Consuls sacred priviledge infring'd
By rage and lawlesse armes, we are expell'd,
And suffer banishment to be restor'd,
And re-indeniz'd by thy conquering sword.
Now justly draw it. Fate approves thy cause,
And on thy conquest sets a glorious prize,
Greater then all thy former wars could give.
Sextus Pompeius, Marcus Lepidus
Are ruin'd both, and all competitors
Are tane away; Fortune has left but one
To share the world with thee, nor canst thou share
II.1.8 assisting; / assisting,

\[\text{II.1.10-11 Camillus . . . Veii.} \text{ In ancient geography, Veii was a city in Italy, the most important of the Etruscan League, about 11 miles northwest of Rome. It was frequently at war with Rome, especially in behalf of the restoration of Tarquinius Superbus. Unsuccessfully besieged by the Romans for seven years, it was finally taken in 396 B.C. after Marcus Furius Camillus was appointed tribune and then dictator.}\]

II.1.12 face / face,

II.1.15 for / to MS.

\[\text{II.1.25 re-indeniz'd.} \text{ Endenize means to make a denizen or citizen of; to naturalize, enfranchise. The consuls hope to become inhabitants of Rome once more.}\]

II.1.27 prize / price MS.

\[\text{II.1.29 Sextus Pompeius.} \text{ Younger son of Pompey the Great. He was appointed commander of the fleet in 43 B.C. After supporting Antony against Octavian in 40 he was given the governorship of Sicily, Sardinia, and Achaea by the treaty of Misenum. In 38 Octavian accused him of breaking the treaty and again attacked him, but was defeated in naval battles near Cumae and Messana. In 36 the attack was renewed, and Sextus was defeated in the battle of Naulochus.}\]
He escaped with a few ships to Asia Minor but was captured and executed in 35 B.C.

II.1.29 Marcus Lepidus. When Caesar was assassinated in 44 B.C., Lepidus was at the head of an army preparing to go to Gaul. In the disturbances that followed Caesar's death he allied himself with Antony, and became a member of the Second Triumvirate with Octavian and Antony in 43 B.C. Octavian and Antony took away his provinces of Spain and Gaul and relegated him to a minor role in the affairs of government.

II.1.31 Are taken away / Removed else MS.
The world with him, his pride would barre thy right,
And Caesar's glory dim Antonius light.
Thou canst not shine unlesse alone thou shine.
Or all the world, or nothing must be thine.

DOM.
The Consulship, that was design'd to thee,
The Senate have revoked, and decree
'Gainst Cleopatra warre, but meant 'gainst thee.
What would their malice dare Antonius,
Had Fortune frown'd, thy Kings and Provinces
Revolted from thee, that dare now provoke
Thy growing fortunes and assisting Gods?
Their injury has made thy quarrell just.
Be speedy then, and lose no time of action.

SOS.
Caesar is needy; his Italian soldierners
Are apt to mutiny for want of pay,
And might with ease be tempted to revolt.

CA.
We need them not; our strengths are greater farre
Then Caesar's are; our praeparations readier.
Nought but delay can question our successe.
Shall we decree the warre?

AN.
Stay noble Romans;
Before we publish a Decree, or shew
The reason our arms so justly tane;
II.1.42 Revolted from thee / Fall'n from obedience MS.

II.1.42 provoke / ptovoke

II.1.47 want / warre MS.
Weigh but with me the means and strengths we have.
Know worthy friends it is no desperate warre
Your valours are engag'd in; briefly thus:
Our Roman strength is nineteen Legions.
Ten Kings in person will attend our Camp,
The Kings of Africk, Comagena, Thrace, Upper Cilicia, Paphlagonia,
Of Cappadocia, Pontus, Palestine,
Of rich Arabia, and Galatia.
Our strength at Sea five hundred fighting ships
Well rigg'd and mann'd: our treasuries are full;
And twenty thousand talents to the warre
Does Cleopatra freely contribute.
Why speak I more? The Crown of all my strength,
Your loves and spirits are. The injuries
On which we ground our just and lawfull warre,
Are briefly these. Caesar unjustly holds
Those Provinces, and armies all, that late
Belong'd to Pompey and to Lepidus
Refusing to divide them, or deliver
The moity which appertains to me
Though oft demanded by my friends at Rome,
And letters from my self: besides he levies
Both men and money ore all Italy,
Which country, as you know, by our agreement
Belongs to both, and should be held in common.
II.1.60 Comagena. A district in northern Syria between the Euphrates on the east and Cilicia on the west.

II.1.60 Thrace. A region northeast of Macedonia, extending to the Ister (Danube) River on the north and the Euxine (Black) Sea on the east.

II.1.61 Paphlagonia. A country in Asia Minor, bounded by the Euxine Sea on the north, Pontus on the east, Galatia on the south and Bithynia on the west.

II.1.62 Cappadocia. A country in the east part of Asia Minor, lying west of the Euphrates, north of Cilicia, and east of Phrygia.

II.1.62 Pontus. A country in Asia Minor. It was bounded by the Euxine Sea on the north, Colchis on the east, Armenia on the southeast and south, Cappadocia on the south, Galatia on the southwest, and Paphlagonia on the west.

II.1.63 Galatia. A division of Asia Minor, lying between Bithynia and Paphlagonia on the north, Pontus on the east, Cappadocia and Lycaonia on the south, and Phrygia on the west.

II.1.66 talents. A denomination of weight, used by the Assyrians, Babylonians, Greeks, Romans, and other ancient nations; varying greatly with time, people, and locality. Twenty thousand talents was a very large sum of money.
II.1.68  The / the

II.1.75  The / That MS.

\textsuperscript{II}.1.75  \textit{moity}. A part or a \textit{portion}. Cf. \textit{The Merchant of Venice}, IV.1.26, where the Duke expresses his confidence that Shylock will "not only loose the forfeiture," but

Forgive a moiety of the principal . . . .
TI.

Most true.

CA.

These wrongs are past all sufferance.
Thy warre is but defensive, to regain
Thine own unjustly taken.

DOM.

The warre's just.

SOS.

And Caesar the beginner of these broyls
From whom the wrong first sprung, most justly may
Be judg'd an enemy to the peace of Rome.

AN.

If Fortune aid us in a cause so just,
And we return victorious, noble Romans,
I make a vow, and let it be recorded,
Within two moneths after the warre is ended, Dio. Cass. 90
I will lay down the government I hold,
And freely then resigne my power again
Unto the Senate and the people of Rome.

SOS.

Let it be six moneths rather; for two moneths Dio. Cass.
Will be too short a time to settle it.

DOM.

Sossius speaks well, my Lord.

AN.

Let it be so,
II.1.81 TI.: Most true. / SOS.: Most true. MS.

II.1.93 the Senate and the people of Rome. An exact translation of the familiar Latin phrase, senatus populusque Romanus, which was frequently written SPQR and inscribed on buildings and other public property. Antony suggests the republican principle that not only public buildings but also "power" belongs to the senate and the people of Rome.
And all the Gods assist me as I mean
A just and true performance.

CA.

All the Gods
Preserve Antonius father of his Country.

OMN.

Author and Champion of our liberty.

Exeunt. Manent TITIUS, PLANCUS.

TI.

Let them believe that list; for me, I think
The resignation of a power so great
Will be a temperance too great for him
Ere to expresse.

PL.

Or if he would, he must
Aske leave of Cleopatra, and her pride
Will hardly grant him that.

TI.

Nor will I fight
To make her Mistris of the world and him.
Have you consider'd, noble friend of what
We lately spake?

PL.

And am resolved Marcus.
The friends and followers we shall bring with us
Will make us welcome guests to Caesar's side.
It seems the City favours Caesar much
II.1.101 list. Like, please, wish. The phrase means "Let them believe who wish to."

II.1.111 guests / frends MS.

II.1.112 City favours / Senate favour MS.
III,III

That both the Consuls fled from Rome for fear.
Nor is our action base; the scorns and wrongs
We have endur'd at Cleopatraes hands
Would tempt a moyle\textsuperscript{n} to fury, and both sides
Stand equall yet.

\textit{TI.}

Come let's away; tis time.

\textit{Dio. Cass.}

\textit{PL.}

Aegypt farewell.

\textit{TI.}

Farewell Antonius.

\textit{Exeunt.} \[\text{#B10.}\]

\begin{quote}
\textbf{[ACT II, Scene 1]}\textbf{11}

\textsc{Seleucus, Glaucus.}

\textsc{SE.}

How suddenly the Scene is changed here
From love and banquets to the rough alarms
And threatning noise of warre!

\textsc{GLA.}

The change, \textit{Seleucus}
Is not so suddain as you speak; this storm
Has been expected long; the two great Lords
Of all the Roman world, \textit{Antonius}
And \textit{Caesar} have in heart been enemies
These many yeers; and every man has wonder'd
'T has been withheld so long, considering
How much complaining has been daily made
II.1.116 *moyle*. Variant spelling of "mule," an animal notoriously dull and placid.
By them, their friends, and factions 'gainst each other: whose cause is justest let the Gods determine.

SE.

No other justice then ambition
Makes them to draw their swords; no other cause Then that the world cannot endure two Suns.

GLA.
The thing that troubles me, Seleucus, is I hear it spoken in the Court, the Queen Her self in person will associate Antinianus to the warre.

SE.

I hear that rumour;
But hope it is not true, how nakedly And in what great confusion would this land Be left! And what addition can her person Among so many Roman Legions
Bring to Antinianus?

GLA.

Let us enquire The certainty; I fain would be resolv'd.

SE.

I on necessity must know, before The Queen can go, that order may be taken About the Fort I keep, what strength she means To leave within it in her absence.

GLA.

True,
nII.11.18  **associate.** To keep company or consort with.

Cf. *Romeo and Juliet*, V.11.5-6:

> Going to find a bare-foot brother out,
> One of our order, to associate me . . . .

II.11.22  And / and
[ACT II, Scene iii.]

CLEOPATRA, CANIDIUS.

CLE.

Noble Canidius, I'll enstruct no more,
Nor use more circumstances; for I know
To whom I have referr'd my businesse,
And trust your wisdome.

CA.

Royall Cleopatra,
I am so fortify'd with reasons now
That maugre Sossius and Domitius
With all their best perswasions, I'll prevale
You shall not stay behinde; fear it not Madam.

CLE.

Brave Roman, wear this jewell for my sake;
And be possest of Cleopatraes love.
Second my suit, there lies not in my power
A thing to grant I should deny Canidius.

CA.

The favours, Madam, you can give, have power
T' oblige the greatest Monarchs of the World.

CLE.

Be ready, worthy friend; he'll straight be here.

None but Canidius has the power to work
Antonius in this action, which the rest
II.iii.1 enstruct / entrust "Enstruct" happens also to be the reading in the MS.

II.iii.2 circumstances. Accessory matters, matters appertaining, relative, or subordinate, particulars, details.

Cf. The Taming of the Shrew, IV.11.119:

In all these circumstances I'll instruct you . . . .

II.iii.6 maugre. In spite of, notwithstanding.

Cf. Twelfth Night, III.1.163-164, where Olivia makes this apostrophe to Caesario:

I love thee so, that, maugre all thy pride, Nor wit nor reason can my passion hide.
III
Will all oppose, I know; a thing on which
My state, my hopes, and fortunes all depend.
He must persuade Antonius to take
Me with him to the warre; for if I stay
Behinde him here, I run a desperate hazard;
For should Octavia enterpose her self
In this great warre (as once before she did)
And make her brother, and her husband friends
Wher's Cleopatra then? But here he comes.

ANTONIUS, CLEOPATRA.

AN.
Sweet Cleopatra, I should plead excuse
For leaving thee awhile, but that the cause
Is of a nature so immense and high,
And brings effects of such advantage home,
That thou I know art pleas'd it should be so;
And with a patience canst resolve to bear
So small an absence, that my wish'd return
May call thee mistris of the subject world.

CLE.
Cannot Antonius then be fortunate
If Cleopatra go? Is there in me
So bad an Omen? Did I think there were,
Not for the world would I desire to bear
You company but rather die at home.

Aii.
Farre are my thoughts from giving entertainment
II.iii.25 And make her brother, and her husband friends /  
   And make them frends, that end to me were fatall. MS.

II.iii.26 Wher's Cleopatra then? / lacking in the MS.

II.iii.26 But / but

II.iii.36 Is / is

II.iii.37 Did / did
To such fond dreams. I would not venture thee.

CLE.

My life and fortunes both depend on yours.
As much in Aegypt will my danger be,
As in your army, and my torment more,
To die each hour for fear: and to remain
In sad suspense till messengers can bring
The news so far: but if my company
Distast my Lord, I cannot wish his grief.

AN.

Can Cleopatra think her heavenly presence,
Can be distasteful, or not valued more
Then all joys else; parted from thee I think,
All places sad, all lands disconsolate,
Before this life I prize thy company,
But must not have it now; do not entreat;
I have deny'd it to my self already.
And in the Camp should be asham'd to rise
From Cleopatra's arms, when wars rough noise
Shakes all the world, when Kings and Senators
Are venturing lives and fortunes in my service.
Oh stay behind! And let thy presence make
Aegypt a place, to which I would desire
If Caesar's fortune conquer, to retire.

CLE.

If that should happen (which the Gods avert)
what land, alas! could comfort me, or lend
nII.111.41 fond. Foolish, silly. Cf. Othello, II.1.139-
140:

These are old fond paradoxes to make fools
laugh i'the alehouse.

nII.111.41 venture. To take the risk of sending, or
causing to go, where loss or detriment is possible.

Cf. I Henry IV, V.i.101-103, where the prince's announce-
ment that he will meet Hotspur in a single fight wins this
response from the king:

And, Prince of Wales, so dare we venture thee,
Albeit considerations infinite
Do make against it.

II.111.60 And / and
A safe retreat to vanquish'd Antony? Thou would'st disdain to draw a wretched breath, And I as much should scorn captivity. But I had thought the Roman Antony Had lov'd so great a Queen with nobler love; Not as the pleasure of his wanton bed Or mistris only of some looser houres, But as a partner in his highest cares, And one whose soul he thought were fit to share In all his dangers, all his deeds of honour. Without that love I should disdain the other.

AN.

Do not mistake me, noble Queen, I know Thy brest is full of high heroike worth.

CLE.

How can you think it so, that could so long In times of peace and pleasure recreate Your self with me in Aegypt Court; yet now When honour calls, reject my company?

AN.

I should desire it rather then my life; But that my Roman friends are all against it.

Enter Sossius, Domitius, Canidius. See here they come, if they agree tis done. Now noble friends on whose oraculous counsels And matchlesse valour my whole fate depends,
II.i.111.68 Roman Antony / honourable Roman MS.

II.i.111.69 nobler / noble MS.

II.i.111.71 or mistris only of some looser houres, /
    Not as the mistresse of his looser thoughts, MS.

II.i.111.77 worth / thoughts MS.

II.i.111.84 agree / consent MS.
IIIii
Speak what you think, should Cleopatra go
In person to the warre, or stay behinde?

SOS.
I have delivered my opinion,
And so has my Colleague.

AN.
What thinks Canidius?

CA.
I think tis fit, my Lord, the Queen, whose bounty
Has brought so great assistance to the warre,
Should not be left behinde, besides her presence
Will much encourage her Aegyptian soouldiers,
Of which a great part of the fleet consists. Plutarch.

AN.
Tis true Canidius.

CLE.
Let not my sex
Disparage me, for which of all those Kings
That now in person serve Antonius
Have more experience in affairs of weight
Then I, my Lord, which have so long been privy
To your high counsels, and in love to you
And your designes who should compare with me?

AN.
What think you friends? You heare Canidius.

DOM.
If you be pleas'd, I will subscribe. [^B12v^]
II.iii.91  tis fit, my Lord / my Lord, tis fitt MS.

II.iii.95  which / whome MS.

II.iii.100  which / whoo MS.

II.iii.103  You / you
SOS.

And I,
Since things go so.

CLE. [Aside]

My wishes are effected.

AN.

Titius, and Plancus are both fled to Caesar.

CA.

You shall not need their help my Lord, at all.

AN.

Come, let's away.

CLE.

My strengths are ready all,
And wait but your command.

AN.

Spoke like Bellona.

Canidius, return you to your charge
And bring those sixteen Cohorts down to sea; Plutarch.
Meet me at Samos with them, both the Consuls
Shall go along with me. Great Father Mars,
And all you Gods, that from the skies behold
The Roman labours, whose propitious aid
Advanc'd my fortunes to so great an height,
Make perfect that, which you your selves begun.
This is the swords last work, the judging house
Of Nations fates, of mine and Caesar's power.
nII.iii.109 **Bellona.** In Roman mythology, the goddess of war, regarded sometimes as the wife and sometimes as the sister of Mars.

nII.iii.111 **Cohorts.** Tactical units of Roman infantry, ten of which comprised a legion.

nII.iii.112 **Samos.** An island in the Aegean Sea, off the west coast of Asia Minor, from which it is separated by a narrow strait. Samos knew Antony well, for he had captured and sacked it eight years before this time in 39 B.C., and Augustus restored its freedom.
On which the stars and destinies attend,
And all the fortunes of Mankinde depend.  

[ACTION II, Scene iv.]
[Enter ACHOREUS.]

ACH.

What dire portents sent from the wrathfull Gods?
Threaten th' astonish'd world? What plagues are those
Which in the skies prodigious
Tumultuous Nature teems with monstrous births,
As if the throws would break her labouring wombe.  

What ruine lesse then Chaos shall involve
The mourning face of Nature? What great fate,
What kinde of mischief is it? Oh ye Gods,
Why did you adde to wretched men a care
So past their strength to bear, to let them know
By sad presages their ensuing woe?
Unknown and secret let your vengeance be,
And none foresee their following misery;
But hope as well as fear. Jove hide thy dooms;
Keep shut, oh fates, your adamantine books!
Let not the bainfull curiosity
Of humane knowledge search your secret counsels,
And read your purposes, to nourish so
A killing fear before the danger grow.

[Enter SELEUCUS, GLAUCUS.]

SE.

That Comet's gone.
II.iv.3 *prodigious.* Marked by extraordinary events from which omens are drawn.

II.iv.5 *throws.* An early form of "throes."

II.iv.7 What / what

II.iv.8 Oh / oh

II.iv.12 secret / sectet
It mov'd directly upward,
And did not vanish till it seem'd to reach
The firmament.

What talk you of my sonnes?

That Comet, father, ore the Graecian Sea.

It was a strange one both for form and greatness,
And bodes some mischief whersoere it light.
The Gods avert it from our Aegypts coast.

Pinnarius Scarpus had received news
That Italy and Rome it self are fill'd
With prodigies: an ugly Owle of late
Did fly into the house of Concord\textsuperscript{N} first,
Thence being driven away it pearch'd again
Within the Temple of the peoples Genius.
There, though all striv'd, it neither could be caught,
Nor driven away, but flew at leisure out.
A sacred Trophy on Mount Aventine\textsuperscript{N},
\textit{Victoriae}s Image on the Theater
By suddain tempests were thrown down and broken.

In Rome and other parts of Italy
Sudden and strangely kindled fires have done
II.iv.25 light. / light,

II.iv.27 had / has MS.

^II.iv.30 house of Concord. A temple on the Capitoline Hill dedicated to the goddess of harmony and peace.

^II.iv.35 Mount Aventine. The name of the southernmost of the seven hills of ancient Rome, rising on the left bank of the Tiber, south of the Palatine.

^II.iv.36 Victoria. In Roman mythology, the personification of Victory, equated to the Greek Nike. She was specifically a goddess of the Roman legions, and also of the emperors.

II.iv.38-49 GLA.: In ... corn.

SE.: A two-legg'd ... Italy. /

GLA.: In ... Italy. MS.
Exceeding waste; and we are certifi'd
That now Sicilian Aetna\(^n\) nourishes
More horrid flames than usually it does,
And farther casts his scorching entrails forth,
Blasting the fields and burning up the corn.

\textit{SE.}

A two-legg'd Dragon\(^n\) in Etruria\(^n\)
Full fourscore foot in length was lately seen,
Which after much annoyance of the Country
It self with lightning was consum'd at last.
But these portents do threaten Italy.

\textit{ACH.}

Alas, my sonne, there need no prodigies
To shew the certain losse of Italy.
For on both sides do Roman Eagles stand,
And Rome must bleed who ere be conquerour,
Besides her liberty for ever lost
When this sad field is fought: but that's not all,
What clime so farre, what region so remote,
But that the Roman fortune reaches thither?
All nations share in this.

\textit{GLA.}

What hast thou got
By all thy conquest Rome, by all the bloud
Which thy ambition through the world has shed,
But rais'd a power, which now thou canst not rule,
Nourish'd a Lion to devour thy self?

II.iv.45  A two-legg'd Dragon. Dio describes this creature as "a two-headed serpent, so huge that its length came to eighty-five feet."

II.iv.45  Etruria. In ancient geography, a division of Italy which extended along the Mediterranean, and was separated from Umbria, the Sabine territory, and Latium by the Tiber, and from Liguria by the Apennines. It nearly corresponds to modern Tuscany. It contained a confederation of 12 cities.

II.iv.59  conquest / conquests MS.
Would none but Roman bloud might quench the fire
Of Romes dissentions, and no land beside
Be forc'd to pay the forfeit of their pride.
With evill Omen did Aeneas first
Transport the reliques of Troyes fatall fire
To Italy,\n that kindled greater there
It might at last like lightning through the world
Rend every Nation. Was it not enough,
That first your conquests streuw'd the earth with slaughter,
And dy'd all Regions with their natives blouds,
But your dissentions still must must tear the world?

ACH.
I'll go within, and make an offering
To great Osiris.\n Exit Achoreus.

GLA.
Well may it succeed.
Aegypt will flourish if Antonius conquer.

SE.
If he should fall, the fury of the warre
Would light on Aegypt most, and we should rue
That ere Antonius lov'd this haplesse land.

Enter MARDIO.

[MAR.]
Oh Gentlemen, the strangest news, that ere
Was seen in Aegypt.
nII.iv.66-68 Aeneas . . . Italy. In classical myth Aeneas was the son of Anchises and Aphrodite. He allied himself and his Dardanians with the Trojans. Seeing that the cause was lost, Aeneas retired to Mt. Ida with his father, his son, and the sacred images of Troy. The Romans say that he then fled from the Troad at the command of the gods and set out to found a new home for the Trojans in Italy.

II.iv.74 I'll go within / I will goe in MS.

nII.iv.75 Osiris. Osiris represented the deceased Pharaoh. He died, was brought to a new life, and reigned in the Underworld. He was the husband of Isis and was associated with fertility. Osiris was sometimes represented as a bull.

II.iv.75-79 GLA.: Well may . . . Antonius conquer.
   SE.: If he . . . haplesse land. /
   SE.: Well may . . . Antonius conquer.
   GLA.: If he . . . haplesse land. MS.

II.iv.80 strangest / strongest
IIiv

GLA.

What's that Mardio?

MAR.

Thousands of people with astonishment
And fear beheld it: on those fruitfull plains
That Southward ly from Alexandria,
Where never rain was known to fall before, Dio. Cass.
It rain'd whole showers of bloud, whose colour set A purple die upon those verdant fields;
And in the clouds that horrid noise was heard
That meeting armies make, beating of drums.
Shrill trumpets sound, armor against armor clashing,
As if the bloud that fell, dropp'd from the wounds Dio. Cass.
Those aëry battails made.

GLA.

This is more strange
Then all the rest: this is our own Seleucus.

SE.

Well Gentlemen, I'll to Pelusium,
And fortifie the town to keep our foes,
If foes be conquerours, from entring there.

GLA.

Yes, and our friends, if they be vanquished,
Keep out our friends, Seleucus, if their presence
May pluck a warre, and ruine on our heads.

SE.

As there's occasion we'll determine that.
IIiv,

Enter ACHOREUS.

[Ach.] 

Avert your anger, Gods, if all too late
Our prayers came not now.

GLA.

What is it father?
Your looks, I see, are full of ruth and wo.

Ach.

Ah wretched Aegypt, ah unhappy land
In what hast thou so stor'd the wrath of heaven?
The grieved God refus'd his offering
Bellowing th' aloud that all the Temple rung,
And from his sacred eys the tears run down.
Would I could contradict, or not beleeve
The skill which surest observations teach.
This signifies a change of government.

GLA.

What heaven is pleas'd to send, we must endure.

Ach.

True sonne; and let a wise man place his strengths
Within himself, nor trust to outward aids.
That whatsoever from the Gods can come
May finde him ready to receive their doom.

Exeunt.
II.iv.102 came / come MS.

II.iv.105 stor'd / stirr'd MS.

II.iv.107 **Bellowing.** Cf. the note on Osiris, II.iv.75. It is appropriate that a god in the shape of a bull should bellow.

II.iv.108 run / rann MS.

II.iv.112 must / much "Must" also happens to be the reading in the MS.

II.iv.114 nor / not MS.
ACTUS TERTIUS.

Enter PINNARIUS SCARPUS

with Souldiers.

PIN.

Tis not Antonius, worthy souldiers,
But Rome herself to whom you owe your valours.
What he could claim, you have perform'd already;
And serv'd him truly, whilst he was to you
A Generall, to Rome a Magistrate.
You are disinqu'd from all obedience
You ow'd to him, by fate it self, and may
Nay, ought to follow him, whom Roman fates
Appoint your Generall, the noble Caesar
Great Julius heir, not to his name alone
But spirit and fortunes, which have both appear'd
In this so great and finall a defeat
Given to Antonius. Before we knew not
To whom the Gods and Fortune had assign'd
Our service souldiers; now they have declar'd.
And let us follow where they please to lead.
For faith is impious striving to sustain
That side, whose fall the Gods themselves ordain.

SOL.

Caesar, Caesar, Caesar.

PIN.

Your judgments guide you right; for could you think
So small a strength as ours could raise again
The desperate state of fain Antonius,
Under whose ruine all those legions sunk?
What madnesse were it, soouldiers to preferre
A hopelesse civill warre before the weal
And peace of Rome? and desperatly provoke
The prosperous fortunes of victorious Caesar?

I have already to Cornelius Gallus
By letter signifi'd our purposes.
Who sent from Caesar now is marching hither,
To joyn his strength with ours: but hark his Drum
Give notice of his coming.

Enter Gallus.

[Hail Pinnarius.

Ah hail Cornelius Gallus,
Most wish'd for, an most happily arriv'd
At Paraetonium.]

Victorious Caesar
With love and favour greets Pinnarius Scarpus,
Caesar, then whom the world acknowledges
No other power; whom Fortune now has made
Sole Lord of all. [C4.]
III.1.27 fortunes / fortune MS.

III.1.32 Pinnarius. / Pinnarius Scarpus. MS.

III.1.35 Paraetonium. An Egyptian city on the coast west of Africa.
IIIi

PIN.

I, and my soouldiers
With Paraetonium are at Caesar's service.

Whither's Antonius fled?

GAL.

Hither to Aegypt
With Cleopatra? 'Twas a victory
So strangely given away, as not the like
In former times I think has ere been heard;
On which especially so great a price
As the sole sway of all the world depended.
The Fleets encountred both, while with the Camps
On either shore stood to behold the fight,

Here the Caesarian, there the Antonian Fleet
With equall hopes came on, with fury equall.
And long maintaine'd a sharpe and cruell fight,
With mutuall slaughter, while the Oceans face
Was forc'd to lose his colour, and receive
A crimson die. The ships Antonius had
Were tall, and slowly did like Castles move.
But Caesar's small, yet quick and active, stirr'd
On every side with all advantages.
Long fortune doubted, and bright victory
Knew not which way to lean, but kept them both
In equall ballance; till Antonius
Himself at last betray'd his glorious hopes.
III.1.41-72 In this speech and the one in lines 74-90 Gallus functions as a Senecan nuntius who reports off-stage action.

III.1.53 receive / receive
For when his Mistris Cleopatra fled, 
Although a while within his manly breast 
The Roman honour strove 'gainst wanton love, 
Love got the conquest, and Antonius 
Fled after her, leaving his soldiery there 
To sell their lives in vain; who many hours 
Though he were fled, made good the navall fight. 
And had Antonius stay'd, it may be fear'd 
Caesar had not prevail'd; at last the Fleet 
Wanting their Admirall, though not without 
Much slaughter, fled, or yielded all to Caesar.

But what became of all his strength on land? 

Nay, there's the wonder, there's Antonius madnesse, 
And such a madnesse as will strike amazement 
To all that heare it told; after his flight 
He nere return'd, though in the campe he had 
Under the conduct of Canidius 
And other Captains nineteen legions 
Fresh and unfought, which might with reason hope 
Had he been there, to have recover'd all. 
They still remayn'd encamped, and though oft 
Sollicited by Caesar to revolt 
Were kept from yielding, by Canidius 
In hope of Antony's return. Untill 
Canidius fearing his own soldierys minds 

\[ \text{Plutarch.} \]
III.1.73 on / at MS.
III, IIII

And Caesar's anger fled away by night,
They then despairing yielded all to Caesar.
Who by this time I think's arriv'd in Aegypt.
About Pelusium.

FIN.

Will you view the town?

GAL.

With all my heart, noble Pinnarius.

Exeunt.

[ACT III, Scene 11]

Enter CAESAR, AGrippa, TITIUS, PLANCUS, THYREUS,

EPAPHRODITUS, PROCULEIUS.

CAE.

Antonius then with Cleopatra's fled
To Alexandria.

AGR.

'Tis certain, Caesar.

PL.

They say the vanquish'd Queen most cunningly: (Fearing it seems, to be excluded else
From her own Kingdome) fain'd her self victorious,
Landing in Aegypt with triumphant songs
Her ships all crown'd with laurell, to deceive
The credulous people: where being enter'd once
She leaves unpractis'd no strange tyranny;
And, as we hear, to win the Parthan King
Unto her side, beheaded Artavasdes
III.11.3 PL. / PHA.
III

King of Armenia, and the Parthians fo,
Who was her prisoner, that Artavasdes,
Whom Antony so basely had surpris'd.

TI.

Caesar, 'twere fit to take Pelusium
Before we march to Alexandria.

CAE.

'Twas our intent, good Titius, not to leave
A town of that import behinde our backs.
Go Proculeius, summon it, and know
Whether the Governour will yield or no.  Exit Proc. 20

Enter Servant.

What news with thee?

SER.

Caesar, a messenger
From Cleopatra craves admittance.

CAE.

Bring him.

Enter EUPHRONIUS.

EUP.

Queen Cleopatra to great Caesar wishes
All health and victory; and humbly proffers
Her self and all her fortunes to his service:  Dio. Cass.
In token of which she here presents by mee  (#557)
This Crown and Scepter.

TI.

Brave and ominous.
III.11.14 *Antony / Anthony*

III.11.17 *intent / intention MS.*

III.11.20 *Whether / Whither MS.*

III.11.20 *Whether / We her*

III.11.27 *TI. / PL. MS.*
EUP.

Humbly entreatings Caesar's noble favour
To her and hers; the rest of her desires
So please it Caesar to peruse the same,
This letter holds.

PL.

I warrant a love-letter.

CAE.

But tell me first, where is Antonius?

EUP.

I'll truly tell (though it may seem to some
Incredible) that great Antonius
A man of late in conversation
So free, and full of jollity, in a strange
Deep melancholly has retir'd himself Plutarch. Strabo.
To Pharos Ile; where like Athenian Timon, lib. 12.
who did profess a hatred to mankinde,
And fled all company, he lives alone;
And on the solitary shore has built
A little house to feed his frantike humour,
And imitate that Timon's life, whose name
He takes unto himself: no friends at all
Nor servants are admitted to his presence,
But only two, Roman Lucilius
And Aristocrates the Graecian.

CAE.

Not Cleopatra? Then I doubt the man
III.11.34 that / the MS.

III.11.38 **Pharos Ile.** In ancient times an island off the coast of Egypt on which was located a lighthouse. It is now a peninsula and part of the city of Alexandria.

III.11.38 **Athenian Timon.** A semi-legendary Athenian misanthrope who lived in the last part of the fifth century B.C. Disillusioned by the disappointments he received, he won a place in history by withdrawing from the society of men.

III.11.48 Then / then

III.11.48 **doubt.** To fear, to apprehend, to suspect.

Cf. *Hamlet*, I.11.256, where Hamlet waiting for the ghost to appear remarks:

  I doubt some foul play: would the night were come!
Grows weary of these worldly vanities.

AGR.

I never heard of such a change as this.

[CAE.]

Give me the letter. I'll peruse it now. He reads. [C6.]

they retire.

Agrippa.

AGR.

Caesar.

CAE.

Here the woman writes
That for her liberty, and to confirm
The Crown of Aegypt to her self and children
To gratifie my favour she has hid
Within her pallace a great masse of gold.

Unknown t'Antonius.

AGR.

'Tis like enough,
For Cleopatra's rich, and long has been,
Besides the sacriledge she lately did
In robbing all the Temples of the Gods
About these parts.

CAE.

I would not lose this gold,
Nor willingly let Cleopatra die
Before her person have adorn'd my triumph.

AGR.

That will be hard to bring to passe, and must
III.11.50-52 AGR.: I never . . . this.

CAE.: Give me . . . now. Agrippa.

AGR.: Caesar. /

AGR.: I never . . . now.

AGrippa, AGR. Caesar. (printed in the center of the page as if it were a stage direction.)

The MS. has the emended reading, but between lines 50 and 51 the following line is injected: PL.: To what extreames unconstant men are carry'd!

III.11.57 enough / ennough

III.11.58 Cleopatra's / Cleopatrae's
III

Be wrought with subtilty: you must not send
A threatening message back; for if you do,
All's lost, her life, her gold and all are vanish'd.
For Cleopatra, as in all her acts
It has appear'd, is of a wondrous spirit,
Of an ambition greater then her fortunes
Have ever been, though she so long have sway'd
A sovereignty ore half the Roman world,
Trod on the necks of humbled Kings, and rul'd
Antonius as her slave: her haughty spirit
Will never stoop so much as to a thought
Of such captivity.

CAE.

I do not mean
To let her know my minde, or once suspect
If I can help it, but I have it now.
Thyreus, come hither; I must now rely
Upon thy wisdome, care, and diligence
In an employment that concerns me neerly.
But I am confident: go with this fellow
To Alexandria; use to the Queen
Thy best and most perswasive Oratory.
Tell her I love her, and extremly dote
On her admired beauty, thou art wise
And need'st no great instructions; the successse
I do not doubt, the woman's credulous,
And thinks all men are bound to be in love
IIIi1,IIIi11
With that insnarling face; if thou perceive,
She will be wroght on, winne her to betray
Antonius to my hand: the way to woo her
I leave good Thyreus to thy eloquence
And cunning working of it: spare thy reply.
Bid him come hither. [To Eup.] Commend my hearty love
To Cleopatra; bid her fear no ill
From me at all. What I desire from her
My freed man Thyreus has commission
To utter to her self. Epaphroditus,
Go see him well rewarded.

EPA.

Health to Caesar. Exeunt Epa. & Eup.

Enter PROCULEIUS.

[PRO.]
The Governour is stout, and does resolve
To stand th'extremest hazard of the warre
Before he yield Pelusium.

CAE.

Let him rue
His stubborn loyalty; soldierys make ready
For the assault; 'tis shame so small a town,
Should stay our fortune in the full carreer. [Exeunt.

[ACT III, Scene 111]
ANTONIUS disguis'd like TIMON, reading.
III.11.95  my hearty love / my love MS.

III.11.104  loyalty; / loyalty,
Here bury'd do I lie; thou gentle wave  
Keep hatefull man from treading Timons grave.  
Reader be gone; enquire no more of me,  
A curse upon thee whatsoere thou be.

Good, good; oh Timon, Athens here could boast  
A wise philosopher but thee. Thou knew'est  
The nature of all men, that all were false;  
True Timon, true, they are all Knaves indeed.  
Thou wisely hat'st that wicked thing call'd man,  
Whom other forced Philosophers admire,  
And call a noble creature, and partaker  
Of divine nature: they were fools, fools Timon,  
All other Sects were fools, and I will follow  
No sect but thine; I am a Timonist.  
That's not enough; Timon himself I am.

Enter LUCILIUS, ARISTOCRATES.

Yonder he sits, see Aristocrates  
How much unlike that great Antonius,  
Whose person late so many legions guarded,  
So many Kings attended as their Lord.

Antonius, where? Thou art deceiv'd Lucilius,  
That's Timon man.

How canst thou jest at this
III.iii.1 Callimachus. Callimachus of Cyrene was born probably c. 310 B.C. He was educated at Athens and taught in a boys' school outside Alexandria before he obtained the patronage of Ptolemy Philadelphus and became the most eminent literary figure in Alexandria. Callimachus wrote a great amount of serious verse, as well as his excellent epitaphs and epigrams for which the clarity and ease of his style seem particularly well suited.

May has freely expanded this epigram on Timon (#III in Rudolfus Pfeiffer's edition of Callimachus' Epigrams, Vol. II.)

III.iii.6 philosopher / philosoher

III.iii.10 forced / fond MS.

III.iii.15 enough; / enough,

III.iii.20 Thou / thou
This wofull passion, which alone's enough
To melt his foes and Caesar into tears.

ARI.

We feed this foolish passion, to give way,
And keep aloof thus. I'll go to him. Timon.  

ANI.

Ha! what art thou? Be gone I say from me.
Get you to Caesar man; I hate you all.

ARI.

I hate thee, Timon; dost thou think 'tis love
Has brought me hither? I am come to vex thee.

ANI.

Oh welcome, what's thy name? I'ist Alcibiades?n

ARI.

Hast thou forgot me?

ANI.

Dost thou hate all men?

ARI.

Why dost thou think me so unnaturall
To love a man? But may we not love women?

ANI.

Yes, they may be belov'd; provided always
That they be false.

ARI.

True Timon, wicked women
May be belov'd, because they ruine men.
III.iii.26  Be / be

III.iii.30  I'st / i'st

n III.iii.30  Alcibiades. Athenian general and politician, born c. 450 B.C. at Athens; killed at Melissa, Phrygia, 404 B.C. Plutarch writes in his life of Antony that Timon shunned the company of all men "but the company of young Alcibiades, a bold and insolent youth, whom he would greatly feast, and make much of, and kissed him very gladly. Apoemantus wondering at it, asked him the cause what he meant to make so much of that young man alone, and to hate all others: Timon answered him, I do it said he, because I know that one day he shall do great mischief unto the Athenians."

III.iii.33  But / but
AN.

Right, right; and now I better think upon't
I'll set no gallowses or gibbets up
As I intended once, for men to come
And hang themselves, I'll keep a bawdy house.

ARISTOPHANES

A better way by farre, 'twill ruine me,
I wonder, Timon, at that foolish plot
That I have heard, that in thy gardens once
In Athens thou did'st set up gallowses
For men in discontent to hang themselves.
How few think'st thou would be so mad to do it?
But to a wench they'll come, and then the office
That thou shalt have will be of more account.
For where have you a man of any fashion
That now adays turnes hangman; but a Pandar
Is an employment that befits a Statesman,
A thing requires good parts and gravity.

AN.

I'de try that course; but tis too slow a plot.
Oh for a speedy way to kill the world!
I have done somewhat in my days; my wars
And bloody battels were not made in vain.
For I was once Antonius, and a Roman,
As in the wars of Troy Pythagoras
Before that transmigration of his soul,
Had been Euphorbus.
III.111.51 an / on

nIII.111.58-60 Pythagoras . . . Euphorbus. Pythagoras was a Greek philosopher and mathematician who founded an ascetic brotherhood which had as its aims a moral and religious reformation of mankind, as well as the political purpose of supporting aristocracies against democracies and tyrannies. Basic to his system was the belief in the transmigration and purification of the soul. Pythagoras claimed that his body was inhabited by the soul of Euphorbus, a Trojan who wounded Patroclus at the siege of Troy. Because they believed that the soul migrates, not only from man to man but from man to animal, the Pythagoreans did not eat meat.
Thou art like him still.

And when I was Triumvir first at Rome,

That was a time indeed, then I could heare
Of those good deeds, which must be still a comfort
To your good consciences, though they be past.
When Rome was fill'd with slaughter, flow'd with bloud.
But they perchance were Knaves that were proscrib'd
And might have done more mischief had they liv'd.

No, they were honest men; I look'd to that.

'Twas well, and carefully.

Behold the list.
But one among the rest most comforts me,
That talking fellow Cicero, that us'd
To taxe the vicious times, and was forsooth
A lover of his Country.

Out upon him,
Then he was rightly serv'd: for is it fit
In a well govern'd state such men should live
As love their Country? Had't not been for his
Catiline's plot had thriv'd.
III.iii.60 ARI. / AN. This speech is assigned to Aristocrates in the MS. also.

III.iii.61 Triumvir. In 43 B.C. Octavian, Mark Antony, and Lepidus formed the Second Triumvirate. The triumvirs were to have consular powers for three years; they appointed magistrates, and their decrees were valid as laws. Octavian received Africa and the islands; Antony, Gaul; Lepidus, Spain and Narbonensis. The alliance was followed by wholesale proscription, and by the overthrow of the republicans under Brutus and Cassius in 42 B.C. Lepidus was soon reduced to a minor position, and eventually banished. By a treaty at Brundisium, Octavian received the West and Antony the East.

III.iii.62 ARI. / AN. This speech is assigned to Aristocrates in the MS. also.

III.iii.71 Cicero. Marcus Tullius Cicero -- Roman orator, philosopher and statesman; born at Arpinum, Italy, 106 B.C.; assassinated near Formiae, Italy, 43 B.C. He was devoted to republican principles and tried to influence Octavian to restore the Republic; however, he realized that he had deluded himself when Octavian formed the Second Triumvirate with Antony and Lepidus. Cooper writes that Cicero had made Antony his enemy by driving him out of Rome and by his sharp orations which caused Antony to be proclaimed an enemy of the "weale rublike." Since Cicero
had shown unrelenting hostility to Lepidus also, he prepared to fly. His ship was driven back by contrary winds; he was seized by agents of the triumvirs, and put to death. His head and right hand were cut off and sent to Rome, where Antony caused them to be nailed to the rostra.

III.iii.76 Hadn't / hadn't

III.iii.77 Catiline. Lucius Sergius Catilina -- Roman politician and conspirator, born c. 108 B.C.; killed at Faesculae, Italy, 62 B.C. Organized a widespread conspiracy against the republic, whose object is said to have been the cancellation of debts, the proscription of the wealthy, and the distribution among the conspirators of all offices of honor and emolument. It was defeated by the vigilance and eloquence of Cicero, who was then consul. Catiline was overtaken by the army of the Senate as he was attempting to escape into Gaul, and was defeated and slain in the battle which ensued.
'Tis true, I'm sure

Caesar was on that side, he favour'd it.

ARI.

Yes, Caesar understood himself; ther's hope
That this young Caesar too will prove as good
A Patriot as ere his father was.

AN.

He will do reason man: he is of nature
Cruell enough; in that proscription
It did appear; but now he'll reign alone.

ARI.

Oh for such factions as were then a foot
To rend the state, and fill the world with slaughter.

AN.

Oh, let me hug thee Alcibiades.

Enter CANIDIUS, LUCILIUS.

CA.

Is that he yonder? What strange shape is that?

LU.

None talks with him but Aristocrates,
Who following his own way, and suiting just
With his conceit thinks to reclaim him so.

CA.

The news, that I shall bring, will make him worse,
And fright that little reason that is left
Quite from his brest.
III.iii.77  true / trne

III.iii.81  his father. Octavius's mother was Caesar's niece. After his father died in 59 B.C., Octavius received much attention from Caesar, and when Caesar's will was opened, it was revealed that Octavius had been adopted and made his chief heir by the dictator.

III.iii.82-86  AN.: He will ... reigne alone.

ARI.: Oh for ... with slaughter. /

AN.: He will ... did appear.

ARI.: But now ... with slaughter. MS.

III.iii.88  What / what
It cannot so Canidius;
Perchance to hear th'extremitie of all
Will cure his fit; it cannot make him worse.
For death it self were better and more noble.

CA.
How weak a thing is man that seats his hopes
In fortunes slippery, and unconstant favours,
And seeks no surer strengths to guard his soul?
Wanting a strong foundation, he is shaken
With every winde, orethrown by every storm.
And what so frequent as those storms in fortune?
Whose fairest weather never brings assurance
Of perpetuity but come what will
I'll tell him all.

LU.

Do, good Canidius.

AN.

Well Alcibiades, I am resolv'd
I'll to the wars again, and either conquer
Mine enemies, or take a course to starve
And kill up my own souldiers, and so be
Revenge'd on some body: One of these two
May easily be brought to passe. How think'st thou?

AHI.

Yes, yes: but lets to Court, and there consult.
III.iii.94 Canidius / my Lord MS.

III.iii.103 in / of MS.

III.iii.106 Canidius / my Lord MS.

III.iii.109 enemies / enemis
Enter MARDIO.

See who comes here, now for our bawdy project.
Here is a servant I must needs preferre
Well vers'd in bawdry, Master of the art.
Come neer brave Mardio, come.

MAR.

My businesse
Is not to you.

ARI.

Mark him but well, and tell me
How he would execute the place.

MAR.

My Lord,
The Queen entreats your presence at the Palace,
The grieved Queen, who in your absence pines,
Who suffers in your grief.

ARI.

Well urg'd old Eunuch.

AN.

Ha! what of her? Will she revolt to Caesar?

MAR.

She's farre from that, my Lord.

AN.

What 1'st he says?

ARI.

He says the constitution of her body
Cannot hold out unlesse you visit her.
III.111.115-117  ... I must needs preferre
                       
Well vers'd in bawdry, Master of the art.

Come neer brave Mardio, come. /

... fitt for that employment.

Master of the art. Come Mardio. MS.

III.111.124  Will / will
MAR.
The Queen shall know it, Aristocrates.
ARI.
Did you not say she pin'd and languish'd Sir,
And what's the difference? Tell your tale yourself.
AN.
What does she say? Does she not hate me man?
MAR.
Oh no my Lord, she loves you as her life.
No spite of fortune that she has endur'd,
Or can hereafter fear, grieves her so much
As does your absence and strange melancholy.
ARI.
Well Mardio, thou art fittest for the place.
CA.
My Lord Antonius?
AN.
Ha! no men upon us?
CA.
I come to bring thee heavy news Antonius.
The forces all, which thou didst leave encamp'd
At Actium, horse and foot are gone to Caesar.
And all th'auxiliary Kings; no strength
At all is left thee, but what here thou hast
At Alexandria.
AN.
Ha!
III.iii.130 Tell / tell

III.iii.131 Does / does

III.iii.136 **fittest for the place.** i.e., best suited for the position of keeper of the bawdy house.

III.iii.140 **Actium.** In ancient geography, a promontory on the northwest coast of Acarnania in Greece. The naval battle during which Antony forsook his forces to pursue Cleopatra was fought near Actium.
IIIii,IV1

LU.
This sinks into him.

CA.
It makes a deep impression in his passion.

ARI.
And may perchance expell his other fit.

AN.
All you here yet? Then I have friends I see.
But tell me, can you be so mercifull
As to forgive that most unmanly fit
I have been in? Oh, I am all in blushes.

CA.
My Lord, take better comfort.

AN.
Dearest friends.
I will be proof 'gainst any fortune now.
Come let's together to the Court, and there
Drown sadnesse in rich cups of Meroën wine,
And laugh at Fortunes malice, for your sight
More cheers my spirits, then her frowns can dull them.  

ACTUS QUARTUS.

CLEOPATRA, GLAUCUS.

GLA.
Madam, all drugs with pain and torment kill
That kill with speed. No easie way to death
Is wrought but by a slow and lingering course,
III.111.146 Then / then

III.111.149 Oh / oh

III.111.153 Meroe. The island between the junction of the Bahr-el-Abiad with the true Nile and that of the Atbara with the Nile. The city Meroe, the southern and later the sole capital of the Kings of Napata, was known by hearsay to Herodotus. In the time of Ptolemy II, the kingdom became partly hellenized. Despite further exploration of the Nile in Ptolemaic and Roman times, little was known of Meroe during Cleopatra's reign.
Where Nature's strength is by degree subdued,
And yielding so decayes insensibly.
No art at all can make a drug that's quick
And gentle too. No poison but the Asp's
Of all the mortal brood of Libyaes Snakes
Kills with a sudden, and yet ease death
As if brought forth to contradict our skill
By envious Nature, who disdains frail man
Should hope to find her secrets wholly out.
None but that Serpent, Madam, can effect
What you desire; of which I here have brought.

CLE.

Leave it good Glaucus; leave the potion too.
Tis quick, thou sayest.

GLA.

Yes Madam; but too painful
And violent.

CLE.

Well leave them both with me.

Exit Glaucus.
IV.1.7  Aspe. May does not mention that the asp was the minister of Re, the Sun-God, whose daughter Cleopatra claimed to be.

IV.1.21  happy; / happy,

IV.1.21-22  . . . nought but that
Frees states when they are fall'n. /
. . . That alone
Can cure a ruin'd fortune. MS.
That is the deere preservative, that must
Controll the spite of Fortune, and redeem
A wofull life from loathed servitude.
One venome's gentle; tother rough and cruell.
But tis not safe to trust mine honour so,
On doubtfull props: the poysons both may fail,
Or differ farre from what vain fame reports
Their operation. Tis experience
That must confirme me. Mardio is return'd.

Enter MARDIO with two prisoners.

MAR.

Here are two men, Madam, condemn'd for murder
To cruell death, and are to die to morrow.

CLE.

Come neerer both, and tell me, dare you die?

1 PRI.

Great Queen, necesseties strict law imposes
That doom upon us; in forc'd actions
Courage can have no triall.

CLE.

Dare you die

A lesse dishonorable way, to scape
The common hangman's hand, and from a Queen
Receive your death, and that an easier death?

BOTH.

Most willingly, great Queen; we are prepar'd.
IV.1.26 That is / This is MS.

IV.1.27-28 Controll the spite of Fortune, and redeem
A wofull life from lothed servitude. /
Redeeme a life from loathed servitude. MS.
CLE.

Give them their lots, Mardio; the shortest lot
Is to die first.

2 PRI.

That lot is mine.

CLE.

The Aspe shall be thy fate: now Aspe confirme
What fame reports of thee; stay thou thy draught
Till he be dead; feel'st thou no pain?

2 PRI.

A faintnesse seizes me, and I would sleep.

MAR.

How gently he lies down? and scarcely strives
Against his death at all.

CLE.

I think he's dead
Already. Sure he feels but little pain.
I am confirm'd.

MAR.

He's dead and stiffe already.

CLE.

Wee'll try no more, as for thy draught of poysen
Thus we discharge thee of it, and from death
Doom'd by the law our royall pardon frees thee.
Publish it Mardio.
The Gods preserve
Royall and gracious Cleopatrae's life. Exeunt.

CLE.
I am resolv'd; nought but the Libyan Aspe
Shall be renown'd for Cleopatraes death.
Thou precious worme, that canst redeem alone
The losse of honour at a rate so easie,
That kill'st as gently as the hand of age,
And art miscall'd a plague of Africa,
Since thou alone mak'st barren Afrike envy'd,
By other lands, though fruitfull, wanting thee.
Who crosse the Seas, and hence at highest price
Transport the Aspe as choisest Merchandise.
On thee I trust, one gentle touch of thine
Can free this life from lothed servitude,
From Caesar's triumph, the base peoples mocks,
Froud Liviae's scorn, and mad Octaviaes spight.
But why are all my thoughts turn'd to despair?
Why think I now of death? He thinks my Genius
Checks this cold fear, and Fortune chiding tells me
I am ungratefull to distrust her now.
My race of life and glory is not run,
Nor Cleopatraes fortunes yet arriv'd
At that great height that must eternize her,
And fix her glorious name above the stars.
IV.1.58 The Gods / All the Godds MS.

IV.1.60 resolv'd / resolvd'

IV.1.68 hence / thence MS.

IV.1.69 Transport / Transporr

nIV.1.73 Livia. 58 B.C.-29 A.D. The wife of Octavian, whose affection and esteem she retained till his death in 14 A.D.

IV.1.75 Me / me

nIV.1.75 Genius. The attendant spirit of every man, a sort of guardian angel, whose activities were apparently directed largely toward fostering the natural desires and their satisfaction.

IV.1.77 distrust / distrust,
I long to hear what answer Caesar sends.  
I do not know his temper, but he's young;  
And why should I despair? Are Cupid's fires  
Extinguish'd quite? Are all his arrows spent?  
Or is this beauty, that can boast the conquest  
Of Julius Caesar; and great Antony,  
So waned now, it cannot move the temper  
Of one, whom youth makes fit for Cupid's conquest?  

Enter EUPHRONIUS, THYREUS.

EUP.

Madam, your gifts were more graciously receiv'd,  
And Caesar with a smiling brow return'd  
All seeming love and friendship; he has sent  
His free'dman Thyreus to attend your highnesse,  
And to impart his counsels to your eare.

CLE.

He's welcome to us. What's great Caesar's will.  
Exit Eup.

THY.

Caesar's best wishes, royall Cleopatra,  
None but your fairest self can ratifie.  
No power on earth can give what Caesar wants  
But you, great Queen. For let your Majesty  
Give credit to poor Thyreus though the meanest  
Of all the servants that attend on Caesar,  
Ther's none about him is more neer in trust  
To whom he's pleased to impart his thoughts,
IV.1.84 Are / are

IV.1.85 Are / are

IV.1.90 EUPHRONIUS / EUPHRONLUS

IV.1.90 were more graciously / were graciously MS.
And secret wishes: nothing but your love
Can crown his happinesse.

CLE.

We are no subject
For Caesar's mocks though in our worst of fortune.

THY.

You are the Queen of Fortune, and still hold
A lasting Scepter ore that fickle Goddesse
(Fickle to others, to you true and constant)
Your radiant light lends that blinde Goddesse eyes,
And guides her to your service, making all
Actions, nay losses steps to greater honour.
The late defeat at Actium, which your error
Perchance micals a losse, was Fortunes labour
To make you greater, and remove your brightnesse
Which was ill plac'd (as Diamonds oursly set)
From old Antonius to yong Caesar's love,
A fitter sphere for those fair eys to shine in.

CLE.

Without these courtings, Thyreus, if great Caesar
Please to embrace our friendship, we and Egypt
Shall do him faithful service.

THY.

Mighty Queen,

If my rude speech have err'd, I humbly beg
That you would please to think it zeal in me
To do my master service, and such service
As he esteems the best, to gain your love,
I oft have heard him (let your Majesty
Not be offended with that truth I utter)
Ravish'd with fame of your perfections,
And noble spirit; call Antonius happy,
Whom fortune brought to Egypt, to behold
That Queen, whom he so much desir'd to see.
But when his eyes beheld your portraiture
Drawn by a skilfull, and faithfull hand;
He oft would say it was a likely seat
To hold those Graces. Such perfections
Were fit for none but Caesar's to admire.

There was a Caesar, lov'd me once; but I
Am not so proud to think it was my merit,
Though he would say I did deserve farre more
Then he could utter, that great Julius,
Whose name and actions fill'd the triple world.

Though all in him were great, yet nothing greater
Then his adopting so divine an heire.
This Caesar, Madam, for your dearest love,
Besides that power and greatnesse, which the world
Both knows and fears, brings such a youth and beautie
To plead for him, as in a mean estate
Might move a Princessse love: which that your eyes
IV.1.131 whom / that MS.

IV.1.142 nothing greater / nought more great MS.

IV.1.146 Both knows and fears, brings such a youth and
beautie /

adores

Brings such a freshnesse both of youth and
beauty MS.
May better read, I here from him present
His true, and most unflatter'd portraiture.

CLE.
The fairest form that ere these eys beheld.
Where all the best of each best modell meets,
Cupid's sweet smiles, lodg'd in the eye of Mars,
Ganymed'sn cheek, th'Imperiall brow of Jove
Where love and majesty are proud to dwell.

THY.
His age, great Queen, is yet not thirty yeers.

CLE.
I nere till now saw beautie: but Thyreus
May we repose a confidence in thee
As our true friend? we will deserve thy love.

THY.
To do divinest Cleopatra service
Is all poor Thyreus pride: in serving you
I best discharge my dutie to my master.

CLE.
Then briefly thus; because I would not have
Any take notice of long privacie
Twixt thee and me, and instantly w'expect
Antonius here, I will devise some means
How to deserve great Caesar's love, and act
What he shall thank us for: mean while stay here
With us, good Thyreus, for we cannot yet
Dispatch thee with that message we extend.
IV.1.149 May / may

IV.1.149 better / clearly MS.

IV.1.150 portraiture / portraiture

IV.1.154 Ganymed. (Usually Ganymede). In Greek mythology, a beautiful Trojan youth, the son of Troas and Callirrhoe. He was transferred to Olympus to become the cup-bearer of the gods, and became immortal. The older authorities say nothing of the manner of his carrying off, though the reason given is his beauty. He had a childishly pretty figure.

IV.1.154 th'Imperial / th'imperious MS.

IV.1.159 We / we
THY.

I will attend your highness.

CLE.

Till anone

Farewell, good Thyreus: but be neer about us. Exit Thy.

What more then this could all the fates contrive?
What more then Caesar's love could I have wish'd
On which all power, all state, and Glories wait.
But oh the weak and fluctuating state
Of humane frailty still too much deprest
Or rais'd too much 'twixt fears and flattering hopes!
But hence base fear; a princely confidence
Fits Cleopatraes minde and beautie better. #D2

Enter ANTONIUS, CANIDIUS, LUCILIUS, ARISTOCRATES.

My dearest Lord.

Ah:

Ah sweetest Cleopatra,
In this embrace, and this Ambrosiake kisse
I am again possest of all my wealth,
Of all my fortunes. Had the angry Gods
Purpos'd to wreak their fury fully on me
They had not left my life so sweet a comfort.

CLE.

Possest of you I stand above the reach
Of Fortunes threatning, or proud Caesar's power.
Nought but your grief, and melancholly had
Power to deject my spirits.
IV.1.171 will attend / will be ready to attend MS.

IV.1.171-172 Till anone . . . about us. / lacking in MS.

IV.1.179 But / Yett MS.

IV.1.181 LUCILIUS / LUCIIUS
Thy true worth
Deserves a happier friend, that could bestow
Not take alone his happinesse from thee.
In thy sweet love, and these my faithfull friends
I still am happy, I have lost no friends.
All that are gone from me to Caesar's side,
Ingratefull Titius and Domitius.
Plancus, Silanus, Dellius and Hipparchus,
Were Fortunes friends not mine.

CLE.

Let's in and feast,
This day we'll dedicate to mirth and freedome
To crown your welcome hither.

AN.

Sweetly spoken.
Let not a woman teach us soildiers
To be magnanimous.

CLE.

This feast we'll stile
The feast of fellow-dyers: for no band
No tie of friendship is so firme as that
They live in love that mean to die together.

Plutarch.

Exeunt.

[ACT IV, Scene 11.]

CAESAR, AGRIPPA, TITIUS, PLANCUS, ARIUS.
IV.1.199 freedome / freedome:

IV.1.202 To be magnanimous / courage MS.

IV.1.202-205 CLE.: This feast . . . die together. / AN.: This feast . . . die together. MS.

IV.1.202 This / Thi?
CAE.

Grave Arius, in thy troubled looks I read
Fear for thy native Alexandria;
But banish fear, and know thy power with Caesar,
If they obey our summons, none shall die.
But though to th'utmost they resist, thy will
Shall rule our Justice.

AR.

Humble Arius
Is too much honour'd in great Caesar's favour.

CAE.

We give but what we owe, a debt so great
As mine to thee can nere be overpay'd.
Great Alexander, whose victorious hand
Founded that City, whose eterniz'd name
For ever honours it, though in great deeds
He past our glory farre, shall not exceed
Caesar in piety: he oft would say
He ought a better being to his Master
Then to father; one meer naturall,
The other mentall, and diviner farre.

Who's that?  
[###]

Enter Epaphroditus with Fergus.

EPA.

Fergusius the Philosopher
Condemned to death by you.
IV.11.6 Arius / Arius.
Dispatch him then.

He craves a word with Arius ere he die.

What is it brother?

Ah good Arius,
Wisemen, if truly wise, save wise men still.

Most mighty Caesar.

Arius, no more,
I know what thou desir'st; Fergusius live;
That thou know'st him has sav'd thee.

Victorie,
And fame still wait on Caesar.

Let's away
And march with speed to Alexandria.

Caesar, your horse'rn are weary: 'tis not fit
Too much to toil them, for I fear a sally
From Alexandria.

They dare not man.
IV.11.28 horse. The old plural form. The plural was in Old English the same as the singular; "horse" plural was in general use down to the seventeenth century. Cf. Chaucer, "General Prologue" to The Canterbury Tales, 1. 74:

His hors were goode . . . .
IVII,IVIII

AGR.

Antonius is strong in well-provided
And skillfull horsemen; and despair of favor
(Since twice you have refus'd his propositions)\textsuperscript{[1]}
Will put another valour into him.

CAE.

What conquest can Antonius hope for here?

AGR.

His hopes (as nere as I conjecture them)
Are to break through your troops, and get to Sea.
For yet he has a Fleet, that may transport him
To other lands, to gather new supplyes.
But any fortune would prove higher farre
To him, then staying here, without all hope.
To be shut up in a besieged town.
In my opinion let your march be slow
And gentle; that the horse may be refresh'd
And we prevent the worst.

CAE.

Let it be so.

Exeunt.

[ACT IV, Scene 111.]

Enter LUCILIUS, ARISTOCRATES.

LU.

How formlesse is the forme of man the soul,
How various still how different from it self?
How falsly call'd Queen of this little world?
IV.11.33 (Since twice you have refus'd his propositions).

Plutarch records two instances in which Antony sent messages to Caesar after the defeat at Actium. On the first occasion he requested Caesar's permission to live at Athens like a private man if Caesar would not let him remain in Egypt. The second message (separated from the first by a year in Plutarch) was a challenge sent by Antony to Caesar to fight with him hand to hand. Plutarch notes that Caesar denied both requests.

IV.11.44 refresh'd / refresh'd.
IViii
When she's a slave, and subject not alone
Unto the bodies temperature, but all
The storms of Fortune.

ARI.

What occasion
Make thee thus offer at Philosophy?

LU.

Where hast thou liv'd thou shouldst not know th'occasion?
The fits and changes of Antonius
Are them sufficient how strange a loving soule
Is the late hater of mankinde become!

ARI.

That is not strange, he's out of breath with cursing
And now 'tis time to stop his mouth with kissing.
But what can he conceive of this same Thyreus
That holds such secret conference with her?

LU.

He cannot choose but see it.

ARI.

Unlesse love
Have blinded him, she carries it so plainly.
Well, I shall think if there be knavery in't,
(As knavery there must be) that Cleopatra
Is not so subtle as we took her for.

LU.

He must be told it, if he will not see
Upon my life there is some plot of treason
Which yet may be discover'd.

ARI.

Heer they come.

Let us go fetch Antonius if we can.

[ACT IV, Scene iv.]

CLEOPATRA, THYREUS.

CLE.

Pelusium shall be rendred up to Caesar

By our command to our Lieutenant there

Seleucus, whose obedience we not doubt.

THY.

Noblest of Queens, you make Imperiall Caesar

As much a debtor to your courtesie

As he's already captive to your beauty.

CLE.

Nor do we wrong Antonius at all

In giving up a town which is our own.

It may be thought tis done to weaken him;

Alas, Antonius is already fall'n

So low, that nothing can redeem him now

Nor make him able to contest with Caesar.

He has not only lost his armies strength

But lost the strength of his own soul, and is not

That Antony he was when first I knew him.

I can do Caesar now no greater service.

Though I shall never want a heart to do it.

But we shall quickly see th'event of things;
Antonius now is desperate, and puts
His hopes upon the fortune of one sally,
Which will be suddenly perform'd, before
That thou canst bear a message back to Caesar.

ANTONIUS, LUCILIUS, ARISTOCRATES.

AN.

Hands on that Thyreus there, to prison with him.

THY.

To prison!

AN.

Yes; away with him I say.

THY.

Caesar would not have us'd your messenger
So ill.

AN.

Thou wert no messenger to me.

CLE.

For my sake dearest Lord.

AN.

Oh for your sake?

I cry you mercy Lady, bear him hence.

I had forgot that Thyreus was your servant
But what strange act should he perform for you?
Is it to help you to a happier friend?

CLE.

Can you suspect it? Was my truest love
So ill bestow'd? Can he, for whose dear sake
IV.iv.26  wert / art MS.

IV.iv.32  Was / was
A Queen so highly born as I preferr'd
Love before fame, and fondly did neglect
All names of honour when false Fulvia,\textsuperscript{n}
And proud Octavia had the name of wives,
Requite me thus? ungratefull Antony;
For now the fury of a wronged love
Justly provokes my speech.

All.

Oh Cleopatra,
It is not Thyreus but this heart of mine
That suffers now, deep wounded with the thought
Of thy unconstancie: did Fortune leave
One only comfort to my wretched state
And that a false one? For what conference
Couldst thou so oft, and in such privacie
With Caesar's servant hold, if true to me?
Which with the rack I could enforce from him.
But that I scorn to do.

CLE.

You do not scorn
To wrong with base unworthy jealousies
A faithfull heart: but if you think me false
Heer sheath your sword: make me the subject rather
Of manly rage then childish jealousie.
It is a nobler crime, and fitter farre
For you to act, easier for me to suffer.
IV.iv.36 Fulvia. The daughter of M. Fulvius Bambalio and wife of Clodius, Curio, and Antony (45 B.C. or earlier). She played an active part in the political campaign against Octavian which resulted in the Perusine War. After the fall of Perusia she escaped to Greece, where she died in the same year (40 B.C.). Fulvia was an ambitious woman of strong character, a precursor of the imperial women of the succeeding epoch.

IV.iv.38 Antony / Anthony

IV.iv.43 unconstancie / unconstanore

IV.iv.45 For / for
IViv

For live suspected I nor can nor will.
The lovely Aspe, which I with care have kept
And was intended a preservative
'Gainst Caesar's crueltie, I now must use
Against Antonius baseness a worse fo

Then Caesar is farewell, till death approve
That I was true, and you unjust in love.

Al.

Stay Cleopatra, dearest Love, forgive me
Let not so small a winde have power to shake
A love so grown as ours: I did not think
That thou wert false: my heart gave no consent
To what my tongue so rashly uttered.
Nor could I have out-liv'd so sad a thought.
Let Thyreus be releast, and sent to Caesar.

Enter CANIDIUS.

[CA.]

Now is the time to sally forth, my Lord,
The fo is tir'd with marching, and your horse
Are readie all, and wait the signall only.
The least delay loses the action.

An.

I come Canidius; dearest Love farewell.
Few houres will tell thee what Antonius is.

Exeunt.

CLE.

How timorous is guilt? How are my thoughts
Distracted sadly now? On every side
IV.iv.61 Caesar / Caesur

IV.iv.76 How are / how are

IV.iv.77 On / on
IViv,Vi

My dangers grow: for should Antonius
Return in safety home, and know what past
'Twixt me and Thyreus, I have lost his heart,
And cannot choose but fear him: if he die
I am not confident of Caesar's love.
'Twas but a servants tongue I built upon.
'Tis best to make all sure: within there, Eira.

EIRA.

Madam!

CLE.

Are all things readie in the tombe?

EIRA.

Yes, Madam; Charmio's there and Mardio.

CLE.

Then thither will I go, if fate contrive
A future state of happinesse for me,
It is my castle: if my death they doom,
I am possest already of a tombe.

Exit.

ACTUS QUINTUS.

ANTONIUS, LUCILIUS, ARISTOCRATES.

AN.

Defeated are my troops, my fleet revolted,
The Seas and Lands are lost; and nothing now
Is left Antonius but a Roman hand,
A sword and heart to die. You truest servants,
Whose faith and manly constancie upbraids
IV.i

IV.iv.86 Charmio's / Carmio's

IV.iv.87 fate / fates MS.
This wicked age, and shall instruct the next,  
Take from a wretched hand this legacy.  
Fortune has made my will, and nought but this  
Can I bequeath you. Carry it to Caesar;  
If he be noble, it contains enough  
To make you happier then Antonius can.  
My glasse of life and Empire now is run,  
And from this hand expects a period.  

LU.

My Lord, take fairer hopes.

AN.

Fie, fie, Lucilius;  
Lose not thy former merits in persuading  
A man, whom once thou lov'dst to such a shame  
As to preferre a loath'd captivity  
Before a noble death.

Enter EROS.

Thy looks speak grief  
Speak Eros, wher's the Queen?

EROS.

She's dead my Lord.

When those unhappy tydings came to her  
Of your defeat, she straight shut up her self  
Within her tombe, and dy'd.

AN.

Oh Cleopatra,  
Why have I lingering thus, that thou a woman
V.1.8 nought but this / nothing else MS.

V.1.18 Enter EROS. Thy looks speak grief . . . / Thy looks speak grief . . . Enter EROS.

V.1.19 Speak / Say MS.
V1

Should'st teach so old a souldier how to die?
Fortune, I blame not thee; I have enjoy'd
What thou could'st give, and on the envy'd top
Of thy proud wheel^n have long unshaken stood.
Whom Kings have serv'd, and Rome her self obey'd;
Whom all the Zones of earths diffused Globe,
That know inhabitants, have known, and fear'd.
Nor is my fall so much degenerate.
My strength no arms but Roman arms subdue,
And none, but Monarch of the world succeeds.
Gluttéd with life and Empire now I go
Free and undaunted to the shades below.
Here Eros, take this sword, perform the promise
Which thou hast made, to kill me whensoere
I should command: make no reply in words.

EROS.

I will be true or die. Stand fair; your Eros

Will be your Usher to th'Elizian fields. kil[e himself.

AN.

What hast thou done unfaithfull faithfull Eros

Too kindly cruel, falsely vertuous?

I'll trust no more, to be no more directed

By such examples: but we must be speedie.

The gates ere this time are set ope to Caesar.

Fair Cleopatra, I am comming now

To dwell with thee, and ever to behold

Thy heavenly figure, where nor time nor death
V.1.27 **proud wheel**. The goddess Fortune is traditionally pictured with a wheel, one revolution of which each man experiences in his lifetime. Those who "enter" the wheel at its top, the point of greatest prosperity, may expect eventually to experience a radical decline in fortune and then to regain their former happiness before death. By the same token, those who enter the wheel in misery must anticipate attaining the prosperity at the top of the wheel and then descending to its nadir once more before life releases them. This is the idea which Edgar expresses in *King Lear*, IV.1.1-6:

> Yet better thus, and known to be contemned,  
> Than still contemned and flattered. To be worst,  
> The lowest and most dejected thing of fortune,  
> Stands still in esperance, lives not in fear.  
> The lamentable change is from the best,  
> The worst returns to laughter.

At the end of *King Lear* (V.111.173-174) Edmund, with his mortal wound already deep in his body, exclaims:

> The wheel is come full circle, I am here.

Both Antony and Cleopatra remark on the fickleness of fortune (cf. V.v.1-13) which can suddenly dash one from the "envy'd top" of her wheel to its lowest point. Another of May's characters, Aemon in *Antigone*, makes the same lament on learning of his lover's death:

> How from the top of all  
> My hopes and comforts in one fatall minute  
> Has envious fortune throwne me downe againe  
> Into the depth of misery, and woe.  

E4.
Shall make divorce of our eternall loves.
Thus, thus I come to thee: [stabs himself] unfaithfull sword,
I never knew thee slow in giving death
Till this sad hour, some friendly hand lend aid,
And with another wound release my soule.

Enter MARDIO.

[MAR.]

Where is my Lord Antonius? Oh sad sight!
The Queen enclosed in her tombe desir'd
To take her last leave of you.

AN.

Is she living?
Tis welcome news, convey me quickly, friends, Plutarch.
Oh quickly thither, that I may expire Dio. Cass.
That breath that's left in Cleopatra's arms. Exeunt. Exeunt.

[ACT V, Scene 11.]

AGRIPPA, GALLUS, EPHAPRODITUS, PROCULEIUS, Citizens. Exit Epa.

Go you, Epaphroditus, and besiege
The Palace, to surprize Antonius; Exit Epa.
You Proculeius, and Cornelius Gallus,
Go presently to Cleopatra's tombe,
Wo her with all your art and eloquence
With all assurances of Caesar's love
To leave that place, and yield her person to him.
Spare no attempts of force or policy
V.1.54 sight! / sight
Vii

To draw her thence: [Exeunt Pro. & Gal.] for you the Citizens
Of Alexandria, cheer your fainting hearts,
I'll mediate in your behalf to Caesar,
To spare the City.

CITIZENS.

Thanks to the most noble
And good Agrippa.

AGR.

Heer he comes himself.

Enter CAESAR, ARIUS, TITIUS, PLANCUS.

CAE.

The palenesse of your fear declares your guilt.
But that, though none so great, shall not exceed
Our clemencie, to let you know it was
Your happinesse to be subdu'd by us.
Mercy shall rule our just severitie.
First for your founder Alexanders sake,
Next for the love of reverent Arius
Our Master heer: whose goodnesse far out-weighs
All your offenses and rebellions.

CITIZENS.

Caesar in goodnesse, as in greatnesse, bears
Equalitie with Jove.

Enter ACHOREUS.

ACH.

Hail mighty Caesar.
VII

CAE.

What's he?

AR.

Achorus, Osiris Priest,
A good and holy man.

CAE.

We dare believe thee,
And therefore welcom him.

ACH.

Please it great Caesar,
To give Achorus leave to wait on him
Into the ancient Temples of our Gods
To shew the Egyptian rites and mysteries,
And all the Deities that we adore.

CAE.

Most willingly Achorus, I would see
Gods, but not Oxen.

TI.

He has blank'd the Priest.

CAE.

I fain would see great Alexander's horse
The mansion once of so divine a soul
A spirit greater then the world it self,
Whom the world fear'd but could not satisfie.

ACH.

Within the vault of our Pyramids
\textsuperscript{nv.11.33} blank'd. To put out of countenance; to nonplus, disconcert. Cf. Hamlet, III.11.230-231, in which the queen in the play within the play says:

\begin{quote}
Each opposite that blanks the face of joy
Meet what I would have well and it destroy!
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{nv.11.34} Alexander's herse. Strabo writes that Ptolemy Soter captured the body of Alexander from Perdiccas and that eventually it was laid in an enclosure in Alexandria with the bodies of the Ptolemies. Strabo notes that the body was originally in a gold sarcophagus but had been transferred later to one made of glass (or alabaster).
Vil

His bodie yet all whole may Caesar see.
And all the bodies of our Ptolomeys.

CAE.

I'd see Kings only, not dead carcasses. Sueton.
But see, Epahroditus is return'd. Dio. Cass.

Enter EPAPHRODITUS, LUCILIUS, ARISTOCRATES.

CAE.

Speak man, where is Antonius?

EPA.

Slain, my Lord.

CAE.

How? slain? what hand durst do it?

EPA.

His own hand.

CAE.

That was our fear: cruell Antonius.
Too cruell to thy self, to Rome, and me
How white a day have all the people lost?
How great might Caesar's happinesse have been
Had but the fates permitted me to lay
These conquering arms aside, and once again
Embrace thee, dear Antonius, as a friend
Thou worthy aider of my infant fortunes,
Thou brave revenger of great Julius death,
Witness these tears, though I were forc'd to warre
(Whilst thou preferring forreigne love before
V.11.47 white. Propitious, favourable, auspicious, fortunate, happy (chiefly of times and seasons).

V.11.54 though I were forc'd to warre / that I though forc'd to warre MS.
Caesar's alliance, did'st reject my kindred,
And scorn my love) I still could honour thee.
But since too cruel fate denies to me
So great an happiness as to express
This love to thee alive, let thy dear ghost
Behold my Pietie, and see the honours
Caesar will do to thy sad funerall.

LU.

Most royall Caesar-like dissimulation.

ARI.

I hope how ere 'twill serve our turns Lucilius.
Now is the fittest time.

CAE.

What men are these?

EPA.

Two of Antonius truest servants, Caesar,
Who bring a letter from their dying Lord.

CAE.

Let me peruse it well, it shall be granted.
Your lives and fortunes both are safe, and since
We ever lov'd fidelity, you shall
If so you like, be welcome to our service.

LU.

'Tis our desire; our lives and fortunes ever
Shall do great Caesar true and faithfull service
As they before did to Antonius.
V.11.57 my love) I / his frendshipp) MS.
CAE.

Where did he die?

EPA.

In Cleopatra's arms
By her with ropes let up into the tombe,
After his deadly wound.

CAE.

Is she there still?

Enter GALLUS.

Now I shall know; speak Gallus, what's the news?

GAL.

We came and call'd at Cleopatra's tombe,  
Who from above made answer, and deny'd    Plutarch.  
To yield herself, but upon Caesar's word.

When I with best persuasions strove to winne her,
And held her talk awhile, whilst Proculeius
On tother side the tombe esp'y'd a place
That open stood, by which the Queen receiv'd
Dying Antonius, which he scaling enter'd
Behinde the Queen: but had he not been speedy
She there had slain herself: a maid of hers
Spy'd Proculeius entring, and aloud
Cry'd out oh Queen thou art surpriz'd alive.
She drawing a short poniard was restrain'd
By Proculeius, who both held her hand
And spake her fair; at last obtain'd so much
B.' strong persuasions of your clemencie
V.11.82 When I / I then MS.

V.11.92 hand / hands MS.
VII, VIII

He drew her thence, and got her to the Palace
Where now she is, and Proculeius stays.
But her desire is still to speak with you.
Till when from us she will admit no comfort.

CAE.

We will in person presently go see her.
Protect me Pallas 'gainst false Venus charms. 100 Exeunt.

[ACT V, Scene iii.]

CLEOPATRA in mourning.

Known mischiefs have their cure; but doubts have none,
And better is despair then fruitlesse hope
Mirt with a killing fear: my thoughts are now
More black and balefull then this sad attire.
If Caesar come, I do not fear his chiding
I have a certain Antidote 'gainst that.
'Tis not his anger, but his love afflictst
My doubting soul, whether that love will prove
Pained or true, yet may straight appear.  #D10.

He's not so old, nor I so ignorant
But that his actions, gestures, words, and looks
Will make his heart lie open to my view.

Enter CAESAR, and EPHAPRODITUS.

CAE.

How sweet a sorrow dwels upon that brow!
How would she look in smiling dalliance?
Oh pardon me thou powerfull God of love,
V.11.95 Palace / Palace.

\textsuperscript{h}V.11.100 \textit{Pallas}. A title of the goddess Athena, who is often called Pallas Athena. She personifies the clear upper air as well as mental clearness and acuteness, embodying the spirit of truth and divine wisdom; therefore, she is the ideal antidote against Venus's sultry charms.

V.111.14 look / show MS.
Vili

That durst presume to tempt thy Deitie.
Forgive my confidence. I now excuse
Antonius weaknesse, but stay there my heart,
My vertuous Livia is more fair then she.

CLE.

Hail mighty Prince; for that high name the Gods,
Who reft me of it, have bestow'd on thee.

CAE.

Rise Cleopatra, Caesar's victory
Takes nought from you.

CLE.

Oh let me never rise
Till Caesar grant my suit.

CAE.

Good Queen stand up,
And freely speak what you desire.

CLE.

I beg
A boon but small, which Caesar nere deni'd
His greatest enemies.

CAE.

And can you think
I should deny it you? Do but expresse it.

CLE.

That thou would'st kill me Caesar; I have liv'd
These many yeers too long: I should have dy'd

Dio. Cass. 30
V.111.20  Gods, / Gods.
When that great Worthy, that renowned Caesar
Was basely murther'd in Romes Capitoll.¹
Surviving him was my unhappinesse.
But I have liv'd to see his sonne inherit
His state and Empire, and controll the world.

Be cheery Cleopatra, fear no wrong
At Caesar's hands.

Death is no wrong at all.
I have deserv'd it, Sir.

But can you think
That we, whose clemencie so many men
And stubborn enemies so oft have prov'd,
Should now at last be cruell to a Queen?
But we must chide you, that so long together
Have sided with Antonius, and with him
Conspir'd the wrack of Rome.

That's soon excus'd.
If 'twere a crime to love Antonius
(Which I confesse I did, and his large favours
Truly deserv'd it) think it was not mine
But fates own crime, that first allotted me
To his protection: had your share of rule
In Egypt lyen, I had been Caesars friend.
V.111.31 renowned / renowned

V.111.32 murther'd in Romes Capitol. May mistakenly assumes, as did Shakespeare (Julius Caesar), Thomas Heywood (Rape of Lucrece), and other poets, that the Senate met in the Capitol. The Capitol of Roman antiquity was the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus on the Mons Tarpeius. Although the Senate originally met in the area of the Capitol, it was removed in very early days to the special Senate house called Curia Hostilia. The Senate met here except under extraordinary circumstances when they could assemble in any consecrated building. At the time of Caesar's assassination the Curia Hostilia was in the process of reconstruction and meetings were held in Pompey's theatre. (Lizette Andrews Fisher, "Shakspere and the Capitoll," MLN, XXII (1907), 177-182.

V.111.45 Antonius / great Antony MS.
Besides with men and money you gave aid
To Caius Cassius in Philippi field
Who murther'd Caesar in the Capitoll.  

Caesar, as false as truth it self is true.
I was accused to Antonius
For that before; but in Cilicia
I quickly cleer'd those causelesse jealousies,
Witnessse thou glorious starre, which the great soule
Of noble Julius, when he left the earth,
Added to heaven, how innocent I am
From any fault in that: but Caesar know
Against thy father not the act alone,
But even suspition shall be purg'd with death.
I can no longer live.

CAE. [Aside.]
What have I done?
I fear my rashnesse has too far betray'd
My thoughts to Cleopatra: [to her] gentle Queen
Be comforted; expect at Caesar's hand
Nothing but love and friendship: do not wrong
My goodnesse with unjust suspition.
All former grievances are quite forgot.
Your port and state shall be maintain'd at full.
Your household servants not diminished.
V.iii.51 gave / give The MS. also has "gave."

IV.iii.52 Caius Cassius in Philippi field. Caius Cassius Longinus was one of the leading conspirators against Julius Caesar in 44 B.C. A commander in Syria and Asia (44-42 B.C.), he was defeated by Antony at Philippi in 42 B.C. and killed himself.

V.iii.64 can / will MS.

V.iii.69 suspension. / suspicion

V.iii.72 Your household servants not diminished. / lacking in the MS.
Epaphroditus, see the Queen attended
As fits her state and honour; and till next
We visit you, rest with a full assurance
Of our best love and friendship.

CLE.

All the payment
That my poor fortunes can return to Caesar
Is thanks and service.

CAE.

Epaphroditus.

EPA.

Caesar. they whisper. [D11v]

CLE. [Aside.]

Yes, whisper on; you cannot over-reach
My jealousies: no signes of love at all, Exit Cae. 80
No smile, nor amorous glance, I was deceiv'd,
And meerly coosen'd by base Thyreus.
But I must hide my fears, and cleer this brow
The better to effect my purposes.

EPA.

How fares your Majesty?

CLE.

Never so well
As now I am, I did not think great Caesar
Had been so full of love and courtesie.
fits her state and honour; and /
best befitts her royalty. Till MS.

state / stare

best love and friendship / entirest love MS.

Caesar / you MS.

Yes, / Yes.

coosen'd. A form of "cozen" meaning to cheat, defraud, beguile.
EPA.

Oh Madam, Caesar's th'unexampled mirrour
Of royaltie, and does as far exceed
All petie Kings in goodnesse as in power.
And if my humblest services in ought
May give content to royall Cleopatra
I shall be proud to be commanded still.

CLE.

Thanks good Epaphroditus.
That love is true that's shew'd in misery.
But what have I forgot? I had a note
Of some particulars I meant to give
To Caesar's hand and quite forgot it here.
Nor would I trust the cariage of a thing
Of so great consequence to every hand.

EPA.

Will you command my service?

CLE.

I shall rest
Indebted to your love; Caesar will thank you.
It much concerns both his estate and mine.
Be speedy good Epaphroditus, for
I long to heare his answer.

EPA.

Fear not Madam
A quick performance; [aside] it rejoices me
V.111.105 Madam / Madam.

V.111.106 performance; / performance,
Viv, Viv

To see her look so cheerily again. Exit Epa.

CLE.

So now my trouble is remov'd, I come,
I come my dearest Lord Antonius,
Never till now thy true and faithful love.
My much abused Lord, do not disdain
Or blush t'acknowlege Cleopatra's name
When tears and bloud have wash'd her spotted soul.
Wert thou alive again, not all the world
Should shake my constancie, or make divorce
Twixt thee and mee: but since too late, alas,
My tears of sorrow come, I'll follow thee,
And beg thy pardon in the other world.
All crimes are there for evermore forgot.
There Ariadne pardons Theseus' felshood.
Dido forgives the perjur'd Prince of Troy,
And Troilus repentant Cressida.
Though false to thee alive, I now am come
A faithful lover of thy dust and tombe.

[ACT V, Scene iv.]

Enter AGRIPPA, GALLUS, and two Psyls.

GAL.

Marcus Agrippa, I have here provided
As Caesar gave in charge two Libyan Psyls.
All Afrik yields not fitter for his purpose.
Ariadne . . . Theseus. Ariadne was a daughter of King Minos of Crete. When Theseus came to Crete as one of the fourteen Athenian youths and maidens who were sent as tribute to Crete every nine years to be thrown to the Minotaur, Ariadne fell in love with him. She offered to help him overcome the Minotaur and to find his way out of the Labyrinth if he would promise to take her back to Athens and marry her. Theseus agreed. When he had slain the Minotaur and returned from the Labyrinth, Ariadne led the Athenians to the waiting ships, and all escaped. On the island of Naxos, where they stopped, Ariadne fell asleep. When she awoke, Theseus and the Athenians had sailed away.

Dido . . . Prince of Troy. Dido was the queen of Carthage whom Venus and Cupid caused to fall in love with Aeneas of Troy when he was driven to her shores. Dido showered him with gifts and showed him the utmost generosity and understanding. After about a year had passed, she suddenly heard that Aeneas was planning to leave Carthage in secret. When she reproached him for his deception, Aeneas acknowledged that everything she said was true and declared that if the decision were left to him, he would certainly prefer to remain with her. But, he said, he was compelled by the gods to leave for his destined home in Italy. Dido was in an agony of despair and killed herself on a funeral pyre as she saw Aeneas' ships putting to sea.
When Aeneas later visited Anchises in the Underworld, he saw the shade of Dido in the region reserved for those who had died of unhappy love, but when he called out to her, she turned her back on him.

RV.iii.122 Troilus . . . Cressida. In this story, first told by a twelfth century troubadour and later treated by Boccaccio, Chaucer, Shakespeare, and others, Troilus, a younger son of Priam and Hecuba, is said to have loved Cressida. She was a daughter of Calchas, who remained in Troy and was loyal to the Trojans. On the demand of Agamemnon she was restored to her father by Priam, and went to the Greek camp. She betrayed the undying love which she had sworn for Troilus by falling in love and yielding to the caresses of Diomedes.

The immediate reference here may be to Henryson's The Testament of Cresseid in which Cressida becomes a leprous beggar to whom Troilus unknowingly gives alms as he passes with a group of knights. At the end of this version Cressida bewails her plight, blaming her own infidelity and lust.

RV.iv.2 Psyche. Members of an African tribe, famed as snakecharmers.
Viv

AGR.
They look like likely ones.

GAL.
They have been prov'd,
And have already on my scouldiers,
When they were bit by Serpents, done strange cures,
Past all belief or hope, recall'd fled life
Back to his mansion, and beyond the power
Of Aesculapius have suck'd and charm'd
The mortall venome from their dying limbs.

These two, Agrippa in their infancy
Their doubting sires to try their lawfull births
(As Eagles try their Eaglets 'gainst the Sun)
Expos'd to mortall Serpents, and were so
Confirm'd in what they sought, the trembling Snakes
Durst not assault the Infants.

Enter CAESAR.

AGR.

Here he comes.

CAE.

Are those the men?

GAL.

Yes, Caesar.

CAE.

Carry them
To Cleopatraes Palace; let them wait
V.iv.9 Aesculapius. In Greek mythology, a son of Coronis and Apollo. The child was reared by Chiron the centaur, who taught him the arts of healing and hunting. Aesclusapius was much more interested in the medical arts than in sport, and soon outstripped his master. Aided also by instruction from Apollo, he became a skilled surgeon and highly successful in prescribing drugs.

V.iv.13 (As Eagles try their Eaglets 'gainst the Sun). Pliny writes of eagles in his Natural History: "They cause their young ones to loke up into the Sunne beams, and cast those out of the Nest that will not behold the Sunne, as bastards."
Viv,Vv

Neer to Epaphroditus.[Enter Epa.] What's the news?
How fares the Queen?

EPA.

Never more cheery Sir.
Her looks expresse her hopes; nor in her words
Can she conceal her inward cheerfulness.
But one thing, Sir, she sai'd she had forgot,
Which neerly did concern both you and her;
And that in such a cause she durst not trust
A common messenger, requesting me
To give it to your hands. [#E.]

CAE.

She has deceiv'd thee,
And all of us; the worst that I could fear
Is come to passe: oh run Epaphroditus,
I'll follow thee with all the speed I can.
But all too late, I fear, our speed will come. Exeunt.

[ACT V, Scene v.]

Enter CLEOPATRA crown'd, attended by GLAUCUS,
MARDIO, EIRA, CHARMIO, shee takes her
state. ANTONY'S Herse brought in.

CLE.

This is my second Coronation day;
But nobler then the first, and fuller farre
Of reall honour, and magnificence.
Nor till this pompous houre was Cleopatra
V.v.1 ANTONY'S / ANTHONY'S

V.v.3 reall honour / Regall state MS.
Vv

A perfect Queen, alas, I did not sway
A Scepter over fortune, or command
As now I do, the destinies themselves.
I wore a painted honour, a meer shadow
Of Royall state, and such a feeble Crown
As warre could threaten, treason undermine,
And every puffe of Fortune blow it off.
My state is constant now, my thoughts above
The fear of dangers or opposing foes.

MAR.

What new addition has she got off state?

GLA.

I cannot tell, nor can I guess her meaning.

CLE.

Glaucus and Mardio, leave the room a while. Exeunt Gla. and Mar.

Come hither Girles, I will no longer hide
My joys from you; in such attire as this
I go to meet my dear Antonius. #Ev.

CHA.

Madam, he's dead.

CLE.

Alas, thou art deceiv'd.

He lives my Charmio in the other world,
And stays for me; I have been too too slack
In comming to him: this that here lies dead
Was but the house that lodg'd my dearest Lord,
That earthly Mansion, that did once contain
The kindest, noblest, and the truest soule
That ever liv'd; and this our second meeting
Is farre more sweet, and full of noble love
Then when we first met in Cilicia,
When our magnificence and pomp did fill
The world with wonder and astonishment.
Why weep you girles? Is it to see your Mistris
Greater than ere in Glory? If you lov'd me,
You'd weep to see great Cleopatra led
A wretched captive through the streets of Rome
Before proud Caesar's chariot, mock'd and flowted,
And from a Queen become Octavias drudge.
No, no, my girles, I will be still my self
And from this seat of state look down in scorn
On Rome, and Caesar's threats as things below me.

EIRA.

Nor hear shall my attendance leave you, Madam,
I'll wait upon you to th'Elisian shades.

CHA.

Nor will poor Charmio be left behind.

CLE.

My earthly race is run, and I descend
As great a ghost as Theban Semele,
When her ambitious love had sought and met
The Thunderers embraces, when no Pile
Of earthly wood, but Jove's celestiall fire
Consum'd her beauties reliques, and sent down
V.v.32  Is / is

V.v.33  If / if

\[V.v.38  \text{I will be still my self.}\] Cleopatra's defiant insistence on her essentially unchanged identity in spite of impending destruction is reminiscent of the Duchess of Malfi's proud exclamation just before her death:

\[
\text{I am Duchess of Malfi still!} \\
\text{IV.11.155.}
\]

The heroine of May's \textbf{Julia Agrippina} makes a similar assertion:

\[
\text{Now Agrippina is her self . . . .} \\
\text{C11v.}
\]

\[V.v.45  \text{Theban Semele.}\] In Greek mythology, a beautiful daughter of Cadmus and Harmonia. She was loved by Zeus. Hera learned that she was about to bear Zeus's child and, jealous as always of her rivals for the affections of Zeus, appeared to Semele in the guise of her old nurse. She hinted to Semele that her lover was not really divine, and suggested to Semele that she ask him to prove his divinity by appearing to her in the same majesty as he appeared to Hera. When next he visited her, Semele asked that he grant her a request. Zeus swore by the Styx that he would grant her whatever she asked. However, when he learned her request, he urged her to change it, but she persisted and Zeus, bound by his oath, appeared to her with his thunderbolts and the lightning. His blazing majesty burned Semele to ashes.
Her soul from that Majestick funerall.  
Farewell thou fading remnant of my Love.  
When I am gone, I'll leave these earthly parts  
To keep thee company: never to part,  
But dwell together, and dissolve together.  
Come Aspe, possesse thy mansion; freely feed  
On these two hills, upon whose snowy tops  
The winged Cupid oft has taken stand,  
And shot from thence the proudest hearts on earth.  
Corruption now, and rottennesse must seize  
This once admired fabrick, and dissolve  
This flesh to common elements again:  
When skilfull nature, were she strictly bound  
To search through all her store-house would be pos'd  
To tell which piece was Cleopatra once.  
Sweet Aspe, I feel thy touch, and life begins  
From these cold limbs to take her gentle flight.  
A slumber seizes me; farewell my girles.  
Thus let the Romans finde me dead, and know  
Maugre the power of Rome, and Caesar's spleen  
That Cleopatra liv'd and di'd a Queen.  

CHA.  

She's dead, and Eira too. I heare a noise.  
There is no dallying now; I must be speedy,  
And use the common and sure way to death.  

She stabs her self.
V.v.52 these earthly parts / this earth of mine MS.

NV.v.63 pos'd. Placed in a difficulty with a question or problem; puzzled, confused, perplexed.
Enter CAESAR, AGrippa, TITIUS, PLANCUS,
GALLUS, EPhRodditus,
PROCuLEIUs.

CAE.

We come too late, and all in vain I fear
Our care has been.

EPA.

Here lies her servant bleeding,
Not dead; speak Charmio, how dy'd the Queen?

CHA.

A death that well besem'd her royall birth. dyes.

AGR.

See Caesar, see; the mark upon her brest,
And here the fatall authour.

CAE.

'Twas the Aspe.

Be speedie now, and use your utmost power Sueton.
You skilfull Psyrg, call back this royall soul Dio. Cass.
To her fair seat, and take from Caesar's bounty
Above your wish; suck thou the wounded place,
And mutter thou thy strongest charms to fright
Pale death from thence; and you infernal Gods,
If ere to humane prayers you could lend
An exorable ear, 'tis Caesar begs,
Caesar, whose sword has sent to your black shades
A hundred thousand souls, and still has power
V.v.77 beseem'd / became MS.
T'enlarge your Empire, begs in lieu of all
But restitution of one soul alone.

TI.

How royally she dy'd?

PL.

No conquer'd Prince
Did ever finde a nobler way to death.

Had feeble Perseus known so brave a course,
He had redeem'd his captive life from shame.
And not depriv'd the Conquerour of fame.

CAE.

Is there no hope?

PSY.

She's gone past all recoverie.

CAE.

We will no longer strive 'gainst destiny.
Though thou art dead, yet live renown'd for ever;
And let this action speak thee to the world
A fo not shaming Caesar's victory.
No other Crown or Scepter after thine
Shall Aegypt honour: thou shalt be the last
Of all the raigning race of Ptolomey:
And all, and more then what thy letter crav'd
Will Caesar grant with dead Antonius
In richer state then ere proud Memphis
Her Kings inter'd shall Cleopatra lye.
V.v.90 begs / craves MS.

V.v.92 dy'd / sitts MS.

V.v.92 Prince / Prince.

^V.v.94 Perseus. The last king of Macedon, son of Philip V, whom he succeeded in 179 B.C. He was defeated in 168 B.C. by a Roman army under Aemilius Paulus. With his family he fled to Pella and then to Samothrace; however, the Macedonians, enraged by his flight, his oppressive rule, and by their defeat which they attributed to him, seized him and turned him over to Aemilius Paulus. Perseus begged to be spared the humiliation of being exhibited as a captive in a triumphal procession. Aemilius scorned him for his cowardice and suggested that he could avoid the humiliation by committing suicide. Perseus could not bring himself to this step. With his children, his captured chariot and armor, he was paraded before the throngs of Rome.

V.v.99 renown'd / renown'd

^V.v.107 Memphis. The traditional center of Lower Egypt which was the scene of Alexander's installation. It continued populous till the Roman conquest, being ranked by Strabo second to Alexandria. Under the Ptolemies the ancient deity, Serapis, was worshipped in Memphis.
Thy dying figure carv'd in fairest stone
Shall my triumphant chariot wear, for all
To gaze and wonder at thy form and worth.
Aegypt no more a Kingdome, now a Province
Cornelius Gallus, is thy government.
And here let Caesar sheath the civill sword,
Whose fatall edge these twenty years has ripp'd
The bleeding entrails of afflicted Rome.
Heer let our labours end: advance brave friends
Our prosperous Eagles home to Italy,
To reap the fruit of all our wars and toils,
And fill great Rome with conquer'd Aegypts spoils.

FINIS.

The Speakers.

Antonian', Marcus Antonius.
Marcus Titius.
Munatius Plancus.
C. Canidius Crassus.
Caius Sossius.
Titius Domitius.
Lucilius.
Aristocrates.

Aegytl, Cleopatra,
Eira
Charmio.
Achoreus.
Euphroneus.
Seleucus.
Glaucus.
Mardio.

The Scene AEGYPT.

Caesarei.
Caesar Augustus.
Marcus Agrippa.
Cornelius Gallus.
Pinnarius Scarpus.
Proculeius.
Thyreus.
Epaphroditus.
The Speakers. There are four characters who have speaking parts in the play but are not included in this list. They are: Hipparchus, Fergusius, Arius, and Eros.