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The tragedy of Cleopatra

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The Tragedy of Cleopatra

Front matter

*Aetas prima canat veneres, postrema tumultus.*¹

To the most noble Lady, the Lady Mary Countess of Pembroke.²

*Behold the work which once thou didst impose*³,
*Great sister of the Muses,*⁴ *glorious star*⁵
Of female worth, who didst at first disclose
Unto our times what noble powers there are
*In women's hearts,*⁶ *and sent example far,* 5
To call up others to like studious thoughts
*And me at first from out my low repose*⁷
*Didst raise to sing of state and tragic notes*⁸,
Whilst I contented with a humble song
Made music to myself that pleased me best, 10
*And only told of Delia*⁹ *and her wrong*
*And praised her eyes, and plain'd*¹⁰ *mine own unrest,*
*A text from whence [my]*¹¹ *Muse had not digressed*
*Had I not seen*¹² *thy well graced Antony,*
Adorned by thy sweet style in our fair tongue 15

1 'Let first youth sing of Venus, last of civil strife' (Propertius, 2.10.7). This quote is a reference to the Classical 'Cursus,' which state that you graduate from writing poetry to writing tragedy. Daniel is saying he wrote love poetry in his youth but now Mary Sidney has given him the courage to aspire to greater things, i.e. tragedy.

2 Mary Sidney. See Introduction, 'Introductory dedication: Mary Sidney and family'.

3 Daniel's choice of the word 'impose,' perhaps indicates the pressure he was under by Mary Sidney when he wrote this work.

4 The 'Muses' were the Greek and Roman 'goddesses upon whom poets – and later other artists, philosophers, and intellectuals generally – depended for the ability to create their works' (*The Oxford Dictionary of Classical Myth & Religion*, 359). The 'Muses' are typically invoked by the author at the beginning of an epic for inspiration (for Classical examples see the *Odyssey* and *Iliad* by Homer.) By invoking a 'Muse' at the beginning of his play, Daniel automatically asserts his play as an epic as this practise was the standard procedure for any writing of the epic genre. It is Mary Sidney that Daniel is comparing to a 'Muse.' By this parallel, Daniel is acknowledging how Mary Sidney inspired his former 'humble song' to encompass a grander and more tragic nature.

5 A possible allusion to the work *Astrophel and Stella* by Philip Sidney, as 'Stella' means 'star.'

6 Mary Sidney was one of the first English women to become acclaimed and recognised for her literary work.

7 *Repose* - 'Temporary rest or cessation from physical or mental exertion in order to recover one's energy; rest obtained by ceasing to exert oneself, and esp. by sleeping. Also: an instance of this; a break, a rest, a sleep' (OED, n. 1a).

8 Another reference to the Classical 'Cursus' and how Mary Sidney encouraged Daniel to stop writing on lowly subjects and focus on themes of a grander scale; such as tragedy and state.

9 The *Delian Sonnets* were a collection of love poems that Daniel wrote early on in his career. These poems are an example of the writing Mary Sidney wanted Daniel to graduate away from.

10 *Plaind* - 'Complained.'

11 I have added 'my' to complete the line and the Iambic Pentameter.

12 As Daniel is alluding to Mary Sidney's *Antonie*, which was another 'closet drama,' Daniel does not mean 'seen' to be literal, as in a performance at the theatre.

*To expect his Cleopatra's company.*¹³
And that those notions which at first in me
The then¹⁴ delicious Wilton¹⁵ did impress,
That arbour¹⁶ of the Muses graced by thee
And which did likewise grace thy worthiness, 20
Were grown to apprehend, how the images
Of action and of greatness figured¹⁷ were
Made me attempt to attire¹⁸ her misery
In the habit¹⁹ I conceived became her care,
Which if to her it be not fitted right, 25
Yet in the suit of nature sure it is
And is the language that affliction might
Perhaps deliver when it spoke distress²⁰.
And as it was I did the same address
To thy clear understanding and therein 30
Thy noble name, as in her proper right,
Continued ever since that time hath been.²¹
And so must likewise still, now it is cast
Into this shape that I have given thereto
Which now must stand, being like to be the last 35
That I shall ever herein have to do.²²
And glad I am I have renewed to you
The vows I owe your worth, although thereby
There can no glory unto you accrue
Who consecrate your proper memory.²³ 40
Those holy Hymns, 'the melody of heaven',
Which Israel's singer²⁴ to his God did frame,
Unto thy voice eternal fame hath given

¹³ It is implied that *the tragedy of Cleopatra* was written as a companion piece to Mary Sidney's *the tragedy of Antonie*. See Introduction, 'Daniel's 'Cleopatra' and other influences'.

¹⁴ 'Then' suggests not anymore; this flattering dedication was re-edited after Daniel regained the patronage of Mary Sidney; by including the word 'then' however, suggests Daniel still holds some resentment against the 'Wilton Circle.' See Introduction, 'Introductory dedication: Mary Sidney and family'.

¹⁵ The 'Wilton Circle,' See Introduction, 'Introductory dedication: Mary Sidney and family'.

¹⁶ *Arbour* - 'Trees or shrubs, such as the vine, trained on framework or trellis-work' (OED, *n*, 4).

¹⁷ The characters of 'greatness' that Daniel has read in Mary Sidney's *Antonie* have inspired him to write of Cleopatra's story and 'misery.'

¹⁸ *Attire* - 'Dress, apparel' (OED, *n*, 3a).

¹⁹ *Habit* - 'Bodily apparel or attire; clothing, raiment, dress' (OED, *n*, 1a). By the reference to both 'attire' and 'habit,' Daniel is saying that he will 'clothe' his Cleopatra how he believes she should be presented.

²⁰ Daniel realised that his 1594 version of Cleopatra did not accurately resemble the historical character. In his 1611 dedication Daniel defends his portrayal by saying he has written his version of her tragedy (Rees, 55-56).

²¹ Daniel is saying that he is going to follow in Mary Sidney's illustrious footsteps and attempt to make his 'Cleopatra' worthy of her 'Antony.'

²² We get the impression that Daniel is not completely confident about the work he is about to undertake.

²³ No writer can properly express the brilliance of Mary Sidney, who provides her own memorial.

²⁴ King David and the *Psalms*; Philip Sidney had begun translating this work and before his death in 1586 he had finished *Psalms* 1-47. Mary Sidney finished the rest of the *Psalms* and presented them to Queen Elizabeth I in 1599. It was generally acknowledged that the *Psalms* were among the finest of Mary Sidney's works and this is perhaps why Daniel chooses this text to associate with his Patron.

*And shows thee dear to him from whence they [came].*²⁵
*In them shall rest thy ever reverent name,*²⁶ 45
*So long as Sion's*²⁷ *God remaineth honoured*
*And till confusion hath all zeal*²⁸ *bereaved,*
And murdered faith and temples ruinèd.
By them great Lady you shall then be known
*When Wilton may lie level with the ground,*²⁹ 50
And this is that which you may call your own
Which sacrilegious Time cannot confound.
Here you survive yourself, here are you found
Of late succeeding ages fresh in fame;
This Monument cannot be overthrown, 55
*Where in eternal brass remains your name.*³⁰
O that the Ocean did not bound our style
*Within these strict and narrow limits,*³¹ *so,*
*But that the music of our well tuned lyre*³²
*Might hence be heard to Minico, Arno and Po,*³³ 60
That they might know how far Thames doth outgo
Declinèd Tiber, and might not contemn
*Our Northern*³⁴ *tunes, but now another while*
Receive from us more than we had from them.
Or why may not some after-coming hand 65
Unlock these limits, open our confines,
And break asunder this imprisoning band,
To enlarge our spirits, and let out our designs,
Planting our roses on the Apennines,
*And to Ebro, L'oise and Arve*³⁵ *to teach* 70
That we part glory with them, and our land

²⁵ I have changed 'can' to 'came' for the rhyme and syntax of the line.

²⁶ Mary Sidney's radiance will live on in her work (and Daniel mentions the *Psalms* as an example.)

²⁷ Jerusalem.

²⁸ *Zeal* - 'In biblical language... denoting ardent feeling or fervour (taking the form of love, wrath, 'jealousy', or righteous indignation), with contextual tendency to unfavourable implications (emulation, rivalry, partisanship)' (OED, n. 1).

²⁹ Mary Sidney's name will be forever known (and celebrated) in history; even when her material assets are gone. Daniel is emphasising the glory of her name.

³⁰ Mary Sidney's memory will live on in her work; 'Monument' and 'eternal brass' are all metaphorical terms for her literary achievements.

³¹ Daniel does not want the 'Ocean' to restrict his work from just being heard in England. He wants his 'music' to be heard as far away as Italy. He perhaps chooses Italy because of the connection to Rome in this play and because Daniel would have known of Philip Sidney's desire to create an English work as memorable as the Classics. See Introduction, 'Introductory dedication: Mary Sidney and family'.

³² The 'lyre' was an instrument used to accompany the songs of the Greek epic poets. This is another reference to Daniel's epic style.

³³ Three Italian rivers

³⁴ Daniel wants people on the continent to celebrate English literature.

³⁵ Three more rivers; Daniel mentions these six rivers to illustrate how he desires to have his play heard in Rome. These rivers, however, also serve to accentuate the epic feel of his play. It is unlikely that the vast majority of English citizens would have visited Italy. By mentioning the names of these rivers Daniel is elevating his writing into a sphere outside the confines of his country. Daniel is elevating his play to Classical status to represent the greatness of his subject. As Daniel wrote *the Tragedy of Cleopatra* as a companion piece to *Antonie*. By emphasising the majesty of his subject he is in turn complimenting the good judgement of his patron.

*Being match for worth, comes not behind in speech.
 Let them produce the best of all they may
 Since Rome left bearing, who bare more than men.* 75
*And we shall parallel them every way
 In all the glorious actions of the men.
 Our Phoebus³⁶ is the same that theirs hath been,
 However ignorance, fantastic grown,
 Rates them above the value that they pay,
 And likes strange notes, and disesteems our own.³⁷ 80
 They cannot show a Sidney,³⁸ let they show
 All their choice pieces, and bring all in one
 And altogether shall not make that show
 Of wonder and delight, as he hath done.³⁹
 He hath the Olympian prize⁴⁰ (of all that run 85
 Or ever shall with mortal powers possess,)
 In that fair course of glory and yet now
 Sidney is not our all, although our best.
 That influence had Elizabeth's blessed peace⁴¹
 Peculiar to her glory as it spread 90
 That sacred flame of many, and th'increase
 Did grace the season, and her honoured,
 And if the same come now extinguishèd
 By the distemperature⁴² of time, and cease
 Suffice we were not yet behind the rest, 95
 But had our part of glory with the best.*

The Argument

After the death of Antonius,⁴³ Cleopatra (living still in the Monument⁴⁴ she had caused to be built) could not by any means be drawn forth, although Octavius Caesar very earnestly

³⁶ The Roman name for the Greek God, Apollo; this reference again connects this play to Rome, however by doing so it also reveals that Daniel possessed knowledge of the Classics. This knowledge would have served to show the reader that he was learned and well read individual; as having Classical knowledge was deemed a sign of education and intelligence. By including such references, Daniel is also reflecting the type of audience he was writing for.

³⁷ People rate the work of Ancient Rome too highly. English literature is just as superior.

³⁸ Philip 'Sidney.' Despite all the celebrated writings of Rome they did not have a Philip Sidney. Philip Sidney is the reason why English literature can rival that of the Classics.

³⁹ Even if Rome were to select a collection of their finest literature, it would not compare to the works of Philip Sidney.

⁴⁰ The Ancient Olympic Games; the Games were founded in Greece (and later replicated by the Romans.) Daniel is comparing Philip Sidney's prowess as a writer with that of an award-winning Olympic athlete, (and in turn, is linking his work to another Greco-Roman tradition.)

⁴¹ The peace and stability that England enjoyed throughout the reign of Elizabeth I was helped in part by the writings of Philip Sidney.

⁴² *Distemperature* - 'A condition of the air or elements not properly tempered for human health and comfort; evil, deranged, or extreme 'temperature' (in the earlier sense of this word, including all atmospheric states); inclemency, unwholesomeness' (OED, n. 1).

⁴³ This play starts *in medias res* (a common technique of the Ancient writers of tragedy and epic) with Antony already dead.

⁴⁴ In the introductory dedication, Daniel flatters his patron by saying her fame will live on in a figurative 'Monument' through her literature. Cleopatra's name has survived the centuries via the works of authors such as Daniel and Mary Sidney. Daniel perhaps intentionally uses the term 'Monument' in the

laboured it, and sent Proculeius, to use all diligence⁴⁵ to bring her unto him. For that he thought it would be a great ornament⁴⁶ to his triumphs, to get her alive to Rome. But never would she put herself into the hands of Proculeius, although on a time he found the means, (by a window that was at the top of the Monument,) to come down unto her, where he persuaded her (all he might) to yield herself to Caesar's mercy. Which she (to be rid of him) cunningly seemed to grant unto.⁴⁷ After that, Octavius in person went to visit her, to whom she excused her offence, laying all the fault upon the greatness, and fear she had of Antonius, and withal seemed very tractable,⁴⁸ and willing to be disposed of by him.

Whereupon Octavius, thinking himself sure, resolved presently to send her away to Rome. Whereof Dolabella a favourite of Caesar's (and one that was grown into some good liking of her) having certified her she makes her humble petition to Caesar that he would suffer her to sacrifice to the ghost of Antonius, which being granted her, she was brought unto his Sepulchre, where, after her rites performed she returned to the Monument, and there dined with great magnificence. And in dinner time, came there one in the habit of a countryman, with a basket of figs unto her, who (unsuspected) was suffered to carry them in. And in that basket (among the figs) were concealed the asps⁴⁹ wherewith she did herself to death. Dinner being ended, she dispatched letters to Caesar, containing great lamentations with an earnest supplication, that she might be entombed with Antonius, whereupon Caesar, knowing what she intended, sent presently with all speed, messengers to have prevented her death, which notwithstanding, before they came, was dispatched.

Caesarion⁵⁰ her son, which she had by Julius Caesar (conveyed before unto India, out of the danger of the wars) was about the same time of her death murdered at Rhodes, trained thether by the falsehood of his tutor, corrupted by Caesar. And so hereby came the race of the Ptolemies to be wholly extinct, and the flourishing rich kingdom of Egypt utterly overthrown and subdued.⁵¹

introduction to again describe how Mary Sidney's name will be remembered in history, just as Cleopatra's has done.

⁴⁵ *Diligence* - 'Constant and earnest effort to accomplish what is undertaken; persistent application and endeavour; industry, assiduity' (OED, n.1).

⁴⁶ *Ornament* - 'An accessory or adjunct, primarily functional, but often also fancy or decorative' (OED, n. 1a). Describing Cleopatra as an 'ornament' serves to portray Octavius in a negative light. Octavius wants Cleopatra alive so that he can flaunt his prized 'possession' to the Roman people. The humiliation that Cleopatra will endure so that Octavius can achieve this fickle goal does not seem warranted.

⁴⁷ There are many examples of deceit and trickery in this play, both in word and deed. It is a theme that Daniel will expand upon.

⁴⁸ *Tractable* - 'That can be easily managed; docile, compliant, manageable, governable' (OED, adj, 1.a.)

⁴⁹ This detail came from Plutarch's, *The Life of Antony*. Plutarch describes how no-one knew whether Cleopatra was bitten by an asp or had taken/applied poison (*Shakespeare's Plutarch*, 1968, 142-44). It was Shakespeare that fabricated (and eroticised) the story; creating the celebrated image of Cleopatra clutching the asp to her breast (*Shakespeare*, 5.2.307-08).

⁵⁰ Antony claimed that in Julius Caesar's 'Last Will and Testament,' he had stated his desire for Caesarion to rule Rome in the event of his death. As Octavius was not the natural heir to the throne, this is perhaps why he ordered Caesarion to be killed and was desperate to slur the names of Antony and Cleopatra in history.

⁵¹ Cleopatra was part of the Ptolemy line of the Egyptian Pharaohs. After her death, this line of Monarchs ended. It was not just Cleopatra that died therefore, but the whole of Egypt and their Kings.

Dramatis Personae

Cleopatra,⁵² [*last Pharaoh of Egypt*]

Oct[avius] Caesar,⁵³ [*first Emperor of Rome, Julius Caesar's adopted son*]

Caesarion, [*Cleopatra's son by Julius Caesar*]

Dolabella, [*follower of Octavius*]

Proculius, [*follower of Octavius, chief messenger*]

Titius, [*follower of Octavius*]

Arius, [*philosopher to the court of Octavius*]

Philostratus, [*philosopher to the court of Cleopatra*]

Seleucus, [*attendant to Cleopatra*]

Rodon, [*attendant to Cleopatra, tutor to Caesarion*]

Dircetus, [*follower of Antony*]

Diomedes, [*attendant to Cleopatra*]

Charmian, [*attendant to Cleopatra, hand-maiden*]

Iras, [*attendant to Cleopatra, hand-maiden*]

⁵² The historical evidence we have for Cleopatra is 'tantalising fragmentary' (Grant, 2002, xviii) which means we only get glimpses of the factual woman whose story has become so steeped in legend. Not even in Egypt, her own country, does much remain by way of archaeological, epigraphical or literary evidence. Any positive depictions of Cleopatra were destroyed by Octavius during his reign, consequently, the only reports that remain are the 'biased accounts... written by the conquering Romans' (Bradford, 2000, 11). It is true that history is written by the victors and this unsettling but none the less accurate fact is demonstrated repeatedly throughout history; none more so than in the case of Cleopatra. Daniel's play therefore, although being loosely based on the history he has gleaned through Plutarch and other Ancient sources, is not an accurate representation of Cleopatra. This is perhaps why Daniel expresses reservations about his interpretation earlier.)

⁵³ During his life Octavius had several different titles. He was born 'Gaius Octavius' in 63BC; however, after his adoption by Julius Caesar in 44BC he became 'Gaius Julius Caesar.' In 27BC, after his defeat of Antony and Cleopatra at Actium in 31BC, Octavius became the 'Princeps' of Rome and the Roman Senate awarded Octavius the honorific title 'Augustus.' This is why there can be so much confusion surrounding his name and why he is sometimes referred to as 'Caesar,' 'Augustus' as well as 'Octavius' in this text. Daniel possibly includes the evolving names of Octavius as a way to document the passing of time throughout his play (and also to demonstrate his Classical knowledge.) To avoid confusion I will always refer to him in my endnotes and introduction as Octavius.

Main text

ACT I, Scene i

[SCENE: Alexandria]

[Enter] Cleopatra, Caesarion [and] Rodon [above.]⁵⁴

[Cleopatra] Come Rodon, here, convey from out this coast⁵⁵
This precious item, the chiefest⁵⁶ I have left,
The jewel of my soul I value most,
My dear Caesarion.⁵⁷ Save him, save my theft,
Guide him to India,⁵⁸ lead him far from hence 5
Conceal him where secure he may remain,
Till better fortune⁵⁹ call him back from thence.
And Egypt's peace be reconciled again,
For this is he that may our hopes bring back,
The rising sun⁶⁰ of our declining state. 10
These be the hands that may restore our wrack,⁶¹

⁵⁴ As in *Romeo and Juliet* where Juliet is 'above' on the balcony; Cleopatra is 'above' on the highest tier of the Monument. When people exit the Monument, they exit 'below,' as they leave.

⁵⁵ 'Alexandria;' the Ancient capital of Egypt and situated on the Northern shoreline. Alexandria was where Cleopatra and all her ancestors resided.

⁵⁶ Pun on the word 'chief.' Chief could mean the highest ranking position i.e. the King that Caesarion is by blood, or that as her son, Caesarion is the most valuable of Cleopatra's possessions.

⁵⁷ Just as Daniel's play is thought to be working closely with *Antonie*; *Antonie* was in fact a translation of *The tragedie of Antony* by the French writer Robert Garnier. This means that by using the influence of Mary Sidney, Daniel is also automatically alluding to Robert Garnier. Rees believes, however, that Daniel must have read Garnier as he has expanded upon the invented scene that Garnier creates between Cleopatra and Euphronius, the tutor of her children. In Garnier, Cleopatra begs Euphronius to take care of her children after Euphronius creates a vivid picture of what their life will be like if she commits suicide. Rees believes Daniel's play includes the same desire to include 'dramatic and emotional tension' (Rees, 3) via her children and this can be seen in the times that Cleopatra battles maternal instinct with her royal duty. Unlike Garnier, who focuses on all Cleopatra's children, Daniel follows the account of Plutarch more closely. Although Cleopatra does briefly mention her other children, it is Caesarion who is the main character.

⁵⁸ India is one of the few remaining places not yet conquered by the Roman Empire.

⁵⁹ There is a preoccupation with fate and fortune in this scene. See Introduction, 'Astrology, fate and fortune'.

⁶⁰ 'The rising sun' is a pun on the word 'sun' and 'son.' The idea of the blood, stock and lineage is a strong theme throughout this scene and the entirety of the play. Lisa Hopkins examines in *Drama and the Succession to the Crown, 1561-1633* the recurrent use of this phrase throughout Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar* and other Renaissance plays. This demonstrates how the idea of succession was a predominant theme throughout Renaissance literature. Elizabeth I was on the throne for most of Daniel's life; however, it was her successor James I who united England, Scotland and Wales and was instated as King during Daniel's later years. Elizabeth, the famous Virgin Queen, never married and had no children to precede her. It must have been a constant source of topic for the Renaissance people as to who would rule England upon the death of their Queen. Elizabeth was still on the throne when Daniel wrote the first edition of this play but it was James that had inherited the throne during the later publication. It is interesting to note therefore, given the social background of this play, that there are such strong themes of lineage and inheritance. Hopkins describes how Elizabeth quoted Plutarch in a conversation about her successor 'More people adore the rising sun than the setting one' (Hopkins, 2011). This analogy is a valid argument that Daniel wanted to parallel Elizabeth to his Cleopatra. It is an interesting idea that Daniel could be comparing Elizabeth to Cleopatra, both of which were left with no children to succeed them. This would mean therefore, that Daniel is likening James to Octavius which is a fitting analogy in the sense that both Kings united their original kingdoms with inherited/dominated ones.

⁶¹ *Wrack* - Originally 'wreck', 'pain or punishment inflicted in return for an injury' (OED, n.1). I have chosen 'wrack', a 'wrecked ship or other vessel; a vessel ruined or crippled by wreck' (OED, n.2, 1.a) to

	And raise the shattered ruins made of late; He may give limits to the boundless pride Of fierce Octavius, and abate his might. Great Julius offspring, ⁶² he may come to guide The Empire of the world, as his by right.	15
Rodon	No doubt he may, dear Sovereign when the rage Of this confusèd storm is over passed, That furiously now beats upon this age, And, maybe, is too violent at last.	20
Cleopatra	And Caesar's ⁶³ fortune which now seems to grow Into the Ascendant ⁶⁴ of felicity, And makes the round, and full of glory now, May come to wain like others' wretchedness. No tyrant can prescribe to injury, Kings' rights may oft be sick, but never die. ⁶⁵ Rodon, myself those turns of chance have seen And known both sides of fortune, worst and best; And therefore he, whose birth, whose sex hath been Worthier than mine, why should not he re-blessed Turn back to rule the sceptre of this land? Which ah, how well it would become this hand! O how he seems the model of his sire, ⁶⁶ Now do I gaze my Caesar ⁶⁷ in his face. Such was his gait, so did his looks aspire, Such was his threatening brow, such was his grace, His shoulder, and his forehead even as high, ⁶⁸ And had he not, ay me, been born so late, He might have ruled the world's wide Monarchy.	25 30 35

follow the rhyming scheme and for the numerous allusions to storms and tempests. See Introduction, 'Storms, tempests and ships'.

⁶² 'Great Julius' offspring' could be either Octavius as his adopted son or Caesarion as his biological son by Cleopatra.

⁶³ Octavius

⁶⁴ *Ascendant* - is the awakening of a person's consciousness, similar to that of the rising of dawn. In astrology, the placement of the 'Ascendant' in the sky is said to influence the events on earth. This connection to astrology; 'Rising towards the zenith', 'Just above the eastern horizon' (OED, -ent, a. And n. 3a, b) could therefore, be another allusion to 'the rising sun.' Another meaning of this term is 'the point of the ecliptic, or degree of the zodiac, which at any moment (esp. *e.g.* at the birth of a child) is just rising above the eastern horizon' (OED, *adj.* and n. B. n. 1). This definition which includes idea of birth is significant, as Daniel could be alluding to the birth of Caesarion.

⁶⁵ A question of the divine right of Kings; Cleopatra was descended from a long line of Pharaohs and her child Caesarion was born to the first dictator of Rome, Julius Caesar. In contrast to both Cleopatra and Caesarion, Octavius was not of any royal blood, which begs the question of whether Cleopatra and therefore Caesarion had more of a claim to a throne than Octavius.

⁶⁶ A pun on the word 'sire' as sire can mean, 'One who exercises dominion or rule; a lord, master, or sovereign' (OED, n. 4a) i.e. Julius Caesar was the ruler of Rome. Sire can also mean, 'A father; a male parent; also, a forefather,' (OED, n. 6a) which serves to illustrate that Julius Caesar was also the 'sire' (procreator) of Caesarion.

⁶⁷ Julius Caesar.

⁶⁸ A high forehead was a sign of wisdom.

And now have been the champion of our state. 40
 But O dear son, the time yields no delays;
 Son of my youth, fly hence, O fly, begone,
 Reserve thyself, ordained for better days,
 For much thou hast to ground thy hopes upon.
 Leave me thy woeful mother, to endure 45
 The fury of this tempest here alone,
 Who cares not for herself, so thou be sure.
 Thou mayest revenge when others can but moan.
 Rodon will see thee safe, Rodon will guide
 Thee in the way, thou shalt not need to fear, 50
 Rodon my faithful servant will provide
 What shall be best for thee, take thou no care.
 And O good Rodon, tender well his youth;
 The waves are long, and dangerous everywhere;
 I urge it not, that I do doubt thy truth, 55
 But mothers cast the worst, and always fear.
*The absent danger greater still appears,
 Less fears he, who is near the thing he fears.*⁶⁹

Rodon Madam, nor can, nor have I other gage⁷⁰
 To lay for this assurance of my troth, 60
 But the earnest of that faith, which all my age
 Your grace hath tried. And which again by oath
 Unto the care of this sweet Prince I vow,
 Whose safety I will tender with more heed
 Then mine own life. For consider how 65
 The life of Egypt⁷¹ stands on his good speed.
 And doubt not, madam, Caesar left us hath
 The postern⁷² gate of Nilus⁷³ free, to fly,
 And India lies beyond the bounds of wrath,
 And owes no homage to his Empery. 70
 And there we shall find welcome, there remain
 Safe, till good fortune brings us back again.

Cleopatra But ah, I know not what presaging thought
 My spirit suggests of ominous event.
 And yet perhaps my love doth make me dote 75
 On idle shadows, which my fears present.
 But yet the memory of mine own fate,
 Makes me fear his and yet why should I fear?⁷⁴

⁶⁹ This is an example of a 'sententia.' i.e. a pithy saying.

⁷⁰ *Gage* - 'A pledge (usually a glove thrown on the ground) of a person's appearance to do battle in support of his assertions' (OED, n.1, 2*spec.*)

⁷¹ Egypt will die alongside Caesarion as he is the last heir to the Egyptian throne. Egypt could be being paralleled with Renaissance England and the question of who will inherit the throne after Elizabeth I, as she has no children to succeed her.

⁷² *Postern* - 'A back of side entrance' (OED, *n* and *adj.* 1, a).

⁷³ The river Nile

⁷⁴ Rhetoric - a stylistic technique. See Introduction. The primary theme is misery. It could be that Daniel is alluding to Cleopatra as Mary Sidney in this scene, and Antony as her brother Philip Sidney, whose death

His fortune may in time regain his state,
 And he with greater glory govern here. 80
 But yet I fear the *Genius*⁷⁵ of our race,
 By some more powerful spirit comes overthrown;
 Our blood must be extinct in my disgrace,
 And Egypt have no more kings of their own.
 Then let him stay, and let us fall together, 85
 If it be fore-decreed that we must fall.
 Yet who knows what may come, let him go thither;
 What merchant in one vessel ventures all?
 Let us divide our stars, go, go my son.
 Let not the fate of Egypt find you here. 90
 Try if so be thy destiny can shun
 The common wreck of us, by being there.
 But who is he found ever yet defence
 Against the heavens, or hide him anywhere?
 Then what need I to send thee so far hence 95
 To seek thy death, that mayest as well die here?
 And here die with thy mother, die in rest,
 Not travelling to what will come to thee.
 Why should we leave our blood unto the East,
 When Egypt may a tomb sufficient be? 100
 O my divided soul, what shall I do,⁷⁶
 Whereon shall now my resolution rest?
 What were I best resolve to yield unto?
 When both are bad, how shall I know the best?
 Stay, I may hap to work with Caesar⁷⁷ now, 105
 That he may yield him to restore thy right.
 Go, Caesar never will consent that thou
 So near in blood shalt be so great in might.
 Then take him Rodon, go my son, farewell.
 But stay, there's something I would gladly say, 110
 Yet nothing now. But O God speed you well,
 Lest saying more, that more might make thee stay.
 Yet let me speak, perhaps it is the last
 That ever I shall speak to thee, my son,
 Do mothers use to part in such post haste? 115
 What, must I end when I have scarce begun?
 Ah no (dear heart) 'tis no such slender twine
 Wherewith the knot is tied twixt me and thee.
 That blood within thy veins came out of mine,

she is lamenting. This device also introduces the concept of 'stoicism;' 'One who practises repression of emotion, indifference to pleasure or pain, and patient endurance' (OED, *n* and *adj.* A.2). See introduction, 'Dido, stoicism and lamentation'.

⁷⁵ *Genius* – A Greek word, 'With reference to classical pagan belief: The tutelary god or attendant spirit allotted to every person at birth, to govern his fortunes and determine his character, and finally to conduct him out of this world; also, the tutelary and controlling spirit similarly connected with a place, an institution, etc' (OED, 1).

⁷⁶ Cleopatra is experiencing 'Psychomachia,' 'a conflict within the soul' (OED, *n*). Psychomachia is a common character trait of Renaissance Tragedies.

⁷⁷ Octavius Caesar.

	Parting from thee, I part from part of me.	120
	And therefore I must speak. Yet what? O son, Though I have made an end, I have done.	
Caesarion	Dear Sovereign mother, suffer not your care To tumult thus with the honour of your state. The miseries of ours no strangers are, Nor is it new to be unfortunate.	125
	And this good, let your many sorrows past Work on your heart to harden it at last. Look but on all the neighbour states beside Of Europe, Africa, Asia, and but note	130
	What Kings, what states, hath not the Roman pride Ransacked, confounded, or else servile brought. And since we are so born that by our fate, Against the storms we cannot now bear sail,	135
	And that the boisterous current of their state Will bear down all our fortunes, and prevail. Let us yet temper with the time, and think The winds may change, and all these states oppressed, Collegued in one, may turn again to sink Their greatness, who now holds them all distressed.	140
	And I may lead their troops, ⁷⁸ and at the walls Of greedy Rome, revenge the wrongèd blood Of the innocent, which now for vengeance calls, And do the enthralled provinces this good.	145
	And therefore my dear mother do not leave To hope the best; I doubt not my return. I shall do well, let not your grief bereave Your eyes of seeing those comforts when they turn.	
Cleopatra	Well, worthy son, and worthily the son Of such a father and in this thou show'st	150
	From whence thou came, I say no more, be gone, Grow in thy virtue, as in years thou grow'st. <i>Exit [Caesarion and Rodon below.]</i>	
<i>Cleopatra solo.</i>	Poor comforts can they give, whom our distress Makes miserable, and like comfortless.	155
	Alas, such forcèd cheering from our own Upon our griefs do more affliction lay, To think that by our means they are undone, On whom we sought our glory to convey. Well then, here is a sad day's work begun: For first, between these arms, my Antony	160

⁷⁸ Caesarion is saying that when the 'winds' of fortune change he will create an army, forged from the other oppressed states to march upon Rome. Caesarion wants to revenge the 'wronged blood of the innocent', the 'innocent' in this case being the citizens of Egypt and perhaps Cleopatra herself.

Expired this day: and whilst I did uphold
 His struggling limbs in his last ecstasy,
 The yet unclosed wound, which his own sword
 Had made before, burst out, imbrued⁷⁹ my womb,
 And here with these fair colours of my Lord 165
 Which now I wear I come from out a tomb,
 To send away this dearest part of me
 Unto distress, and now whilst time I have,
 I go t'inter my spouse. So shall I see
 My son dispatched for death, my love to his grave. 170
Exeunt.

[Act I,] Scene ii

[SCENE: Rome]

[Enter] Octavius, Dircetus, Gallus⁸⁰ [and] Proculeius.

[Octavius] What news brings now Dircetus from our foe?
 Will Antony yet struggle being undone?

Dircetus No, Caesar, he will never vex thee more.
 His work is ended, Antony hath done.
 Here is the sword that hath cut off the knot 5
 Of his entangled fortunes,⁸¹ and hath freed
 His grievèd life from his dishonoured⁸² blot. *[Dircetus hands Octavius the sword.]⁸³*

Octavius Who is the man that did effect this deed?⁸⁴

⁷⁹ *Imbrued* - 'Stained, dyed, etc., esp. with blood or slaughter' (OED, *adj.*, a). A word used greatly by Mary Sidney. By replicating the use of this word Daniel is paying homage to his patron and her work.

⁸⁰ I have not included 'Gallus' in the 'Dramatis Personae' as he is a silent character throughout the entirety of the play.

⁸¹ The 'Fates' were the three sisters of Classical mythology who were in charge of a man's destiny. Not even the Gods could change a man's fortune if it had been pre-ordained by the Fates. These three sisters spun your life line (a thread) on a spindle, measured it out, and cut it when your time on earth was up.

⁸² Antony was seen by Octavius and the Roman people as being a national disgrace for shunning his military duty in Rome for this Egyptian Queen. He was seen as having betrayed the West in favour for the East. Octavius had his claim to the throne diminished by Antony; who (before Octavius stepped up his propaganda campaign) was very popular in his native country. Antony was the main political player in Rome before he became embroiled with Cleopatra and the East; it was Antony and not Octavius who gave the public speech at Julius Caesar's funeral, (despite the fact that Octavius was his adopted son.) Octavius therefore, had to be very careful when slandering Antony to the Roman public. Octavius initiated the battle against Antony and Cleopatra to eradicate the threat of Antony to his leadership. Octavius deceived the Roman people into believing Cleopatra was a genuine threat to Rome's national security but there is no doubt that the *Bellum Iustum* declared against Cleopatra in 31BC was actually a *Bellum Civile* in disguise.

⁸³ Dircetus takes the sword from Antony to present to Octavius as a way to gain his favour. It is not explicit in Daniel that Dircetus is a follower of Antony, but as the same character is found in both Plutarch and Shakespeare (and he is a traitor in both) we therefore assume that Daniel is following the same model as both his predecessor and his contemporary. R.H Case initially put forward the suggestion of the influence of Shakespeare on Daniel in 1906. Case argued that Daniel's later addition of Dircetus bringing Octavius the sword of Antony; replicates Shakespeare's play (*Shakespeare*, 71). It is not just Dircetus who is revealed as a defector in this play. Many other characters will betray their leader and country; the theme of loyalty combined with appearance and disguise (i.e. who appears to be loyal and is in fact not, and vice versa) is prevalent throughout the course of this play.

⁸⁴ *Stichomythia* - a theatrical technique. See Introduction.

Dircetus	His own hand and this sword hath done the deed.	
Octavius	Relate Dircetus of the manner how. ⁸⁵	10
Dircetus	My Lord when Antony had made this last And desperate trial of his fortunes, and With all the forces which he had amassed From out each coast and corner of the land, Had brought them to their work, perceiving how His ships instead of blows shook hands with yours ⁸⁶ And that his powers by land were vanquished now, ⁸⁷ Back to the city he with grief retires, Confounded with his fortunes, crying out That Cleopatra had betrayed his trust. ⁸⁸	15 20
	She all amazed, and fearing lest he might In this conceit to farther rages burst, Hastes to the tomb ⁸⁹ which she erected had (A stately vault to Isis ⁹⁰ temple joined) And thence caused word be sent how she was dead, And had dispatched herself, through grief of mind. Which when Antonius heard, he straight burst forth Into this passion. "What! And hast thou then Prevented me, brave Queen, by thy great worth Hath Cleopatra taught the work of men?" ⁹¹	25 30

⁸⁵ The 'Messenger' was a common feature of Greek and Roman tragedy. It was the job of the 'Messenger' to relate onstage to the audience, the action that has taken place offstage. In Greco-Roman tragedies all the action happened offstage so the 'Messenger' played an integral role. Any deaths that occurred offstage were left for the Messenger to describe in dramatic detail onstage. Having a narrative account of a death instead of a visual one helped the Ancients to increase the dramatic tension of the play, as the audience were left to imagine the gruesome details.

⁸⁶ The naval battle of Actium; this conflict in 31BC led to Octavius triumphing over Antony and Cleopatra.

⁸⁷ After the naval battle of Actium, Octavius commenced his final war with Antony, this time on land.

Antony was defeated almost before the war had begun as his commanding officer, Lucius Pinarius, had betrayed him. Pinarius had given himself and the army he commanded over to Octavius.

⁸⁸ We learn from Plutarch that when Cleopatra saw during the battle of Actium, that Antony was defeated, she turned her ships around and fled back to Alexandria (*Shakespeare's Plutarch*, 1968, 258).

⁸⁹ We learn that the 'Monument' Cleopatra imprisons herself in is in fact a tomb. This is ironic as it is within the tomb that she has built that she will die.

⁹⁰ Isis was the patron Goddess of Egypt. This central Deity was attributed to being 'the protector of women; goddess of maternity and the new-born' (*The Oxford Dictionary of Classical Myth & Religion*, 288). Cleopatra's connection to Isis was emphasised by Octavius, as the 'Cult of Isis' had negative links to magic and sorcery. Octavius focused on the alleged debauchery and sexual immorality of Cleopatra to inflame further the attitude of the Roman West against her. The association with Isis aided Octavius' presentation of Cleopatra as a depraved, sexually-orientated Queen as the followers of Isis supposedly indulged in immoral aspects of its rituals.

⁹¹ Antony is exclaiming how Cleopatra has (by her alleged suicide) portrayed the bravery befitting of a man. The Augustan poet Horace, in his *Nunc Est Bibendum* (the 'Cleopatra Ode') reflects the same sentiment, 'she did not have a woman's fear of the sword' (Horace, 1.37.22-23). Many 'manly' women are also prevalent in Shakespeare; i.e. Lady Macbeth 'unsex me here' (*Shakespeare*, 1.5.39). Elizabeth I was also portrayed as having many manly attributes and even admitted herself (in her speech for the troops at Tilbury, 1588) that she had 'the heart and stomach of a King.' These are just a few examples of perhaps

Hath she outdone me in the greatest part
Of resolution, to die worthily?
And must I follow, doth she disappoint
Me, of the example to teach her to die?⁹²
Come Eros,⁹³ do this service for thy Lord, 35
The best and greatest pleasure thou canst do.
Employ this weapon here, come, make this sword
That won me honour, now to save it too.
It is a deed of glory, Eros, this.
For these dry deaths⁹⁴ are womanish and base; 40
It is for an unsinewed feebleness
To expire in feathers, and to attend disgrace.
There's nothing easier, Eros, than to die,
For when men cannot stand, thus they may fly.”
Eros, his late enfranchised servant,⁹⁵ takes 45
The sword, as if he would have done the deed,
And on it falls himself. And thereby makes
Antonius more confused to see him bleed,
Who should have first evented out his breath.
“O Eros,” said he, and “hath fortune quite 50
Forsaken me? Must I be outdone in all?
What, can I not by losing get a right?
Shall I not have the upper hand to fall
In death? Must both a woman, and a slave
The start before me of this glory have?” 55
With that he takes his sword, and down he falls
Upon the dismal point, which makes a gate
Spacious enough for death, but that the walls
Of nature, scorned to let it in thereat,
And he survives his death. Which when his love, 60
His royal Cleopatra, understood
She sends with speed his body to remove,
The body of her love imbrued with blood.

why Daniel's Cleopatra is portrayed in this masculine light and the sources he may have got inspiration from.

⁹² Antony is talking about how Cleopatra has proven her nobility in suicide. This again is similar to Horace who appears to be showing respect for Cleopatra (due to the nature of her death,) in the latter half of his 'Cleopatra Ode.' See Introduction, 'Divided sympathy (in the imagery of birds).'

⁹³ 'Eros' is a follower of Antony, who is a speaking character in both Shakespeare and Plutarch but not in Daniel. 'Eros' is not to be confused with 'Iras,' Cleopatra's hand maiden who is spelt 'Eras' in the original.

⁹⁴ Antony is saying that 'dry deaths' i.e. deaths that do not involve the shedding of blood are not as honourable as the one's that do. It is interesting that he refers to 'dry deaths' as 'womanish' as we later see Cleopatra, Iras and Charmian favour poison (a 'dry death') as their preferred method of suicide. Cleopatra does, however, reach for a dagger to stab herself with in Act II, Scene ii, so this could perhaps indicate us that Cleopatra did not deem it essential to have a 'dry death;' just as long as she did have a death.

⁹⁵ In Daniel 'Eros,' is said to be Antony's 'late enfranchis'd servant.' This description of Eros being a freed slave is missing from Plutarch, who simply refers to Eros as 'a man of his.... whom he loved and trusted' (*Shakespeare's Plutarch*, 1968, 309). Shakespeare, however, has his Antony say to Eros 'when I did make thee free, swor'st thou not then To do this when I bade thee' (*Shakespeare*, 4.14.82-83). Barroll supports the theory given by R.H Case; that Daniel had read or seen *Antony and Cleopatra*. Barroll pinpoints the small detail of Eros being referred to as a 'freed' servant to attest this theory (*Shakespeare*, 72).

Which brought unto her tomb, (lest that the press⁹⁶
Which came with him, might violate her vow)⁹⁷ 65
She draws him up in rolls of taffeta⁹⁸
To a window at the top, which did allow
A little light unto her Monument.
There Charmian, and poor Iras, two weak maids
Foretired with watching, and their mistress care, 70
Tugged at the pulley,⁹⁹ having no other aids,
And up they hoist the swooning body there
Of pale Antonius showering out his blood
On the onlookers,¹⁰⁰ which there gazing stood.¹⁰¹
And when they had now wrought him up half way 75
(Their feeble powers unable more to do)
The frame stood still, the body at a stay,
When Cleopatra all her strength thereto
Puts, with what vigour love and care could use,
So that it moves again, and then again 80
It comes to stay. When she afresh renews
Her hold, and with reinforced power doth strain,
And all the weight of her weak body lays,
Whose surcharged heart more than her body weighs.
At length she wrought him up, and takes him in, 85
Lays his yet breathing body on her bed,
Applies all means his senses to re-win,
Stops up his wound again that freshly bled,
Calls him her Lord, her spouse, her Emperor,
Forgets her own distress, to comfort his, 90

⁹⁶ *Press* - 'The condition of being crowded; a crowd, a throng, a multitude' (OED, *n*, 1. 5a).

⁹⁷ The 'vow' in this case is possibly her determination not to be captured. This is why later in the scene, we see Cleopatra go to extraordinary lengths to fetch Antony to her without leaving the Monument.

⁹⁸ A luxurious fabric; fitting for a Queen. It is a powerful image that Cleopatra wraps her lover in a shroud of 'taffeta.' The reference to this fabric is perhaps emphasised by Daniel to allude to the opulent luxury that Octavius believes she indulges in. It could also symbolise that it was Antony and Cleopatra's luxurious and opulent lifestyle that finally killed him. This leads to the assumption that Cleopatra will be next.

⁹⁹ The 'Monument Scene,' would have been very difficult to stage and we wonder how it would have been managed if it was performed, (in keeping with the theory that the later revision of the play was made to make the text more performable.) We are left to speculate. In examining how the same scene in *Antony and Cleopatra* would have been performed, David Bevington suggests chains or rope (Deats, 103) and explains how various later performances have tackled this highly visual scene. It is interesting to note that Cleopatra is 'above' in her Monument, and Octavius and the Roman Messengers have to enter 'below.' Usually in Renaissance drama the person who is 'above' holds the moral high ground. It is interesting the Antony starts off 'below' and in this scene gets raised 'above;' as if Antony's body and spirit is transcending up to 'heaven.' The location shift could also suggest that in suicide Antony has proved his 'worth.' As Antony has joined Cleopatra in the place that represents a positive ethical stance, it could be said, that Antony's noble 'Roman' suicide has elevated his status.

¹⁰⁰ Or 'underlookers' if we agree with the argument below.

¹⁰¹ Ernest Schanzer believes more parallels can be seen to Mary Sidney's play than any other textual influence. Schanzer points to the 'Monument Scene' in *Antonie* to highlight this, which he believes evokes the same 'sense of scene and drama' evident in Daniel's version of events. Schanzer noticed that unlike Shakespeare and Plutarch, Daniel mentions the 'underlookers, which there gazing stood' which he believes is extremely similar to the Mary Sidney's version of events who describes 'the people which beneath in flocks beheld' (Schanzer, 377).

And interpoints each comfort with a kiss.
 He after some small rest and cherishing
 Raises himself, and frames a forced cheer,
 Wills Cleopatra leave her languishing,
 And like herself these accidents to bear. 95
 Considering they had had so full a part
 Of glory in this world, And that the turn
 Of Change was come, and Fortune would depart.
 It was now in vain for her to stand and mourn,
 But rather ought she seek her race to free, 100
 By all the means (her honour saved) she can,
 “And none about Octavius trust,” said he,
 “But Proculeius: [he’s]¹⁰² an honest man.¹⁰³
 And for myself, suffice I have not failed
 In any act of worth.¹⁰⁴ And now in this, 105
 A Roman hath but here a Roman quailed,¹⁰⁵
 And only but by fortunes’ variousness.
 And yet herein I may this glory take,
 That he who me undoes, my sword did make.”
 This said, he calls for wine,¹⁰⁶ which he requires 110
 Perhaps not for his thirst, but to end his breath.
 Which having taken, forthwith he expires,
 And thus have I declared Antonius’ death.

Octavius I grieve to hear this much.¹⁰⁷ And I protest
 By all the gods, I am no cause of this,¹⁰⁸ 115

¹⁰² Was ‘she’s’ in the original.

¹⁰³ It is Proculeius that Octavius sends to Cleopatra in a bid to convince her to yield. By having Proculeius, a man that Antony promises her that she can trust, working for Octavius, we fear Cleopatra may believe his plea bargain. This line serves to increase the dramatic tension of the play. By mentioning that Cleopatra should not trust anybody around Octavius, also suggests that Cleopatra should not trust Octavius himself. The reader will inevitably keep this thought in mind when we see Octavius attempting to persuade Cleopatra to surrender to him by promising her mercy.

¹⁰⁴ Suicide in the Roman world was thought to be noble when you were faced with no other alternative. See Introduction, ‘Suicide’. Cleopatra in Act IV, Scene ii, mentions the ‘conceivèd fields’ which is a reference to the Greco-Roman concept of the ‘Elysium Fields.’ Elysium was a blissful land where virtuous and heroic Romans would go after death. By having Antony repeat the words ‘noble’ and ‘glory’ in this scene, Daniel is perhaps reiterating the idea that he will suggest later, that Antony will go to the utopian resting place of noble Romans.

¹⁰⁵ *Quailed* - ‘Suppressed, crushed, vanquished’ (OED, *adj.*2.1).

¹⁰⁶ This mention to wine is perhaps a reference to another one of Octavius’ slanderous claims. He depicted both Cleopatra and Antony to the Roman people as drunks in an attempt to undermine their authority. In his ‘Cleopatra Ode,’ Horace portrays Cleopatra as being constantly inebriated on ‘Mareotic wine’ (Horace, 1.37.13). Horace links the imagery of alcohol to Cleopatra’s Eastern nationality as ‘Mareotic’ wine was a wine produced in the Egyptian Delta; and it had the reputation for being as potent as it was cheap. Octavius initiated this intoxicated image of Cleopatra as yet another way to undermine her authority and present her to the Roman people as an incompetent Queen.

¹⁰⁷ It is possible that Octavius was genuinely distressed by Antony’s death. Antony was a fellow Roman and they had known each other for many years. Antony was also married to Octavius’ sister, Octavia. Even though this marriage was arranged for political benefit, Antony was still a relation to Octavius through marriage.

¹⁰⁸ Octavius reiterates Dircetus’ earlier statement, that Antony’s death was suicide. Even though we know Antony did commit suicide, the declaration of Octavius’ innocence ultimately makes him sound guilty.

He sought his ruin, wrought his own unrest,
 And here these letters are my witnesses, [*Octavius is holding the letters*
 How oft I laboured to recall him home, *of correspondence between*
 And wooed his friendship, sued¹⁰⁹ to him for love. *himself and Antony.*]
 And how he still contemned me, scornèd Rome, 120
 Yourselves my fellow citizens can prove.
 But Gallus you, and Proculeius haste
 With speed unto the city to prevent,
 Lest Cleopatra desperate now at last,
 Bereave us of the only ornament, 125
 Which is herself,¹¹⁰ that can our triumphs grace
 Or fire the treasure, which she hath amassed
 Within that vault of all the precious stuff
 That Egypt yields,¹¹¹ and disappoint at last
 Our travails of the benefit thereof. 130
 Supple her heart with hopes of kind relief,
 Give words of oil unto her wounds of grief.
 [*Exeunt.*]

*CHORUS.*¹¹²

Behold what furies¹¹³ still
Torment their tortured breast.

Although Octavius was not directly involved i.e. he did not wield the sword that killed Antony; it was his actions that indirectly caused the event of Antony's death.

¹⁰⁹ *Sued* - 'To make one's petition or supplication *to* a person *for* a person or a thing; to plead, appeal, supplicate' (OED, v. 22a).

¹¹⁰ Octavius is concerned Cleopatra might commit suicide before he has a chance to take her captive to Rome. Here he will parade her through the city in chains, as was the fate of all prisoners of war. He has ordered Gallus and Proculeius to persuade Cleopatra that if she gives herself up to him, he will show her mercy.

¹¹¹ Egypt was a country rich in trade and produce. A reminder that there was another reason why Octavius was desperate to defeat Antony and Cleopatra, so he could add Egypt to his list of conquered kingdoms and reap the benefits.

¹¹² Chorus 1 - The chief concern of the Chorus in this act seems to be with Hubris and Nemesis. In Classical literature the punishment of committing an act of Hubris, (the scoring of the Gods,) was inevitably followed by the rightful affliction of Nemesis (retribution) which led to the demise of the offender. The Chorus also dwell on the idea of 'luxuria' and 'excess' as being inexorably intertwined with death and demise, which was an idea once again found in the works of Classical writers. The idea of 'lust' as being one of the by-products of excess is suggested by the Chorus. Just being a woman made Cleopatra susceptible to the propaganda of the Roman poets. As Octavius readily promoted Cleopatra with an insatiable sexual appetite the Augustan poets replicated this idea of her dominant sexuality in their work. The Roman public would have been aware of Cleopatra's relationships with Julius Caesar and Antony; which gave Octavius the justification to portray Cleopatra as a lustful and rapacious woman. The Romans were highly traditional in their approach to love and passion; they disapproved of uncontrolled emotions and favoured a stoic view on love. Horace depicted Cleopatra as a wildly volatile character as he knew the Roman citizens would be wary of such a frenzied, libidinous woman. In various Greek and Roman texts, when the female protagonist is described as sexually voracious, this overt sexuality is typically coupled with murderous behaviour. With female creations such as 'Medea' and 'Clytemnestra,' it is no wonder that the Roman people were wary of Cleopatra, who was depicted as a highly sexual being.

¹¹³ The 'Furies' in Classical Mythology, were the deities that punished humans who had sworn a false oath. '...powers of retribution for wrongs and blood-guilt especially in the family. They (sometimes singular) are mentioned very often in Homer, Hesiod, and the tragedians' (*The Oxford Dictionary of Classical Myth & Religion*, 199).

Who by their doing ill, 135
 Have wrought the world's unrest.
 Which when being most distressed,
 Yet more to vex their sprite,¹¹⁴
 The hideous face of sin,
 (In forms they must detest) 140
 Stands ever in their sight.
 Their conscience still within,
 The eternal Larum,¹¹⁵ is
 That ever barking dog¹¹⁶ that calls upon their miss.¹¹⁷

No means at all to hide 145
 Man from himself can find.
 No way to start aside,
 Out from the hell of mind.
 But in himself confined,
 He still sees sin before. 150
 And wingèd-footed pain,
 That swiftly comes behind.
 The which is evermore
 The sure and certain gain
 Impiety doth get, 155
 And wanton lose respect, that doth itself forget.

And Cleopatra now
 Well see, the dangerous way
 She took, and cared not how,
 Which led her to decay. 160
 And likewise makes us pay
 For her disordered lust,
 The interest of our blood.
 Or live a servile¹¹⁸ prey,¹¹⁹
 Under a hand unjust 165
 As others shall think good.
 This hath her riot won,
 And thus she hath her state, herself, and us undone.

Now every mouth can tell,

¹¹⁴ *Sprite* – spirit (OED, *n*).

¹¹⁵ *Larum* - 'A call to arms, a battle-cry; news of an enemy's approach; any sound to warn of danger' (OED, *n*, 1a).

¹¹⁶ *Cerberus* - 'The monstrous hound who guards the entrance to the Underworld' (*The Oxford Dictionary of Classical Myth & Religion*, 107).

¹¹⁷ *Miss* - 'The fact or condition of missing, having lost, or being without a person or thing; an instance of this; loss, lack, deprivation' (OED, *n*.1.a).

¹¹⁸ *Servile* - 'Of a people, state, its condition, etc.: politically enslaved; subject to despotic or oppressive government or to foreign dominion' (OED, *adj.* and *n*. 3c).

¹¹⁹ Octavius is portrayed as a 'predator' and the Chorus as his 'prey.' This comparison presents Octavius and the military campaigns of Rome in a negative light, however, as the Chorus are Egyptian this depiction is undoubtedly biased. The image of Octavius as a 'predator' is a theme found in Roman literature of the time. See Introduction, 'Divided sympathy (in the imagery of birds)'.

What close was mutterèd, 170
How that she did not well
To take the course she did.
For now is nothing hid
Of what fear did restrain,
No secret closely done 175
But now is utterèd.
The text is made most plain,
That flattery glossed upon,
The bed of sin revealed,
And all the luxury that shame would have concealed. 180

The scene¹²⁰ is broken down,
And all uncovered lies,
The purple¹²¹ actors¹²² known
Scarce men, whom men despise.
The complots¹²³ of the wise 185
Prove imperfections' smoke,
And all what wonder gave
To pleasure gazing eyes,
Lies scattered, dashed, all broke.
Thus much beguilèd have 190
Poor inconsiderate wights,¹²⁴
These momentary pleasures, fugitive delights.

ACT II, Scene i

[SCENE: Alexandria]

[Enter] Cleopatra, Charmian [and] Iras [above.]

[Cleopatra] Yet do I live, and yet can breath extend
 My life beyond my life. Nor can my grave
 Shut up my griefs, to make my end my end!
 Will yet confusion have more than I have?
 Is the honour, wonder, glory, pomp, and all 5
 Of Cleopatra dead, and she not dead?
 Have I outlived myself, and seen the fall
 Of all upon me, and not ruinèd?
 Can yet these eyes endure the ghastly look
 Of Desolation's¹²⁵ dark and ugly face, 10

¹²⁰ The Chorus are referring to Cleopatra's situation as a play. In the next line we see the term 'actors' mentioned; this is similar to the remark by Iras in Act V, Scene ii, 'we must not only be spectators in this Scene, but actors too.'

¹²¹ Purple was the Ancient colour of royalty made from sea coral. It was the most rare and expensive shade. It was only affordable to the most privileged members of society.

¹²² By 'purple actors' the Chorus could be musing on the low social status of actors. By including the colour 'purple' the Chorus are referring to the people who play royalty on stage. The Chorus might be implying that not only are these 'actors' not royalty, but they are also hardly people either.

¹²³ *Complots* - 'A design of a covert nature planned in concert; a conspiracy, a plot' (OED, *n*).

¹²⁴ *Wights* - 'A human being, man or woman, person' (OED, *n.2a*).

¹²⁵ The personification of emotions is a common characteristic of both Greco-Roman tragedies and Renaissance drama.

Wont but on fortune's fairest side to look,
 Where nought was but applause, but smiles and grace
 Whilst on his shoulders all my rest relied
 On whom the burthen of my ambition¹²⁶ lay,
 My Atlas,¹²⁷ and the champion of my pride, 15
 That did the world of all my glory sway?
 Who here thrown down, disgraced, confounded lies
 Crushed with the weight of shame and infamy,
 Following the unlucky party of mine eyes,
 The trains of lust and imbecility. 20
 Now who would think that I were she who late
 With all the ornaments on earth enriched,
 Environed with delights, engirt¹²⁸ with state,
 Glittering in pomp that hearts and eyes bewitched,¹²⁹
 Should thus distressed cast down from off the height, 25
 Levelled with low disgraced calamity,
 Under the weight of such affliction sigh,
 Reduced unto the extremest misery?
 Am I the woman whose inventive pride
 Adorned like Isis scorned mortality?¹³⁰ 30
 Is't I would have my frailty so belied,
 That flattery could persuade I was not I?

¹²⁶ 'Ambition' is a word used a great deal by Daniel in relation to both Antony and Cleopatra. It is up for debate whether the historical Cleopatra genuinely loved Julius Caesar and Antony, but what we can gather from these liaisons is that Cleopatra used her feminine wiles to achieve her political aims. She was devoted to her country and was desperate to preserve the independence of Egypt against the expanding territory of Rome; however, whether her ambition stretched beyond retaining Egypt's independence is unclear. Octavius exaggerated Cleopatra's intentions towards Rome; stating she aimed alongside Antony 'to array all the East against Rome, establish herself as empress of the world... and inaugurate a new universal kingdom' (Tarn, 22, 141). Amidst this claim, Octavius declared that political power would be removed from Rome and re-located to Alexandria, a move that would leave Rome and her senate redundant. Obviously due to the bias that Octavius held against Cleopatra we can view these hysterical accusations with a critical eye, however, the point is we do not know what Cleopatra had planned for Egypt. Daniel perhaps mentions the word 'ambition' in relation to Antony and Cleopatra to allow the reader to make up their own mind as to what the two lovers had in store.

¹²⁷ In the *Odyssey*, Atlas is a Titan who 'holds the tall pillars which hold earth and heaven apart' (*The Oxford Dictionary of Classical Myth & Religion*, 73). Atlas is also found the myth of Hercules among various others; it is generally accepted that he supported the sky upon his shoulders.

¹²⁸ *Engirt* - 'To gird, encircle *with*' (OED, v. 1).

¹²⁹ In Plutarch's account of Antony, he describes how Cleopatra sailed down the Nile in her barge; a staged spectacle aimed to ensnare Antony. As Daniel starts his play with Antony already dead his account misses this event. Shakespeare, like Plutarch, describes this scene in his play with great vividness. Neither author mentions the words 'glittering' or 'pomp;' but the startling visual display and the splendour of the colours (especially Gold) could perhaps be the scene Daniel wanted his reader to imagine when they read this line. The similarities in description between Shakespeare's account of Cleopatra's barge and the account we see of Elizabeth's are strikingly similar (Morris, 1969, 277). Just as Cleopatra sailed down the Nile, Elizabeth I sailed down the Thames and this line would have brought to the mind of the Renaissance reader their illustrious Queen.

¹³⁰ In Egypt, Cleopatra presented herself as the patron Goddess Isis incarnate, with Antony as Osiris. In this lamentation, Cleopatra is suggesting that her impersonation angered the Gods and brought about the infliction of Nemesis. Daniel is taking the historical fact of Cleopatra and Isis and attributing it to his theme of Hubris and Nemesis. Daniel creates the image of Cleopatra in her guise as a Goddess to highlight the mortality she is experiencing via her suffering and situation.

	Well now I see they but delude that praise us, ¹³¹ Greatness is mocked, prosperity betrays us. And we are but ourselves, although this cloud Of interposèd smoke ¹³² makes us seem more. The spreading parts of pomp whereof we are proud Are not our parts, but parts of other store. Witness these gallant fortune-following trains, These summer ¹³³ swallows of felicity, Gone with the heat; of all, see what remains, This Monument, two maids, and wretched I. And I that adorn their triumphs, am reserved A captive kept to honour others spoils, Whom Caesar ¹³⁴ labours so to hold preserved, And seeks to entertain my life with wiles. But Caesar it is more than thou canst do; Promise, flatter, threaten extremities, Employ thy wits, and all thy force thereto, I have both hands and will, and I can die. ¹³⁵	35 40 45 50
Charmian	Come Iras, shall we go and interrupt With some persuading words, this stream of moan?	
Iras	No Charmian, stay the current that is stopped Will but swell up the more. Let her alone. Time hath not brought this hot disease of grief To a crisis fit to take a medicine yet; 'Tis out of season to apply relief. To sorrows late begun, and in the fit Calamity is stubborn; in the prime Of new afflictions, we must give it time.	55 60
Cleopatra	Shall Rome behold my sceptre-bearing hand Behind me bound, and glory in my tears?	

¹³¹ This point of how the Gods can seem unjust is elaborated upon in the next Chorus.

¹³² 'Smoke' draws allusion to the Gods; Cleopatra is explaining how even though she is 'more than a man' in the sense that she is a Queen. She is not, as she was often perceived to be, an Immortal and she suffers the same misfortunes as men. This is expanding upon the previous image of Cleopatra as the Goddess Isis.

¹³³ One of the difficulties directors face when attempting to stage any production of this story, is the vast spectrum of time that it covers. The historical events of Antony and Cleopatra take place over many years and how to convey this length of time is a problem that authors have to face. Here we see a reference to 'summer' and later in the play Daniel informs us that it is now 'autumn.' These two references take place in the same scene, which illustrates just how swiftly any author of this story has to move the pace of time along. (Daniel also pays heed to the time span covered by addressing 'Octavius' by his changing names.)

¹³⁴ Octavius is referred to as 'Caesar' throughout this scene. This transition marks the passing of time and is possibly a reminder the Octavius was the adopted son of Julius 'Caesar.'

¹³⁵ Plutarch portrayed Cleopatra in a mostly negative light; however, he did praise her for being intelligent and wily. She knew a plethora of languages which demonstrated her intellect and as I will discuss later, devised an ingenious plan that enabled her to penetrate the Roman camp to achieve a personal address to Julius Caesar. Daniel is perhaps portraying Cleopatra's intelligence; she knows Octavius means for her to die and plans to outwit him.

Shall I pass by whereas Octavia¹³⁶ stands
 To view my misery, that purchased hers?
 No, I disdain that head which wore a crown 65
 Should stoop to take up that which others give.
 I must not be, unless I be mine own;
 'Tis sweet to die, when we are forced to live.
 Nor had I stayed behind myself this space,
 Nor paid such interest for my borrowed breath, 70
 But that hereby I seek to purchase grace
 For my distressed seed¹³⁷ after my death.
 It's that which doth my dearest blood control,
 That it alas detains me from my tomb,¹³⁸
 Whilst nature brings to contradict my soul 75
 The argument of mine unhappy womb.¹³⁹
 But what know I if the heavens have decreed
 And that the sins of Egypt have deserved
 The Ptolemys should fail, and none succeed,
 And that my weakness was thereto reserved 80
 That I should bring confusion to my state,
 And fill the measure of iniquity,
 And my luxuriousness should end the date
 Of loose and ill-dispensèd liberty.
 If it be so, then what need these delays, 85
 Since I was made the means of misery?
 Why should I not but make my death my praise,
 That had my life but for mine infamy?
 And leave engraved in letters of my blood
 A fit memorial for the times to come, 90
 To be example for such princes good
 As please themselves, and care not what become.

Charmian Dear madam, do not thus afflict your heart;
 No doubt you may work out a mean to live,
 And hold your state, and have as great a part 95

¹³⁶ Cleopatra is lamenting that when Octavius takes her to Rome she will see Antony's legitimate wife, Octavia. *The Tragedy of Cleopatra* was not the only Classically-oriented piece that Daniel embarked upon. He also published a 'Letter from Octavia to Marcus Antony' in 1599, which as the title suggests, was written from the view-point of Antony's betrayed wife. Daniel wrote this work when he had left the literary circle of Mary Sidney and had a new female patron, Lady Anne Clifford. Anne Clifford's husband, (according to Rees) had notorious infidelities and it could be that the *Letter from Octavia* is an 'oblique comment on the Countess's personal situation' (Rees, 76). Rees explains how both *Cleopatra* and the *Letter from Octavia* are both sensitive accounts of the injustice and misery inflicted upon women (Rees, 78). It is interesting to note, however, that in the *Letter from Octavia*, Daniel is very much on Octavia's side. Cleopatra, unlike in *The tragedy of Cleopatra* is not a sympathetic figure but a villain. Octavius urges Antony to break away from 'the fetters of Egypt' which is similar to Antony's exclamation in Shakespeare (*Shakespeare*, 102). It is interesting to note that while under the patronage of Mary Sidney, Daniel's wrote a sympathetic version of Cleopatra, and when a crisis tore him away from Wilton, he turned his attention to the scorned wife of Antony. This perhaps could be a representation of his shift in loyalty from Mary Sidney to Lady Anne Clifford and perhaps why allegiance is such a big theme throughout this play.

¹³⁷ Caesarion.

¹³⁸ Cleopatra is delaying her death in case she can gain mercy for Caesarion from Octavius.

¹³⁹ Caesarion.

	In Caesar's grace, as Antony could give. He that in this sort doth solicit you, And treats by all the gentle means he can, Why should you doubt that he should prove untrue, Or think him so disnaturèd a man To wrong your royal trust or dignity? ¹⁴⁰	100
Cleopatra	Charmian, because that now I am not I, My fortune, with my beauty, ¹⁴¹ and my youth Hath left me unto misery and thrall. ¹⁴² And Caesar cares not now by ways of truth, But cunning, to get honour by my fall.	105
Charmian	You know not Caesar's dealing till you try.	
Cleopatra	To try, were to be lost and then descry. ¹⁴³	
Charmian	You to Antonius did commit yourself, And why might not Antonius so have done?	110
Cleopatra	I won Antonius, Caesar hath me won.	
Iras	But madam, you might have articlèd ¹⁴⁴ With Caesar, when Thyrius ¹⁴⁵ he of late Did offer you so kindly as he did Upon conditions to have held your state.	115
Cleopatra	'Tis true, I know I might have held my state,	

¹⁴⁰ Charmian is beseeching Cleopatra to be hopeful. Octavius might be being honest when he says he will show her mercy. This is untrue. Charmian is Cleopatra's maid, and therefore we assume she is not as educated as Cleopatra. Cleopatra's intelligence is perhaps why she knows the truth where as in comparison Charmian so naively believes Octavius.

¹⁴¹ The first reference to Cleopatra's legendary beauty; how beautiful the historical Cleopatra really was, however, is a constant source of debate. The image we see on coins shows a woman with a crooked nose and a profile that doesn't project the image of magnificence. If Cleopatra wanted, however, to establish herself as a competent Queen, she might have commissioned her image to be portrayed in a certain way. It could be Cleopatra wanted to present a formal and imperial image of herself on her regalia which might have detracted from her beauty as a result. Daniel focuses more on Cleopatra's waning beauty, which fits in with his theme of how all things, including beauty, come to an end. This marring image of beauty helps Daniel to 'illustrate the change he conceives to have taken place in Cleopatra's character under the pressure of sorrow' (Rees, 56.) This description of Cleopatra also helps to make her seem softer and more human. Daniel is perhaps trying to paint her as a sympathetic character that is quite out of contrast with the wicked and immoral figured depicted by the Chorus. It is her beauty and charm that later captivates Dolabella and helps her gain insight into Octavius' plans for her and her children and thus allows her to die honourably.

¹⁴² *Thrall* - 'One who is in bondage to some power or influence; a slave (to something)' (OED, n.1 and adj. 1. 1b).

¹⁴³ *Descry* - 'To discover by observation; to find out, detect; to perceive, observe, see' (OED, v.1.7a). Cleopatra is explaining that if that there is no time to learn from experience. If you chose the wrong option you are left with no time to change your mind.

¹⁴⁴ *Articled* - 'To arrange by treaty or stipulation; to negotiate; to stipulate' (OED, v, 3a).

¹⁴⁵ A possible reference to the character of 'Thidias' in Shakespeare; Thidias attempts to persuade Cleopatra to betray Antony.

If I would then have Antony betrayed.¹⁴⁶

Iras And why not now, since Antony is dead,
And that Octavius hath the end he sought,
May not you have what then was offerèd? 120
On fairer terms, if things were fitly wrought
And that you would not teach him to deny,
By doubting him, or asking fearfully.¹⁴⁷

Cleopatra Fearfully? Iras, peace, I scorn to fear,
Who now am got out of the reach of wrath, 125
Above the power of pride. What should I fear
The might of men, that am at one with death?
Speak ye no more to me I charge you here.
What! Will you two, who still have took my part
In all my fortunes, now conspire with fear 130
To make me mutiny against my heart?¹⁴⁸
No Antony, because the world takes note
That it was my weakness that hath ruined thee,
And my ambitious practices are thought 135
The motive and the cause of all to be,¹⁴⁹
My constancy shall undeceive their minds,
And I will bring the witness of my blood
To testify my fortitude,¹⁵⁰ that binds
My equal love, to fall with him I stood, 140
Though God¹⁵¹ thou knowst, this stain is wrongly laid
Upon my soul,¹⁵² whom ill success makes ill.
And my condemned misfortune hath no aid

¹⁴⁶ Cleopatra is acknowledging that if she had followed Thyrius' suggestion and betrayed Antony whilst he was alive she may have been allowed to continue her reign over Egypt. This recognition demonstrates the level of love Cleopatra holds for Antony.

¹⁴⁷ Iras is saying that now Octavius has the ending he wanted, i.e. Antony is dead, why not take the mercy that Octavius is offering. Iras is telling Cleopatra that she should not feel guilty towards Antony if she accepts Octavius' grace, as she did not betray Antony while he was alive.

¹⁴⁸ Cleopatra has already resolved to die and she does not want Iras and Charmian to break her resolve through their fear.

¹⁴⁹ Cleopatra knows that Octavius has defamed her name in Rome.

¹⁵⁰ *Fortitude* - 'Moral strength or courage. Now only in passive sense: Unyielding courage in the endurance of pain or adversity' (OED, n. 2).

¹⁵¹ It is possible that this is the Christian version of God. It was during the reign of Octavius (27BC-AD14) that Jesus was born, so Daniel is using a certain amount of poetic licence to allow Cleopatra to be knowledgeable of the Christian God. Daniel does, however, make several references to Isis, so he does not completely obscure the traditional Gods and religion of Egypt. We see how Daniel includes several references to *Genesis* through the *Story of Joseph* and we later see a possible attempt to 'Christianise' Cleopatra through a reference to 'Elysium.' It is likely, therefore, that Daniel attributes the Christian form of God to Cleopatra to make her more sympathetic to his audience. Mary Sidney, as we can gather from her translation of the *Psalms*, was a pious woman; and this reference to the Christian God would have appealed to her and the rest of the 'Wilton Circle.'

¹⁵² Cleopatra is exempting herself from sin. God is all-seeing; and therefore knows she was not the cause of Antony's misfortunes and that the 'stain' Octavius has branded upon her 'soul' is unjustified. This is perhaps an explanation as to why Cleopatra later suggests that both she and Antony will enjoy the utopia of 'Elysium.'

Against proud luck¹⁵³ that argues what it will.
 Defects I grant I had, but this was worst, 145
 That being the first to fall, I did not first.
 Though I perhaps could lighten mine own side
 With some excuse of my constrained case
 Drawn down with power, but that were to divide
 My shame, to stand alone in my disgrace.¹⁵⁴ 150
 To clear me so, would show my affections naught,
 And make the excuse more heinous than the fault.¹⁵⁵
 Since if I should our errors disunite,
 I should confound¹⁵⁶ affliction's only rest,
 That from stern death even steals a sad delight 155
 To die with friends, and with the like distress.
 And I confess me bound to sacrifice
 To death and thee the life that doth reprove me.¹⁵⁷
 Our like distress I feel doth sympathise,
 And now affliction makes me truly love thee. 160
 When heretofore my vain lascivious Court
 Fertile in every fresh and new-choice pleasure,
 Afforded me so bountiful disport¹⁵⁸
 That I to stay on love, had never leisure.
 My vagabond¹⁵⁹ desires no limits found, 165
 For lust is endless, pleasure hath no bound.
 When thou, bred in the strictness of the city,¹⁶⁰

¹⁵³ Octavius

¹⁵⁴ Cleopatra is thinking of ways to justify her fall from grace. She could divide the blame by suggesting she was fearful of Antony. In Act III, Scene i, we see Cleopatra implementing this idea when she tries to explain herself to Octavius.

¹⁵⁵ Cleopatra does not want to mar the love she held for Antony by placing the blame solely upon him. If she did 'disunite' their responsibility then it would take any last pleasure from dying.

¹⁵⁶ *Confound* - 'To defeat utterly, discomfit, bring to ruin, destroy, overthrow, rout, bring to nought' (OED, v. 1.a).

¹⁵⁷ Cleopatra goes on to explain how her decadent lifestyle brought about her ruin.

¹⁵⁸ *Disport* - 'Diversion from serious duties; relaxation, recreation; entertainment, amusement' (OED, n. 1). The word 'disport' evokes similarities between Cleopatra and Dido. When Aeneas first landed in Carthage, the city was seething with activity. Dido and her people were building the city and constructing fleets (Virgil, 1.430). After Aeneas and Dido fell in love, work on the city stopped and the fleets were left neglected (Virgil, 4.195-6).

¹⁵⁹ *Vagabond* - 'Of persons, etc.: Roaming or wandering from place to place without settled habitation or home; leading a wandering life; nomadic' (OED, *adj.* and *n.* A.1). Cleopatra's reference to herself as a 'vagabond', i.e. a 'gypsy' has several different interpretations. Daniel could have wanted to emphasise the roving nature of lust; and used 'vagabond' as a way to describe how this dangerous emotion cannot be settled. The term 'vagabond,' however, also draws connection to the 'Myth of Scotia,' a myth that linked Egypt's heritage with Scotland. As gypsies were thought to have originally descended from Egypt, (due to the myth of Scotia,) gypsies also became associated with Scotland. Lisa Hopkins suggests that in *Antony and Cleopatra*, Shakespeare uses the term 'gypsy' to portray Scotland and James I in a negative light (Deats, 232). Shakespeare, notorious for his application of opposites, treats *Antony and Cleopatra* no different and 'Shakespeare reverses conventional patterns by linking Octavius, the Roman, not Cleopatra, the "gypsy" with Scotland' (Deats, 241). Cleopatra and Egypt therefore, are more likened to Renaissance England and Ancient Rome is paralleled to Renaissance Scotland. As it has been suggested that Daniel implements several of Shakespeare's ideas, it can be proposed that Daniel has attributed Shakespeare's reference to 'gypsies' i.e. 'vagabond' to his play.

¹⁶⁰ The theme of lust flourishing in a strict environment is expanded upon in 'Chorus 4.'

The riotous pomp of Monarchs never learnedst.
 Inured¹⁶¹ to wars, in women's wiles unwitty,
 Whilst others feigned, thou felt'st to love in earnest 170
 Not knowing women love them best that hover,
 And make least reckoning of a doting lover.
 And yet thou camest but in my beauty's wane,
 When new appearing wrinkles¹⁶² of declining
 Wrought with the hand of years, seemed to detain 175
 My grace's light, as now but dimly shining,
 Even in the confines of mine age, when I
 Failing of what I was and was but thus,
 When such as we do deem in jealousy,
 That men love for themselves, and not for us.¹⁶³ 180
 Then and but thus thou didst love most sincerely
 (O Antony that best deserved it better)
 This autumn¹⁶⁴ of my beauty, bought so dearly,
 For which in more than death I stand thy debtor
 Which I will pay thee with so true a mind, 185
 Casting up all these deep accounts of mine,
 As both our souls and all the world shall find
 All reckonings cleared betwixt my love and thine.
 But to the end I may prevent proud Caesar,
 Who doth so eagerly my life importune, 190
 I must prevail me of this little leisure,
 Seeming to suit my mind unto my fortune,
 Thereby with more convenience to provide
 For what my death, and honour best shall fit;
 A yielding base content must wary hide 195
 My last design, till I accomplish it,
 That hereby yet the world shall see that I,
 Although unwise to live, had wit to die.
 [Exeunt.]

[Act II,] Scene ii

[SCENE: Rome]

[Enter] Octavius, Proculeius [and] Gallus.

[Octavius] Kingdoms I see we win, we conquer climates,¹⁶⁵
 Yet cannot vanquish hearts, nor force obedience.¹⁶⁶
 Affections kept in close concealed limits
 Stand far without the reach of sword or violence.

¹⁶¹ *Inured* - 'Accustomed, habituated; rendered or become habitual' (OED, *adj*).

¹⁶² Another reference to Cleopatra's fading beauty. It could be that the wounds on Cleopatra's beauty, is in fact the physical manifestation of her pain.

¹⁶³ Cleopatra is declaring Antony's love for her as true; he loved her even though she was no longer at the peak of her beauty and age had started to mar her complexion.

¹⁶⁴ It is now the 'autumn' and Cleopatra's youth is behind her.

¹⁶⁵ *Climates* - 'A region of the earth' (OED, *n1.b*).

¹⁶⁶ Octavius is saying that you can conquer places and territories but you cannot conquer hearts and souls. This is a fitting comment as we have seen in the previous scene that Cleopatra has resolved to defy Octavius and die.

Who forced do pay us duty, pay not love. 5
 Free is the heart, the temple of thy mind,
 The sanctuary sacred from above,
 Where nature's keys that loose and bind,
 No mortal hand force open can that door,
 So close shut up and locked to all mankind; 10
 I see men's bodies only ours, no more,
 The rest another's right that rules the mind.
 Behold my forces vanquished have this land,
 Subdued that strong competitor of mine,
 All Egypt yields to my all-conquering hand. 15
 And all their states, and all themselves resign;
 Only this Queen, that hath lost all this all,
 To whom is nothing left, except a mind,
 Cannot into a thought of yielding fall,
 To be disposed as Chance hath her assigned. 20
 But Proculeius, tell me, what you have done,
 Will yet this woman's stubborn heart be won?¹⁶⁷

Proculeius My Lord, we have all gentle means implied,
 According to the instructions which you gave,
 And hope in time she will be pacified, 25
 And these are all the likelihoods we have.
 First when we came into her arched vault,
 I set Gallus to entertain the time
 Below with her, conferring at a grate,
 Whilst I found means up to the top to climb. 30
 He there persuaded her to leave that place,
 And come to Caesar and to sue for grace.
 She said, she craved not life, but leave to die,
 Yet for her children prayed they might inherit,
 That Caesar would vouchsafe in clemency¹⁶⁸ 35
 To pity them, though she deserved no merit.
 I now descending in the closest wise,
 And silent manner as I could contrive,
 Her woman me descried, and out she cries.
 "Ah Cleopatra, thou art forced alive." 40
 With that the Queen wrought from her side her knife,
 And even in act to stab her martyred breast,
 I stepped with speed, and held, and saved her life,
 And forth her trembling hand the blade did wrest.
 "Ah Cleopatra, why should you" said I, 45
 "Both injury yourself, and Caesar so?
 Bar him the honour of his victory,

¹⁶⁷ This complicated form of verse is in use throughout the entirety of the play, however, this 22 line verse is interesting as it is similar to the poetic form of Philip Sidney's work *Pamela and Musidorus*. This poem also contains the same form of verse and contains 22 lines. As Daniel would have been familiar with Sidney's work this tactful comparison is perhaps another way for Daniel to flatter the family of his patron.

¹⁶⁸ As we previously saw in Act II, Scene i, it was Cleopatra's plan to refrain from death as long as she could to try to grant mercy for her children.

Who ever deals most mildly with his foe?
 Live, and rely on him, whose mercy will
 To your submission always ready be.” 50
 With that, as all amazed, she held her still
 ’Twixt majesty confused, and misery.
 Her proud grieved eyes held sorrow and disdain,
 State and distress warring within her soul,
 Dying ambition dispossessed her reign. 55
 So base affliction seemèd to control
 Like to a burning lamp¹⁶⁹ whose liquor spent
 With intermitted flames, when dead you deem it,
 Sends forth a dying flash, as discontent
 That so the matter fails that should redeem it. 60
 So she in spite to see her low born state,
 When all her hopes were now consumed to naught,
 Scorns yet to make an abject league with fate,
 Or once descend into a servile thought.
 The imperious tongue unused to beseech 65
 Authority confounds with prayers so,
 As words of rule, conjoined with humble speech
 Showed she would live, yet scorned to pray her foe.
 “Ah what hath Caesar here to do,” said she,
 In confines of the dead, in darkness lying? 70
 Will he not grant our sepulchres be free,
 But violate the privilege of dying?
 What must he stretch forth his ambitious hand
 Into the right of death, and force us here?
 Hath misery no covert¹⁷⁰ where to stand 75
 Free from the storm of pride, is’t safe nowhere?
 Cannot my land, my gold, my crown suffice,
 And all that I held dear, to him made common,
 But that he thus must seek to tyrannize
 On the woeful body of a wretched woman? 80
 Tell him my frailty and the Gods have given
 Sufficient glory, could he be content,
 And let him now with his desires make even,
 And leave me here in horror to lament.
 Now he hath taken all away from me, 85
 What must he take me from myself by force?
 Ah let him yet in mercy leave me free
 The kingdom of this poor distressèd corse.¹⁷¹
 No other crown I seek, no other good,
 Yet wish that Caesar would vouchsafe this grace, 90
 To favour the woeful offspring of my blood,

¹⁶⁹ This is an example of an ‘epic simile.’ An epic simile is similar to a normal simile; it is just a more extended version. This linguistic decoration was used in poems of the epic genre.

¹⁷⁰ *Covert* - ‘That which serves for concealment, protection, or shelter; a hiding-place, shelter’ (OED, *n*, 2a).

¹⁷¹ *Corse* – A corpse; ‘A living body’ (OED, *n*, 1a).

	A mixed issue yet of Roman race. ¹⁷²	
	If blood and name be links of love in princes, Not spurs of hate, my poor Caesarion may Find favour notwithstanding mine offences, And Caesar's blood, may Caesar's raging stay. But if that with the torrent of my fall All must be rapt with furious violence, And no respect, or no regard at all Can aught with nature, or with blood dispense, Then be it so, if needs it must be so.”	95
	There stays and shrinks, in the horror of her state, When I began to mitigate her woe, And your great mercies unto her relate, And wished her not despair but rather come, And sue for grace, and shake off all vain fears; No doubt she should obtain as gentle doom As she desired, both for herself and hers. Wherewith at last she seemed well pacified, And gave great shows to be content to live, And said she was resolved your doom t'abide, And to accept what favour you would give. And therewithal craved only that she might Perform some obsequies ¹⁷³ unto the corse Of her dead love, according to her rite, And in the mean time might be free from force. I granting from thy part this her request, Left her for then, as seeming well in rest. ¹⁷⁴	100 105 110 115
Octavius	But do you think she will remain so still?	
Proculeius	I think, and do assure myself she will.	120
Octavius	Ah, private thoughts aim wide from princes' hearts Whose state allows them not to act their own parts.	
Proculeius	Why 'tis her safety to come yield to thee.	
Octavius	But 'tis more honour for her to die free.	
Proculeius	She may by yielding work her children good.	125

¹⁷² 'Mixed issue' is referring to the fact that Cleopatra's children with both Julius Caesar and Antony are half Roman as well as half Egyptian in blood (however, as Cleopatra was of Greek descent her children would in fact be half Roman, half Greek.) Cleopatra is appealing to Octavius to take mercy on these children as they have some Roman heritage in the hope that this fact will sway his decision.

¹⁷³ *Obsequies* - 'A funeral rite or ceremony; a funeral. Also: a commemorative rite or service (performed at the grave of the deceased or elsewhere)' (OED, n.1a).

¹⁷⁴ Cleopatra has deceived Proculeius into believing (and informing Octavius) that she will live. All she asks as her last request is to be able to perform some last funeral rites upon Antony's grave.

Octavius Princes respect their honour more than blood.¹⁷⁵

Proculeius Can Princes' power dispense with nature then?

Octavius To be a Prince is more than be a man.¹⁷⁶

Proculeius There's none but have in time persuaded been.

Octavius And so might she too, were she not a Queen. 130

Proculeius Divers¹⁷⁷ respects will force her be reclaimed.

Octavius Princes like lions never will be tamed.
 A private man may yield, and care not how,
 But greater hearts will break before they bow.
 And sure I fear she will not condescend 135
 To live to grace our spoils with her disgrace.
 But yet let still a wary troop attend
 To guard her person, and to watch the place,
 And well observe with whom she doth confer,
 And shortly will myself go visit her.¹⁷⁸ 140
 [Exeunt.]

*CHORUS.*¹⁷⁹

*Stern, and imperious Nemesis
 Daughter of Justice, most severe,
 That art the world's great arbitress,¹⁸⁰
 And Queen of causes reigning here,
 Whose swift-sure hand is ever near 145
 Eternal justice, righting wrong.*

¹⁷⁵ Proculeius remarks that Cleopatra may submit herself to Octavius for the sake of her children. Octavius however responds that sovereigns hold honour in higher sway than family. This is an ironic comment from Octavius, as we know Cleopatra is delaying her death in order to attempt to persuade Octavius to grant them mercy. This comment therefore, says more about Octavius' morals than Cleopatra's.

¹⁷⁶ Proculeius remarks how valuing honour above your family is going against nature, and Octavius responds that ruler's do not follow the same values as most men; this comment again reveals more about Octavius' ethics than Cleopatra's.

¹⁷⁷ *Divers* - 'Various, sundry, several' (OED, *a*, 3).

¹⁷⁸ Octavius still hold reservations about whether Cleopatra will bow before him, as she is a Queen. This links back to the previous idea of how you can conquer places but not hearts. Octavius has decided he will go to see her in person to make up his own mind about whether her claims of submission are genuine.

¹⁷⁹ Chorus 2 – the Chorus are reiterating their previous theme of Hubris and Nemesis. They focus on the immortal power of the Gods and the influence they have on mortal lives. They dwell on the cycle of fate and how the Gods, can on a whim, reverse the good fortune of people. The Chorus warn of 'vanity' which offends the Gods and will ultimately bring about the infliction of Nemesis; not just upon themselves, but their country and its people. Vanity links into the previous Chorus theme of sin, self-indulgence and excess.

¹⁸⁰ *Arbitress* - 'A female who has absolute control or disposal' (OED, *n*, 2).

Who never yet deferrest long
 The proud's decay, the weak's redress.¹⁸¹
 But through thy power everywhere,
 Dost raze¹⁸² the great, and raise¹⁸³ the less 150
 The less made great dost ruin too,
 To show the earth what heaven can do.

Thou from dark-cloyed¹⁸⁴ eternity,
 From thy black cloudy hidden seat,
 The world's disorders dost descry. 155
 Which when they swell so proudly great
 Reversing th' order nature set,
 Thou givest thy all confounding doom,
 Which none can know before it come.
 Th' inevitable destiny, 160
 Which neither wit nor strength can let,
 Fast chained unto necessity,
 In mortal things doth order so,
 The alternate course of weal¹⁸⁵ or woe.

O how the powers of heaven do play 165
 With travailed¹⁸⁶ mortality.
 And doth their weakness still betray,
 In their best prosperity.
 When being lifted up so high,
 They look beyond themselves so far 170
 That to themselves they take no care,
 Whilst swift confusion down doth lay
 Their late proud mounting vanity,
 Bringing their glory to decay,
 And with the ruin of their fall, 175
 Extinguish people, state and all.

But is it justice that all we,
 The innocent poor multitude,
 For great men's faults should punished be,
 And to destruction thus pursued? 180
 O why should the heavens us include
 Within the compass of their fall,
 Who of themselves procurèd¹⁸⁷ all?
 Or do the gods in close decree

¹⁸¹ *Redress* - 'Rectification, amendment, improvement' (OED, n, 1d).

¹⁸² *Raze* - 'To erase or obliterate (writing, a record, etc.), originally by scraping' (OED, v, 2a). In this case, however, Daniel does not mean that a 'writing' or 'record' is being 'razed,' but a person.

¹⁸³ A pun on the previous word 'raze;' the Chorus are lamenting the cycle of fate that is determined by the Gods. See Introduction, 'Astrology, fate and fortune'.

¹⁸⁴ *Cloyed* - 'Clogged, cumbered, burdened; sated, surfeited' (OED, pp. A).

¹⁸⁵ *Weal* - 'Wealth, riches, possessions' (OED, n, 1).

¹⁸⁶ *Travailed* - 'Wearied in body or mind; troubled; harassed' (OED, adj, 1).

¹⁸⁷ *Procurèd* - 'To obtain; to bring about' (OED, v, 1).

*Occasion take how to extrude*¹⁸⁸ 185
Man from the earth with cruelty?
Ah no, the gods are ever just,
*Our faults excuse their rigour must.*¹⁸⁹

This is the period Fate set down
*To Egypt's fat prosperity,*¹⁹⁰ 190
Which now unto her greatest grown,
Must perish thus, by course must die.
And some must be the causers why
This revolution must be wrought,
As born to bring their state to naught, 195
To change the people and the crown,
*And purge the world's iniquity.*¹⁹¹
Which vice so far hath overgrown,
As we, so they that treat us thus,
*Must one day perish like to us.*¹⁹² 200

ACT III, Scene i

[SCENE: Alexandria]

[Enter] Philostratus¹⁹³ [and] Arius:¹⁹⁴ two Philosophers.

¹⁸⁸ *Extrude* - 'To thrust (a person) out or forth; to urge or force out; to expel' (OED, v, 1).

¹⁸⁹ The Chorus are asking whether the Gods are just and whether the common masses be punished for the sins of the great? These questions are recurrently debated in Greek and Roman literature. The Deities of Greco-Roman mythology are not like the forgiving, righteous God of Christianity; they are forces to be feared. They are cruel, tyrannical and suffer the same emotions as the mortals they punish. The Gods of the Classical world are frequently seen arguing amongst themselves and instigating their own system of retribution.

¹⁹⁰ 'Prosperity' is a word Daniel uses greatly in relation to Egypt, to emphasise how opulent and rich in trade and accomplishment the country once was. This image of the country's former magnificence serves to highlight how far it has fallen. 'Prosperity' could be a reference to *The Story of Joseph* in the *Bible*, in which the Pharaoh has a dream about seven fat cattle and then seven malnourished cattle, who devour the previous plump cattle. Joseph interprets this dream to mean that God intends for there to be seven prosperous years for Egypt, where the country shall be a land of plenty. After these seven years, however, Joseph warns will come seven years of hardship and famine. Later on in the play we will see more allusions to this story from *Genesis* by several references to Egypt being 'fat-fed.' These references imply that Egypt has enjoyed prosperity (under Cleopatra) and is now entering hardship (under Roman occupation).

¹⁹¹ *Iniquity* - 'Unrighteous acts or doings, sins; wrongful acts, injuries' (OED, n, b).

¹⁹² The Chorus ultimately decide that the Gods are just and their actions are necessary to cure the 'sins' of Egypt. They are preoccupied with the notion of the cycle of fate and this reversal of fortune leaves the notion that just like Egypt, Rome will suffer a similar fate.

¹⁹³ The use of philosophers was a common feature of 'closet drama.' Like the Chorus, they offer a stoic moral commentary on the events that are unfolding within the play and introduce a number of themes that are recurrent throughout the play. Like the servants (Rodon and Seleucus,) who later betray Cleopatra, the philosopher Philostratus also turns his back on the Egyptian Court. This shows that it is not just the stereotypically lowly and uneducated men that flee when adversity strikes. It is also the supposed learned and intelligent men that also turn their back on their loyalty and follow the privileged. Both Arius and Philostratus are mentioned in Plutarch's account of Antony and were based on historical figures.

¹⁹⁴ Arius was a Roman, stoic philosopher who in Plutarch advised Octavius to kill Caesarion. He was also the teacher of Octavius which explains why the Emperor spared his friend, Philostratus (*Shakespeare's Plutarch*, 1968, 284). Arius is credited with defining 'Arianism.' This was the belief that Jesus was mortal and not divine. Thomas Kyd, who is thought to have links with the Pembroke household (and therefore

[Philostratus] How deeply, Arius, am I bound to thee,
 That saved from death this wretched life of mine,
 Obtaining Caesar's gentle grace for me,¹⁹⁵
 When I of all help else despaired but thine.
 Although I see in such a woeful state, 5
 Life is not that which should be much desired,
 Since all our glories come to end their date,
 Our country's honour, and our own expired,
 Now that the hand of wrath hath overgone us,
 And that we live in the arms of our dead mother, 10
 With blood under our feet, mine upon us,
 And in a land most wretched of all other.
 When yet we reckon life our dearest good,
 And so we live we care not how we live,
 So deep we feel impressèd in our blood 15
 That touch which nature with our breath did give,
 And yet what blasts of words hath learning found
 To blow against the fear of death, and dying,
 What comforts unsick eloquence can sound!
 And yet all fails us in the point of trying. 20
 For whilst we reason with the breath of safety,
 Without the compass of destruction living,
 What precepts show we then, what courage lofty,
 In taxing others' fears, in counsel giving?
 When all this air of sweet contrivèd words 25
 Proves but weak armour to defend the heart,
 For when this ship of life¹⁹⁶ pale terror boards,
 Where are our precepts then, where is our art?
 O who is he that from himself can turn,
 That bears about the body of a man? 30
 Who doth not toil, and labour to adjourn
 The day of death by any means he can?
 All this I speak to the end myself to excuse
 For my base begging of a servile breath,
 Wherein I my profession did abuse, 35
 So shamefully to seek to avoid my death.¹⁹⁷

Mary Sidney,) was arrested in 1593 for possessing 'Arianist' material. This material was deemed to be sacrilegious.

¹⁹⁵ Philostratus in this opening speech is thanking Arius for gaining Octavius' grace for him and thus saving his life. Philostratus is a philosopher aligned to the Egyptian court and Arius is a philosopher aligned to the Roman court. It is possibly Philostratus' allegiance to Egypt that has put his life in danger. There are echoes of *Eclogue* 1 of Virgil. Here two shepherds are in conversation about how their farms have been confiscated by Octavius (to give to the war veterans of Philippi.) One of the shepherds, Tityrus, has been granted favour by a 'god' from Rome that is more than likely Octavius. This is another instance where we can see alleged compassion of Octavius.

¹⁹⁶ Charon - 'mythological ferryman, who ferries the shades across a river' (*The Oxford Dictionary of Classical Myth & Religion*, 109).

¹⁹⁷ Philostratus has gone against his own teachings and has betrayed his own ideals. Philosophy states how you should love life while you have it but you should not fear death when it comes. This is the view Philostratus used to take before he came confronted with his own fate. Now Philostratus has faced death,

Arius Philostratus, that same desire to live
 Possesses all alike, and grieve not then.
 No privilege Philosophy doth give;
 Though we speak more than men, we are but men,¹⁹⁸ 40
 And yet in troth these miseries to see,
 Wherein we stand in most extreme distress,
 Might to ourselves sufficient motives be,
 To loathe this life, [a]nd weigh our death the less,
 For never age could better testify 45
 What feeble footing pride and greatness hath,
 How soon improvident prosperity
 Comes caught, and ruined in the day of wrath.
 See how dismayed confusion keep[s] those streets
 That nought but mirth and music late resounded. 50
 How nothing with our eye but horror meets,
 Our state, our wealth, our glory all confounded.¹⁹⁹
 Yet what weak sight did not discern from far
 This black arising tempest all-confounding?
 Who did not see we should be what we are, 55
 When pride and riot grew to such abounding?²⁰⁰
 When dissolute impiety possessed
 The unrespective minds of prince and people,
 When insolent security found rest
 In wanton thoughts, with lust, and ease made feeble, 60
 Then when unwary peace, with fat fed²⁰¹ pleasure,
 New fresh invented riots still detected,
 Purchased with all the Ptolemies' rich treasure,
 Our laws, our gods, our mysteries neglected,²⁰²
 Who saw not how this confluence of vice, 65
 This inundation²⁰³ of disorders would
 Engulf this state in the end, that no device
 Our utter overwhelming could withhold?
 O thou, and I, have heard, and read, and known

he understands that you will do anything to prolong life, even when the life you live is not worth living. This is in direct opposition to what he used to believe. This is an example of how rational thought and intellect has been overruled by base human instinct and emotion. This is in contrast to Cleopatra, who desires the stoic philosophy of death even though she has the eloquence of the two philosophers.

¹⁹⁸ Arius is saying that even though philosophers possess the eloquence of a person more than a 'man,' in reality they are still just 'men' and feel the same fears as mortals. In the previous scene Octavius describes 'Princes' (i.e. Cleopatra) as being 'more than a man.' This similarity in phrase reflects how the philosophers are mortal because they fear death, where as in contrast Cleopatra will embrace it. This suggests that Cleopatra is 'more than a man' and perhaps Daniel is suggesting upon her death she will enter into the sphere of the immortals.

¹⁹⁹ Arius is describing the desperate state of Egypt. This is highlighting that even though the life they are living should make the threat of death welcoming, both Arius and Philostratus still desire to live.

²⁰⁰ Arius, Philostratus and the rest of Egypt should have seen the ruin of their city coming.

²⁰¹ Another reference to *The Story of Joseph in the Bible*; where Egypt's prosperity is compared to seven 'fat' cattle.

²⁰² The people of Egypt had neglected their Gods and this is the reason why the Gods are punishing them.

²⁰³ *Inundation* - 'The action of inundating; the fact of being inundated with water; an overflow of water; a flood' (OED, n, 1).

Of mighty lands, are woefully encumbered, 70
 And framed by them examples for our own,
 Which now amongst examples must be numbered.²⁰⁴
 For this decree a law from high is given,
 An ancient canon²⁰⁵ of eternal date,
 In consistory²⁰⁶ of the stars of heaven, 75
 Entered the book of unavoided fate,
 That no state can in the height of happiness,
 In the exaltation of their glory stand,
 But thither once arrived, declining less,
 Do wreck themselves, or fall by others' hand. 80
 Thus doth the ever-changing course of things
 Run a perpetual circle ever turning,
 And that same day that highest glory brings,
 Brings us unto the point of back returning.²⁰⁷
 For senseless Sensuality doth ever 85
 Accompany our loose felicity,
 A fatal witch,²⁰⁸ whose charms doth leave us never
 Till we leave all confused with misery.
 When yet ourselves must be the cause we fall,
 Although the same be first decreed on high, 90
 Our error still must bear the blame of all;
 Thus must it be, earth ask not heaven why.
 Yet mighty men,²⁰⁹ with wary jealous hand,
 Strive to cut off all obstacles of fear,²¹⁰
 All whatsoever seems but to withstand 95
 Their least conceit of quiet held so dear.
 And so entrench themselves with blood, with crimes,
 With all injustice, as their fears dispose;
 Yet for all this we see how oftentimes
 The means they work to keep are means to lose. 100
 And sure I cannot see how this can lie

²⁰⁴ Everyone has heard examples of this misfortune happening to other states; they should have spotted the warning signs and saved Egypt from the same fate.

²⁰⁵ *Canon* - 'A rule, law, or decree of the Church; esp. a rule laid down by an ecclesiastical Council' (OED, *n*, 1a).

²⁰⁶ *Consistory* - 'A meeting of councillors, a council: *spec.* that of the Roman Emperors; so, poetically of the Olympian deities' (OED, *n*, 2a).

²⁰⁷ The reversal of fortune and the cycle of fate; Arius is saying the fate of Egypt was predestined by the Gods. Philostratus is of Greek descent and Greece conquered Egypt when Alexander the Great invaded in 332BC. Now Rome is conquering Egypt and the Greeks that live there will now become the oppressed. The victors are now the subjects. Cleopatra was the last in the line of the Ptolemy's; a race of Kings who were descended from the ancestors of Alexander the Great. This means that contrary to popular opinion, Cleopatra was purely of Greek descent. This scene could perhaps be reflecting how differently the two Greeks (Cleopatra and Philostratus) face the prospect of death.

²⁰⁸ Personification of 'Sensuality' as a 'witch,' as Cleopatra is often attributed lustful attributes and because of the links we have seen to Isis and sorcery; the Chorus could be implying that Cleopatra is the lascivious 'witch' that has brought doom upon Egypt.

²⁰⁹ The Chorus are talking generally about all leaders; but is designed in the context to imply Octavius

²¹⁰ The Chorus are again talking generally; but is designed in the context to imply Caesarion and Cleopatra (and in the grander scheme of things, the entire race of the Pharaohs.)

With great Augustus²¹¹ safety and renown,
To extinguish thus the race of Antony
And Cleopatra, to confirm his own.

Philostratus Why must their issue be extinguishèd? 105

Arius It must, Antillus²¹² is already dead.

Philostratus And what Caesarion, sprung of Caesar's blood?

Arius Plurality of Caesars are not good.²¹³

Philostratus Alas, what hurt procures his feeble arm?

Arius Not for it doth, but that it may do harm. 110

Philostratus Then when it offers hurt repress the same.

Arius Men seek to quench a spark before it flame.

Philostratus 'Tis humane an innocent to kill.²¹⁴

Arius Such innocents seldom remain so still.
They think his death will farther tumults cease, 115
Competitors are subjects' miseries.

And to the end to purchase public peace,
Great men are made the people's sacrifice.
But see where Caesar comes himself to try
And work the mind of our distressèd Queen 120
To apprehend some empty hope, whereby
She may be drawn to have her fortunes seen.
Though I think Rome shall never see that face
That quelled her champions blush in base disgrace.²¹⁵

Exeunt.

[ACT III,] Scene ii

[SCENE: Alexandria]

[Enter] Caesar,²¹⁶ Cleopatra, Seleucus [and] Dolabella [below;] [they climb to Cleopatra, above.]

²¹¹ The first time Octavius is referred to as 'Augustus.' This transition marks the passing of time.

²¹² Antillus was the son of Antony by his first wife, Fulvia.

²¹³ Arius is said to have persuaded Octavius to kill Caesarion with the words, 'too many Caesars is not good' (*Shakespeare's Plutarch*, 1968, 285). This is alluding to a line taken from the Greek epic poet, Homer, 'Lordship for many is no good thing' (Homer, *the Iliad*, 204-205).

²¹⁴ Philostratus and Arius are discussing how Octavius wants to kill Caesarion, even though he has done no wrong, so he never has the chance too. To 'extinguish' the threat before it has even become one. This links back to the comment made by Caesarion in Act I, Scene ii, where he says he will lead a collaborated army to march upon 'greedy Rome.' This shows the foresight of Octavius and his desire to lead Rome unchallenged by former rivals.

²¹⁵ Arius leaves the reader wondering whether Cleopatra will or should beg for mercy.

²¹⁶ Here 'Caesar' is in fact 'Octavius' but I have kept it as such as Cleopatra refers to him as 'Caesar' throughout the whole scene. As we saw in the previous scene, Octavius is referred to for the first time as

[Caesar] What Cleopatra, dost thou doubt so much
Of Caesar's mercy, that thou hid'st thy face?
Or think you, your offences can be such,
As they surmount the measure of our grace?

Cleopatra O Caesar, not for that I fly thy sight 5
My soul this sad retire of sorrow chose,
But that my grievèd soul abhorring light
Likes best in darkness my disgrace t'enclose.
And here in those close limits of despair,
This solitary horror where I bide, 10
I thought not ever Roman should repair
More, after him, who here distressèd died.
Yet now here at thy conquering feet I lie, [Cleopatra kneels at the feet of
A captive soul that never thought to bow, Caesar.]
Whose happy foot of rule and majesty 15
Stood late on that same ground thou standest now.

Caesar Rise madam, rise, yourself was cause of all, [Cleopatra rises.]
And yet would all were but your own alone,
That others' ruin had not with your fall
Brought Rome her sorrows, to my triumph's moan; 20
For you dissolved that league and love of blood
Which makes my winning joy a gain unpleasing,²¹⁷
Who cannot now look out into our good,
But through the horror of our own bloodshedding.
And all we must attribute unto you.²¹⁸ 25

Cleopatra To me? What, Caesar, should a woman do,
Oppressed with greatness? What, was it for me
To contradict my Lord, being bent thereto?
I was by love, by fear, by weakness, made
An instrument to every enterprise.²¹⁹ 30
For when the Lord of all the orient bade,
Who but obeyed, who then his help denies?
And how could I withdraw my succouring hand
From him that had my heart, and what was mine?
The interest of my faith in straitest band 35
My love to his most firmly did combine.

'Augustus.' It could be that Daniel reverts back to Caesar in this scene as it is Cleopatra who is addressing Octavius. Cleopatra could be calling him Caesar to show she is giving him respect. It could also be that Daniel finds it easier to implement the name Caesar into his play, as the name only has two syllables as opposed to the three of Augustus.

²¹⁷ Octavius is reiterating how saddened he was by his war with Antony and how even his victory bought him no joy. He was distressed to have a fellow Roman and relation by marriage, perish.

²¹⁸ Octavius is wholly attributing the suffering that has been brought upon himself and Rome to Cleopatra.

²¹⁹ Cleopatra is defending her participation in the war, in part, by the fear she held of Antony.

Caesar	<p>Love? No, alas, it was the innated²²⁰ hatred That you and yours have ever borne our people That made you seek all means to have us scattered, To disunite our strength and make us feeble. 40 And therefore did that breast nurse our dissension,²²¹ With hope to exalt yourself, to augment²²² your state, To prey upon the wrack of our contention, And with the rest our foes to joy thereat.</p>
Cleopatra	<p>How easy, Caesar, is it to accuse 45 Whom fortune hath made faulty by their fall; They who are vanquishèd may not refuse The titles of reproach that are charged withal. The conquering cause hath right, wherein thou art; The overthrown must be the worsèd part. 50 Which part is mine, because I lost my part, No lesser than the portion of a crown, Enough for me. Ah what need I use art To gain by others but to keep mine own? But weaker powers may here see what it is 55 To neighbour great competitors so near: If we take either part we perish thus; If neutral stand, both parties we must fear. Alas what shall the forced partakers do, When they must aid, and yet must perish too? 60 But Caesar since thy right, or cause is such, Weigh not so heavy on calamity, Depress not the afflicted overmuch; Thy chiefest glory is thy lenity. The inheritance of mercy from him take, 65 Of whom thou hast thy fortune, and thy name. Great Caesar me a Queen at first did make, And let not Caesar now confound the same. Read here these lines which still I keep with me, The witness of his love and favours ever, 70 And God forbid it should be said of thee,</p>

²²⁰ *Innated* - 'Existing in a person (or organism) from birth; belonging to the original or essential constitution (of body or mind); inborn, native, natural' (OED, *adj.*1). This is possibly a reference to the Punic Wars of 264-146BC. The Punic Wars were fought between Rome and Carthage (an Ancient country in Africa.) Rome eventually won this long and bloody conflict that arose due to the expansion of Rome into Carthaginian territory. In the *Aeneid* which was written in late 1st century, Virgil suggests that the Punic Wars stemmed from Aeneas abandonment of Dido to found Rome. When Dido discovers Aeneas has betrayed her, she goes mad and commits suicide. Before dying, Dido vows to return as a shade to haunt Aeneas (Virgil, 4.610-629). This could be interpreted as meaning that all the suffering Rome endures is due to Dido. It was thought by the Roman people that the Carthaginian commander Hannibal, who was the first serious threat to Rome, was the incarnation of Dido. It has often been proposed that Cleopatra as well, whose life holds a striking resemblance to Dido, was also another embodiment of the African Queen.

²²¹ *Dissension* - 'Disagreement in opinion; *esp.* such disagreement as produces strife or contention; discord; an instance of this, a violent disagreement or quarrel arising from difference of opinion' (OED, 1).

²²² *Augment* - 'To become greater in size, amount, degree, intensity, etc.; to increase, grow, swell' (OED, v, 2). Cleopatra is being accused of the attempt to conquer Rome with the help of Antony.

	That Caesar ²²³ wronged the favoured of Caesar, ²²⁴ For look what I have been to Antony, Think thou the same I might have been to thee. And here I do present you with the note Of all my treasure, all the jewels rare, Which Egypt hath in many ages got And look what Cleopatra hath is there.	75[<i>Cleopatra hands Octavius a list of all her treasure.</i>]
Seleucus	Nay there is not all set down within that roll; I know something she hath reserved apart.	80
Cleopatra	What? Vile [un]grateful wretch, durst thou control Thy Queen, and Sovereign, caitiff ²²⁵ as thou art? [<i>Cleopatra strikes Seleucus.</i>] ²²⁶	
Caesar	Hold, hold, a poor revenge can work so feeble hands.	
Cleopatra	Ah Caesar, what a great indignity Is this, that here my vassal ²²⁷ subject stands, To accuse me to my Lord of treachery? If I reserved some certain women's toys Alas, it was not for myself, God knows, Poor miserable soul that little joys In trifling ornaments, in outward shows. But what I kept I kept to make my way Unto thy Livia and Octavia's grace, ²²⁸ That thereby in compassion moved, they Might mediate thy favour in my case.	85 90
Caesar	Well Cleopatra, fear not, you shall find What favour you desire or can expect, For Caesar never yet was found but kind To such as yield and can themselves subject. And therefore comfort now your drooping mind, Relieve your heart thus overcharged with care; How well I will entreat ye you shall find, So soon as some affairs dispatchèd are. Till when farewell.	95 100

²²³ Octavius

²²⁴ Julius Caesar

²²⁵ *Caitiff* - 'Expressing contempt, and often involving strong moral disapprobation: A base, mean, despicable 'wretch', a villain. In early use often not separable from sense 2 (esp. when applied by anyone to himself): 'it often implies a mixture of wickedness and misery' (OED, *n.* and *a.*, 3).

²²⁶ The action of Cleopatra striking her servant Seleucus happens in Plutarch as well as in the French tragedy *Cleopatre Captive* by Etienne Jodelle. Daniel makes his Cleopatra less violent than that of Plutarch and Jodelle, which perhaps indicates that he wanted his Cleopatra to be more regal and dignified.

²²⁷ *Vassal* - 'A humble servant or subordinate; one devoted to the service of another' (OED, *n.* and *a.* *b. esp.*).

²²⁸ Cleopatra is saying she kept some of her treasure behind, not for herself, but to give to Livia (wife of Octavius) and Octavia (sister of Octavius and Antony's widow) in an attempt to gain their favour.

Cleopatra	Thanks thrice renownèd Caesar, Poor Cleopatra rests thine own forever. <i>[Exit Cleopatra above.]</i> <i>[Exit Caesar and Dolabella below.]</i>	105
Dolabella	No marvel, Caesar, though our greatest spirits Have to the power of such a charming beauty, Been brought to yield the honour of their merits, Forgetting all respect of other duty, Then whilst the glory of her youth remained The wondering object to each wanton eye Before her full of sweet, with sorrow waned, Came to the period of this misery. If still, even in the midst of grief and horror Such beauty shines through clouds of age and sorrow, ²²⁹ If even those sweet decays seem to plead for her, Which from affliction moving graces borrow: If in calamity she could thus move, What could she do adorned with youth and love? What could she do then when as spreading wide The pomp of beauty in her glory dight, ²³⁰ When armed with wonder she could use beside The engines of her love, Hope, and Delight? Daughter of marvel, Beauty, how dost thou Unto disgracing sorrows give such grace? What power show'st thou in a distressed brow To make affliction fair, and tears to grace? What, can undressèd locks, despoiled hair, A weeping eye, a wailing face be fair? I see then artless feature may content, And that true beauty needs no ornament. ²³¹	110 115 120 125 130
Caesar	What, in passion Dolabella? What? Take heed. Let others' fresh examples ²³² charm this heat; You see what mischiefs these vain humours ²³³ breed, When once they come our judgements to defeat. ²³⁴ Indeed I saw she laboured to impart	135

²²⁹ Dolabella is completely captivated by Cleopatra. This illustrates the compelling nature of her beauty. Even in a time of despair she can still charm and beguile.

²³⁰ *Dight* - 'To clothe, dress, array, deck, adorn' (OED, v. 10).

²³¹ Cleopatra has charmed Dolabella. This is a plot device by Daniel as Dolabella will later write to warn her of Octavius' intentions for her and her children. Even though Cleopatra's looks are wasting, Dolabella can still see her inner beauty shining through. Mary Sidney was anti-cosmetics. Her mother, Mary Dudley was a maid at the Court of Elizabeth I. She had been disfigured by small pox after catching it from the Queen so this reference to how true beauty needs no aid would have appealed to Mary Sidney.

²³² Antony. His obsession with Cleopatra led to his death.

²³³ *Humours* - 'In ancient and medieval physiology, one of the four chief fluids (*cardinal humours*) of the body (blood, phlegm, choler, and melancholy or black choler), by the relative proportions of which a person's physical and mental qualities and disposition were held to be determined' (OED, n, 2b).

²³⁴ Octavius is warning Dolabella to take heed from the other Roman men who have fallen in love with Cleopatra and subsequently perished.

Her sweetest graces in her saddest cheer,
 Presuming on that face that knew the art
 To move, with what respect so ever 'twere.
 But all in vain, she takes her aim amiss, 140
 The ground and mark her level much deceives;
 Time now hath altered all, for neither is
 She as she was, nor we as she conceives,
 And therefore now 'tis fit she were more sage.
 Folly, in youth is sin, madness in age. 145
 And for my part, I seek but t'entertain
 In her, some feeding hope to draw her forth.
 The greatest trophy that my toil shall gain
 Is to bring home a prize of such worth.²³⁵
 And now since she doth seem so well content 150
 To be disposed by us: without more stay,
 She with her children shall to Rome be sent,
 Whilst I by Syria²³⁶ after take my way.

Exeunt.

*CHORUS.*²³⁷

*Opinion, how dost thou molest
 The affected mind of restless man? 155
 Who following thee never can
 Nor ever shall attain to rest,
 For, getting what thou sayest is best,
 Yet lo, that best he finds far wide
 Of what thou promisedst before: 160
 For in the same he looked for more,
 Which proves but small when once 'tis tried;
 Then something else thou findest beside
 To draw him still from thought to thought,
 When in the end all proves but nought.²³⁸ 165
 Farther from rest he finds him then,
 Then at the first when he began.*

*O malcontent²³⁹ seducing guest,
 Contriver of our greatest woes*

²³⁵ Octavius has been lying to Cleopatra. Octavius is going to kill her children and take Cleopatra to Rome.

²³⁶ It is reported in Plutarch that Octavius was planning to march through Syria, and will send for Cleopatra and her children within three days (*Shakespeare's Plutarch*, 1968, 289-290).

²³⁷ Chorus 3 – At this point in the play we do not know whether Cleopatra will chose to live or die. The Chorus are ominously explaining how Opinion affects distressed souls and always make people believe the alternative choice is the best; suggesting that Cleopatra will succumb to the temptation of suicide. The Chorus mentions that those who seek ambition and lust are never satisfied and find only 'destruction, envy, hate' (Rees, 59).

²³⁸ The Chorus are addressing Opinion. They are lamenting how Opinion lives in the future and not in the present; which mean you are left constantly hoping for things that will never be. Your aspirations are all but phantom hopes and dreams.

²³⁹ *Malcontent* - 'A discontented person; (now) *esp.* one who is disaffected or actively discontented, or inclined to resistance or rebellion' (OED, *n* and *adj.* A).

Which born of wind, and fed with shows, 170
Dost nurse thyself in thine unrest,
Judging ungotten things the best,
Or what thou in conceit design 'st,
And all things in the world dost deem,
Not as they are, but as they seem: 175
Which shows, thou ill defin'st,
And liv'st to come, in present pin'st.²⁴⁰
O mind's tormentor, bodies wrack,
Vain promiser of that sweet rest, 180
Which never any yet possessed.

If we unto ambition tend,
Then dost thou draw our weakness on
With vain imagination
Of that which never hath an end. 185
Or if that lust we apprehend.
How doth that pleasant plague infest?
O what strange forms of luxury,
Thou straight dost cast to entice us by!
And tell'st us that is ever best, 190
Which we have never yet possessed.
And that more pleasure rests beside,
In something that we have not tried.
And when the same likewise is had,
Then all is one, and all is bad. 195

This Antony can say is true,
And Cleopatra knows 'tis so,
By the experience of their woe.
She can say she never knew
But that lust found pleasures new, 200
And was never satisfied:
He can say by proof of toil,
Ambition is a vulture vile,
That feeds upon the heart of pride:
And finds no rest when all is tried. 205
For worlds cannot confine the one,
The other lists and bounds hath none.
And both subvert the mind, the state,
Procure²⁴¹ destruction, envy, hate.

And now when all this is proved vain, 210
Yet Opinion leaves not here,
But sticks to Cleopatra near,
Persuading now how she shall gain
Honour by death, and fame attain.

²⁴⁰ *Pinest* - The placement of these three words which all end with "st" is not a coincidence. This is perhaps another language technique Daniel is experimenting with to demonstrate his skill as a writer.

²⁴¹ *Procure* - 'To obtain; to bring about' (OED, v, 1).

And what a shame it were to live, 215
Her kingdom lost, her lover dead.
And so with this persuasion led,
Despair doth such a courage give,
That nought else can her mind relieve,
Nor yet divert her from that thought. 220
To this conclusion all is brought,
This is that rest this vain world lends,
*To end in death, that all things ends.*²⁴²

[ACT IV],²⁴³ **Scene i**

[SCENE: Alexandria]

[Enter] Seleucus [and] Rodon.

[Seleucus] Friend Rodon? Never in a better hour
 Could I have met a friend than now I do,
 Having affliction in the greatest power
 Upon my soul, and none to tell it to.
 For 'tis some ease our sorrows to reveal, 5
 If they to whom we shall impart our woes
 Seem but to feel a part of what we feel,
 And meet us with a sigh but at a close.

Rodon And never friend Seleucus found'st thou one
 That better could bear such a part with thee, 10
 Who by his own knows other's care to moan,
 And can in like accord of grief agree.
 And therefore tell the oppression of thy heart,
 Tell to an ear prepared and tuned to care,
 And I will likewise unto thee impart 15
 As sad a tale as what thou shalt declare.
 So shall we both our mournful plaints combine:
 I will lament thy state, thou pity mine.

Seleucus Well then thou know'st how I have lived in grace
 With Cleopatra, and esteemed in Court 20
 As one of Council, and of worthy place,
 And ever held my credit in that sort,
 Till now, in this late shifting of our state,
 When thinking to have used a mean to climb,
 And fled the wretchèd, flown unto the great, 25
 Following the fortune of the present time,
 I come to be disgraced and ruined clean.
 For having all the secrets of the Queen
 Revealed to Caesar, to have favour won,
 My treachery hath purchased due disgrace, 30
 My falsehood's loathed, and not without great reason,

²⁴² This sombre message of how everything ends is classic Tacitean (stoic) thought. See Introduction, 'Dido, stoicism and lamentation'.

²⁴³ In original text ACT IV was another ACT III.

For Princes though they get, yet in this case,
 They hate the traitor, though they love treason.²⁴⁴
 For how could he imagine I could be
 Entire to him, being false unto mine own? 35
 And false to such a worthy Queen²⁴⁵ as she
 As had me raised, by whom my state was grown.
 He saw 'twas not for zeal to him I bare,
 But for base fear, and mine estate to settle;
 Weakness is false, and faith in cowards rare, 40
 Fear finds out shifts, timidity is subtle.
 And therefore scorned of him, scorned of mine own,
 Hateful to all that look into my state,
 Despised Seleucus now is only grown
 The mark of infamy, that's pointed at.²⁴⁶ 45

Rodon 'Tis much thou sayest, and too much to feel,
 And I do pity and lament thy fall.
 But yet all this which thou dost here reveal,
 Compared with mine, will make thine seem but small,
 Although my fault be in the self-same kind, 50
 Yet in degree far greater, far more hateful.
 Mine sprung of mischief, thine from feeble mind,²⁴⁷
 Mine stained with blood, thou only but ungrateful;
 For Cleopatra did commit to me
 The best and dearest treasure²⁴⁸ of her blood, 55
 Her son Caesarion, with a hope to free
 Him, from the danger wherein Egypt stood.
 And charged my faith that I should safely guide,
 And close to India should convey him hence:²⁴⁹
 Which faith I most unkindly falsified, 60
 And with my faith and conscience did dispense.
 For scarce were we arrived unto the shore,
 But Caesar having knowledge of our way,
 Had sent an agent thither sent before
 To labour me Caesarion to betray, 65

²⁴⁴ Seleucus was a member of Cleopatra's Court (possibly the treasurer.) He betrays her to gain the favour of Octavius as he realises Cleopatra and Egypt are soon to be conquered. His betrayal of Cleopatra, however, does not gain him the respect and mercy of Octavius. Seleucus laments that if you betray your loyalties then do not expect the other side to accept you (although they love the information) as you have already proved yourself a traitor.

²⁴⁵ The repentance of both Seleucus and Rodon towards their former Queen serves to portray Cleopatra in a positive light.

²⁴⁶ Seleucus is lamenting that he has been discovered as a coward. Octavius knew Seleucus revealed Cleopatra's secrets out of fear not loyalty. Like Cleopatra, who guesses the truth of Octavius' intentions, Octavius is also a shrewd judge of character, demonstrating his intelligence. The tension heightens in this scene as we are left to wonder whether it will be Cleopatra or Octavius who will outwit the other.

²⁴⁷ Rodon reveals that he betrayed Cleopatra through 'mischief' and not 'weakness' like Seleucus. This makes Rodon's betrayal of Cleopatra even more contemptible as he did it through choice and not through fear.

²⁴⁸ Seleucus betrays Cleopatra's material 'treasure' and Rodon betrays Cleopatra's true 'jewel,' her son.

²⁴⁹ Cleopatra's devotion to Caesarion again reveals the Queen's maternal side making her a more tragic and sympathetic figure.

Who with rewards and promises so large,
 Assailed me then, that I grew soon content,
 And back again did reconvey my charge,
 Pretending that Octavius for him sent
 To make him king of Egypt presently, 70
 And in their hands have left him now to die.²⁵⁰

Seleucus But how hath Caesar since rewarded thee?

Rodon As he hath thee, and I expect the same
 As Theodorus²⁵¹ had to fall to me.
 And with as great extremity of shame, 75
 For Theodorus when he had betrayed
 The young Antillus son of Antony,
 And at his death from off his neck, conveyed
 A jewel, which being asked, he did deny
 Caesar occasion took to hang him straight. 80
 Such instruments with Princes live not long:
 Though they must use those actors of deceit,
 Yet still their sight seems to upbraid²⁵² their wrong:
 And therefore they must needs this danger run,
 And in the net of their own guile be caught; 85
 They may not live to brag what they have done,
 For what is done is not the Prince's fault.
 But here comes Cleopatra, woeful Queen,
 And our shame will not that we should be seen.

Exeunt.

[Act IV,] Scene ii.

[SCENE: Alexandria]

[Enter] Cleopatra, Charmion, Iras [and] Diomedes [above.]²⁵³
[Cleopatra [is] reading Dolabella's²⁵⁴ letter]

²⁵⁰ Rodon reveals to Seleucus that his betrayal of Cleopatra was by far greater than his. Rodon has sent her son, Caesarion to Octavius, under the pretence that he is about to made King of Egypt.

²⁵¹ Rodon tells how Octavius has also treated him with disdain for his betrayal of Cleopatra. This perhaps shows that Octavian holds the Queen in high regard as he scorns those who have betrayed her. Rodon fears he will suffer the same fate as Theodorus. Theodorus, as we are told by Plutarch, was the tutor of Antillus (the son of Antony and his first wife Fulvia) who betrayed him to Octavius. Theodorus stole a necklace from Antillus and when he denied this theft he was promptly crucified (*Shakespeare's Plutarch*, 1968, 285). Daniel refers to the necklace Theodorus stole as a 'jewel,' which ties in with the connection to treasure in this play but also too Caesarion, (who is being compared to Theodorus,) as he is the 'jewel' of Cleopatra's soul. Theodorus in Daniel's play is hanged which aids the suggestion Daniel is altering Plutarch's account of Theodorus' death to compliment his themes (unless to 'hang' was intended to mean 'hung from a cross').

²⁵² *Upbraid* - 'To bring forward, adduce, or allege (a matter), as a ground for censure or reproach' (OED, v.1.a).

²⁵³ Diomedes is a loyal servant to Cleopatra, in direct contrast to Rodon and Seleucus of the previous scene.

²⁵⁴ In contrast to Diomedes, who is a loyal servant, (and Rodon and Seleucus as they betray Cleopatra) Dolabella is betraying Octavius. This shows how disloyalty can affect both sides. Cleopatra muses about the loyalty of servants. Daniel left the Wilton Circle when they struck on some bad fortune. After the

[Cleopatra] What, hath my face yet power to win a lover?
 Can this torn remnant²⁵⁵ serve to grace me so
 That it can Caesar's secret plots discover
 What he intends with me and mine to do?
 Why then, poor beauty, thou hast done thy last 5
 And best good service thou couldst ever do me,
 For now the time of death revealed thou hast,
 Which in my life didst serve but to undo me.
 Here Dolabella, far forsooth in love,
 Writes now that Caesar means forthwith to send 10
 Both me and mine the air of Rome to prove,
 There his triumphant chariot to attend.
 I thank the man both for his love, and letter;
 The one comes fit to warn me thus before,
 But for the other, I must die his debtor, 15
 For Cleopatra now can love no more.
 Come Diomedes, thou who hast been one
 In all my fortunes, and art still all one,
 Whom the amazing ruin of my fall
 Never deterred to leave calamity, 20
 As did those other smooth state-pleasures all,
 Who followed but my fortune, and not me.
 'Tis thou must do a service for thy Queen,
 Wherein thy loyalty must work her best.
 Thy honest care and duty shall be seen, 25
 Performing this, more than in all the rest.
 Thou must seek out with all thy industry
 Two asps, and convey them close to me.
 I have a work to do with them in hand;
 Enquire not what, for thou shalt soon see what, 30
 If the heavens do not my designs withstand,
 But do the charge, and let me shift for that.

Diomedes I who am sworn of the society
 Of death, and have endured the worst of ill,
 Prepared for all events, must not deny 35
 What you command me, come there what there will.
 And I shall use the aptest skill I may
 To cloak²⁵⁶ my work and long I will not stay.

Wilton circle regained prosperity, Daniel tried to regain the favour of Mary Sidney. It is possible; therefore, that Daniel could be implying himself as the 'bad servant'. It is this letter from Dolabella that allows Cleopatra to realise Octavius will not grant clemency to her children. She has delayed her suicide in case there was a chance for her children to live; however, now she knows there is no hope for them, Cleopatra can finally act on her wish to die.

²⁵⁵ Another reference to Cleopatra's loss of beauty, however, despite her lamentations over the decline of her appearance; her beauty has served her this final and most important assistance. The knowledge of her and her children's fate; all the previous instances of doubt and persuasion in this play, has just been too increase the dramatic tension leading up to this scene of realisation.

²⁵⁶ Diomedes will create a 'disguise' to allow Cleopatra to achieve her final aim. Previously in Act II, Scene ii, Octavius orders Proculeius to keep guard and watch over the Monument to see who Cleopatra confers

Exit [Diomedes below.]

*Cleopatra, [Iras and Charmian leave the Monument, above and exit, below]²⁵⁷
[They go to the forefront of the stage, to the tomb of Antonius.]*

Cleopatra	But having leave I must go take my leave And last farewell of my dead Antony, Whose dearly honoured tomb must here receive [<i>Cleopatra places a sacrifice This sacrifice, the last before I die.</i> O sacred ever memorable stone, Thou hast without my tears, within my flame; ²⁵⁹ Receive the oblation of the woofullest moan That ever yet from sad affliction came. And you dear relics of my Lord and love, Most precious parcels of the worthiest liver, ²⁶¹ O let no impious hand dare to remove You out from hence, but rest you here forever. Let Egypt now give peace unto you dead, Who living, gave you trouble and turmoil; Sleep quiet in this everlasting bed, In foreign land preferred before your soil. And O if that the spirits of men remain After their bodies, and do never die: Then hear thy ghost, thy captive spouse complain, And be attentive to her misery. But if that laboursome mortality Found this sweet error only to confine The curious search of idle vanity, That would the depth of darkness undermine Or else to give a rest unto the thought Of wretched man, with the after-coming joy Of those conceivèd fields, ²⁶² whereon we dote,	40 45 50 55 60 65
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with. This is perhaps why Diomedes will need a disguise to exit and re-gain entrance to the Monument without provoking suspicion.

²⁵⁷ It is unclear in the text whether Cleopatra, Charmian and Iras ever leave the Monument. It is not specified if in this scene, if Antony was still within the Monument, in a tomb, or buried in another location. If Cleopatra does leave the Monument for Antony then this would emphasise her devotion to him as she has not left for any other occasion for fear of capture, however, as Antony's body was hoisted up to Cleopatra in the Monument this gives the impression that Antony never left. This scene is open to the editor/director's interpretation.

²⁵⁸ *Odours* - 'A substance that emits a sweet smell or scent, *esp.* incense, spice, ointment, etc. a perfume' (OED, n, 2).

²⁵⁹ A reference to Dido; see Introduction, 'Dido, stoicism and lamentation'.

²⁶⁰ The detail of Cleopatra carrying 'odours, incense, garlands;' is mentioned later by Titius when he relates to Dolabella the manner in which Cleopatra read his letter.

²⁶¹ *Liver* - 'A person who lives or is alive, a living creature' (OED, n.2. 1a).

²⁶² The 'Elysian Fields' were a very much Greco-Roman concept of the after-life. It was 'a paradise inhabited by the distinguished or (later) the good after their death. The name first appears in Homer's *Odyssey*' (*The Oxford Dictionary of Classical Myth & Religion*, 187). Daniel could make this reference to imply that he knew that Cleopatra was purely of Greek descent or because she is encapsulating Roman values by her impending stoic death. It is ironic, however, as due to the force of the propaganda campaign against the pair, no-one thought of Antony and Cleopatra as the 'innocent' or 'virtuous' pair. Dante,

To pacify the present world's annoy
 Then why do I complain me to the air?
 But 'tis not so, my Antony doth hear:
 His ever living ghost attends my prayer,
 And I do know his hovering spirit is near.²⁶³ 70
 And I will speak and pray, and mourn to thee,
 O pure immortal soul, that deign'st²⁶⁴ to hear:
 I feel thou answer'st my credulity
 With touch of comfort, finding none elsewhere;
 Thou knowst these hands entombed thee here of late, 75
 Free and inforced, which now must servile be,
 Reserved for bands to grace proud Caesar's state,
 Who seek in me to triumph over thee.
 O if in life we could not severed be,
 Shall death divide our bodies now asunder? 80
 Must thine in Egypt, mine in Italy,²⁶⁵
 Be made the monuments of fortune's wonder?
 If any powers be there whereas thou art,
 Since our own country god's²⁶⁶ betray our cause,
 O work they may their gracious help impart, 85
 To save thy woeful wife²⁶⁷ from such disgrace.
 Do not permit she would in triumph show
 The blush of her reproach, joined with thy shame,
 But rather let that hateful tyrant know
 That thou and I had power to avoid the same. 90
 But what do I spend breath and idle wind,
 In vain invoking a conceivèd aid,
 Why do I not myself occasion find,
 To break these bounds, wherein myself am stayed?
 Words are for them that can complain and live, 95
 Whose melting hearts, composed of baser frame,
 Can to their sorrows time and leisure give,
 But Cleopatra must not do the same.
 No Antony, thy love requireth more,
 A lingering death with thee deserves no merit; 100
 I must myself force open wide a door

(writing in the 14th century) condemns both of them to the second layer of Hell reserved for the 'lustful.' 'Elysium' was a term that descended from the Ancients and was later used by Christian writers as an allegory for Paradise; therefore, it could be suggested that Daniel is trying to 'Christianise' his Cleopatra with this reference.

²⁶³ A reference to Dido; see Introduction, 'Dido, stoicism and lamentation'.

²⁶⁴ Stoop

²⁶⁵ If Cleopatra goes to Rome as a captive she will be buried there; and in death Antony and Cleopatra would trade birth place.

²⁶⁶ The *Genius* Gods of Egypt have betrayed her.

²⁶⁷ In a letter by Suetonius, it is said that Cleopatra and Antony were married (*Suetonius*, 83). This marriage, however, was under Egyptian law and therefore null and void in Rome. In Shakespeare, Cleopatra refers to Antony as her 'husband' in part of her final speech before her death. 'Husband, I come.' (*Shakespeare*, 5.2.286). Plutarch also reports that 'he denied not that he kept Cleopatra; but so did he not confess that he had her as his wife' (*Shakespeare's Plutarch*, 1968, 210). Mary Sidney in *Antonie* also emphasises the fact the Cleopatra and Antony were married. It could that Daniel has his Cleopatra refer to herself as Antony's wife, to conform to the ideas of previous works.

To let out life, and to unhouse my spirit.
 These hands must break the prison of my soul,
 To come to thee, there to enjoy like state,
 As doth the long pent solitary fowl,²⁶⁸ 105
 That hath escaped her cage, and found her mate.
 This sacrifice, to sacrifice my life,
 Is that true incense that my love beseems,
 These rites may serve a life-desiring wife, [Cleopatra burns incense
 Who doing them, to have done sufficient deems. and lays 110
 My heart-blood should the purple flowers have been purple flowers on
 Which here upon thy tomb to thee are offered, Antony's grave.]
 No smoke but my last gasp should here been seen,
 And this it had been too, had I been suffered.
 But what have I, save only these bare hands, 115
 And these weak fingers are not iron-pointed,
 They cannot pierce the flesh that them withstands,
 And I of all means else am disappointed.
 But yet I must away, and means seek how
 To come unto thee, and to union us.²⁶⁹ 120
 O death art thou so hard to come by now,
 That we must pray, entreat, and seek thee thus?
 But I will find wherever thou dost lie,
 For who can stay a mind resolved to die?
 And now I come to work the effect indeed, 125
 I never will send more complaints to thee;
 I bring my soul, myself, and that with speed,
 Myself will bring my soul to Antony.
 Come, go my maids, my fortune's sole attenders,
 That minister to misery and sorrow, 130
 Your mistress you unto your freedom renders,
 And will discharge your charge yet ere tomorrow.²⁷⁰

Iras Good madam, if that worthy heart you bear
 Do hold it fit it were a sin in us
 To contradict your will, but yet we fear 135
 The world will censure that your doing thus
 Did issue rather out of your despair
 Than resolution, and thereby you lose
 Much of your glory, which would be more fair
 In suffering, than escaping thus your foes. 140
 For when Pandora²⁷¹ brought the box from heaven

²⁶⁸ See Introduction, 'Divided sympathy (in the imagery of birds).

²⁶⁹ Cleopatra is deciding how to die.

²⁷⁰ Cleopatra has freed her maids from their position as servants.

²⁷¹ The Greek myth of Pandora - Pandora was the first woman on Earth and is known for being 'the cause of all man's woes' (*The Oxford Dictionary of Classical Myth & Religion*, 403). Pandora was instructed not to open the present Zeus had given her (a box.) She was overcome with curiosity and lifted the lid, and as a result unleashed upon the world all of the evils that were stored within. Upon realising what she had done Pandora slammed shut the lid, leaving Hope trapped inside. Hope pleaded with Pandora to be let out and eventually she agreed. With this reference Iras is suggesting that with every bad circumstance there is a good result.

Of all the good and ill that men befall,
 And them immixed unto the world had given,
 Hope in the bottom lay, quite under all.
 To show that we must still unto the last 145
 Attend our fortune, for no doubt there may
 Even at the bottom of afflictions past
 Be found some happier turn if we but stay.²⁷²

Cleopatra Iras, that hope is honour's enemy,
 A traitor unto worth, lies on the ground 150
 In the base bottom of servility:
 The beggar's wealth, a treasure never found,
 The dream of them that wake, a ghost of the air,
 That leads men out of knowledge to their graves,
 A spirit of grosser substance than despair, 155
 And let them Iras hope, that can be slaves.
 And now I am but only to attend
 My man's return, that brings me my dispatch;
 God grant his cunning sort to happy end,
 And that his skill may well beguile my watch. 160
 So shall I shun disgrace, leave to be sorry,
 Fly to my love, scape my foe, free my soul,
 So shall I act the last of life with glory,
 Die like a Queen, and rest without control.

Exeunt.

[ACT IV,] Scene iii

[SCENE: Rhodes]²⁷³

[Enter] Caesarion with a Guard conveying him to execution.

[Caesarion] Now gentle Guard, let me in courtesy
 [R]est me a little here, and ease my bands.
 You shall not need to hold me, for your eye
 May now as well secure you as your hands.

Guard Do, take your ease Caesarion, but not long; [*The Guard loosens* 5
 We have a charge which we must needs perform. *Caesarion's bonds.*]

²⁷² Iras remains hopeful that a positive conclusion will be reached. This again could be designed to show her unintelligence.

²⁷³ Due to the fact that Plutarch reports how Octavius tricked Caesarion into returning home by promising him the Kingdom of Alexandria, (*Shakespeare's Plutarch*, 1968, 285) and the later line 'brought back' implied to me that Caesarion had returned home; to Egypt. In 'The Argument' at the beginning, however, Daniel states that Caesarion was murdered at 'Rhodes' so I have stayed constant to the original location. Rhodes is a Greek island that was under the occupation of Egypt during the reign of Cleopatra's father, Ptolemy I Soter (Grant, 38). Egypt and Rhodes therefore were in alliance and this connection to Egypt and Caesarion's birthplace is perhaps why Daniel chose this location for Caesarion's death. It is also possible that as Rhodes was situated closer to Egypt than his original location, India, that Caesarion had been making his way home to 'revenge the wronged blood of the innocent', as he stated he would in Act I, Scene i. This is made a valid argument due to the fact that in Ancient times, Rhodes was a strong maritime state. It was Rhodes that supplied both Caesar and Antony with ships to fight their battles (Grant, 61).

Caesarion Lo here brought back²⁷⁴ by subtle train²⁷⁵ to death,
 Betrayed by tutor's faith, or traitor's rather,
 My fault my blood, and mine offence my birth,
 For being the son of such a mighty father, 10
 I now am made the oblation²⁷⁶ for his fears,
 Who doubts the poor revenge these hands may do him,
 Respecting neither blood, nor youth, nor years
 Or how small safety can my death be to him.
 And is this all the good of being born great? 15
 Then wretched greatness, golden misery,
 Pompous distress, glittering calamity!
 Is it for this the ambitious fathers sweat
 To purchase blood and death for them and theirs,
 Is this the inheritance that glories get, 20
 To leave the state of ruin to their heirs?
 Then how much better had it been for me,
 From low descent, derived from humble birth,
 To have ate the sweet-sour bread of poverty,
 And drunk of Nilus' streams, in Nilus' earth?²⁷⁷ 25
 Under the covering of some quiet cottage,
 Free from the wrath of heaven, secure in mind,
 Untouched, when proud attempts of princes' dotage
 Embroil the world, and ruinat mankind,
 So had he not impeached their high condition, 30
 Who must have all things clear, and all made plain
 Between them, and the mark of their ambition,
 That nothing let²⁷⁸ the prospect of their reign:
 Where nothing stands, that stands not in submission,
 Whose greatness must all in itself contain. 35
 Kings will alone, competitors must down,
 Near death he stands, who stands too near a crown.
 Such is my case; Augustus will have all,
 My blood must seal the assurance of his state.
 Yet ah weak state, which blood assure him shall, 40
 Whose wrongful shedding gods and men do hate.
 Injustice cannot scape and flourish still;
 Though men do not revenge it, the heavens will,
 And he that thus doth seek with bloody hand
 To extinguish the offspring of another's race 45
 May find the heavens his vows so to withstand
 That others may deprive him in like case,
 When he shall see his proud contentious bed

²⁷⁴ To Alexandria

²⁷⁵ *Train* - 'Treachery, guile, deceit, trickery' (OED, n.2.).

²⁷⁶ *Oblation* - 'That which is offered or presented to God or to a god, esp. the elements of the Eucharist before consecration; (hence) any offering or sacrifice; a sacrificial victim' (OED, n, 2).

²⁷⁷ Caesarion is lamenting how he was 'born great,' (a Prince.) Caesarion wishes he had been born into poverty so he would not have had to endure this suffering created by royal blood.

²⁷⁸ *Let* - 'Hindrance, stoppage, obstruction; also, something that hinders, an impediment' (OED, n.1).

Yielding him none of his that may inherit,
 Subvert his blood, place others in their stead, 50
 To pay this his injustice her due merit.
 If it be true, (as who can that deny
 Which sacred Priests of Memphis²⁷⁹ do foresay?)
 Some of the offspring yet of Antony
 Shall all the rule of this whole Empire sway²⁸⁰ 55
 And then Augustus what is it thou gainest
 By poor Antillus' blood, and this of mine?
 Nothing but this: thy victory thou stainest,
 And pull'st the wrath of heaven on thee and thine.
 In vain doth man contend against the stars, 60
 For what he seeks to make, his wisdom mars.
 But in the meantime, he whom fates reserve
 The bloody sacrifices of ambition,
 We feel the smart, whatever they deserve,
 And we endure the heavy time's condition; 65
 The justice of the heavens, revenging thus,
 Doth only satisfy itself, not us.
 But yet, Caesarion, thou must die content;
 God will revenge, and men bewail the innocent.
 Well now along, I rested have enough, 70
 Perform the charge, my friends, you have to do.

Exeunt.

*CHORUS.*²⁸¹

*Mysterious Egypt, wonder breeder,
 Strict religion's strange observer,
 State-order zeal,²⁸² the best rule-keeper,
 Fostering still in temperate fervour, 75
 O how cam'st thou to lose so wholly
 All religion, law, and order?
 And thus become the most unholy
 Of all lands that Nilus border?
 How could confused Disorder enter 80
 Where stern Law sate so severely?
 How durst weak lust and riot venture,
 The eye of justice looking nearly?
 Could not those means that made thee great
 Be still the means to keep thy state? 85*

²⁷⁹ Ancient Egyptian city

²⁸⁰ Historically Octavius did spare all of Antony's children. Antony's children with Cleopatra were taken to Rome and adopted by Octavia. Antony's daughters with Octavia went on to marry into some of Rome's most illustrious families. As a result of this, in death Antony was to be the ancestors with some of the Emperors of Rome. His youngest daughter, Antonia, was the mother of the Emperor Claudius, grandmother of Caligula and great-grandmother of Nero.

²⁸¹ Chorus 4 – the Chorus are lamenting how Egypt used to be so strict and law-abiding; and now Disorder prevails in the streets and immorality rules. The Chorus blames this loose behaviour on the people in power because the common masses follow the example of their rulers.

²⁸² *Zeal* - 'Ardent, earnest, or eager desire; longing' (OED, n, 3).

*Ah no, the course of things requireth
 Change and alteration ever;
 That staid continuance man desireth,
 The unconstant world yieldeth never.* 90
*We in our councils must be blinded,
 And not see what doth import us,
 And oftentimes the thing least minded
 Is the thing that most must hurt us.
 Yet they that have the stern in guiding,
 'Tis their fault that should prevent it,* 95
*Who when they see their country sliding,
 For their private are contented.
 We imitate the greater powers,
 The Prince's manners fashion ours;*

The example of their light regarding, 100
*Vulgar looseness much incenses;
 Vice uncontrolled grows wide enlarging,
 Kings' small faults be great offences.
 And this hath set the window open
 Unto licence, lust, and riot:* 105
*This wry confusion first found broken,
 Whereby entered our disquiet,
 Those laws that old Sesostris²⁸³ founded,
 And the Ptolemies observed,
 Hereby first came to be confounded* 110
*Which our state so long preserved.
 The wanton luxury of Court
 Did form the people of like sort.*

*For all (respecting private pleasure,) 115
 Universally consenting
 To abuse their time, their treasure,
 In their own delights contenting,
 And future dangers nought respecting,
 Whereby, (O how easy matter
 Made this so general neglecting,* 120
*Confused weaknesses to discatter?)
 Caesar found the effect true tried,
 In his easy entrance making.
 Who at the sight of arms, descried
 All our people, all forsaking.* 125
*For riot (worse than war) so sore
 Had wasted all our strength before.*

*And thus is Egypt servile rendered
 To the insolent destroyer:*

²⁸³ A Legendary King of Ancient Egypt.

And all their sumptuous treasure tendered, 130
All her wealth that did betray her.
Which poison (O if heaven be rightful,)
May so far infect their senses,
That Egypt's pleasures so delightful
May breed them the like offences, 135
And Romans learn our way of weaknesses,
Be instructed in our vices:
That our spoils may spoil your greatness,
Overcome with our devices,
Fill full your hands, and carry home 140
Enough from us to ruin Rome.²⁸⁴

ACT V, Scene i

[SCENE: Rome]

[Enter] Dolabella [and] Titius.

[Dolabella] Come, tell me, Titius, every circumstance
How Cleopatra did receive my news:
Tell every look, each gesture, countenance,
That she did in my letters-reading use.

Titius I shall my Lord, so far as I could note, 5
Or my conceit observe in any wise.
It was the time when as she having got
Leave to her dearest dead to sacrifice,
And now was issuing out the Monument
With odours, incense, garlands in her hand, 10
When I approached (as one from Caesar sent)
And did her close thy message to understand.
She turns her back, and with her takes me in,
Reads in thy lines thy strange unlooked-for tale,
And reads, and smiles, and stares, and doth begin 15
Again to read, then blushed, and then was pale,
And having ended with a sigh, refolds
The letter up; and with a fixèd eye
(Which steadfast her imagination holds)
She mused a while, standing confusedly. 20
At length, "Ah friend," saith she, "Tell thy good Lord
How dear I hold his pitying of my case,
That out of his sweet nature can afford
A miserable woman so much grace,
Tell him how much my heavy soul doth grieve 25
Merciless Caesar should so deal with me,
Pray him that he the best advice would give
That might divert him from such cruelty.

²⁸⁴ The Chorus lament the shame of Egypt, and offer weak excuses for their countries humiliation. Such as, it is the fault of the rulers and that all things have been predefined by the Gods. The Chorus end their speech by hoping that the disease of sin, corruption and greed that infects Egypt will in turn be 'caught' by the Romans; that the conquerors will be contaminated by the conquered.

As for my love, say Antony hath all,
 Say that my heart is gone into the grave 30
 With him, in whom it rests, and ever shall.
 I have it not myself, nor can it have,
 Yet tell him he shall more command of me
 Then any whosoever living can.
 He that so friendly shows himself to be 35
 A worthy Roman and a gentleman.
 Although his nation, fatal unto me,
 Have had mine age a spoil, my youth a prey,
 Yet his affection must accepted be
 That favours one from whom all run away. 40
 Ah, he was worthy then to have been loved
 Of Cleopatra whiles her glory lasted,
 Before she had declining fortune proved,
 Or seen her honour wracked, her flower all blasted.
 Now there is nothing left her but disgrace, 45
 Nothing but her affliction that can move.
 Tell Dolabella, one that's in her case,
 Poor soul, needs rather pity now than love.
 But shortly shall thy Lord hear more of me.”
 And ending so her speech no longer stayed. 50
 But hasted to the tomb of Antony.
 And this was all she did, and all she said.

Dolabella Ah sweet distressed Lady, what hard heart
 Could choose but pity thee and love thee too?
 Thy worthiness, the state wherein thou art, 55
 Requireth both, and both I vow to do:
 And what my powers and prayers may prevail,
 I'll join them both to hinder thy disgrace:
 And even this present day, I will not fail
 To do my best with Caesar in this case. 60

Titius And sir, even now herself hath letters sent;
 I met her messengers as I came hither,
 With some dispatch, as he to Caesar went
 But knowing not what means her sending thither;
 Yet this he told, how Cleopatra late 65
 Was come from sacrifice, how richly clad
 Was served to dinner,²⁸⁵ with most sumptuous state,
 In all the bravest ornaments she had.

²⁸⁵ Cleopatra's last supper - Plutarch reports how Antony and Cleopatra both loved to indulge in both food and drink and often laid out banquets in competition of extravagance; 'The next night, Antonius feasting her contended to pass her in magnificence and fineness; but she overcame him in both' (*The Oxford Dictionary of Classical Myth & Religion*, 1968, 202). The academic Peter Parolin, in his critical essay 'the pleasurable politics of food' (Deats, 213-229) examines how food and drink in Shakespeare are associated with the sinful party and serves to portray that they are leading an immoral and decadent lifestyle. As it is Cleopatra who is about to commit suicide, Daniel perhaps mentions food in this last act to draw on the link of excess with luxuria and demise.

How having dined, she writes and sends away
Him, straight to Caesar , and commanded then, 70
All should depart the tomb, and none to stay
But her two maids, and one poor countryman.²⁸⁶

Dolabella Why then I know she sends to have audience now
And means to experience what her state can do,
To see if majesty will make him bow 75
To what affliction could not move him to.
And now if that she could but bring a view
Of that rare beauty she in youth possessed,
The argument wherewith she overthrew
The wit of Julius Caesar²⁸⁷ and the rest, 80
Then happily Augustus might relent,
Whilst powerful love, far stronger than ambition,
Might work in him a mind to be content
To grant her asking in the best condition.
But being as she is, yet doth she merit 85
To be respected for what she hath been:
The wonder of her kind of powerful spirit,
A glorious Lady, and a mighty Queen,
And now but by a little weakness falling
To do that which perhaps she was forced to do. 90
Alas, an error past is past recalling;
Take away weakness, and take women too.
But now I go to be thy advocate,
Sweet Cleopatra , now I'll use my heart;
Thy presence will me greatly animate, 95
Thy face will teach my tongue, thy love my heart.

[*Exeunt.*]

[ACT V,] Scene ii

[SCENE: Alexandria]

[*Enter*] Cleopatra [*in her royal costume and crown,*] Iras [*and*] Charmian [*above.*]

[**Cleopatra**] Now Iras; come, what news hast thou looked out,
Is Diomedes coming yet or not?

Iras Madam, I have from off the turret top

²⁸⁶ Cleopatra sends letters to Octavius, requesting that her final wish is to be buried beside Antony. She then dispatches all her attendants besides a few.

²⁸⁷ Plutarch emphasises how it was her charm and intelligence rather than her physical beauty that captivated both Julius Caesar and Antony. It was reported in Plutarch that Cleopatra charmed Julius Caesar by rolling herself up into a rug as a ruse to smuggle herself into his camp to speak with him. He was so impressed by her ingenuity and later from talking to her by her wit that he was at once captivated. 'This was the first occasion, as it is reported, that made Caesar to love her. But afterwards, when he saw her sweet conversation and pleasant entertainment, he fell then in further liking with her' (*Shakespeare's Plutarch*, 1968, 70). It was not just Julius Caesar that was enthralled with Cleopatra's beguiling charms but Antony also, Plutarch reports in the *Life of Marcus Antony*, 'so sweet was her company...the good grace she had to talk and discourse...her voice and words were marvellous pleasant' (*Shakespeare's Plutarch*, 1968, 203).

	Viewed every way; he is not coming yet.	
Cleopatra	Didst thou see no man tending hitherward?	5
Iras	None truly madam, but one countryman Carrying a basket as I could discern.	
Cleopatra	Alas then Iras I do fear the event Of my design, ²⁸⁸ for sure he would not stay Thus long I know, did not some force prevent His forward faith, and hold him by the way.	10
Charmian	Madam, there may be many hindrances To countercheck and interrupt his speed. He hath a wary work to do in this; He must take time.	15
Cleopatra	Charmian, 'tis true indeed. And yet in all this time methinks he might Effected have his work, had all gone right.	
Iras	Alas we ever think the stay is more, When our desire is run to our wish before.	20
Cleopatra	Iras, I know my will to have it done Rides post, and fear in doing to be undone Puts spurs thereto, whilst that for which we long Creeps but a foot. Yet sure he stays too long. Good Iras, go and look out once again, Yet stay a while, I know it is in vain. O Gods, I crave no other fortune, I, Of heaven and you, but only luck to die, And shall I not have that? Well, I will yet Write my dispatch to Caesar, and when that Is done, I will dispatch myself, what way So ever, I must use no more delay.	25 30

Enter the Guard with Diomedes [below.] [Diomedes is in the guise²⁸⁹ of a countryman.]

Guard	And whither now sir, stay, what have you there?	
Diomedes	Good sirs, I have a simple present here, Which I would fain deliver to our Queen.	35
Guard	What is it? Let me see.	

²⁸⁸ As a result of all the traitors we have seen over the course of the play, we wonder whether Diomedes will reveal himself to be loyal or not.

²⁸⁹ As we see throughout the play, the theme of 'appearance' and 'disguise' is a significant one. It is interesting to note that Diomedes, a loyal servant to Cleopatra, is the only character to physically manifest this theme.

Diomedes And please you, sirs, it is *[Diomedes opens the basket so the Guard can look inside.]*
 Only a few choice figs which I have grown
 In mine own garden, and are soonest ripe
 Of any here about, and every year 40
 I use to bring a few unto our Queen.
 And pray my masters take a taste of them
 For I assure you they are very good.

Guard No, no, my friend, go on, and bear them in.

[Diomedes enters the Monument below, and climbs to Cleopatra, above.]

Cleopatra Now Iras, look if he be coming yet. 45
 See here he comes, this is that countryman
 Which Iras thou descri'dst; O happy man
 Can such poor rogues beguile a Prince's power?
 Why then I see it is our outsides most
 Do mock the world. But tell me, are they here? 50
 Speak, Diomedes.

Diomedes Madam, they are there.

Cleopatra O good-ill luck, most fortunate distress,
 Dear Diomedes, thou hast blest me now,
 And here, go take these letters, and dismask
 Thyself again, return to thine own shape, 55
 Good Diomedes, and give Caesar these. *[Cleopatra hands Diomedes the letters she has written to Caesar and Diomedes takes off his disguise.]*
 Go, leave me here alone, I need no more;
 I have but these to keep a death in store.
 I will not use their help till needs I must,
 (And that is now), go, Diomedes, go. 60

Diomedes Good madam, I know well this furniture
 Of death is far more requisite than that
 Of life, where such as you cannot endure
 To be beneath yourselves, debased in state.
 I go to effect your will as well in this 65
 As I have done in that; only pray
 Our tutelary gods to give success
 Unto the same, and be it what it may.

[Diomedes exits above, and leaves the Monument, below.]

Cleopatra Come rarest beast that all our Egypt breeds, *[Cleopatra is holding the basket that contains the asp.]*
 How dearly welcome art thou now to me? 70
 The fairest creature that fair Nilus feeds
 Methinks 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 sleep our soul enlargest, 75
 Making ourselves not privy to our death.
 O welcome now, of wonders wonder chief,
 That open canst with such an easy key
 The door of life, come gentle cunning thief,
 That from ourselves so steal'st ourselves away 80
 And now I sacrifice these arms to death, [*Cleopatra picks up the asp and*
 That lust late dedicated to delights, *holds out her arms for the snake*
 Offering up for my last, this last of breath, *to bite.*]
 The complement of my love's dearest rites.
 What now, false flesh, what? And wilt thou conspire [*Cleopatra* 85
 With Caesar too, as thou wert none of ours, *is trembling.*]
 To work my shame, and hinder my desire,
 And bend thy ribald²⁹⁰ parts against my powers?
 Wouldst thou retain in closure of thy veins
 That enemy, base life, to le[t] my good? 90
 No, know, there is a greater power constrains
 Than can be counterchecked with fearful blood,
 For to a mind that's great nothing seems great
 And seeing death to be the last of woes,
 And life-lasting disgrace which I shall get, 100
 What do I lose that have but life to lose?
 [*Cleopatra is bitten by the asp.*]

Iras See, not a yielding shrink, or touch of fear
 Consents now to bewray least sense of pain,
 But still in one same sweet unaltered cheer,
 Her honour doth her dying spirits retain. 105

Cleopatra Well now this work of mine is done, here ends
 This act of life, that part the fates assigned.
 What glory or disgrace this world could lend,
 Both have I had, and both I leave behind,
 And Egypt, now the theatre where I 110
 Have acted this, witness I die unforced,
 Witness my soul parts free to Antony,
 And now proud tyrant Caesar do thy worst.

[*Cleopatra dies and falls to the ground. Her crown, along with a vial of poison she kept hidden in her hair, falls from her head.*]²⁹¹

²⁹⁰ *Ribald* - 'A promiscuous or loose woman; a wanton, a harlot' (OED, *n* and *adj.* 4).

²⁹¹ There is no mention of where Iras and Charmian get the poison that Daniel later implies they drink in the play. It could be that Daniel is speaking metaphorically and that their bodies 'drank' the poison of the asp. This would be similar to how Horace describes Cleopatra who 'let her body drink their (the asps) black poison' (Horace, 1.37.27-28). Shakespeare has his Iras and Charmian die from an asp bite; however, Shakespeare unlike Daniel mentions their method of death in his stage directions. I have decided that Daniel meant for Iras and Charmian to literally 'drink poison;' however, where they got this poison from is up for debate. Plutarch reported that Cleopatra 'had hidden poison in a hollow razor which she carried in the hair of her head' (*Shakespeare's Plutarch*, 1968, 293). Due to the many other similarities to Plutarch's account I have decided to follow this version of events in my edition. I also toyed with the idea that 'drink a death to thee' meant that Iras in fact is toasting Charmian and their death with wine, similar

Iras Come Charmian, come, we must not only be
Spectators in this scene, but actors too. 115
Now comes our part, you know we did agree [Charmian picks up the
The fellowship of death to undergo. vial of poison.]
And though our meaner fortunes cannot claim
A glory by this act, they shall have fame.

Charmian Iras, I am prepared,²⁹² and here is that 120
Will do the deed. [Charmian holds the vial of
poison forward for Iras to see.]

Iras And here is of the same.²⁹³

Charmian But Iras I'll begin, it is my place.

Iras Nay Charmian, here I drink a death to thee.
I must be first. 125

[Iras takes the vial of poison from Charmian; Iras drinks the poison and dies.]

Charmian Indeed thou hast prevented me.
Yet will I have this honour to be last
Which shall adorn this head, which must be seen
To wear that crown in death, her life held fast,
That all the world may see she died a Queen. [Charmian places 130
O see this face, the wonder of her life the crown back on the
Retains in death a grace that graces death. head of Cleopatra.]²⁹⁴
Colour so lively, cheer so lovely rife
As none would think this beauty could want breath.²⁹⁵
And in this cheer the impression o[f] a smile 135
Doth seem to show she scorns both death and Caesar,
And glories that she could them so beguile,
And here tells death, how well her death doth please her. [Charmian
[Enter Octavius' Messengers below, they re-enter above.] takes the poison
from Iras and drinks
it herself.] 140

Octavius' See, we are come too late, this is dispatched,
Messengers Caesar is disappointed of this grace.
Why how now Charmian, what, is this well done?

to how Antony calls for wine to 'end his breath' in Act I, Scene ii, and also dies by an asp bite. I rejected this theory, however, due to the lack of evidence in Plutarch.

²⁹² Here Iras and Charmian reveal their true loyalty by following their mistress to the grave.

²⁹³ 'Here is of the same' is ambiguous. It could mean that Iras is of the same mind as Charmian in her determination to die or it could be that Iras is also holding a vial of poison. Due to the lack of stage direction, however, by Daniel and because of the interpretation I have taken

²⁹⁴ By adorning the corpse of Cleopatra in her royal crown, Charmian serves to highlight the poignancy of Cleopatra's death, as it reminds the reader that the deceased is a Queen.

²⁹⁵ Another reference to her captivating looks. This evokes images of Shakespeare's Cleopatra; after her death Octavius remarks how she 'looks like sleep, As if she would catch another Antony' (Shakespeare, 5.2.345-346). This line demonstrates how even in death the Queen is a sight to behold and leaves a poignant feeling of waste in the reader.

Charmian Yea very well, and she that from the race
Of so great kings descends doth best become.²⁹⁶

[*Charmian dies.*]

[*Exeunt.*]

*CHORUS.*²⁹⁷

*Then thus we have beheld
The accomplishment of woes 145
The full of ruin and
The worst of worst of ills,
And see[n] all hope expelled
That ever sweet repose
Shall repossess the land 150
That desolation fills,
And where ambition spills
With uncontrolled hand,
All the issue of all those
That so long rule have held, 155
To make us no more us,
But clean confound us thus.*

*And canst, O Nilus, thou,
Father of floods, endure
That yellow Tiber should 160
With sandy streams rule thee?
Wilt thou be pleased to bow
To him those feet so pure,
Whose unknown head we hold
A power divine to be? 165
Thou that didst ever see
Thy free banks uncontrolled,
Live under thine own care;
Ah wilt thou bear it now?
And now wilt yield thy streams 170
A prey to other realms?*

*Draw back thy waters' flow
To thy concealèd head,
Rocks strangle up thy waves,*

²⁹⁶ Another reference to the divine right of kings; Charmian with her last words reminds the reader that Cleopatra was a pure royal blood. It leaves a sour taste in the mouth as one comprehends how this line of Kings has been utterly destroyed by Octavius.

²⁹⁷ Chorus 4 - In this final lament of the Chorus, we get the distinct impression of their lost identity. It is obvious to the Chorus that they have been defeated and that their country will now be occupied by the conquering Romans. The Chorus are left to wonder who they will be now, Egyptian or Roman. This theme is also found in Virgil's *Aeneid*; upon the defeat of Troy by the Greeks, the Trojans, (who will eventually become the Romans) are left searching for a new identity. Virgil names this chapter, 'Fuimus Troes.' 'We used to be Romans' (Virgil, 2).

<i>Stop cataracts²⁹⁸ thy fall.</i>	175
<i>And turn thy courses so, That sandy deserts dead, The world of dust that craves To swallow thee up all, Nay drink so much as shall</i>	180
<i>Revive from vasty graves A living green which spread Far flourishing, may grow On that wide face of death, Where nothing now draws breath,</i>	185
<i>Fatten some people there,²⁹⁹ Even as thou us hast done, With plenty's wanton store, And feeble luxury: And them as us prepare</i>	190
<i>Fit for the day of moan Respected not before. Leave³⁰⁰ levelled Egypt dry, A barren prey to lie, Wasted for evermore</i>	195
<i>Of plenty's yielding, none To recompense the care Of victors' greedy lust, And bring forth nought but dust.</i>	
<i>And so O leave to be,</i>	200
<i>Sith thou art what thou art, Let not our race possess The inheritance of shame, The fee of sin that we Have left them for their part,</i>	205
<i>The yoke of whose distress Must still upbraid our blame, Telling from whom it came; Our weight of wantonness Lies heavy on their heart,</i>	210
<i>Who never more shall see The glory of that worth They left who brought us forth.</i>	
<i>O thou all-seeing light, High president of heaven, You magistrates the stars</i>	215

²⁹⁸ *Cataracts* - 'A waterfall; properly one of considerable size, and falling headlong over a precipice' (OED, n. 2a).

²⁹⁹ Another reference to *The Story of Joseph in the Bible*; where Egypt's prosperity is compared to seven 'fat' cattle.

³⁰⁰ *Reave* - 'To commit robbery; to plunder, pillage; to make raids' (OED, v, 1).

*Of that eternal Court
Of Providence of right
Are these the bounds you have given?
The untrespassable bars, 220
That limit pride so short.
Is greatness of this sort,
That greatness greatness mars,
And wracks itself, self driven
On rocks of her own might? 225
Doth order order so
Disorder's overthrow?³⁰¹*

Back matter

FINIS.

³⁰¹ Daniel leaves the finale of his play on a question. He has used rhetorical questions throughout his play as a theatrical technique but why he chooses to leaving the ultimate line of his play as such is up for debate. There is no example of this in the Greek and Roman tragedies and it was not a Renaissance practice either; so it could be that Daniel is adding his own twist to this highly structured play. This peculiar choice of ending, however, results in the culmination of the play feeling a little flat. As if there is no conclusion. This, however, could be the point. As it is the Chorus, a group of Egyptians, who are unsure about the future; Daniel is perhaps reflecting their hesitant and uncertain future under Roman occupation.