

An Edition of *The Tragedie of Cleopatra*, by
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Annotations to the Text

THE TRAGEDIE of *Cleopatra*: Title Page

The appearance of the title page of the 1601 edition of *Cleopatra* has a stark simplicity; it comprises a printer's ornament, which is reused above the list of 'Actors', the play title and a motto. Daniel's play is entitled briefly and simply as was the Countess of Pembroke's translation of Garnier's work, which, when first printed in 1592, was given the title of *Antonius, A Tragedie*. Unlike Thomas Kyd who also translated Garnier, neither has used the title to describe the content of their play. Although the title page of the first print run of Kyd's translation of Garnier's *Cornélie* briefly stated *Cornelia* followed by the printer's details and date, 1594, this was elaborated the following year to: *Pompey the Great, his faire Corneiliaes tragedie: Effected by her Father and Husbandes down-cast, death and fortune*. The page also included details of author, translator and printer making it doubly useful, as both title page and advertising material. For *Cleopatra* and *Antonie* the outer title pages showed more restraint, but each included the name of the author and for *Antonie* that of the translator.

Ætas prima canat veneres postrema tumultus (Propertius, *Elegies*, Book 3,10,7): 'Let youth sing of love, and the last age of conflicts'; a tag apposite to the trajectory of Daniel's career, moving from sonnets through to histories. Daniel attached this phrase to many of his works, both on an outer title page and on inner ones; it occurs no less than three times in *The poetical essayes of Sam. Danyel* (London, 1599). Thomas Freeman seized upon Daniel's use of the phrase, in particular its appearance on the frontispiece of the *Civile Wars* (London, 1609), to pen an epigram:

Ad Sam. Danielem, ut civile bellum perficiat

I see not (*Daniel*) why thou should'st disdain,
If I vouchsafe thy name amongst my mirth;
Thy *Ætas prima* was a merry vaine,
Though later Muse tumultuous in her birth:
Know, here I praise thee as thou wast in youth;
Venereous, not mutinous as now;
Thy infancie I love, admire thy growth,
And wonder to what excellence 'twill grow:
 When thou shalt end the broils thou hast begun,
 Which none shall do if thou shalt leave undone.

Epigram 69, Thomas Freeman, *Rubbe, and a great cast Epigrams* (London, 1614), sig. [I4^r].

Dedication

Ornament: Reused above the title at ACTUS PRIMUS.

4 **LOe:** L is within a small decorative block.

4, 11 **LOe heere ... To sing of state, and tragicke notes to frame.:** The layers of allusion here reach from Daniel's Latin motto 'Ætas prima canat ...' through the opening line of Edmund Spenser's *The faerie queene* (London, 1590), 'Lo I the man, whose Muse ...' to the First Book of Virgil's *Aeneid*, 'I sing of arms and the man'. Jackson Knight's translation of the *Aeneid* gives the phrase as 'This is a tale of arms and of a man' (p. 27).

4 **labour:** The link of 'labour' with 'impose' implies Daniel was constrained to write the tragedy.

5 **Whose influence did:** Daniel moved away from Wilton in the mid 1590s.

5 **Muse:** A concise allusion to the Countess as both a source of poetic inspiration and also a skilful versifier in her own right.

6 **starre of wonder:** Possible inspiration for words of a nineteenth-century carol, but Daniel's link is to the pole star, which would 'guide their travels'.

9 **from whence these motions came:** Cf. Ded. n. 4.

11–13 **sing, notes, song, musique:** Poems were commonly described as songs. Cf. Ded. l. 4. 31,33. Daniel used 'Carmen amat, quisquis carmine digna gerit', on the frontispiece of *Certaine small poems* (London, 1605). The phrase is from Claudian, *De Consulatu Stilichonis Liber Tertius*, Praefatio XXIII, l. 6, translated by M. Platnauer as 'he loves song, whose exploits deserve the meed of song',

14 **DELIA:** Daniel's successful sonnet sequence, which he dedicated to the Countess in 1592, see pp. 14-8.

17 **Antony:** The Countess translated Garnier's tragedy *Marc Antoine*, see pp. 82-4.

19 **Requir'd his Cleopatras company:** Daniel has a dual problem, making 'his' Cleopatra appropriate for Antony and to fit the Countess's concept as embodied in *Antonius*, see p. 84.

20 **appeere in Act:** Reminder that *Cleopatra* is a play, a tragedy.

24 **embased cleene:** Completely humbled.

25 **sweete cheerefulnes:** There is no hint here of any constraint between Daniel and the Countess. Rees and others speculate on the reason for Daniel's departure from Wilton, see p. 22.

29 **vaine:** Vein, intention or poetic mode.

36 **Pennes (like Speares) are charg'd:** Required, in this case to write.

37 **North**: Figurative: from the perspective of Italian Renaissance writers the ‘North’ was the ‘other’. In setting up a North / South opposition, Daniel allies England with the culture of the South, with that of classical civilisation, whilst maintaining English merit.

37–8 **North, Barbarisme**: In a verse addressed to ‘Syr Edward Dymock’ which prefaced Battista Guarini’s *Il pastor fido* (London, 1602), Daniel again uses these images and speaks of Guarini: ‘Though I remember he hath oft imbas’d | Unto us both, the vertues of the North | Saying, our costs were with no measures grac’d | Nor barbarous tongues could any verse bring forth’ (sig. [A1^v]).

39 **valiant brothers**: Evoking the Countess’s brothers, Sir Philip Sidney noted for both his military exploits and his literary accomplishments and Robert Sidney, soldier, statesman and minor poet.

41 **the rest**: Sir Philip Sidney’s *The Defense of Poesy* (c. 1580) and his other writings had stimulated an interest in the use of the English language for verse amongst his contemporaries and emulators, amongst whom Daniel places himself.

48 **uninersall [universall]**: Printed as ‘vninerfall’. Interpretation from earlier or later versions not possible, as the 1594 line reads ‘And makes of all our honors but a pray’; the dedication is omitted in 1605 and rewritten in 1607.

51 **Then though I die, I cannot yet die all**: There is an echo here of Horace’s line ‘Non omnis moriar’ [I shall not completely die]. Horace, *Odes*, Book III, Ode 30, Quincti Horatii Flacci *Poemata* (London, 1592), sig. Hiiiij^r.

56 **Bulwarke frame**: Create a barrier, the military connotations of bulwarke chime with Ded. l. 36. Frame, used here as a verb, implies construct, however it is a word which Daniel uses frequently in the context of a literary creation, see p. 77 and p. 105.

60 **Hymnes**: The Countess completed a translation of the psalms, begun in conjunction with her brother, Philip, using a great variety of metrical forms.

61 **Israels Singer**: David. Daniel, unlike the Countess and her brother, did not write or translate any religious works.

65 **Sion**: Mount Sion, alternative name for Mount Hermon, or sacred mountain.

66 **bereaven**: Bereaved; Daniel also used this form in ‘An Ode’, ‘My field of flowers quite be-reaven’, *Delia, Containing certaine Sonnets: with the complaint of Rosamond* (London, 1592), sig. H2^r.

66–7 **And till confusion ... Temples ruined**: Although Daniel is referring to some distant time when ‘*Wilton* lies low levell’d’ there seems to be a connotation with the religious

turmoil of the Reformation period when many religious buildings and artefacts were destroyed.

67 **Temples**: Poetic, churches or abbeys.

69 **Wilton**: Wilton House, the country estate of the Pembroke family where Daniel was employed for some years.

74 **monument**: Daniel's choice of word provides a link between Wilton, the literary works created there by the Countess and others including Daniel and this work in which Cleopatra's 'monument' has both physical and incorporeal significance. Daniel's choice of word also carries the connotation that his own creation, *Cleopatra*, has lasting significance. Cf. Arg. 2n., see p. 71.

75 **eternall Brasse**: Memorial plate, imperishable.

76 **O that the Ocean did not bound our style**: There is a tension between the 'boundless expanse' of a figurative ocean and the 'bound' or constraint on English verse. imposed by deference to classical or continental models (*OED* 'ocean', n., 3a).

76–80 **O that the Ocean ... declined Italie**: Daniel conflates the geographical separation of England from Europe with differences in literary style and a restriction on the spread of English verse. His *Defence of Ryme* (1603) advocates the use of rhyming methods best suited to the English language, see p.77-8.

78, 81–3 **melodie, Musike, songs, notes**: Cf. Ded. 11n.

79 **Tyber, Arne, and Po**: Italian rivers: Tiber, Arno and Po signify the country and its culture.

79 **Po**: Virgil's *Eclogues* celebrate the link between man and the countryside, in particular the poet's birthplace in the Po region. Petrarch's sonnets carry many references to the rivers of his country, especially the Po. Daniel is placing his verse within both a cultural and geographic context.

80 **Thames**: Similarly signifies England and English accomplishments. Daniel also uses Thames to stand for London or the Court. Sonnet XLVIII of the *Delia* sequence places Delia as living by the Avon: 'But *Avon* rich in fame, though poore in waters, | Shall have my song, where Delia have her seate. | *Avon* shall be my Thames, and she my song'. *Delia*, (sig. [G4^v]).

84–91 **O why may not some after-comming hand ... all admire and honour us**: Daniel envisages a future poet (perhaps himself) breaking free from the constraint of tradition.

85 **Unlocke these limites, open our confines**: Cf. l. 266.

88 **Planting our roses on the Apenines**: Roses are the quintessential English flower, the Tudor emblem. The Apennine ridge of mountains runs the length of the Italian peninsula: as before, a geographical feature epitomises country and culture.

89 **Rheyne, Loyre, Rhodanus**: The rivers Rhine, Loire and Rhone, all major European rivers, signify Europe, or more specifically France and Germany. The significance of rivers as identifiers of regions and of cultures in the Renaissance period is graphically illustrated by Michael Drayton, a contemporary of Daniel, in *Poly-Olbion* (London, 1612).

89 **Rhodanus**: The river features in Petrarch's poetry.

89–90 **teach ... our accents**: Learn from our verse and rhyme making skill.

92 **Sydney and our Spenser**: Sir Philip Sidney (1554–86) and Edmund Spenser (1552–99) were the two most notable poets of the late Elizabethan period.

93 **Po-singers**: Poets of Italy.

96–99 **great Elizaes raigne**: Elizabeth's reign was drawing to a close; it was always wise to express admiration for her and attribute to her everything good which occurred during her reign.

101 **Neptune**: Roman sea god.

101–2 **locke up**: Here the physical separation of England is to the disadvantage of the continent, cf. Ded. 76n.

107 **Strange**: *OED* 'strange', adj., 1a, 'foreign'.

107 **disesteeme**: *OED* 'disesteeme', v. 1.a. 'to regard with the reverse of esteem'; ll. 106–7 which appear first in *Cleopatra* (1594) are quoted in the *OED* as the earliest record of the word.

109 **compasse**: *OED* 'compass', n. I.2, 'limit'.

109 **injoynd**: Constrained.

110–1 **Alas ... find**: Example of sprezzatura.

112 **Madam**: He is directly addressing the Countess here.

113 **That yet I shal be read**: Daniel was not the only poet to claim the imperishable nature of his verse; Shakespeare in Sonnet 55 wrote: 'Nor marble, nor the gilded monuments | of princes, shall out-live this powrefull rime', *Shake-speares Sonnets*, sig. [D4^r].

Argument



The Argument: In printed plays, the argument is a substitute for a spoken prologue; in historically based works it summarises both context and plot. The Argument of the Countess's translation, *Antonius*, begins 'After the overthrow of Brutus and Cassius...'; Samuel Brandon's *The tragicomedi of the vertuous Octavia* follows the same style: 'After the death of Julius Caesar ...'. There is an assumption of a basic knowledge of the history of classical civilisations.

2 **A:** Within a large ornamental compartment, see above. Illustration reproduced by kind permission of the National Trust.

2 **Antonius:** The formal use of Antonius in the Argument contrasts with Antonie, Anthonie or Antony in the body of the play. Daniel may be emphasising the historical credentials of his work by using the Latin form. However, he does not credit Plutarch, despite many instances (see p. 123–34) of close correlation between his wording and that in North's translation, whereas the Countess ends her 'Argument' with 'The Historie to be read at large in *Plutarch* in the life of *Antonius*' [sig. F1^v].

2 **Monument:** Plutarch mentions the 'many sumptuous tombes and monumentes' Cleopatra had caused to be built, Plutarch, p. 1005. All references to Plutarch can be found in Appendix A.

2 **Monument:** cf. Ded. 74n.

4 **Octavius Caesar:** Formal usage; 'Caesar' used alone would signify his position as a representative of Roman might and a reminder of his relationship to Julius Caesar, whereas 'Octavius' or 'Octavian' on its own implies a more informal situation.

4 **labored:** *OED* 'labored', v., 2b. 'To bring into a specified condition or position by labour or exertion', cf. R. Crowley, *Way to Wealth* (London, 1550), 'Loke if thou have not laboured him oute of his house or ground' (sig. Av^v).

6 **Ornament:** Possibly coincidentally, 'Ornament' is printed immediately below the large ornate 'A' shown above (sig. Fii^r).

6 **Triumphes**: A victorious Roman commander could be granted by the Senate the privilege to enter Rome with his army and spoils, normally not permitted in case of an insurrection or a coup d'état. Daniel's readers may well have seen or heard of Queen Elizabeth's 'progresses' around the country, a similar display of wealth and importance.

6–7 **but never ... Proculeius**: A close correspondence to 'never put her selfe into *Proculeius* hands', Plutarch, p. 1007.

9–10 **yeelde ... mercie**: The implication here is of individual submission, acknowledging defeat and Rome's supremacy. Egypt itself was already under Roman control.

11 **Octavius**: The use of his personal name denotes a private action not an official one.

12–3 **laying all ... Antonius**: 'Cleopatra began to cleere and excuse her selfe ... laying all to the feare she had of *Antonius*', Plutarch, p. 1008.

13 **willing to be disposed of**: Cleopatra appeared to acquiesce to Octavian's plans for her.

17 **certified** : Having given her certainty of Caesar's intentions. 'Dolabella ... sent her word secretly ... that within three dayes he would sende her away', Plutarch, p. 1009.

22 **habite**: Clothing, appearance.

24 **Aspickes**: Poetic, 'asps'.

25, 29 **dispatched**: Two distinct usages, *OED* 'dispatch', v. I.1a 'sent': *OED* 'dispatch', v. I.4b 'to dispatch out of life'.

32 **trained**: Lured.

33 **Ptolomies**: Rulers of Egypt following the death of Alexander the Great in the fourth century BC.

An otherwise blank page follows the Argument with sig. Diiij, see Textual note p.145.

Scene and Actors

The Sceæne supposed Alexandria: A classical Senecan play would have only one place of action. Daniel has given himself a certain amount of freedom in denoting Alexandria as the locus, which permits action to occur both inside and outside the monument - though always in its vicinity.

THE ACTORS: The word 'actors' was used conventionally to denote roles and not those personating a role. In the late sixteenth century, printed texts differed as to whether the characters of a play should be given before the play. In Thomas Kyd's *Cornelia* 'Interlocutores' was placed above a list of characters. In general, those who appeared in an act or scene would be listed at the start of that part, but this was not an entirely reliable indicator of all the speakers. Daniel helpfully presents a list of his 'actors' together with an indication of their function for the servants.

ACTUS PRIMUS: The names of later acts are italicised with only the initial A capitalised.

Cleopatra: The only speaker in this act.

1 **YET:** Y is within a small decorative block.

2 **life ... life:** Antanaclasis, a characteristic rhetorical feature of Daniel's poetry.

3 **end ... end:** The antithesis of life is death. Cleopatra's purpose (end) is her death (end). Cf. I. 2n.

4 **confusion:** *OED* 'confusion', n. 1a, 'overthrow'.

5 **pompe:** Grandeur, ostentatious splendour.

6 *Cleopatra:* Cleopatra as an almost mythical figure.

6 **dead ... dead:** Parallelism with l. 2–3 refreshes an image of the living Cleopatra.

7 **out-liv'd my selfe:** Cf. l. 2 – 6n.

10 **ougly face:** Plutarch describes Cleopatra's appearance when she meets Octavian as 'ougly and pitiful' p. 1008.

15 *Atlas:* Imagery of Antony as Atlas, one of the mythical titans, who was condemned by Zeus to bear the heavens on his shoulders. Cleopatra envisages herself as both supported by, and burdensome to, Antony.

19 **unlucky party of mine eies:** Antony had fallen under the spell of Cleopatra.

20 **traines:** Figurative, *OED* 'train', n. 2, a trap or snare.

20 **imbecilitie:** Weakness, *OED* 'imbecility', n., 1a.

21 **dissolution:** Result of dissolute behaviour.

22 **grave:** Conflation of the state of Egypt, Antony and the future of Cleopatra herself.

22 **wracke:** Wreck, destruction. The nautical imagery links the defeat of Antony and Cleopatra's fleets at Actium with the ensuing political and personal disaster. Daniel uses the phrase: 'the shipwracke of my ill-adventured youth' in Sonnet XLIX, *Delia*, 1592.

23 **unforeseeing:** *OED* gives the 1602 *Cleopatra* as the earliest record of this word.

23–4 **intoome | My Countries fame and glory:** The fates of Cleopatra and Egypt are conflated.

Above line 25, a running title 'THE TRAGEDIE' starts and is used subsequently on verso pages.

25 **late:** Formerly – but there is also a connotation with the recent decease of Antony – and Cleopatra's expectation of her own fate.

26 **inrich'd:** Opulently dressed; enriched; a reminder of Egypt's wealth but also of how Cleopatra has used it for her own enjoyment.

27 **compast:** Surrounded.

- 28 **harts and eies**: Cleopatra acknowledges the emotional and visual impact of her glamorous appearance which caused men to fall in love with her.
- 30 **Levll'd**: Crushed, but also becoming no more than any other woman.
- 34 **Isis**: Principal goddess of ancient Egypt. Plutarch links Cleopatra with Isis: wearing 'the apparell of the goddesse' (p. 996); her building 'joining hard to the temple of Isis' (p. 1005).
- 35 **belide**: Misrepresented.
- 40 **interposed smoakes**: Figurative, influences obscuring reality, or deception. Cf. 'Now Madame, since by favour of your love, | Our hidden smoake is turned to open flame', Thomas Kyd, *The Spanish Tragedy* (London, 1592), sig. [C4^r].
- 41 **spreading parts of pomp**: Influence and prestige.
- 41, 42 **parts, parts ... parts**: Wordplay: the first usage of 'parts' is linked to attributes of power, secondly to the personal qualities of an individual and finally with an actor, his part determined by the dramatist.
- 44 **Summer Swallowes**: Alliteration, one of many instances in this speech.
- 44-5 **Swallowes ... gone with the heate**: Although the disappearance of swallows from England at the end of summer was noted, it was attributed to hibernation. Gilbert White wrote 'I am more and more inclined to believe that many of the swallow kind do not depart from this island; but lay themselves up in holes and caverns'. *The Natural History of Selborne* (London, 1789) p. 147. The theory of migration was not universally accepted until the end of the eighteenth century.
- Cleopatra is commenting on the loss of sycophantic courtiers in the harsher conditions (as if in winter) of her loss of power, see p. 131.
- 47 **triumphs**: Daniel introduces at an early stage Cleopatra's fear of being part of Octavian's triumphal return to Rome. '[Caesar] thought that if he could take Cleopatra, and bring her alive to ROME, she would marvelously beautifie and sette out his triumphe', Plutarch p. 1007.
- 47 **reserv'd**: Detained, imprisoned.
- 48 **spoiles**: Trophies of war; Egypt has been bespoiled by the army of Octavian.
- 50 **entertaine**: Keep, detain. Daniel uses the same concept in *The complaint of Rosamond*, 'So well the golden balls cast downs before me | Could entertaine my course, hinder my way', *Delia* (1594) (sig. [F6v]).
- 50 **wiles**: Stratagems, Octavian seeks to deceive Cleopatra about his intentions.
- 52 **extreamitie**: Utmost penalty.
- 54 **both hands**: 'She had martired all her face with her nailes', Plutarch, p. 1008.

Above line 59 a running title 'OF CLEOPATRA.' starts and is used subsequently on recto pages.

59 **bloud ... innated** : Inherited.

59 **innated**: Etymologically derived from innate, meaning inborn. *OED* gives l. 59 as an illustration of the use of 'innated'.

66 **survive my state**: Double meaning of state as of Egypt, Cleopatra's kingdom but now under the rule of Rome, and of Cleopatra herself, no longer a ruler.

67 **scepter-bearing hands**: Evokes images of Queen Elizabeth I with orb and sceptre as, for example, portrayed by an unknown artist, c. 1600, National Portrait Gallery ref. NPG 5175.

69 **Octavia**: Wife of Antony, sister of Octavian Cæsar.

69 **That I should passe whereas Octavia stands**: Cleopatra's 'day' is over, Octavia survives.

70 **purchas'd**: Brought about. Cleopatra acknowledges the sorrow she has brought to Octavia through taking Antony as her lover.

76-7 **int'rest ... purchase**: A mercantile metaphor for the emotional cost to Cleopatra of her immurement in the Monument and subservience to Octavian.

77 **purchase grace**: A reminder of earlier religious practices when 'pardons' could be bought.

78 **seede**: Children.

81 **Nature**: Human feelings seen as a mythical goddess. *OED* 'nature', n. II 4a, the power or force fundamental to the physical and mental functioning of a human being.

82 **argument ... wombe**: Cleopatra is pleading for her children's lives, but there is a hint of the common law process of 'pleading the belly' whereby a convicted pregnant woman could have a stay or commutation of a death sentence.

83 **issue**: Offspring, descendants.

84 **pledges**: As 'issue' l. 84, but with the additional connotation of 'one considered as a token or evidence of mutual love and duty between parents', *OED* 'pledge', n., 4b. Cleopatra is emphasising the status of her son Cæsario, by Julius Cæsar, and her other children by Antony.

85 **Kings design'd**: One of the causes of Cæsar's anger with Antony was that he had arbitrarily bestowed the rulership of various Eastern kingdoms upon Cleopatra's children. Plutarch (p. 996).

93 **unwonne**: Undefeated, also a failure to woo or be wooed by Octavian.

94 **Blood**: Daniel's repeated use of 'blood', as ancestral line, as offspring, as the Egyptian race and as a stark reminder of Antony's suicide, emphasises the intensity of Cleopatra's emotions.

97 **were I not I**: The duality of the physical body of a monarch with the 'body politic', the essence of monarchical power, was a legal nicety encapsulated in the phrase 'the king's two bodies', a topic much debated during the ongoing succession crisis of Elizabeth's reign. 'It was found necessary by 1561 to endow the Queen with two bodies: a *body natural* and a *body politic*.' Marie Axton, *The Queen's Two Bodies* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1977).

101 **Ptolomies**: Dynasty of rulers of Egypt to which Cleopatra belonged.

105 **Luxuriousnesse**: Self-indulgence, lechery.

106 **ill-dispensed libertie**: Licentious behaviour beyond forgiveness.

111-2 **blood, memoriall**: Cf. l. 94, here 'blood' is the medium for making a written record, replacing ink.

115 **Antony**: Cleopatra at last names Antony, but only to address him in a recital of her faults; a demonstration of her self-obsession.

126, 128 **fall, first to fall I dy'd not first**: Alliteration of 'f' emphasised by the circling round of 'fall' / 'first'; rhetorical style and the stoical belief of the circularity of events are combined. Cleopatra admits her fault in fleeing from the sea battle of Actium, a lack of courage which precipitated Antony's own departure and defeat.

133 **To cleere me so**: To give as justification.

138 **like distrest**: Others similarly unhappy.

140-5 **seas of fortune**: Ill-luck, again Actium is evoked, but with an element of mitigation for the actions of Cleopatra and Antony.

141 **powre ... powre**: Antanaclasis emphasises the powerlessness felt by Cleopatra to change events.

141 **reunfolds**: *OED* gives this as the first recorded use. *OED* 'reunfolds', poetic. v. to unfold again.

144, 145 **suncke, shipwracke**: Cf. l. 22.

144, 145 **both**: Repeated use emphasises that Cleopatra intends to join Antony in death.

150-4 **truly love thee**: Cleopatra admits that now Antony is dead she truly loves him. 'True love' enabled Chaucer to include Cleopatra in *The Legend of Good Women*, see p. 134-5.

159 **lascivious**: Inclined to lust, pleasure loving.

161 **disport**: Diversion from duty.

163 **vagabond**: Figurative, unrestrained, fleeting, thoughtless. Possibly an admission by Cleopatra of a succession of lovers.

165 **thy City**: Rome, Cleopatra's perception of Rome as influenced by its personification in the authoritarian figure of Octavian. She implies that the Roman moral code is overbearing.

167 **Inur'd, unwitty**: Contrasts Antony's experience as a commander with his inexperience as a lover.

167 **unwitty**: *OED* gives as the first recorded use *Cleopatra* (1594). *OED* 'unwitty', adj. 1b, inexperienced.

172 **wrinkles of declining**: Plutarch states 'Cleopatra dyed being eight and thirtie yeare olde, after she had raigned two and twenty yeres, and governed above foureteene of them with *Antonius*' (p.1010).

175–6 **when I | Failing of what I was**: Cf. l. 97, again a division between the physical 'I' and the monarch 'I'.

184 **Casting up ... accompts**: Assessing the overall situation, the good and the bad, as with monetary accounting, cf. l.76-7.

186 **All reckonings cleer'd**: There are no debts of love or honour between Antony and Cleopatra.

189 **leasure**: Freedom.

193 **An yeelding base content**: Metaphor for appearing to agree with Octavian's plans; a cheap alloy was used to counterfeit coins, which had 'base content'.

197 **Exit**: Daniel uses minimal stage directions.

Chorus The verse structure and rhyming schemes used for the choruses are analysed in Appendix B.

198 **CHORUS**: The chorus of Egyptians provides both an impartial view of events, particularly those of the preceding act, and also an almost dirge-like recounting of the woes of their country. They are both onlookers and victims. In a Senecan tragedy, the chorus would be onstage; in these verses designed to be read or possibly sung, their words provide an echo of lines in the preceding Act.

199 **BEhold**: B within a small decorative block.

199-200 **furies ... their tortur'd brest**: The 'furies' are mythological beings, 'the Erinnyes ... whose task it is to hear complaints brought by mortals against the insolence of ... hosts to guests, and of ... city councils to supplicants' (Graves, p. 122). In this case, ('their tortur'd brest'), 'the insolence' is of a Queen against her subjects. The furies would pursue culprits relentlessly.

204 **sprite**: Spirit, or sp' rte see var. 204.

205 **hideous face of sinne**: Cf. l. 10.

209 **larum**: Alarm or reminder. Contemporary sermons emphasised that worldly thoughts were a fault, 'is it not time then to sound this alarum against Vanitie' (Henry Smith, *The preachers proclamation* (London, 1591), (sig. A8^r.)

210 **ever-barking dog**: Possibly a reference to Cerberus, the three headed dog guarding the entrance to the underworld: 'they were well lashed by the Furies and mauled by Cerberus's teeth' (Graves, p. 363, 97c).

210 **misse**: Sin, wrongdoing. 'He saith, she is immodest blames her misse' William Shakespeare, *Venus and Adonis* (London, 1593), sig. Bij^f.

217-8 **winged-footed ... swiftly comes**: Mercury, the Roman god (likewise Hermes, the Greek one) is pictured with wings on his feet, bringing messages from the gods.

222 **And wantonit selfe forget**: Cf. ll.103-6.

223 **Cleopatra**: The Chorus have moved from generalised blame to specifics, naming their Queen.

227, 229 **pay ... the int'rest of our blood**: Cf. monetary metaphors l. 181-6.

230-1 **pray ... unjust**: Prey, victims of Roman power, echo of Ded. l. 48.

233 **riot**: Riotous living *OED* 'riot', n., 2a.1

236, 241 **close, closely**: Privately.

243-4 **text ... glos'd**: Self-referential to the play; a preacher would expound 'gloss' upon a 'text' in his sermon. Daniel himself rarely used a written gloss, either in the margin or between lines of text, except in his prose work, *The Historie*.

245 **bed of sinne**: Physical and metonymic reference to Cleopatra's bed as source of Egypt's troubles.

247-9 **scene ... actors**: Self-referential, the plot of the play and the fate of Egypt are both revealed.

249 **purple**: Colour of garments worn to denote royalty; purple dye was expensive.

251 **complots**: Conspiracies.

252 **imperfections smoake**: Cf. l. 40.

257 **Poore unconsiderate wights**: Living beings of a lowly class.

258 **fugitive delights**: Fleeting, short-lived pleasure, cf. l. 163, 'vagabond desires'.

Actus Secundus.: In italics as are the names of the succeeding Acts.

Caesar. **Proculeius.:** Given in order of speaking.

259 **Kingdoms ... Climates:** Octavian distinguishes political and geographical entities. Climate refers to a region, *OED* 'climate', n., 1a.

260-4 **Yet cannot vanquish hearts ... minde:** Although Daniel has not used the phrase 'hearts and minds', his lines seem to evoke contemporary works with which he may have been familiar such as the Geneva *Bible*: 'And the peace of God which passeth all understanding, shal preserve your hearts and mindes in Christ Iesus', (Philippians 4.7), *The Bible* (Geneva: 1560), sig. AAa.1^r, STC (2nd ed) 2093. Edward Aggas translating in 1591, from the French, *Articles concerning the yeelding of the cittie of Grenoble* (STC 2nd ed. 12359), a military context similar to that Octavian faced, wrote 'That for a more perfect union of the heartes and mindes of his Majesties subjects... ' (Sig. A3^f).

260 **nor force obedience:** Although Octavian had defeated Antony in battle, by his suicide Antony had avoided submission.

261 **Affections:** Loyalties, or conversely a simulation of this.

263 **dutie:** Duality of meaning, a conquered nation would have to pay both homage and taxes to the new overlord.

264 **Free is the heart, the temple of the mind:** Both emotions and intellect are unconstrained; there is an echo of Cleopatra's soliloquy in the previous Act, cf. ll.89-92.

265 **Sanctuarie:** Soul, but also a reminder of Cleopatra who has taken refuge in the Monument.

266 **keies that loose and bind:** Paradoxical statement; figurative keys symbolise temporal and spiritual power. Daniel uses antithesis throughout this passage. Since it is Octavian, a Roman, speaking there may be a reference to papal power, based in Rome, over Catholics. Cf. Ded. n. 85-86.

267-8 **No mortall hand... lockt to all mankind:** A sanctuary or safe place is evoked.

271 **Behold:** Interjection; Octavian addresses Proculeius directly.

272 **that strong Competitor:** Antony. After the break up of the triumvirate, composed of Octavian, Antony and Lepidus, the Roman empire was governed by Octavian in the west and Antony in the east.

274 **treasure**: Not only precious metals and jewels; Egypt's fertile land supplied grain to Rome; it was regarded as a storehouse. 'Percrebuerat antiquitus urbem nostram nisi opibus Aegypti oli sustentarique non posse' (For long it was believed that Rome could only be fed and maintained with Egyptian aid), Pliny the Younger, Panegyricus 31, *Letters*, Volume I: Books 1-7, trans. by Betty Radice (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1968), p.358-9.

274 **resign**: Relinquish (their treasure); submit themselves.

275–7 **Onely this Queene ... yeelding fall**: Cleopatra is the epitome of the 'hearts and minds' problem. Octavian's intentions are frustrated by Cleopatra immuring herself in the Monument.

279 **Proculei**: Vocative of Proculeius.

280 **condiscend**: Agree.

282 **To win her forth alive**: To prevail upon Cleopatra to leave the Monument.

283 **wofully**: Economical phraseology, as there is potentially a double meaning; Proculeius may be bemoaning Cleopatra's reduced state – or she herself could be the sufferer.

284 **afflicted plight**: Humiliated state: Cleopatra has lost country, throne, lover and possessions.

286 **grate**: Aperture allowing speech but not ingress. Spenser had used the same concept in the *Faerie Queene*, 'But in the same a little grate was pight, | Through which he sent his voyce ...', Book 1, VIII, (sig. H3^r).

287 **treat**: Negotiate.

288 **sue for grace**: To petition for forgiveness or pardon as might a convicted person. Cleopatra is being classed as a rebel to Rome's rule.

290 **pray'd they might inherite**: Ambiguity as to inheritance of throne or possessions.

293 **late**: Most recently.

295 **entertaines**: Cf. l. 50n.

296 **I found the meanes up to the Tombe to clime**: 'Proculeius did set up a ladder against that high windowe, by the which Antonius was triced up', Plutarch, p. 1007.

300 **tane**: Taken. In Plutarch's description: 'One of her women ... shrieked out: O poore Cleopatra, thou art taken' p. 1007.

301 **raught**: Past tense of reach.

301 **from her side her knife**: Plutarch describes 'a short dagger she ware of purpose by her side', p. 1007.

302 **martred**: Cf. l. 54n. The word has resonance in the period through the religious martyrdom of both Catholics and Protestants. Published in 1563, John Foxe's *Acts and monuments* became known as *Foxe's Book of Martyrs*. Proculeius's choice of word betrays his sympathy for Cleopatra's plight, but also has connotations of her impending death.

307 **Barre him the honour of his victorie**: In barring herself in the Monument, Cleopatra has effectively barred Octavian from celebrating his victory.

311 **amaz'd**: Stupefied

312 **majestie confuz'd**: Cleopatra's internal conflict between status and personal emotions recalls the empathy shown earlier by Octavian with the newly subjugated Egyptians, ll. 259-70.

314 **State**: Cleopatra's regal status.

315 **ambition ... raigne**: Metaphor of ambition's 'raigne' links Cleopatra's rule with Antony's ambition, both now brought to an end.

317 **liquor**: Oil.

319 **discontent**: The metaphor of a flickering lamp suggests variability in Cleopatra's antagonistic feelings towards Octavian.

321 **in spight**: A dual interpretation is possible: spite (hate /fury) or defiant (despite), *OED* 'spite', n., 2a. or n., 5a.

323 **abject**: Humiliating.

323 **Scornes yet to make an abject league with Fate**: Cleopatra is refusing to accept her powerlessness; the metaphor of an agreement (league) with her destiny (Fate) displaces Octavian from his dominant position.

324-5 **Or once descend into a servile thought | Th'imperious tongue unused to beseech:**

The lines form a juxtaposition of opposing states, 'servile' and 'imperious', linked to internal and external actions, 'thought' and 'tongue' (speech).

328 **pray her foe:** Plead with Octavian – but again an alternative reading in that 'pray' could imply praise.

333-4 **What, must he... force us heere?:** Cleopatra queries Octavian's ambition. Is he seeking dominion over the dead as well as the living? The concept of jurisdiction appears earlier in l. 259–70 and reinforces the issue of the extent of religious authority.

335 **covert:** Hiding place.

338 **And all what I held deere, to him made common:** Antithetical juxtaposition between valued possessions and those more ordinary also places Cleopatra and Octavian in a similar relationship.

344, 347 **leave me, leave me:** Anaphoric repetition of phrase emphasises Cleopatra's previous ability to command.

347-8 **leave me free ...poore distressed corse:** Cleopatra is pleading for sovereignty over her own body, her 'corse'; she desires the power to choose life or death.

351 **To favour the poore of-spring of my blood:** Cæsario, son by Julius Cæsar is the main focus of Cleopatra's ambition; Plutarch names her sons by Antony as Alexander and Ptolomy.

352 **Confused issue, yet of Roman race:** Cleopatra herself was of mixed Greek and Egyptian ancestry. In her extremity, she emphasises the Roman element in her children's parentage.

356 **And Cæsars blood, may Cæsars raging stay:** Cæsario was Julius Cæsar's (illegitimate) son whilst Octavian was only a great-nephew.

356 **Cæsars ... Cæsars:** The antanaclastic repetition of the shared cognomen of Julius Cæsar and Octavian emphasise their familial connection and demands historical knowledge from Daniel's readers. The usage of Cæsar as a title occurred later in Octavian's rule.

357 **torrent of my fall:** The swiftness and uncontrollable nature of defeat.

361 **Then be it so, if needs it must be so**: A turn of phrase characteristic of Daniel, cf. l. 2–3.

366 **sue for grace**: Repetition of the formulaic phrase previously used in l. 288.

367, 371 **doome**: An outcome, but not necessarily unfavourable.

375 **To sacrifice to him that wrought her plight**: Antony is to be both memorialised and blamed.

381 **sound**: Figurative, discern.

383 **Why tis her safetie to come yelde to thee**: Proculeius (a private man) immediately demonstrates the truth of Octavian's claim as he has taken Cleopatra's words at face value.

388 **To be a prince, is more then be a man**. Octavian uses the designation 'prince' not in a royal sense but for a person in authority over a state; he is also thinking of his own role.

391 **Divers respects**: Unspecified concerns.

391 **reclaim'd**: Brought to a better course of action.

394 **But greater hearts will breake before they bow**: A reminder that Antony preferred suicide to acknowledging defeat by Octavian and a concern that Cleopatra may seek to emulate him.

397 **wary**: On guard against deception.

397 **troupe**: A small company of soldiers.

400 **Shortly myself will go to visit her**: The immediacy of this intention is delayed by Daniel's interposing of the secondary plot concerning the philosophers Arius and Philostratus.

CHORUS

402 **O**: Within a small decorative block.

402 **OPINION**: The chorus both moralises about the ill effects of 'opinion' and expresses the opinions of the Egyptian people. Opinion could signify wit or be used in a perjorative sense. In various works of the period Opinion was personified as a goddess or a deceiver. See p. 70.

402-3 **OPINION ... man?**: Evokes the turbulent thoughts of Cleopatra in Act I.

416 **malecontent seducing guest**: Daniel's use of prosopographia emphasises the risks of paying head to 'Opinion', the 'guest'.

421 **conceit**: *OED* 'conceit', n. II 5a, personal opinion, judgement.

427 **wracke**: *OED* 'wracke', n. 1. 1a, punishment.

428 **Vaine**: *OED* 'vaine', adj. 1, valueless.

429,30 **any, we**: Change of emphasis from impersonal to the inclusive 'we'.

430, 434, 436: **ambition, lust, luxurie**: The faults of Antony, encouraged by Cleopatra, itemised. Cf. Cleopatra's itemising of the same faults in herself in l. 14, l. 20, l. 105.

444. **Antony**: Change from 'we' to the individual.

448-9 **But that lust... never satisfide**: Cf. l. 20 and l. 434n.

450-3 **He can say ...all is tride**: Antony's martial prowess is discounted as mere ambition.

451 **Ambition is a vulture vile**: Greek myth of Prometheus who nightly had his liver torn out by a greedy vulture (Graves, p. 145, 39h). Daniel may well have seen a volume dedicated to the Countess of Pembroke by Abraham Fraunce in which 'an eagle consumeth his [Prometheus's] hart': Abraham Fraunce, *The Third part of the Countess of Pembrokes Yuychurch* (London, 1592), sig. C3^v.

459–71 **Yet Opinion leaves not heere, | But sticks to Cleopatra ... all things ends**: the Chorus express the view that Cleopatra is inclined towards suicide since there is more honour in death than in living defeated – the Roman attitude, exemplified by Antony's suicide.

461, 465 **Perswading now, perswasion led**: Influence of 'Opinion'.

470 **vaine world**: Cleopatra's pride will be her downfall.

Actus tertius

Philostratus. Arius.: This scene derives from Plutarch's description of Octavian's interactions with 'his verie friend Arrius' p. 1007.

Arius: ‘Arius Didymus. Known mainly as a source for Stoic and Aristotelian ethics. ... was the teacher of the Roman emperor Augustus [Octavian Cæsar]’ (Simon Blackburn, *The Oxford Dictionary of Philosophy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), p. 25).

472 **How deeply Arius...:** As in Act II, the first speaker is not named, but their identity is clarified when addressing by name the other.

473 **That sav’dst from death:** ‘*Arrius* .. craved pardon ... specially for *Philostratus*’ (Plutarch p. 1007).

474 **Caesars gentle grace:** Phrase echoes the theme of Act II in which Cleopatra is advised ‘To come to Cæsar and to sue for grace’ (l. 288), cf. l. 365-6.

476–83 **Although I see in such a wofull state ... a Land most wretched of all other:** In an overtly political speech, Philostratus rails against the subjection of Egypt. Plutarch states that he ‘falsly named himself an Academicke Philosopher’(p. 1007-8); the falsehood being that he was a demagogue.

484, 505 **When yet we reckon life, base begging of a servile breath:** In Stoic philosophy, to embrace death, if your principles required it, would be better than to ‘reckon life our dearest good’: Philostratus demonstrates his worldliness, whilst excusing it.

488, 490, 492, 494, 496 **blasts of words, unsicke eloquence, reason, precepts, sweet-contrived words:** In a succession of couplets, techniques of philosophical discussion are systematically shown to be ‘**but weake armour**’ (l. 497). In the late Elizabethan era when to discuss political matters, such as the future succession was a treasonable offence, (Axton p. 22), stoical philosophy was a tool to separate the individual from a specific political viewpoint; see p. 94-5.

495 **In taxing:** Allaying. It is not clear from the spacing of individual letters and words whether this should be ‘Intaxing’.

498 **boords:** Boards, as in enter to attack, *OED* ‘board’ v., 1.

499 **arte:** Professional skill, in this case in philosophical discussion.

501 **beares about:** Is burdened by.

505 **servile**: *OED* ‘servile’ adj. 3c, attribute befitting to a slave: Shakespeare, *Julius Cæsar* (1623) I. i. 75, ‘Who else would soare above the view of men, | And keepe us all in servile fearefulnessse’. Cf. l. 230

505 **servile breath**: Plutarch (p. 1008) describes Philostratus following Arius and ‘Buzzing in his eares this Greeke verse, “A wise man if that he be wise in deede, | May by a wise man have the better speede”’. The implied message is that both Octavian and Arius would gain honour by allowing Philostratus to live.

512-5 **these miseries to see ... weigh our death the lesse**: Arius puts forward a Stoic view: the present state of Egypt could be sufficient cause for a principled suicide. Cleopatra’s own suicide is one which follows such a principle see p. 94.

517 **feeble footing**: Weak foundation. Daniel makes many such structural references, see p. 41-2.

518 **How’improvident**: It is not clear what has been abbreviated or omitted. Grammatically the sense could be ‘How [the] improvident...’.

519 **day of wrath**: Anachronostic theological reference to the day of judgement, see p. 94-5.

520 **Confusion**: Personification of both a state of mind and of civic disorder.

525 **black-arising tempest**: Meteorological metaphor for the political disaster.

527, 533 **ryot, ryots**: Cf. l.233n.

528 **dissolute impietie**: Reference to Cleopatra’s licentiousness, inappropriate behaviour for the chief priestess of Isis.

529 **unrespective**: *OED* ‘unrespective’, adj. 2a, unheedful. The *OED* gives this line in *Cleopatra* (1594) as the earliest use of the term.

529 **prince**: Ruler i.e. Cleopatra.

534, 538-9 **purchac’d, price, reward**: Cf. ll. 184, 186n. 354-9 which ‘account’ the cost to the lovers, Antony and Cleopatra; here the cost to the country is emphasised by the cynical description of a ‘reward’.

534 **all the Ptolomies rich treasure**: Not only a reference to Egypt’s monetary wealth but to Cleopatra herself.

535 **mysteryes**: Reference to the cult of Isis.

536-7 **confluence of vice**, | **This unundation of disorders**: The river Nile, its tributaries and its annual flood form a metaphor for the disaster which has befallen Egypt.

538 **bloody price**: Egypt's forces have been defeated by Octavian's army.

540-3 **O thou and I ... examples must be numbred**: Philosophical theorising is now confronted with bitter reality. Arius betrays anxiety as to how the 'example' of Egypt would be viewed. Classical education was based on a systematic examination of 'exemplars', thus the shame of Egypt would be extended. Roger Ascham's *The scholemaster* (London, 1570) emphasises the importance of reading in the original language.

544-6 **For this decree ... unavoyned Fate**: An underlying scheme outside human control; as was the divine sovereignty of predestination, a doctrine expounded in the late sixteenth / early seventeenth century, cf. n. 519.

545 **Canon**: Arius is referring to a spiritual authority. In religious terms a canon is a rule or decree of the church. After his accession, James VI/I ratified the Church of England constitution and rules which would have been established under Elizabeth I.

546 **Consistorie**:. The body or council which would determine the 'canons': Arius is setting Egypt's fate into an universal design.

552-3 **the ever-changing course of things** | **Runne a perpetual circle**: 'The image of cycles in which the universe returns to re-enact exactly the same course of events ... was a theme of much Greek thought, including that of the Stoics' (Blackburn, p. 125).

552, 553 **ever-changing, perpetual**: The opposition of these words emphasises their rhetorical circle.

556 **sencelesse sensuality**: Alliteration which emphasises the gratification of the senses which sensuality occasions.

556-8 **senceless sensuality... A fatall witch**: Conflation of Cleopatra with sexual desire. Antony is described as 'enchanted' by her love, Plutarch p. 987.

559 **sorrow, sweetness**: Oxymoron, cf. 'Parting is such sweet sorrow', William Shakespeare, *Romeo and Juliet*, II.2. (London, 1597), sig. D3^v.

560-1 **When yet our selves ... decreed on hie**: The conflict between the doctrines of individual responsibility and predestination led to a convoluted religious theory, see 519n.

564 **mighty men with wary jealous hand**: Cf. l. 397, an echo of Octavian's instruction 'a wary troupe attend'.

564 **jealous**: Vigilant, *OED* 'jealous', n., 3.

567 **conceit**: Idea.

576-85 Stichomythic passage recapitulating the theme of the previous stichomythic lines 379-92 and making explicit the reason why Cleopatra feared for her children.

577 Above this line, the running title is 'O Cleopatra', see Textual note, p. 145.

579 **Plurarity of Cæsars are not good**: By including this in the scene with Philostratus, Daniel distances Arius from Plutarch's recounting his advice to Octavian 'Too many Cæsars is not good', p. 1008.

583 **Tis best to quench a spark before it flame**: Imagery recalling l. 317-9 (Cleopatra's revival from despondency), but now referring to Cæsario and potential conflict with Octavian.

587 **Competitors**: Cf. l. 272n., but here used in a more general way.

591 **worke the mind**: Deceive.

594-5 **that face | (That queld her champions)**: Antagonistic phrasing of 'queld' and 'champion'; Cleopatra's champion was Antony yet she subjugated him. Favourites in the court of Queen Elizabeth I ran the same risk.

Scena Secunda: Although Acts 3, 4 and 5 all have two scenes, scene one is not specified in any and scene two only in acts 3 and 5.

Cæsar ... Dolabella: Participants are listed in order of their first speech.

597 **thou hid'st thy face**: A minimal description of Cleopatra's appearance in this encounter with Octavian as opposed to Plutarch's detailed account of her 'ougly and pitiful state' (p. 1008).

599 **surmount**: Exceed.

601 **retire**: Retreat.

606 **repaire**: Follow/enter.

610-1 **Whose happy foote ... thou standest now**: a clear reminder to Octavian that she is Egypt's queen and he is an intruder into her territory – even though now it is reduced to the Monument.

612, 620 **none but thy selfe is cause of al ... we must attribute unto thee**: '*Cæsar* reprov'd her in everypoynt' (Plutarch, p. 1008).

614-5 **That others ruine ... my triumphs mone**: Octavian blames Cleopatra for Antony's descent from greatness; there is an element of hypocrisy in the conjunction of celebration for victory with sorrow for Antony's defeat.

616 **league of love and blood**: Antony and Octavian were joint rulers of the Roman empire, after the failure of the triumvirate which had included Lepidus: they were also brothers-in-law, through Antony's marriage to Octavia.

621-7 **what should a woman doe ... who was not glad to please**: Cleopatra portrays herself as a submissive woman, overawed by a powerful man. '*Cleopatra* began to cleere and excuse her selfe for that she had done, laying all to the feare she had of *Antonius*' (Plutarch, p. 1008).

626 **Lord of all the Orient**: The division of the Roman empire for administrative purposes gave Antony charge of countries bordering on the eastern Mediterranean.

628 **And how could I withdraw my succouring hand** : Cleopatra had in fact aided Antony in his conflict with Octavian by providing money, 'twenty thousand talents', provisions, 'vittells also to mainteyne al the whole army' and 'two hundred' ships (Plutarch, p. 996).

632 **innated**: Cf. l. 59n. Cleopatra speaking of herself: 'That courage with my bloud and birth innated'.

632 **innated hatred**: Octavian regards Cleopatra as having an inborn hatred of Rome.

633 **That thou and thine hast ever borne our people**: Overstatement by Octavian in view of Cleopatra's notorious affairs with Julius Cæsar and Antony.

633-8 **our, us**: Inclusive words linking Octavian with Rome, the Roman people and the empire. Octavian may also have been using the 'royal we' (*OED* 'we', n., 2a).

633-7 **thou, thine, thee thy**: Octavian emphasise the separation of Cleopatra, her children, her people and Egypt from Rome, personified in himself.

635 **To disunite our strength:** The break up of political and family ties between Octavian and Antony.

638 **To pray upon the wracke of our contention:** Octavian accuses Cleopatra of attempting to take advantage of the disagreements between himself and Antony.

638 **To pray upon the wracke:** Echo of the fate of many of the ships of the Spanish Armada, wrecked and looted.

638 **pray:** Prey.

638 **contention:** *OED* ‘contention’ n., 2, dispute, also n., 3a, rivalry.

644-5 **The conquering cause ... the worser part:** Bitter recognition by Cleopatra that Octavian, as victor, will be perceived to be in the right. Self-conscious recognition on Daniel’s part of current and recent political and religious differences in Tudor England, see p. 92-3.

646-7 **part:** Play on words: ‘the worser part’ – or side in a conflict; ‘which part is mine’ – share in the defeat; ‘lost my part’ – lost her country, Egypt, and also her role as ruler, or indeed her ‘part’ in this theatrical tragedy, see 41n and 42n.

651 **Competitors:** Cf. l. 272n. but here referring to Octavian and Antony as representing the Western and Eastern Roman empire.

652-3 **If wee take part... we must feare:** The problems of neutrality would have been clear during Elizabeth’s reign with ongoing rivalry between France and Spain. For uses of ‘part’ see 41n, 42n and 646-7n.

659 **The chiefest glorie ... lenitie:** Cf. l. 308, Cleopatra reminds Octavian of Proculeius’ words: ‘who ever deales most mildly with his foe’.

661 **Of whom thou hast thy fortune and thy name:** Octavian was Julius Cæsar’s heir to money, property, and political power. He took the name Cæsar to comply with Julius Cæsar’s will (Suetonius, p. 55).

662 **Great Cæsar:** Julius Cæsar.

662 **me a Queene at first did make:** Cleopatra became sole ruler of Egypt with the aid of Roman forces.

663 **And let not Cæsar now confound the same:** Cleopatra stresses the undesirability of Cæsar (in this case Octavian) causing her to lose her throne.

662,663 **Cæsar, Cæsar:** Antanaclasis, Julius Cæsar and Octavian respectively.

664, 670 **lines, note:** Cleopatra shows Octavian written documents; she is well educated.

665 **witnes:** Proof.

667 **Cæsar, Cæsar:** Cf. 662n, 663n, but with the order of the 'Cæsar' referred to in each case reversed.

670-3 **And here ... what Cleopatra hath, is there:** 'She gave him a breefe and memoriall of all the readie money & treasure she had' (Plutarch, p. 1008).

674 **roule:** Parchment or paper.

674-5 **Nay ... reserv'd apart:** 'Seleucus ... one of her Treasurers ... came straight to Cæsar to disprove Cleopatra' (Plutarch, p. 1008).

677 **caitife:** wretch (*OED* 'caitiff' n., 3a). Although Daniel uses the word to describe Seleucus, in Plutarch's description of the incident, Cleopatra speaks of herself to Octavian as a 'poore wretche, and caitife creature' (p. 1009), see p. 126-7.

687 **Livia and Octavias:** Octavian's wife and sister.

696 **intreate:** Deal with.

700 **Dol.:** The private conversation between Dolabella and Octavian which concludes the scene implies Cleopatra's absence. Octavian's 'farewel' (line 698) suffices to conclude his conversation with her.

700 **our greatest spirits:** Dolabella refers to Julius Cæsar and Antony.

708-9 **If still ... Such beautie shines:** Daniel makes minimal references to Cleopatra's appearance except through Dolabella's youthful enthusiasm, 'a youg gentleman ... that was one of Cæsars very great familiars' (Plutarch, p. 1009).

715 **dight:** *OED* 'dight', v. III, 10a, adorned.

716 **arm'd:** Endowed, *OED* 'arm', v., 1a.

717 **Th'ingines:** The means.

719-23 **disgracing, sweetly, distressed, faire, untressed, torne rent, weeping, wailing**: The abundance of adjectives in Dolabella's words convey his emotional response to a distraught Cleopatra.

719 **disgracing, grace**: Polyptoton, both words gain in impact from this juxtaposition.

724 **artless feature**: Free from ornamentation, a face bare of make up.

725 **true beautie needs no ornament**: Truism, but apposite to Cleopatra's disposal of her jewels.

734-5 **she takes her ayme amisse ... her level much deceives**: Metaphor of Cleopatra as an archer. 'So far as Archer might his level see', Spenser, 'The Visions of Bellay', *Complaints* (London, 1591), sig. Y2^v.

735 **The ground and marke, her level much deceives**: A 'ground' is the area in which an activity takes place, the 'marke' is the target, the aim is the 'level'; The use of archery terms recognises Cleopatra's hostile intentions.

742 **travailes**: *OED* 'travaile', n. 1a exertions.

743 **prizall**: Prize, taken in war. Note: *OED* uses l. 742-3 as a quotation to illustrate 'prizall'.

744 **sith that she seemes so well content**: 'Cæsar ... tooke his leave of her, supposing he had deceived her, but in deede he was deceived him selfe' (Plutarch p. 1009).

748 **CHORUS**: In the first three stanzas the chorus is no longer identifiable with the Egyptian people but has become a voice crying out to the gods.

749 **O**: Within a small decorative block.

749 **Nemesis**: An inescapable goddess of divine vengeance (Graves, 32.3). 'Macrobius sayeth, this Nemesis was adored and worshipped among the Ægyptians as the reveniger and cheefe enemie of pride, insolence & haughtinesse', Richard Linche, *The fountaine of ancient fiction* (London, 1599).

750 **Daughter of Justice**: Clearly speaking of Nemesis whose origin in mythology varies from 'a union between Night and Erebus' to 'a pastoral goddess' (Graves, 4.a, 7.3).

758 **Dost raze the great, and raise the least**: Daniel's verbal dexterity enables him use paronomasia ('raze' and 'raise') and synchrisis simultaneously.

762 **blacke cloudy hidden seate**: Nemesis was associated with thunderstorms.

772 **weale or wo**: Opposing states of fortune, cf. ll. 552-5.

774 **travailed**: Hardship.

774 **mortalitie**: Mankind, *OED* 'mortalitie', n., 1b.

781-3 **prowd mounting vanitie ... ruine of their fall**: 'Pride goes before a fall': Daniel does not highlight sententiae as the Countess had done in her translation of Garnier, but as here he elegantly elaborates their theme.

785-6 **But is it Justice ... The innocent poore multitude**: Chorus reverses its earlier stance on the justice of the disaster befalling Egypt (cf. ll. 750 and 754) to the inequity of suffering brought upon its people.

790 **compasse**: Range.

793 **extrude**: Exclude *OED* v.,1b.

798 **Egypt's fat prosperity**: Egypt was regarded as the grain basket of the Roman empire, cf. 274n.

801 **causers**: Agent *OED* n.,1.

802 **revolution**: cf. l. 553 'perpetuall circle'.

Actus quartus

Seleucus. Rodon.: The two men have betrayed Cleopatra's trust and they fear Cæsar may order their deaths. This contrasts with the anguish vocalised by Philostratus and Arius in the previous Act both of whom had feared death but now had to live with their compromised intellectual stances.

809 **Sel.:** Typesetting on this page (sig. Hiiii^v) is anomalous, in that the speech prefixes are placed to the left of the text rather than inset as in the rest of the play. However, it follows the style used for the opening words of quatrains of the Chorus to Act III.

809, 817 **friend Rodon, friend Seleucus**: This scene is the only one in the play in a conversational mode. Other scenes are based on soliloquies, scenes between antagonists, or those between ruler and subject. A lower emotional key is introduced by the word 'friend' and then invalidated by the events they describe.

811 **affliction**: Emotional or spiritual distress.

811-3 **affliction ... | Upon my soule, and none to tell it to | For tis some ease our sorrowes to reveale**: There may be a hint of religious controversy in this passage; Protestant England under Elizabeth did not accept the Catholic concept of absolution. In contrast to the Stoic philosophy touched on in the previous Act (ll. 552-3n.) here there is an element of Seleucus's personal belief.

816 **meete**: To allot (punishment), *OED* 'mete', v., 5.

817 **Rod.**: Plutarch describes 'Rhodon' as one of Cæsario's 'governors' (p. 1008).

818, 825 **beare such a part with thee: So shall we both our mournfull plaints combine**: The tonal quality of the interaction of these sorrowful and guilt ridden speakers is a verbal fugue, cf. Countess of Pembroke *Psalme* lvii l. 36 'my self will beare a part' (c.1595). *OED* 'fugue', n., 1; T. Morley, *Plaine and Easie Introd. Musicke* (London, 1597), 'We call that a Fuge when one part beginneth and the other singeth the same, for some number of notes (which the first did sing).' For uses of 'part' see n. 41, n. 42, n. 646-7 and n. 652.

827-8 **liv'd in grace: esteem'd in Court | As one of Councell**: Seleucus had been a favoured courtier, advisor and administrator for Cleopatra.

832-3 **When thinking to have us'd a meane to climbe, | And fled the wretched, flowne unto the great**: Seleucus admits his intention to desert Cleopatra and his ambition to achieve favour with Octavius. Daniel's antithetical phrases 'fled the wretched' and 'flowne unto the great' provide a metaphor for Cleopatra's earthly downfall and Octavius's soaring ambition and success.

834 (**Following the fortune of the present time**): The use of parentheses around Seleucus's words conveys the weakness of such an excuse.

835 **ruin'd cleene**: An element of cupidity is exposed.

837-8 **all the secrets of the Queene | Revealed to Cæsar**: The revelation that Seleucus has made is of the extent of Cleopatra's treasure (l. 674-5); Daniel follows Plutarch here. However, Cleopatra accused him of 'trecherie' (l. 681) which could imply something more.

839 **trechery**: The accusation made by Cleopatra is acknowledged as true; cf. l. 681.

839 **quited**: Double meaning of 'quit' as both reward and penalty.

840 **falsehood**: Ironic description of the truth which Seleucus told but which made him false to his duty to Cleopatra.

841-2 **Princes in this case | Do hate the traitor, though they love the treason**: Elegant phraseology which yet sounds contradictory; Octavius is the ‘prince’, Cleopatra is the one betrayed.

846 **rais’d**: Double meaning, brought up from childhood; promoted in authority. Greek slaves were frequently educated and employed within wealthy households both in Rome and Egypt.

850 **shifts**: *OED* ‘shift’ n., III, 3a, expedients.

850 **subtle**: crafty, cunning esp. in a deceitful or treacherous way, *OED* n., 2a.

854 **marke**: An indicator, *OED* ‘mark’, n., III, 9a.

854 **infamy**: Dishonour.

853-4 **grown | The marke of infamy**: In the Middle Ages and later up to the 17th century, criminals were branded with a letter to indicate their crime; Seleucus’s conscience rather than his skin is scarred. Cf. William Shakespeare, *Richard III*, IV, 2, 40-3.

862 **I staind with blood**: His actions have caused the death of Cæsario; cf. l. 79 and l. 94. Cleopatra conflates her children with her blood.

864, 870 **treasure, the jewell of my soule I value most**: Reiteration of the ‘treasure’ metaphor. Daniel follows Plutarch in emphasising the dynastic importance of Cæsario above Cleopatra’s children by Antony: ‘For Cleopatraes children, they were verie honorable kept ... but for Cæsario’, p. 1008.

868-82 **Here Rodon, take** : A lengthy passage in which Rodon recounts Cleopatra’s words on entrusting Cæsario to his care. Daniel’s elaboration of an incident mentioned only briefly in Plutarch allows him to develop his image of Cleopatra as a mother figure both literally (of her children) and figuratively (of her realm, Egypt).

871 **Guide him to India**: ‘His mother Cleopatra had sent him unto the INDIANS through ÆTHIOPA’ (Plutarch p. 1008). The route to India as described by Julius Solinus: ‘goe by water uppe the Nyle ... then by lande ... a Haven of the red Sea ... Arabie ... water to Inde’. *The excellent and pleasant works of Julius Solinus*, trans. by Arthur Golding (London, 1587), CAP. LXVI, sig Ff.iii.

876 **The rising Sunne**: Antithetic pun on 'son', also a metaphor for Cæsario's increasing importance.

877 **wracke**: Cf. l. 22, 'wracke of all'.

881 **Great Julius**: Julius Cæsar.

883-7 **the modell of his Syre... his forehead even as hic**: Resemblance in physical appearance to Julius Cæsar used as justification for Cæsario's claim to the succession.

887 **hic**: a puzzling word in this context. Preceding and succeeding publications of the play give 'hie'; the 'c' may simply be a damaged piece of type, or else a fault of selection. The rhyming scheme would suggest 'hie' to link with 'Monarchy' (l. 889), cf. variants l. 887. See textual note p.146.

888 **if he had not beene borne so late**: 'Cæsario was supposed to be the sonne of Julius Cæsar who had left Cleopatra great with child' (p. 996). Plutarch's implication is that Cæsario was not acknowledged by Julius Cæsar, either because he and Cleopatra had ceased to be lovers at the time of birth or that he was assassinated before Cæsario's birth.

890 **Champion**: Upholder of royal state; Cæsario, Cleopatra's son, becomes the successor to Cleopatra's previous champions, her lovers, Julius Cæsar and Antony.

893 **Reserve thy selfe**: *OED* 'reserve', v.1, 4a, to save from death.

907-8 **The absent danger ... thing he feares**: These two lines are indented, making their sententious character clear. The paradoxical phrase 'absent danger greater still appears' applies not only to Cleopatra's fear for her son's life but also to the fears of Seleucus and Rodon.

910 **sprite**: *OED* 'sprite' n., 1a . feelings.

913 **memory of mine owne fate**: Figurative anticipation.

917 **Genius**: Guardian spirit.

922 **fore-decreed**: Prophesied.

922 **fore-decreed that we must fall**: Cf. 552-3n.

924 **venters**: Ventures; a commercial venture.

925 **starres**: Destiny, fate.

929-30 **But who is he ... Against the heavens:** Pagan philosophical view of predetermination or fate, see 560–1n.

931-4 **Then what neede I ... what will come to thee:** This theme would have resonated in a time of arbitrary deaths from plague or political misjudgement. In the years 1592/3, immediately before the first publication of *Cleopatra* in 1594, London experienced the last major plague epidemic of the 16th century. A ‘learned phisition’ was the author of *Present remedies against the plague* (London, 1594).

935 **East:** India, cf. l. 871.

936 **Egypt may a Tombe sufficient be:** Egypt is seen not only as the resting place of a body but also as the graveyard of Cleopatra’s hopes.

938 **resolution:** Duality of meaning, ‘decision’ but also signifying Cleopatra’s own death, *OED* ‘resolution’ n., 3a.

940 **When both are bad, how shall I know the best?:** Latin phrase, *minus malum*, lesser of two evils.

941, 943, 946 **Stay, Goe, But stay:** Cleopatra’s contradictory commands follow rhetorical style by setting up arguments for and against a proposition and then confuting them. Each word is placed at the start of a couplet, emphasising the theme of the succeeding argument. See n. 488.

951 **part:** An notably unambiguous use of the word ‘part’ compared with the many other times Daniel utilises the word.

951 **post haste:** Hurry, phrase recorded as early as the mid sixteenth century.

953-4, 956 **slender twine | Wherewith the knot is tide, I part from part of me:** Heartstrings, maternal possessive feelings; nowadays ‘apron-strings’, but possibly without a negative connotation. ‘I part from part of me’ emphasises Cleopatra’s concept of herself. Cf. ‘part’ n. 41, n. 42, n. 646-7, n. 652, n. 818 and n. 951.

959 **Sorrow rebounding ... quite stopt the way:** Overcome with emotion.

965-6 **protestations ... Swore by that faith, (which sworne I did deceive):** ‘Protestants’ were so called because they protested (declared) their personal beliefs; a shadow of the religious conflicts and tergiversations of the sixteenth century falls on this passage.

967 **wit and art**: Mental capacity and skill, *OED* ‘wit’, n., II. 5a.

969 **travail’d**: Journeyed, *OED* ‘travail’, v., 1b, but also holding concept of difficulty, ‘travail’, n., 1a.

972, 974 **To labour me: Assail’d me**: persuade, incite.

975 **back to Rhodes**: Daniel names Rhodes specifically, yet Rhodes would not figure on a journey between Egypt and India. This is possibly an overhasty reading of Plutarch: ‘one of his governors also called Rhodon... perswaded him to returne into his contrie’ (p. 1008).

981 **subtile**: Crafty.

981 **traine**: Guile, deceit, *OED* ‘train’, n.1. 1a.

989 **oblation**: Sacrifice.

990 **the poor revenge these hands may do him**: Cæsario’s words carry both reminder and presentiment of those spoken by Cleopatra, cf. l. 54 ‘I have both hands, and will, and I can die’: l.1168 ‘But what have I save these bare hands to doe it’.

990 **hands**: Synecdoche for Cæsario himself, but also a grim reminder of Octavian in l. 979 with ‘hands of death’.

992 **how small safety can my death be to him**: Cf. l. 586 ‘And sure his death may best procure our peace’. The theoretical discussion between Arius and Philostratus in Act III on the necessity for Cæsario to be killed becomes practical reality in Act IV.

994-5 **wretched greatnesse, proud rich misery | Pompous distresse, glittering calamitie**: Semantic inversions emphasise the confusion and distress of Cæsario.

996 **ambitious Fathers**: Cæsario speaks of his Ptolomeic and Roman ancestry. Several of Shakespeare’s plays have succession themes; it is possible that Shakespeare had read and subsequently used phrases or situations from Daniel’s *Cleopatra* which was first printed in 1594. Cf. ‘For this the foolish ever-careful father’ 2 *Henry IV*, IV.5. 68.

1002 **sweete-sowre bread of povertie**: metaphor for the acceptable and unacceptable faces of obscurity. Cf. l. 996n; ‘the wretched slave, | Who with a body filled and vacant mind | Gets him to rest, crammed with distressful bread’, *Henry V*, V.1. 285–7.

1003 *Nylus* ... *Nylus*: Emphasises his Egyptian homeland.

1004, 1006, **Cottage, dottage**: Neither Fausto Cercignani nor Helge Kökeritz discuss this rhyme. However the pronunciation ‘do:tidʒ’ for ‘dotage’ [dottage], as suggested by David Crystal, satisfies the alternate line rhyme scheme. Fausto Cercignani, *Shakespeare’s Works and Elizabethan Pronunciation* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), Helge Kökeritz, *Shakespeare’s Pronunciation* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953), David Crystal, *The Oxford Dictionary of Original Shakespearean Pronunciation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), p. 166.

1009 **Is to have all made cleere**: Cf. l. 996n : ‘always thought | That I require clearness ... Fleance his son’ *Macbeth* III.1. 132–4; Macbeth is ordering the deaths of Banquo and Fleance. A link with *Cleopatra* occurs a few lines earlier in the play, ‘My Genius is rebuked, so it is said | Mark Antony’s was by Cæsar’(III.1. 56–7).

1012 **Where nothing stands, that stands not in submission**: Paradox created by using metaphysical and physical meanings of ‘stands’. *OED* ‘stands’ v. I. 15a, the noun complement ‘nothing’ weakens the force of the verb; *OED* ‘stands, v. I. 5a, to remain on ones feet in a specified condition (here ‘submission’).

1014-5 **Kings will be alone, Competitors must downe, | Neere death he stands, that stands too neere a Crowne**: Cf. l. 579 ‘Pluralitie of Cæsars are not good’.

1015 **Neere death he stands, that stands too neere a Crowne**: Cf.. 1012n. Here the order of use is inverted to physical then metaphorical.

1021 **Though men revenge not, yet the heavens will**: ‘Avenge not your selves ... Vengeance is mine ... saithe the Lord’ (Romans 12:19), *The Bible*, sig. TTiii^r.

1022 **Augustus**: Daniel uses the honorific for Octavian although it was not in use until after he returned to Rome.

1026 **thy prowde contentious bed | Yeelding thee none of thine that may inherite**: Cæsario predicts that Octavian will not be succeeded by a direct descendant.

1032-3 **Some of the of-spring yet of Antony | Shall all the rule of this whole Empire sway**: Plutarch concludes his account of Antony’s ‘Life’ by relating that his descendants, Claudius and Nero both became Emperors of Rome (p. 1010).

1035 **Antillus**: Son of Antony by Fulvia.

1044, 1054 **The justice of the heavens: God revenge the innocent**: Cf. 1020-1n.

1044 **The justice of the heavens**: Note: the 1594 corrections page (sig. A2^v) reads ‘Marke the speaker’. No such indication is shown in the text or in later years, leaving the speaker as Rodon (l. 855).

1057-8 **Sel. But how hath Cæsar now rewarded thee? | Rod. As he hath thee.**: Plutarch and Daniel are both silent on the fate of Rodon and Seleucus.

1059-60 **Theodor ... one of my coate**: Two interpretations of ‘my coate’: same profession, ‘Theodorus’ was ‘schoole-maister’ to Antillus, Plutarch p. 1008: alike in being turncoats, *OED* ‘turncoat’, n., a1, one who changes his principles.

1062-4 **And at his death ... convoid | A jewell ... hang him strait**: ‘The villaine tooke a precious stone ... Cæsar trussed him up for it’, Plutarch p. 1008. Theft rather than betrayal merited immediate punishment.

1065-6 **Such instruments ... actors of deceit**: Self-referential to the players or narrator of Daniel’s tragedy.

1069 **net of our own guile**: Figurative, they have been entrapped by their own stratagems.

1073-4 **wil not that we should be seene.** | *Exeunt*: Daniel condemns them to obscurity.

1074 *Exeunt*: one of the few stage directions Daniel includes, yet here it could have been omitted since Rodon’s concluding words ‘wil not that we should be seene’ (l. 1073) effectively removes them from the stage.

1075 et seq. **Cleopatra**: Daniel follows closely Plutarch’s description of Cleopatra’s words at Antony’s tomb, p. 1009.

1077 **torne remnant**: ‘She had martired all her face with her nailes’, Plutarch p.1008.

1080 **poore Beautie**: The apparent contradiction encapsulates Cleopatra’s realisation that she is no longer young; her looks have faded; she was unable to charm Octavius.

1086 **th’ayre of Rome to prove**: Ironic description of the humiliation of being part of Octavian’s triumph.

1092 **having leave, I must go take my leave**: *OED* ‘leave’, n.,1, 1a; n.,1.3. Daniel’s use of anantacsis is frequently deployed in Cleopatra’s words; the use of this rhetorical device exemplifies her complex character, cf. l. 2, 3, 6, 2n.

1098 **oblation**: Sacrifice, also an intimation of the sacrifice she intends of her own life: ‘now I offer unto thee the funerall sprinklings and oblations’ (Plutarch p. 1009).

1098 **oblation**: Cf. l. 989, where Cæsario is the sacrifice.

1100 **deare reliques**: Veneration of the relics of saints (both body parts and articles associated with them) made their locations places of pilgrimage.

1100 **sweetest parcels**: Possibly a reference to the practice of removing organs, in particular the heart, for separate inhumation. Egyptian burial procedures included using canopic jars to store viscera. ‘*Canopic jar, Canopic vase*’: a vase used in ancient Egypt chiefly for holding the entrails of embalmed bodies, *OED*.

1110 **Then heare thy ghost**: ‘She began to speake in this sorte: O my deare Lord *Antonius*’ Plutarch p. 1009.

1110 **spouse**: By using the word ‘spouse’ she claims that she and Antony had married.

1113 **Found**: *OED* ‘found’ v.4, confound.

1117-8 **th’after-comming joy | Of those conceived fields whereon we dote**: Cf. Ded. 84-7 ‘some after-comming hand | Unlocke these limites, open our confines ... publish our deseignes’.

1123 **sprite**: spirit.

1128 **these hands intomb’d thee here of late**: ‘Not long sithence I buried thee here’ (Plutarch p. 1009).

1129 **Free and unforc’d, which now must servile be**: ‘Being a free woman ... now being a captive and a prisoner’ (Plutarch p. 1009).

1130 **bands**: Restraints.

1132-4 **O if in life ... mine in Italie**: ‘Now at our death I fear me will make us change our countries ... in ITALIE’ (Plutarch p. 1009)

1135 **Monuments of Fortunes**: Tombs.

1136-7 **If any powres be thereour country gods betray our case**: ‘If therefore the gods where thou art now have any power ... our gods here have forsaken us’ (Plutarch p. 1009).

1137 (**Sith our country gods betray our case**): Note: missing first syllable, see variants 1137v and textual note p. 146.

1139, 1162 **wife**: ‘Spouse’ 1110n.

1140 **triumph**: Octavian’s triumph.

1144 **winde**: Figurative, useless words.

1145 **conceived**: Imagined.

1156 **the prison of my soule**: In the Tudor period, dissent from the religious beliefs of the monarch could be regarded as treason and individuals could be imprisoned or executed. Cf. l. 302n.

1158 **Foule**: Cleopatra likens herself to a fowl, a domesticated bird commonly kept caged, in that Octavian has constrained her for his own purpose. Cleopatra’s body is a cage keeping her from Antony.

1160 **sacrifice to sacrificize my life**: Repetition of ‘sacrifice’ but changing its grammatical use carries emphasis; a rhetorical use of paregmenon.

1164 **My hart bloud should the purple flowers have beene**: Purple was the distinguishing and expensive dye used on clothing worn by high born or ruling Romans. Weever describes ‘divers purple flowers’ being strewn on graves by the Romans (J. Weever, *Ancient Funerall Monuments* (London, 1631) STC (2nd ed. 25223), sig. C1^r).

1166 **No smoake but dying breath**: Reference to the ritual use of incense, cf. ‘smoake’ 40n, 252n.

1168 **But what have I save these bare hands to do it?** Daniel evokes this sentiment in his *Civil Wars* (1609) Book 4, v. 38 p. 97 ‘What? Have we hands and shall we servile bee? | Why were swords made? But, to preserve men free.’

1168-9 **But what have I ... are not yron-pointed**: Cf. l. 1156. In relating the tale of Sampson and Delilah, Gascoigne describes Sampson as ‘conquered in the midst of all his force by one weake womans hands’, George Gascoigne, *A delicate diet* (London, 1576), sig [Bvii^r].

1169 **yron-pointed**: Cleopatra no longer has any weapon, or ‘iron pointed’ dagger, since Proculeius seized her ‘knife’, l. 301.

1172 **way and meanes**: Method and resources *OED* 'ways and means', n.1.1.

1180-1 **Ile bring my soule my selfe and that with speed, | My selfe will bring my soule to**

Antony: Chiasmus: soul and body are distinguished, one replacing the other. Although Cleopatra wishes her body to be physically placed in Antony's tomb, it is the union of their souls that she craves.

1185 **discharge your charge**: Double meaning: she will free her maids from obligation to her, but will also kill herself.

1187 **dispatch**: Means of death.

1188 **sort**: *OED* 'sort' I. v. 7a, to attain to an end.

1189 **beguile my watch**: Deceive the guard.

1192 **So shall I act**: Self referential, this is the last speech Cleopatra gives in person.

1193 **Die like a Queene**: Cleopatra intends her death to be a statement of her sovereignty.

1194 **CHORUS**: In concluding the previous Acts, the chorus have blamed Antony and Cleopatra for Egypt's downfall. Here, the tone is melancholic and resigned, emphasised by the stylistic change and the use of feminine rhymes. The final rhyming couplets of each verse comprise summaries of their contents delivered in a sententious manner.

1195 **Mlsterious Egypt**: Renaissance England relied on a mixture of travellers' tales and classical literature for knowledge of distant countries. Robert Hakluyt's assemblage of information, *The principall navigations, voyages and discoveries* (London, 1589), included more factual records.

1195 **Mlsterious**: A religious connotation referring to the Egyptian cult of Isis.

1205 **venter**: 'Venter' *OED* n., 2 1., or possibly 'venture'.

1215-6 **And often-times most must hurt us**: Aphorism: the consequences of Antony and Cleopatra's love of pleasure have destroyed the realm.

1217 **they that have the sterne**: Steersmen; nautical metaphor for authority; by implication the ruler of the 'ship of state'.

1221-2 **We imitate the greatest powres | The Princes manners fashion ours:** As a stand-alone phrase seemingly innocuous, since imitation was an acceptable device, but in this context it condemns the country's leaders.

1226 **Kings small faults, be great offences:** Contradiction of the double standard usually applied to monarchs, that they could do no wrong.

1227 **set the window open:** Metaphor for creating an opportunity.

1231 *Sesostris:* Herodotus described Sesostris, an early ruler of Egypt as a 'worthy Prynce'. Herodotus, *The famous hystory of Herodotus*, trans. by B.R. (London, 1584), II, f. 95^v.

1239 **abuse:** Waste.

1245 *Cæsar:* Octavian.

1251 **servile:** Subservient.

1252 **insolent:** Overbearing.

1253-4 **treasure: wealth:** Resources in produce and monetary value and also a reference to the action of the preceding scenes. Cleopatra's 'jewels' include Cæsario.

1235-6 **Which poison ... infect their sense:** A hope that the wealth and sensuality of Egypt will corrupt the Romans.

1261 **That our spoiles may spoile your greatnes:** Use of rhetorical wordplay, paregmenon: 'spoiles' as in loot and 'spoile' as in destroy.

1263-4 **Fill full your hands, and carry home | Enough from us to ruine Rome:** The Chorus concludes with a malediction. In the triumph of a victorious general, not only captives but loot would be paraded before the people of Rome. The Chorus are envisaging less tangible spoils, such as insurrection, diseases or political disaster.

Actus quintus

1265 *Dol.:* Plutarch describes him as 'a young gentleman Cornelius Dolabella' who 'did beare no evil will unto Cleopatra', p. 1009.

1265-8 **Come tell me ...tell me ev'ry looke, every gesture, countenance ... in my Letters reading, use:** Cleopatra's outward appearance and visible reaction to 'my Letters' matters more to Dolabella than the effect of the important information he has sent her. In *A letter sent*

from *Octavia* Daniel envisages Cleopatra's reactions to Antony's receipt of the letter: 'Whilst proud disdainful she ... Wil skorning saie ...' (sig. B2^r).

1269 **Letters**; Cf. ll. 664, 670n.

1270 **conceit observe**: Verbal compression of conception and actuality.

1270 **wise**: Way.

1272 **Leave to her Dearest dead to sacrifice**: Cleopatra had gained permission to offer sacrifices at Antony's grave. In *Cleopatra*, Daniel has altered the timing of events so that Cæsario was also dead by this time.

1274 **odors, incense, garlands**: Plutarch describes her offerings as 'funerall sprinklinges and oblations', p. 1009.

1276 **close**: Privately.

1277 **takes me in**: Into the Monument.

1279-82 **And reades ... refoldes | Thy letter up**: These lines are the counterpart of lines 1265-8.

1290 **Mercilesse Cæsar**: Contrast to the mercy of Cæsar, l. 309.

1300 **A right kind Roman, and a Gentleman**: Cf. 1265n. Cleopatra's phrasing distinguishes these attributes suggesting that there is a dichotomy between them.

1302 **spoile, pray**: Cleopatra speaks of herself as a trophy of war (spoile) in her maturity and as a victim (pray) when young. Although the attribute 'spoile' could be linked to her relationship with Octavian, that of 'pray' would seem to negate her affection for Julius Cæsar or for Antony.

1303 **Yet his affection must accepted be**: As in l. 1300, Cleopatra distinguishes between the nation and an individual.

1305 **Ah, he was worthy then to have been lov'd**: Cf. ll. 1265-8n, but with the alteration from lover to beloved.

1308 **her flowre blasted**: Not only Cleopatra but her country, beauty is destroyed, ravaged by invaders and by grief.

1311 **her case**: Her situation.

1317–1340 **Ah sweet distressed Lady**: Apostrophic speech by Dolabella, speaking as if to Cleopatra.

1326 **thy strength**: Egypt, its people and its riches.

1327 **labours**: Contrives.

1328 **bands**: Chains, restraints, cf. l. 1130. Cf. ‘must I fall, and die in bands’, Christopher Marlowe, *The troublesome raigne and lamentable death of Edward the second* (London, 1594), sig. F3^r.

1329-30 **our great Ladies envying thee so much | That stain’d them all**: *OED* ‘stain’, v., 1c, obscure the lustre of; Cleopatra outshines the jealous Roman women.

1334 **one that Cæsar loves**: ‘One of Cæsars very great familiars’ (Plutarch p. 1009).

1344 **imports**: Signifies.

1348 **bravest**: *OED* ‘bravest’, adj. 2, splendid, showy.

1346-8 **richly clad ... all the bravest ornaments she had**: Daniel’s Cleopatra embellishes herself before she dines, Plutarch describes her as being ‘sumptuously served’ at the meal; at her death on her ‘bed of gold’ she is ‘attired and araied in her royall robes’ (p. 1009).

1352 **one poore countryman**: ‘A contrieman’ (Plutarch p. 1009.)

1354 **t’experience**: To discover.

1354-5 **her state ... To see if majesty will make him bow**: Figurative usage: Cleopatra’s external magnificence might induce more favourable treatment from Octavian.

1358 **that fresh beauty she in youth possest**: Cf. l. 1308. The focus on Cleopatra’s changed appearance may be linked to the ravages to the appearance of Lady Sidney, the Countess of Pembroke’s mother, which were caused by smallpox, caught when nursing Queen Elizabeth through the illness.

1359 **argument**: Method.

1360 **wit**: Intelligence, capacity for logical thought.

1367 **rarest**: Exceptional.

1367 **spirit**: *OED* ‘spirit’, n., 8b., courage.

1371 **an errour past, is past recalling**: Commonplace remark: though Daniel did use such sayings, especially in the *Civile Wars*, he did not highlight them in this work.

1372 **Take away weakenesse, and take women too**: A line proved wrong.

1376 **Thy face will teach my tongue, thy love my hart**: Cf. Daniel's *Delia* (1592) sonnet VI 'O had she not been faire, and thus unkinde, | My muse had slept, and none had knowne my minde.'

1378 **Nuntius**: It was commonplace in Senecan style dramas to use a 'nuntius' or messenger to relate events. Daniel's Nuntius is slightly unusual in that he relates happenings in which he has been a significant participant. It emerges that he has a triple identity: as the 'countryman', as *Cleopatra*'s nuntius and as the tragedy's nuntius. It is even more unusual that he addresses not the audience, nor the characters in the play but the Chorus, making this second and final scene of the final act more of an epilogue than part of the action.

1380, 1397 **strangest**: *OED* 'strange', adj. Unfamiliar... to a degree that excites wonder or astonishment.

1385 **rarest**: *OED* 'rarest', adj., 4a, unusual, cf. 1380n.

1387 **Cho. What news bringst thou**: These words seem almost redundant since the role of the nuntius was to bring news.

1387, 1389 **yeeld, store**: Egypt, the productive grain-basket of the Mediterranean, figuratively now produces sorrow.

1406-1416 A stichomythic exchange which expresses the urgency of the Chorus to know what has occurred. Information is given accurately by the Nuntius, but only in response to direct questions.

1416 **You gesse aright**: By admitting that the Chorus is correct, the Nuntius avoids actually saying that Cleopatra is dead.

1419 **no meanes of reconcilement**: Cleopatra could not acquiesce to Cæsar's desire to send her to Rome. Echo of the impossibility of reconciling Protestant England with the power of the Pope (Rome): the Act of Supremacy (1559) abolished papal supremacy.

1420 **Worke, worke** : Contrive; accomplish her wish. The use of antanaclasis here refers to Cleopatra, cf. 1092n.

1423 **faithfull man**: Previous scenes have described instances of self-serving and betrayal. It is ironic that the 'faithfull man' actively enables Cleopatra to die.

1427 **smoothe state-pleasers**: Flattering courtiers.

1437–8 **And looke how long as Cleopatra shall | In after ages live in memory**: a neat reminder from Daniel not only of his Plutarchian and other near contemporaneous (to the events described) sources but of the numerous 'Cleopatras' figuring in tales, plays and legends since and yet to come. Cf. Ded. 113-5n.

1440 **sute**: Request.

1444 **Aspicks**: *Aspis*, venomous snakes found in the Nile region, anglicised to asp 'The second *Aspis* is called Hypinalis, which killeth a man as he is in sleepe. Which kinde of Snake *Cleopatra* used, and there withall died in his [sic] bed with very much ease', John Maplet, *A greene forest* (London, 1567), sig. [K6^v].

1449 **conjur'd**: *OED* 'to be conjured' v. 1b, to be sworn together in a conspiracy.

1451 **close**: *OED* 'close' v. 6, to keep hidden.

1453 **habite**: dress, clothes derived from 'habit': *OED* 'habit' v. 3, to attire.

1456 **Aspicks, in a basket**: Plutarch describes the arrival of the basket of figs, but is less certain about the contents: 'some say that this Aspicke was brought unto her in the basket' p. 1010.

1456 **pent**: *OED* 'penned' adj. 3, enclosed.

1458-63 **And comming to the guard ... go beare them to thy Queene**: Daniel follows Plutarch closely in this passage (p. 1009).

1465-6 **brighter then the Sunne | Glittering in all her pompous rich array**: Cf. 1346-8n.

1467-8 **wonne | Cæsar, and all the world beside**: Image of an all-conquering queen, triumphant over both rulers and countries.

1469-72 **thy crystall streames | Cleere Cydnos ... When Asia all amaz'd in wonder ... Venus**: Daniel is evoking for a well read audience the description of Cleopatra's arrival by barge to meet Antony; he has summarised a passage from Plutarch (p. 981) which Shakespeare later utilised in *Antony and Cleopatra* II. 2. 196-225.

1470 **Cydnos**: The river Cydnos [Cydnus] is now called the Berdan or Tarsus river and is situated in modern day Turkey.

1471 **Asia**: Antony, cf. 272n.; the Roman province of Asia, stretching from the Aegean coast in the west to a point beyond Philomelium in the east and from the Sea of Marmara in the north to the strait between Rhodes and the mainland in the south (<https://www.britannica.com>).

1472 **Venus**: Roman goddess of beauty and love.

1477 **the doubt of my good speed**: Cleopatra's concern is that Cæsar will read her letter and act to prevent her death before the Nuntius returns.

1479 **Cheere-marrer Care**: Care personified as a destroyer of happiness; a compact but unusually clumsy phrase.

1480 **her eie bewray the grieffe**: A tear shows, she weeps.

1482-4 **sorrow-clouded brow, Lightning a smile, stormie face, tempest-beaten sences**: Meteorological metaphors for Cleopatra's appearance convey vividly her turmoil and distress.

1485-90 **a strai'd perpelexed traveller ... To meete that good**: Cleopatra has been portrayed as enduring an emotional journey; it is now coming to a desired end.

1489 **sprites**: Spirit, cf. l. 1367.

1492 **so prowde a powre**: The Roman might, in particular Octavian.

1493 **she hastes to meete the present**: Double meaning of 'present' as both the gift of a basket of figs and a movement into action.

1496 **deceite**: Concealed object.

1497 **venemous beast**: Reptiles were seen primarily as animals, although distinguished by their methods of movement. 'Venemous' used both literally as full of venom and figuratively as a destroyer. 'The aspikes ... no remedy is there for them that are stung or bitten by them... This pestilent creature, as venemous as hee is...', Pliny, Ch. xxv (p. 208).

1501 **rarest**: most excellent.

1501 **Affrick**: Africa, which included Egypt.

1503 **faire Nylus feedes**: Egypt as a habitat of the asp. Cf.. Pliny, ‘The river Nylus nourisheth the Crocodile, a venemous creature’, Ch.xxv (p. 208).

1509 **Better then Death, Deaths office thou dischargest**: Death personified as a skeletal form with a scythe was an active agent of mortality, the asp has replaced the scythe.

1511-2 **And in a pleasing sleepe ... not privie to our death**: Plutarch describes Cleopatra as experimenting with poisons to discover which would bring death quickly but painlessly so that the victim would be unaware of the moment of death (p. 1004).

1514-5 **Thinking to make thee worst, she made thee best, | Sith thou best freest us from our lives worst terror**: Antithesis within each line but also within successive lines exemplifies the contradiction between achieving freedom through death.

1517 **Monster Death**: Recapitulation of death’s image as a fearsome being. Cf. ‘the uglie monster death ... the eielesse Monster’, Christopher Marlowe, *Tamburlaine the Great*, (London, 1590), V.6.(sig. [K7^v], sig. L2^r).

1521 **How oft have I begg’d**: Cleopatra evokes the trope of a lover wishing for death.

1526-7 **That open canst with such an easie key | The doore of life**: Cleopatra envisages rejoining Antony; the ‘door’ separates life and death or alternatively life and everlasting life; cf. l. 266.

1529-30 **Well did our Priests discern something divine**: Cleopatra separates her position as a priestess of Isis from the priesthood, cf. 34n.

1533-5 **Comparing thy swift motion ... alwayes one**: anatomical knowledge of the means by which snakes moved was limited, they were classed as serpents, mysterious and dangerous. Natural histories such as that by Maplet relied heavily on the observations of classical authors such as Pliny, cf. 1497n.

1535 **never waxing old, but alwayes one**: Queen Elizabeth used ‘semper eadem’ (always the same) for a motto; a mention of ageing in relation to Queen Elizabeth was dangerous, it was more tactful to portray her as unchanging.

1538-42 **In zeale I make the offering of my blood | Calamitie confirming now in me | A sure believe ... onely the afflicted are religious**: By allowing the snake to bite her, Cleopatra makes an ‘offering’ which she would not have done in lesser circumstances.

1543 **I sacrifice these armes to Death**: Plutarch and early classical writers concur that Cleopatra was bitten on her arms, ‘two litle pretie bytings in her arme’ (p. 1010). Post Renaissance paintings emphasise Cleopatra’s body with a snake at her breast, possibly influenced by Shakespeare: ‘She applies an aspic to her breast’... ‘Dost thou not see the baby at my breast, | That sucks the nurse asleep?’ *Antony and Cleopatra*, V. 2. 302, 308-9.

1550-9 **Willing to die, and willing too to pause ... Pleas’d he should go, yet cannot let him go**: A reminder of Cleopatra’s farewell to Cæsario, though for Cæsario departure was to avoid possible death rather than to gain fame.

1553 **parling**: *OED* ‘parling’, n., 2 poetic: conversation.

1563-4 **Faine ... faine**: Alternating between two equally acceptable choices.

1566 **doubtfull**: Undecided.

1567 **Legions**: A multitude, also a military link with ‘combate’ (l. 1566).

1571 **Honour scorning Life**: Personification of two conflicting desires, an acceptable method of rhetorical discussion, one often used in masques.

1572, 1575, 1577, 1578 **armour, armies, Marching, bloody colours**: Military references continue.

1576 **Furies**: Mythical beings, cf. 199-200n.

1586 **execution**: Double meaning, action and extinction.

1587 **rebel powres**: Unwilling flesh or body, cf. ‘these rebell powres that thee array’, Shakespeare, *Sonnets*, Sonnet 146 (sig. I3^f).

1588-91 **False flesh... closure of thy vaines**: Conflict between intention and action. Cf. ‘the spirite in dede is readie, but the flesh is weake’, *The Bible*, Matthew Ch. 26 v. 41, sig. DD iii^v.

1588 **False flesh**: Contrast with Cleopatra’s previous references to her hands espec. l. 1168–9.

1598 **What doe I lose, that have but life to lose?**: Stoic preference for suicide, voluntary or forced, over dishonour or execution, as exemplified by the deaths of Socrates and Seneca.

1601-2 **she performes that part | That hath so great a part:** Through repetition of a word but using two different meanings, theatrical and metaphorical, Daniel links action with result. Throughout *Cleopatra*, the multiple meanings of ‘part’ are utilised, cf. 41n, 42n, 645-6n, 652 n, 818n and 951n.

1603 **tuch:** Bite.

1604 **tride the gold of her love, pure:** Reference to the assaying of metal for purity, gold being the most precious and desirable of metals.

1608 **bewray:** *OED* ‘bewray’ v. 4, reveal.

1612, 1615-6 **This act of Life ... the Theatre where I | Have acted thus:** These apparently self-referential phrases would be more clearly linked to a performance of the tragedy if they had been spoken by Cleopatra herself rather than being words reported by the Nuntius. In Daniel’s rewrite of *Cleopatra* in 1607, Cleopatra speaks these words, with only minor changes, to which Eras replies ‘Come, Charmion come, wee must not onely be| Spectators in this Scene, but Actors too | Now comes our part’; Cleopatra is both ‘performing’ death and dying.

1625 **And how each powre ... did leave | Their former office:** Each of the five senses cease to function.

1627-8 **new pluckt branch ... fading leaves:** Symbolic description of the dying Cleopatra, a branch or member of the Ptolomaic dynasty, her family tree. Also Cleopatra’s ageing appearance, cf. 1080n.

1629 **her disjoyned joyntures as undone:** The link between body and soul broken. *OED*, ‘disjoined’, adj., disunited, parted. Cleopatra has become separated from Antony, Egypt and life itself. *OED* ‘jointure’ n., 1, union ; the *OED* gives an illustrative quotation c. 1374, G. Chaucer, tr. Boethius *De Consol. Philos.* (Cambr.) II.pr.v.32, ‘Joynture of sowle and body.’ An alternative interpretation from the *OED* is ‘jointure’ n. 2., joint, which is illustrated by ‘Her disjoined jointures as undone | Let fall her weake dissolved Limbs support’, *Cleopatra* (1594).

1629 **disjoyned joyntures:** Paradoxical phrasing.

1643 **wries:** Disturbs, sets awry.

1644 **Diademe which on her head shee wore:** Daniel's description of the death bed scene follows Plutarch closely, even to the choice of words and phrases, 'Diademe which Cleopatra ware upon her head', p. 1009.

1659 **strecht on a bed of golde:** Plutarch's words: 'layed upon a bed of gold', p. 1009.

1662-3 **And dying Charmion trimming of her head, | And Eras at her feete:** 'Iras dead at her feete... Charmion trimming the Diademe' Plutarch p.1009.

1664-6 **Charmion, is this well done? saide one of them. | Yea, well saide she, and her that from the race | Of so great Kings descends, doth best become:** 'One of the soldiers seeing her, angrily said unto her: is that well done Charmion? Verie well sayd she again, and meete for a Princes descended from the race of so many noble kings' (Plutarch p. 1009). Cf. 'First guard: What work is here, Charmian? Is this well done? | Charmian: It is well done, and fitting for a princess | Descended of so many royal kings', *Antony and Cleopatra*, V.2.323-5.

1676 **She was dispatcht, he crost in his intent:** A concise exposition – Cleopatra dead, Octavian foiled – brings the Nuntius's account towards its close.

1677-8 **Her providence .. none should her plot prevent:** The closing lines anticipate the discussion of providence in the final verse of the succeeding chorus.

1678 **plot:** Double meaning, Cleopatra's plot and the plot of the tragedy itself.

CHORUS

1680 The final chorus or song as it would have been in a Senecan tragedy is a threnody.

1681 **Th'accomplishment of woes:** Self referential in that the conclusion of the tragedy has been reached, but also that Cleopatra's life has finished.

1684-6 **And seene al hope expeld, | That ever sweete repose | Shall repossesse the Land:** The death of a reigning queen, Cleopatra, might have engendered comparison with the uncertainty surrounding the closure of the lengthy reign of Elizabeth I, which had brought stability to England.

1690 **All th'issue of all those | That so long rule have held:** The Ptolemaic dynasty has ended.

1694-6 **Nylus, Tyber**: The river Nile is conflated with Egypt, the Tiber with Rome. The differing characteristics of the rivers, Nile with its annual inundations and Tiber ‘with sandy streams’, emphasise the difference between Egypt and Rome.

1700–1 **Whose unknowne head we hold | A powre divine to be**: the unknown source of the Nile gave it mystical significance. The sources of the White Nile and the Blue Nile were not identified until the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

1706, 1707 **streames, Reames**: Neither Cercignani nor Kökeritz discuss this rhyme. However Daniel also employed it in the *Civile wars*: ‘For brought up in the broiles of these two Realmes, | They thought best fishing still in troubled streames.’ Daniel, *The first fowre bookes* (London:1595), sig. E3^r. In the later 1609 edition of the *Civile Wars*, ‘Realmes’ became ‘Reames’, sig. D3^v. Reames was a common alternative spelling of realms in the 16/17th centuries.

1708-1721 These lines express the desolation of a country and its people through the metaphor of its all powerful river.

1710-1 **Rockes strangle up thy waves | Stop Cataractes thy fall**: The forces of nature itself are called upon by the Chorus to express the disaster which has befallen on Egypt.

1711 **Cataractes thy fall**: Pliny’s description of the Nile includes mention of cataracts ‘or downefals’ beyond which it was impossible to sail (p. 98).

1713-4 **sandy Desarts, world of dust**: The occasional unexplained failure of the Nile to flood brought drought to the country. The conquest of Egypt by Octavian’s army was a comparable disaster.

1716-8 **May drinke ... A living greene**: Pliny’s description of the river also emphasises its potential for creating life, ‘at certaine set daies he swelleth to a great heighth: and when he hath travailed all over Ægypt, hee overfloweth the land, to the great fertilitie and plentie thereof’ (p. 97).

1717 **vastie**: *OED* ‘vast’ adj., 2, of immense extent.

1720-1 **On that wide face of Death, | Where nothing now drawes breath**: The abrupt change from abundance to emptiness mirrors the events in the country.

1722-7 **Fatten some people... feeble luxurie ... day of mone**: These lines and the preceding verse seem to prophesy a curse on the invading Romans. There may be an underlying ambivalence about the tenure of empires and a hint of the 'wheel of fortune'.

1727 **mone**: Moan.

1729-35 **Leave levell'd Egypt ... dust**: A hope that victory would be hollow.

1738 **Th'inheritance of shame**: Cleopatra, the last ruling Ptolemy, leaves a legacy of shame to her people. Daniel, writing in a period when theological terms were intensively discussed (see p. 94-5) is using a Christian notion that of 'original sin', that is, sin inherited from previous generations or inborn.

1740 **see**: A region under the ecclesiastical authority of a bishop which could be seen as comparable to Cleopatra's responsibility for Egypt as a priestess of Isis. If, however, 'see' is an alternative spelling of 'sea' then it could refer figuratively to the immensity of her faults.

1742-4 **The yoke ... our blame ... whom it came**: The contrasting beliefs of individual responsibility (our blame) and predestination (the yoke).

1750-2 **O thou all-seeing light ... Starres**: Amongst the gods worshipped by the Egyptians was the sun-god, Ra.

1754 **Providence**: Cf. ll. 929-30n.

1755-7 **Are these the bounds y'have given | Th'untranspassable barres | That limite Pride so short**: *OED* 'untranspassable' adj. The *OED* notes that the only recorded usage is in *Cleopatra* (1594) (and in subsequent editions).

1763 **?**: Interchangeable with '!' in early printed texts.

1762-3 **Doth order order so | Disorders overthrow**: The synthesis or 'ordering' of the various uses of the word 'order' or indeed of the 'word order' is an example of Daniel's dexterity in word games.

1758-63 **Is greatnesse ... Disorders overthrow?** ; A final rhetorical flourish forms a conclusion to the tragedy.

Variants

The textual note (p. 146) details the editions of *Cleopatra* which have been compared to the 1601 Blickling Hall copy. The only known surviving copy of the 1598 edition (*Delia and Rosamond. augmented Cleopatra* (London, 1598), STC (2nd ed.) 6243.6) is incomplete and damaged. It is held by the British Library but not available to view except through EEBO. The damage limits its usefulness in the main to the first four acts; gaps are noted and marked [].

Differences in punctuation and spelling between editions are not noted unless they make a significant difference to the meaning. Differences in font are noted.

Title page

Title and Latin tag plus ‘1594’ are presented within an elaborate portico; the same framing is used for the frontispiece of the edition. The engraving is described at length in Francesco Colonna’s *Hypnerotomachia* together with an illustration (sig. G4^r) (1594).

Title and Latin tag with ornament below, plus ‘| AT LONDON | Printed by Peter Short, for | Simon Waterson. | 1598|’, (1598).

Title and Latin tag plus ‘SAM. DANYELL’| small ornament | ‘AT LONDON | Printed by P.S. for Symon | Waterson. 1599 |’, the whole placed inside an elaborately decorated frame (1599).

Title and Latin tag plus ‘To the Lady Marie Countesse | of Pembroke|’ (1605).

Dedication

All the following line numbers refer to the Dedication.

1-115: Dedicatory epistle omitted (1605).

2 **Mary**: Marie (1594-8). The spelling difference is noted since the Countess of Pembroke had been one of Daniel’s most significant patrons but by 1601 this patronage had ceased.

4 **labour**: worke the (1594-8).

5 **Whose influence did**: Who onely doth (1594-9).

6 **my desires first chose**: which my labours chose (1594-9) .

7 **travels in**: way in all (1594-9).

8 **had the powre t’infuse**: doth alone infuse (1594-9).

9 **from whence these motions came**: and makes mee what I am (1594-9).

20-7 **Who if she heere ... some resemblances**:

Who if shee heere doe so appeare in act,
 That for his Queene & Love he scarce wil know her,
 Finding how much shee of her selfe hath lackt,
 And mist that glory wherein I should shew her,
 In majestie debas'd, in courage lower;
 Yet lightning thou by thy sweet favouring eyes,
 My darke defects which from her sp'rit detract,
 Hee yet may guess it's shee; which will suffice. (1594-9).

28-35 **And I hereafter ... my gratitude to thee:**

And I hereafter, in another kinde,
 More fitting to the nature of my vaine,
 May (peradventure) better please thy minde,
 And higher notes in sweeter musique straine:
 Seeing that thou so graciously doost daine,
 To countenance my song and cherish mee.
 I must so worke posterity may finde
 How much I did contend to honour thee. (1594-9).

48 **an uninersall:** our honors but a (1594-9).

53 **And in that part will live thy reverent name:** Deck't and adorned with thy sacred name
 (1594-9).

59 **As Time, or:** That Time nor (1594-9).

64 **venerable:** ever reverent (1594-9).

88 **on:** in (1598).

89 **to teach:** teach to (1594), to teach to (1598), teach to (1599).

101 **Then:** The (1598).

113-5 **That ... not the best:** That favoured by the Worthyees of our Land | My lynes are lik'd,
 the which may make me grow, | In time to take a greater task in hand (1594-8).

The Argument

All the following line numbers refer to the Argument.

1-35 Italics used for the body of the text with roman type for the heading and for names,
 inverting the style used in 1601 (1594, 1598, 1599, 1605).

In the Blickling Hall edition, an otherwise blank facing page follows the Argument, with
 signature Diiij. The British Library copy, STC (2nd ed.) 6236, has the correct signature Fiiij,
 clearly a 'stop press' correction.

The Scène and Actors

Placed above 'The Scène ...' 'THE TRAGEDIE | *of Cleopatra*' (1605).

Italics used for names, roman type otherwise (1598, 1599); italics used for actors' names (1605).

ACTUS PRIMUS

The original Act One from 1594 was rewritten to a great extent in 1599 and this revised version was carried through to 1605 with minimal differences.

THE TRAGEDIE: omitted (1594, 1598), **THE TRAGEDIE OF** (1599)
of Cleopatra.: omitted (1594, 1598), **CLEOPATRA.** (1599).

1 **extend:** possesse (1594, 1598).

2 **?:** , (1599).

2-12 **My life ... grace?:** This hatefull prison of a loathsome soule | Can no calamitie , nor no distresse | Breake hart and all, and end a life so foule: | Can *Cleopatra* live and with these eyes | Behold the deerest of her life bereft her? | Ah, can shee entertaine the least surmise | Of any hope, that hath but horror left her? | Why should I linger longer griefes to try? | These eyes that sawe what honor earth can give mee, | Doe now behold the worst of misery: | The greatest wrack whereto Fortune could drive mee | (1594, 1598).

9 **these endure:** these eyes endure (1599).

13 **Whiles on his:** Hee on whose (1594, 1598).

15 **My Atlas, and supporter of my pride:** The Atlas and the Champion of my pride (1594, 1598).

16 **glory:** fortune (1594, 1598).

17 **Who now throwne downe, disgrac'd, confounded lies:** Lyes falne, confounded, dead in shame and dolors (1594, 1598).

19 **eies:** love (1594, 1598).

20-4 **The traines ... fall:** Th'Ensigne of mine eyes, th'unhappy collours, | That led him to mischief, mee to ruine drove. | And now the modell made of misery, | Scorne to the world, borne but for Fortunes foile, | My lusts have fram'd a Tombe for mee to lie, | Even in the ashes of my Countries spoyle | (1594, 1598).

25 **Now:** Ah (1594, 1598).

26-7 **With all ... state:** Clad with the glory of the worlds chiefe ritches, | Admir'd of all the earth, and wondred at| (1594, 1598).

35 **Is't ... belide:** Ist I that left my sence so without guide (1594, 1598).

36 **could persuade ... not I:** would not let him know twas I (1594, 1598).

37-46 **Well ... wretched I:** Ah, now I see, they scarce tell truth, that praise us | Crownes are beguiled, prosperity betraies us. | What is become of all that statelie traine, | Those troopes that wont attend prosperitie? | See what is left, what number doth remaine, | A tombe, two maides, and miserable I. (1594, 1598).

48 **honour:** beautifie (1594, 1598).

51 **But ... do,:** No *Cæsar* no, it is not thou canst doe it. (1594, 1598).

53 **thereto:** unto it (1594, 1598).

56-7 **Though thou ... bereave me:** Though thou of Country, kingdom, & my Crowne | Though thou of all my glory doth bereave me (1594, 1598).

57 **wholy Egypt made:** all my Egipt as (1594, 1598).

61 **Can never be so abjectly abated:** Cannot by threats be vulgarly abated (1594, 1598).

63 **Thinke Cæsar, I that liv'd and raign'd a Queene:** Consider *Cæsar* that I am a Queene (1594, 1598).

64-6 **Doe scorne ... my state:** And scorne the baseness of a servile thought: | The world and thou, dost know what I have beene, | And never thinke I can be so low brought,| (1594, 1598).

75-7 **Nor had ... grace:** Nor had I troubled now the world thus long, | And beene indebted for this little breath, | But that I feare, *Cæsar* would offer wrong | (1594, 1598).

79 **It's:** Tis (1594,1598).

80 **That's it:** Tis that (1594,1598).

84 **The wretched:** Th'ungodly (1594, 1598).

85 **subjects live:** now be slaves (1594, 1598).

86 **Or else, I fear, scarce live:** Or else not bee (I feare) (1594, 1598).

88 **And stay this while to mediate your safetie:** And live this while for to procure your safetie (1594, 1598).

91 **But this is but to trie:** But tis not long, Ile see (1594, 1598).

93 **And die ... unwonne:** Ile be my selfe, my thoughts doe rest thereon (1594, 1598).

98 **not be now, could I be:** not now be were (1594, 1598).

105-10 **Luxuriousnesse ... infamie?:** Licentiousnes in mee should end her date | Begunne in ill-dispensed libertie.| If so it be, and that my heedles waies, | Have this so great a dissolution rais'd, | Yet let a glorious end conclude my dayes, | Though life were bad, my death may yet be prais'd, (1594, 1598).

111 **And let me:** That I may (1594, 1598).

114 **As:** That (1594, 1598).

115 **takes note:** doth know (1594, 1598).

116-42 **That my ... lockt so fast:** That my mis-fortune hath procured thine, | And my improvidence brought thee so low, | To lose thy glory, and to ruine mine | (1594, 1598).

119-21 **Though God thou ... hath no aide:** Yet God thou know'st this staine is wrongly laide | Upon my soule, whom ill successe makes ill: | And my condemn'd Misfortune hath no aide (1605).

144 **We suncke:** To sinke (1594, 1598).

145 **And both made shipwracke of our fame beside:** Both equall shipwrack of our states t'abide (1594, 1598).

146-7 **Both wrought ... to sacrifice:** And like destruction to procure to eyther: | If I should now (our common fault) forgive, | Then all the world must hate mee if I doe it, | Sith both our errors did occasion give, | And both our faults have brought us both unto it. | I being first inamour'd with thy greatnes, | Thou with my vanity bewitched wholly: And both betrayd with th'outward pleasant sweetnes, | The one ambition spoyld, th'other folly. | For which, thou hast already duly paid, | The statute of thy errors dearest forfeit: | Whereby thy gotten credite was decayd, | Procur'd thee by thy wanton deadly surfeit. | And next is my turne, now to sacrificize (1594, 1598).

162 **stay:** thinke (1594, 1598).

166 **And never ... learnest:** The wanton pompe of Courts yet never learnest (1594, 1598), And this loose pomp of monarchs never learnest (1605).

180 **O Antony, that... better :** O *Antony* (who best deserv'st it better) (1605).

183 **so true a minde:** most faithfull zeale (1594, 1598).

184-6 **(Casting up ... and thine:** And that ere long, no *Cæsar* shall detaine me, | My death, my love and courage shall reveale, | The which is all the world hath left t'unstaine me | (1594, 1598).

187 **But to ... Cæsar:** And to the end I may deceive best *Cæsar* (1594, 1598).

191 **Thereby with more convenienc to:** Whereby I may the better mee (1594, 1598).

192 **For:** Of (1594, 1598).

193 **An yeelding:** A seeming (1594, 1598).

CHORUS

199-258 Italics used, as was the usual convention for verses within the body of a larger text (1594, 1598, 1599, 1605).

199 **BE:** two initial capitals of behold are used in all editions, but the **B** is not enclosed in a decorative square except in 1601 and 1602.

204 **sprite:** sp'rit (1594, 1598, 1599).

224 *Cleopatra*: CLEOPATRA (1594, 1598), Cleopatra (1599, 1605).

Actus Secundus.: ACTUS SECUNDUS. (1594, 1598, 1599, 1605).

Cæsar. Proculeius.: CÆSAR. PROCULEIUS. (1594, 1598, 1599).

273 **All Egypt yeelds to**: All Egypt to (1598).

327 **Words of command, conjoyn'd with humble speech**: That words of powre conjoyn'd with humble speech (1605).

342 **Sufficient glorie, could he be content**: Sufficient glory, if hee could content him (1594, 1598, 1599).

344 **to lament**: to lamenting (1594, 1598, 1599).

363 **When I beganne to mittigate her woe**: When [] woe (1598).

366 **all vaine**: idle (1605).

382 **actions oft**: purposes (1605).

383 **safetie to come yeelde**: safteie for to yeeld (1594, 1598, 1599).

386 **Princes respect their honour more then blood**: Princes are not ally'd unto their blood (1605).

393 **A private man may yeelde and care not how**: A private ma [] care not how (1598).

397 **troupe**: watch (1594, 1598, 1599).

402-71 Italics used, with roman type for names, Antony, Cleopatra and Opinion (line 459) and in capitals for OPINION (line 402) (1594, 1598).

402-71 Italics used, with roman type for names, Antony, Cleopatra and Opinion (line 459) (1599, 1605).

449 **satisfide**: *sati*[] (1598).

450 **of toile**: of t[] (1598).

Actus tertius

Actus tertius.: ACTUS TERTIUS. (1594, 1598, 1599, 1605).

471 *Philostratus. Arius*.: PHILOSTRATUS. ARIUS. (1594, 1599).

474 **Cæsars gentle grace**: *Cæsars* ge[]e for m[] (1598).

475 **dispaired**: []pair'd (1598).

480 **us**: [] (1598).

481 **Living (as'twere)**: We live but as (1605).

494 **lofty**: loftly (1598).

495 **Intaxing**: In taxing (1594, 1598, 1599, 1605).

- 504 **to th'end my**: to []y (1598).
- 505 **of**: [] (1598).
- 506 **much to abuse**: much t'abuse (1594), I much abuse (1598).
- 518 **How'improvident**: How improvident (1594, 1598).
- 521 **and**: & (1594, 1598).
- 523 **and**: & (1594, 1598).
- 529 **of prince, and people**: of such a people (1594, 1598).
- 531 **and**: & (1599).
- 534 **the Ptolomies**: [] (1598).
- 535 **mysteryes**: m[]ies (1598).
- 548 **height**: heigh (1605).
- 549 **th'exaltation**: the exaltation (1605).
- 564 **men with wary jealous**: m[]lous (1598).
- 565 **all obstacles**: []tacles (1598).
- 573 **safety**: glory (1605).
- 574 **To cut off all succession from our land**: T'extinguish the succession of our land (1605).
- 576 **Why must her issue pay the price of that**: Must all her issue be confounded now (1605).
- 577 **The price is life that they are rated at**: Yea all that from the roots of kings did grow (1605).
- 578 **Cæsario too, issued** : And sweet Cæsario sprong (1605).
- 589 **great**: geat (1594).
- 592 **To apprehend some falsed hope**: With some deluding hope (1605).
- 594 **thinke**: trust (1605).
- 595 **queld**: quel (1594, 1598).
- Scena Secunda*..: SCENA. SECUNDA. (1594) SCENA SECUNDA. (1598, 1599, 1605).
- Cæsar, Cleopatra, Seleucus, Dolabella*..: CÆSAR, CLEOPATRA, SELEUCUS, DOLABELLA. (1594, 1599).
- Cæsar*..: Cæs. placed above l. 596 (1594, 1598, 1599).
- 597 **Cæsars**: *Cæsars* (1594, 1598, 1599).
- 600 **Cle.**: *Cleo.* (1594, 1598, 1599).
- 602 **m'oppressed**: my' oppressed (1594), my oppressed (1598).
- 606 **Cæsar**: *Cæsar* (1594, 1598).
- 611 **the**: y^e (1594, 1598, 1599).

- 617 **a gaine**: againe (1605).
- 618 **must looke**: looke not (1605).
- 619 **Thorow**: But thror'w (1605).
- 621 **Cle.**: *Cleo.* (1594, 1598, 1599).
- 629 **and**: or (1594, 1598).
- 632 **alas no**: ah no no (1605).
- 644 **thou**: y^e (1594, 1598).
- 648 **what needed Art**: was needed art (1605).
- 656 **Cæsar**: CÆSAR (1594), *Cæsar* (1598, 1599).
- 662 **Cæsar**: *Cæsar* (1594, 1598, 1599, 1605).
- 663 **Cæsar**: *Cæsar* (1594, 1598, 1599, 1605).
- 667 **Cæsar ... Cæsar**: *Cæsar ... Cæsar* (1594, 1598, 1599, 1605).
- 674 **Seleu**: *Sel* (1598).
- 674 **within that roule**: within that [] (1602).
- 676 **Cle**: *Cleo* (1598, 1599).
- 677 **and**: & (1598, 1599).
- 679 **Cle**: *Cleo* (1598, 1599).
- 683 **(God knowes,)**: God knowes (1598).
- 687 **Octavias**: *Octavius* (1605).
- 706 (with sorrow wain'd,): with sorrow waind (1598).
- 718 **Beautie daughter of Mervaile**: Daughter of Mervaile beauty (1605).
- 738 **twere best she left such badnesse**: leave her unto her sadnesse (1605).
- 748 **CHORUS**: CHORUS, (1599).
- 749-808 Italics used for text, except as noted below in lines 749-50 (1594, 1598, 1599, 1605).
- 749 **Nemesis**: NEMESIS (1594), *Nemesis* (1598, 1599, 1605).
- 750 **Justice**: JUSTICE (1594), *Justice* (1598, 1599, 1605).
- 776 **In**: *Even in* (1598).
- 785 **Justice**: *justice* (1599).
- 786 **The innocent**: *Th'innocent* (1594).
- 792 **(in close)**: *in close* (1605).
- Actus quartus.**: ACTUS QUARTUS. (1594, 1598, 1599, 1605).
- Seleucus. Rodon.**: SELEUCUS. RODON. (1594, 1599).

- 809 **NEver friend Rodon**: FRiend *Rodon* never (1605).
- 810 **ev'n**: ev'en (1594).
- 842 **the**: y^e (1594).
- 854 **that's**: that is (1605).
- 865 **would should live**: would have live (1605).
- 884 **Cæsar**: *Cæsar* (1598, 1599).
- 885 **so**: as (1594).
- 887 **hie**: hie (1594, 1598, 1599, 1602, 1605).
- 901 **Rodon**: *Rodon* (1605).
- 903 **Rodon**: *Rodon* (1605).
- 917 **Genius**: Genius (1598).
- 922 **fall**: all (1605).
- 948 **Lest**: Least (1599).
- 961 **spirite**: sp'rite (1594).
- 964 **neede**: yeeld (1598).
- 985 **India**: INDIA (1594, 1599).
- 987 **Rhodes**: Rhodes (1598).
- 999 **To**: So (1605).
- 1000 **much**: farre (1594, 1598).
- 1001 **From** : []om (1598).
- 1002 **T'have**: []ha[] (1598).
- 1003 **Nylus streames in Nylus**: Nilus streame in Nilus (1598).
- 1008 **And not t'have stooede in their way**: Out of the way of greatnesse (1605).
- 1012 **that**: y^e (1598).
- 1015 **that**: y^e (1598).
- 1031 **fore-say**: fore-s[] (1598).
- 1045 **satisfie**: sacrifice (1594); the corrections page (A2^v) of the 1594 edition gives the correction 'In L page 16 Marke the Speaker, and read thus,
The justice of the heavens revenging thus,
Doth onely satisfie it selfe, not us.
- 1062 **at his**: [] (1598).
- 1064 **Cæsar**: *Cæsar* (1598, 1599).

- 1066 **such**: us (1594, 1598).
- 1070 **brag**: bray (1594, 1598).
- 1075 **Cleopatra**: CLEOPATRA. (1594, 1598, 1599).
- 1089 **The one**: Th'one (1598).
- 1090 **I must die his debter**: [] die his debt[] (1598).
- 1091 **can**: [] (1598).
- 1092 **my leave**: [] (1598).
- 1097 **my flame**: [] (1598).
- 1120 **If it be so, why speake I then to th'ayre**: Then do I speake but onely to the ayre (1605).
- 1121 **tis**: [] (1598).
- 1135 **the**: in (1598).
- 1137 **our country**: our owne Country (1594, 1598, 1599).
- 1150 **leasure**: lei[]e (1598).
- 1168 **bare hands to doe it?** : bare silly hands? (1605).
- 1170 **the flesh be'ing put unto it**: with them which stands (1605).
- 1172 **But yet I must a way and meanes seeke, how**: But yet I must some way endeavour how (1605).
- 1179 **sighes**: sights (1605).
- 1180 **He bring**: [] (1598).
- 1181 **My selfe**: [] (1598).
- 1182 **attenders**: attender (1598).
- 1185 **And will discharge your charge**: And quits you from all charge (1594, 1598).
- 1192 **So shall I act the last of life with glorie**: So shall I act the last act of my glory (1594).
- 1194 **Exit.**: [on following line] *Exit.* (1594, 1598, 1599); [on same line] *Exit.* 1605).
- 1195-1264 Roman type with italics for Sesostris and Ptolomies:Italics used, with roman type for Nylus, Zoroaster, Ptolomies and Cæsar (1594, 1598). Italics used with roman type for Nylus, Sesostris, Ptolomies and Cæsar. (1599, 1605).
- 1198 **temp'rate**: temperate (1598).
- 1207 **Could**: []ould (1598).
- 1219 **For oft they seeing**: Who when they see (1605).
- 1220 **take their ease as though contented**: for their private are contented (1605).
- 1231 **olde Sesostris**: Zoroaster (1594, 1598).

1235 **luxurie**: [] (1598).

1263 **Fill full**: [] (1598).

1264 **Enough**: []gh (1598).

Actus quintus.: ACTUS QUINTUS. (1594, 1598, 1599, 1605).

Dolabella Titius: DOLABELLA. TITIUS. (1594, 1599).

1271 **whenas**: when as (1594, 1598, 1599, 1605).

1273 **monument**: Monument (1599).

1274 **odors, incense, garlands**: Odors, Incense, Garlands (1594, 1599); Odours, Incence, Garlands (1598).

1275 **I**: *I* (1599).

1285 (**saith she**): saith she (1605).

1289 **how much**: []ch (1598).

1293 **Antony**: *Anthony* (1594); *Anthonie* (1598).

1304 **such**: her (1605).

1308 **flowre blasted**: flowre thus blasted (1605).

1312 **then**: thē (1599).

1315 **Antonie**: *Anthony* (1594); *Anthonie* (1598); *Antony* (1599).

1322 **majesty**: Maiestie (1594, 1598).

1324 **his pride**: himselfe (1605).

1326 **seiz'd** : ceaz'd (1594).

1330 **them**: thē (1598).

1330 **and**: & (1598).

1336 **thou**: y^u (1594, 1598).

1341 **sir**: Sir (1594).

1344 **know**: knowes (1594, 1598).

After l. 1347, lines 1405 to 1464 (one leaf) are interposed in the much damaged 1598 copy viewed on EEBO.

1349 **How having din'd**: [] din'd (1598).

1350 **Him strait**: []aight (1598).

1352 **countryman**: Countryman (1594, 1598, 1599).

1352 **poore countryman**: Poore countriman (1605).

- 1353 **then**: thē (1598).
- 1355 **majesty**: Maiestie (1594, 1598); Maiesty (1599).
- 1362 **stronger then**: strōger thē (1598).
- 1364 **To grant her asking, in the best condition**: To condescend unto her small petition (1605).
- 1366 **what she hath beene**:: for her having been, (1605).
- 1367 **of rarest spirit**: of so rare spirit (1605).
- 1368 **Lady**: lady (1599).
- 1373 **advocate**: Advocate (1594).
- 1377 *Scena secunda*: SCENA SECUNDA. (1594, 1598, 1599, 1605).
- 1378 *Nuntius*:: NUNTIUS. (1594, 1599).
- 1385 **in**: on (1605).
- 1387 **Cho.**: *Chor.* (1594, 1598, 1599).
- 1387 **bringst**: bring'st (1594, 1599); brings (1598).
- 1387 **thou**: y^u (1594, 1598).
- 1389 **To the already**: To th'already (1594); Unto th'already (1605).
- 1391 **the worst of our calamity?**: our worst calamity? (1605).
- 1393 **Unseene, unknown? Tel if that greater misery**: Unknowne? If there be greater misery (1605).
- 1394 **There be, that we waile not that which is lesse**: Relate it, that we do not waile the lesse (1605).
- 1397 **Nu**: *Nun.* (1594, 1598, 1599); *Nu.* (1605).
- 1398 **mortall**: morrall (1598); mortail (1605).
- 1399 **from**: frō (1599).
- 1404 **majesty**: Maiestie (1594, 1598).
- 1405 **I did my best in what I could devise**:: [] (1598, damaged and misplaced leaf)
- 1406 **And left her not, till now she**: [] (1598)
- 1407, 1409, 1411, 1413, 1415 **Cho.**: *Chor.* (1594, 1599)
- 1407 **Cho. What is she gone? Hath**: [] she gon[]th (1598).
- 1408 **Nun. Yea**:: []a, (1598).
- 1409 **Cho. What**: []hat (1598).
- 1409, 1410 **India**: INDIA (1594, 1598, 1599).

1411 **then:** thē (1594, 1598, 1605).

1413 **Cho.:** *Chor* (1598).

1414 **with:** w (1594).

1415 **then:** thē (1594, 1598, 1605).

1416 **aright:** a[]t (1598).

1417 **When:** Whē (1594, 1598).

1417 **bereft:** bereft her (1594, 1598, 1599).

1419 **left:** left her (1594, 1598, 1599).

1435 **evermore remembred be,:** ever-[] (1598).

1438 **In:** []n (1598).

1442 **I:** *I* (1599).

1442 **and this now must it be:** and this tis thou must doe mee (1594, 1598); and this tis thou must do me (1599).

1444 **Two:** To (1594, 1598); *Two* (1599).

1444 **to:** unto (1594, 1598, 1599).

1445 **I:** *I* (1599).

1447 **heavens:** heaven (1598).

1447 **the heavens:** th'heavens (1605).

1453 **And:** And (1594).

1456 **Aspicques:** *Aspicqs* (1594); *Aspicqs* (1599).

1464 **Thinking:** *Thinking* (1599).

1464 **man that:** mǎ y^t (1599).

1464 **that:** y^t (1594, 1598).

1464 **present:** Present (1594).

After l. 1464 the remaining leaves in the 1598 copy are much damaged and out of order, the last passage being a few part lines from the Chorus. I shall, therefore, make no further mention of variants arising in the 1598 printing.

1467 **sh'had:** she'had (1594).

1470 **Cleere Cydnos:** O CYDNOS (1594); O *Cydnos* (1599).

1471 **Asia:** Asia (1594).

1472 **Venus:** VENUS (1594).

1480 **griefe:** care (1594, 1599).

1486 **and even**: & evē (1599).

1489 **sprites**; sp'rits (1594, 1599).

1498 **staves**: faves (1605).

1503 **fairest**: fearest (1605).

1508 **That**: *That* (1599).

1514 **Thinking**: *Thinking* (1599).

1522 **To**: *To* (1599).

1522 **which he would never do**: and yet could never get him? (1594, 1599). That who is he (if he could chuse) would let him? (1594, 1599).

1536 **sure thy strange**: therein a (1605).

1540 **A**: *A* (1594).

1542 **And**: *And* (1594).

1558 **tel.**: tell. (1594, 1599, 1601, 1602, 1605).

1564 **that**: y^t (1594).

1564 **upon**: upō (1594, 1605).

1569 **helpe**: *Help* (1594).

1572-4 **Bright Immortalitie in shining armour | Thorow the rayes of whose cleere glorie, she | Might see lifes basenesse, how much it might harme her**: Cleere Immortalitie arm'd all in flames | Through whose bright shining rayes of glory, she | Might see how base was was life that her defames (1605).

1575 **armies**: *Armies* (1594).

1575 **Reproches**: reproches (1605).

1577 **with Life**: therewith (1605).

1578 **bloody**: blushing (1605).

1579 **representments seeing, worse**: representments seeing farre worse (1605). Note: extra word conflicts with the decasyllable pattern.

1588 **and**: & (1599).

1588 **conspire**: cōspire (1594).

1589 **Cæsar**: *Cæsar* (1594, 1599).

1592 **Base**: base (1605).

1603 **poy's'ning**: poy'sning (1594); poysoning (1599).

1612 **assign'd**: assign'd mee (1594).

1613 **or disgrace heere**: of disgraces (1605).

1614 **I had, and both I**: I had, and both *I* (1599).

1614 **behind**: behinde mee (1594).

1615 **earth**: Earth (1594).

1616 **I**: *I* (1599).

1617 **Antony**: *Anthony* (1594); *Anthonie* (1599).

1620 **twere**: if (1605).

1622 **and intertain'd her**: as likewise may be (1594).

1634 **want**: wāt (1605).

1635 **And**: And (1594).

1638 **Death**: death (1594, 1599).

1643 **And**: And (1594).

1669 **Cho.**: *Chor.* (1594, 1599).

1673 **Antony**: *Anthony* (1594).

1680-763 Italics used, as was the usual convention for verses within the body of a larger text. Proper names are not italicised except as shown below (1594, 1599, 1605).

1704 see 1733v.

1711 **Cataractes**: *Cataractes* (1594).

1713 **Desarts**: *Dezarts* (1594); *Desarts* (1605).

1715 **all.**: all,) (1594, 1599) Note: the closing parenthetic bracket is omitted from the 1601, 1602 and 1605 printings.

1720 **Death**: *Death* (1594).

1729 **Egypt**: *Egypt* (1599).

1733 **care**: care (1594); the corrections page (A2v) of the 1594 edition gives the correction 'In the last Chorus, for care, reade cure', since line 1704 also contains 'care' the instruction is ambiguous and does not appear to have been followed in later editions.

1734 **Victors**: *Victors* (1594, 1599, 1605).

1757 **Pride**: *pride* (1594, 1599, 1605).

Appendix A: Plutarch

Excerpts from ‘The Life of *Marcus Antonius*’ in *Plutarch, The Lives of the noble Greeks and Romans* trans. by Thomas North (London, 1579, STC 20065). Copy held by The Huntington Library.

p. 970 THE LIFE OF *Marcus Antonius*

p. 971 But besides all this, he had a noble presence, and shewed a countenance of one of a noble house: he had a goodly thicke beard, a broad forehead, crooke nosed, and there appeared such a manly looke in his countenance, as is commonly seene in *Hercules* pictures, stamped or graven in mettell. Now it had bene a speeche of old time, that the familie of the *Antonie* were discended from one *Anton*, the sonne of *Hercules*, whereof the familie tooke name.

p. 977 Thus *Antonius* ruled absolutely also in all other matters, bicause he was Consul, and *Caius* one of his brethren Prætor, and *Lucius* the other, Tribune. Now thinges remayning in this state at ROME, *Octavius Cæsar* the younger came to ROME, who was the sonne of Julius Cæsars Nece, as you have heard before, and was left his lawefull heire by will, remayning at the time of the death of his great Uncle that was slayne, in the citie of APOLLONIA. This young man at his first arrivall went to salute *Antonius*, as one of his late dead father *Cæsars* friendes, who by his last will and testament had made him his heire ... *Antonius* at the first made no reckoning of him, bicause he was very younge: and sayde he lacked witte, and good friendes to advise him, if he looked to take such a charge in hande, as to undertake to be *Cæsars* heire.

p. 980 For he [Antony] was a plaine man, without suttletie ... He had a noble minde ...

p. 981 *Antonius* being thus inclined, the last and extreamest mischiefe of all other (to wit, the love of *Cleopatra*) lighted on him, who did waken and stirre up many vices yet hidden in him, and were never seene to any: and if any sparke of goodnesse or hope of rising were left him, *Cleopatra* quenched it straight, and made it worse then before. The manner how he fell in love with her was this. *Antonius* going to make warre with the PARTHIANS, sent to commaunde *Cleopatra* to appeare personally before him, when he came into CILICIA, to aunswere unto suche accusacions as were layed against her, being this: that she had aided *Cassius* and *Brutus* in their warre against him ... *Cleopatra* ... gessing by the former accesse and credit she had with *Julius Cæsar*, and *Cneus Pompey* (the sonne of *Pompey* the great) only for her beawtie: she began to have good hope that she might more safely win *Antonius*. For *Cæsar* and *Pompey* knew her when she was but a young thing, & knew not then what the worlde ment: but nowe she went to *Antonius* at the age when a womans bewtie is at the prime, and she also of best judgement ... But yet she caried nothing with her wherein she trusted more then in her selfe, and in the charmes and inchauntment of her passing beawtie and grace.

p. 982 Now her beawtie (as it is reported) was not so passing, as unmatched of other women, nor yet suche, as upon present viewe did enamor men with her: but so sweete was her companie and conversacion, that a man could not possiblie but be taken. And besides her beawtie, the good grace she had to talke and discourse, her curteous nature that tempered her

words & dedes, was a spurre that pricked to the quick. Furthermore, besides all these, her voyce and words were marvelous pleasant: for her tongue was an instrument of musicke to divers sports and pastimes, the which she easely turned to any language that pleased her ... Nowe, *Antonius* was so ravished with the love of *Cleopatra*, that ... he yeelded him selfe to goe with *Cleopatra* into ALEXANDRIA, where he spent and lost in childish sports, (as a man might saye) and idle pastimes, the most pretious thing a man can spende, as *Antiphon* sayth: and that is, time. ... And for prooffe hereof, I have heard my grandfather *Lampryas* report, that one *Philotas* a Phisition ... told him he was at that present time in ALEXANDRIA and ... [one of *Antonius*'s cooks] took him to *Antonius* house.

p. 983 But now againe to *Cleopatra*, Plato wryteth that there are foure kinds of flatterie: but *Cleopatra* devided it into many kinds. For she, were it in sport, or in matter of earnest, still devised sundrie new delights to have *Antonius* at commaundement, never leaving him night nor day, nor once letting him go out of her sight ... Nowe *Antonius* delighting in these fond and childish pastimes, verie ill newes were brought him from two places ... Then began *Antonius* with much a doe, a litle to rouse him selfe as if he had bene wakened out of a deepe sleepe, and as a man may say, comming out of a great dronkennes.

p. 984 For when *Antonius* landed in ITALIE, and that men saw that *Cæsar* asked nothing of him ... they made them frendes together, and devided the Empire of ROME betwene them, making the sea Ionium the bounds of their division. For they gave all the provinces Eastward, unto *Antonius*: and the contries Westward, unto *Cæsar* ... This seemed to be a sound counsell, but yet it was to be confirmed with a straighter bonde, which fortune offered thus. There was *Octavia* the eldest sister of *Cæsar* ... It is reported, that he dearly loved his sister *Octavia*, for in deede she was a noble Ladie, and left the widow of her first husband *Caius Marcellus*, who dyed not long before: and it seemed also that *Antonius* had bene widower ever since the death of his wife *Fulvia*. For he denied not that he kept *Cleopatra*, but so did he not confesse that he had her as his wife: & so with reason he did defend the love he bare unto this ÆGYPTIAN *Cleopatra*. Thereuppon everie man did set forward this mariage, hoping thereby that this Ladie *Octavia*, having an excellent grace, wisdom, & honestie, joyned unto so rare a beawtie, that when she were with *Antonius* (he loving her as so worthy a Ladie deserveth) she should be a good meane to keepe good love & amitie betwext her brother and him.

p. 985 In fine, he [*Antonius*] recommended the affairs of his house unto *Cæsar*, & went out of ITALIE with *Octavia* his wife, whom he carried into GRÆCE, after he had a daughter by her.

p. 986 But *Antonius* notwithstanding, grewe to be marvelously offended with *Cæsar*, upon certaine reportes that had bene brought unto him. ... his wife *Octavia* that came out of GRÆCE with him, besought him to send her unto her b[r]other; the which he did. *Octavia* at that time was great with child, and moreover had a second daughter by him, and yet she put her selfe in jorney, and met with her brother *Octavius Cæsar* by the way, who brought his two chiefe frendes, *Mæcenus* and *Agrippa* with him. She tooke them aside, and with all the instance she could possible, intreated them they would not suffer her that was the happiest woman of the world, to become nowe the most wretched and unfortunatest creature of all other. For now, said she, everie mans eyes doe gaze on me, that am the sister of one of the Emperours and wife of the other. And if the worst councill take place, (which the goddes forbidde) and they growe to warres: for your selves, it is uncertaine to which of them two the

goddess have assigned the victory, or overthrowe. But for me, on which side soever victory fall, my state can be but most miserable still. These words of *Octavia* so softned *Cæsars* harte, that he went quickly unto TARENTUM. ... First, *Antonius* feasted *Cæsar*, which he graunted unto for his sisters sake. Afterwardes they agreed together... Then beganne this pestilent plague and mischiefe of *Cleopatraes* love (which had slept a long tyme, and seemed to have bene utterlie forgotten, and that *Antonius* had geuen place to better counsell) againe to kindle, and to be in force, so soone as *Antonius* came neere unto SYRIA ... for he sent *Fonteius Capito* to bring *Cleopatra* unto SYRIA ... *Cleopatra* having brought him two twinnes, a sonne, and a daughter

p. 995 *Cleopatra* knowing that *Octavia* would have *Antonius* from her, and fearing also that if with her vertue and honest behavior, (besides the great power of her brother *Cæsar*) she did adde therunto her modest kind love to please her husband, that she would then be too stronge for her, and in the end winne him away: she suttelly seemed to languish for the love of *Antonius*, pynning her body for lacke of meate. Furthermore, she every way so framed her countenance, that when *Antonius* came to see her, she cast her eyes upon him, like a woman ravished for joy. Straight againe when he went from her, she fell a weeping and blubbering, looking rufully of the matter, and still found the meanes that *Antonius* should oftentimes finde her weeping ... All these trickes she used ... For, *Octavia*, sayd they, that was maryed unto him, as it were of necessitie, bicause her brother *Cæsars* affayres so required it: hath the honor to be called *Antonius* lawefull spowse and wife: and *Cleopatra*, being borne a Queene of so many thowsands of men, is onely named *Antonius* Leman, and yet that she disdayned not so to be called, if it might please him she might enjoy his company, and live with him: but if he once leave her, that then it is impossible she should live.

When *Octavia* was returned to ROME from ATHENS, *Cæsar* commanuded her to goe out of *Antonius* house, and to dwell by her selfe, bicause he had abused her. *Octavia* aunswered him againe, that she would not forsake her husbands house ... Now as she spake the worde, so did she also performe the dede. For she kept still in *Antonius* house, as if he had bene there, and very honestly and honorably kept his children not those onely she had by him, but the other which her husband had by *Fulvia*.

p. 996 For he [*Antonius*] assembled all the people in the show place ... and there upon a high tribunall silvered, he set two chayres of gold, the one for him selfe, and the other for *Cleopatra*, and lower chaires for his children: then he openly published before the assembly, that first of all he did establish *Cleopatra* Queene of ÆGYPT, of CYPRUS, of LYDIA, and of the lower SYRIA, and at that time also, *Cæsarion* king of the same Realmes. This *Cæsarion* was supposed to be the sonne of *Julius Cæsar*, who had left *Cleopatra* great with child. ... Now for *Cleopatra*, she did not onely weare at that time (but at all other times els when she came abroad) the apparell of the goddessse *Isis*, and so gave audience unto all her subjects, as a new *Isis*.

p. 998 Nowe, after *Cæsar* had made sufficient preparation, he proclaymed open warre against *Cleopatra*, and made the people to abolish the power and Empire of *Antonius*, bicause he had before given it uppe to a woman. And *Cæsar* sayde furthermore, that *Antonius* was not Maister of him selfe, but that *Cleopatra* had brought him beside him selfe, by her charmes and amorous poysons: and that they should make warre with them.

p. 999 The Admirall galley of *Cleopatra*, was called Antoniade, in the which there chaunced a marvelous ill signe. Swallowes had bred under the poope of her shippe, & there came others after them that drave away the first, & plucked downe their neasts.

Octavius Cæsar had also for his part, all that which was in our HEMISPHERÈ, or halfe part of the world ... Now *Antonius* was made so subject to a womans will, that though he was a great deale the stronger by land, yet for *Cleopatraes* sake he would needes have this battell tryed by sea ... Now whilst *Antonius* rode at anker, lying idely in harbor at the head of ACTIUM ... *Cæsar* had quickly passed the sea Ionium ... before *Antonius* understoode that he had taken shippe.

p. 1000 But now, notwithstanding all these good perswasions, *Cleopatra* forced him to put all to the hazard of battel by sea: considering with her selfe how she might flie, & provide for her safetie, not to helpe him winne the victory, but to flie more easily after the battel lost.

p. 1001 Howbeit the battell was yet of even hand, and the victorie doubtfull, being indifferent to both: when sodainely they saw the three score shippes of *Cleopatra* busie about their yard masts, and hoysing saile to flie. So they fled through the middest of them that were in fight... There *Antonius*... saw *Cleopatraes* shippe under saile, he forgot, forsooke, & betrayed them that fought for him, & imbarked upon a galley with five bankes of owers, to follow her that had already begon to overthrow him, & would in the end be his utter destruction.

p. 1004 *Cleopatra* received him in her royall pallace. He was no sooner comen hither, but he straight set all the city of rioting and banketing againe, and him selfe, to liberalitie and giftes. ... there was kept great feasting, banketing, and dauncing in ALEXANDRIA many dayes together.

Cleopatra in the meane time was verie carefull in gathering all sorts of poysons together to destroy men. Now to make prooffe of those poysons which made men dye with least paine, she tried it upon condemned men in prison. For when she saw the poysons that were sodaine and vehement, and brought speedy death with grievous torments: & in contrary maner, that suche as were more milde and gentle, had not that quicke speede and force to make one dye sodainly: she afterwarde went about to prove the stinging of snakes and adders, and made some to be applied unto men in her sight, some in one sorte and some in an other. So when she had dayly made divers and sundrie proofes, she found none of all of them she had proved so fit, as the biting of an Aspicke, the which only causeth a heavines of the head, without swounding or complaining, and bringeth a great desire also to sleepe, with a litle swet in the face, and so by litle and litle taketh away the senses and vitall powers, no living creature perceiving that the pacientes feele any paine. For they are so sorie when any bodie waketh them, and taketh them up: as those that being taken out of a sound sleepe, are very heavy and desirous to sleepe. This notwithstanding, they sent Ambassadors unto *Octavius Cæsar* in ASIA, *Cleopatra* requesting the realme of ÆGYPT for her children, and *Antonius* praying that he might be suffered to live at ATHENS like a private man, if *Cæsar* would not let him remaine in ÆGYPT.... Furthermore, *Cæsar* would not graunt unto *Antonius* requests: but for *Cleopatra*, he made her aunswere, that he woulde deny her nothing reasonable, so that she would either put *Antonius* to death, or drive him out of her contrie.

p. 1005 Furthermore, *Cleopatra* had long before made many sumptuous tombes and monumentes, as well for excellencie of workemanshippe, as for height and greatnes of building, joyning hard to the temple of *Isis*. Thither she caused to be brought all the treasure

& pretious things she had of the auncient kings her predecessors: as gold, silver, emerods, pearles, ebbanie, ivorie, and sinnamon, and besides all that, a marvelous number of torches, faggots, and flaxe. So *Octavius Cæsar* being affrayed to loose such a treasure and masse of riches, and that this woman for spight would set it a fire, and burne it every whit: he alwayes sent some one or other unto her from him, to put her in good comfort, whilst he in the meane time drewe neere the citie with his armie.

p. 1006 When *Antonius* sawe that his men did forsake him, and yeelded unto *Cæsar*, and that his footemen were broken and overthrowen: he then fled into the citie, crying out that *Cleopatra* had betrayed him unto them, with whom he had made warre for her sake. Then she being affraied of his fury, fled into the tombe which she had caused to be made, and there locked the dores unto her, and shut all the springes of the lockes with great boltes, and in the meane time sent unto *Antonius* to tell him that she was dead. *Antonius* beleiving it, said unto him selfe: what doest thou looke for further, *Antonius*, sith spitefull fortune hath taken from thee the only joy thou haddest, for whom thou yet reservedst thy life? when he had sayd these words, he went into a chamber & unarmed him selfe, and being naked said thus: O *Cleopatra*, it grieveth me not that I have lost thy companie, for I will not be long from thee: but I am sory that having bene so great a Captaine and Emperour, I am in deede condemned to be judged of lesse corage and noble minde, then a woman. ... Therewithall he tooke his sword, and thrust it into his bellie, and so fell downe upon a litle bed. The wounde he had killed him not presently, for the blood stinted a litle when he was layed: ... untill at last there came a secretarie to him called *Diomedes*, who was commaunded to bring him into the tombe or monument where *Cleopatra* was. When he heard that she was alive, he verie earnestlie prayed his men to carie his bodie thither, and so he was caried in his mens armes into the entry of the monument. Notwithstanding, *Cleopatra* would not open the gates, but came to the high windowes, and cast out certaine chaines and ropes, in the which *Antonius* was trussed: and *Cleopatra* her own selfe, with two women only, which she had suffered to come with her into these monumentes, trised *Antonius* up. They that were present to behold it, said that they never saw so pitiefull a sight. For, they plucked up poore *Antonius* all bloody as he was, and drawing on with pangs of death, who holding up his hands to *Cleopatra*, raised up him selfe as well he could. It was a hard thing for these women to do, to lift him up: but *Cleopatra* stowping downe with her head, putting to all her strength to her uttermost power, did lift him up with much a doe, and never let goe her hold, with the helpe of the women beneath that bad her be of good corage, and were as sorie to see her labor so, as she her selfe. So when she had gotten him in after that sorte, and layed him on a bed: she rent her garments upon him, clapping her brest, and scratching her face & stomake. Then she dried up his blood that had berayed his face, and calling him her Lord, her husband, and Emperour, forgetting her owne miserie and calamity, for the pitie and compassion she tooke of him. *Antonius* made her cease her lamenting, and called for wine, either bicause he was a thirst, or else for that he thought thereby to hasten his death. When he had dronke, he earnestly prayed her, and perswaded her, that she would seeke to save her life, if she could possible, without reproache and dishonor: and that chiefly she should trust *Proculeius* above any man else about *Cæsar*.

p. 1007 As *Antonius* gave the last gaspe, *Proculeius* came that was sent from *Cæsar*. For after *Antonius* had thrust his sworde in him selfe, as they caried him into the tombes and monuments of *Cleopatra*, one of his gard called *Dercetaeus*, tooke his sword with the which he had striken him selfe, and hidde it: then he secretly stale away, and brought *Octavius Cæsar* the first newes of his death... *Cæsar* hearing these newes, straight withdrew him

selfe into a secret place of his tent, and there burst out with teares, lamenting his hard and miserable fortune, that had bene his frende and brother in law, his equall in the Empire, and companion with him in sundry great employtes and battells. ... After this, he sent *Proculeius*, and commaunded him to doe what he could possible to get *Cleopatra* alive, fearing least otherwise all the treasure would be lost: and furthermore, he thought that if he could take *Cleopatra*, and bring her alive to ROME, she would marvelously beautifie and sette out his triumphe. But *Cleopatra* would never put her selfe into *Proculeius* handes, although they spake together. For *Proculeius* came to the gates that were very thicke & strong, and surely barred, but yet there were some cranewes through the which her voyce might be heard, and so they without understoode, that *Cleopatra* demaunded the kingdome of ÆGYPT for her sonnes: and that *Proculeius* aunswered her, that she should be of good cheere, and not be affrayed to referre all unto *Cæsar*. After he had viewed the place verie well, he came and reported her aunswere unto *Cæsar*. Who immediatly sent *Gallus* to speake once againe with her, and bad him purposely hold her with talke, whilest *Proculeius* did set up a ladder against that high windowe, by the which *Antoni*us was trised up, and came downe into the monument with two of his men hard by the gate, where *Cleopatra* stooode to heare what *Gallus* sayd unto her. One of her women which was shut in her monuments with her, saw *Proculeius* by chaunce as he came downe, and shreeked out: O, poore *Cleopatra*, thou art taken. Then when she sawe *Proculeius* behind her as she came from the gate, she thought to have stabbed her selfe in with a short dagger she ware of purpose by her side. But *Proculeius* came sodainly upon her, and taking her by both the hands, said unto her, *Cleopatra*, first thou shalt doe thy selfe great wrong, and secondly unto *Cæsar*: to deprive him of the occasion and oportunitie, openly to shew his bountie and mercie, and to geve his enemies cause to accuse the most curteous and noble Prince that ever was, and to appeache him, as though he were a cruell and mercielesse man, that were not to be trusted. So even as he spake the word, he tooke her dagger from her, and shooke her clothes for feare of any poyson hidden about her. Afterwardes *Cæsar* sent one of his infranchised men called *Epaphroditus*, whom he straightly charged to looke well unto her, and to beware in any case that she made not her selfe away: and for the rest, to use her with all the curtesie possible. And for him selfe, he in the meane time entred the citie of ALEXANDRIA, and as he went, talked with the Philosopher *Arrius*, and helde him by the hande, to the end that his contrie men should reverence him the more, bicause they saw *Cæsar* so highly esteeme and honor him ... Thus did *Cæsar* honor *Arrius*, who craved pardon for him selfe and many others, & specially for *Philostratus*, the eloquentest man of all the sophisters and Orators of his time, for present and sodaine speech: howbeit he falsly named him selfe an Academicke Philosopher.

p. 1008 Therefore, *Cæsar* that hated his nature & condicions, would not heare his sute. Thereupon he let his gray beard grow long, and followed *Arrius* steppe by steppe in a long mourning gowne, still bussing in his eares this Greeke verse

A wise man if that he be wise in deede,
May be a wise man have the better speede.

Cæsar understanding this, not for the desire he had to deliver *Philostratus* of his feare, as to ridde *Arrius* of malive & envy that might have fallen out against him: he pardoned him. Now touching *Antoni*us sonnes, *Antyllus*, his eldest sonne by *Fulvia* was slaine, bicause his schoolemaister *Theodorus* did betray him unto the souldiers, who strake of his head. And the villaine tooke a pretious stone of great value from his necke, the which he did sowe in his

girdell, and afterwards denied that he had it: but it was founde about him, and so *Cæsar* trussed him up for it. For *Cleopatraes* children, they were verie honorablie kept, with their governors and traine that waited upon them. But for *Cæsarion*, who was sayd to be *Julius Cæsars* sonne: his mother *Cleopatra* had sent him unto the INDIANS through ÆTHIOPIA, with a great summe of money: But one of his governors also called *Rhodon*, even such an other as *Theodorus*, perswaded him to returne into his contrie, & told him that *Cæsar* sent for him to geve him his mothers kingdom. So, as *Cæsar* was determining with him selfe what he should doe, *Arrius* sayd unto him

Too Many Cæsars is not good.

Alluding unto a certaine verse of *Homer* that sayth:

Too many Lords doth not well,

Therefore *Cæsar* did put *Cæsarion* to death, after the death of his mother *Cleopatra*. Many Princes, great kings and Captaines did crave *Antonius* body of *Octavius Cæsar*, to give him honorable burial: but *Cæsar* would never take it from *Cleopatra*, who did sumptuously and royally burie him with her owne handes, whom *Cæsar* suffred to take as much as she would to bestow upon his funeralls. Now was she altogether overcome with sorow & passion of minde, for she had knocked her brest so pitiefully, that she had martired it, and in divers places had raised ulcers and inflamacions, so that she fell into a fever withal: whereof she was very glad, hoping thereby to have good colour to absteine from meate, and that so she might have dyed easely without any trouble... But *Cæsar* mistrusted the matter, by many conjectures he had, and therefore did put her in feare, & threatned to put her children to shameful death. With these threats, *Cleopatra* for feare yelded straight, as she would have yelded unto strokes: and afterwards suffred her selfe to be cured and dieted as they listed. Shortly after, *Cæsar* came him selfe in person to see her, and to comfort her. *Cleopatra* being layed upon a litle low bed in poore estate, when she sawe *Cæsar* come into her chamber, she sodainly rose up, naked in her smocke, and fell downe at his feete marvelously disfigured: both for that she had plucked her heare from her head, as also for that she had martired all her face with her nailes, and besides, her voyce was small and trembling, her eyes sonke into her heade with continuall blubbering and moreover, they might see the most part of her stomake torne in sunder. To be short, her bodie was not much better then her minde: yet her good grace and comelynes and the force of her beawtie was not altogether defaced. But notwithstanding this ougly and pitiefull state of hers, yet she showed her selfe within, by her outward lookes and countenance. When *Cæsar* had made her lye downe againe, and sate by her beddes side: *Cleopatra* began to cleere and excuse her selfe for that she had done, laying all to the feare she had of *Antonius*. *Cæsar*, in contrarie maner, reproved her in every poynt. Then she sodainly altered her speache, and prayed him to pardon her, as though she were affrayed to dye, & desirous to live. At length, she gave him a breefe and memoriall of all the readie money & treasure she had. But by chaunce there stode *Seleucus* by, one of her Treasurers, who to seeme a good servant, came straight to *Cæsar* to disprove *Cleopatra*, that she had not set in al, but kept many things back of purpose. *Cleopatra* was in such a rage with him, that she flew upon him, and tooke him by the heare of the head, and boxed him wellfavorely. *Cæsar* fell a laughing, and parted the fray. Alas, said she, O *Cæsar*: is not this a great shame and reproche, that thou having vouchesaved to take the peines

p. 1009 to come unto me, and hast done me this honor, poore wretche, and caitife creature, brought into this pitiefull & miserable estate: and that mine owne servaunts should come now to accuse me, though it may be I have reserved some juells & trifles meete for women, but not for me (poore soule) to set out my selfe withall, but meaning to geve some pretie presents

& gifts unto *Octavia* and *Livia*, that they making meanes & intercession for me to thee, thou mightest yet extend thy favor and mercie upon me? *Cæsar* was glad to heare her say so, perswading him selfe thereby that she had yet a desire to save her life. .. and so he tooke his leave of her, supposing he had deceived her, but in deede he was deceived him selfe. There was a young gentleman *Cornelius Dolabella*, that was one of *Cæsars* very great familiars, & besides did beare no evil will unto *Cleopatra*. He sent her word secretly as she had requested him, that *Cæsar* determined to take his jorney through SYRIA, & that within three dayes he would sende her away before with her children. When this was tolde *Cleopatra*, she requested *Cæsar* that it would please him to suffer her to offer the last oblations of the dead, unto the soule of *Antonius*. This being graunted her, she was caried to the place where his tombe was, & there falling downe on her knees, imbracing the tombe with her women, the teares running downe her cheekes, she began to speake in this sorte; O my deare Lord *Antonius*, not long sithence I buried thee here, being a free woman: and now I offer unto thee the funerall sprinklinges and oblations being a captive and prisoner ... for these are the last which *Cleopatra* can geve thee, sith nowe they carie her away. Whilest we lived together, nothing could sever our companies; but now at our death I feare me they will make us chaunge our contries. For as thou being a ROMANE, hast bene buried in ÆGYPT: even so wretched creature I, am ÆGYPTIAN, shall be buried in ITALIE, which shall be all the good that I have received by thy contrie. If therefore the gods where thou art now have any power and authoritie, sith our gods here have forsaken us: suffer not thy true frend and lover to be caried away alive, that in me, they triumphe of thee: but receive me with thee, and let me be buried in one selfe tombe with thee. For though my griefes and miseries be infinite, yet none hath grieved me more, nor that I could lesse beare withall: then this small time, which I have bene driven to live alone without thee. Then having ended these doleful plaints, and crowned the tombe with garlands and sundry nosegayes, and marvelous lovingly imbraced the same: she commaunded they should prepare her bath, and when she had bathed and washed her selfe, she fell to her meate, and was sumptuously served. Nowe whilest she was at dinner, there came a contrieman, and brought her a basket. The souldiers that warded at the gates, asked him straight what he had in his basket. He opened the basket, and tooke out the leaves that covered the figges, and shewed them that they were figges he brought. They all of them marvelled to see so goodly figges. The contrieman laughed to heare them, and bad them take some if they would. They beleved he told them truely, and so bad him carie them in. After *Cleopatra* had dined, she sent a certaine table written and sealed unto *Cæsar* and commaunded them all to go out of the tombes where she was, but the two women, then she shut the dores to her. *Cæsar* when he received this table, and began to read her lamentation and petition, requesting him that he would let her be buried with *Antonius*, founde straight what she ment, and thought to have gone thither him selfe: howbeit he sent one before in all hast that might be, to see what it was. Her death was very sodaine. For those whom *Cæsar* sent unto her ran thither in all hast possible, & found the souldiers standing at the gate, mistrusting nothing, nor understanding of her death. But when thay had opened the dores, they founde *Cleopatra* starke dead, layed upon a bed of gold, attired and araid in her royall robes, and one of her two women, which was called *Iras*, dead at her feete: and her other woman called *Charmion* halfe dead, and trembling, trimming the Diademe which *Cleopatra* ware upon her head. One of the souldiers seeing her, angrily sayd unto her: is that well done *Charmion*? Verie well sayd she againe, and meete for a Princes discended from the race of so many noble kings.

p. 1010 She sayd no more, but fell downe dead hard by the bed. Some report that this Aspicke was brought unto her in the basket with figs, & that she had commaunded them to hide it under the figge leaves, that when she shoulde thinke to take out the figges, the Aspicke shoulde bite her before she should see her: howbeit, that when she would have taken away the leaves for the figges she perceived it, and said, art thou here then? And so, her arme being naked, she put it to the Aspicke to be bitten. Other say againe, she kept it in a boxe, and that she did pricke and thrust it with a spindell of golde, so that the Aspicke being angerd withall, lept out with great furie, and bitte her in the arme. Howbeit fewe can tell the troth. For they report also, that she had hidden poyson in a hollow raser which she caried in the heare of her head: and yet was there no marke seene of her bodie, or any signe discerned that she was poysoned, neither also did they finde this serpent in her tombe. But it was reported onely, that there seene certeine fresh steppes or trackes where it had gone, on the tombe side toward the sea, and specially by the dores side. Some say also, that they found two litle pretie bytings in her arme, scant to be discerned; the which it seemeth *Cæsar* him selfe gave credit unto, bicause in his triumphe he caried *Cleopatraes* image, with an Aspicke byting of her arme. And thus goeth the report of her death. Now *Cæsar*, though he was marvelous sorie for the death of *Cleopatra*, yet he wondred at her noble minde and corage, and therefore commaunded she should be nobly buried, and layed by *Antonius*; and willed also that her two women shoulde have honorable buriall. *Cleopatra* dyed being eight and thirtie yeare olde, after she had raigned two and twenty yeres and governed above foureteene of them with *Antonius*.

Appendix B: Choruses

Chorus following	Act 1	Act 2	Act 3	Act 4	Act 5
Lines	60	70	60	70	84
Verses	5	5	5	5	6
Lines per verse	12	14	12	14	14
Rhyme scheme Verse 1	ABABBC- DBCDEE	ABBA ACDDC CEEBB	ABAB BCCA BADD	AB AB CD CD EF EF GG	ABCDABCD- DCBAEE
Verse 2	Same through all verses	Final couplet AA	Same through all verses	Same through all verses	Same through all verses
Verse 3		Final couplet FF			
Verse 4		Final couplet FF			
Verse 5		Final couplet FF			
Verse 6					
Printing layout: in addition to separation of verses	Verses 3 to 5, lines grouped 4,8	Lines grouped 4,5,5	Lines grouped 4,4,4 except in verse 3 grouped 4,2,2,4	Couplets throughout	
Syllables per line	6, except 12 in final line of each verse	8	8	Alternate 9,8 with final couplets of each verse 8,8	6

Appendix C: Works of Samuel Daniel (published in his lifetime)

Date	Title	Brief titles of contents
1585	<i>The worthy tract of Paulus Jovius</i> (STC (2nd ed.) 11900)	Jovius (translation)
1591	<i>Syr P. S. His Astrophel and Stella</i> (STC (2nd ed.) 22536)	Delia sonnets (28 in all)
1592	<i>Delia, containing certaine sonnets, with the complaynt of Rosamond</i> (STC (2nd ed.) 6243.2)	Delia (I -L), Ode, Rosamond
1594	<i>Delia and Rosamond augmented. Cleopatra</i> (STC (2nd ed.) 6243.4)	Delia (I-LV), Ode, Rosamond, Cleopatra
1595	<i>Delia and Rosamond augmented. Cleopatra</i> (STC (2nd ed.) 6243.5)	Delia (I-LV), Ode, Rosamond, Cleopatra
1595	<i>The first fowre bookes of the civile wars between the two houses of Lancaster and Yorke</i> (STC (2nd ed.) 6244)	Civil Wars Bks. 1-4
1598	<i>Delia and Rosamond augmented. Cleopatra</i> (STC (2nd ed.) 6243.6)	Delia (I-LV), Ode Rosamond, Cleopatra
1599	<i>The poetical essays of Sam. Danyel</i> (STC (2nd ed.) 6261)	Civil Wars Bks. 1-5, Musophilus, Octavia, Cleopatra, Rosamond,
1601	<i>The vvorks of Samuel Daniel newly augmented</i> (STC (2nd ed.) 6236)	Civil Wars Bks. 1-6, Musophilus, Octavia, Cleopatra, Rosamond, Delia, Ode, Pastoral
1602	<i>The vvorks of Samuel Daniel newly augmented</i> (STC (2nd ed.) 6237)	Civil Wars Bks. 1-6, Musophilus, Octavia, Cleopatra, Rosamond, Delia, Ode, Pastoral

- 1603 *A panegyrike congratulatorie to the Kings Majestie* Panegyrike, Epistles to
Sir Thomas Egerton, Lord
Henry Howard, Countess
of Cumberland, Lady
Lucie, Countess of
Bedford, Lady Anne
Clifford, Henry
Wriothesley, Erle of
Southampton

(STC (2nd ed.) 6258/9)
- 1603 *A panegyrike congratulatorie to the Kings Majestie* To Edward Seymour,
Panegyrike, Epistles,
Passion of a distressed
man, Defence of ryme

(STC (2nd ed.) 6260)
- 1604 *The true description of a royal masque* (unauthorised version of
The 12 goddesses)

(STC (2nd ed.) 6264)
- 1604 *The vision of the 12 goddesses* The 12 goddesses

(STC (2nd ed.) 6265)
- 1605 *Certaine small poems lately printed* Octavia, Cleopatra,
Rosamond, Ode,
Pastoral, Ulysses, Philotas

(STC (2nd ed.) 6239)
- 1606 *A funerall poem uppon the death of the late noble
Earle of Devonshire* Funeral poem

(STC (2nd ed.) 6256)
- 1606 *The Queenes Arcadia* Queenes Arcadia

(STC (2nd ed.) 6262)
- 1607 *The tragedie of Philotas* Philotas, Panegyrike,
Epistles, Defence of ryme

(STC (2nd ed.) 6263)

- 1607 *Certaine small vvorkes* To the Reader, Philotas,
Octavia, Cleopatra,
Rosamond, Ode, Pastoral,
Ulysses, Musophilus, Q.
Arcadia, Funeral poem

(STC (2nd ed.) 6240)
- 1609 *The civil wars* Civil wars Bks. 1-8

(STC (2nd ed.) 6245)
- 1610 *The order and solemnitie of the creation of the
High and mightie Prince Henrie (STC (2nd ed.)
13161)* Creation of the Prince
Wales, Tethys Festival

(STC (2nd ed.)13161)
- 1611 *Certaine small vvorkes* To the Reader, Philotas
Octavia, Cleopatra,
Rosamond, Ode, Pastoral,
Ulysses, Musophilus,
Queens Arcadia, Funeral
poem, Delia (I-LVII),
Ode, Pastoral

(STC (2nd ed.) 6240)
- 1612 *Historie of England* History Bks. 1-3

(STC (2nd ed.) 6246)
- 1613 *Historie of England* History Bks. 1-3

(STC (2nd ed.) 6247)
- 1615 *Hymens Triumph* Hymens Triumph

(STC (2nd ed.) 6257)
- 1618 *Collection of the Historie of England* History
(to end of Edward III's
reign)

(STC (2nd ed.) 6248)

Appendix D

Occasional Verses by Samuel Daniel

- | These verses are not included in Appendix C Daniel's Works, | Thesis p. number |
|---|------------------|
| *1. Commendatory verse addressed to William Jones | p. 6 |
| Giovanni Battista Nenna, <i>Nennio, or A treatise of nobility</i> , trans. by William Jones (London, 1595), sig. [A5 ^v]. | |
| 2. Quatrain in Latin addressed to John Florio | p. 9 |
| For this verse and further items see H. Sellars, 'Samuel Daniel: Additions to the Text', <i>Modern Language Review</i> , 11(1) (1916), 28-32, (p. 31). | |
| 3. Sonnet addressed to Sir Edward Dymoke | p. 29 |
| Noted by Rees, <i>Daniel</i> , p. 8. | |
| Battista Guarini, <i>Il Pastor Fido</i> (London, 1602), sig. [A1 ^v]. | |
| 4. Verse addressed to John Florio | p. 34 |
| Noted by Rees, <i>Daniel</i> , p. 74. | |
| Michel de Montaigne, <i>The essayes</i> , trans. by John Florio (London, 1603), STC (2 nd ed.) 18041, sig. A2 ^r . | |
| *5. Revised version of the above verse | p. 34-5 |
| Michel de Montaigne, <i>The essayes</i> , trans. by John Florio (London, 1613), sig. A3 ^v . | |
| 6. Verses addressed to Pierre Erondelle | p. 37 |
| Pierre Erondelle, <i>The French Garden for English ladyes and gentlewomen to walke in</i> (London, 1605) STC (2 nd ed.) 10513, sig [A6 ^r]. See also Sellers p. 32. | |
| 7. Dedicatory poem prefacing volume donated to the Bodleian Library | p. 39 |
| The poem is given in full in pages bound into the British Library holding of Daniel's 1601 <i>Works</i> (shelfmark C.21 d. 17) and is also included in an article by John Pitcher, "'After the manner of Horace": Samuel Daniel in the Bodleian in 1605', <i>The Papers of the Bibliographic Society of America</i> , 113(2) (June, 2019), 149-186. | |
| *8. Commendatory verse addressed to Clement Edmondés | p. 45 |
| Clement Edmondés, <i>Observations upon Cæsars Commentaries</i> (London, 1609), STC (2 nd ed.) 7491, sig [Aiii ^r]. | |
| * For these verses I have found no critical material. | |

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