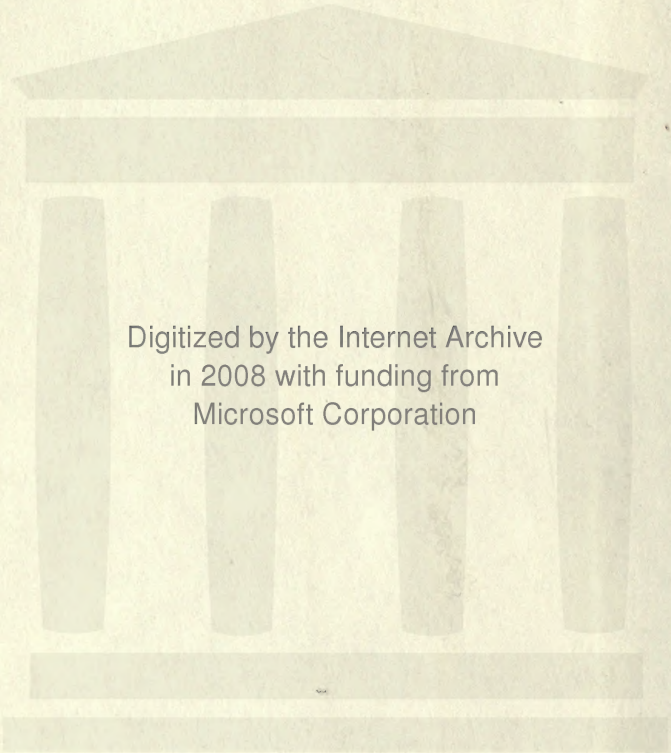

THE ARDEN SHAKESPEARE
GENERAL EDITOR: W. J. CRAIG
1899-1906: R. H. CASE, 1909

THE TRAGEDY
OF
ANTONY AND CLEOPATRA

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THE WORKS
OF
SHAKESPEARE

[2]

THE TRAGEDY OF
ANTONY AND CLEOPATRA

EDITED BY

R. H. CASE

Fourth Edition.

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PREFACE TO THIRD EDITION[1]

APART from the addition and enlargement of notes in the Appendices, the new matter in this edition is confined to what follows on the verb plurals which end like singulars in *-th* and *-s*, and which are alluded to in the Introduction, p. vii, as restored in the text, where they appear (with illustrations in the notes) in I. ii. 120; I. iv. 21, 49; III. i. 29?; III. vi. 22, 78, 88.

Though Abbott treated these inflexions as probably survivals of old Southern and Northern plurals respectively, in *A Shakesperian Grammar*, paragraphs 333-8, and with some fulness, they are not always respected by modern editors, and are not referred to in connection with the identical singular inflexions, or the old Midland plural in *-en*, in the chapter on "Shakespeare's English" in the two large volumes of *Shakespeare's England* issued last year by the Clarendon Press. Hence it does not seem superfluous to stress again this apparent survival or surviving influence[2] of old forms, if it is desirable to despise no detail of Elizabethan language, to tamper with the words of original texts as little as possible, and to retain distinctions on which the sense of a passage may sometimes depend. The position will be unchanged whether the forms in question are rightly explained as survivals or are found to have otherwise arisen.

It is of course likely, and occasionally demonstrable, that either inflexion is sometimes singular in spite of its plural subject, whether ungrammatically, or in some of the cases where singularity may have been suggested because a relative intervenes between subject and verb, or because the subject is a collective noun or thought of as such, or because the verb precedes the plural subject or the subject consists of two singular nouns. The effect, for instance, of an intervening relative may be seen in a different case, where it attracts the verb into the third person, as in: "Should I seeke life that *finds* no place of rest" (T. Churchyard, *Chippes*, 1565, *A*

[1] The only changes in this fourth edition are: (1) additions in notes on I. ii. 61, p. 13; I. iv. 21, p. 29; III. iii. 33, App. I., p. 206; and a new note on V. ii. 216, App. I., p. 208; (2) a rather fuller treatment of Sedley's *Antony and Cleopatra* in Introduction, p. xxv.

[2] It is perhaps what Abbott calls "a general predilection for the inflection in *-s*" that induced the equally common use of *is* and *was* (which could never have been plurals at all) after plural subjects.

Tragicall Discourse, etc., st. 90), and in an apposite case in "So we must change as checking chaunces *falls*, Who *tosseth* men about like tennis Balls. This chaunce is 'she,'" etc. (*ib.* stanzas 52-3).

But all the doubtful cases enumerated above might be left out of the question. Without the intervening relative, as well as with it, both the ending in *-s*, and the ending in *-th* in the verbs *have* (hath) and *do* (doth) are too common after plural subjects to need further illustration than the notes already provide. In other verbs than *have* and *do*, however, the latter ending seldom occurs, and hence the following examples of cases (*a*) with and without the relative, (*b*) with two singular nouns or one plural noun as subject, are added here:—

"the ioyes wch in Christe we obtayne [*C*]*onsisteth* in true louing children and wife" etc. (*Misogonus*, 1577, I. ll. 46, 47. *Early Plays from the Italian*, ed. Bond, 1911, p. 177).

"Wher-by I see, that olde men are not vnlyke vnto olde Trees, whose barkes *seemeth* to be sound, when their bodies are rotten" (Lyly, *Euphues and his England*, 1580, ed. Arber, p. 231).

"And as the hurt and damage *greeueth* all men," etc. (*The Booke of Sir Thomas Moore*, 1592?, l. 88, p. 4. Malone Soc. Reprint).

"When calmie skyes, *sayth* bitter stormes are past," etc. (T. Churchyard, *The Worthines of Wales*, 1587, Reprint 1776, p. 128).

"Calling the same booke a mirror of man (though many mirrors *excelleth* this) that shews," etc. (T. Churchyard, *The Mirror of Man*, 1594, in dedication).

"Meddle not with matters, that *passeth* thy powre," etc. (*ib.*, text, l. 165).

"So many princes now there are That *loueth* Poetrie well" (T. Churchyard, *A Praise of Poetrie*, 1595, st. 28).

"the evidences . . . which they unjustly *detayneth*," etc. (Grosart's *Spenser*, vol. ii., p. 556, from "Original Petition [of Sylvanus Spenser, 1603] in H.M. Public Records, Dublin").

"but it is the surfeits of peace that *bringeth* in the Phisitians gaine," etc. (B. Rich, *The Honestie of the Age*, 1614. Percy Soc. Reprint, p. 21).

"the mind is oppressed with idle thoughts which *spurreth* on the tongue to contentious quarrelling," etc. (*ib.*, p. 54).

I have to thank Professor H. C. Wyld of the University of Liverpool for the example from Lyly's *Euphues*, and for others which I do not cite from earlier writers, such as Lord Berners, Sir Thomas Elyot, and Hugh Latimer.

PREFACE TO SECOND EDITION

THE material changes in this edition consist of a correction in the text from *has* to *hast* (III. xiii. 137); the restoration of the reading of F (I. iv. 24); the substitution of some apter illustrations here and there in the existing notes; and the sparing addition of new notes, or extension of others, in the appendices, and once or twice only (see I. iv. 24 as above, and II. ii. 232) beneath the text.

The former volume (1906), though unknown to Dr. Furness, preceded his 1907 Variorum edition by many months, and I have therefore had the latter before me in preparing this new issue. It has served me for the correction of a wrong ascription in the Critical Notes (II. ii. 102, *spoke*), in which I followed the Cambridge editors, and has provided or suggested matter for most of the continuations of notes to be found in Appendix I. Where we coincide in anything new, or anything different from most previous editions, in four places, *viz.* I. v. 74, 75, II. ii. 44, II. ii. 200, 201, IV. xiv. 39, I am glad to have my suggestions confirmed by their independent occurrence to another editor.

With regard to the character of Cleopatra, Dr. Furness, on more general grounds than mine, has reached conviction of her fidelity to Antony where I merely argue its possibility; but I am far from being induced to forsake my purely tentative view, which includes the suspicion that Shakespeare did not recognize any obligation, or even feel able, to decide the question. Not seldom he leaves an interesting character more or less open to divergent interpretation, if not for the reason fancied, for others which include the occasional indifference to probability which makes him even neglect to pay it the same attention as do his sources: compare, for instance, the unfounded jealousy of Leontes with the comparatively reasonable suspicion of Pandosto his prototype, or the reasons for King Leir's question to

Cordella, in the old play, with King Lear's caprice. But it is generally true that his characters at first produce a definite impression, with which the world is well content until prying analysis comes to disturb it; and such an impression is not lightly to be put aside.

The Malone Society has published Brandon's *Virtuous Octavia* (see p. xxii. *post*), and added another to the plays in which Cleopatra appears. *Cæsar's Revenge*, an Academic play, *circa* 1596, pr. 1606 (see Malone Soc. *Collections*, IV., V. p. 290 *et seq.*), treats of Pompey's defeat and murder, Cæsar's amours with Cleopatra, his murder and avengement at Philippi; and lays much stress on Antony's love for Cleopatra at this early period. His *bonus Genius* warns him of its end in blood and shame. The play has no special value in relation to *Antony and Cleopatra:* of infinitely more importance for its study is Dr. Bradley's republication in his *Oxford Lectures on Poetry*, 1911, of the article referred to in my note on p. xv. *post;* and for the textual study of this or any Elizabethan play, the publication of Mr. Percy Simpson's *Shakespearian Punctuation* (Clar. Press, 1911).

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

THIS edition of *Antony and Cleopatra* presents the first folio text with the majority of those emendations which in course of time have secured almost universal assent, no others, whether accepted in one or more editions or merely suggested, possessing, in the editor's judgment, that probability only short of certainty which alone justifies adoption. Certain changes countenanced by the best editions have, on the other hand, been rejected in favour of the original readings, and are here briefly indicated.

The plurals in *-th* and *-s*, so extremely common in the literature of the period, have been restored wherever they occur in the folio; and similarly other slight variations from modern grammar: obsolete forms of words (mere difference of spelling excepted) are invariably given in place of following the usual eclectic plan: the folio forms of names, where they correspond with those of North and are consequently not press errors, are retained; and finally, also, besides the folio readings in certain places, its sense-affecting punctuation in the following passages, for reasons given in the notes in each case: Act I. sc. i. l. 4, sc. v. ll. 74, 75; Act II. sc. ii. ll. 71, 72; Act III. sc. xiii. l. 74; Act IV. sc. xv. l. 73; Act V. sc. ii. l. 291.

With regard to interpretation of identical readings, many instances of greater or less variation from the usually accepted senses will be found. The obstinate cruces of the play have been fully discussed, and, as a choice of evils, no ascertained difficulties have been avoided, though in cases of ambiguity where language is so freely wielded as in *Antony and Cleopatra*, it is a question whether a reader's cursory impressions are not less likely to mislead than laboured analyses. A particular aim has

been to illustrate as far as possible from new sources, with acknowledgment of all illustrations—save sometimes those from Shakespeare—owed to their employment by others. In the critical apparatus, all material differences from the first folio text, including the re-arrangement of the lines, are recorded; and any corrections or variations worth noting in the later folios have been extracted from the collation in the Cambridge Shakespeare. This has also been used to determine the originators of emendations; but the editions and independent commentaries have been themselves examined.

The composition of *Antony and Cleopatra* is assigned to 1607, or the early part of 1608, for which dates the external evidence is the second of the following entries in the Stationers' Registers (see Arber's *Transcript*, iii. 167 *b*) under date 20th May, 1608:

Edward Blount. Entred for his copie vnder thandes of Sir George Buck knight and Master Warden Seton A booke called. *The booke of* PERICLES *prynce of Tyre* . . . vj^{d}.

Edward Blunt Entred also for his copie by the lyke Auctoritie. A booke Called. ANTHONY. *and* CLEOPATRA . . . vj^{d}.

Next year (1609) *Pericles* was published in quarto by another publisher, but the second entry either bore no fruit, or any resulting impression has disappeared. It is reasonably taken to refer to Shakespeare's play, which was registered by Master Blounte and Isaak Jaggard on 8th November, 1623—in that case, for the second time—among "Master William Shak speers *Comedyes Histories, and Tragedyes* soe manie of the said Copies as are not formerly entred to other men, *vizt*." [Here follow sixteen plays under the several headings, the *Tragedies* being *Coriolanus, Timon of Athens, Julius Caesar, Mackbeth, Anthonie and Cleopatra, Cymbeline* (see Arber's *Transcript*, iv. 69).] The play appeared in that year in the first folio, where it is placed between *Othello* and *Cymbeline*, and is consequently last but one in the book.

If, however, what I now put forward is not merely matter of coincidence, 1608 may be ruled out entirely and 1606 be granted a possibility beside 1607. Daniel's *Cleopatra* appeared in 1594, in that year's edition of his *Delia*: it was reprinted

with some deletions and modifications in the *Poeticall Essayes* of 1599, in the folio editions of *Workes*, 1601 and 1602, and again in *Certaine Small Workes Heretofore Devulged by Samuel Daniel*, in 1605. In the next edition of *Certaine Small Workes*, however, namely that of 1607, an altered text appeared, which was repeated in the issues of 1609 and 1611, and also by itself in 1611. The *verso* of the general title-page of 1607 declared the play to be "newly altred," and the question is: what induced Daniel to reconstitute his play between 1605 and 1607? Was it merely due to re-reading Plutarch with a maturer eye, and a growing preference for dialogue as against relation; or had the author been stimulated by a new treatment of the story to improve his own version, and guided in some respects in so doing? There is at least a probability that a sudden remodelling of old work, once already textually revised, may be accounted for on the latter score.

Dr. Grosart, in his edition of Daniel (1885-86), drew attention to the additions of 1607 for the first time, as he thought, but Langbaine had long ago said—though apparently with muddling reference to the 1623 quarto: "this later Copy infinitly differs from the former, and far exceeds it; the Language being not only corrected, but it having another advantage in the Opinion of a Modern Poet, (c) since that which is only dully recited in the first Edition, is in the last represented" (*An Account of the Dramatick Poets*, 1691, p. 101). Dr. Grosart printed the additions before his reproduction of the earlier version as it reappeared in 1623, after Daniel's death, but without any hint of the comparison which I am suggesting. I have verified his statements by examining the various editions.

Cleopatra, especially as first written and first altered a few years later, is a stately rhymed tragedy after the Senecan model. It takes up the story of Cleopatra after Antony's death, and sadly dilutes its tragic force by pursuit of moral rather than romantic themes, in reflection on their conduct and its reward from Cæsar by the traitors Rodon and Seleucus, and on the faults and fortunes of Egypt by the philosophers Philo-

"(c) Mr. *Crown's* Epistle to *Andromache*."

stratus and Arius. It has, here and there in the earlier version, resemblances more or less slight to passages in *Antony and Cleopatra*, of which, omitting such as are traceable to the common source in Plutarch, the chief may be noticed here. The numbers I assign to the lines quoted are those of Dr. Grosart's edition, which run consecutively throughout the play.

In Act I. l. 54, compare "I have both hands, and will, and I can die" with IV. xv. 49 *post*, "My resolution and my hands I'll trust"; also in ll. 69, 70, "That I should passe whereas *Octavia* stands, To view my misery," etc., the same dislike to submit to the gaze of her rival in Rome that Cleopatra expresses in IV. xv. 27-29, and V. ii. 54, 55 *post*. In Act V. sc. ii. ll. 1475 *et seq.*, Cleopatra is described as sitting in all her pomp:

> as if sh' had wonne
> *Caesar*, and all the world beside, this day:
> Euen as she was when on thy cristall streames,
> Cleare *Cydnos*, she did shew what earth could shew; etc.

Compare V. ii. 227, 228 *post*, "I am again for Cydnus, To meet Mark Antony," and *ib.* 345, 346 *post*, "As she would catch another Antony In her strong toil of grace."

Though, on the whole, I think Shakespeare had, as was natural, Daniel's and other predecessors' work before him, however small his use of it, such resemblances in thought, as, for instance, the effective retrospect to *Cydnus* here, might easily occur independently to writers of the same age exercising their genius on the same subject; and, if we take this view, their existence makes a little against the weight of any correspondences we may have to consider in the remodelled play. This, however, stands upon a different basis. It draws somewhat nearer to the contemporary drama by replacing relation and soliloquy to a great extent by dialogue, so that not only is the play more dramatic, but characters familiar to us in *Antony and Cleopatra* now play a greater part, *viz.*, Charmian and Iras; others, Dercetas and Diomedes, are employed for the first time; Gallus becomes an interlocutor where he was but mentioned. It introduces the incident of "Dircetus" bringing Antony's sword to Cæsar (see V. i. *post*); and, by means of his relation, the story of the events preceding Antony's death, on the

lines followed by Shakespeare in IV. xii. (latter part), xiii., xiv., xv. *post*, though of course with the comparative brevity of a narration. This constitutes a new scene of Act I., and is a detail in which Daniel had not previously thought fit to follow the example of the Countess of Pembroke. Further: the new scene contains certain noticeable expressions. The second line is, "Will Antony yet struggle being undone?" and the second and third lines of Shakespeare's Act V. *post*, on the same occasion:

> Being so frustrate, tell him he mocks
> The pauses that he makes.

Again, "Dircetus" says (l. 4): "His worke is ended. *Anthony* hath done." Compare *post*, IV. xiv. 35: "Unarm Eros, the long day's task is done." "Dircetus," describing Antony's last efforts with his forces, uses the phrase, "Had brought them to their worke," a possible reminiscence of Antony's "I'll bring you to't" in IV. iv. 34 *post*. Further—always remembering that I am not recording resemblances which may be due to Plutarch—there is a significant use of a similar conceit in both plays on the occasion of Antony's being drawn up into the monument: compare Daniel's (p. 8, Grosart):

> When shee afresh renewes
> Her hold, and with r' inforced power doth straine,
> And all the weight of her weake bodie laies,
> Whose surcharg'd heart more then her body wayes.

with IV. xv. 33, 34 *post*:

> Our strength is all gone into heaviness,
> That makes the weight.

The rest of the alterations of the play furnish nothing very material in the way of coincident thought, and remove some of the resemblances of the older version. The question rests on the parallels just given, the introduction of events from Plutarch treated also in certain scenes of *Antony and Cleopatra*, and the remodelling of the play in more dramatic form; and though this evidence is by no means overwhelming, so far as it goes it is consistent with a hypothesis that Daniel re-wrote his play because he had seen another treatment of the theme, namely, Shakespeare's, and just so much probability follows

that we should finally exclude 1608 in considering the date of *Antony and Cleopatra*, and admit 1606 to competition with 1607. Unfortunately, the Stationers' Registers do not appear to contain any entry which would enable us to determine whether Daniel's altered text came early or late in the latter year.

The fact is slightly corroborative of Daniel's imitation that he is thought to have similarly profited by Shakespeare's *Richard II.*, owing to changes made in the second edition of his *Civil Warres*, 1595.[1] His name is maliciously associated with Shakespeare's in *The Returne from Parnassus* (assigned to 1598 by Fleay, *Chronicle of the English Drama*, ii.), III. i. ll. 1015, *et seq.*, p. 57, in Macray's edition; and in the later play of the same name, acted 1601 or 1602, he is exhorted to use his own wit and "scorne base imitation."[2] I am, of course, not interpreting his revision of *Cleopatra* in any such way here.

Finally, in connection with the date of *Antony and Cleopatra*, some resemblances which occur in other plays are perhaps worth mentioning. In *Nobody and Somebody*, entered in the Stationers' Registers in 1606, and, though an older play, probably revised at that time (see Simpson, *School of Shakspere*, i. p. 272, and Fleay, as before, under Heywood, No. 31), King Archigallo resembles Antony in a certain point:

> There's *Elydure*
> Your elder brother next unto the king;
> He plies his booke; when shall you see him trace
> Lascivious *Archigallo* through the streets,
> And fight with common hacksters hand to hand
> To wrest from them their goods and dignities?[3]

and in Barnabe Barnes's *The Divils Charter*, first played 2nd February, 1607, entered 16th October, and printed same year after being "revised, corrected, and augmented," this passage occurs:

[1] It should be observed that whether Daniel's second edition (dated, like the first, 1595) or Shakespeare's *Richard II.* appeared first, is quite uncertain; and that *1 Henry IV.*, 1596-7, probably owes some detail to Daniel, as Dr. Moorman has shown: see his Introduction to that play in *The Warwick Shakespeare*. As regards *Cleopatra*, however, adoption in a late text of a more dramatic method and detail previously ignored, suggests, at least, a new model.

[2] Act I. sc. ii. ll. 244-46, ed. Macray, 1886, p. 85.

[3] Ll. 34-39. *School of Shakspere*, i. 278.

He draweth out of his boxes aspiks.
Come out here now you *Cleopatraes* birds.
Fed fat and plump with proud *Egiptian* slime,
Of seauen mouth'd *Nylus* but now turn'd leane:
He putteth to either of their brests an Aspike.
Take your repast vpon these Princely paps.
Now *Ptolamies* wife is highly magnified,
Ensigning these faire princely twins their death,
And you my louely boys competitors,
With *Cleopatra* share in death and fate.
. . . . . .
I see their coulors chang and death sittes heauy.
On their fayre foreheads with his leaden mace.
My birds are glutted with this sacrefice.
He taketh of the Aspiks *and putteth them vp in his box.*
What now proud wormes? how tasts yon princes blood.
The slaues be plump and round; into your nests,
Is there no token of the serpents draught,
All cleere and safe well now faire boyes good-night.[1]

A passage in Chapman's *Bussy D'Ambois*, which furnishes two important parallels with our text (see on IV. xii. 37, xiv. 2-7 *post*) exists substantially in the first edition, which appeared in 1607. This play, in Mr. Fleay's opinion, was written late in 1604,[2] and produced next year.

The internal evidence for the date of composition is not thrown out of correspondence by the slight recession of date suggested. It depends on the complete change in metrical style approached through the plays since Hamlet, which deprives Shakespeare's blank verse of much music in its effort to become a more spacious continent of his multiplying thought; the increased percentage of lines in which the sense is carried on to the next without pause, and the consequent increase of stops within lines; the employment of the weak ending, prominent for the first time in *Macbeth*, and now much more strikingly so; the increased use of the double or feminine ending. Dependence on elocution to make a pause within a line metri-

[1] See McKerrow's edition in *Materialen zur Kunde des älteren Englischen Dramas*, 1904, ll. 2546-69, p. [71].

[2] Chapman's latest editor, Mr. T. M. Parrott, maintains this date, approximately, against appeals to Henslowe's *Diary* in support of 1598 for a first version. See his article in *Modern Language Review*, January, 1908.

cally equivalent to a syllable, or a long line musical, is frequent in this play, and there is a free disposition of accent which gives grip and strength at the cost of some ruggedness; but all this does but deceive the sense of space; ellipse and ambiguous phrase show that no relaxation of metrical restraints could accommodate the ideas and images demanding utterance. The theme of the play, ethically considered as the consequence of grave defect in a nature generously endowed with noble traits, has been compared with those of *Macbeth* and *Coriolanus*, between which it has taken its place on the different considerations already stated.

Shakespeare's debt to Plutarch, Amyot, and Sir Thomas North, through the medium of the last named and especially to him, has been displayed in its real extent and with fine enthusiasm by Mr. Wyndham, in his introduction to the reprint of North's *Plutarch* in the Tudor Translations. It has been necessary here only to make it as readily traceable as possible, by appending full extracts from the life of Antonius, and by giving complete references to them throughout the notes, sometimes for whole scenes, sometimes for particular passages, as the case demanded. The space they leave at my disposal will be divided between a few not very orthodox impressions of *Antony and Cleopatra*, whose excuse for non-suppression must be that they have survived long concern with the play, and some account of the other English plays on the same subject.

Since Coleridge's famous criticism of *Antony and Cleopatra* in his *Notes and Lectures*, there has been no danger of the play's being under-rated, and the impression received from many examens in which this criticism is cited is that there is a tendency for its doubt to be ignored and its limitations obscured. Coleridge expressed a "doubt . . . whether the *Antony and Cleopatra* is not, in all exhibitions of a giant power in its strength and vigour of maturity, a formidable rival of *Macbeth*, *Lear*, *Hamlet*, and *Othello*"; but though we replace the doubt by an absolute certainty, there remains the fact that a special point of comparison is indicated, *viz.*, "all exhibitions of a giant power in its strength and vigour of maturity." It is in this respect only that comparison is possible with the other plays

named by Coleridge,[1] for, in the first place, *Antony and Cleopatra* belongs to a type of play defective in construction and absorbing centre of interest. The Chronicle play has its compensations: we see in *Antony and Cleopatra* vivid presentation of the earlier processes which lead to tragedy, set before us in a series of significant pictures; but historical fact is lopped and telescoped only so far as is indispensable to a stage-plot, and it does not in this case provide any rousing incident till the play is far advanced. Secondly, there is in the theme at its intensest, and the characters at their deepest, a defect of tragedy comparable with that of the greater plays. The world-tragedy —admitting for the sake of argument Dr. Brandes' contention that the play is really and intentionally "the picture of a world-catastrophe"—is here too little insistently obvious, and depends too much for its effect on the constitution of a reader's mind, to surround the sufferers with a deeper gloom than their destiny can bestow. The magnanimity of Antony sets him above fate at last, and the death of Cleopatra is her triumph. We see these lovers hasten to reunion "where souls do couch on flowers": there is what meeting for Othello and Desdemona?

> O ill-starr'd wench!
> Pale as thy smock! when we shall meet at compt,
> This look of thine will hurl my soul from heaven
> And fiends will snatch at it.

The appalling situations of Macbeth or Othello, set between retrospect and prospect of horror, have no parallel here, and the despairs of Antony and Cleopatra are never as theirs: the profundities of tragic feeling which awe us in their words belong to an abyss of which those who have been erected to rivality with them know nothing. The utterance of the latter, for all its magnificence of poetry and pathos, is more conscious, and has in it something of the luxury of woe: it is of their own plane of enchantment, where "all the haunt" is indeed theirs;

[1] Here, and perhaps again, I may seem to have conveyed and mismanaged a hint from an article on *Antony and Cleopatra*, of far wider scope than these impressions, in the *Quarterly Review* for April, 1906, by Professor A. C. Bradley; but in these respects I set down "mine own rudeness rudely" months previously, and owe homage, not acknowledgment.

it is not humanly heart-rending, nor language of despair fit for a Hall of Eblis.

An extraordinarily vivid presentment in Elizabethan terms of events and characters of the ancient world, with truth to life as its one restraining condition, *Antony and Cleopatra* is almost as far removed from the tragedies as it is from the decorous treatment of the same theme by the Senecan school of poets. The ethical value of that theme is considerable, and has its due weight. Events enforce it, and draw from Enobarbus witty sarcasms, from Antony many a bitter reflection on his own folly. But this is all: the riotous life of pleasure betrays its charm beside its cost, and the ultimate effects of all the moralist would condemn are moral and not immoral. There is a temporary "diminution in our captain's brain" as a permanent one in his fortunes, but all that is great in him, his heart-winning magnanimity in its various manifestations, is conspicuous as ever, and to this is now added the capacity for devotion and self-forgetfulness which he pitifully lacked before. It is absurd to shake our heads over Antony's love because, in the sharp reversal of the situation of himself and Cleopatra with respect to one another, he pays for the mortifications and distresses he had once inflicted on her, in frenzied doubts of a fidelity suspiciously unstable in our eyes as well as his. It must be tested by the unselfish devotion at the supreme hour which renders it incapable of differentiation from a virtuous passion, and which (at first sight, at any rate) is in such striking contrast with Cleopatra's care for her own safety when love and pity should have exiled every other thought.

It is said that Shakespeare softened or suppressed Antony's worst traits as he found them in North; but his instanced cruelties and oppressions precede as much of the story as is retold in the play, and a dramatist must have gone out of his way to reveal in him anything beyond what we gather from his treacherous and cold-blooded treatment of Octavia. It is even questionable whether his good qualities are not more conspicuous in Shakespeare than in Plutarch only because of the diminished size of the canvas; but the former certainly gives them full dramatic effect, and from the first we are attracted by

glimpses of the "noble minde," "the rare and singular gifts," with which Plutarch loves "to soften to the heart" Antonius' story.

In this play, as in life, things extraneous to passion strengthen its hold for good or evil. In all probability, Antony must have returned to Cleopatra, but two factors besides infatuation are assigned, the "holy cold and still conversation" of Octavia, and, very definitely, the supposed subjection of his genius to Cæsar's. Similarly, something *apparently* stronger than her love for Antony, yet, perhaps, connected with it—her royal determination to endure no bonds nor ignominy—seems to transform Cleopatra after his death and to allow that passion to gain depth and dignity under its powerful shelter. She deceives Cæsar with exultant cunning, and throughout, in her unswerving purpose, in the tolerance with which she suffers the garrulous clown, in the wonderful language of her exultation, free now from all suspicious notes, she exerts in this dilation to a tragic figure, a fascination which some may have so far heard more about than felt.

To create his Cleopatra, Shakespeare to some extent forsook Plutarch. His Queen of Egypt is a figure of coarser fibre than that which moves in the prose narrative, even allowing for the strong lights of dialogue; and the arts of irritating perverseness employed in Act I. sc. iii., where Cleopatra's conduct is not indicated in Plutarch, are of harder cast than "the flickering enticements" with which, at a later time, the latter shows her seeking to keep Antony from Octavia; when she seemed to languish for love, contrived that Antony should often find her weeping, and then made show of hiding her tears, "as if she were unwilling that he should see her weepe." The original, with its subtlety preserved or augmented, is outgone in this draught of a type of the sex as well vehement and full-blooded as full of wiles and caprices, in whom qualities of brain and energetic life strike more than "the courteous nature that tempered her words and deeds," and the gift of "words . . . marvelous pleasant" less than its reverse; but the wondrous charm for which the character in its earlier manifestations is

praised so unstintedly, seems, in the main, to be unconsciously transferred from the incomparable descriptions of Enobarbus. Of course it does not matter how the illusion is produced, except as a question for the critic; but Cleopatra, as self-revealed merely, does not, I venture to think, altogether justify the somewhat Lepidian "kneel down, kneel down, and wonder" attitude of her admirers. Johnson spoke of "the feminine arts, some of which are too low, which distinguish Cleopatra," but an earlier and kinder critic has set the tune of comment, and the most fastidious almost outvie his "vilest things become themselves in her."

If we apply to Cleopatra, and extend, her own metaphor for Antony, one way we look on majesty ("Isis else defend!"), the other way is painted in hues that belong to Madam Cæsarean's; but full front she is "a very woman," and the question suggests itself: did Shakespeare intend to leave her a problem for this excellent reason? or was he unable to make up his own mind about her? We may probably dismiss from consideration any idea of the play's being incomplete as it stands, or even of vagueness due to haste.

We do not even know whether Cleopatra paltered with Cæsar after Actium, and there are ill-sounding notes in her protestations like the tuneless strings in a neglected instrument. We undoubtedly receive an impression, which I hinted at just now, and which seems to go unquestioned, that Shakespeare intentionally represented Cleopatra less favourably than Plutarch in dealing with the motive of her death. Such an impression goes for much, and the fewer the touches that produce it, the greater the writer's art; but even if the inquiry be narrowed to this last respect, it is worth making.

In Plutarch, there is no direct mention of what is so strongly enforced in Shakespeare, and previously in Daniel, Cleopatra's dread of being made part of Cæsar's triumph in Rome. He merely states the fact that Cleopatra would not open the gates of the monument, and later, that Dolabella, as she had requested him, informed her that Cæsar would within three days send her away before him with her children. In a moving speech at Antony's tomb, she lays stress on her preservation by Cæsar

only that he may triumph over Antony: there is no word of her own fear of ignominy, and she implores Antony to help her to foil this attempt to triumph over him, and to save her from the misery she endures in living without him. Before this, Plutarch has already told us of her self-disfigurement for grief and her attempt to make the resulting fever fatal by the aid of starvation, from which she was only deterred by Cæsar's threat of slaying her children—a threat as little permanently effective as in Shakespeare, however, for Dolabella's news determines her action in Plutarch as in him.

Shakespeare's omissions throw into strong relief his development of the mere hint of a second motive for self-destruction, but it is not absolutely certain that he meant us to infer that this second motive was the only efficient one, and that Cleopatra would gladly have survived. He inserts in the final scene with Antony (l. 49) and after his death (l. 79 *et seq.*) expressions on the part of Cleopatra of determination to die, which rest as much or more on the desire not to outlive Antony as on the unwillingness to endure ignominy. He gives us no right to judge this determination weakened, for it is her first thought when we meet her next, and she reveals then, and in the ensuing scene with Proculeius, no incipient hope of life with grace at Cæsar's hands. She has her dagger ready when she is seized, her thought of starvation leaps to her lips, and the fact that, on such an occasion, what she naturally bursts out with is her dread and hatred of the triumph, does not exclude the continuance of her unwillingness to outlive Antony. Cæsar's lies cause her no hesitation, as they might be expected to do if she really cared to survive, or was only moved by fear of disgrace: her directions are at once given to Charmian (v. ii. 191), and this *precedes* Dolabella's final and positive information of Cæsar's purpose. Here, if anywhere, there is token of omission or confusion. Dolabella had previously assured her that Cæsar would lead her in triumph, and he had not, as he now says, been either commanded or sworn to obtain confirmation of that intention.

We have now once more a recurrence to the theme of Cæsar's triumph, this time partly to stimulate Iras (as Antony himself had used it to induce Eros to kill him), and it would

be the height of absurdity to underrate the force of the desire to escape it as a motive in Cleopatra. I am only endeavouring to ascertain how far we are justified in regarding this, and this only, as what enabled her to "be noble" to herself; and perhaps the best plea I can put in for her love is an appeal to the first appearance of these "triumph" passages. It seems as if Shakespeare felt the necessity of accounting for Cleopatra's refusal to open the gates of the monument, and did so in a way which we interpret adversely to her; but let us recollect the lovers' last previous parting, and admit a doubt whether we should not, like Antony, "weep for" our "pardon." In language as forcible as he could make it, which has not the remotest suggestion in Plutarch, Antony had at once declared his belief in Cleopatra's willingness to grace Cæsar's triumph, and the miserable part she would play in it. Such words would surely haunt her; and by her action and the echo of them now, even of the reference to Octavia—a feminine touch, which, if it were not an echo, would go far to overthrow my plea—she took the readiest way to prove their untruth, and to assure Antony that she would help no triumph over him,[1] nor let what he had so jealously engrossed suffer ignominy. If it were so, all was indeed—

> well done, and fitting for a princess
> Descended of so many royal kings.

The familiar of these great figures, Enobarbus, a keen-sighted mocking observer, with lapses into tiresome forced wit, and exaltations into the finest poetry, proves to have understood every one but himself, and knows neither the strength of the ties that bind him to Antony, nor his risk of remorse, nor his inability to bear it. With him, too, there is something extraneous that helps to determine his fate: we must add to remorse the small favour shown to master-leavers by Cæsar, neither so honourable nor adequate a help as the ague which carries him off in Plutarch. Cæsar himself, though cold and

[1] There is some significance in the language of the various passages. To Antony, she will not *brooch* Cæsar's triumph; to Proculeius and Iras later, it is indignities she dwells upon,

hard in contrast with his generous rival, is not heartless. The generous apostrophe to Antony into which he suddenly breaks in Act I. sc. iv., the warning appeal in Act III. sc. ii., beginning: "Most noble Antony, Let not the piece of virtue," etc., forbid our taking this view; and above all the pathos worthy of mighty rivals, lords of the world, in his lament:

> O Antony!
> I have followed thee to this; but we do lance
> Diseases in our bodies: I must perforce
> Have shown to thee such a declining day,
> Or look on thine: we could not stall together
> In the whole world: . . .

Finally, I retain some impression that *Antony and Cleopatra* was rather hastily written, with as much advantageous as injurious result if this had anything to do with the daring language and treatment, the "happy valiancy" that Coleridge admired. Haste may have given the type its own way with the construction, and caused the ready utilisation of similar thoughts and illustrations when they cropped up in parallel cases: the number of reminiscences in *Antony and Cleopatra* has been noted and is sometimes put down to profound art. By supposing haste also, we may account for the occasional occurrence of common-place exaggeration.

The English plays on the same subject would almost provide material for a study of the forms of English tragedy. The Countess of Pembroke translated Garnier's *Marc-Antoine*, as *The Trajedie of Antonie*, into monotonous blank verse, with here and there a few eloquent lines (sometimes affording illustrations for our text), and, in the choruses, short measures, often intricately rhymed, which served as models for Daniel in his *Cleopatra*, 1594. This latter play—which occupied me in the beginning of this introduction—is occasionally placed first owing to the date of impress of *Antonie*, (1595); but *Antonie* was finished "At Ramsbury 26. of November 1590," and was the cause, according to Daniel's dedication, of his digression from Delia's unkindness to a less absorbing subject. Till Shakespeare rescued it, the theme remained in the possession of the classical school: Fulke Greville, Lord Brooke, tells us in his

life of Sidney,[1] that his tragedies "were in their first creation three; Whereof Antonie and Cleopatra, according to their irregular passions, in forsaking empire to follow sensuality, were sacrificed in the fire. The executioner the author him selfe". It appears that it did not thus regrettably perish as being inferior to his other plays, but owing to "Many members in that creature —by the opinion of those few eyes which saw it—having some childish wantonness in them, apt enough to be construed or strained to a personating of vices in the present governors and government."

Lord Brooke was followed by Samuel Brandon, whose work has survived and is named for re-issue in the admirable series edited by Professor Bang, of Louvain, *Materialen zur Kunde des älteren Englischen Dramas.* I have not seen this Senecan play, *The Virtuous Octavia*, 1598, but Mr. Craig has kindly examined for me the copy in the Dyce Library at South Kensington, and has come to the conclusion, as I have done with regard to the other early plays, that Shakespeare had cast an eye over his predecessor's work. There are two or three expressions recalling the like in other plays of Shakespeare, and for *Antony and Cleopatra*, putting aside as before coincidences traceable to Plutarch, there is a possible hint for Cæsar's description of Octavia's prevented welcome in an account of her reception at Athens, where, says "Geminus, (a Captaine)":

> Long before we could approach the gates
> Of that faire citty, we encountered were
> With people of all ages and estates,
> Who in their handes did boughes of laurel bear,
> Some on their knees with joy and wonder filled,
> Salute the empress; some rich gifts present,
> Some strew'd the way with flowers and some distill'd
> Their sweet perfumes along the fieldes we went. . . .
> Their loud applauses pierced the very skies,
> Extoll'd Octavia past the reach of fame,
> And silent Echo, waken'd with their cries,
> Taught all the neighbour hills to blesse her name.

The play is thus—save, of course, in its choruses—written in quatrains, like Daniel's *Cleopatra.* The scene is entirely in

[1] Chap. xiv., *Works*, ed. Grosart, iv. 155.

Rome, but the action (licentiously for such a play) covers a far longer period than that of the latter, and its dilutions promise to be less dry, two virtuous ladies and a wanton, for example, replacing Daniel's philosophers, and discussing constancy and variety in love. One of the former, in a later dialogue, excuses Antony's conduct on the ground of an affinity between him and Cleopatra as inevitable as that of the loadstone for iron.

After Shakespeare, Fletcher tried his hand on the delineation of Cleopatra, with some slight debt to him; but Cleopatra in "the salad days" of her intrigue with Cæsar; and in the prologue to his play, *The False One* (*circa*, 1620, according to Fleay), he pleads this as an excuse for meddling with the theme. The first to challenge comparison upon the same ground was Thomas May, the translator of Lucan, for whom, as a historical poet, much was said by Headley, and might be repeated. His *Cleopatra* was acted in 1626, printed 1639, and its scheme is interesting, as coming between Shakespeare and Dryden, and showing how a learned and conscientious Caroline poet stood towards Elizabethan drama. May does not quite dismiss the comic element: he smooths out the actual representation of battle and sea-fight, but his time is partly co-extensive with Shakespeare's, as he takes up the theme before the Actium disaster. Otherwise, his play disappoints, and its language irritates by balking expectation of just the little better that makes all the difference. But I except the *Thyreus* scene,[1] in

[1] The scene is fine enough and inaccessible enough for rescue for comparison here:

An. Hands on that Thyreus there, to prison with him.
Thy. To prison!
Ant. Yes; away with him I say.
Thy. *Cæsar* would not have us'd your messenger
So ill.
An. Thou wert no messenger to me.
Cle. For my sake dearest Lord.
An. O for your sake?
I cry you mercy Lady, bear him hence. [*Exit Thyreus.*
I had forgot that *Thyreus* was your servant.
But what strange act should he perform for you?
Is it to help you to a happier friend?
Cle. Can you suspect it? was my truest love

which his usually colourless Antony achieves a kind of despairing pathos. His Cleopatra is false a while, but repents when she finds Cæsar proof against her charms.

The rhymed heroic play now claimed the subject. Sir Charles Sedley's *Antony and Cleopatra* was acted at the Duke's Theatre, with Betterton as Antony, in 1676 or 1677, and printed in the latter year, reappearing in 1702 as *Beauty the*

So ill bestow'd? Can he, for whose dear sake
A Queen so highly born as I preferr'd
Love before fame, and fondly did neglect
All names of honour when false *Fulvia*,
And proud *Octavia* had the name of wives,
Requite me thus? ungrateful *Anthony;*
For now the fury of a wronged love
Justly provokes my speech.

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

Cle. You do not scorn
To wrong with base unworthie jealousies
A faithfull heart: but if you think me false
Heer sheath your sword: make me the subject rather
Of manly rage then childish jealousie.
It is a nobler crime, and fitter farre
For you to act, easier for me to suffer.
For live suspected I nor can nor will.
The lovely Aspe, which I with care have kept
And was intended a preservative
'Gainst *Cæsar's* crueltie, I now must use
Against *Antonius* basenesse a worse fo
Than Cæsar is: farewell, till death approve
That I was true, and you unjust in love.

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

Conqueror or *The Death of Marc Antony*. Sir Walter Scott (Dryden's *Works*, 1808, v. 293) and Dr. A. W. Ward, in his

History of English Dramatic Literature, treat it with severity, but it cannot be accused of rant, and takes its place among the heroic plays in which tragedy turns on manlike aims and passions rather than on strained points of honour. The story is taken up after Actium, the number of actors reduced, Cleopatra refined, and comedy expelled, while the plot is complicated by new loves; those of Mæcenas for Octavia, of Photinus, the ambitious traitor of the piece, for Iras, of Thyreus for Cleopatra. Antony and Cleopatra are, according to the kind, heroic and faithful lovers, and Canidius and other Romans prefer death to faithlessness or surrender. The play is full of life and bustle, combat and siege, and the whole can appeal, if we forget Shakespeare, who influences it in a general way.

In the meantime, or possibly owing to Sedley's example, the subject attracted the former champion of the heroic play: Dryden's *All for Love* was acted and printed in 1678. In it he abandoned rhyme and restored to the drama the art of writing good blank verse; this, too, without reproducing that of any previous writer or coming under the spell of Milton. The figures he drew deserve their own observance, but, thanks to critics less generous than himself, are seen only forlornly following Cæsar's triumph.

In *All for Love*, a close observance of the unities and restriction to few characters does not prevent the contrivance of an interesting series of events, to the development of which every scene contributes. The plot and characters show Dryden still influenced to some extent by the love and honour scheme of the heroic play. Cleopatra, save that she would sooner see her hero ruined with her than secure without her, is fidelity itself, and rejects Cæsar's ample offers; Antony is torn either way by the truth of Cleopatra and the generosity of Octavia. Love triumphs almost by accident, when jealousy and a natural collapse of Octavia's patience is vigorously marshalled to its aid. *All for Love* certainly contains some imitation and reminiscence of *Antony and Cleopatra*, but Dryden said truly that he had not copied his author servilely, and his play can be read and enjoyed as a study in a different manner, for its different conception of character, and its fine poetry, without the least compulsory reference to an all-belittling standard.

In preparing this edition I have been without the help of any on the same or a greater scale; but my obligations are many, as appears in the notes, and to the eighteenth-century editors of course incalculable. I owe to Mr. Craig, the general editor of this Shakespeare, the most cordial thanks for help and encouragement throughout; and Mr. Henry Cuningham, the editor of *A Midsummer-Night's Dream* in the same series, obliged me by investigating some material points at the British Museum. From my friend Mr. J. Roy Coventry I had a useful loan of some of the early critical editions, and from Mr. T. Harkness Graham, Assistant Librarian in the University of Liverpool, a most generous gift of time and scrupulous care in reading and correcting the whole of the proofs, and in verifying the numerous references, which will owe much of their exactness to him.

The following summarizes Mr. Daniel's Time-Analysis of the play: twelve days are represented on the stage with intervals after the first, third, fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh, and ninth, the historic time being about ten years, B.C. 40 to B.C. 30:—

Day 1. Act I. sc. i.–iv.
„ 2. Act I. sc. v., Act II. sc. i.–iii.
„ 3. Act II. sc. iv.
„ 4. Act II. sc. v.–vii.
„ 5. Act III. sc. i., ii.
Act III. sc. iii.
„ 6. Act III. sc. iv., v.
„ 7. Act III. sc. vi.
„ 8. Act III. sc. vii.
„ 9. Act III. sc. viii.–x.
„ 10. Act III. sc. xi.–xiii., Act IV. sc. i.–iii.
„ 11. Act IV. sc. iv.–ix.
„ 12. Act IV. sc. x.–xv., Act V. sc. i., ii.

In this edition, F signifies the first folio, F 2 the second, and so on: Ff denotes all four. References to other plays of Shakespeare apply to the Globe edition. In quoting Mr. Thiselton, I am referring to his pamphlet *Some Textual Notes on the Tragedie of Anthony and Cleopatra*: etc., 1899.

EXTRACTS FROM NORTH'S "PLUTARCH" (1579)

BUT besides all this, he had a noble presence, and shewed a countenaunce 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 countenaunce, 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 Antonii were discended from one Anton, the sonne of Hercules, whereof the familie tooke name. This opinion did Antonius seeke to confirme in all his doings: not onely resembling him in the likenes of his bodye, as we have sayd before, but also in the wearing of his garments. For when he would openly shewe him selfe abroad before many people, he would alwayes weare his cassocke gyrt downe lowe upon his hippes, with a great sword hanging by his side, and upon that, some ill favored cloke. Furthermore, things that seeme intollerable in other men, as to boast commonly, to jeast with one or other, to drinke like a good fellow with every body, to sit with the souldiers when they dine, and to eate and drinke with them souldierlike: it is incredible what wonderfull love it wanne him amongest them. And furthermore, being given to love: that made him the more desired, and by that meanes he brought many to love him. For he would further every mans love, and also would not be angry that men should merily tell him of those he loved. But besides all this, that which most procured his rising and advauncement, was his liberalitie, who gave all to the souldiers, and kept nothing for him selfe: and when he was growen to great credit, then was his authoritie and power also very great, the which notwithstanding him selfe did overthrowe by a thowsand other faults he had.

Antonius shape and presence.

The house of the Antonii discended from Hercules.

Antonius liberalitie.

. . . . . .

Afterwards when Pompeys house was put to open sale, Antonius Antonius bought it: but when they asked him money for it, he made it very straung, and was offended with them, and

Antonius byeth Pompeys house.

writeth him selfe that he would not goe with Cæsar into the warres of Africk, bicause he was not well recompenced for the service he had done him before. Yet Cæsar did somewhat bridle his madnes and insolencie, not suffering him to passe his faulte so lightly away, making as though he sawe them not. And therefore he left his dissolute manner of life, and married Fulvia that was Clodius widowe, a woman not so basely minded to spend her time in spinning and housewivery, and was not contented to master her husband at home, but would also rule him in his office abroad, and commaund him, that commaunded legions and great armies: so that Cleopatra was to give Fulvia thankes for that she had taught Antonius this obedience to women, that learned so well to be at their commaundement. Nowe, bicause Fulvia was somewhat sower, and crooked of condition, Antonius devised to make her pleasaunter, and somewhat better disposed: and therefore he would playe her many prety youthfull partes to make her mery.

Antonius married Fulvia, Clodius widow.

Fulvia ruled Antonius, at home, and abroad.

. . . . . .

Now thinges remayning in this state at Rome, Octavius Cæsar the younger, came to Rome, who was the sonne of Iulius Cæsars Nece, as you have heard before, and was left his lawefull heire by will, remayning at the tyme of the death of his great Unkle that was slayne, in the citie of Apollonia.

. . . . . .

This young Cæsar seeing his doings, went unto Cicero and others, which were Antonius enemies, and by them crept into favor with the Senate: and he him self sought the peoples good will every manner of way, gathering together the olde souldiers of the late deceased Cæsar, which were dispersed in divers cities and colonyes. Antonius being affrayd of it, talked with Octavius in the capitoll, and became his friend. But the very same night Antonius had a straunge dreame, who thought that lightning fell upon him, and burnt his right hand. Shortly after word was brought him, that Cæsar lay in waite to kil him. Cæsar cleered him selfe unto him, and told him there was no such matter: but he could not make Antonius beleve the contrary. Whereuppon they became further enemies than ever they were: insomuch that both of them made friends of either side to gather together all the old souldiers through Italy, that were dispersed in divers townes: and made them large promises, and sought also to winne the legions of their side, which were already in armes. Cicero on the other side being at that time the chiefest man of authoritie and estimation in the citie, he stirred up al men against Antonius: so that in the end he made the Senate pronounce him an enemy to his

Octavius Cæsar joyned in friendship with Cicero.

Antonius and Octavius became friends.

Antonius dreame.

Antonius judged an

contry, and appointed young Cæsar Sergeaunts to cary axes before him, and such other signes as were incident to the dignitie of a Consul or Prætor: and moreover sent Hircius and Pansa, then Consuls, to drive Antonius out of Italy. These two Consuls together with Cæsar, who also had an armye, went against Antonius that beseeged the citie of Modena, and there overthrew him in battell: but both the Consuls were slaine there. Antonius flying upon this overthrowe, fell into great miserie all at once: but the chiefest want of all other, and that pinched him most, was famine. Howbeit he was of such a strong nature, that by pacience he would overcome any adversitie, and the heavier fortune lay upon him, the more constant shewed he him selfe. Every man that feleth want or adversitie, knoweth by vertue and discretion what he should doe: but when in deede they are overlayed with extremitie, and be sore oppressed, few have the harts to follow that which they praise and commend, and much lesse to avoid that they reprove and mislike. But rather to the contrary, they yeld to their accustomed easie life: and through faynt hart, and lacke of corage, do chaunge their first mind and purpose. And therefore it was a wonderfull example to the souldiers, to see Antonius that was brought up in all finenes and superfluitie, so easily to drinke puddle water, and to eate wild frutes and rootes: and moreover it is reported, that even as they passed the Alpes, they did eate the barcks of trees, and such beasts, as never man tasted of their flesh before.

enemy by the Senate.

Hircius and Pansa Consuls.

Antonius overthrowen in battell by the citie of Modena.

Antonius patient in adversitie.

Antonius hardnes in adversitie, notwithstanding his fine bringing up.

. . . . . .

Now the government of these Triumviri grewe odious and hatefull to the Romanes, for divers respects: but they most blamed Antonius, bicause he being elder then Cæsar, and of more power and force than Lepidus, gave him selfe againe to his former riot and excesse, when he left to deale in the affaires of the common wealth. But setting aside the ill name he had for his insolencie, he was yet much more hated in respect of the house he dwelt in, the which was the house of Pompey the great: a man as famous for his temperaunce, modestie, and civill life, as for his three triumphes. For it grieved them to see the gates commonly shut against the Captaines, Magistrates of the citie, and also Ambassadors of straunge nations, which were sometimes thrust from the gate with violence: and that the house within was full of tomblers, anticke dauncers, juglers, players, jeasters, and dronkards, quaffing and goseling, and that on them he spent and bestowed the most parte of his money he got by all kind of possible extorcions, briberie and policie.

Antonius riot in his Triumvirate.

The praise of Pompey the great.

. . . . . .

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Octavius Cæsar perceiving that no money woulde serve Antonius turne, he prayed that they might devide the money betwene them, and so did they also devide the armie, for them both to goe into Macedon to make warre against Brutus and Cassius: and in the meane time they left the government of the citie of Rome unto Lepidus. When they had passed over the seas, and that they beganne to make warre, they being both camped by their enemies, to wit, Antonius against Cassius, and Cæsar against Brutus: Cæsar did no great matter, but Antonius had alway the upper hand, and did all. For at the first battell Cæsar was overthrowen by Brutus, and lost his campe, and verie hardly saved him selfe by flying from them that followed him. Howebeit he writeth him selfe in his *Commentaries*, that he fled before the charge was geven, bicause of a dreame one of his frends had. Antonius on the other side overthrewe Cassius in battell, though some write that he was not there him selfe at the battell, but that he came after the overthrowe, whilest his men had the enemies in chase. So Cassius at his earnest request was slaine by a faithfull servaunt of his owne called Pindarus, whom he had infranchised: bicause he knew not in time that Brutus had overcomen Cæsar. Shortly after they fought an other battell againe, in the which Brutus was overthrowen, who afterwardes also slue him selfe. Thus Antonius had the chiefest glorie of all this victorie, specially bicause Cæsar was sicke at that time.

The valliantnes of Antonius against Brutus.

The death of Cassius.

Brutus slue him selfe.

. . . . . .

For he understoode not many of the thefts and robberies his officers committed by his authoritie, in his treasure and affaires: not so muche bicause he was carelesse, as for that he over-simply trusted his men in all things. For he was a plaine man, without suttletie, and therefore overlate founde out the fowle faultes they committed against him: but when he heard of them, he was muche offended, and would plainly confesse it unto them whome his officers had done injurie unto, by countenaunce of his authoritie. He had a noble minde, as well to punish offendors, as to reward well doers: and yet he did exceede more in geving, then in punishing. Now for his outragious manner of railing he commonly used, mocking and flouting of everie man: that was remedied by it selfe. For a man might as boldly exchaunge a mocke with him, and he was as well contented to be mocked, as to mock others. But yet it oftentimes marred all. For he thought that those which told him so plainly, and truly in mirth: would never flatter him in good earnest, in any matter of weight. But thus he was easely abused by the praises they gave him, not finding howe these

Antonius simplicity.

Antonius maners.

flatterers mingled their flatterie, under this familiar and plaine manner of speach unto him, as a fine devise to make difference of meates with sharpe and tart sauce, and also to kepe him by this franke jeasting and bourding with him at the table, that their common flatterie should not be troublesome unto him, as men do easely mislike to have too muche of one thing: and that they handled him finely thereby, when they would geve him place in any matter of waight, and follow his counsell, that it might not appeare to him they did it so muche to please him, but bicause they were ignoraunt, and understoode not so muche as he did. 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. The messenger sent unto Cleopatra to make this summons unto her, was called Dellius: who when he had throughly considered her beawtie, the excellent grace and sweetenesse of her tongue, he nothing mistrusted that Antonius would doe any hurte to so noble a Ladie, but rather assured him selfe, that within few dayes she should be in great favor with him. Thereupon he did her great honor, and perswaded her to come into Cilicia, as honorably furnished as she could possible, and bad her not to be affrayed at all of Antonius, for he was a more curteous Lord, then any that she had ever seene. Cleopatra on thother side beleving Dellius wordes, and gessing by the former accesse and credit she had with Iulius Cæsar, and Cneus Pompey (the sonne of Pompey the great) only for her beawtie: she began to have good hope that she might more easely win Antonius. For Cæsar and Pompey knew her when she was but a young thing, and knew not then what the worlde ment: but nowe she went to Antonius at the age when a womans beawtie is at the prime, and she also of best judgement. So, she furnished her selfe with a world of gifts, store of gold and silver, and of riches and other sumptuous ornaments, as is credible enough she might bring from so great a house, and from so wealthie and rich a realme as Ægypt was. 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.

Antonius love to Cleopatra whom he sent for into Cilicia.

The wonderfull sumptuousnes of Cleopatra, Queene of Ægypt, going unto Antonius.

Therefore when she was sent unto by divers letters, both from Antonius him selfe, and also from his frendes, she made so light of it, and mocked Antonius so much, that she disdained to set forward otherwise, but to take her barge in the river of Cydnus, the poope whereof was of gold, the sailes of purple, and the owers of silver, which kept stroke in rowing after the sounde of the musicke of flutes, howboyes, citherns, violls, and such other instruments as they played upon in the barge. And now for the person of her selfe: she was layed under a pavillion of cloth of gold of tissue, apparelled and attired like the goddesse Venus, commonly drawen in picture; and hard by her, on either hand of her, pretie faire boyes apparelled as painters doe set forth god Cupide, with little fannes in their hands, with the which they fanned wind upon her. Her Ladies and gentlewomen also, the fairest of them were apparelled like the nymphes Nereides (which are the mermaides of the waters) and like the Graces, some stearing the helme, others tending the tackle and ropes of the barge, out of the which there came a wonderfull passing sweete savor of perfumes, that perfumed the wharfes side, pestered with innumerable multitudes of people. Some of them followed the barge all alongest the rivers side: others also ranne out of the citie to see her comming in. So that in thend, there ranne such multitudes of people one after an other to see her, that Antonius was left post alone in the market place, in his Imperiall seate to geve audience: and there went a rumor in the peoples mouthes, that the goddesse Venus was come to play with the god Bacchus, for the generall good of all Asia. When Cleopatra landed, Antonius sent to invite her to supper to him. But she sent him word againe, he should doe better rather to come and suppe with her. Antonius therefore to shew him selfe curteous unto her at her arrivall, was contented to obey her, and went to supper to her: where he found such passing sumptuous fare, that no tongue can expresse it. But amongest all other thinges, he most wondered at the infinite number of lightes and torches hanged on the toppe of the house, geving light in everie place, so artificially set and ordered by devises, some round, some square: that it was the rarest thing to behold that eye could discerne, or that ever books could mencion. The next night, Antonius feasting her, contended to passe her in magnificence and finenes: but she overcame him in both. So that he him selfe began to skorne the grosse service of his house, in respect of Cleopatraes sumptuousnes and finenesse. And when Cleopatra found Antonius jeasts and slents to be but grosse, and souldier like, in plaine manner: she gave it him finely, and without feare

Cydnus fl.

The sumptuous preparations of the suppers of Cleopatra and Antonius.

taunted him throughly. Now her beawtie (as it is reported) was not so passing, as unmatchable 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 and 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. She spake unto few barbarous people by interpreter, but made them aunswere her selfe, or at the least the most parte of them: as the Æthiopians, the Arabians, the Troglodytes, the Hebrues, the Syrians, the Medes, and the Parthians, and to many others also, whose languages she had learned. Whereas divers of her progenitors, the kings of Ægypt, could scarce learne the Ægyptian tongue only, and many of them forgot to speake the Macedonian. Nowe, Antonius was so ravished with the love of Cleopatra, that though his wife Fulvia had great warres, and much a doe with Cæsar for his affaires, and that the armie of the Parthians, (the which the kings Lieutenauntes had geven to the onely leading of Labienus) was now assembled in Mesopotamia readie to invade Syria: yet, as though all this had nothing touched him, he yeelded him selfe to goe with Cleopatra into Alexandria, where he spent and lost in childish sports, (as a man might say) and idle pastimes, the most pretious thing a man can spende, as Antiphon sayth: and that is, time. For they made an order betwene them, which they called Amimetobion (as much to say, no life comparable and matcheable with it) one feasting ech other by turnes, and in cost, exceeding all measure and reason. And for proofe hereof, I have heard my grandfather Lampryas report, that one Philotas a Physition, born in the citie of Amphissa, told him that he was at that present time in Alexandria, and studied Physicke: and that having acquaintance with one of Antonius cookes, he tooke him with him to Antonius house, (being a young man desirous to see things) to shew him the wonderfull sumptuous charge and preparation of one only supper. When he was in the kitchin, and saw a world of diversities of meates, and amongst others, eight wilde boares rosted whole: he began to wonder at it, and sayd, Sure you have a great number of ghests to supper. The cooke fell a laughing, and answered him, No (quoth he) not many ghests, nor above twelve in all: but yet all that is boyled or roasted must be served in whole, or else it would be marred

Cleopatraes beawtie.

An order set up by Antonius and Cleopatra.

The excessive expences of Antonius and Cleopatra in Ægypt.

Eight wilde boares rosted whole.

straight. For Antonius peradventure will suppe presently, or it may be a pretie while hence, or likely enough he will deferre it longer, for that he hath dronke well to day, or else hath had some other great matters in hand: and therefore we doe not dresse one supper only, but many suppers, bicause we are uncerteine of the houre he will suppe in.

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Plato writeth of foure kinds of flatterie.

Cleopatra Queene of all flattere

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. For she would play at dyce with him, drinke with him, and hunt commonly with him, and also be with him when he went to any exercise or activity of body. And somtime also, when he would goe up and downe the citie disguised like a slave in the night, and would peere into poore mens windowes and their shops, and scold and brawle with them within the house: Cleopatra would be also in a chamber maides array, and amble up and downe the streets with him, so that oftentimes Antonius bare away both mockes and blowes. Now, though most men misliked this maner, yet the Alexandrians were commonly glad of this jolity, and liked it well saying verie gallantly, and wisely: that Antonius shewed them a commicall face, to wit, a merie countenaunce: and the Romanes a tragicall face, to say, a grimme looke. But to reckon up all the foolishe sportes they made, revelling in this sorte: it were too fond a parte of me, and therefore I will only tell you one among the rest. On a time he went to angle for fish, and when he could take none, he was as angrie as could be, bicause Cleopatra stoode by. Wherefore he secretly commaunded the fisher men, that when he cast in his line, they should straight dive under the water, and put a fishe on his hooke which they had taken before: and so snatched up his angling rodde, and brought up fish twise or thrise. Cleopatra found it straight, yet she seemed not to see it, but wondred at his excellent fishing: but when she was alone by her selfe among her owne people, she told them howe it was, and bad them the next morning to be on the water to see the fishing. A number of people came to the haven, and got into the fisher boates to see this fishing. Antonius then threw in his line and Cleopatra straight commaunded one of her men to dive under water before Antonius men, and to put some old salte fish upon his baite, like unto those that are brought out of the contrie of Pont. When he had hong the fish on his hooke, Antonius

Antonius fishing in Ægypt.

thinking he had taken a fishe in deede, snatched up his line presently. Then they all fell a laughing. Cleopatra laughing also, said unto him: Leave us (my Lord) Ægyptians (which dwell in the contry of Pharus and Canobus) your angling rodd: this is not thy profession: thou must hunt after conquering of realmes and contries. Nowe Antonius delighting in these fond and childish pastimes, verie ill newes were brought him from two places. The first from Rome, that his brother Lucius, and Fulvia his wife, fell out first betwene them selves, and afterwards fell to open warre with Cæsar, and had brought all to nought, that they were both driven to flie out of Italie. The seconde newes, as bad as the first: that Labienus conquered all Asia with the armie of the Farthians, from the river of Euphrates, and from Syria, unto the contries of Lydia and Ionia. 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. So, first of all he bent him selfe against the Parthians, and went as farre as the contrie of Phœnicia: but there he received lamentable letters from his wife Fulvia. Whereuppon he straight returned towards Italie, with two hundred saile: and as he went, tooke up his frendes by the way that fled out of Italie, to come to him. By them he was informed, that his wife Fulvia was the only cause of this warre: who being of a peevish, crooked, and troublesome nature, had purposely raised this uprore in Italie, in hope thereby to withdraw him from Cleopatra. But by good fortune, his wife Fulvia going to meete with Antonius, sickened by the way, and dyed in the citie of Sicyone: and therefore Octavius Cæsar, and he were the easelier made frendes together. For when Antonius landed in Italie, and that men saw Cæsar asked nothing of him, and that Antonius on the other side layed all the fault and burden on his wife Fulvia: the frendes of both parties would not suffer them to unrippe any olde matters, and to prove or defend who had the wrong or right, and who was the first procurer of this warre, fearing to make matters worse betwene them: but 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: and left Africke unto Lepidus: and made a law, that they three one after an other should make their frendes Consuls, when they would not be them selves. 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, not

The warres of Lucius Antonius and Fulvia, against Octavius Cæsar.

The death of Fulvia Antonius wife

All the Empire of Rome devided betwene the Triumviri.

Octavia, the halfe sister of Octavius Cæsar, and daughter of Ancharia which was not Cæsars mother.

by one mother, for she came of Ancharia, and Cæsar him self afterwards of Accia. 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: and 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, wisedom, and honestie, joined 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 and amitie betwext her brother and him. So when Cæsar and he had made the matche betwene them, they both went to Rome about this mariage, although it was against the law, that a widow should be maried within tenne monethes after her husbandes death. Howbeit the Senate dispensed with the law, and so the mariage proceeded accordingly. Sextus Pompeius at that time kept in Sicilia, and so made many an inrode into Italie with a great number of pynnasies and other pirates shippes, of the which were Captaines two notable pirats, Menas, and Menecrates, who so scoored all the sea thereabouts, that none durst peepe out with a sayle. Furthermore, Sextus Pompeius had delt verie frendly with Antonius, for he had curteously received his mother, when she fled out of Italie with Fulvia: and therefore they thought good to make peace with him. So they met all three together by the mount of Misena, upon a hill that runneth farre into the sea: Pompey having his shippes ryding hard by at ancker, and Antonius and Cæsar their armies upon the shoare side, directly over against him. Now, after they had agreed that Sextus Pompeius should have Sicile and Sardinia, with this condicion that he should ridde the sea of all theeves and pirats, and make it safe for passengers, and withall that he should send a certaine [quantity] of wheate to Rome: one of them did feast an other, and drew cuts who should beginne. It was Pompeius chaunce to invite them first. Whereupon Antonius asked him: And where shall we suppe? There, said Pompey, and shewed him his admirall galley which had six bankes of owers: That (sayd he) is my fathers house they have left me. He spake it to taunt Antonius, bicause he had his fathers house, that was Pompey the great. So he cast ankers enowe into the sea, to make his galley fast, and then built a bridge of wodde to convey them to his galley, from the heade

A lawe at Rome for marying of widowes.

Antonius maried Octavia, Octavius Cæsars halfe sister.

Antonius and Octavius Cæsar, doe make peace with Sextus Pompeius.

Sextus Pompeius taunt to Antonius.

of mount Misena: and there he welcomed them, and made them great cheere. Now in the middest of the feast, when they fell to be merie with Antonius love unto Cleopatra: Menas the pirate came to Pompey, and whispering in his eare, said unto him: Shall I cut the gables of the ankers, and make thee Lord not only of Sicile and Sardinia, but of the whole Empire of Rome besides? Pompey having pawsed a while upon it, at length aunswered him: Thou shouldest have done it, and never have told it me, but now we must content us with that we have. As for my selfe, I was never taught to breake my faith, nor to be counted a traitor. The other two also did likewise feast him in their campe, and then he returned into Sicile. Antonius after this agreement made, sent Ventidius before into Asia to stay the Parthians, and to keepe them they should come no further: and he him selfe in the meane time, to gratefie Cæsar, was contented to be chosen Iulius Cæsars priest and sacrificer, and so they joyntly together dispatched all great matters, concerning the state of the Empire. But in all other maner of sportes and exercises, wherein they passed the time away the one with the other: Antonius was ever inferior unto Cæsar, and always lost, which grieved him much. With Antonius there was a soothsayer or astronomer of Ægypt, that coulde cast a figure, and judge of mens nativities, to tell them what should happen to them. He, either to please Cleopatra, or else for that he founde it so by his art, told Antonius plainly, that his fortune (which of it selfe was excellent good, and very great) was altogether bleamished and obscured by Cæsars fortune: and therefore he counselled him utterly to leave his company, and to get him as farre from him as he could. For thy Demon, said he, (that is to say, the good angell and spirit that kepeth thee), is affraied of his: and being coragious and high when he is alone, becometh fearefull and timerous when he commeth neere unto the other. Howsoever it was, the events ensuing proved the Ægyptians words true. For, it is said, that as often as they two drew cuts for pastime, who should have any thing, or whether they plaied at dice, Antonius alway lost. Oftentimes when they were disposed to see cocke-fight, or quailes that were taught to fight one with an other: Cæsars cockes or quailes did ever overcome. The which spighted Antonius in his mind, although he made no outward shew of it: and therefore he beleved the Ægyptian the better. In fine, he recommended the affaires of his house unto Cæsar, and went out of Italie with Octavia his wife, whom he caried into Græce, after he had had a daughter by her. So Antonius lying all the winter at Athens, newes came unto him of the

Sextus Pompeius being offered wonderfull great fortune: for his honestie and faithes sake, refused it.

Antonius told by a Soothsayer, that his fortune was inferior unto Octavius Cæsar.

Antonius unfortunate in sport and earnest, against Octavius Cæsar.

victories of Ventidius, who had overcome the Parthians in battel, in the which also were slaine, Labienus, and Pharnabates, the chiefest Captaine king Orodes had. For these good newes he feasted all Athens, and kept open house for all the Græcians, and many games of price were plaied at Athens, of the which he him selfe would be judge.

Orodes king of Parthia.

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In the meane time, Ventidius once againe overcame Pacorus, (Orodes sonne king of Parthia) in a battell fought in the contrie of Cyrrestica, he being come againe with a great armie to invada Syria: at which battell was slaine a great number of the Parthians, and among them Pacorus, the kings owne sonne slaine. This noble exployt as famous as ever any was, was a full revenge to the Romanes, of the shame and losse they had received before by the death of Marcus Crassus: and he made the Parthians flie, and glad to kepe them selves within the confines and territories of Mesopotamia, and Media, after they had thrise together bene overcome in severall battells. Howbeit Ventidius durst not undertake to follow them any further, fearing least he should have gotten Antonius displeasure by it.

Ventidius notable victorie of the Parthians.

The death of Pacorus, the king of Parthiaes sonne.

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Ventidius was the only man that ever triumphed of the Parthians untill this present day, a meane man borne, and of no noble house nor family: who only came to that he attained unto, through Antonius frendshippe, the which delivered him happie occasion to achieve to great matters. And yet to say truely, he did so well quit him selfe in all his enterprises, that he confirmed that which was spoken of Antonius and Cæsar: to wit, that they were alway more fortunate when they made warre by their Lieutenants, then by them selves. For Sossius, one of Antonius Lieutenauntes in Syria, did notable good service: and Canidius, whom he had also left his Lieutenaunt in the borders of Armenia, did conquer it all. So did he also overcome the kinges of the Iberians and Albanians, and went on with his conquests unto mount Caucasus. By these conquests, the fame of Antonius power increased more and more, and grew dreadfull unto all the barbarous nations. But Antonius notwithstanding grewe to be marvelously offended with Cæsar, upon certaine reportes, that had bene brought unto him: and so tooke sea to go towards Italie with three hundred saile. And bicause those of Brundusium, would not receive his armie into their haven, he went further unto Tarentum. There his wife Octavia that came out of Græce with him, besought him to send her unto her brother: the which he did. Octavia at that

Ventidius the only man of the Romanes, that triumphed for the Parthians.

Canidius conquests.

Newe displeasures betwext Antonius and Octavius Cæsar.

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, Mæcenas 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 councell take place, (which the goddes forbidde) and that they growe to warres: for your selves, it is uncertaine to which of them two the goddes have assigned the victorie, or overthrowe. But for me, on which side soever victorie fall, my state can be but most miserable still. These words of Octavia so softned Cæsars harte, that he went quickely unto Tarentum. But it was a noble sight for them that were present, to see so great an armie by lande not to sturre, and so many shippes aflote in the roade, quietly and safe: and furthermore, the meeting and kindenesse of frendes, lovinglie imbracing one an other. First, Antonius feasted Cæsar, which he graunted unto for his sisters sake. Afterwardes they agreed together, that Cæsar should geve Antonius two legions to go against the Parthians: and that Antonius should let Cæsar have a hundred gallies armed with brasen spurres at the prooes. Besides all this, Octavia obteyned of her husbande, twentie brigantines for her brother: and of her brother for her husbande, a thowsande armed men. After they had taken leave of eache other, Cæsar went immediatly to make warre with Sextus Pompeius, to gette Sicilia into his handes. Antonius also leaving his wife Octavia and litle children begotten of her, with Cæsar, and his other children which he had by Fulvia: he went directlie into Asia. Then beganne this pestilent plague and mischiefe of Cleopatraes love (which had slept a longe tyme, and seemed to have bene utterlie forgotten, and that Antonius had geven place to better counsell) againe to kindle, and to be in force, so soone as Antonius came neere unto Syria. And in the ende, the horse of the minde as Plato termeth it, that is so hard of rayne (I meane the unreyned lust of concupiscence) did put out of Antonius heade, all honest and commendable thoughtes: for he sent Fonteius Capito to bring Cleopatra into Syria. Unto whome, to welcome her, he gave no trifling things: but unto that she had already, he added the provinces of Phœnicia, those of the nethermost Syria, the Ile of Cyprus, and a great parte of

The wordes of Octavia unto Mæcenas and Agrippa.

Octavia pacifieth the quarrell betwixt Antonius, and her brother Octavius Cæsar.

Plato calleth concupiscence: the horse of the minde.

Antonius sent for Cleopatra into Syria.

Antonius gave great provinces unto Cleopatra.

Cilicia, and that contry of Iurie where the true balme is, and that parte of Arabia where the Nabatheians doe dwell, which stretcheth out towardes the Ocean. These great giftes muche misliked the Romanes. But now, though Antonius did easely geve away great seigniories, realmes, and mighty nations unto some private men, and that also he tooke from other kings their lawfull realmes: (as from Antigonus king of the Iewes, whom he openly beheaded, where never king before had suffred like death) yet all this did not so much offend the Romanes, as the unmeasurable honors which he did unto Cleopatra. But yet he did much more aggravate their malice and il wil towards him, bicause that Cleopatra having brought him two twinnes, a sonne and a daughter, he named his sonne Alexander, and his daughter Cleopatra, and gave them to their surnames, the Sunne to the one, and the moone to the other. This notwithstanding, he that could finely cloke his shamefull deedes with fine words, said that the greatnes and magnificence of the Empire of Rome appeared most, not where the Romanes tooke, but where they gave much: and nobility was multiplied amongest men, by the posterity of kings, when they left of their seede in divers places: and that by this meanes his first auncestor was begotten of Hercules, who had not left the hope and continuance of his line and posterity, in the wombe of one only woman, fearing Solons lawes, or regarding the ordinaunces of men touching the procreacion of children: but that he gave it unto nature, and established the fundacion of many noble races and families in divers places.

Antigonus king of Iurie, the first king beheaded by Antonius.

Antonius twinnes by Cleopatra, and their names.

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Now whilest Antonius was busie in this preparation, Octavia his wife, whome he had left at Rome, would needes take sea to come unto him. Her brother Octavius Cæsar was willing unto it, not for his respect at all (as most authors doe report) as for that he might have an honest culler to make warre with Antonius if he did misuse her, and not esteeme of her as she ought to be. But when she was come to Athens, she received letters from Antonius, willing her to stay there untill his comming, and did advertise her of his jorney and determination. The which though it grieved her much, and that she knewe it was but an excuse: yet by her letters to him of aunswer, she asked him whether he would have those thinges sent unto him which she had brought him, being great store of apparell for souldiers, a great number of horse, summe of money, and gifts, to bestow on his friendes and Captaines he had about him: and besides all those, she had two thowsand souldiers chosen men, all well armed, like unto the Prætors bands.

Octavia, Antonius wife, came to Athens to meete with him.

When Niger, one of Antonius friends whome he had sent unto Athens, had brought these newes from his wife Octavia, and withall did greatly prayse her, as she was worthy, and well deserved: 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 thereunto 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, pyning her body for lacke of meate. Furthermore, she every way so framed her countenaunce, 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, looked rufully of the matter, and still found the meanes that Antonius should oftentymes finde her weeping: and then when he came sodainely uppon her, she made as though she dryed her eyes, and turned her face away, as if she were unwilling that he should see her weepe. All these tricks she used, Antonius being in readines to goe into Syria, to speake with the king of Medes. Then the flatterers that futhered Cleopatraes mind, blamed Antonius, and tolde him that he was a hard natured man, and that he had small love in him, that would see a poore Ladye in such torment for his sake, whose life depended onely upon him alone. 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 unpossible she should live. To be short, by these their flatteries and enticements, they so wrought Antonius effeminate mind, that fearing least she would make her selfe away: he returned againe unto Alexandria, and referred the king of Medes to the next yeare following, although he receyved newes that the Parthians at that tyme were at civill warres amonge them selves. This notwithstanding, he went afterwardes and made peace with him. For he maried his Daughter which was very younge, unto one of the sonnes that Cleopatra had by him: and then returned, beeing fully bent to make warre with Cæsar. When Octavia was returned to Rome from Athens, Cæsar commaunded her to goe out of Antonius house, and to dwell by her selfe, bicause he had

The flickering enticements of Cleopatra untoAntonius.

The occasion of civil warres betwixt Antonius and Cæsar.

The love of Octavia to Antonius her husband, and her wise and womanly behavior.

abused her. Octavia aunswered him againe, that she would not forsake her husbands house, and that if he had no other occasion to make warre with him, she prayed him then to take no thought for her: for sayd she, it were too shamefull a thinge, that two so famous Captaines should bringe in civill warres among the Romanes, the one for the love of a woman, and the other for the jelousy betwixt one an other. Now as she spake the worde, so did she also performe the deede. 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. Furthermore, when Antonius sent any of his men to Rome, to sue for any office in the common wealth: she received him very curteously, and so used her selfe unto her brother, that she obtained the thing she requested. Howbeit thereby, thinking no hurt, she did Antonius great hurt. For her honest love and regard to her husband, made every man hate him, when they sawe he did so unkindly use so noble a Lady: but yet the greatest cause of their malice unto him, was for the division of lands he made amongst his children in the citie of Alexandria. And to confesse a troth, it was too arrogant and insolent a part, and done (as a man would say) in derision and contempt of the Romanes. For he assembled all the people in the show place, where younge men doe exercise them selves, 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 Iulius Cæsar, who had left Cleopatra great with child. Secondly he called the sonnes he had by her, the kings of kings, and gave Alexander for his portion, Armenia, Media, and Parthia, when he had conquered the contry: and unto Ptolomy for his portion, Phenicia, Syria, and Cilicia. And therewithall he brought out Alexander in a long gowne after the facion of the Medes, with a high copped tanke hat on his head, narrow in the toppe, as the kings of the Medes and Armenians doe use to weare them: and Ptolomy apparelled in a cloke after the Macedonian manner, with slippers on his feete, and a broad hat, with a royall band or diademe. Such was the apparell and old attyre of the auncient kinges and successors of Alexander the great. So after his sonnes had done their humble duties, and kissed their father and mother: presently a company of Armenian

Antonius arrogantly devideth divers provinces unto his children by Cleopatra.

Cæsarion, the supposed sone of Cæsar, by Cleopatra.

Alexander and Ptolomy, Antonius sonnes by Cleopatra.

souldiers set there of purpose, compassed the one about, and a like company of the Macedonians the other. 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 goddesse Isis, and so gave audience unto all her subjects, as a new Isis. Octavius Cæsar reporting all these thinges unto the Senate, and oftentimes accusing him to the whole people and assembly in Rome: he thereby stirred up all the Romanes against him. Antonius on thother side sent to Rome likewise to accuse him, and the chiefest poyntes of his accusations he charged him with, were these: First, that having spoyld Sextus Pompeius in Sicile, he did not give him his parte of the Ile. Secondly, that he did deteyne in his hands the shippes he lent him to make that warre. Thirdly, that having put Lepidus their companion and triumvirate out of his part of the Empire, and having deprived him of all honors: he retayned for him selfe the lands and revenues thereof, which had bene assigned unto him for his part. And last of all, that he had in manner devided all Italy amongest his owne souldiers, and had left no part of it for his souldiers. Octavius Cæsar aunswered him againe: that for Lepidus, he had in deede deposed him, and taken his part of the Empire from him, bicause he did overcruelly use his authoritie. And secondly, for the conquests he had made by force of armes, he was contented Antonius should have his part of them, so that he would likewise let him have his part of Armenia. And thirdly, that for his souldiers, they should seeke for nothing in Italy, bicause they possessed Media and Parthia, the which provinces they had added to the Empire of Rome, valliantly fighting with their Emperor and Captaine. Antonius hearing these newes, being yet in Armenia, commaunded Canidius to goe presently to the sea side with his sixteene legions he had: and he him selfe with Cleopatra, went unto the citie of Ephesus, and there gathered together his gallies and shippes out of all parts, which came to the number of eight hundred, reckoning the great shippes of burden: and of those, Cleopatra furnished him with two hundred, and twenty thowsand talents besides, and provision of vittells also to mainteyne al the whole army in this warre. So Antonius, through the perswasions of Domitius, commaunded Cleopatra to returne againe into Ægypt, and there to understand the successe of this warre. But Cleopatra, fearing least Antonius should againe be made friends with Octavius Cæsar, by the meanes of his wife Octavia: she so plyed Canidius with money, and filled his purse, that he became her spokes man unto Antonius, and told him there was

Accusation. betwixt Octavius Cæsar, and Antonius.

Antonius came with eight hundred saile against Octavius Cæsar.

no reason to send her from this warre, who defraied so great a charge: neither that it was for his profit, bicause that thereby the Ægyptians would then be utterly discoraged, which were the chiefest strength of the army by sea: considering that he could see no king of all the kings their confederats, that Cleopatra was inferior unto, either for wisedom or judgement, seeing that longe before she had wisely governed so great a realme as Ægypt, and besides she had bene so long acquainted with him, by whom she had learned to manedge great affayres. These fayer perswasions wan him: for it was predestined that the government of all the world should fall into Octavius Cæsars handes. Thus, all their forces being joyned together, they hoysed sayle towards the Ile of Samos, and there gave them selves to feasts and sollace. For as all the kings, Princes, and communalties, peoples and cities from Syria, unto the marishes Mæotides, and from the Armenians to the Illyrians, were sent unto, to send and bringe all munition and warlike preparation they could: even so all players, minstrells, tumblers, fooles, and jeasters, were commaunded to assemble in the Ile of Samos. So that, where in manner all the world in every place was full of lamentations, sighes and teares: onely in this Ile of Samos there was nothing for many dayes space, but singing and pyping, and all the Theater full of these common players, minstrells, and singing men. Besides all this, every citie sent an oxe thither to sacrifice, and kings did strive one with another who should make the noblest feasts, and give the richest gifts. So that every man sayd, What can they doe more for joy of victorie, if they winne the battell? when they make already such sumptuous feasts at the beginning of the warre?

Antonius carieth Cleopatra with him to the warres, against Octavius Cæsar: and kept great feasting at the Ile of Samos together.

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Furthermore, Titius and Plancus (two of Antonius chiefest friends and that had bene both of them Consuls) for the great injuries Cleopatra did them, bicause they hindered all they could, that she should not come to this warre: they went and yelded them selves unto Cæsar, and tolde him where the testament was that Antonius had made, knowing perfitly what was in it. The will was in the custodie of the Vestall Nunnes: of whom Cæsar demaunded for it. They aunswered him, that they would not give it him: but if he would goe and take it, they would not hinder him. Thereuppon Cæsar went thither, and having red it first to him self, he noted certaine places worthy of reproch: so assembling all the Senate, he red it before them all. Whereuppon divers were marvelously offended, and thought it a straunge matter that he being alive, should be

Titius and Plancus revolt from Antonius, and doe yeld to Cæsar.

punished for that he had appoynted by his will to be done after his death. Cæsar chiefly tooke hold of this that he ordeyned touching his buriall: for he willed that his bodie, though he dyed at Rome, should be brought in funerall pompe through the middest of the market place, and that it should be sent into Alexandria unto Cleopatra.

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Antonius Empire taken from him.

Nowe, after Cæsar had made sufficient preparation, he proclaymed open warre against Cleopatra, and made the people to abolishe the power and Empire of Antonius, bicause he had before given it uppe unto 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 that should make warre with them should be Mardian the Euenuke, Photinus, and Iras, a woman of Cleopatraes bedchamber, that friseled her heare, and dressed her head, and Charmion, the which were those that ruled all the affaires of Antonius Empire.

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An ill signe, foreshewed by swallowes breding in Cleopatraes shippe.

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, and there came others after them that drave away the first, and plucked downe their neasts. Now when all things were ready, and that they drew neare to fight: it was found that Antonius had no lesse then five hundred good ships of warre, among the which there were many gallies that had eight and ten bancks of owers, the which were sumptuously furnished, not so meete for fight, as for triumphe: a hundred thowsand footemen, and twelve thowsand horsemen, and had with him to ayde him these kinges and subjects following: Bocchus king of Lybia, Tarcondemus king of high Cilicia, Archelaus king of Cappadocia, Philadelphus king of Paphlagonia, Mithridates king of Comagena, and Adallas king of Thracia. All the which were there every man in person. The residue that were absent sent their armies, as Polemon king of Pont, Manchus king of Arabia, Herodes king of Iury: and furthermore, Amyntas king of Lycaonia, and of the Galatians: and besides all these, he had all the ayde the king of Medes sent unto him. Now for Cæsar, he had two hundred and fifty shippes of warre, foure score thowsand footemen, and well neare as many horsemen as his enemy Antonius. Antonius for his part, had all under his dominion from Armenia, and the river of Euphrates, unto the sea Ionium and Illyricum. Octavius Cæsar had also for his part, all that which was in our Hemisphære,

Antonius power against Oct. Cæsar.

Antonius had eyght kings, and their power to ayde him.

The army and power of Octavius Cæsar against Antonius.

Antonius dominions.

Octavius Cæsars dominions.

or halfe part of the world, from Illyria, unto the Occean sea upon the west: then all from the Occean, unto Mare Siculum: and from Africk, all that which is against Italy, as Gaule, and Spayne. Furthermore, all from the province of Cyrenia, unto Æthiopia, was subject unto Antonius. 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: though he sawe before his eyes, that for lacke of water men, his Captaines did presse by force all sortes of men out of Græce that they could take up in the field, as travellers, muletters, reapers, harvest men, and younge boys, and yet could they not sufficiently furnishe his gallies: so that the most part of them were empty, and could scant rowe, bicause they lacked water men enowe. But on the contrary side, Cæsars shippes were not built for pompe, highe, and great, onely for a sight and bravery, but they were light of yarage, armed and furnished with water men as many as they needed, and had them all in readines, in the havens of Tarentum, and Brundusium. So Octavius Cæsar sent unto Antonius, to will him to delay no more time, but to come on with his army into Italy: and that for his owne part he would give him safe harber, to lande without any trouble, and that he would withdraw his armie from the sea, as far as one horse could runne, until he had put his army a shore, and had lodged his men. Antonius on the other side bravely sent him word againe, and chalenged the combate of him man to man, though he were the elder: and that if he refused him so, he would then fight a battell with him in the fields of Pharsalia, as Iulius Cæsar, and Pompey had done before. Now whilest Antonius rode at anker, lying idely in harber at the head of Actium, in the place where the citie of Nicopolis standeth at this present: Cæsar had quickly passed the sea Ionium, and taken a place called Toryne, before Antonius understoode that he had taken shippe. Then began his men to be affraid, bicause his army by land was left behind. But Cleopatra making light of it: And what daunger, I pray you, said she, if Cæsar keepe at Toryne? * The next morning by breake of day, his enemies comming with full force of owers in battell against him, Antonius was affraid that if they came to joyne, they would take and cary away his shippes that had no men of warre in them. So he armed all his water men, and set them in order of battell upon the forecastell of their shippes, and then lift up all his rancks of owers towards the element, as well of the one side, as the other, with the prooes against the enemies, at the entry and mouth of the gulfe, which begin-

Antonius too much ruled by Cleopatra.

Antonius rode at anker at the head of Actius: where the citie of Nicopolis standeth.

* The grace of this tawnt can not properly be expressed in any other tongue, bicause of the equivocation of this word Toryne, which signifieth a

neth at the point of Actium, and so kept them in order of battell, as if they had bene armed and furnished with water men and souldiers. Thus Octavius Cæsar beeing finely deceyved by this stratageame, retyred presently, and therewithall Antonius very wisely and sodainely did cut him of from fresh water. For, understanding that the places where Octavius Cæsar landed, had very litle store of water, and yet very bad: he shut them in with stronge ditches and trenches he cast, to keepe them from salying out at their pleasure, and so to goe seeke water further of. Furthermore, he delt very friendely and curteously with Domitius, and against Cleopatraes mynde. For, he being sicke of an agewe when he went and tooke a litle boate to goe to Cæsars campe, Antonius was very sory for it, but yet he sent after him all his caryage, trayne, and men: and the same Domitius, as though he gave him to understand that he repented his open treason, he died immediatly after. There were certen kings also that forsooke him, and turned on Cæsars side: as Amyntas, and Deiotarus. Furthermore, his fleete and navy that was unfortunate in all thinges, and unready for service, compelled him to chaunge his minde, and to hazard battell by land. And Canidius also, who had charge of his army by land, when time came to follow Antonius determination: he turned him cleane contrary, and counselled him to send Cleopatra backe againe, and him selfe to retyre into Macedon, to fight there on the maine land. And furthermore told him, that Dicomes king of the Getes, promised him to ayde him with a great power: and that it should be no shame nor dishonor to him to let Cæsar have the sea, (bicause him selfe and his men both had bene well practised and exercised in battels by sea, in the warre of Sicilia against Sextus Pompeius) but rather that he should doe against all reason, he having so great skill and experience of battells by land as he had, if he should not employ the force and valliantnes of so many lusty armed footemen as he had ready, but would weaken his army by deviding them into shippes. 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, and provide for her safetie, not to helpe him to winne the victory, but to flie more easily after the battel lost.

citie of Albania, and also, a ladell to scoome the pot with: as if she ment, Cæsar sat by the fire side, scomming of the pot.

Domitius forsaketh Antonius, and goeth unto Octavius Cæsar.

Amyntas, and Deiotarus, do both revolt from Antonius, and goe unto Cæsar.

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So when Antonius had determined to fight by sea, he set all the other shippes a fire, but three score shippes of Ægypt, and reserved onely but the best and greatest gallies, from three bancks, unto tenne bancks of owers. Into them he put two

and twenty thowsand fighting men, with two thowsand darters and slingers. Now, as he was setting his men in order of battel, there was a Captaine, and a valliant man, that had served Antonius in many battels and conflicts, and had all his body hacked and cut: who as Antonius passed by him, cryed out unto him, and sayd: O noble Emperor, how commeth it to pass that you trust to these vile brittle shippes? what, doe you mistrust these woundes of myne, and this sword? let the Ægyptians and Phænicians fight by sea, and set us on the maine land, where we use to conquer, or to be slayne on our feete. Antonius passed by him, and sayd never a word, but only beckoned to him with his hand and head, as though he willed him to be of good corage, although in deede he had no great corage him selfe. For when the Masters of the gallies and Pilots would have let their sailes alone, he made them clap them on, saying to culler the matter withall, that not one of his enemies should scape. All that day, and the three dayes following, the sea rose so high, and was so boysterous, that the battel was put of. The fift day the storme ceased, and the sea calmed againe, and then they rowed with force of owers in battaile one against the other: Antonius leading the right wing with Publicola, and Cælius the left, and Marcus Octavius, and Marcus Iusteius the middest. Octavius Cæsar on thother side, had placed Agrippa in the left winge of his armye, and had kept the right winge for him selfe. For the armies by lande Canidius was generall of Antonius side, and Taurus of Cæsars side: who kept their men in battell raye the one before the other, uppon the sea side, without stirring one agaynst the other.

Antonius regardeth not the good counsell of his souldier.

Battail by sea at Actium, betwixt Antonius and Cæsar.

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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, for they had bene placed behind the great shippes, and did marvelously disorder the other shippes. For the enemies them selves wondred much to see them saile in that sort, with ful saile towards Peloponnesus. There Antonius shewed plainely, that he had not onely lost the corage and hart of an Emperor, but also of a valliant man, and that he was not his owne man: (proving that true which an old man spake in myrth, that the soule of a lover lived in another body, and not in his owne) he was so caried away with the vaine love of this woman, as if he had bene glued unto her, and that she could not have removed without moving of him

Cleopatra flyeth.

The soule of a lover liveth in another body.

also. For when he saw Cleopatraes shippe under saile, he forgot, forsooke, and betrayed them that fought for him, and imbarked upon a galley with five bankes of owers, to follow her that had already begon to overthrow him, and would in the end be his utter destruction. When she knew this galley a farre of, she lift up a signe in the poope of her shippe, and so Antonius comming to it, was pluckt up where Cleopatra was, howbeit he saw her not at his first comming, nor she him, but went and sate down alone in the prowe of his shippe, and said never a word, clapping his head betwene both his hands . . . and so lived three days alone, without speaking to any man. But when he arrived at the head of Tænarus, there Cleopatraes women first brought Antonius and Cleopatra to speake together, and afterwards, to suppe and lye together. Then beganne there agayne a great number of Marchaunts shippes to gather about them, and some of their friends that had escaped from this overthrow: who brought newes, that his army by sea was overthrowen, but that they thought the army by land was yet whole. Then Antonius sent unto Canidius, to returne with his army into Asia, by Macedon. Now for him self, he determined to crosse over into Africk, and toke one of his carects or hulks loden with gold and silver, and other rich cariage, and gave it unto his friends: commaunding them to depart, and to seeke to save them selves. They aunswered him weeping, that they would nether doe it, nor yet forsake him. Then Antonius very curteously and lovingly did comfort them, and prayed them to depart: and wrote unto Theophilus governor of Corinthe, that he would see them safe, and helpe to hide them in some secret place, until they had made their way and peace with Cæsar. This Theophilus was the father of Hipparchus, who was had in great estimation about Antonius. He was the first of all his infranchised bondmen that revolted from him, and yelded unto Cæsar, and afterwardes went and dwelt at Corinthe. And thus it stoode with Antonius. Now for his armie by sea, that fought before the head or foreland of Actium: they helde out a longe tyme, and nothing troubled them more then a great boysterous wind that rose full in the prooes of their shippes, and yet with much a doe, his navy was at length overthrowen, five howers within night. There were not slaine above five thowsand men: but yet there were three hundred shippes taken, as Octavius Cæsar writeth him selfe in his *Commentaries*. Many plainely sawe Antonius flie, and yet could hardly beleeve it, that he that had nyneteene legions whole by lande, and twelve thowsand horsemen upon the sea side, would so have forsaken them, and have fled so cowardly: as if he had not oftentimes proved both

Antonius flyeth after Cleopatra.

Antonius lycenceth his friends to depart, and giveth them a shippe loden with gold and silver.

Antonius navy overthrowen by Cæsar.

the one and the other fortune, and that he had not bene throughly acquainted with the divers chaunges and fortunes of battells. And yet his souldiers still wished for him, and ever hoped that he would come by some meanes or other unto them. Furthermore, they shewed them selves so valliant and faithfull unto him, that after they certainly knewe he was fled, they kept them selves whole together seven daies. In the ende Canidius, Antonius Lieuetenant, flying by night, and forsaking his campe: when they saw them selves thus destitute of their heads and leaders, they yelded themselves unto the stronger.

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But now to returne to Antonius againe. Canidius him selfe came to bring him newes, that he had lost all his armie by land at Actium. On thother side he was advertised also, that Herodes king of Iurie, who had also certeine legions and bandes with him, was revolted unto Cæsar, and all the other kings in like maner: so that, saving those that were about him, he had none left him. All this notwithstanding did nothing trouble him, and it seemed that he was contented to forgoe all his hope, and so to be ridde of all his care and troubles. Thereupon he left his solitarie house he had built in the sea which he called Timoneon, and Cleopatra received him into her royall pallace. He was no sooner comen thither, but he straight set all the city of rioting and banketing againe, and him selfe, to liberalitie and giftes. He caused the sonne of Iulius Cæsar and Cleopatra, to be enrolled (according to the maner of the Romanes) amongest the number of young men: and gave Antyllus, his eldest sonne he had by Fulvia, the mans gowne, the which was a plaine gowne, without gard or imbroderie of purple. For these things, there was kept great feasting, banketing, and dauncing in Alexandria many dayes together. In deede they did breake their first order they had set downe, which they called Amimetobion, (as much to say, no life comparable) and did set up an other which they called Synapothanumenon (signifying the order and agreement of those that will dye together) the which in exceeding sumptuousnes and cost was not inferior to the first. For their frendes made them selves to be inrolled in this order of those that would dye together, and so made great feastes one to an other: for everie man when it came to his turne, feasted their whole companie and fraternitie. Cleopatra in the meane time was verie carefull in gathering all sorts of poysons together to destroy men. Now to make proofe of those poysons which made men dye with least paine, she tried it upon condemned men in prison. For when

Antonius rioting in Alexandria after his great losse and overthrow.

Toga virilis. Antillus, the eldest sonne of Antonius by his wife Fulvia.

An order erected by Antonius, and Cleopatra, called Synapothanumenon, revoking the former called Amimetobion.

she saw the poysons that were sodaine and vehement, and brought speedy death with grievous torments: and in contrary maner, that suche as were more milde and gentle, had not that quicke speede and force to make one dye sodainly: she afterwardes 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 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 sences 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 sounde 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. And bicause they had no other men of estimacion about them, for that some were fledde, and those that remained, they did not greatly trust them: they were inforced to sende Euphronius the schoolemaister of their children. For Alexas Laodician, who was brought into Antonius house and favor by meanes of Timagenes, and afterwards was in greater credit with him, then any other Grecian: (for that he had alway bene one of Cleopatraes ministers to win Antonius, and to overthrow all his good determinations to use his wife Octavia well) him Antonius had sent unto Herodes king of Iurie, hoping still to keepe him his frend, that he should not revolt from him. But he remained there, and betrayed Antonius. For where he should have kept Herodes from revolting from him, he perswaded him to turne to Cæsar: and trusting king Herodes, he presumed to come in Cæsars presence. Howbeit Herodes did him no pleasure: for he was presently taken prisoner, and sent in chaines to his owne contrie, and there by Cæsars commaundement put to death. Thus was Alexas in Antonius life time put to death, for betraying of him. 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. Therewithall he sent Thyreus one of his men unto her, a verie wise and discreete man, who bringing letters of

Cleopatra verie busie in proving the force of poyson.

The property of the biting of an Aspick.

Antonius and Cleopatra send Ambassadors unto Octavius Cæsar.

Alexas treason justly punished.

credit from a young Lorde unto a noble Ladie, and that besides greatly liked her beawtie, might easely by his eloquence have perswaded her. He was longer in talke with her then any man else was, and the Queene her selfe also did him great honor: insomuch as he made Antonius gealous of him. Whereupon Antonius caused him to be taken and well favoredly whipped, and so sent him unto Cæsar: and bad him tell him that he made him angrie with him, bicause he shewed him selfe prowde and disdainfull towards him, and now specially when he was easie to be angered, by reason of his present miserie. To be short, if this mislike thee said he, thou hast Hipparchus one of my infranchised bondmen with thee: hang him if thou wilt, or whippe him at thy pleasure, that we may crie quittaunce. From thenceforth, Cleopatra to cleere her selfe of the suspicion he had of her, she made more of him then ever she did. For first of all, where she did solemnise the day of her birth very meanely and sparingly, fit for her present misfortune: she now in contrary maner did keepe it with such solemnitie, that she exceeded all measure of sumptuousnes and magnificence: so that the ghests that were bidden to the feasts, and came poore, went away rich. Nowe things passing thus, Agrippa by divers letters sent one after an other unto Cæsar, prayed him to returne to Rome, bicause the affaires there did of necessity require his person and presence. Thereupon he did deferre the warre till the next yeare following: but when winter was done, he returned againe through Syria by the coast of Africke, to make warres against Antonius, and his other Captaines. When the citie of Pelusium was taken, there ran a rumor in the citie, that Seleucus, by Cleopatraes consent, had surrendered the same. But to cleere her selfe that she did not, Cleopatra brought Seleucus wife and children unto Antonius, to be revenged of them at his pleasure. 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 and 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 suche 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, whilest he in the meane time drewe neere the citie with his armie.

Pelusium was yeelded up to Octavius Cæsar.

Cleopatraes monuments set up by the temple of Isis.

So Cæsar came, and pitched his campe hard by the city, in the place where they runne and manage their horses. Antonius made a saly upon him, and fought verie valliantly, so that he drave Cæsars horsemen backe, fighting with his men even into their campe. Then he came againe to the pallace, greatly boasting of this victorie, and sweetely kissed Cleopatra, armed as he was, when he came from the fight, recommending one of his men of armes unto her, that had valliantly fought in this skirmish. Cleopatra to reward his manlines, gave him an armor and head peece of cleane gold: howbeit the man at armes when he had received this rich gift, stale away by night, and went to Cæsar. Antonius sent againe to chalenge Cæsar, to fight with him hande to hande. Cæsar aunswered him, that he had many other wayes to dye then so. Then Antonius seeing there was no way more honorable for him to dye, then fighting valliantly: he determined to sette up his rest, both by sea and lande. So being at supper, (as it is reported) he commaunded his officers and household servauntes that waited on him at his bord, that they should fill his cuppes full, and make as muche of him as they could: for said he, you know not whether you shall doe so much for me to morrow or not, or whether you shall serve an other maister: and it may be you shall see me no more, but a dead bodie. This notwithstanding, perceiving that his frends and men fell a weeping to heare him say so: to salve that he had spoken, he added this more unto it, that he would not leade them to battell, where he thought not rather safely to returne with victorie, then valliantly to dye with honor. Furthermore, the selfe same night within litle of midnight, when all the citie was quiet, full of feare and sorrowe, thinking what would be the issue and ende of this warre: it is said that sodainly they heard a marvelous sweete harmonie of sundrie sortes of instrumentes of musicke, with the crie of a multitude of people, as they had bene dauncing, and had song as they use in Bacchus feastes, with movinges and turninges after the maner of the Satyres: and it seemed that this daunce went through the city unto the gate that opened to the enemies, and that all the troupe that made this noise they heard, went out of the city at that gate. Now, such as in reason sought the depth of the interpretacion of this wonder, thought that it was the god unto whom Antonius bare singular devotion to counterfeate and resemble him, that did forsake them. The next morning by breake of day, he went to set those few footemen he had in order upon the hills adjoyning unto the citie: and there he stoode to behold his gallies which departed from the haven, and rowed against the gallies of his

Straunge noises heard, and nothing seene.

Antonius navie doe yeeld them selves unto Cæsar.

Antonius overthrowen by Octavius Cæsar.

Cleopatra flieth into her tombe or monument.

Eros Antonius servant, slue him selfe.

Antonius did thrust his sword into him selfe, but died not presently.

Antonius caried unto Cleopatraes tombe.

enemies, and so stoode still looking what exployte his souldiers in them would do. But when by force of rowing they were come neere unto them, they first saluted Cæsars men: and then Cæsars men resaluted them also, and of two armies made but one, and then did all together row toward the citie. 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 beleving 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 and 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. Now he had a man of his called Eros, whom he loved and trusted much, and whom he had long before caused to sweare unto him, that he should kill him when he did commaunde him: and then he willed him to keepe his promise. His man drawing his sworde, lift it up as though he had ment to have striken his maister: but turning his head at one side, he thrust his sword into him selfe, and fell downe dead at his maisters foote. Then said Antonius, O noble Eros, I thanke thee for this, and it is valliantly done of thee, to shew me what I should doe to my selfe, which thou couldest not doe for me. 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: and when he came somwhat to him selfe againe, he praied them that were about him to dispatch him. But they all fled out of the chamber, and left him crying out and tormenting him selfe: untill at last there came a secretarie unto 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 owne 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 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 as 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 and stomake. Then she dried up his blood that had berayed his face, and called 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 ceasse 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. And as for him selfe, that she should not lament nor sorowe for the miserable chaunge of his fortune at the end of his dayes: but rather that she should thinke him the more fortunate, for the former triumphes and honors he had received, considering that while he lived he was the noblest and greatest Prince of the world, and that now he was overcome, not cowardly, but valiantly, a Romane by an other Romane. 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 Dercetæus, 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, and shewed him his sword that was bloodied. Cæsar hearing these newes, straight withdrewe 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 exploytes and battells. Then he called for all his frendes,

A lamentable sight to see Antonius and Cleopatra.

The death of Antonius.

Octavius Cæsar lamenteth Antonius death.

and shewed them the letters Antonius had written to him, and his aunsweres also sent him againe, during their quarrell and strife: and how fiercely and prowdly the other answered him, to all just and reasonable matters he wrote unto him. 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 beawtifie 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 and 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 Antonius was trised up, and came downe into the monument with two of his men hard by the gate, where Cleopatra stoode 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.

Proculeius sent by Octavius Cæsar to bring Cleopatra alive.

Cleopatra taken.

. . . . . .

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 in to 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 parte 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, and desirous to live. At length, she gave him a breefe and memoriall of all the readie money and treasure she had. But by chaunce there stoode Seleucus by, one of her Treasorers, 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 wellfavoredly. 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 to come unto me, and hast done me this honor, poore wretche, and caitife creature, brought into this pitiefull and miserable estate: and that mine owne servaunts should come now to accuse me, though it may be I have reserved some juells and trifles meete for women, but not for me (poore soule) to set out my selfe withall, but meaning to geve some pretie presents and gifts unto Octavia and Livia, that they making meanes and 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. So he made her answere, that he did not only geve her that to dispose of at her pleasure, which she had kept backe, but further promised to use her more honorably and bountifully then she would thinke for: and so he tooke his leave of her, supposing he had deceived her, but in deede he

Cæsar came to see Cleopatra.

Cleopatra, a martired creature, through her owne passion and fury.

Seleucus, one of Cleopatraes Treasorers.

Cleopatra bet her treasorer before Octavius Cæsar.

Cleopatraes wordes unto Cæsar.

Cleopatra finely deceiveth Octavius Cæsar, as though she desired to live.

was deceived him selfe. There was a young gentleman Cornelius Dolabella, that was one of Cæsars very great familiars, and 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 Suria, and 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, and 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, 'and yet I am forbidden and kept from tearing and murdering 'this captive body of mine with blowes, which they carefully 'gard and keepe, onely to triumphe of thee: looke therefore 'henceforth for no other honors, offeringes, nor sacrifices from 'me, 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, an Ægyptian, shall be buried in Italie, which shall 'be all the good that I have received by thy contrie. If there-'fore 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

Cleopatraes lamentation over Antonius tombe.

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, and found the souldiers standing at the gate, mistrusting nothing, nor understanding of her death. But when they had opened the dores, they founde Cleopatra starke dead, layed upon a bed of gold, attired and araied 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. 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, and 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 were 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

The death of Cleopatra.

Cleopatraes two waiting women dead with her.

Cleopatra killed with the biting of an Aspicke.

The image of Cleopatra, caried in triumphe at Rome, with an Aspicke biting of her arme.

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.

THE TRAGEDY
OF
ANTONY AND CLEOPATRA

DRAMATIS PERSONÆ[1]

ANTONY,
OCTAVIUS CÆSAR, } *triumvirs.*
LEPIDUS,
SEXTUS POMPEIUS.
DOMITIUS ENOBARBUS,
VENTIDIUS,
EROS,
SCARUS, } *friends to Antony.*
DERCETAS,
DEMETRIUS,
PHILO,
MÆCENAS,
AGRIPPA,
DOLABELLA,
PROCULEIUS, } *friends to Cæsar.*
THYREUS,
GALLUS,
MENAS,
MENECRATES, } *friends to Pompey.*
VARRIUS,
TAURUS, *lieutenant-general to Cæsar.*
CANIDIUS, *lieutenant-general to Antony.*
SILIUS, *an officer in Ventidius' army.*
EUPHRONIUS, *an ambassador from Antony to Cæsar.*
ALEXAS,
MARDIAN, *a eunuch,* } *attendants on Cleopatra.*
DIOMEDES,
SELEUCUS, *treasurer to Cleopatra.*
A Soothsayer.
A Clown.

CLEOPATRA, *queen of Egypt.*
OCTAVIA, *sister to Cæsar, and wife to Antony.*
CHARMIAN, } *attendants on Cleopatra.*
IRAS,

Officers, Soldiers, Messengers, and other attendants.

SCENE: In several parts of the Roman empire.

[1] Not in Ff. First given by Rowe, imperfectly.

ANTONY AND CLEOPATRA 40-B.C.

ACT I

SCENE I.—*Alexandria. A room in Cleopatra's palace.*

Enter DEMETRIUS *and* PHILO.

Phi. Nay, but this dotage of our general's
O'erflows the measure: those his goodly eyes,
That o'er the files and musters of the war
Have glow'd like plated Mars, now bend, now turn
The office and devotion of their view
Upon a tawny front: his captain's heart,
Which in the scuffles of great fights hath burst
The buckles on his breast, reneges all temper,

Act I. Scene I.] Acts and Scenes not marked, save here, in Ff. *Alexandria . . .*] Capell; *Alexandria in Ægypt* Rowe; *The Palace at . . .* Theobald. 1. *general's*] *Generals* F; *Generall* F 2. 8. *reneges*] F 4; *reneages* F.

1. *general's*] Compare *King John*, II. i. 65: "a bastard of the king's." The double genitive still occurs in colloquial usage.

4. *plated*] See *Richard II.* I. iii. 28: "Thus *plated* in habiliments of war," and Heywood, *The Silver Age* (*Works*, Pearson, iii. 132):—

"Were his head brasse, or his breast doubly *plated*
With' best Vulcanian armour Lemnos yeelds;" etc.

bend, now turn] This is the pointing of F. Editors place a comma after *turn*, but *bend* may be independent, expressing a contrast to the fiery outlook inferred in *glow'd*, and without influence on *the office*, etc. Compare Jonson, *The Poetaster*, v. i: "Nor do her eyes once *bend* to taste sweet sleep."

5. *office*] service, as in *Richard II.* II. ii. 137: "for little *office*, The hateful commons will perform for us." There seems no reason to deprive *devotion* of its separate force, as some do, by regarding *office and devotion* as a hendiadys, equivalent to "devoted service."

8. *reneges all temper*] refuses *or* renounces all self-restraint. Fletcher's *Maid's Tragedy* concludes with:—

"May this a fair example be to me,
To rule with *temper*;" etc.

A late instance of *renegue* is in Ferrand Spence's *Lucian*, 1684, ii. 43: "*Lucian*. . . . What say you, *Diogenes*, know you this Dapper Blade? He's of your

And is become the bellows and the fan
To cool a gipsy's lust.

Flourish. Enter ANTONY, CLEOPATRA, *her Ladies, the Train, with Eunuchs fanning her.*

Look, where they come:
Take but good note, and you shall see in him
The triple pillar of the world transform'd
Into a strumpet's fool: behold and see.
Cleo. If it be love indeed, tell me how much.
Ant. There 's beggary in the love that can be reckon'd.

Pond. *Diogenes.* I *renegue* him for mine." Steevens quotes *King Lear*, II. ii. 84, "*Renege*, affirm," and Stanyhurst's Virgil, *Æneis*, 1582, book ii.: "Too liue now longer, Troy burnt, hee flatlye *reneaged*" (see Arber's reprint, p. 64, and also pp. 75, 143). For the pronunciation, Halliwell quotes Sylvester's Du Bartas [*The Battail of Ivry*, lines 33, 34] and adopts the spelling suggested by Coleridge in *Notes and Lectures*, *reneagues*:—

"All Europe nigh (all sorts of Rights *reneg'd*)
Against the Truth and Thee unholy leagu'd."

9, 10. *bellows . . . To cool*] Johnson suggests *to kindle and to cool*, misled by the usual use of the bellows; for which, as a cooling implement, Steevens quotes Lyly's *Midas*, 1592, v. ii. (Fairholt's *Lilly*, ii. 59): "meethinkes Venus and Nature stand with each of them a paire of *bellowes*, the one cooling my low birth, the other kindling my lofty affections." Malone cites also Spenser, *Faerie Queene*, II. ix. 30:—

"But to delay the heat, least by mischaunce
It might breake out and set the whole on fyre,
There added was by goodly ordinaunce
An huge great payre of *bellowes*, which did styre
Continually, and cooling breath inspyre."

10. *gipsy's*] Not colour only but conduct is aimed at in the word. For its contemptuous or insulting application to any woman, see Shirley, *The Traitor*, II. i.:—

"*Gipsy*, use better language,
Or I'll forget your sex."

See also on IV. xii. 28 *post*, on the word and its further supposed application to Cleopatra.

12. *triple pillar*] Applied to Antony as one of the three, the Triumvirs, who governed the world between them. Compare Sir Thomas Browne, *Religio Medici*, section xix.: "I have therefore always endeavoured to compose those feuds and angry dissensions between Affection, Faith and Reason; for there is in our soul a kind of Triumvirate, a Triple Government of Three Competitors, which distracts the Peace of this our Commonwealth not less than did that other the state of *Rome*." For *triple*=third, compare *All's Well that Ends Well*, II. i. 111: "Which . . . He bade me store up, as a *triple* eye," etc.

13. *strumpet's fool*] There were professional fools whose places entitled them to this description. Such is the fool in *Timon of Athens*. See Douce, *Illustrations of Shakespeare*, 1807, i. 151; ii. 73, 304 *et seq.*

15. *There's beggary . . . reckon'd*] Steevens furnishes references to *Romeo and Juliet*, II. vi. 32: "they are but *beggars* that can count their worth"; Martial, lib. vi. ep. 34: "[Basia] pauca cupit, qui numerare potest"; Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, xiii., and Golding's translation (see ed. 1593, sig. Y 5): "Tush, *beggars* of their cattell use the number for to know."

Cleo. I'll set a bourn how far to be beloved.
Ant. Then must thou needs find out new heaven, new earth.

Enter an Attendant.

Att. News, my good lord, from Rome.
Ant. Grates me: the sum.
Cleo. Nay, hear them, Antony:
Fulvia perchance is angry; or, who knows
If the scarce-bearded Cæsar have not sent
His powerful mandate to you, "Do this, or this;
Take in that kingdom, and enfranchise that;
Perform 't, or else we damn thee."
Ant. How, my love!
Cleo. Perchance! nay, and most like:
You must not stay here longer, your dismission
Is come from Cæsar; therefore hear it, Antony.
Where's Fulvia's process? Cæsar's I would say? both?
Call in the messengers. As I am Egypt's queen,
Thou blushest, Antony, and that blood of thine
Is Cæsar's homager: else so thy cheek pays shame
When shrill-tongued Fulvia scolds. The messengers!

Enter an Attendant] Capell; *Enter a Messenger* F. 18. *Att.*] Capell; *Mes.* F. *Grates me:*] F (comma); *Rate me*, Ff 2-4.

16. *bourn*] boundary, as in *Hamlet*, III. i. 79.

18. *Grates me: the sum*] offends me: be brief. See Middleton, *No Wit* [*Help*] *Like a Woman's*, I. i. 9:—

"but I'm *grated* [=vexed]
In a dear, absolute friend," etc.

Rowe, who worked on F 4 only, read "Rate me the sum."

19. *them*] *i.e.* the news. *News* is sometimes singular, as in III. vii. 54 *post*; *King Lear*, IV. ii. 87; sometimes plural as in *Romeo and Juliet*, II. v. 22, etc.

23. *Take in*] subdue, occupy. See III. vii. 23 *post*, on which Steevens quotes Chapman's Homer, *Iliad*, ii. [10]. The expression occurs again and again in this book, *e.g.* line 22:—

"Thy strong hand the broad-way'd
town of Troy
Shall now *take in*."

The Caroline poets use it figuratively, *e.g.* Cleveland, *Poems*, 1653, *The Antiplatonick*: "Love storms his lips, and *takes the Fortresse in*," etc.

26. *dismission*] Similarly for *dismissal* in *Cymbeline*, II. iii. 57.

28. *process*] summons; the name of the whole course of proceedings in a cause, being so applied, according to Minshew, because the calling into court "*is the* beginning *or the* principall part thereof, *by which the rest of the* business is directed," etc. See Forman's *Diary* (ed. Halliwell, 1849), under 1590: "The 26. of Julii I was served with *proces* to apeare at the Star chamber, before the counsell"; Overbury, *Characters*, 1616, *An Apparatour*: "Thus lives he in a golden age, till Death by a *processe*, summons him to appeare."

31. *homager*] vassal. So Browne, *Britannia's Pastorals*, I. iii. 742: "A many *homagers* to Tamar's crown." Halliwell quotes Hall's Chronicle, *The Union*, etc., 1548: "And all *homagers* of the realme to resigne to hym all the homages and fealties dewe to him as kyng and soveraigne."

32. *shrill-tongued Fulvia*] See North, *ante*, pp. xxviii, xxxv.

Ant. Let Rome in Tiber melt, and the wide arch
Of the ranged empire fall! Here is my space.
Kingdoms are clay: our dungy earth alike
Feeds beast as man: the nobleness of life
Is to do thus; when such a mutual pair [*Embracing.*
And such a twain can do't, in which I bind,
On pain of punishment, the world to weet
We stand up peerless.

Cleo. Excellent falsehood!
Why did he marry Fulvia, and not love her?
I'll seem the fool I am not; Antony
Will be himself.

34. *ranged*] *raing'd* F; *raign'd* F 3. 37. *Embracing*] Pope; omitted in Ff. 42, 43. *I'll . . . himself*] As Pope; one line Ff.

33. *Let Rome . . . melt*] Compare II. v. 78 *post.*

33, 34. *arch . . . ranged empire fall!*] *ranged* is probably ordered, having its parts in due succession. The main conception is elusive. Should the mind momentarily image a structure supported by a vast arch, or "a fabric standing on pillars" (Johnson), or the mighty vault of a great hall or nave? The alternative would be to suppose the words imply an arch only, itself the empire, with Rome as keystone, and the extent on either side implied in *ranged*. The well-known passage in *Coriolanus*, III. i. 206:—

"That is the way to lay the city flat;
To bring the roof to the foundation,
And bury all, which yet distinctly *ranges*,
In heaps and piles of ruin;"

is cited in the *New Eng. Dict.* under: "Of things, especially buildings and their parts, . . . to stretch out or run in a line, to extend." I find in Laneham's *Letter*, etc., 1575 (Ballad Society, 1871, p. 50), in the account of a large building used as an aviary, the architrave described as "*raunging* aboout the Cage." An allusion in *ranged* has also been implied to *course*, defined in the *Glossary of Architectural Terms* (published by Parker, Oxford, 1850) as "A continuous range of stones or bricks of uniform height in the wall of a building." Malone having remarked that *range* was apparently "applied, in a peculiar way, to mason-work in our author's time," and having quoted Spenser, *Faerie Queene*, II. ix. 29, "With many raunges reard along the wall," without a hint that these *raunges*, however constructed, were merely kitchen ranges, Steevens subjoined: "What in ancient mason's or bricklayer's work was denominated a *range*, is now called a *course*." Thus introduced, the observation is suspicious, but it seems probable that he was correct. I cannot read this sense into any of the architectural meanings or examples of *range* in the *New Eng. Dict.*, but it gives a modern instance of *range work* = masonry laid in level courses. Rowe read *the rais'd empire*. Bearing on the possibility of a misprint, Mr. Craig notes that the spelling *raing'd* is exceptional.

37. *a mutual pair*] *i.e.* a pair who interchange equal love.

39. *to weet*] to wit, *i.e.* to know. So Spenser, *Faerie Queene*, III. i. 19, and often. See also *Gammer Gurton's Needle*, II. iii. (Hazlitt's *Dodsley*, iii. 204): "Tush, man, is Gammer's nee'le found? that chould gladly *weet*."

40-42. *Excellent . . . not*] Johnson marked this as an aside, a plausible though not convincing conjecture. Upton had previously expressed his conviction that lines 40-43 were an aside of Cleopatra's, reading line 43: "Will be himself, but stirr'd by Cleopatra." Deighton regards "excellent falsehood" as abstract for concrete, comparing *King John*, III. iv. 36: "O fair affliction, peace:" etc.

Ant. But stirr'd by Cleopatra.
Now, for the love of Love and her soft hours,
Let's not confound the time with conference harsh:
There's not a minute of our lives should stretch
Without some pleasure now. What sport to-night?
Cleo. Hear the ambassadors.
Ant. Fie, wrangling queen!
Whom every thing becomes, to chide, to laugh,
To weep; whose every passion fully strives
To make itself, in thee, fair and admired!
No messenger but thine; and all alone
To-night we'll wander through the streets and note
The qualities of people. Come, my queen;
Last night you did desire it: speak not to us.
[*Exeunt Ant. and Cleo. with their Train.*
Dem. Is Cæsar with Antonius prized so slight?
Phi. Sir, sometimes, when he is not Antony,
He comes too short of that great property
Which still should go with Antony.

47. *now*] Ff; *new* Warburton. 50. *whose*] F 2; *who* F. 52, 53. *No . . . To-night*] As Rowe; one line Ff. *Exeunt . . .*] Capell; *Exeunt with the Traine* Ff.

42, 43. *Antony . . . Cleopatra*] It is slightly in favour of a previous aside (see last note) that "Antony will be himself" (*i.e.* noble, peerless as he is), may revert to *peerless*, the whole being equivalent to, Antony will show himself noble, as he is. *Ant.* But his inspiration will come from Cleopatra; literally, But fired *or* animated by Cleopatra. This is, in any case, substantially the usual interpretation. Johnson, taking *but* in its exceptive sense (compare III. xi. 47 *post*), understood: "Antony will recollect his thoughts," "Unless kept in commotion by Cleopatra"; and I have sometimes thought that Cleopatra's reference might be to Antony's conduct at the moment; and the sense: Antony will be Antony, play the lover, embrace. *Ant.* Yes, unless provoked by Cleopatra. What follows is a plea against provocation. Compare Beaumont and Fletcher, *Philaster*, i. (1679 folio, p. 23):—

"Be more yourself, as you respect our favour:
You 'll stir us else:" etc.

45. *confound*] waste. See I. iv. 28 *post*, and *Coriolanus*, I. vi. 17.

52. *No . . . thine;* etc.] Malone (so, too, Delius) points: "No messenger; but thine and," etc., explaining: "Talk not to me of messengers; I am now wholly thine, and you and I unattended will to-night wander through the streets." For Antony's treatment of ambassadors, see North, *ante*, p. xxix; for the rest, *ibid.*, p. xxxiv.

54. *qualities*] characters or characteristics. The word is also frequent in the sense function, profession, as in *Hamlet*, II. ii. 3. Compare Whetstone, *Promos and Cassandra*, v. i. (*Six Old Plays*, Nichols, i. 49):—

"but now tell me
What *quality* hast, that I may use thee?
Rosk. I am a Barbour."

55. *speak . . . us*] To the attendant who waited with the news.

Dem. I am full sorry
That he approves the common liar, who
Thus speaks of him at Rome: but I will hope
Of better deeds to-morrow. Rest you happy! [*Exeunt.*

SCENE II.—*The same. Another room.*

Enter CHARMIAN, IRAS, ALEXAS, *and a Soothsayer.*

Char. Lord Alexas, sweet Alexas, most any thing Alexas, almost most absolute Alexas, where's the soothsayer that you praised so to the queen? O, that I knew this husband, which, you say, must charge his horns with garlands!

59-62. *I . . . happy*] As Johnson; prose Ff.

Scene II.

The same . . .] Capell. *Enter . . .*] Steevens; Ff enumerate in addition, Enobarbus, Lamprius, Rannius, Lucillius, Mardian the Eunuch. 1. *Lord*] Johnson; *L.* Ff; omitted by Pope. 4. *charge*] Theobald (Warburton and Southern MS.); *change* F.

60. *approves*] corroborates. So in *King Lear*, II. ii. 167: "Good king, that must *approve* the common saw"; *Hamlet*, I. i. 29: "He may *approve* our eyes," *i.e.* confirm their witness. Malone rather unnecessarily takes "the common liar" to be Fame.

61, 62. *hope Of*] So in *Measure for Measure*, III. i. 1: "So then you *hope of* pardon from Lord Angelo?"

62. *Rest you happy*] Compare "Rest you merry," *Romeo and Juliet*, I. ii. 65; "Sit you merry, sir," Jonson, *Bartholomew Fair*, IV. iv., said ironically to Waspe when he is put in the stocks. The full phrase appears in *As You Like It*, V. I. 65: "God rest you merry, sir."

Scene II.

Enter . . .] The three extra characters in the folio stage direction were either never made use of for the dialogue, or, as Steevens suggests, their speeches were removed by the author from the scene as originally written. Or possibly the scene is mutilated: its prose is occasionally suspicious. Plutarch gives his "grandfather Lampryas" as the authority for one of his stories. See *ante*, p. xxxiii. He does not mention Rannius or Lucillius.

1-5. *Lord . . . garlands*] This speech has a suspicion of mutilated verse about it. Capell (omitting *Lord*) printed as six lines of verse. S. Walker conjectures verse, lines 3-5: "O . . . garlands!"

4-5. *charge . . . garlands*] This reading is taken to imply cuckoldom for Charmian's wished husband — which is Alexas' prediction—but cuckoldom garlanded, *i.e.* rich and honourable (Warburton) or contented (Malone) or triumphant (Steevens), an idea which Charmian herself would more probably contribute. Steevens might have quoted *Jack Drum's Entertainment* (1616), v. 334 (Simpson's *School of Shakspere*, ii. 207): "I 'le weare this Crowne [a compulsory 'Coronet of Cuckolds,' line 316 *ante*] and triumph in this horne." I doubt these inferences, "rich," etc. Quite possibly the horns are credited in advance, and *must charge*, etc., merely means: must marry me, wear the bridegroom's chaplet. Compare Sylvester's Du Bartas, *The Magnificence* (1621 ed. p. 462): "A *Garland*, . . . The Royall Bridge-groom's radiant brow

Alex. Soothsayer!
Sooth. Your will?
Char. Is this the man? Is 't you, sir, that know things?
Sooth. In nature's infinite book of secrecy
A little I can read.
Alex. Show him your hand.

Enter ENOBARBUS.

Eno. Bring in the banquet quickly; wine enough
Cleopatra's health to drink.
Char. Good sir, give me good fortune.
Sooth. I make not, but foresee.
Char. Pray, then, foresee me one.
Sooth. You shall be yet far fairer than you are.
Char. He means in flesh.
Iras. No, you shall paint when you are old.
Char. Wrinkles forbid!
Alex. Vex not his prescience; be attentive.
Char. Hush!

9, 10. *In . . . read*] As Theobald; prose Ff. *Enter . . .*] Capell. 20. *prescience*] F; *patience* F 3.

bedights." Or may the jest be, after all, only the equivalent (with cuckoldom thrown in) of modern banter, in an allusion to the *victim*, and the phrase = must come as a sacrifice to the altar? Compare D'Avenant, *Gondibert* (1651), III. iii. 61:—

"Who lets this guilded Sacrifice proceed
To *Hymen's* Altar, by the king adorn'd,
As Priests give Victims *Garlands* ere they bleed."

Some would retain *change*. Steevens quotes *Cymbeline*, I. v. 55; *Paradise Lost*, iv. 892 ("to *change* Torment with ease") for *change with* = *change for*, and interprets much as the advocates of *charge*. Thiselton has: "take his horns in exchange for [wedding] garlands," aptly comparing Jonson, "To Celia" (*The Forest*, ix.):—

"But might I of Jove's nectar sup,
I would not *change for* thine."

Upton's "new dress and adorn" or Johnson's suggestion "dress, or dress with changes of garlands," reappears in Staunton, who reads *change* as = "vary or garnish." Schmidt gives *change* = make of another appearance, and compares *Coriolanus*, v. iii. 152 (Ff reading), on which Malone relied as an unmistakable instance of *change* in error for *charge*.

16. *fairer . . . are*] Mr. Craig points out that the soothsayer whose later deliverances (II. iii. *post*) are so pregnant, probably does not speak idly in this scene, and that the present prediction is perhaps fulfilled in Charmian's *character*, by the fairer, nobler qualities displayed in Act v. (or the fame resulting from them) which made her mistress call her "noble" (v. ii. 229 *post*), and Cæsar exclaim of her last movements: "O noble weakness" (v. ii. 342 *post*).

17. *in flesh*] Charmian takes *fair* in the sense "plump, in good condition." Compare *As You Like It*, I. i. 12: "His horses are bred better; for besides that they are fair with their feeding," etc. (Craig).

20. *his prescience*] Delius thinks this a title like *his worship*, used jocosely.

Sooth. You shall be more beloving than beloved.
Char. I had rather heat my liver with drinking.
Alex. Nay, hear him.
Char. Good now, some excellent fortune! Let me be married to three kings in a forenoon, and widow them all: let me have a child at fifty, to whom Herod of Jewry may do homage: find me to marry me with Octavius Cæsar, and companion me with my mistress.
Sooth. You shall outlive the lady whom you serve.
Char. O excellent! I love long life better than figs.

22. *You . . . beloved*] "*i.e.* [as the soothsayer means it, not as Charmian takes it] You shall expend all your love on your queen and mistress, and so will not gain the affection of male admirers" (Craig). Or possibly it refers to the love between Charmian and her mistress. The further *direct* predictions may be conveniently noted here as literally true, *viz.*, those in lines 31, 33-34, and that to Iras in line 52: "your fortunes are alike."

23. *heat . . . drinking*] So in *Merchant of Venice*, I. i. 81: "And let my liver rather *heat* with wine." The same effect was formerly attributed to love, whence Charmian's expression of preference. Compare *The Tempest*, IV. i. 55-56, and Webster, *Appius and Virginia*, IV. i. (*Works*, Hazlitt, iii. 198), where the lust of Appius is aimed at: "We have not such hot livers: mark you that." That love has its seat in the liver was an opinion of the ancients, and is amusingly discussed in Prior's *Alma*, i. 351 *et seq.* Unlike the generality, Phineas Fletcher (*The Purple Island*, III. x., and his note thereon) gives the liver a Platonic tenant:—

> "Not Cupid's self but Cupid's better brother: . . .
> By whose command we either love our kinde,
> Or with most perfect love affect the minde;" etc.

27. *let me . . . fifty*] On this jesting wish of Charmian to be one of very few mothers, Steevens observes: "This is one of Shakespeare's natural touches. Few circumstances are more flattering to the fair sex than breeding at an advanced period of life." Compare the jest in *Histriomastix*, Act VI. 192 (Simpson, *School of Shakspere*, ii. 82), where, when his unpaid hostess says: "Go to, I 'll bear no longer," Posthast replies: "What, and be under fifty?"

28. *Herod of Jewry*] As Steevens pointed out, Charmian bespeaks a son powerful enough to subdue even the fiercest of blustering tyrants. Herod is the type of these in the Miracle plays. The York play of *The Coming of the Three Kings to Herod* opens with a rant in which Herod claims the clouds, Saturn, Sun and Moon, etc., as his subjects; and in that of the Nativity, in the Coventry series, occurs the direction: "Here Erode ragis in thys pagond and in the strete also." See III. iii. 3 *post*; *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, II. i. 20: "What a *Herod of Jewry* is this!" and *Hamlet*, III. ii. 15, of rant: "It outherods Herod." See Appendix I.

find] *i.e.* in the lines of the hand, as Delius notes. See line 10 *ante*.

32. *I . . . figs*] A proverbial expression, say Steevens and Schmidt, regrettably without references to distinguish the assertion from an easy surmise. I can only doubtfully suggest possible clues for the choice of figs (if, indeed, there was any occult reason for it) in (1) "The Fig-tree is more fruitful than other trees, for it beareth fruit three or four times in one year," etc. (Charmian's mind was running on fruitfulness); "Figs do away rivels [*i.e.* wrinkles] of old men, if they eat thereof among their meat" (see "wrinkles forbid!" line 19 above), *Bartholomew* (*Berthelet*, 1535), *De Proprietatibus Rerum*, bk. xvii. § 61; (2) the poisoned

Sooth. You have seen and proved a fairer former fortune
Than that which is to approach.
Char. Then belike my children shall have no names: prithee, how many boys and wenches must I have?
Sooth. If every of your wishes had a womb,
And fertile every wish, a million.
Char. Out, fool! I forgive thee for a witch.
Alex. You think none but your sheets are privy to your wishes.

33, 34. As Capell; prose Ff. 35, 36. See note. 37, 38. As Rowe; prose Ff. 38. *fertile*] Theobald (Warburton); *foretell* F.

fig of Spain so often alluded to as a secret means of removing an enemy, *e.g.* by Shirley, *The Maid's Revenge*, III. ii. (*Works*, 1833, i. 141): "A rat! give him his bane: . . . our own country figs shall do it rarely"; (3) the following passages, particularly the second, from Sir T. Browne, *A Letter to a Friend*, etc., 1690 (*Religio Medici*, etc., Canterbury, 1894, p. 138): "Upon my first visit I was bold to tell them who had not let fall all hopes of his recovery, that in my sad opinion he was not like to behold a grasshopper, much less to pluck another fig;" . . . "for he lived not unto the middle of May, and confirmed the observation of *Hippocrates* of that mortal time of the year when the leaves of the fig-tree resemble a Daw's claw." Perhaps, as there is more in the soothsayer's words than meets the eye, so we ought not to forget here the basket of figs which brings death to Charmian, v. ii. *post*, though Warburton has been ridiculed for detecting an omen.

35. *Then . . . names:*] Then, I suppose, my children will be bastards. Steevens quotes *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, III. i. 323; see also Beaumont and Fletcher, *A King and No King*, III. (1679 folio, p. 49):—

"else I shall live
Like sinfull issues that are left in streets
By their regardless Mothers, and no name
Will be found for me."

35, 36. *Then . . . have?*] Several editors, following the folios, print two lines, *Then . . names:* and *Prithee . . . have?* but it seems better to adopt prose with Capell, conformably with Charmian's other speeches. Else we might perhaps arrange:—

"Then belike my children
Shall have no names: prithee how many boys
And wenches must I have?"

37. *every*] similarly a pronoun in *As You Like It*, v. iv. 178: "*Every* of this happy number."

38. *fertile*] The frequent spelling *fertill* supports the emendation. Pope reads *foretold*, Collier MS. *fruitful*. Johnson thought *foretell* might stand, explaining, on the supposition of an unlikely ellipse: "And [if] I should foretel all those wishes, I should foretel a million of children." Malone objects that the supposition of wombs, without a second of fertility, would not be a sufficient hypothesis.

39. *I . . . witch*] Professor Herford says: "*for a witch, i.e.* as being a wizard, and hence privileged to utter home-truths"; and a frank admission would not be unlike the Charmian who has just said: "Then belike my children," etc. On the other hand, there is much to be said for repudiation, and the usual explanation, which = I'll answer for your being no witch, if this is a sample of your skill. The phrase is not unlike, "I'll warrant him for drowning" (*The Tempest*, I. i. 49); "*R. Royster.* Except I haue hir to my Wife, I shall runne madde. *M. Mery.* Nay vnwise perhaps, but I warrant you for madde" (*Roister Doister*, I. ii. ed. Arber, p. 16). Steevens quotes "a common proverbial reproach to silly ignorant females: 'You'll never be burnt for a witch.'" The gender of witch was formerly common; it is masculine again in *Cymbeline*, I. vi. 166

Char. Nay, come, tell Iras hers.
Alex. We'll know all our fortunes.
Eno. Mine, and most of our fortunes to-night, shall be—drunk to bed.
Iras. There's a palm presages chastity, if nothing else.
Char. E'en as the o'erflowing Nilus presageth famine.
Iras. Go, you wild bedfellow, you cannot soothsay.
Char. Nay, if an oily palm be not a fruitful prognostication, I cannot scratch mine ear. Prithee, tell her but a worky-day fortune.
Sooth. Your fortunes are alike.
Iras. But how, but how? give me particulars.
Sooth. I have said.
Iras. Am I not an inch of fortune better than she?
Char. Well, if you were but an inch of fortune better than I, where would you choose it?
Iras. Not in my husband's nose.
Char. Our worser thoughts heavens mend! Alexas,—come, his fortune, his fortune! O, let him marry a woman that cannot go, sweet Isis, I beseech thee!

59, 60. *Alexas,—come*] Theobald; in Ff *Alexas. Come*, . . . so as to assign the speech from *Come* onward to Alexas.

49. *oily palm*] A moist palm was supposed to indicate a wanton disposition. See Middleton, *Blurt Master Constable*, I. ii. 20: "*Lazarillo.* A woman, Pilcher, the moist-handed Madonna Imperia, a most rare and divine creature. *Pilch.* A most rascally damned courtesan." Malone quotes *Othello*, III. iv. 36: "This hand is moist, my lady," and 38: "This argues fruitfulness and liberal heart"; but see the whole passage, 36-43, and *Venus and Adonis*, 25, 26. See also Overbury's *Characters*, under "A very whore."

51. *worky-day*] ordinary. Compare *As You Like It*, I. iii. 12: "working-day world." The noun occurs in *Two Wise Men and All the Rest Fools*, 1619, II. i.: "I ha' more weeds grows in one Holy-day than in three worky-days"; George Herbert's "Sunday" (*The Temple*, No. 48), "The worky-daies are the back part": and often.

58. *Not . . . nose*] The author of *Tristram Shandy* may be consulted here. See Book III. chap. xxxi.; Book V. chap. i. *ad fin.* Compare also *The Unnatural Combat*, IV. ii. (Gifford's *Massinger*, ed. Cuningham, p. 58 a):—

"It hath just your eyes; and such a promising *nose*,
That, if the sign deceive me not, in time
'Twill prove a notable striker, like his father."

59, 60. *Alexas,—come*] Rolfe notes in support of Theobald's correction, that the speeches of Alexas are elsewhere indicated by the abbreviation *Alex.*, and continues: "In the folio the proper names *in the text* are generally in italics; and this one was somehow mistaken for the prefix to a speech."

61. *that cannot go*] *Go* is constantly employed for walk, etc., and go upright, as opposed to creep, especially in a varying proverb: "blood (kind, love, bairns, etc.) will creep where it (they) *cannot go*," in print as early as 1481 (Caxton, *Reynard the Fox*, ed. Arber, p. 70): "one shal alway seke on his frendis, though he haue angred them,

and let her die too, and give him a worse! and let worse follow worse, till the worst of all follow him laughing to his grave, fifty-fold a cuckold! Good Isis, hear me this prayer, though thou deny me a matter of more weight; good Isis, I beseech thee!

Iras. Amen. Dear goddess, hear that prayer of the people! for, as it is a heart-breaking to see a handsome man loose-wived, so it is a deadly sorrow to behold a foul knave uncuckolded: therefore, dear Isis, keep decorum, and fortune him accordingly!

Char. Amen.

Alex. Lo, now, if it lay in their hands to make me a cuckold, they would make themselves whores, but they'ld do't.

Eno. Hush! here comes Antony.

Char. Not he; the queen.

Enter CLEOPATRA.

Cleo. Saw you my lord?

Eno. No, lady.

Cleo. Was he not here?

Char. No, madam.

Cleo. He was disposed to mirth; but on the sudden
A Roman thought hath struck him. Enobarbus!

Enter Cleopatra] Ff after *doo 't*, line 75. 77. *Saw you my lord?*] F 2; *Saue you, my lord.* F. *Saw . . . here*] As Steevens; three lines Ff.

for blood must krepe, where it *can not goo*." Does Charmian, then, mean here an old, crippled, or bed-rid woman, whom, on second thoughts, she wills to die and give place to a series of worse in another kind, who will cuckold Alexas as she could not? Another sense of *go* is "die, depart this life," to which *too* lends some dubious support, as if "and let her die *too*" were a new and better idea. A third is "be pregnant," and *go* = go with child, actually occurs, without the time-expression which usually makes the sense unmistakable, in *A Cure for a Cuckold*, II. iii. (Hazlitt's *Webster*, iv. 35): "And, Urse, how goes all at home? or cannot all *go* yet? lank still! will 't never be full sea at our wharf? *Wife.* Alas, husband! *Comp*[*ass*]. A lass, or a lad, wench, I should be glad of both." In *Love's Labour's Lost*, v. ii. 678, 679, Costard says: "The party is *gone*, fellow Hector, she is *gone*; she is two months on her way." Charmian, who wished to bear at fifty (see line 27 *ante*), would account sterility a severe wish, not to mention that it would imprecate on Alexas one of the things that are said to be never satisfied. Thiselton —the only commentator, I believe, to offer an explanation—makes "that cannot go" = "that is never satisfied," without remark or evidence to support his view.

61. *Isis*] Originally the Egyptian goddess of the earth and fertility, later of the moon. See Spenser, *Faerie Queene*, v. vii. 4:—

> "They wore rich Mitres shaped like the Moone,
> To shew that *Isis* doth the Moone portend;" etc.

67, 68. *that prayer . . . people*] "seems to mean 'that universal prayer'" (Thiselton).

80. *A Roman thought*] Perhaps a thought such as Roman virtue would

Eno. Madam.
Cleo. Seek him, and bring him hither. Where's Alexas?
Alex. Here, at your service. My lord approaches.
Cleo. We will not look upon him: go with us. [*Exeunt.*

Enter ANTONY *with a Messenger and Attendants.*

Mess. Fulvia thy wife first came into the field.
Ant. Against my brother Lucius?
Mess. Ay:
But soon that war had end, and the time's state
Made friends of them, jointing their force 'gainst Cæsar;
Whose better issue in the war, from Italy,
Upon the first encounter, drave them.
Ant. Well, what worst?
Mess. The nature of bad news infects the teller.
Ant. When it concerns the fool or coward. On:
Things that are past are done with me. 'Tis thus;
Who tells me true, though in his tale lie death,
I hear him as he flatter'd.
Mess. Labienus—
This is stiff news—hath with his Parthian force
Extended Asia from Euphrates,

Enter . . .] Dyce; Rowe, but placed as in Ff; *Enter Anthony, with a Messenger.* Ff after line 83. 87-89. *Ay . . . Cæsar*] Johnson; Ff three lines ending *end, state, Cæsar.* 96-101. *Labienus— . . . whilst—*] Steevens (1793); see note.

inspire, and not merely, as Schmidt explains it, "A thought of Rome."

85-91. *Fulvia*, etc.] See North, *ante*, p. xxxv.

89. *jointing*] The past part. of the same verb occurs in *Cymbeline*, v. iv. 142; v. v. 440.

92. *The nature . . . teller*] So in *2 Henry IV.* I. i. 100:—

"Yet the first bringer of unwelcome news
Hath but a losing office, and his tongue," etc.

Compare also II. v. 85, 86 *post.*

96. *Labienus*] The emissary of Brutus and Cassius, sent to seek aid from Orodes, King of Parthia, with whom he remained after their fall. He now commanded the Parthian forces, conjointly with Pacorus, the king's son. In Ff the speech is thus arranged and pointed:—

"*Labienus* (this is stiffe-newes)
Hath with his Parthian Force
Extended Asia: from Euphrates
his conquering
Banner shooke, from Syria to Lydia
And to Ionia, whilst—"

Pope (followed by Theobald and several editors) divides the Ff text after *news*) . . . *Asia; . . . shook, . . . and Ionia;* thus omitting *to* before *Ionia*. Delius retains the folio connection of Euphrates, and considers it—improbably, I think—in better agreement with Plutarch. See North, *ante*, pp. xxxiii, xxxv.

98. *Extended*] seized upon. "'To make an *extent* of lands' is a legal phrase from the words of a writ—*extendi facias*—whereby the sheriff is directed to cause certain lands to be appraised to their full extended value, before he delivers them to the person entitled under a recognisance, etc., in

His conquering banner shook from Syria
To Lydia and to Ionia;
Whilst—

Ant. Antony, thou wouldst say,—

Mess. O, my lord!

Ant. Speak to me home, mince not the general tongue:
Name Cleopatra as she is call'd in Rome;
Rail thou in Fulvia's phrase, and taunt my faults
With such full license as both truth and malice
Have power to utter. O, then we bring forth weeds
When our quick minds lie still; and our ills told us
Is as our earing. Fare thee well awhile.

102, 103, *Speak . . . Rome*] As Rowe; three lines in Ff, divided after *home* and *name*. 107. *minds*] Hanmer (Warburton); *windes* F.

order that it may be certainly known how soon the debt will be paid" (Malone). See *As You Like It*, III. i. 17: "let my officers . . . Make an *extent* upon his house and lands"; Nash, *The Unfortunate Traveller*, 1594 (ed. Gosse, 1892, p. 187): "Ere the officers come to *extend*, Ile bestow a hundred pound on a doale of bread," etc.

98. *Euphrates*] Accented as usually in old writers. So Drayton, in a passage (of which Steevens quotes line 2) recalling the famous lines of Denham in *Cooper's Hill*:—

"Give me those lines, (whose touch
the skilfull eare to please)
That gliding flow in state, like
swelling *Euphrates*,
In which things natural be, and
not in falsely wrong:
The sounds are fine and smooth,
the sense is full and strong," etc.

Polyolbion, pt. ii. 1622, Song xxi.

102. *home*] with directness, thoroughly, as in *Cymbeline*, III. v. 92.

mince] diminish, fine down. Now used only in "*mince* the matter *or* matters," as in *Othello*, II. iii. 247; but compare Charles Cotton, *Poems* (1689), p. 182:—

"The man, upon this, comes me
running again,
But yet *minced* his Message, and
was not so plain," [*i.e.* so
peremptory].

104. *Fulvia's phrase*] See on I. i. 32 *ante*.

107. *minds*] So most editors, the sense of this passage being thus either: (1) we accumulate faults when our reason forgets its natural activity and exerts no corrective force; and to be told of these is as salutary as earing (ploughing) to weed-grown fields; or (2) when our *minds*, with their gift of fertility, lie idle and uncultivated, they produce evil growths; and, etc. Ascham, *Toxophilus*, 1545 (Arber, 1868, p. 93), similarly appeals to the value of ploughing for eradicating weeds, in support of his receipt against the weeds of the mind: ". . . euen as plowing of a good grounde for wheate, doth not onely make it mete for the seede, but also riueth and plucketh vp by the rootes, all thistles, brambles and weedes . . . : Euen so shulde the teaching of youth to shote, not only make them shote well, but also plucke awaye by the rootes all other desyre to noughtye pastymes, as disynge," etc. See also next note; and for *quick*, compare Ascham, as before, p. 40: "Muche musike . . . recreateth and maketh *quycke* a mannes *mynde*"; also *Henry V.* IV. i. 20: "And when the *mind* is *quickened*." On *winds*, which several editors retain, Johnson says: "The sense is, that man, not agitated by censure, like soil not ventilated by *quick winds*, produces more evil than good." See *3 Henry VI.* II. vi. 21: "For what doth cherish weeds but gentle air," quoted by Steevens. Capell thought *quick winds* = friends. Another explanation, beginning with a suggestion of Blackstone,

Mess. At your noble pleasure. [*Exit.*

Ant. From Sicyon, ho, the news! Speak there!

First Att. The man from Sicyon,—is there such an one?

Sec. Att. He stays upon your will.

Ant. Let him appear.

These strong Egyptian fetters I must break,
Or lose myself in dotage.

Enter another Messenger, with a letter.

What are you?

Sec. Mess. Fulvia thy wife is dead.

Ant. Where died she?

Sec. Mess. In Sicyon:
Her length of sickness, with what else more serious
Importeth thee to know, this bears. [*Gives a letter.*

Ant. Forbear me.
[*Exit Sec. Messenger.*

There's a great spirit gone! Thus did I desire it:
What our contempts doth often hurl from us,

After 109, Ff have *Enter another Messenger.*; omitted by Rowe. 110. *Sicyon*] Pope; *Scicion* Ff throughout. *ho, the*] Dyce; *how the* F; *now, the* Collier MS. 111. *First Att.*] 1 *A.* Capell; 1 *Mes.* F. 112. *Sec. Att.*] 2 *A.* Capell; 2 *Mes.* F. 114. *lose*] F 4; *loose* F. 115. *Sec. Mess.*] 3 *Mes.* F. 116, 117. *In . . . serious*] As Pope; two lines, first ending *sicknesse*, in Ff. 118. *Gives a letter*] Johnson; omitted in Ff. 118. *Exit Sec. Messenger*] Theobald; omitted in Ff. 120. *contempts doth*] F; *do* Ff 2-4; Staunton and some editors *contempt doth*.

is technical: Steevens thinks *quick winds* = teeming fallows, because "the ridges left in lands turned up by the plough, that they may sweeten during their fallow state, are still called *windrows*." In Collier *winds* = (perhaps) *wints*, "in Kent and Surrey two furrows ploughed by the horses going to one end of the field and back again." He refers to Cooper's *Glossary of Provincialisms*, etc. (Sussex, 1836), and Holloway, *Gen. Prov. Dict.* (1838).

108. *earing*] ploughing. See I. iv. 49 *post*; Herbert, *A Priest to the Temple* (1652), chap. xxxiv.: "the usuall seasons of summer and winter, *earing* and harvest"; *Arden of Feversham*, III. v. 24: "For Greene doth *ear* the land and weed thee up, To make my harvest nothing but pure corn."

110. *ho, the news!*] Some editors retain *how the news?* but see on IV. xiv. 104 *post*.

112. *stays upon*] So in *All's Well that Ends Well*, III. v. 48: "I thank you and will *stay upon* your leisure."

115. *Fulvia . . . dead*] See North, *ante*, p. xxxv.

120. *contempts doth*] As the old Southern plural in *-th* occurs elsewhere in F, and very frequently in contemporary writings, in the verbs *do* and *have*, I have restored it. Compare in F, p. 174, *The Merchant of Venice*, III. ii. 33:—

"I, but I feare, you speake vpon the racke,
Where men enforced *doth* speake anything."

So Queen Elizabeth (Harington's *Nugæ Antiquæ* (1769) i. 59): "But clouds of joys untry'd *Doth* cloke aspyring mynds." It is scarce in the case of other verbs, but see Sidney's *Apologie for Poetrie* (ed. Arber, p. 31): "the generalities that contayneth it".

We wish it ours again; the present pleasure,
By revolution lowering, does become
The opposite of itself: she 's good, being gone;
The hand could pluck her back that shoved her on.
I must from this enchanting queen break off:
Ten thousand harms, more than the ills I know,
My idleness doth hatch. How now! Enobarbus!

Re-enter ENOBARBUS.

Eno. What 's your pleasure, sir?

Ant. I must with haste from hence.

Eno. Why, then, we kill all our women. We see how mortal an unkindness is to them; if they suffer our departure, death 's the word.

Ant. I must be gone.

Eno. Under a compelling occasion let women die: it were pity to cast them away for nothing; though, between

122. *lowering*] *lowring* Ff. *Re-enter . . .*] Dyce; *Enter . . .* Ff (after *hatch*). 134. *a compelling occasion*] Rowe; *a compelling an occasion* F; *so . . . an . . .* Nicholson conj.; *as . . . an . . .* Anon. conj.

122. *By revolution lowering*] Carried to a lower and lower pitch in our estimation by the changes in ourselves and circumstances which accompany the revolution of time, or of "the Wheel of things," as Sir T. Browne calls it (*Christian Morals*, § 16). Warburton saw an allusion to the sun's diurnal course and its termination opposite to the point of rising; but the figure is no doubt merely that of the turning of a wheel, so often and variously applied. See *King Lear*, v. iii. 174, of the correspondence between a vicious act and its final consequences: "The wheel is come full circle"; *Twelfth Night*, v. i. 385: "and thus the whirligig of time brings in his revenges". In the present case the wheel has not come full circle: "Opinions do find, after certain revolutions [of time], men and minds like those that first begat them" (Sir Thomas Browne, *Religio Medici*, § 6), and by-and-by the advantages of losing Fulvia would again find a mind *in Antony* to appreciate them; at the moment, appreciation of these advantages is at its greatest distance in the revolution.

123. *she 's good, being gone*] Compare *All 's Well that Ends Well*, v. iii. 60: "Crying 'That 's good that 's gone.'"

124. *could*] has the will to. The line resembles one in Lyly's *The Woman in the Moone*, II. i. (*Works*, Fairholt, ii. 167): "Whether thou drawe me on, or put me back."

125. *I must . . . off*] Compare Countess of Pembroke's *Antonie* (1595), i. 83, 84:—

"Thou breakest at length from thence as one encharmed
Breaks from the enchanter that him firmly held,
For thy first reason, (spoiling of their force
The poisoned cups of thy fair sorceress)
Recured thy spirit;" etc.

127. *How now*] Some editors follow Capell in reading *Ho!* for *How now!* because *Ho* is often spelt *How* in old plays (see on IV. xiv. 104 *post*), and for metrical reasons. Singer thinks *How now!* inappropriate to a mere summons.

132. *death 's the word*] So in *Cymbeline*, v. iv. 155: "Hanging is the word, sir."

them and a great cause, they should be esteemed nothing. Cleopatra, catching but the least noise of this, dies instantly; I have seen her die twenty times upon far poorer moment: I do think there is mettle in death, which commits some loving act upon her, she hath such a celerity in dying.

Ant. She is cunning past man's thought.

Eno. Alack, sir, no; her passions are made of nothing but the finest part of pure love: we cannot call her winds and waters sighs and tears; they are greater storms and tempests than almanacs can report: this cannot be cunning in her; if it be, she makes a shower of rain as well as Jove.

Ant. Would I had never seen her!

Eno. O, sir, you had then left unseen a wonderful piece of work; which not to have been blest withal would have discredited your travel.

Ant. Fulvia is dead.

Eno. Sir?

Ant. Fulvia is dead.

Eno. Fulvia!

Ant. Dead.

Eno. Why, sir, give the gods a thankful sacrifice. When it pleaseth their deities to take the wife of a man from him, it shows to man the tailors of the earth; comforting therein, that when old robes are worn out, there are members to make new. If there were no

137. *noise*] rumour. Compare *Troilus and Cressida*, I. ii. 12: "The *noise* goes, this: there is," etc.

139. *upon . . . moment*] for causes much less weighty.

139-141. *I do . . . dying*] Enobarbus pictures death as a vigorous lover to whom Cleopatra yields willingly.

144, 145. *we . . . tears*] Malone suspected an inversion on all fours with "To make your house our Tower" (*Henry VIII.* v. i. 106) and equivalent to "we cannot call her sighs and tears, winds," etc.; but this is failing to think in Enobarbus' fashion. For an elaboration of a similar metaphor, see *Romeo and Juliet*, III. v. 131-38; and for what follows, the storms and tempests of almanacs, compare Ben Jonson, *Every Man Out of His Humour*, I. i., where the grain-hoarding chuff Sordido rejoices in the almanac prediction: "great tempests of rain, thunder and lightning"; and III. ii., when, being deceived, he exclaims: "Tut, these star-monger knaves, who would trust them? One says dark and rainy, when 'tis as clear as crystal; another says tempestuous blasts and storms, and 'twas as calm as a milk-bowl;" etc.

158-162. *When . . . new*] Malone explains: "When the deities are pleased to take a man's wife from him, this act of theirs makes them appear to man like the tailors of the earth, affording this comfortable reflection,

more women but Fulvia, then had you indeed a cut, and the case to be lamented: this grief is crowned with consolation; your old smock brings forth a new petticoat: and indeed the tears live in an onion that should water this sorrow.

Ant. The business she hath broached in the state
Cannot endure my absence.

Eno. And the business you have broached here cannot be without you; especially that of Cleopatra's, which wholly depends on your abode.

Ant. No more light answers. Let our officers
Have notice what we purpose. I shall break
The cause of our expedience to the queen
And get her leave to part. For not alone

173. *light*] F; *like* F 2. 176. *leave*] Pope; *loue* F.

that the deities have made other women to supply the place of his former wife; as the tailor, when one robe is worn out, supplies him with another." It is possible that the bereaving deities are neither called nor resembled to "the tailors of the earth": these may be merely reproductive man. In the following passage, the bereaved lover, Pan, is apparently the *workman* (see Goodwin's Browne, *Britannia's Pastorals*, II. iv. 672):—

"If thou the best of women didst forego,
Weigh if thou found'st her, or didst make her so;
If she were found so, know there 's more than one;
If made, the workman lives, though she be gone."

Hanmer reads *numbers* for *members*.

163. *a cut*] So Lady Kix, of her childlessness after seven years' marriage: "Can any woman have a greater *cut?*" (Bullen's Middleton, *A Chaste Maid in Cheapside*, II. i. 135).

166, 167. *the tears . . . sorrow*] *i.e.* If you weep, it should be by the help of an onion, for the event is not tear-compelling. Compare *The Noble Soldier*, 1634 (Bullen's *Old Plays*, i. 268), quoted in part by Steevens: "If you had buried nine husbands, so much water as you might squeeze out of an Onyon had been teares enow to cast away upon fellowes that cannot thanke you"; see also *The Taming of the Shrew*, Induction, i. 124-8. *Onion-eyed* occurs IV. ii. 35 *post*.

171. *that of Cleopatra's*] Hanmer read *Cleopatra;* but see on I. i. 1 *ante*.

172. *abode*] stay. See *Cymbeline*, I. vi. 53; Fairfax, *Godfrey of Bulloigne*, 1600, p. 98:—

"Thus spake the king, and soone without *aboad*
The troope went forth in shining armour clad," etc.

175. *expedience*] The word usually means *haste* in Shakespeare (compare *Richard II.* II. i. 287) and may very well = *haste* here, as Dyce explains it, for the departure was to be sudden. It is, however, generally explained as *expedition* with Warburton, and compared with *1 Henry IV.* I. i. 33, where "this dear expedience" *seems* to stand for the expedition to the Holy Land. But even there, it probably rather means "matter demanding haste," else why the next line: "My liege this *haste* was hot in question"?

176. *leave to part*] Several editors retain *love*, understanding with Steevens: "And prevail on her love to consent to our separation"; but strong probability favours *leave*, and Malone remarked a similar misprint (*loves* for *leaves*) in *Titus Andronicus*, III. i. 292: *part* = depart, as often.

The death of Fulvia, with more urgent touches,
Do strongly speak to us; but the letters too
Of many our contriving friends in Rome
Petition us at home: Sextus Pompeius
Hath given the dare to Cæsar, and commands
The empire of the sea: our slippery people,
Whose love is never link'd to the deserver
Till his deserts are past, begin to throw
Pompey the Great and all his dignities
Upon his son; who, high in name and power,
Higher than both in blood and life, stands up
For the main soldier: whose quality, going on,
The sides o' the world may danger. Much is breeding,
Which, like the courser's hair, hath yet but life,

181. *Hath*] F 2; *Haue* F.

177. *more urgent touches*] "things that touch us more sensibly, more pressing motives" (Johnson).

179. *many . . . contriving friends*] many who occupy themselves in my interests. The usual sense of *contrive* is plot, conspire, as in *Julius Cæsar*, II. iii. 16: "If not, the Fates with traitors do *contrive*"; and S. Walker scents a Latinism here for "spending the time," "sojourning." Compare *The Taming of the Shrew*, I. ii. 276: "Please ye we may *contrive* this afternoon." The difference of the cases, however, makes the point very doubtful, and even in the instance just quoted this sense is questioned by Schmidt. For the position of *many*, compare *Timon of Athens*, III. vi. 11: "*many* my near occasions."

180. *Petition . . . home*] beg for my presence in Rome.

180-189. *Sextus Pompeius*, etc.] See North, *ante*, p. xxxvi; I. iii. 45, etc.; I. iv. 36, etc., *post*. The clause "Whose . . . past," lines 183, 184, has been taken of Pompey the Great, but would be less true of him, and seems to be definitely confirmed to Sextus by I. iv. 43 *post*: "the ebb'd man, ne'er loved till ne'er worth love."

187. *blood and life*] high mettle and vital energy.

188. *quality*] nature and condition, including their potentialities. Some, however, connect it more especially with "the main soldier," as, *e.g.*, Delius: "If Pompey progresses pre-eminently in this *rôle* of soldier," etc. See also on I. i. 54 *ante*. It is worth noting that *quality* in *1 Henry IV.* IV. iii. 36, "Because you are not of our *quality*, But stand against us like an enemy," is explained "party." It is given in the *New Eng. Dict.* as the sole known instance, but this sense, if admissible, would suit the passage before us. So Kinnear takes it.

189. *The sides . . . danger*] So in *Cymbeline*, III. i. 49-51:—

> "Cæsar's ambition
> Which swelled so much that it did almost stretch
> *The sides* of the world."

See also on I. iii. 16, and IV. xiv. 39 *post*.

190. *the courser's hair*] In a passage in Holinshed's Chronicles, 1587, *The Description of England*, p. 224, to which Steevens refers, is a sceptical account of this old popular belief: "it [*i.e.* the getting a brood of eels from a turf cut beside a fenny river and placed in contact with the water] would seeme a wonder; and yet it is beleeued, with no lesse assurance of some, than that an horse haire laid in a pale full of the like water will in short time stirre and become a liuing creature. But sith the certeintie of these things is rather prooued by few than the certeintie of them knowne vnto manie, I let it passe

And not a serpent's poison. Say, our pleasure,
To such whose place is under us, requires
Our quick remove from hence.

Eno. I shall do't. [*Exeunt.*

SCENE III.—*The same. Another room.*

Enter CLEOPATRA, CHARMIAN, IRAS, *and* ALEXAS.

Cleo. Where is he?

Char. I did not see him since.

Cleo. See where he is, who's with him, what he does:
I did not send you: if you find him sad,
Say I am dancing; if in mirth, report
That I am sudden sick: quick, and return.

[*Exit Alexas.*

Char. Madam, methinks, if you did love him dearly,
You do not hold the method to enforce
The like from him.

Cleo. What should I do, I do not?

Char. In each thing give him way, cross him in nothing.

Cleo. Thou teachest like a fool; the way to lose him.

Char. Tempt him not so too far; I wish, forbear:

192. *whose place is . . . requires*] F 2; *whose places under us, require* F; *who've places . . . requires* Mason conj.

Scene III.

The same. Another room] Capell; *Enter . . .*] Ff (substantially). 5. *Exit Alexas*] Capell; omitted in Ff.

at this time." Coleridge, *Shakespeare Notes and Lectures*, says on the passage in the text: "This is so far true to appearance, that a horse hair, 'laid,' as Hollinshead says, 'in a pail of water,' will become the supporter of seemingly one worm, though probably of an immense number of small slimy water-lice. The hair will twirl round a finger, and sensibly compress it. It is a common experiment with school boys in Cumberland and Westmoreland." Obviously, the experimentalist must get a pail of populous water, or he will be woefully disappointed. Mr. Craig tells me that he recollects being shown, as a child, by his Irish nurse, some horsehairs wriggling about in a tributary of the Bann in Derry, and being informed that they were turning into eels. The thought of a serpent as yet only potentially venomous occurs also in *Macbeth*, III. iv. 29-31.

Scene III.

3. *I did . . . you*] Malone compares similarly elliptical phrasing in *Troilus and Cressida*, IV. ii. 72:—

"I will go meet them: and, my lord Æneas,
We met by chance: you did not find me here."

sad] probably "serious" merely, as so commonly.

11. *I wish, forbear*] Prithee, forbear. Nicholson needlessly proposes *the wish* or *your wish*,

In time we hate that which we often fear.
But here comes Antony.

Enter ANTONY.

Cleo. I am sick and sullen.
Ant. I am sorry to give breathing to my purpose,—
Cleo. Help me away, dear Charmian; I shall fall:
It cannot be thus long, the sides of nature
Will not sustain it.
Ant. Now, my dearest queen,—
Cleo. Pray you, stand farther from me.
Ant. What 's the matter?
Cleo. I know, by that same eye, there 's some good news.
What says the married woman? You may go:
Would she had never given you leave to come!
Let her not say 'tis I that keep you here:
I have no power upon you; hers you are.
Ant. The gods best know—
Cleo. O, never was there queen
So mightily betray'd! yet at the first
I saw the treasons planted.
Ant. Cleopatra,—
Cleo. Why should I think you can be mine and true,
Though you in swearing shake the throned gods,
Who have been false to Fulvia? Riotous madness,
To be entangled with those mouth-made vows,
Which break themselves in swearing!
Ant. Most sweet queen,—
Cleo. Nay, pray you, seek no colour for your going,

Enter Antony] Globe; after line 12 in Ff. Rowe (*go;*); *woman you may goe?* F.

20. *woman? You . . . go:*]

16. *the sides of nature*] Steevens compares *Twelfth Night*, II. iv. 96:—

"There is no woman's *sides*
Can bide the beating of so strong a passion," etc.

See also on I. ii. 189 *ante;* IV. xiv. 39 *post.*

26. *planted*] either in the gardener's sense, as in *All's Well that Ends Well*, II. iii. 163:—

"It is in us to *plant* thine honour where
We please to have it grow";

or = placed (like mines, etc.): so Braithwaite, *Strappado for the Diuell*, 1615 (1878 reprint, p. 92), *The Wooer:* "He *plants* his engines deeper," etc.

28. *Though . . . gods*] Steevens compares *Timon of Athens*, IV. iii. 136-38:—

"Although, I know, you 'll swear, terribly swear
Into strong shudders and to heavenly agues
The immortal gods that hear you."

32. *colour*] A very common Latinism for pretext, specious excuse. See *Henry*

But bid farewell, and go: when you sued staying,
Then was the time for words: no going then;
Eternity was in our lips and eyes,
Bliss in our brows' bent; none our parts so poor,
But was a race of heaven: they are so still,
Or thou, the greatest soldier of the world,
Art turn'd the greatest liar.

Ant. How now, lady!

Cleo. I would I had thy inches; thou shouldst know
There were a heart in Egypt.

Ant. Hear me, queen:
The strong necessity of time commands
Our services awhile; but my full heart
Remains in use with you. Our Italy
Shines o'er with civil swords: Sextus Pompeius

VIII. I. i. 178. Lyly plays on the word in *Campaspe*, v. iv. (*Works*, Fairholt, i. 146): "You lay your *colours* grosly; though I could not paint in your shop, I can spie into your excuse"; *ibid.* III. i. (p. 116): "You have bin so long used to colours, you can doe nothing but *colour*"; and John Harington in a letter to Sir Antony Standen, dated from Athlone, 1559: "On Sunday last the Governor marched with one and twenty companies, or colours (for indeed some of them were but mere *colours* of companies, having sixty for a hundred and fifty) from Tulske," etc. See Harington's *Nugæ Antiquæ*, 1769, i. 51; also the extracts from North, *ante*, pp. xl, xlviii.

36. *brows' bent*] In Ben Jonson, the arches of the brow are Love's "double bow": see *Underwoods*, Elegy xxxvi. (Gifford's numbering):—

"By that fair stand, your forehead, whence he bends
His double bow, and round his arrows sends";

also *ibid.*, *A Celebration of Charis*, v.: "Both her *brows bent* like my bow."

37. *race of heaven*] As eternity was in her lips and eyes (compare Marlowe, *Faustus*, sc. 14: "Sweet Helen, make me immortal with a kiss"), bliss in her brows, so he had found the same or other marks of heaven in her other beauties. *A race of heaven* probably = as Malone thought, "of heavenly origin" (compare the use of *race* in *The Tempest*, I. ii. 358); but Warburton says *race* is "smack or flavour of heaven," and Johnson approves, observing that "*the race* of wine is the taste of the soil"; see Massinger, *New Way to Pay Old Debts*, I. iii. 8-10:—

"There came, not six days since, from Hull, a pipe
Of rich Canary. . . .
Greedy. Is it of the right *race?*"

41. *Egypt*] *i.e.* Cleopatra, as *post*, line 78, and elsewhere.

44. *in use with you*] yours to enjoy, to have the usufruct of; *perhaps* in trust with you, as in *The Merchant of Venice*, IV. i. 383, where, however, the context puts the phrase in strict accord with its counterpart in legal terminology, when a third party is possessed with land for the express purpose of conveying it to one person after the death of another (*seisitus in usum alicujus*). See in Dyce's *Glossary*, a note by Anon., apud Halliwell, and the aforesaid passage in *The Merchant of Venice*:—

"I am content; so he will let me have
The other half *in use*, to render it,
Upon his death, unto the gentleman
That lately stole his daughter."

45-52. *Sextus Pompeius*, etc.] Compare I. ii. 180-189 *ante*; I. iv. 36-47 *post*,

Makes his approaches to the port of Rome:
Equality of two domestic powers
Breed scrupulous faction: the hated, grown to strength,
Are newly grown to love: the condemn'd Pompey,
Rich in his father's honour, creeps apace
Into the hearts of such as have not thrived
Upon the present state, whose numbers threaten;
And quietness, grown sick of rest, would purge
By any desperate change. My more particular,
And that which most with you should safe my going,
Is Fulvia's death.

Cleo. Though age from folly could not give me freedom,
It does from childishness: can Fulvia die?

Ant. She's dead, my queen:
Look here, and at thy sovereign leisure read
The garboils she awaked: at the last, best;
See when and where she died.

55. *safe*] F; *save* F 4; *salve* Theobald.

46. *port of Rome*] More probably Ostia, the natural objective of a fleet, than = gate of Rome, though *port* = gate in IV. iv. 23 *post*.

48. *Breed . . . faction*] Favour the rise of carping opposition; or, perhaps, of parties which profess a hesitancy in determining where their allegiance is due. Some editors read *breeds* with Pope, to correspond with *Equality*; but the plural is no doubt due to the proximity of *powers*. See Abbott, *Shakespearian Grammar*, § 412.

53. *sick of . . . purge*] *ill* through rest, as well as tired of it, would, etc. The diseases of peace and tranquillity similarly suggest purgation (by letting blood) in *2 Henry IV*. IV. i. 54-66, *e.g.* lines 63-66:—

"But rather show awhile like fearful war,
To diet rank minds *sick of* happiness
And *purge* the obstructions which begin to stop
Our very veins of life."

54. *My more particular*] What is more especially my own affair. Compare IV. ix. 20 *post*, and *Troilus and Cressida*, II. ii. 9: "As far as toucheth *my particular*."

55. *safe*] See IV. vi. 26, and note, and compare Fellтham, *Resolves*, 8th ed., 1661; *Of Resolution*, p. 3: "In *high* and *mountain'd* Fortunes *resolution* is necessary, to insafe us from the *thefts* and *wyles* of prosperity."

58. *It does . . . die*] A mere expression of incredulity, to which it would be needless to draw attention if Steevens and Malone had not shown that it could be mistaken.

61. *garboils*] tumults, commotions, from the old French *garbouil*. Compare II. ii. 67 *post*. The word occurs fairly often. See Steevens's instances in 1821 Variorum, and Collier's in a note to Barry's *Ram Alley* (Hazlitt's *Dodsley*, x. 287); also Webster, *The Weakest Goeth to the Wall*, v. i.: "these sweating *garbolds*"; *Manningham's Diary*, p. 147 (Camden Society, 1868): "There was a diligent watch and ward kept . . . to prevent *garboiles*"; Drayton, *The Harmonie of the Church* (Percy Society, 1843), p. 35: "They chose them gods; then *garboils* did within their gates abound." It occurs several times in Drayton's *Baron's Wars*.

at the last, best] Surely this means that the cream of the correspondence is in the part to which her attention is last directed—possibly also the last part

Cleo. O most false love!
Where be the sacred vials thou shouldst fill
With sorrowful water? Now I see, I see,
In Fulvia's death, how mine received shall be.
Ant. Quarrel no more, but be prepared to know
The purposes I bear; which are, or cease,
As you shall give the advice. By the fire
That quickens Nilus' slime, I go from hence
Thy soldier, servant, making peace or war
As thou affects.
Cleo. Cut my lace, Charmian, come;
But let it be: I am quickly ill, and well,
So Antony loves.
Ant. My precious queen, forbear;

71. *affects*] F; *affectst* F 2 and edd.

of a letter—and consists of convincing intelligence of Fulvia's death. Steevens, however, perceives a "conjugal tribute to the memory of Fulvia," comparing *Macbeth*, I. iv. 7, 8: "nothing in his life Became him like the leaving it"; while Boswell interprets: "her death was the *best* thing I have known of her, as it checked her garboils." Staunton takes *best* to be an epithet of endearment applied to Cleopatra, = "my best one"!

63. *vials*] "Alluding," says Johnson, "to the lachrymatory vials, or bottles of tears, which the Romans sometimes put into the urn of a friend." That the vials found in tombs were so employed is now considered very doubtful. It has been maintained that they really held unguents. Theobald (and later Steevens) refers to *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, I. v. 4, 5:—

"Balms and gumms, and heavy cheers,
Sacred *vials*, fill'd with tears."

In Browne's *Britannia's Pastorals*, I. v. 736, the walls of the house of Repentance are hung with "crystal *vials* of repentant tears"; and, similarly, Death's cave, "In bottles tears of friends and Louers vaine," in Peacham's *Period of Mourning* (1613), Vision iii. See also Angel Day, *The English Secretarie* (1599), pt. i. 125: "I have prepared a golden boxe wherein I mean to consecrate all the teares you shed for that accident, to *Berecynthia* the beldame of the Gods, as a relique of your great kindship and curtesie."

68. *By the fire*] *i.e.* the sun. Steevens prefixed *Now* to satisfy his ear, quoting *King John*, II. i. 397: "Now by the sky," etc. The metrical value of the marked pause (see Abbott, *Shakespearian Grammar*, § 508) was not yet appreciated.

71. *Cut my lace*] However inappropriate to Cleopatra's unfettered beauty, the first thought, under emotion, real or pretended, of the coarser female character in old plays. See Dekker, *The Honest Whore*, pt. i. (*Works*, Pearson, ii. 30): "Fie, fie, *cut my lace*, good servant; I shall ha' the mother presently, I 'm so vext," etc.; Webster, *Northward Hoe!* II. i. (*Works*, Hazlitt, i. 200): "*Doll.* O I shall burst if I *cut not my lace*, I 'm so vext!"

72, 73. *I . . . So Antony loves*] I am no sooner ill than well again, provided Antony loves. In thus withdrawing the threat of hysterics implied in "Cut my lace," etc., Cleopatra seems to angle for some convincing evidence of love, which Antony's reply does not afford to her satisfaction. The words are less likely to refer to what precedes, *viz.* the sworn devotion of lines 68-71; it did not prevent the threat, and probably no admission of its force as a proof of love is involved in the words of withdrawal. Steevens, Capell, and several editors

And give true evidence to his love, which stands
An honourable trial.

Cleo. So Fulvia told me.
I prithee, turn aside and weep for her;
Then bid adieu to me, and say the tears
Belong to Egypt: good now, play one scene
Of excellent dissembling, and let it look
Like perfect honour.

Ant. You 'll heat my blood: no more.

Cleo. You can do better yet; but this is meetly.

Ant. Now, by my sword,—

Cleo. And target. Still he mends;
But this is not the best. Look, prithee, Charmian,
How this Herculean Roman does become
The carriage of his chafe.

Ant. I 'll leave you, lady.

Cleo. Courteous lord, one word.
Sir, you and I must part, but that 's not it:
Sir, you and I have loved, but there 's not it;
That you know well: something it is I would,—
O, my oblivion is a very Antony,
And I am all forgotten.

Ant. But that your royalty

80. *blood: no more*] Rowe (semicolon); *blood no more?* F. 82. *my*] F 2 F omits.

interpret differently, making *so* = thus, and punctuating accordingly, with sense: "Antony's love is as fluctuating and uncertain as my health." I have not seen it proposed to make *so* refer wholly to Antony's purpose, disconnecting it altogether from line 72. In that case it would mean: "This, then, is your love for me."

74. *give . . . evidence*] bear true witness. The Collier MS. corrector substitutes *credence* for *evidence*, and *audience* has been proposed by L. Campbell; but the phrase as it stands has the right ring, and the "witness" is probably the testimony of being composed and *well*.

78. *to Egypt*] "To me, the Queen of Egypt" (Johnson). See line 41 *ante*, and note.

good now] "please you," as in *Hamlet*, I. i. 70.

81. *meetly*] worthily, very well. Not elsewhere in Shakespeare. Compare Nash, *Lenten Stuff*, 1599 (ed. Hindley, 1871, p. 49): "abbreviately and *meetly*"; *Ralph Royster Doyster*, IV. vii. (ed. Arber, p. 74): "In fayth it doth *metely* well."

84. *Herculean*] as descended from Anton, son of Hercules. See extracts from North's *Plutarch*, *ante*, p. xxvii; and compare IV. xii. 44 *post*. The epithet was perhaps suggested by Antony's rising anger.

84, 85. *How . . . chafe*] how he becomes, or lends grace to, an angry deportment. There is still some allusion to playing a part. Staunton is unwarrantably positive that *chafe* is "a silly blunder of the transcriber or compositor for *chief* [the reading in his text], meaning Hercules, the *head* or *principal* of the house of Antonii."

90, 91. *O, my oblivion . . . forgotten*] my "oblivious memory" is as faithless

Holds idleness your subject, I should take you
For idleness itself.

Cleo. 'Tis sweating labour
To bear such idleness so near the heart
As Cleopatra this. But, sir, forgive me,
Since my becomings kill me when they do not
Eye well to you. Your honour calls you hence;
Therefore be deaf to my unpitied folly,
And all the gods go with you! Upon your sword
Sit laurel victory! and smooth success
Be strew'd before your feet!

Ant. Let us go. Come;
Our separation so abides, and flies,

100. *laurel*] F (*Lawrell*); *Lawrell'd* Ff 2-4, and some editors. 101, 102. *Come . . . flies*] As Pope; one line Ff.

as Antony, and, like him, has forgotten my power over it. "Oblivious memory" is Steevens's phrase, but it is unnecessary to follow him in further taking here "I am all forgotten" as = "I forget everything," much like the sense in "How comes it, Michael, you are thus forgot?" (*Othello*, II. iii. 188). It seems to mean, not "I am all forgetful," but "I am every way forgotten," *viz.* by Antony and my own faculties, as, indeed, Steevens practically put it formerly (1773). Marston, however, who imitates Shakespeare here and there in *The Insatiate Countess*, has in that play, IV. ii. 67, 68:—

"Thy intellectual powers oblivion smothers,
That thou art nothing but forgetfulness."

91-93. *But that . . . itself*] Under the surface meaning—which contains its own rebuke—that Cleopatra can't be both queen and subject, or might be taken for a personification of idleness or trifling, possibly lies the insinuation: Were you not liege lady of trifling, *and able to make her serve* (or: *command her arts for*) your purposes, I should take you, etc. Malone suggests something like this last, and it is substantially the explanation preferred by Clarke and Rolfe. With *idleness*, Steevens compares *Vittoria Corombona*, 1612, III. iii. (Hazlitt's *Webster*, II. 79), where Francesco, taking Isabella's ghost to be the product of his imagination, and having asked, "How cam'st thou by thy death?" continues:—

"how idle am I
To question mine own *idleness!*"

His own best interpretation is: "holds *idleness* in subjection to you, exalting you far above its influence."

96. *Since my becomings*, etc.] I see here the expression of feelings hurt by Antony's cold answer to the sudden and emotional conversion from mockery to pathos in lines 86-91. Cleopatra says, in effect: "I have done; even the regrets, the emotion, the fears that become me at such a time, I repress, since it is anguish to me to displease you." The usual explanation of *becomings* is, however, "graces." Steevens suspected in the word an allusion to Antony's phrase in I. i. 49 *ante*.

99, 100. *Upon . . . victory*] Compare *Edward III.* III. iii. 190: "Be still adorned with laurel *victory*," which confirms the reading, *laurel*, of F, as do similar cases of noun as adjective, *e.g.* "the honey of his *music* vows" (*Hamlet*, III. i. 164). For the figure compare *Tryall of Chevalry*, 1605, "Successful action sit *upon* thy sword" (Bullen's *Old Plays*, iii. 333, where other examples are given); also *Selimus*, 1594 (ed. Grosart, l. 2447): "And white-wing'd *victory* sits on our swords."

102-104. *Our separation . . . thee*] Their separation is said to *abide* as

That thou, residing here, goes yet with me,
And I, hence fleeting, here remain with thee.
Away! [*Exeunt.* 105

SCENE IV.—*Rome. Cæsar's house.*

Enter OCTAVIUS CÆSAR, *reading a letter*, LEPIDUS, *and their Train.*

Cæs. You may see, Lepidus, and henceforth know,
It is not Cæsar's natural vice to hate
Our great competitor: from Alexandria
This is the news: he fishes, drinks, and wastes
The lamps of night in revel; is not more manlike 5
Than Cleopatra; nor the queen of Ptolemy
More womanly than he: hardly gave audience, or
Vouchsafed to think he had partners: you shall find there
A man who is the abstract of all faults
That all men follow.

103. *goes*] F; *goest* F 2 and edd. (*go'st*).

Scene IV.

Rome. Cæsar's house] Capell (substantially); *Rome.* Rowe; *Cæsar's Palace in Rome* Theobald. *Enter . . .*] Ff, omitting "Cæsar." 3. *Our*] Singer (Heath and Johnson conj.); *One* F. 7-10. *More . . . follow*] As Capell; divided in Ff after *audience*, *You*, *faults*. 8. *Vouchsafed*] Johnson; *vouchsafe* F; *did vouchsafe* F 2. 9. *abstract*] F 2; *abstracts* F.

resulting from Cleopatra's *abode* in Egypt, and to *fly*, as resulting from Antony's fleeting thence. With the conceit in the whole sentence, compare *Mucedorus* (Hazlitt's *Dodsley*, vii. 206):—

"'tis from the realm, not thee:
Though lands part bodies, hearts keep company";

and Donne's famous poem, *A Valediction Forbidding Mourning*. Steevens quotes Sidney's *Arcadia*, book i. (see lines 169, 170 of the poem at its close), as possibly having suggested the thought to Shakespeare:—

"She went, they staid; or rightly, for to say,
She staid in them, they went in thought with her."

Scene IV.

3. *competitor*] Here, as often, partner, associate. Compare II. vii. 69 *post*, and *Richard III.* IV. iv. 506:—

"And every hour more *competitors*
Flock to their aid," etc.

See also the quotation on I. i. 12, "*triple pillar.*"

4-33. *he fishes, drinks*, etc.] With the charges in these speeches, compare North, *ante*, pp. xxxiii-v, xxvii, xxx.

6. *queen of Ptolemy*] Cleopatra was nominally married by Cæsar to the younger of her two brothers of that name, a mere child, whom she is said to have made away by poison. Compare *Egypt's widow*, II. i. 37 *post*.

9, 10. *is the abstract . . . follow*] exhibits in himself, and in their highest degree, all the faults of mankind. In respect of faults, like Dryden's Zimri (*Absalom and Achitophel*, i. 546): "Not one, but all mankind's epitome." Compare Jonson, *The Devil is an Ass*, IV. i.: "The top of women! all her sex in *abstract*"; Massinger, *The City Madam*, III. iii.: "Heaven's *abstract* or epitome."

Lep. I must not think there are
Evils enow to darken all his goodness:
His faults in him seem as the spots of heaven,
More fiery by night's blackness; hereditary,
Rather than purchased; what he cannot change,
Than what he chooses.

Cæs. You are too indulgent. Let's grant it is not
Amiss to tumble on the bed of Ptolemy;
To give a kingdom for a mirth; to sit
And keep the turn of tippling with a slave;
To reel the streets at noon, and stand the buffet
With knaves that smells of sweat: say this becomes him,—
As his composure must be rare indeed

10, 11. *there . . . goodness:*] As Capell; one line Ff. 16. *Let 's*] F; *Let us* Pope and edd. 21. *smells*] *smels* F; *smell* Ff 2-4.

12, 13. *His faults . . . blackness*] His faults are made more conspicuous by his goodness, as the stars by night's blackness. The simile aims only at force of contrast, disregarding correspondence of quality in the things compared, *faults* and *stars*, *goodness* and *blackness*. It is otherwise in *Hamlet*, v. ii. 266-68, as Malone indicates:—

"in mine ignorance
Your skill shall, like a star i' the darkest night,
Stick fiery off indeed."

Quarles, in *The Author's Dream*, compares his sins to the stars in brightness:—

"My Sins are like the Stars within the Skies,
In view, in number, ev'n as bright, as great," etc.

With *spots of heaven*, compare Peele, *Edward I.* sc. iii. line 74: "The welkin, spangled through with golden spots," etc.

14. *purchased*] acquired, as commonly. Compare Nash, *The Unfortunate Traveller* (ed. Gosse, p. 88): "With him we trauelled along, having *purchast* his acquaintance a little before." The legal origin of the use is played upon in the following passage from Shirley's *Love Tricks*, III. v. (*Works*, 1833, i. pp. 54, 55): " . . . got a great estate of wealth by gaming and wenching, and so *purchas'd* unhappily this state of damnation you see me in. *Infor.* Came you in it by *purchase?* then you do not claim it by your father's interest as an heir:" etc. See Cowel's *Interpreter* (ed. Manley, 1684, *s.v.*): "it signifieth the buying of Lands or Tenements with Money, or by any other Agreement, and not the obtaining of it by descent," etc.

18. *a mirth*] So Beaumont and Fletcher, *Philaster*, iii. (1679 folio, p. 31): "made it [danger] but *a mirth*."

20. *stand the buffet*] So in *1 Henry IV.* III. ii. 66: "To laugh at gibing boys and *stand the push* Of every beardless vain comparative." Compare also the whole passage, and see Introduction, p. xii *ante*.

21. *smells*] The old Northern plural (?) in *s* is extremely common, occurring in all kinds of writers, and often, as here, in F. Compare line 49 *post*; *The Tempest*, III. iii. 2, "bones akes"; *The Merchant of Venice*, III. ii. 19, "times Puts," and quotation in note on IV. xiv. 76, 77 *post*.

22. *As his composure*] Composure = composition, as in *Troilus and Cressida*, II. iii. 251; Brome, *A Mad Couple*, etc., IV. i. (*Works*, Pearson, p. 63): "hee is of so sweete a *Composure*," etc. For *As* Johnson proposed to read *and;* but the inconsequence he detected is more apparent than real, as the inference in *as* is from the idea of an untarnishable Antony involved in "say this becomes him." The whole equals: Grant he is a prodigy, as prodigy he must be to carry off such faults. Dr. Ingleby's

Whom these things cannot blemish,—yet must Antony
No way excuse his foils, when we do bear
So great weight in his lightness. If he fill'd
His vacancy with his voluptuousness,
Full surfeits and the dryness of his bones
Call on him for 't: but to confound such time,
That drums him from his sport and speaks as loud
As his own state and ours,—'tis to be chid
As we rate boys, who, being mature in knowledge,

24. *foils*] *foyles* F, F 2; *foyls* Pf 3, 4; *soils* Malone. 30. *chid*] Capell; *chid:* F.

account of the use of *as* in this and other passages will be found in II. ii. 53 *post*, but can, I think, be dispensed with in the present case at least.

24. *foils*] The restoration of *foils* to the text seems inevitably to follow the evidence of the *New Eng. Dict.* as to the sense disgrace, stigma, with mixture of the sense of the verb *foil* = to foul, etc. The quotation there given from Porter, *Angry Wom. Abingd.* (Percy Soc.), 26, "It hath set a foyle upon thy fame," is precisely apt and unmistakeable:

"And it [a fault] hath set a foil upon thy fame,
Not as the foil doth grace the diamond."

(Hazlitt's Dodsley, VII. 288). Equally with Malone's otherwise probable *soils*, *foils* agrees with the defiling pursuits just detailed, and no longer merely depends on Collier's explanation as the vices "which foil or defeat" Antony's virtues, or on Schmidt's citation of *Tempest*, III. i. 46, for the sense "blemish": or again on the possibility that Cæsar—who has just granted, for argument's sake, that Antony's faults may become him—might refer to them as the foils of his virtues, as Lepidus makes the virtues set off his faults, and as Prince Hal (*1 Henry IV.* I. ii. 239) makes his "fault" the "foil" to set off his reformation.

24, 25. *when . . . lightness*] when "his trifling levity throws so much burden upon us" (Johnson).

26. *vacancy*] Similarly used for leisure by Heywood, ΥΝΑΙΚΕΙΟΝ (1624), p. 318: "Neither remember I, O king, . . . that Agamemnon, in all the time of the tenne yeeres siege of Troy, had such *vacancie* as thou hast now to prie into the Boothes of his soulders;" etc.

28. *Call on him for 't*] Insist on a reckoning for it. Compare Braithwaite, *Nature's Embassie* (1621), Satire ii. st. 2, of the deferred wrath of Nature:—

"Though she delay assure thee she will *call*,
And thou must pay both vse and principall."

The *New Eng. Dict.* quotes the passage under "To impeach, challenge," adding "1740 Chesterfield Lett. J, clx. 295: You *call* upon me for the partiality of an author to his own works," and another late passage.

confound] See on I. i. 45 *ante*.

30-33. *'tis to be chid*, etc.] such conduct merits the reprehension we give boys, who being old enough to know better, gratify their present desires against their judgment. Non-existent difficulties have been found here. Hanmer read (and Warburton accepted) *immature*, offended at the idea of maturity in connection with boys. Daniel conjectures *he's to be chid . . . who . . . Pawns his . . . to his . . . rebels. . . .* If we are to press the meaning in *pawn*, it is possible to say that experience (which gives foreknowledge of consequences) is pledged to pleasure in the sense that it must be redeemed, or reinforced, by the undergoing of the foreseen consequences of pleasure; but I doubt the thought goes beyond the necessity of parting with the valuable, the guidance of experience, for the occasion: compare Braithwaite, *Strappado for the Diuell*, 1615 (1878 reprint, p. 291):—

"oh why should we,
To get a little sport, *paune* modesty?"

Pawn their experience to their present pleasure,
And so rebel to judgment.

Enter a Messenger.

Lep. Here's more news.

Mess. Thy biddings have been done; and every hour,
Most noble Cæsar, shalt thou have report
How 'tis abroad. Pompey is strong at sea;
And it appears he is beloved of those
That only have fear'd Cæsar: to the ports
The discontents repair, and men's reports
Give him much wrong'd.

Cæs. I should have known no less.
It hath been taught us from the primal state,
That he which is was wish'd until he were;
And the ebb'd man, ne'er loved till ne'er worth love,
Comes dear'd by being lack'd. This common body,
Like to a vagabond flag upon the stream,
Goes to and back, lackeying the varying tide,
To rot itself with motion.

41. *been*] F 4; *bin* F. 44. *dear'd*] Theobald (Warburton); *fear'd* F. 46. *lackeying*] *lacquying* Theobald (Anon. MS.); *lacking* F.

36-47. *Pompey*, etc.] Compare I. ii. 180-189; I. iii. 45-52 *ante*.

39. *the discontents*] the discontented, or malcontents, as in *1 Henry IV.* v. i. 76. Similar instances of the abstract for the concrete occur in II. ii. 47 *post*; *King Lear*, III. i. 24, etc. Compare *Edward III.* III. iii. 156:—

"For what's this Edward but a belly-god,
A tender and lascivious wantonness," etc.

40. *Give him*] represent him; as in *Coriolanus*, I. ix. 55; Shirley, *The Wedding*, v. ii. (*Works*, 1833, I. 441): "my nephew *gives* you valiant," etc.

42. *That he . . . were*] that the man in power was always the popular candidate for it till, and only till, he obtained it. Cæsar glances at his own loss of popular favour.

43. *ebb'd man*] Copley uses a similar figure in *A Fig for Fortune*, 1596, p. 6: "What booteth it to liue . . . A muddie ebbe after a Chrystall flood?"

44. *Comes dear'd*] becomes endeared. Collier (1843) retained *fear'd*, but reads *lov'd* in his second edition, with the Collier MS. Compare *Coriolanus*, IV. i. 15: "I shall be *loved* when I am lack'd." Knight reads *fear'd* on the ground that the notions of fear and love are almost synonymous in the mind of one who aims at supreme power. But the messenger's distinction between these notions in lines 37, 38, and the tenor of Cæsar's first comments confirm the emendation. Compare I. ii. 182-184 *ante*.

45. *flag*] a common species of Iris.

46. *lackeying*] The servility of popular favour is united with its instability by Theobald's reading. Pope's was *lashing*. For the use of the verb, Steevens quotes, among other passages, Chapman's Homer, *Iliad*, 24 [ed. Shepherd, 1875, p. 285]:—

"I could wish thy grave affairs did need
My guide to Argos, either shipp'd, or *lackeying* by thy side," etc.

See also Braithwaite, *Strappado for the Diuell*, 1615 (reprint 1878, p. 152): "As still repentance *lackies* vanitie."

Mess. Cæsar, I bring thee word,
Menecrates and Menas, famous pirates,
Makes the sea serve them, which they ear and wound
With keels of every kind: many hot inroads
They make in Italy; the borders maritime
Lack blood to think on 't, and flush youth revolt:
No vessel can peep forth, but 'tis as soon
Taken as seen; for Pompey's name strikes more
Than could his war resisted.

Cæs. Antony,
Leave thy lascivious wassails. When thou once
Was beaten from Modena, where thou slew'st
Hirsius and Pansa, consuls, at thy heel
Did famine follow; whom thou fought'st against,
Though daintily brought up, with patience more
Than savages could suffer: thou didst drink
The stale of horses, and the gilded puddle
Which beasts would cough at: thy palate then did deign

48. *Menecrates*] F 4; *Menacrates* F. 49. *Makes*] Ff 1-3; *Make* F 4. 56. *wassails*] Pope; *Vassailes* F, F 2; *Vassails* F 3; *Vassals* F 4. 57. *Was*] F; *Wast* Steevens (1778) and edd.; *Wert* F 2. *Modena*] Johnson; *Medena* F. 58. *Hirsius*] (North "Hircius") F; *Hirtius* F 2. *Pansa*] F 2; *Pausa* F.

48. *Menecrates . . . pirates*] See North, *ante*, p. xxxvi.

49. *Makes*] See on line 21 *ante: ear*, plough. Compare I. ii. 108 *ante*.

52. *flush*] lusty, full of vigour. Compare *Hamlet*, III. iii. 81; "As *flush* as May." The *New Eng. Dict.* gives further examples of a derived sense, "self-confident," "self-conceited," and it is interesting to note also here another *flush*, of uncertain etymology and dialectal, = fledged.

56. *wassails*] Carousals attended with lust are naturally contrasted with the scant and repulsive diet, and severe hardships stoically endured, which the next lines describe. Some, however, prefer the old reading *vassals*, to which alone, and not to "drunken revelry" (*wassails*), Knight unaccountably considers the epithet *lascivious* appropriate.

57. *Modena*] accented on second syllable (as also by the Countess of Pembroke in *Antonie*, Act III.), whereas Italian, "Módena," Latin, "Mútina." For the whole passage, to line 71, see North, *ante*, p. xxix.

59. *whom*] Abbott (*Shakespearian Grammar*, § 264) shows that *who* stands for irrational antecedents where there is any approach to personification; but adds that *whom* is rare, comparing *The Tempest*, III. iii. 62: "The elements Of *whom*," etc.

61. *Than . . . suffer*] explicable, I think, as a case of cognate accusative, and = "Than that which savages could suffer." For the thought, compare D'Avenant, *Gondibert*, II. ii. 25:—

"Still I have fought, as if in Beauty's sight,
Outsuffer'd patience, bred in Captives Breasts;" etc.

It is usually taken as an instance of omission to repeat the preposition in relative sentences (see Abbott, *Shakespearian Grammar*, § 394) and = "Than savages could suffer *with*," or "Than that with which," etc.

62. *gilded*] overspread with yellow scum; "filthy-mantled," as in *The Tempest*, IV. i. 182.

The roughest berry on the rudest hedge;
Yea, like the stag, when snow the pasture sheets,
The barks of trees thou browsed'st. On the Alps
It is reported thou didst eat strange flesh,
Which some did die to look on: and all this—
It wounds thine honour that I speak it now—
Was borne so like a soldier that thy cheek
So much as lank'd not.

Lep. 'Tis pity of him.

Cæs. Let his shames quickly
Drive him to Rome: 'tis time we twain
Did show ourselves i' the field; and to that end
Assemble we immediate council: Pompey
Thrives in our idleness.

Lep. To-morrow, Cæsar,
I shall be furnish'd to inform you rightly
Both what by sea and land I can be able
To front this present time.

Cæs. Till which encounter,
It is my business too. Farewell.

Lep. Farewell, my lord: what you shall know meantime
Of stirs abroad, I shall beseech you, sir,
To let me be partaker.

Cæs. Doubt not, sir;
I knew it for my bond. [*Exeunt.*

66. *browsed'st*] F 2; *brows'd* F (Shakespeare probably *browsed*). 75. *we*] Ff 2-4; *me* F. 79, 80. *Till . . . Farewell*] As Pope; one line Ff. 83, 84. *Doubt . . . bond*] As Capell; one line Ff.

66. *The barks . . . browsed'st*] So Nash, in *Christ's Tears* (reprint in *Archaica*, 1815, p. 63): "All the bushes and boughs within or round about Jerusalem were hewed down and felled, for men, like brute beasts, to *browse* on"; Browne, *Britannia's Pastorals*, book ii. (1616), Song i. 663-667:—

"As in a forest well complete with deer
We see the hollies, ashes, everywhere
Robb'd of their clothing by the browsing game:
So near the rock all trees where'er you [*i.e.* Limos or Famine] came,
To cold December's wrath stood void of bark."

71. *lank'd*] became lank, lost its fulness. The *New Eng. Dict.* gives no other instance of the verb in an intransitive sense.

75. *Assemble we*] *we*, the reading of F 2, sorts with *we twain*, line 73, and *our*, line 76, as well as with the fact that, as Malone says, Cæsar is addressing an equal. *Me* is retained by one or two editors, among whom Knight thinks "the commentators forget Cæsar's contempt for Lepidus and the crouching humility of Lepidus himself." Neither of these ascribed qualities appears in this scene.

79. *front*] face, encounter. Compare *2 Henry IV.* IV. i. 25: "What well-appointed leader *fronts* us here?" See also II. ii. 61 *post.*

84. *I knew . . . bond*] I recognized it as part of my engagements.

SCENE V.—*Alexandria. Cleopatra's palace.*

Enter CLEOPATRA, CHARMIAN, IRAS, *and* MARDIAN.

Cleo. Charmian!
Char. Madam?
Cleo. Ha, ha!
Give me to drink mandragora.
Char. Why, madam?
Cleo. That I might sleep out this great gap of time
My Antony is away.
Char. You think of him too much.
Cleo. O, 'tis treason!
Char. Madam, I trust, not so.
Cleo. Thou, eunuch Mardian!
Mar. What's your highness' pleasure?
Cleo. Not now to hear thee sing. I take no pleasure
In aught an eunuch has: 'tis well for thee
That, being unseminar'd, thy freer thoughts
May not fly forth of Egypt. Hast thou affections?
Mar. Yes, gracious madam.
Cleo. Indeed?
Mar. Not in deed, madam; for I can do nothing

Scene v. Alexandria . . .] Capell (substantially); *Alexandria.* Rowe; *The Palace in Alexandria* Theobald. 3, 4. *Ha, ha! . . . mandragora*] as Steevens (1793); one line Ff. 5. *time*] Rowe (*time,*); *time:* Ff. 8. *Thou, eunuch*] F; *Thou eunuch,* Pope.

4. *mandragora*] the juice of mandragora or mandrake, a plant with strong narcotic qualities. "The juice thereof with woman's milk laid to the temples maketh to sleep, yea though it were in the most hot ague" (*Bartholomew* [*Berthelet*], book xvii. § 104). Compare *Othello,* III. iii. 330; Heywood (Pearson's reprint, vi. 157), *The Manhater*:—

"Since thou hast drunke *Mandragora,* to sleepe
And snort away thy time?"

How a Man may Choose a Good Wife, etc., III. ii. (Hazlitt's *Dodsley,* ix. 48):—

"in this paper is
The juice of mandrake, by a doctor made
To cast a man, whose leg should be cut off,
Into a deep, a cold, and senseless sleep;
Of such approved operation
That whoso takes it, is for twice twelve hours,
Breathless, and to all men's judgments past all sense;" etc.

For the curious superstitions touching the plant and its origin, see notes on *Romeo and Juliet,* IV. iii. 47, in *Arden Shakespeare.*

11, 12. *thoughts May not . . . Egypt*] Seemingly, Mardian is characteristically congratulated, not on his supposed general immunity from "affections" (*i.e.* passions, as in *Romeo and Juliet,* II. v. 12), but on a particular consequence of it, which, while it might never have concerned him in the least, had a present attraction for the speaker.

But what indeed is honest to be done:
Yet have I fierce affections, and think
What Venus did with Mars.

Cleo. O Charmian,
Where think'st thou he is now? Stands he, or sits he?
Or does he walk? or is he on his horse?
O happy horse, to bear the weight of Antony!
Do bravely, horse! for wot'st thou whom thou movest?
The demi-Atlas of this earth, the arm
And burgonet of men. He 's speaking now,
Or murmuring "Where 's my serpent of old Nile?"
For so he calls me: now I feed myself
With most delicious poison. Think on me,
That am with Phœbus' amorous pinches black,
And wrinkled deep in time? Broad-fronted Cæsar,
When thou wast here above the ground, I was
A morsel for a monarch: and great Pompey

29. *time?*] Capell; *time.* F.

17. *think*] The emphasis of *think* in contrast with *did*, and sense "do in thought" inferred by Delius, is not so plausible as it seems at first sight. The order of "Venus" and "Mars" does not favour it.

23. *demi-Atlas*] The queen, unlike Philo, I. i. 12 *ante*, ignores Lepidus.

24. *burgonet*] a helmet of Burgundian invention, whence its name. "It was so fitted to the gorget that the head moved freely, without producing a chink through which an enemy might pierce the neck." So Morley, on stanza 82, canto vi. of Drayton's *Baron's Wars* (1887):—

"And in my course a flame of lightning bet
Out of proud Hertford's high-plumed *burgonet*."

27-29. *Think . . . time?*] Capell's note of interrogation makes Antony the subject of *think*. Otherwise we might suppose Charmian addressed, with *Think on me* approximately = just imagine! it is me he thus loves. *Think on me* was, however, used particularly for "remember with approval or affection." Compare Brome, *The City Wit*, I. i. (*Works*, Pearson, i. 281): "A right good Boy thou art, I *think on* thee." For the thought compare Daniel (*Works*, ed. Grosart), *Cleopatra*, i. 172:—

"And yet thou cam'st but in my beauties vvaine,
When nevv appearing vvrinckles of declining
Wrought vvith the hand of yeares," etc.

In is occasionally used by Shakespeare in ways which suggest that *in time* in the present passage = owing to *or* by time; *e.g.* in *Venus and Adonis*, 251: "Poor queen of love, in thine own law forlorn"; *Troilus and Cressida*, II. iii. 149: "In second voice we 'll not be satisfied; We come to speak with him." On the other hand, there is a certain attractive resemblance to such a phrase as "advanced in years." I incline to understand, "Having reached the stage of marked wrinkles."

29. *Broad-fronted*] obviously, "with a broad forehead." Henley and Singer fancy there is an allusion to Cæsar's baldness, and Seward proposed *bald-fronted Cæsar*. See on II. vi. 68-70 *post*, and North, *ante*, p. xxxi, for his intrigue with Cleopatra.

31. *great Pompey*] Cneius, son of Pompey the Great, as in III. xiii. 118 *post*, *q.v.*, and North, *ante*, p. xxxi. The epithet is misleading.

Would stand and make his eyes grow in my brow;
There would he anchor his aspect and die
With looking on his life.

Enter ALEXAS *from Antony.*

Alex. Sovereign of Egypt, hail!
Cleo. How much unlike art thou Mark Antony!
Yet, coming from him, that great medicine hath
With his tinct gilded thee.
How goes it with my brave Mark Antony?
Alex. Last thing he did, dear queen,
He kiss'd—the last of many doubled kisses—
This orient pearl. His speech sticks in my heart.

Enter Alexas . . .] Collier MS.; *Enter . . . from Cæsar.* Ff. 40. *kiss'd—the . . . kisses—*] Theobald (substantially); *kist the . . . kisses,* Ff 2-4 (*kisses* F).

33. *anchor his aspect*] Compare Sonnet cxxxvii. 6:—

"If eyes corrupt by over partial looks
Be *anchored* in the bay where all men ride," etc.;

and *Measure for Measure,* II. iv. 4.

36, 37. *great medicine . . . thee*] The terms the medicine or great medicine, tinct or tincture, were applied by the alchemists to the supreme result of their labours, regarded rather as the agent for transmuting metals than the elixir to renew youth. See *All's Well that Ends Well,* v. iii. 102: "That knows the tinct and multiplying *medicine*"; Donne, *Resurrection* (*Poems,* ed. Chambers, i. 169):—

"He was all gold when he lay down, but rose
All tincture, and doth not alone dispose
Leaden and iron wills to good," etc.;

Jonson, *The Alchemist, passim,* but especially II. i. 37 *et seq.*, "But when you see th' effects of the *Great Medicine,*" etc. In the text, as in *The Tempest,* v. i. 280, where a similar allusion underlies the expressed cause and effect of drunkenness:—

"where should they
Find this grand liquor that hath gilded them?"

the effect is but external. *Tincture* is often used for a mere surface deposit; so Lord Brooke, "An Inqvisition vpon Fame and Honovr," 10 (*Works,* ed. Grosart, ii. 70): "Goodnesse puts only *tincture* on our gall"; on which the editor observes: "Tincture was supposed to turn the basest metal into gold. *Supra,* it means a golden covering as of a pill in medicine." Walker (*Critical Examination of the Text of Shakespeare,* 1860) suggests *medicine* possibly = physician, as it is understood to do in *All's Well that Ends Well,* II. i. 75.

41. *orient*] bright, lustrous. *Pearl* and this epithet were almost inseparable. Compare "What a sight would it be to embrace one whose haire were as *orient* as the pearle!" (Lyly, *Endymion,* v. ii., *Works,* Fairholt, i. 73);

"to make a pearl more pure
We give it to a dove, in whose womb pent
Some time, we have it forth most *orient.*"

(Wm. Browne, *An Elegy on Sir Thomas Overbury,* etc., lines 26-28). The *New Eng. Dict.* says the epithet is applied to pearls "as coming anciently from the East," and cites 1555 Eden *Decades* 39: "Many of these perles were as bygge as hasell nuttes, and *oriente* (as we caule it), that is, lyke unto them of the Easte partes." *Pearl of Orient* = orient pearl, oriental pearl (*New Eng. Dict.*) also supports this, but a quotation supplied by Mr. Craig shows that another derivation was current: Harrison, *Description of England,* book iii.

Cleo. Mine ear must pluck it thence.
Alex. "Good friend," quoth he,
"Say, the firm Roman to great Egypt sends
This treasure of an oyster; at whose foot,
To mend the petty present, I will piece
Her opulent throne with kingdoms; all the east,
Say thou, shall call her mistress." So he nodded.
And soberly did mount an arm-gaunt steed,
Who neigh'd so high, that what I would have spoke
Was beastly dumb'd by him.
Cleo. What, was he sad or merry?
Alex. Like to the time o' the year between the extremes
Of hot and cold, he was nor sad nor merry.
Cleo. O well-divided disposition! Note him,
Note him, good Charmian, 'tis the man; but note him:
He was not sad, for he would shine on those
That make their looks by his; he was not merry,
Which seem'd to tell them his remembrance lay
In Egypt with his joy; but between both:
O heavenly mingle! Be'st thou sad or merry,
The violence of either thee becomes,
So does it no man else. Met'st thou my posts?

48. *an arm-gaunt*] *an Arme-gaunt* Ff. 61. *man*] F 2; *mans* F. 50. *dumb'd*] Theobald; *dumbe* F.

chap. 1 (New Shakes. Soc., ed. Furnivall, part i. p. 80): "They [pearles] are called *orient* because of the cleerenesse which resembleth the colour of the cleere air before the rising of the sun."

43. *firm*] steadfast, and therefore constant, I suppose.

45. *piece*] *To piece* has two meanings, to mend, and to enlarge, make additions to. See Earle's *Microcosmographie*, 1628, *A young rawe Preacher*: "He has more tricks with a sermon, then a Tailer with an old cloak, to turne it, and *piece* it," etc.; Lyly's *Campaspe*, iv. i.: "He hath found Daedalus old waxen wings, and hath beene *peecing* them this moneth, he is so broade in the shoulders"; Kyd (ed. Boas), *1 Ieronimo*, iii. iv. 11:—

"My armes
Are of the shortest; let your loues
peece them out."

Antony will lay his conquests at Cleopatra's feet to extend her dominion.

48. *arm-gaunt*] See App. I., p. 203.

50. *beastly dumb'd*] "Deep clerks she *dumbs*" (*Pericles*, v. prol. 5), quoted by Steevens, supports this reading. See also Sylvester's *Du Bartas*, 1621 ed., p. 910 (*Job Triumphant*): "He dulls the Learned, *dumbs* the Eloquent," etc. Shakespeare uses *beastly* as an adverb in *Cymbeline*, v. iii. 27, and elsewhere.

56. *That make . . . his*] Compare *King John*, v. i. 50, 51:—

"inferior eyes,
That borrow their behaviour from the great," etc.

59. *mingle*] As a noun, not elsewhere in Shakespeare save iv. viii. 37 *post.* Compare *Poems on Several Occasions*, Sir R. Howard, 1696, *To the Reader*, sig. A 4: "the *Mingle* it has with my private Papers, was the greatest cause, that it received its share in the publick Impression."

60. *The violence . . . becomes*] the compliment of i. i. 49 *ante*, returned.

Alex. Ay, madam, twenty several messengers:
Why do you send so thick?
Cleo. Who's born that day
When I forget to send to Antony,
Shall die a beggar. Ink and paper, Charmian.
Welcome, my good Alexas. Did I, Charmian,
Ever love Cæsar so?
Char. O that brave Cæsar!
Cleo. Be choked with such another emphasis!
Say, the brave Antony.
Char. The valiant Cæsar!
Cleo. By Isis, I will give thee bloody teeth,
If thou with Cæsar paragon again
My man of men.
Char. By your most gracious pardon,
I sing but after you.
Cleo. My salad days,
When I was green in judgement, cold in blood,
To say as I said then. But, come, away;
Get me ink and paper:
He shall have every day a several greeting,
Or I 'll unpeople Egypt. [*Exeunt.*

63-67. *Who's . . . Cæsar so*] As Rowe; prose Ff. 77, 78. *He . . . Egypt*] As Johnson; prose Ff.

65. *Shall die a beggar*] According to Deighton, she infers that the day will be so ill-fated as to carry with it such consequences. Perhaps, however, there is nothing more than a quaint way of expressing the certainty of a daily despatch.

71. *paragon*] match *or* compare with. See Mr. Hart's note on the word in *Othello*, II. i. 62 (*Arden Shakespeare*).

74, 75. *green . . . then*] I have restored the pointing of Ff. The reading generally adopted, *green in judgement: cold in blood, To . . . then!* is Warburton's, who says: "*Cold in blood* is an upbraiding expostulation to her maid. 'Those (says she) were my sallad days, when I was green in judgment; but your blood is as cold as my judgment, if you have the same opinion of things now as I had then.'" Boswell justly objected that *cold* as well as *green* seems "to be suggested by the metaphor *sallad* days"; but besides this, it is more probable that Cleopatra should strengthen her contention with regard to *herself*, and further, do so by adding the physical sensation to the mental attitude, than that she should break off to reproach her maid, whose judgment might be in question, but whose blood was not supposed to take its temperature from Antony. Judgment and beauty only are touched in North, see *ante*, p. xxxi.

ACT II

SCENE I.—*Messina. Pompey's house.*

Enter POMPEY, MENECRATES, *and* MENAS, *in warlike manner.*

Pom. If the great gods be just, they shall assist
The deeds of justest men.
Mene. Know, worthy Pompey,
That what they do delay, they not deny.
Pom. Whiles we are suitors to their throne, decays
The thing we sue for.
Mene. We, ignorant of ourselves,
Beg often our own harms, which the wise powers
Deny us for our good; so find we profit
By losing of our prayers.
Pom. I shall do well:
The people love me, and the sea is mine;
My powers are crescent, and my auguring hope
Says it will come to the full. Mark Antony
In Egypt sits at dinner, and will make
No wars without doors: Cæsar gets money where

Messina. Pompey's house] Capell (substantially). As Rowe; prose in Ft. 2-5. *Know . . . for*] 3. *what*] F; *which* F 2.

5-8. *We . . . prayers*] Mr. Churton Collins (*Studies in Shakespeare*, 1904, p. 29) quotes these lines as a "terse translation" of Juvenal, *Satire* x. 346-52, not attributable to mere coincidence. But it would be surprising if the reflection could be proved to have been any less common in Shakespeare's time than it is to-day.

10. *My powers are crescent*] Compare *Hamlet*, I. iii. 11: "For nature, *crescent*, does not grow alone," etc. Theobald obtained concord with the following *it* by reading *My pow'r's a crescent.* Compare *A Midsummer-Night's Dream*, v. i. 246: "He is no *crescent*"; but the metaphor from the waxing moon, which accounts for *it*, was probably a second thought, and usage did not forbid *it* to relate to a plural noun. So in *Timon of Athens*, III. vi. 101:—

"Who, stuck and spangled with your flatteries,
Washes *it* off," etc.

13. *No wars . . . doors*] An allusion to a commonplace of love poetry:—

He loses hearts: Lepidus flatters both,
Of both is flatter'd; but he neither loves,
Nor either cares for him.

Men. Cæsar and Lepidus
Are in the field: a mighty strength they carry.

Pom. Where have you this? 'tis false.

Men. From Silvius, sir.

Pom. He dreams: I know they are in Rome together,
Looking for Antony. But all the charms of love,
Salt Cleopatra, soften thy waned lip!
Let witchcraft join with beauty, lust with both!
Tie up the libertine in a field of feasts,

16, 18, 38. *Men.*] Malone; *Mene.* F. two lines divided after *field* in Ff. conj.); *wand* Ff; *wan* Pope.

16, 17. *Cæsar . . . carry*] As Hanmer;

21. *waned*] *wan'd* Steevens, 1793 (Percy

22. *both !*] Theobald; *both*, Ff.

"Love calls to war;
Sighs his alarms,
Lips his swords are,
The field his arms."

So Chapman, *Epithal. Teratos* in *Hero and Leander*, 5th Sestiad.

16. *Men.*] Malone altered *Mene.* (Menecrates) to *Men.* for Menas both here and in line 18 conjecturally, as well as in line 38, where the context demands the change. As he says: "It is a matter of little consequence." Johnson gave all to Menas, observing: "I know not why Menecrates appears; Menas can do all without him."

21. *Salt*] lustful; as in *Measure for Measure*, v. i. 406. So D'Avenant, *Albovine*, iv. (*Dramatists of Restoration*, i. 81):—

"Let 'em revel
With their *salt* lips. Th' other sport is fulsome."

waned] In reading *wan'd* Steevens does not decide between the sense "*waned*, declined, gone off from its perfection; comparing Cleopatra's beauty to the moon past the full" (Percy), and that of *wanned* or *made wan*, for which he quotes *Hamlet*, II. ii. 580, where Ff have *warm'd* but Qq *wand:* "That from her [*i.e.* his soul's] working all his visage *wann'd*." With *waned*, the more natural and usually accepted epithet, compare *withered* in Webster, *The White Devil*, II. i. (*Works*, 1857, Hazlitt, ii. 37):—

"You have oft, for these two lips,
Neglected cassia, or the natural sweets
Of the spring-violet; they are not yet much *wither'd*."

Waned frequently occurs in conjunction with cheek, but not with lip. Steevens quotes (anent *wan* or *wanned*) Beaumont and Fletcher, *Queen of Corinth* [IV. i.: p. 15, 1679 folio]: "Now you look *wan* and pale, lips, ghosts ye are." Collier (1843) reading *wand*, suggests *wand-lip* = lip potent as a wand, *i.e.* similarly commanding enchantment, and saw confirmation of his view in *witchcraft*, next line; but Z. Jackson had urged all this in 1819. Collier (1858) reads *wan'd*.

23. *Tie . . . field of feasts*] Mr. Craig supplies me with the following from *A Glossary of Words in the County of Chester* by Robert Holland (Eng. Dial. Soc. 1886, pt. ii.): "*Tied by the tooth*, idiom., a curious expression, explaining why sheep and cattle do not break through fences, though they are bad, because the pasture is good, which prevents rambling. L." The source (L) is Col. Egerton Leigh's *Glossary*, etc., 1877. Perhaps, as Mr. Craig further suggests, though Antony would be like an animal in such a fat pasture, the reference (if any) is merely to the large pasture fields of Shakespeare's day, in which the severally owned portions were not enclosed. The following

Keep his brain fuming; Epicurean cooks
Sharpen with cloyless sauce his appetite;
That sleep and feeding may prorogue his honour
Even till a Lethe'd dulness!

Enter VARRIUS.

How now, Varrius!

Var. This is most certain that I shall deliver:
Mark Antony is every hour in Rome
Expected: since he went from Egypt 'tis
A space for farther travel.

Pom. I could have given less matter
A better ear. Menas, I did not think
This amorous surfeiter would have donn'd his helm
For such a petty war: his soldiership
Is twice the other twain: but let us rear
The higher our opinion, that our stirring
Can from the lap of Egypt's widow pluck
The ne'er-lust-wearied Antony.

Men. I cannot hope

31. *farther*] Ff; *further* Steevens (1793) and several editors. 38. *ne'er*-] Theobald; *ne'er* Pope (ed. 2); *neere* F; *near* F 3.

passages from Elton's *Wm. Shakespeare, his Family and Friends* (1904), are relevant: "The rights incidental to Shakespeare's 'yard-lands' comprised privileges on other people's fallows, called 'hades, leys, and tyings'" (p. 142): "The word 'tyings' meant the right of tethering a horse, hobbled with a 'tye' or chain, so as to graze on the neighbour's herbage" (p. 144). Deighton sees, apparently, an implied contrast in "field of feasts," as he explains: "where he may . . . forget all thoughts of the field of battle."

24. *Epicurean*] Epicúrean, as often accented in Shakespeare's time.

25. *cloyless*] Apparently only used here and in Hogg's *Queen's Wake* (1813), p. 251: "*Cloyless* song, the gift of heaven," quoted by the *New Eng. Dict.*

26, 27. *prorogue . . . Lethe'd dulness*] suspend the operation of his honour till it becomes too insensible to prompt. For *prorogue* = put off, see *Romeo and Juliet*, II. ii. 78, IV. i. 48, and Nash, *Christ's Tears* (*Archaica*, 1815, p. 152): "Though . . . God *prorogueth* our desolation for a while, yet we must not think, but at one time or other, he will smite us and plague us." Nash also uses the word in this sense in *The Unfortunate Traveller* (ed. Gosse, p. 42), and (p. 211) in the sense "prolonged": "No paines I will refuse how euer *prorogued*, to haue a little respite to purifie my spirit."

31. *space*] *i.e.* space of time, time [enough]. Compare *King Lear*, v. iii. 53: "To-morrow, or at further *space*," etc.

35, 36. *rear . . . opinion*] think more highly of ourselves.

37. *Egypt's widow*] See on I. iv. 6 *ante*.

38. *hope*] expect; as, *e.g.* in *Henry V.* III. vii. 77, and Rowley, *A Woman Never Vexed*, II. (Hazlitt's *Dodsley*, xii. 132): "I *hope* thou 'lt vex me." Boswell cites Puttenham (*The Arte of English Poesie*, 1589, lib. iii. p. 263 in Arber's ed.) for ridicule of the word's use in this sense: "Such manner of

Cæsar and Antony shall well greet together:
His wife that's dead did trespasses to Cæsar;
His brother warr'd upon him; although, I think,
Not moved by Antony.

Pom. I know not, Menas,
How lesser enmities may give way to greater.
Were't not that we stand up against them all,
'Twere pregnant they should square between themselves;
For they have entertained cause enough
To draw their swords: but how the fear of us
May cement their divisions and bind up
The petty difference, we yet not know.
Be't as our gods will have't! It only stands
Our lives upon to use our strongest hands.
Come, Menas. [*Exeunt.*

41. *warr'd*] F 2; *wan'd* F. 43, 44. *greater. Were't . . . all,*] Rowe's pointing; *greater, Were't . . . all:* Ff.

vncouth speech did the Tanner of Tamworth vse to king *Edward* the fourth, which Tanner hauing a great while mistaken him, and vsed very broad talke with him, at length perceiuing by his traine that it was the king, was afraide he should be punished for it, said thus with a certaine rude repentance: *I hope I shall be hanged to-morrow.* For [*I feare me*] *I shall be hanged*, whereat the king laughed a good, not only to see the Tanners vaine feare, but also to heare his ill shapen terme," etc.

45. *pregnant*] extremely probable, big with the consequence; one of many figurative uses of the word. Compare *Othello*, II. i. 239: "Now, sir, this granted—as it is a most *pregnant* and unforced position," etc.; D'Avenant, *The Cruel Brother*, v. (*Dramatists of the Restoration*, i. 181):—

"*Cors.* Do ye conclude, then, that I must now die?
Fores. Why is't not apt, and *pregnant* to your sense
It should be so?"

45. *square*] quarrel; as in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, II. i. 30, where Mr. Cuningham (in this *Shakespeare*) cites Cotgrave, "*Se quarrer:* to strout, or square it, looke big on't, carrie his armes a-kemboll braggadochio-like," which shows how this sense became attached to the word. Compare H. Gifford, *A Posie of Gilloflowers*, 1580 (p. 103, Grosart's reprint):—

"When men doe *square* for every fly,
To make them friends the women runne," etc.

48. *cement*] accented as commonly (*cément*). Compare Massinger, *The Unnatural Combat*, I. i.:—

"Being made up again and *cemented*
With a son's blood."

50, 51. *It . . . upon*] Our sole and vital concern must be. For the phrase, compare *Richard II.* II. iii. 138; *Hamlet*, v. ii. 63; Danett's *Comines*, book i. cap. viii. (Tudor Translations, i. 67): "wherefore *it stood him upon* to come armed and well accompanied."

SCENE II.—*Rome. The house of Lepidus.*

Enter ENOBARBUS *and* LEPIDUS.

Lep. Good Enobarbus, 'tis a worthy deed,
And shall become you well, to entreat your captain
To soft and gentle speech.
Eno. I shall entreat him
To answer like himself: If Cæsar move him,
Let Antony look over Cæsar's head
And speak as loud as Mars. By Jupiter,
Were I the wearer of Antonius' beard,
I would not shave 't to-day.
Lep. 'Tis not a time
For private stomaching.
Eno. Every time
Serves for the matter that is then born in 't.
Lep. But small to greater matters must give way.
Eno. Not if the small come first.
Lep. Your speech is passion:
But, pray you, stir no embers up. Here comes
The noble Antony.

Enter ANTONY *and* VENTIDIUS.

Eno. And yonder, Cæsar.

Enter CÆSAR, MÆCENAS, *and* AGRIPPA.

Ant. If we compose well here, to Parthia:
Hark, Ventidius.

Rome . . .] Capell (substantially); *Rome.* Rowe. 7. *Antonius'*] Steevens (1773); *Anthonio's* Ff. 8, 9. *'Tis . . . stomaching*] As Capell; one line Ff. 9, 10. *Every . . . in 't*] As Pope; prose Ff. 10. *born*] F 3; *borne* F. 12-14. *Your . . . Anthony*] As Pope; in Ff 2 lines, divided after *stir*.

8. *I . . . shave't*] *i.e.* I would not remove the temptation to pluck or shake it, if he dare. Compare *King Lear*, III. vii. 76, 77:—

"If you did wear a beard upon your chin,
I'd *shake* it in this quarrel";

Hamlet, IV. vii. 32, etc. My interpretation conflicts with the accepted one (Johnson's), which imports that the speaker would not even show Cæsar the respect of a shorn chin. This is too tame for what precedes.

9. *private stomaching*] indulgence of personal resentments or dislikes. See on III. iv. 12 *post*, and compare the verb in *Ralph Roister Doister*, IV. iii. 34:—

"And where ye halfe *stomaked* this gentleman afore,
For this same letter, ye wyll loue hym now therefore," etc.

15. *compose*] come to an agreement. Compare *composition*, II. vi. 58 *post*, and Jonson, *The New Inn*, IV. iii.:—

"*Compose* with them, and be not angry valiant."

Cæs. I do not know,
Mæcenas; ask Agrippa.
Lep. Noble friends,
That which combined us was most great, and let not
A leaner action rend us. What's amiss,
May it be gently heard: when we debate
Our trivial difference loud, we do commit
Murther in healing wounds: then, noble partners,
The rather for I earnestly beseech,
Touch you the sourest points with sweetest terms,
Nor curstness grow to the matter.
Ant. 'Tis spoken well.
Were we before our armies and to fight,
I should do thus. [*Flourish.*
Cæs. Welcome to Rome.
Ant. Thank you.
Cæs. Sit.
Ant. Sit, sir.
Cæs. Nay, then.
Ant. I learn, you take things ill which are not so,
Or being, concern you not.
Cæs. I must be laugh'd at,
If, or for nothing or a little, I
Should say myself offended, and with you
Chiefly i' the world; more laugh'd at, that I should
Once name you derogately, when to sound your name
It not concern'd me.
Ant. My being in Egypt, Cæsar,
What was't to you?

16, 17. *I . . . Agrippa*] As Capell; one line Ff. 30, 31. *I must . . . a little, I*] As Rowe; one line Ff. 35, 36. *My . . . you*] As Capell; one line Ff.

17-25. *Noble friends*, etc.] "the frendes of both parties would not suffer them to unrippe any old matters," etc. See North, *ante*, p. xxxv.

25. *Nor curstness . . . matter*] "Let not *ill-humour* be added to the real *subject* of our difference" (Johnson). Compare Puttenham, *Arte of English Poesie*, 1589, III. xix. (Arber's reprint, p. 209 [cited in *New Eng. Dict.*]): "With spitefull speach, *curstnesse* and crueltie"; Mabbe's *Celestina*, 1631, ix. (Tudor Trans., p. 168): "There is . . . not any that can indure their tartnesse and *curstnesse*," etc. Ladies who have maid-servants are here the offenders.

27. *I . . . thus*] Some welcoming action or embrace must be understood here, unless Antony is merely asserting that his words would be temperate in any event.

34. *derogately*] in a detracting manner, with disparagement. The sole instance of the word in the *New Eng. Dict.*

Cæs. No more than my residing here at Rome
Might be to you in Egypt: yet, if you there
Did practise on my state, your being in Egypt
Might be my question.
Ant. How intend you, practised?
Cæs. You may be pleased to catch at mine intent
By what did here befal me. Your wife and brother
Made wars upon me, and their contestation
Was theme for you: you were the word of war.
Ant. You do mistake your business; my brother never
Did urge me in his act: I did inquire it;
And have my learning from some true reports
That drew their swords with you. Did he not rather
Discredit my authority with yours,
And make the wars alike against my stomach,

44. *theme*] F 3; *theame* F; *Theam* F 4; *theam'd* Warburton; *then* (*thenne*) Deighton (*Old Dramatists*, 1898).

39. *practise on*] plot or intrigue against, as in *King Lear*, III. ii. 57. Common in this and the sense "craftily play upon," as in *Much Ado About Nothing*, II. i. 398.

40. *my question*] "my business," "a matter that I should particularly enquire into" (Beckett).

42, 43. *Your wife . . . me*] See North, *ante*, p. xxxv.

44. *Was theme for you*] The sense accepted as *intended* by Shakespeare is that conveyed in Staunton's conjecture, *Had you for theme, i.e.* was about *you*; and is also implied in Johnson's *Had theme from you* or *You were theme for*, Malone's *Was them'd from you*, and in other conjectures. Malone argues the necessity of this meaning, and consequent existence of corruption, from what immediately follows. If, however, we are to stand by the text, it is possible to connect *Was theme for you* with *practise* instead, making the words *You were the word of war* confirmatory or evidential rather than explanatory, and punctuating accordingly. (F has a comma after *for you*.) In this event, Cæsar says: "By 'practised' I mean that their quarrel with me supplied you with a theme to work upon, a ground for your intrigues, *witness as proof* the use of your name in the war." Antony deals at once and solely with the *proof* of practice (which my supposition would confine to these last words) without troubling himself to deny the *charge* of practice which depends on it. Steevens quotes *Coriolanus*, I. i. 224: "throw forth greater *themes* For insurrections' arguing," and perhaps was not far wrong in explaining our text: "Was proposed as an example for you to follow on a yet more extensive plan, *as themes* are given for a writer to dilate upon."

word of war] Compare III. i. 31 *post*, and *Richard III.* v. iii. 349: "Our ancient word of courage, fair Saint George," etc.

46. *Did urge . . . act*] Represented his wars as waged in my cause, made capital of my name in the war. Compare *The Weakest Goeth to the Wall*, II. ii. (Hazlitt's Webster, IV. 245): "I trust you will not *urge me* in the matter," where the speaker deprecates being cited as the source of certain information.

47. *reports*] reporters. See on I. iv. 39 *ante*.

49. *Discredit*] *i.e.* Bring into discredit, as in *Measure for Measure*, IV. ii. 30.

50. *stomach*] inclination. Compare *The Tempest*, II. i. 106, 107:—

"You cram these words into mine ears against
The *stomach* of my sense."

Having alike your cause? Of this my letters
Before did satisfy you. If you 'll patch a quarrel,
As matter whole you 've not to make it with,
It must not be with this.

Cæs. You praise yourself
By laying defects of judgement to me; but
You patch'd up your excuses.

Ant. Not so, not so;
I know you could not lack, I am certain on 't,
Very necessity of this thought, that I,
Your partner in the cause 'gainst which he fought,
Could not with graceful eyes attend those wars
Which fronted mine own peace. As for my wife,
I would you had her spirit in such another:

53. *you 've not to make*] Rowe; *you have to make* F and some editors; Hudson (Anon. conj.) *lack* for *have; you have to take* Ff 2-4. 54-56. *You . . . excuses*] As Pope; prose Ff. 56. *patch'd*] F (*patcht*); *patch* F 3.

51. *Having . . . cause*] Since I had as much cause to resent them as you. So I understand the words, but the usual explanation (Steevens's and Malone's) is = Since I was engaged in the same cause with you.

52, 53. *If you 'll . . . with*] If you 'll make a quarrel out of this and that grievance in default of a single sufficing cause. Compare "Wherein necessity, of matter beggared," etc. (*Hamlet*, IV. v. 92). Some, however, reject Rowe's insertion of *not* in line 53, in which case the sense might conceivably be: If . . . grievance, though you have a really sound case to put forward, you must find something better than this. But would Antony admit so much? For the really serious matters he has already disclaimed and continues to disclaim responsibility: the other points (see lines 71-81, 88 *et seq.*) he minimises all he can, and it is to the serious matter that he returns to ask pardon for as its *innocent* cause. That *as* may be rendered "though" may be admitted. Dr. Ingleby (*Shakespeare, The Man and the Book*, pt. i. 147) calls it "the *conjunction of reminder*, being employed . . . to introduce a subsidiary statement, qualifying or even contradicting, what goes before, which the person addressed is required to take for granted," quoting *As You Like It*, III. v. 37, 38; *Measure for Measure*, II. iv. 88, 89; and I. iv. 22 *ante*. It is worth noting, however, that the *as* clause is negative or virtually so in these cases, and in each of several other examples which I have so far met with. Compare *e.g. Love's Labour's Lost*, II. i. 133; Sir Robert Aytoun, *Poems*, ed. Rogers (1844), p. 18:—

"Were thy perfections more
As more they cannot be," etc.;

and Beaumont and Fletcher, *A King and No King*, v. (1679 folio, p. 60): "If it should be so, as 'tis most false," etc. Dr. Ingleby's own rendering of the passage, briefly put, amounts to this: If you 'll patch up an old quarrel already *worn out* by discussion in letters (see line 51)—for (*or* though) you "ought to be able to adduce a new and entire ground of complaint"—you must find a better means than this pretence about my wife and brother. But Rolfe points out that if *have* is the "verb of obligation," as Dr. Ingleby says, *have to* should mean *must*, and not *ought to be able to*,—a conclusive objection.

60. *with graceful . . . attend*] favourably regard. The only instance of *graceful* in this sense in the *New Eng. Dict.*

61. *fronted*] opposed. Compare I. iv. 79 *ante*.

62. *her spirit*] See North, *ante*, pp. xxviii, xxxv.

The third o' the world is yours, which with a snaffle
You may pace easy, but not such a wife.

Eno. Would we had all such wives, that the men might go to wars with the women!

Ant. So much uncurbable, her garboils, Cæsar,
Made out of her impatience, which not wanted
Shrewdness of policy too, I grieving grant
Did you too much disquiet: for that you must
But say, I could not help it.

Cæs. I wrote to you:
When rioting in Alexandria you
Did pocket up my letters, and with taunts
Did gibe my missive out of audience.

Ant. Sir,
He fell upon me ere admitted: then
Three kings I had newly feasted, and did want
Of what I was i' the morning: but next day
I told him of myself; which was as much
As to have ask'd him pardon. Let this fellow
Be nothing of our strife; if we contend,
Out of our question wipe him.

Cæs. You have broken
The article of your oath; which you shall never
Have tongue to charge me with.

Lep. Soft, Cæsar!

Ant. No,
Lepidus, let him speak:
The honour is sacred which he talks on now,

71, 72. *I wrote . . . you*] As Rowe; one line Ff. See note *infra*. 74. *Sir*] As Capell; begins next line in Ff. 75. *admitted: then*] Rowe; *admitted, then:* Ff. 81-83. *You . . . with*] As Rowe; prose Ff. 83, 84. *No, . . . speak*] As Hanmer; one line Ff.

63. *snaffle*] Flecknoe, *Heroick Portraits* (1660), sig. H, uses this figure from horsemanship in speaking of the subjects of Charles I. as "Onely rid with a *snaffle*, and gentle hand."

65, 66. *that the men . . . women*] Probably purposely ambiguous. The lines have always been printed as prose.

67. *garboils*] See on I. iii. 61 *ante*.

71, 72. *I . . . you*] The punctuation (Lloyd conj.) is substantially that of the folio. I agree with Mr. Thiselton in thinking it no improvement to read with modern editors:—

"I wrote to you
When rioting in Alexandria; you".

74. *missive*] messenger. So in *Macbeth*, I. v. 7, Macbeth's letter speaks of Ross and Angus as "*missives* from the king." For Antony's action, see line 1 *ante*, and note on I. i. 52.

85, 86. *The honour . . . it*] Malone is probably right in his view of "Sup-

Supposing that I lack'd it. But, on, Cæsar;
The article of my oath.

Cæs. To lend me arms and aid when I required them;
The which you both denied.

Ant. Neglected, rather;
And then when poison'd hours had bound me up
From mine own knowledge. As nearly as I may,
I 'll play the penitent to you: but mine honesty
Shall not make poor my greatness, nor my power
Work without it. Truth is that Fulvia,
To have me out of Egypt, made wars here;
For which myself, the ignorant motive, do
So far ask pardon as befits mine honour
To stoop in such a case.

Lep. 'Tis noble spoken.

Mæc. If it might please you, to enforce no further
The griefs between ye: to forget them quite
Were to remember that the present need
Speaks to atone you.

Lep. Worthily spoken, Mæcenas.

Eno. Or, if you borrow one another's love for the instant, you may, when you hear no more words of Pompey, return it again: you shall have time to wrangle in when you have nothing else to do.

88, 89. *To . . . denied*] As F 4; prose Ff 1-3. 98. *noble*] F; *nobly* Ff 2-4. 102. *Worthily*] F; *Worthy* F 2. *spoken*] F; *spoke* Steevens, 1793.

posing," etc., which governs his (the usual) interpretation of the passage: "The theme of honour which he now speaks of, namely, the religion of an oath, for which he supposes me not to have a due regard, is sacred; it is a tender point, and touches my character nearly. Let him therefore urge his charge, that I may vindicate myself." Yet in what follows, Antony practically admits that his honour slept in poisoned hours, and the following sense seems not impossible: "He is speaking of an undeniable point of honour, even supposing mine failed me."

94. *without it*] "without mine honesty." So Malone, on whose side is, perhaps, the accentuation of *it*. It may be a question, however, whether he and others do not too readily identify *power* with *greatness*. Perhaps *it* refers to greatness, and Antony declines to exert his *power*, except his *greatness* in no respect suffer diminution, either by his stooping too far or by the way in which his admissions are taken.

95. *To have . . . here*] See North, *ante*, p. xxxv.

98. *noble*] Adjective as adverb. Very common. Compare *Julius Cæsar*, v. i. 60: "thou couldst not die more honourable."

100. *griefs*] grievances; a frequent sense. Compare *Julius Cæsar*, I. iii. 118.

102. *atone*] make at one, reconcile, as in *Cymbeline*, I. iv. 42. So Jonson, *The Silent Woman*, IV. ii.: "Nay, if he had been cool enough to tell us that, there had been some hope to *atone* you."

Ant. Thou art a soldier only: speak no more.
Eno. That truth should be silent I had almost forgot.
Ant. You wrong this presence; therefore speak no more.
Eno. Go to, then; your considerate stone.
Cæs. I do not much dislike the matter, but
The manner of his speech; for 't cannot be
We shall remain in friendship, our conditions
So differing in their acts. Yet, if I knew
What hoop should hold us staunch, from edge to edge
O' the world I would pursue it.
Agr. Give me leave, Cæsar,—
Cæs. Speak, Agrippa.
Agr. Thou hast a sister by the mother's side,
Admired Octavia: great Mark Antony
Is now a widower.
Cæs. Say not so, Agrippa:

107. *soldier only* :] Theobald (;); *Souldier, onely* Ff. 115, 116. *staunch, from . . . world*] Pope's pointing; *staunch from . . . world:* F. 116. *O' the*] *O' th'* Rowe (ed. 2); *A th'* Ff. 118, 120. *Thou . . . widower*] As Rowe; prose Ff. 118. *the*] F; *thy* F 2. 120-122. *Say . . . rashness*] As Theobald; prose Ff. 120. *not so,*] Rowe; *not, say* Ff.

108. *That truth*, etc.] Compare *King Lear*, I. iv. 124: "*Truth's* a dog must to kennel." Grey quotes Ray's *Proverbs*: "All *truth* must not be told at all times."

109. *presence*] august company; as often in Shakespeare. Compare *Ancient Popular and Romance Poetry of Scotland* (ed. Laing and Small, 1885), xvii. 18:—

"The God of most magnificence,
Conserf this high *presens*," etc.

110. *your considerate stone*] Much needless tinkering here began with Johnson's *You considerate ones*. With the metaphor, compare Steevens's excellent examples (1821 Variorum), *e.g. Titus Andronicus*, III. i. 46: "A *stone* is silent, and offendeth not"; *Jacob and Esau* [1568, IV. vi. 18-23, Hazlitt's *Dodsley*, ii. 237]: "Bring thou in thine, Mido, and see thou be a *stone*. *Mido.* A *stone?* how should that be, mistress? . . . *Rebecca.* I meant thou shouldest nothing say"; or a new one from Beaumont and Fletcher, *The Captain*, IV. iv.:—

"Think she is a *stone*:
She is a kind of bawdy confessor,
And will not utter secrets."

Considerate is here = considering, reflective, as in *Richard III.* IV. ii. 30:—

"None are for me
That look into me with *considerate* eyes";

D'Avenant, *Gondibert* (1651), II. ii. 10: "on whose *considerate* brow, Sixtie experienc'd summers he discern'd." Enobarbus obviously means: Very well; have me dumb, but reflective, *i.e.* none the less aware that your friendship will be hollow. *Consideration* occurs in IV. ii. 45 *post.*

113. *conditions*] dispositions, as often. Compare *King Lear*, IV. iii. 35.

115. *What hoop . . . staunch*] Steevens quotes *2 Henry IV.* IV. iv. 43: "A *hoop* of gold to bind thy brothers in." See also *Hamlet*, I. iii. 63.

118. *Thou hast*, etc.] For hence to line 170, see North, *ante*, pp. xxxv-vi.

118. *sister by . . . side*] Octavia was the emperor's own sister, daughter of C. Octavius and his second wife, Atia. An elder sister, daughter of Ancharia, and also named Octavia, is given to Antony by Plutarch (see *ante*, p. xxxvi), but this does not account for Shakespeare's "sister by the mother's side" as some appear to fancy.

If Cleopatra heard you, your reproof
Were well deserved of rashness.

Ant. I am not married, Cæsar: let me hear
Agrippa further speak.

Agr. To hold you in perpetual amity,
To make you brothers, and to knit your hearts
With an unslipping knot, take Antony
Octavia to his wife; whose beauty claims
No worse a husband than the best of men;
Whose virtue and whose general graces speak
That which none else can utter. By this marriage,
All little jealousies, which now seem great,
And all great fears, which now import their dangers,
Would then be nothing: truths would be tales,
Where now half tales be truths: her love to both
Would each to other and all loves to both
Draw after her. Pardon what I have spoke;
For 'tis a studied, not a present thought,
By duty ruminated.

Ant. Will Cæsar speak?

Cæs. Not till he hears how Antony is touch'd
With what is spoke already.

Ant. What power is in Agrippa,
If I would say, "Agrippa, be it so,"
To make this good?

121. *Cleopatra*] F 2; *Cleopater* F. *proofe* F; *approof* Theobald. 123, 124. As Rowe; prose Ff. 129, 130. *No . . . Whose*] As Ff 2-4; one line F. 134, 135. *truths*] F 3; *truth's* F. *reproof*] Hanmer (Warburton conj.);

121, 122. *your reproof . . . rashness*] Abbott (*Shakespearian Grammar*, § 423) thinks we have here a case of the pronominal adjective being placed before the first of two nouns connected by *of*, and that, therefore, *your reproof* connected with *of rashness* is used "where we should say, 'the reproof of your rashness' (unless 'of' here means 'about,' 'for')." The latter alternative, or that *of* = by *or* as a consequence of, seems far more likely in view of the position of the nouns. Compare II. iii. 26 *post*.

133. *import*] carry with them, involve. Compare *King Lear*, IV. iii. 5: "which *imports* to the kingdom so much fear and danger"; and *Richard III.* III. vii. 68.

134. *truths . . . tales*] Compare Yarington, *Two Lamentable Tragedies*, 1601 (Bullen's *Old Plays*, iv. p. 9): "Would Truth were false, so this were but a tale!" Pope read *but tales*, and various other insertions before *tales* have been proposed, for want of appreciating the metrical force of the pause. The sense is that whereas, under present circumstances, reports only partially true are credited [and cause distrust], this marriage would make even true ones [of a disturbing nature] disbelieved, *or* deprive even true ones of significance.

Cæs. The power of Cæsar, and
His power unto Octavia.
Ant. May I never
To this good purpose, that so fairly shows,
Dream of impediment! Let me have thy hand:
Further this act of grace; and from this hour
The heart of brothers govern in our loves
And sway our great designs!
Cæs. There is my hand.
A sister I bequeath you, whom no brother
Did ever love so dearly: let her live
To join our kingdoms and our hearts; and never
Fly off our loves again!
Lep. Happily, amen!
Ant. I did not think to draw my sword 'gainst Pompey;
For he hath laid strange courtesies and great
Of late upon me: I must thank him only,
Lest my remembrance suffer ill report;
At heel of that, defy him.
Lep. Time calls upon 's:
Of us must Pompey presently be sought,
Or else he seeks out us.
Ant. Where lies he?
Cæs. About the Mount Misena.
Ant. What 's his strength
By land?

143, 144. *The . . . Octavia*] As Theobald; Ff divide after *Cæsar.* 146, 147. *hand: Further*] Theobald (semicolon); no stop in Ff. 149. *There is*] Theobald; *There 's* F. 161. *Mount Misena*] *Mount-Mesena* Ff. See note *infra*. 161. *What 's*] Hanmer; *What is* Ff. 161, 162. *What 's . . . land*] As Capell; one line Ff.

144-146. *May . . . impediment*] Compare Sonnet cxvi.:—

"Let me not to the marriage of true minds
Admit *impediments.*"

153. *Fly off*] Compare *King Lear*, II. iv. 91: "The images of revolt and *flying off*"; R. Flecknoe, *Heroick Portraits* (1660), sig. F 2: "and if you deceive them when it comes to the push indeed, and *fly off*, shrink, frown," etc.

157. *remembrance*] memory for favours.

159. *presently*] immediately, as commonly. Compare Pepys's *Diary*, 7th May, 1660: "This morning Captain Cuttance sent me 12 bottles of Margate ale. Three of them I drank *presently* with some friends," etc.; also North, *ante*, p. xxxv.

161. *Mount Misena*] As North (see *ante*, p. xxxvi) has "the Mount of Misena," Shakespeare certainly did not write "Misenum," as corrected by Rowe and successive editors.

Cæs. Great and increasing: but by sea
He is an absolute master.
Ant. So is the fame.
Would we had spoke together! Haste we for it:
Yet, ere we put ourselves in arms, despatch we
The business we have talk'd of.
Cæs. With most gladness;
And do invite you to my sister's view,
Whither straight I'll lead you.
Ant. Let us, Lepidus,
Not lack your company.
Lep. Noble Antony,
Not sickness should detain me.
[*Flourish. Exeunt Cæsar, Antony, and Lepidus.*
Mæc. Welcome from Egypt, sir.
Eno. Half the heart of Cæsar, worthy Mæcenas! My honourable friend, Agrippa!
Agr. Good Enobarbus!
Mæc. We have cause to be glad that matters are so well disgested. You stayed well by't in Egypt.
Eno. Ay, sir; we did sleep day out of countenance, and made the night light with drinking.
Mæc. Eight wild-boars roasted whole at a breakfast, and but twelve persons there; is this true?
Eno. This was but as a fly by an eagle: we had much more monstrous matter of feast, which worthily deserved noting.

162, 163. *but . . . master*] As Hanmer; one line Ff. 168, 169. *Let . . . company*] As Hanmer; one line Ff. 169, 170. *Noble . . . me*] As Hanmer; prose Ff. 170. *Exeunt . . .*] Capell; *Exit omnes. Manet Enobarbus, Agrippa, Mecenas* F; (*Exeunt . . . Manent . . .* Ff 2-4). 176. *disgested*] F; *digested* F 2 and edd.

164. *spoke together*] joined battle. Compare II. vi. 25 *post*, and *Coriolanus*, I. iv. 4.

166. *most*] the greatest, as in *1 Henry VI.* IV. i. 38: "But always resolute in *most* extremes"; Googe, *Eglogs*, 1563 (Arber's repr., p. 126): "Syth that the *most* misfortune nowe," etc.

167. *do*] I do. So in *King Lear*, V. i. 68, *shall* = they shall.

172. *Half . . . Cæsar*] Beloved of Cæsar. Deighton: "the translation of a Latin poetical phrase used by Horace of Vergil, *Odes*, I. iii. 8: *animae dimidium meae.*"

177, 178. Day was put out of countenance, or abashed, by being treated as night, and night made light in a two-fold sense, *i.e.* bright, and either of light-behaviour or light-headed. Enobarbus shares his creator's love of a quibble.

179. *Eight wild-boars*] See North, *ante*, p. xxxiii.

Mæc. She 's a most triumphant lady, if report be square to her.

Eno. When she first met Mark Antony, she pursed up his heart, upon the river of Cydnus.

Agr. There she appeared indeed, or my reporter devised well for her.

Eno. I will tell you.

The barge she sat in, like a burnish'd throne,
Burn'd on the water: the poop was beaten gold;
Purple the sails, and so perfumed that
The winds were love-sick with them; the oars were silver,
Which to the tune of flutes kept stroke, and made
The water which they beat to follow faster,
As amorous of their strokes. For her own person,
It beggar'd all description: she did lie
In her pavilion—cloth of gold, of tissue—

187. *Cydnus*] F 2; *Sidnis* F. 194. *The . . . silver*] As Pope; two lines Ff divided after *love-sicke.* *love-sick with them; the*] pointed as by Pope; *love-sicke. With them the* Ff.

184. *square*] just, as in *Timon of Athens*, v. iv. 36; or perhaps *be square to her* = be adjusted to her, coincide with her true description. Compare F. Spence's *Lucian* (1684), ii. 89: "Thou talkest indeed like a Cæsar, but thy actions are not *squared* accordingly," etc.

187. *Cydnus*] The river of Cilicia on which Tarsus is situated. For the rest of the scene, see North, *ante*, p. xxxii. Mason thinks it due to negligence that Antony is represented as captivated by Cleopatra on *Cydnus*, he being all the time in the market-place (line 215), nay, we may add, being made to yield up his heart later at supper (line 225). But in the mind of Enobarbus, "the quick forge" already glowing with the task before it, I think Antony was already won on *Cydnus;* and, undoubtedly, knowing Antony as he did, he must have reckoned him as good as won when he saw what he reports. Indeed, the emotions of Antony—left in the magically dispeopled city—would carry him far on the road to love. If Clarke's applauded deduction that, as we speak of London on the Thames and the like, "upon the river" = "on the shores of the river" can be accepted, it is, nevertheless, in my view, unnecessary.

188. *devised*] invented; "*devised* well for her" may contain the sense, invented a fine description of her.

191, 192. *The barge . . . Burn'd*] Compare Fairfax's Tasso, *Godfrey of Bulloigne* (1600), XVI. iv., of a representation of the battle of Actium:—

"The waters *burnt* about their vessels good,
Such flames the gold therein enchased threw," etc.

199. *cloth of gold, of tissue*] One of the two current explanations, *viz.*, "cloth of gold in tissue or texture," may, I think, be dismissed; for, like "of Damaske" in "his grace was apparelled in a garment of Clothe of Silver, of Damaske, ribbed with Cloth of Golde, so thicke as might bee" (Hall's *Chronicle*, 1548, Henry VIII. xii. yere, f. lxxvi.), "*of tissue*" added to the otherwise sufficient "*cloth of gold*" must denote something, in view of the independent existence of *tissue* and *cloth of tissue;* whether the intermixture of coloured silks, or else quality, depending on the number of threads in the warp. Compare "Which sat behynde a traues of sylke fyne *Of golde*

O'er-picturing that Venus where we see
The fancy outwork nature: on each side her
Stood pretty dimpled boys, like smiling Cupids,
With divers-colour'd fans, whose wind did seem
To glow the delicate cheeks which they did cool,
And what they undid did.

Agr. O, rare for Antony!

Eno. Her gentlewomen, like the Nereides,

204. *glow*] Rowe; *gloue* F; *glove* F 2. 205. *undid did*] F; Johnson conj. *did, undid;* Staunton, *undy'd, dy'd.*

of tessew, the fynest that might be" (Skelton, *Bouge of Court*, prologue, st. 9), and the following definitions: "*Tissu* of the French *Tissu*, *i.e.* woven cloth of Tissu, with us cloth of silke and silver, or of silver and gold woven together" (Minshew, *Guide to the Tongues*, 1617); "*Tissue*, made of three threads of divers colours of Tissue" (*ibid.*); "to weave cloth *of tissue* with twisted threads both in woofe and warp, and the same in sundry colours was the invention of Alexandria," etc. (Mr. Craig from Holland's *Pliny*, bk. viii., chap. xlviii., pt. i., p. 228, ed. 1634).

The other explanation current is Staunton's, "*cloth of gold* on a ground *of tissue*," which suggests no objection save that the reversal of the positions of *gold* and *tissue* is possible, indeed probable, judging by the frequency of examples. Compare "in a coate of rich *tyssue* cut on cloth of silver" (Hall's *Chronicle*, 1548, Henry VIII. year ix. fol. lxv.); "This gold-ground *Tissue*" (Sylvester's *Du Bartas*, ed. 1621, p. 442, week 2, day 4, bk. ii. line 22); "With gold-ground Velvets, and with silver *Tissue*" (*ibid.* p. 71, week 1, day 3, line 1181). Shakespeare had the phrase from North (see *ante*, p. xxxii), now first supported by other instances: "The Kyng of Englande mounted on a freshe courser, the trapper of *clothe of golde, of Tissue*" (Hall, as before, xii. yere, f. lxxviii.; I owe this reference to Mr. Craig); "The aultars of the Chapell were hanged with riche revesture of *clothe of golde, of Tissue*, Embroidered with pearles" (*ibid.* f. lxxiii.). The Collier MS. correction, "*cloth of gold, and tissue*," was therefore needless, though the phrase apparently occurs. See Nichols, *Progresses of James I.* (1828), ii. 550.

200, 201. *O'er-picturing . . . nature*] Surpassing the picture of Venus in which artistic imagination has outdone nature. Warburton (whose suggestion is still frequently quoted) has: "Meaning the Venus of Protogenes, mentioned by Pliny, l. xxxv., c. x."; but as Pliny records no Venus by Protogenes we must surely substitute that of Apelles (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* lib. xxxv. 36 [x]), whose famous Venus Anadyomene was inferentially said to outdo nature in the poetical assertion that Juno and Pallas would contend no further for the prize of beauty if they saw her. Sylvester says that certain works of art, including Apelles' Venus, "Are proofs enow that learned Painting can, (*sic*) Can (Goddess-like) another Nature frame" (*Du Bartas*, week 1, day 6, 1621 ed. p. 133). North has merely: "apparalleled and attired like the goddess Venus, commonly drawn in picture." Theobald had correctly referred to Apelles' Venus.

203-205. *fans . . . undid did*] According to the syntax the *fans* cooled or "undid" heat, their *wind* seemed to produce it, or "did" the reverse of the action; but the imagination readily identifies the fans with the wind and makes it equally unnecessary to read *winds* or refer *they* to *boys* (line 202). Helen, in Venus' Show (Peele, *The Arraignment of Paris*, ii.), has "four Cupids attending on her, each having his *fan* in his hand to fan fresh air in her face."

206, 207. *Nereides . . . mermaids*] As Steevens observed, the fifty daughters of Nereus and Doris, divinities of the Ægean Sea, were unlike mermaids in having complete human shapes.

So many mermaids, tended her i' the eyes,
And made their bends adornings: at the helm
A seeming mermaid steers: the silken tackle
Swell with the touches of those flower-soft hands,
That yarely frame the office. From the barge
A strange invisible perfume hits the sense
Of the adjacent wharfs. The city cast
Her people out upon her; and Antony,
Enthroned i' the market-place, did sit alone,
Whistling to the air; which, but for vacancy,
Had gone to gaze on Cleopatra too
And made a gap in nature.

Agr. Rare Egyptian!

Eno. Upon her landing, Antony sent to her,
Invited her to supper: she replied,
It should be better he became her guest;
Which she entreated: our courteous Antony,
Whom ne'er the word of "No" woman heard speak,
Being barber'd ten times o'er, goes to the feast,
And for his ordinary pays his heart
For what his eyes eat only.

209. *tackle*] F; *tackles* F 2. 217. *Cleopatra*] F 2; *Cleopater* F.

207. *tended her i' the eyes*] waited in her sight, accessibly to her least word or beck, unless a suggestion in the next note is adopted (see Appendix II., pp. 209-11). The following new example seems especially to favour this common interpretation: Chapman translates "Flos Asiae ante ipsum" (Juvenal, *Sat.* v. l. 56) by "*In his eye* waits the flower of Asia," where the intention is to contrast a rich host's personal attendant with the rude slaves who minister to his guests. Steevens quotes *Hamlet*, IV. iv. 6: "We shall express our duty *in his eye*." See also *Troilus and Cressida*, I. ii. 264: "I could live and die *i' the eyes* of Troilus"; *A Midsummer-Night's Dream*, III. i. 168: "Hop in his walks and gambol *in his eyes*"; R. Braithwaite, *To Captaine Sadler:* see bibliography before *Barnabee's Journal* (Hazlitt), 1876, p. 188: "Mayst thou live in Honour's *eye*."

208. *made . . . bends adornings*] For the various interpretations of this much vexed passage, see Appendix II., pp. 209-14.

209. *tackle*] collective; sails, ropes, etc.

211. *yarely*] readily, nimbly. So in *The Tempest*, I. i. 4: "fall to't, *yarely*, or we run ourselves aground."

frame] perform, manage. See *King Lear*, I. ii. 107; Basse, *Works* (ed. Bond), p. 232: "wish'd to *frame* these rites to you," etc.

213. *wharfs*] banks. So in *Hamlet*, I. v. 33: "on Lethe *wharf*."

216. *but for vacancy*] "Alluding to an axiom in the peripatetic philosophy then in vogue, that *Nature abhors a vacuum*" (Warburton). Compare Sylvester's *Du Bartas*, p. 9, in ed. 1621: "To all, so odious is *Vacuitie*"; *ibid.* p. 243: "Sith there 's no voyd in th' All-circumference."

225. *ordinary*] supper. The ordinary, or regular public dinner, was a very flourishing institution in Shakespeare's time, and a convenient centre

Agr. Royal wench!
She made great Cæsar lay his sword to bed:
He plough'd her, and she cropp'd.
Eno. I saw her once
Hop forty paces through the public street;
And having lost her breath, she spoke, and panted,
That she did make defect perfection,
And, breathless, power breathe forth.
Mæc. Now Antony must leave her utterly.
Eno. Never; he will not:
Age cannot wither her, nor custom stale
Her infinite variety: other women cloy
The appetites they feed: but she makes hungry
Where most she satisfies; for vildest things
Become themselves in her, that the holy priests
Bless her when she is riggish.
Mæc. If beauty, wisdom, modesty, can settle

232. *breathless, power breathe*] Ff 3, 4, with comma inserted by Pope; *breathlesse powre breath* F; (*power*) F 2. 232-234. *And, . . . will not*] Two lines in Hanmer, divided after *Antony*. 238. *vildest*] F; *vilest* F 4 and edd.

for news-gathering, discussion, dicing, etc. For its humours, see Dekker, *The Gull's Hornbook*, 1609, chap. v., *How a yong Gallant should behaue himselfe in an Ordinary*. His instructions begin thus: "First, hauing diligently enquired out an Ordinary of the largest reckoning, whither most of your Courtly Gallants do resort, let it be your vse to repaire thither some halfe houre after eleuen; for then you shall find most of your fashionmongers planted in the roome waiting for meate."

227. *Cæsar*] See on II. vi. 68-70 *post*.

228. *cropp'd*] See North, extracts, *ante*, p. xlii, and North's Plutarch, 1579, *Julius Cæsar* (Tudor Trans., v. 52): "Thereuppon Cæsar made Cleopatra his [*i.e.* the king's] sister, Queene of Ægypt, who being great with childe by him, was shortly brought to bedde of a sonne, whom the Alexandrians named Cæsarion"; and *ibid.* in margin: "Cæsarion, Cæsars sonne, begotten of Cleopatra." Marston uses the word in a similar connection, but transitively, see *2 Antonio and Mellida*, 1602, I. i. 26:—

"He wan the ladie to my honours death,
And from her sweetes *cropt* this Antonio."

232. *power . . . forth*] did breathe forth charm, *i.e.* made her want of breath a source of fascination. F text yields rather Daniel's *pour breath forth*, and might forbid change, were the clause co-ordinate with *spoke, and panted*. But as a consequence of speaking and panting it is lame, and if = *sing* (Staunton, *Athenæum*, 1873, Apl. 12) becomes lamer.

238, 239. *for vildest . . . her*] Compare I. iv. 21 *ante*.

240. *riggish*] wanton. So in Lane's *Tom Tel-Troth's Message*, etc., 1600 (New Shakespeare Soc., 1876), stanza 52: "Their *riggish* heads must be adorned with tires," etc. The substantive *rig* = strumpet is common; the verb (=to gad) occurs in Lyly's *Midas*, I. ii. (*Works*, ed. Fairholt, ii. 13).

The heart of Antony, Octavia is
A blessed lottery to him.

Agr. Let us go.
Good Enobarbus, make yourself my guest
Whilst you abide here.

Eno. Humbly, sir, I thank you.
[*Exeunt.*

SCENE III.—*The same. Cæsar's house.*

Enter ANTONY, CÆSAR, OCTAVIA *between them, and Attendants.*

Ant. The world and my great office will sometimes
Divide me from your bosom.

Octa. All which time
Before the gods my knee shall bow my prayers
To them for you.

Ant. Good night, sir. My Octavia,
Read not my blemishes in the world's report:
I have not kept my square; but that to come
Shall all be done by the rule. Good night, dear lady.
Good night, sir.

Cæs. Good night. [*Exeunt Cæsar, Octavia, and Attendants.*

243-245. *Let . . . here*] verse Rowe; prose Ff.

Scene III.

The same. . . .] Capell (substantially). *Enter . . .*] *Enter . . . them* Ff; *Enter Cæsar, Antony . . . them; Attendants behind, and Soothsayer.* Capell. 1, 2. *The . . . bosom*] As Rowe; divided after *will* in Ff. 2-4. *All . . . you*] As Rowe; prose Ff. 8. *Good night, sir*] F; assigned to Octavia in later Ff. 9. *Exeunt . . .*] Capell; *Exeunt Cæsar and Octavia* Rowe; *Exit* Ff.

243. *lottery*] allotment, prize. Similarly *lotteth*=allotteth: "Thee towns neglecting, that to hym set destenye lotteth" (Stanyhurst's *Virgil*, iv. [ed. Arber], p. 102); *lotted*=allotted: "thou didst spend thy lotted days" (*A Collection of Seventy-nine Black-Letter Ballads*, etc., p. 264, Lilly, 1867).

Scene III.

3. *bow my prayers*] A bold expression. Rowe read *in prayers*; Collier MS., *with prayers*; on which Collier (1858): "but if any change were desirable, it would rather be 'my prayers shall bow my knee.'"

6. *kept my square*] kept within due bounds. Compare George Herbert, *The Temple*, "The Discharge," line 32:—

"Man and the present fit; if he
provide (*i.e.* look ahead)
He breaks the *square*";

Churchyard, *Worthiness of Wales*, 1587 (reprint 1776, p. 59): "makes them blush . . . That babble out of *square*"; Quarles, *Boanerges and Barnabas* (1674 ed., p. 115): "'Tis true, I have not led my life according to the Pharisaical *square* of their *opinions*," etc.

Enter Soothsayer.

Ant. Now, sirrah; you do wish yourself in Egypt? 10
Sooth. Would I had never come from thence, nor you
Thither!
Ant. If you can, your reason?
Sooth. I see it in
My motion, have it not in my tongue: but yet
Hie you to Egypt again.
Ant. Say to me, 15
Whose fortunes shall rise higher, Cæsar's or mine?
Sooth. Cæsar's.
Therefore, O Antony, stay not by his side:
Thy demon, that thy spirit which keeps thee, is
Noble, courageous, high, unmatchable, 20
Where Cæsar's is not; but, near him, thy angel
Becomes a fear, as being o'erpower'd: therefore
Make space enough between you.

Enter Soothsayer] omitted by Capell. 11, 12. *Would . . . Thither*] As Capell; prose Ff, and several editors. 13-16. *I . . . mine*] As Capell; in Ff lines end *tongue, . . . againe. . . . higher . . . mine?* Many editors as prose. 17, 18. *Cæsar's . . . side*] As Capell; one line Ff. 19. *that thy*] F; *that 's thy* F 2. 20. *high, unmatchable*] F 3; F, F 2 omit comma; anon. conj. hyphened. 22. *a fear,*] Theobald; *a feare:* F. *o'erpower'd:*] *o'repowr'd*, F; . . . *and* F 2.

10. For remainder of scene, see North, *ante*, p. xxxvii.

12. *Thither*] Mason conjectures and Hudson adopts *hither*.

13, 14. *in My motion*] in the involuntary movement of my brain, *i.e.* intuitively, "by self unable motion" (*All's Well that Ends Well*, III. i. 13). Compare Lord Herbert, *Occasional Verses* (1665), in preface: "belief . . . that their Poets, as Orpheus, Linus, and Musæus, were descended of the Gods, and divinely inspired, from the extraordinary *Motions* of their Minds," etc.; F. Spence's *Lucian* (1684), *The Epistle Dedicatory*, sig. B 7: "In his Works he has coucht . . . a perfect *Anatomy* of the Passions and *inward Motions* of Man," etc. Shakespeare seems to use the singular variously for the operation of the mind and the natural impulses. Compare *Othello*, I. ii. 75; I. iii. 95. On the Soothsayer, see notes on Act I. sc. ii. *ante*.

19. *that thy*] Some editors read *that 's* with Ff 2-4, comparing North, *q.v.*, p. xxxvii *ante*. In support of the text Rolfe refers to III. v. 17; IV. xiv. 79 *post; Macbeth*, I. vii. 53, etc.

19-22. See North, *ante*, p. xxxvii, for this allusion to the ancient belief that a guardian spirit attends each of us from birth, to guide and admonish; and compare *Macbeth*, III. i. 54-57:—

"There is none but he
Whose being I do fear: and under him,
My Genius is rebuked; as, it is said,
Mark Antony's was by Cæsar."

22. *Becomes a fear*] Collier (ed. 2) reads *afeard*, the conjecture of Thirlby and Upton. But the metaphor, besides being more poetical, was probably intended to emphasize far more vividly than *afeard* would do, the utter nullification of the great qualities cumulated in line 20. One of George Herbert's *Outlandish Proverbs* (1640), No. 591, is: "To have money is a *feare*, not to have it a griefe."

Ant. Speak this no more.
Sooth. To none but thee; no more, but when to thee.
If thou dost play with him at any game,
Thou art sure to lose; and, of that natural luck,
He beats thee 'gainst the odds: thy lustre thickens,
When he shines by: I say again, thy spirit
Is all afraid to govern thee near him;
But, he away, 'tis noble.
Ant. Get thee gone:
Say to Ventidius I would speak with him:
[*Exit Soothsayer.*
He shall to Parthia. Be it art or hap,
He hath spoken true: the very dice obey him;
And in our sports my better cunning faints
Under his chance: if we draw lots, he speeds;
His cocks do win the battle still of mine
When it is all to nought; and his quails ever
Beat mine, inhoop'd, at odds. I will to Egypt:
And though I make this marriage for my peace,
I' the east my pleasure lies.

24. *To . . . thee,*] Theobald's pointing; *To none but thee no more but: when to thee,* F; *. . . thee no more, but . . . thee,* F 2. 30. *he away, 'tis*] Pope; *he alway 'tis* F; *he alway is* F 2. 31. *Exit Soothsayer*] *Exit Sooth.* Rowe; *Exit.* Ff. 31, 40. *Ventidius*] F 2; *Ventigius* F.

27. *thickens*] grows dim, is no longer clear and bright. So in *Macbeth*, III. ii. 50, "Light *thickens*."

38. *inhoop'd, at odds*] If confined within a hoop the birds could not avoid fighting. Farmer quotes the two first lines of one of John Davies of Hereford's Epigrams [*Vpon English Proverbes*, No. 287; *Scourge of Folly*, p. 47 (*Works*, ed. Grosart, vol. ii.)]:—

"'Hee sets cocke on the hoope' in you would say:
For cocking in hoopes is now all the play.
And therefore no maruell mens stockes often droope,
That still vse the cocke-pit to set cocke *in hoope*."

The first line is in the original incorrectly, "'He sets cocke on the hoope in,'" etc.; the sense of the phrase in the last is illustrated by a reference of Mr. Craig's to Horman's *Vulgaria*: "He setteth all things at cock in the *hope*: omnia in fortunae casibus ponit." This epigram makes it clear that Shakespeare embellished what he took here from North, by an allusion to the practice of his own time in cock-fighting; and disposes of Capell's reading (Seward's conjecture), *in whoop'd-at odds* (*i.e.* odds so much in Antony's favour as to excite the cries of the onlookers), notwithstanding frequent spellings like *Hoop'd* for *Whoop'd* in *Coriolanus*, IV. v. 84. Douce (*Illustrations of Shakespeare*, 1807, ii. pp. 86/7) says: "Quail combats were well known among the ancients, and especially at Athens. Julius Pollux relates that a circle was made in which the birds were placed, and he whose quail was driven out of this circle lost the stake," etc. He also gives an illustration of the sport among the Chinese, copied from a Chinese miniature painting, in which the quails are actually placed within a hoop, a small, low circular enclosure, set on a table,

Enter VENTIDIUS.

O, come, Ventidius,
You must to Parthia: your commission 's ready;
Follow me, and receive 't. [*Exeunt.*

SCENE IV.—*The same. A street.*

Enter LEPIDUS, MÆCENAS, *and* AGRIPPA.

Lep. Trouble yourselves no further: pray you, hasten
Your generals after.
Agr. Sir, Mark Antony
Will e'en but kiss Octavia, and we 'll follow.
Lep. Till I shall see you in your soldier's dress,
Which will become you both, farewell.
Mæc. We shall,
As I conceive the journey, be at the Mount
Before you, Lepidus.
Lep. Your way is shorter;
My purposes do draw me much about:
You 'll win two days upon me.
Mæc. } Sir, good success!
Agr. }
Lep. Farewell. [*Exeunt.*

Enter Ventidius] As in Dyce; *Enter Ventigius* (after line 40) in F.

Scene IV.

The Same. A Street] Capell. 1, 2. *Trouble . . . after*] As Rowe; prose Ff. 2, 3. *Sin . . . follow*] As Theobald; prose Ff. 5-9. *We shall . . . me*] As Pope; prose Ff. 6. *at the*] F 2; *at* F. 9. *Mæc. Agr.*] Capell; *Both.* Ff.

6. *Mount*] Mount Misenum. See II. ii. 161 *ante*, and North, *ante*, p. xxxvi.

9. *win . . . upon me*] Compare Jonson, *The New Inn*, II. i.: "You will *win upon me* in compliment."

good success] so in *King Lear*, v. iii. 194: "this *good success*." The word was used for result, good or bad. Compare Daniel, *Hymen's Triumph*, III. ii. (l. 1133) (*Works*, ed. Grosart, iii. 372):—

"That learns his errours but by their *successe*,
And when there is no remedie."

See also III. v. 5 *post*.

SCENE V.—*Alexandria. Cleopatra's palace.*

Enter CLEOPATRA, CHARMIAN, IRAS, *and* ALEXAS.

Cleo. Give me some music; music, moody food
Of us that trade in love.
Attend. The music, ho!

Enter MARDIAN *the Eunuch.*

Cleo. Let it alone; let's to billiards: come, Charmian.
Char. My arm is sore; best play with Mardian.
Cleo. As well a woman with an eunuch play'd
As with a woman. Come, you'll play with me, sir?
Mar. As well as I can, madam.
Cleo. And when good will is show'd, though 't come too short,
The actor may plead pardon. I'll none now:
Give me mine angle; we'll to the river: there,
My music playing far off, I will betray
Tawny-finn'd fishes; my bended hook shall pierce
Their slimy jaws; and, as I draw them up,
I'll think them every one an Antony,
And say "Ah, ha! you're caught."

Alexandria. . . .] Capell (substantially); *Alexandria.* Rowe; *The Palace in Alexandria* Theobald. *Cleopatra*] F 2; *Cleopater* F. 2. *Of*] As Rowe; *of* F, as if lines 1, 2 prose. 2. *Attend.*] *Att.* Capell; *Omnes* F. 3. *billiards*] F 2; *billards* F. 5, 6. As Rowe; prose Ff. 8. As Rowe; two lines Ff. 10. *river: there*] *river, there* Ff. 2-4; *river there* F. 11. *off, I*] F 4; *off. I* F. 12. *Tawny-finn'd*] Theobald; *Tawny fine* F; hyphened F 3; *Tawny-fin* Rowe. 15. *you 're*] Rowe; *y' are* F.

1. *moody food*] Compare *Twelfth Night*, I. i. i.: "If music be the *food* of love, play on." Moody = melancholy: Quarles uses it nobly of the passing bell: "This *moody* musick of impartial *death*." See his "Pentelogia," *Mors Tua*, i. 9.

2. *trade in*] Probably much as now, "have dealings in," etc.; but the word (verb and noun) retained senses nearer that of its source, *tread*. Compare Sylvester's *Du Bartas*, week II, day II, part iii. p. 282, ed. 1621: "Ships . . . To *trade* the seas"; Cartwright, *Poems*, 1651, p. 312:—

"Thine equall skill thus wresting nothing, made
Thy Pen seem not so much to write, as *Trade*."

Turbervile, *The Speech of Reason against Love* (repr. in *The Muses Library*, 1741, p. 192), uses the noun of lustful intercourse:—

"They spent their youthfull Yeares
In foule, and filthie *Trade*," etc.

3. *billiards*] Dr. Hudson is severe on the critics for pointing out that billiards is an anachronism here. In his view (with which one may sympathise) it would have been a greater error to mention some game which the majority of the play's auditors had never heard of. Yet, if there had been a corresponding passage in North, mentioning such a game, I expect it would have reappeared here. See Appendix I.

Char. 'Twas merry when
You wager'd on your angling; when your diver
Did hang a salt-fish on his hook, which he
With fervency drew up.

Cleo. That time—O times!—
I laugh'd him out of patience; and that night
I laugh'd him into patience: and next morn,
Ere the ninth hour, I drunk him to his bed;
Then put my tires and mantles on him, whilst
I wore his sword Philippan.

Enter a Messenger.

O, from Italy!
Ram thou thy fruitful tidings in mine ears,
That long time have been barren.

Mess. Madam, madam,—

15-18. *'Twas . . . up*] As Pope; prose Ff. 18. *time—O times!*—] Collier; *time!—oh times!*— Rowe; *time? oh times:* F. 23. *Enter . . .*] As Collier; after *Italie* in Ff. 24. *Ram*] F; *Rain* Hanmer. 25. *been*] *bin* F. 26-28. *Antonius . . . here*] Dyce's arrangement; Ff divide after *dead*, . . . *Mistris*: . . . *him*. . . . *heere* (four lines).

15-18. *'Twas merry*, etc.] See North, *ante*, p. xxxiv. Nash, *Lenten Stuffe*, 1599 (ed. Hindley, 1871, p. 93), has a story of a scholar in Cambridge who amused "the gaping rural fools" by drawing up a red herring, with which he had secretly baited his hook, at the town-bridge there. There is also a story quoted by Dr. Grey (*Critical, etc., Notes on Shakespeare*, 1754, ii. 198) from *Memoirs of the English Court*, 1707, pp. 489, 490, that Nell Gwynn similarly caused Charles II. to draw up a dozen fried smelts, and the Prince of Newburg a purse containing "the picture of my Lady ——" set in gold and jewelled. "Cleopatra," said the king, "caused a *sardian* to be tied to *Mark Anthony's* hook, but you exceed her in your contrivance; for you bestow pictures, which are much more acceptable."

22. *tires*] usually understood here as =head-dresses. Compare *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, III. iii. 60; Chapman, *A Justification of a Strange Action of Nero*, 1629: "it shall no more be tortured with curling bodkins, tied up each night in knots, wearied with *tires*," etc. In sense *attire*, the word is also common. Compare Heywood, *The Brazen Age* (*Works*, Pearson, iii. 245): "Hence with these womanish *tyres*," said by Hercules, Antony's supposed ancestor, with whose treatment by Omphale in this point there is a resemblance here, intentional or otherwise, as has been observed. Compare also Rowlands, *The Knave of Harts*, 1613 (Percy Society, No. xxxiv. p. 74): "Reach me my stockings, and my other *tire*."

23. *Philippan*] The contrast is heightened by selecting the sword which triumphed in the overthrow of Brutus and Cassius at Philippi. *Philippan* is doubtless noun, not adjective, though, as Theobald points out, we have no warrant for supposing swords to have received names till very much later times.

24. *Ram*] Some read *Rain* with Hanmer, but *Ram* is thoroughly characteristic, and is supported by Malone's references to *Julius Cæsar*, v. iii. 74: "thrusting this report Into his ears," and *The Tempest*, II. i. 106: "You cram these words into my ears," etc. Compare also Jonson's use of *rammed*: "And for his poesy, 'tis so *rammed* with life" (*The Poetaster*, v. i. 136).

Cleo. Antonius dead!—If thou say so, villain,
Thou kill'st thy mistress: but well and free,
If thou so yield him, there is gold, and here
My bluest veins to kiss; a hand that kings
Have lipp'd, and trembled kissing.
Mess. First, madam, he is well.
Cleo. Why, there's more gold.
But, sirrah, mark, we use
To say the dead are well: bring it to that,
The gold I give thee will I melt and pour
Down thy ill-uttering throat.
Mess. Good madam, hear me.
Cleo. Well, go to, I will;
But there's no goodness in thy face: if Antony
Be free and healthful,—so tart a favour
To trumpet such good tidings! If not well,
Thou shouldst come like a Fury crown'd with snakes,
Not like a formal man.
Mess. Will't please you hear me?

26. *Antonius*] Delius; *Anthonyo's* F; *Anthony's* F 2. 28. *him, there*] Pope (ed. 2); *him. There* F. 33. *it to*] F; *me to* Ff 2-4. 37. *face: if*] Rowe (full stop); *face if* F; *face, if* Ff 2-4, Delius. 38. *so*] F; *why so* Rowe.

27. *mistress*] The word may be trisyllabic here, like *frustrate*, v. i. 2 *post*, and according to a very common practice of syllabifying *r*. Compare *Romeo and Juliet*, II. iv. 210, and Sylvester's *Du Bartas*, week 1, day 3, p. 67 in 1621 ed.:—

"Wherewith he wooes his *Iron Misteriss*,
And never leaues her till he get a kiss," etc.

But the pause after *mistress* is sufficient for metre, and the quicker enunciation more in agreement with the speaker's mood.

29. *bluest*] deep blue.

33. *the dead are well*] Compare *2 Kings* iv. 26. The same thought occurs in *Macbeth*, IV. iii. 176, 177: "*Macd.* How does my wife? *Ross.* Why well. *Macd.* And all my children? *Ross.* Well too"; *2 Henry IV.* v. ii. 111; *Romeo and Juliet*, IV. v. 76, etc. Mr. Churton Collins (*Studies in Shakespeare*, 1904, p. 54) notes the parallel with Euripides, *Troades*, 268: εὐδαιμόνιζε παῖδα σήν· ἔχει καλῶς.

34, 35. *The gold . . . throat*] Perhaps suggested by the treatment of Crassus' body by Orodes. See on III. i. 2 *post*.

38, 39. *so tart . . . tidings*] so sour an aspect, etc. Compare *Romeo and Juliet*, II. v. 23, 24:—

"If good, thou sham'st the music of sweet news
By playing it to me with *so sour a face*."

Also *Cymbeline*, III. iv. 11-14. *Favour* is very common for "face," "appearance," etc.; so in *Othello*, I. iii. 346.

41. *a formal man*] Here merely, I think, with Malone, a man in shape or form, though in *The Comedy of Errors*, v. i. 105, the phrase means a man in his normal condition of mind; as also elsewhere. Chester, *Love's Martyr* (ed. Grosart, New Shakspere Soc. p. 108), speaks of the bear bringing forth:

"A lump of flesh without all fashion,
Which she by often licking brings to rest,
Making a *formal* body good and sound," etc.

"A mere *formall man*" in Earle's

Cleo. I have a mind to strike thee ere thou speak'st:
Yet, if thou say Antony lives, is well,
Or friends with Cæsar, or not captive to him,
I'll set thee in a shower of gold, and hail
Rich pearls upon thee.
Mess. Madam, he's well.
Cleo. Well said.
Mess. And friends with Cæsar.
Cleo. Thou'rt an honest man.
Mess. Cæsar and he are greater friends than ever.
Cleo. Make thee a fortune from me.
Mess. But yet, madam,—
Cleo. I do not like "But yet," it does allay
The good precedence; fie upon "But yet"!
"But yet" is as a gaoler to bring forth
Some monstrous malefactor. Prithee, friend,
Pour out the pack of matter to mine ear,
The good and bad together: he's friends with Cæsar;
In state of health, thou say'st; and, thou say'st, free.
Mess. Free, madam! no; I made no such report:
He's bound unto Octavia.
Cleo. For what good turn?
Mess. For the best turn i' the bed.
Cleo. I am pale, Charmian.

43. *is*] Capell (Tyrwhitt conj.); *'tis* F. 47. *Thou 'rt*] *Th' art* Ff.

Micro-cosmographie (1628) is one that is mere outside, all he does or says being pure imitation: "When you have seen him *outside*, you have lookt through him, and need imploy your discouery no further". See also Sylvester's *Du Bartas*, week 1, day 2, 1621 ed., p. 22: "Things birth, or death, change but their *formall* clothing."

45, 46. *I 'll . . . thee*] Warburton is, doubtless, too specific in making this = "I will give thee a kingdom," because of an Eastern coronation ceremony alluded to by Milton, *Paradise Lost*, II. 4:—

"Or where the gorgeous East with richest hand
Show'rs on her kings barbaric pearl and gold."

Cleopatra, however, proffers a province in line 68 *post*.

50, 51. *does allay . . . precedence*] qualifies the good [news] that preceded it. Compare for *precedence*, *Love's Labour's Lost*, III. i. 83. Daniel, in *Hymen's Triumph* (1615), II. iv. (line 901 in Grosart's *Daniel*) imitates with:—

"But—*Clo.* Ah now comes that bitter vvord of But
Which makes all nothing, that vvas said before."

There are several verbs *allay* (whence confusion, see *New Eng. Dict.*), and the word here is not *allay* = alleviate, but belongs to *allay* = put down, abate, confused with *allay* = alloy; whence comes: temper or qualify by admixture of something undesirable, as here. Among earlier and later examples, the *New Eng. Dict.* quotes, 1759 Johnson, *Rasselas*, xxvi. (1787) 71: "Benefits are *allayed* by reproaches."

Mess. Madam, he's married to Octavia.
Cleo. The most infectious pestilence upon thee!
[*Strikes him down.*
Mess. Good madam, patience.
Cleo. What say you? Hence,
[*Strikes him again.*
Horrible villain! or I'll spurn thine eyes
Like balls before me; I'll unhair thy head:
[*She hales him up and down.*
Thou shalt be whipp'd with wire, and stew'd in brine,
Smarting in lingering pickle.
Mess. Gracious madam,
I that do bring the news made not the match.
Cleo. Say 'tis not so, a province I will give thee
And make thy fortunes proud: the blow thou hadst
Shall make thy peace for moving me to rage;
And I will boot thee with what gift beside
Thy modesty can beg.
Mess. He's married, madam.
Cleo. Rogue, thou hast lived too long. [*Draws a knife.*
Mess. Nay, then I'll run.
What mean you, madam? I have made no fault. [*Exit.*
Char. Good madam, keep yourself within yourself:
The man is innocent.
Cleo. Some innocents 'scape not the thunderbolt.
Melt Egypt into Nile! and kindly creatures
Turn all to serpents! Call the slave again:
Though I am mad, I will not bite him: call.

62, 63. *Hence . . . eyes*] As Capell; one line Ff. 62. *Strikes him again*] Ff, omitting *again; Striking . . .* Capell. 73. *Draws . . .*] *Draw . . .* Ff.

65. *whipp'd with wire*] So in Nash, *The Unfortunate Traveller* (1594, ed. Gosse, 1892), p. 195: "Then did they scourge hys backe parts so blistered and basted, with burning whips of red hot *wire*"; Sylvester's Du Bartas, *The Decay*, p. 503 in ed. 1621: "With *wyery* Rods, thou shalt to death bee *whipt*."

66. *lingering pickle*] *either* long-continuing pickle, *or* pickle whose effects will be so.

71. *boot thee with*] give thee into the bargain, *or merely* benefit thee with; *New Eng. Dict.*, "benefit, increase, enrich," giving this passage only for this sense. The noun (= something over and above, advantage) occurs in IV. i. 9 *post.*

77. *innocents*] This is perhaps a play on the sense fools, naturals, occurring *e.g.* in *King Lear*, III. vi. 8.

78. *Melt . . . Nile*] Compare I. i. 33 *ante.*

Char. He is afeard to come.
Cleo. I will not hurt him.
[*Exit Charmian.*

These hands do lack nobility, that they strike
A meaner than myself; since I myself
Have given myself the cause.

Re-enter CHARMIAN *and Messenger.*

Come hither, sir.
Though it be honest, it is never good
To bring bad news: give to a gracious message
An host of tongues; but let ill tidings tell
Themselves when they be felt.
Mess. I have done my duty.
Cleo. Is he married?
I cannot hate thee worser than I do,
If thou again say "Yes".
Mess. He's married, madam.
Cleo. The gods confound thee! dost thou hold there still?
Mess. Should I lie, madam?
Cleo. O, I would thou didst,
So half my Egypt were submerged and made
A cistern for scaled snakes! Go get thee hence:

81. *Exit Charmian*] Dyce; omitted in Ff. 84. *Re-enter . . .*] Dyce; *Enter the Messenger againe.* Ff (after *sir.*). 92. As Rowe; two lines Ff.

82, 83. *These hands . . . myself*] Steevens saw an allusion here to the laws of chivalry, which "forbade a knight to engage with his inferior"; but chastisement has nothing to do with combat on equal terms. There is another difficulty: are there two reasons for lack of nobility? (1) the blow to an inferior, (2) the wrong assignment of blame; or, as I am half inclined to think, only one, the latter, thus: My hands act ignobly in bestowing blows on any less person than myself, for I myself am the real offender who has deserved them. Malone (see also III. iii. 14) sees a probable hit at Queen Elizabeth's temper, after her death, when it "*might be safely hazarded!*" The italics are mine. As an illustration, however, Harington to Sir Hugh Portman (9th Oct., 1601) may be quoted (*Nugæ Antiquæ*, ed. 1769, i. 46): ". . . the many evil plots and designs hath overcome all her Highness sweet temper. She walks much in her privy chamber, and stamps with her feet at ill news, and thrusts her rusty sword at times into the arras in great rage."

95-97. *Go . . . ugly*] Steevens quotes *King John*, III. i. 36, 37:—

"Fellow, be gone: I cannot brook
thy sight:
This news hath made thee a most
ugly man."

Hadst thou Narcissus in thy face, to me
Thou wouldst appear most ugly. He is married?
Mess. I crave your highness' pardon.
Cleo. He is married?
Mess. Take no offence that I would not offend you:
To punish me for what you make me do
Seems much unequal: he 's married to Octavia.
Cleo. O, that his fault should make a knave of thee,
That art not what thou 'rt sure of! Get thee hence:
The merchandise which thou hast brought from Rome
Are all too dear for me: lie they upon thy hand,
And be undone by 'em! [*Exit Messenger.*
Char. Good your highness, patience.
Cleo. In praising Antony, I have dispraised Cæsar.
Char. Many times, madam.

103. *That . . . thou 'rt sure of I*] Ff, but with full stop, and *th' art* (F); *thou art* (Ff 2-4); *That say'st but what . . .* Hanmer; *That art not I—what? thou 'rt sure of 't I*— Mason conj., adopted by Steevens and others; *That art but . . .* Grant White; *That art in . . .* Hudson. 105, 106. *Are . . . 'em*] As Capell; divided after *me* in Ff (2 lines). 106. [*Exit Messenger.*] Rowe; omitted in Ff.

96. *Narcissus*] See Golding's Ovid's *Metam.*, bk. iii., line 428 *et seq.*:—

". . . freckled Lyriop, whome sometime surprised in his streame,
The floud Cephisus did inforce.
This lady bare a sonne,
Whose beauty at his very birth might justly love have wonne.
Narcissus did she call his name," etc.

101. *unequal*] unjust. So *2 Henry IV.* iv. i. 102; Jonson, *The Fox*, iii. i. 48: "You are *unequal* to me," etc.; Lord Brooke, *Life of Sidney* (*Works*, Grosart, iv. 8): "Witnes his sound establishments both in Wales and Ireland, where his memory is worthily grateful unto this day: how *unequall* and bitter soever the censure of provincialls is usually against sincere monarchall governours," etc.

102, 103. *O, . . . sure of*] The first of these two lines seems to me to require some stress on *his*, and to be suggested by the messenger's complaint in line 100. He says, in effect: "You are unjust: *you make* me commit the fault you punish me for"; she replies: "O that it should be *his* fault (not mine) that makes you commit it (*or* a subject for punishment)." What follows: "That art not what thou 'rt *sure of*," seems to imply Cleopatra's recognition that the messenger's offence to her lies in the obstinate persistence that his news is authentic, out of which he can neither be beaten nor cajoled. (This is precisely the offence in Marston's imitation in *The Insatiate Countess*, iv. ii.) Cleopatra is now cool enough to distinguish between this and the real offence, but not yet sufficiently so to forgive it. In this view the sense of the whole will be: "O that it should be *his* fault that makes thee a subject for punishment, that art not thyself the thing of which thou art so hatefully positive." The two main explanations in the editions derive from Malone's, briefly thus in Dyce's version: "That art not the evil tidings of which thou givest me such *assurance*"; and Tollet's, put shortly by Knight: "Thou art not an honest man, of which thou art thyself *assured*, because thy master's fault has made a knave of thee." For emendations of the text, see above. No one seems to have conjectured *act* or *art*.

Cleo. I am paid for 't now.
Lead me from hence;
I faint: O Iras, Charmian! 'tis no matter.
Go to the fellow, good Alexas; bid him
Report the feature of Octavia, her years,
Her inclination; let him not leave out
The colour of her hair: bring me word quickly.
[*Exit Alexas.*
Let him for ever go: let him not—Charmian,
Though he be painted one way like a Gorgon,
The other way 's a Mars. Bid you Alexas [*To Mardian.*
Bring me word how tall she is. Pity me, Charmian,
But do not speak to me. Lead me to my chamber.
[*Exeunt.*

108, 109. *I . . . hence*] As Capell; one line Ff. 114. [*Exit Alexas.*] Capell; omitted in Ff. 117. *way's*] F 4; *wayes* F. [*To Mardian*] Capell; omitted in Ff.

112. *feature*] applies most commonly to the shape of the whole body, as in *Richard III.* I. i. 19; sometimes to facial characteristics more especially, as in *King John*, IV. ii. 264.

113. *inclination*] temperament; to which Henley (1821 Variorum) thought Cleopatra expected to find an index in the colour of Octavia's hair.

116, 117. *Though . . . Mars*] Alluding, as Staunton pointed out, to the pictures formerly called perspectives (compare *Twelfth Night*, V. i. 224; *Henry V.* V. ii. 347) and still to be seen. Different objects are painted on the opposite surfaces of any suitable material (care being taken to paint one in the reverse direction), which is then cut into regular strips and attached to a third painted surface at small equal intervals, and at right angles to it. An example sometimes seen in village inns shows Lord Beaconsfield from one side, Mr. Gladstone from the other, and a basket of flowers if the observer faces it. In [Sir George Mackenzie's] *Religio Stoici* (1665), sig. A 7, occurs: "Thus we see, that one may account that a miracle which another looks upon as a folly; and yet, none but Gods Spirit can decide the controversie. Matters of Religion and Faith, resembling some curious Pictures, and Optick Prismes, which seems to change shape and colours, according to the several stances from which the aspicient views them."

117. *way's*] Surely "The other way" =the other way of the picture. But Hanmer and others print *way he's*, and *way's* is so explained by recent editors.

SCENE VI.—*Near Misenum.*

Flourish. Enter POMPEY *and* MENAS *at one side, with drum and trumpet; at another* CÆSAR, ANTONY, LEPIDUS, ENOBARBUS, MÆCENAS, *with Soldiers marching.*

Pom. Your hostages I have, so have you mine;
And we shall talk before we fight.

Cæs. Most meet
That first we come to words; and therefore have we
Our written purposes before us sent;
Which, if thou hast consider'd, let us know
If 'twill tie up thy discontented sword,
And carry back to Sicily much tall youth
That else must perish here.

Pom. To you all three,
The senators alone of this great world,
Chief factors for the gods, I do not know
Wherefore my father should revengers want,
Having a son and friends; since Julius Cæsar,
Who at Philippi the good Brutus ghosted,
There saw you labouring for him. What was 't
That moved pale Cassius to conspire; and what
Made the all-honour'd, honest Roman, Brutus,

Near Misenum] *The Coast of Italy near Misenum* Rowe. *Enter . . .*] *Enter Pompey at one doore. . . . Cæsar, Lepidus, Anthony . . . Mecenas, Agrippa, Menas with Souldiers Marching* Ff. 2, 3. *Most . . . we*] As Rowe; *Most . . . words*, one line Ff. 5. *consider'd*] Pope; *considered* F. 7. *Sicily*] F 2; *Cicelie* (and elsewhere) F. 16. *the*] F 2; omitted F. *honest Roman, Brutus,*] most modern edd.; *honest, Roman Brutus*, Delius, as F.

Scene VI. (see North, *ante*, p. xxxvi).

7. *tall*] stout, bold; as often in Shakespeare. Compare Nash, *Pierce Penilesse*, 1592 (Shakespeare Soc., 1842, p. 23): "Ulisses was a *tall* man vnder Aiax shield, but by himselfe hee would neuer aduenture but in the night." Also used sportively, in other connections than plain valour, as *e.g.* by Massinger, *The Unnatural Combat*, III. i. 23:—

> "As *tall* a trencherman, that is most certain,
> As e'er demolish'd pye-fortification," etc.

See also *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, I. iv. 27, for "*tall* . . . of his hands," *i.e.* formidable in combat.

10-14. *I do . . . for him*] This appears to mean, in brief: Julius Cæsar found active avengers in you; I do not see why my father, who has a son alive, and friends likewise, should go without revenge.

13. *ghosted*] haunted. For the fact, compare *Julius Cæsar*, IV. iii. 275-287; V. iii. 94-96; V. v. 17-19, and Shakespeare's source in *Brutus*, North's Plutarch, where, however, the spirit is not identified with Cæsar. Steevens quotes Burton, *Anatomy of Melancholy*, 1632 ed., preface, p. 22: "What madnesse *ghosts* this old man? but what madnesse ghosts us all?"

With the arm'd rest, courtiers of beauteous freedom,
To drench the Capitol, but that they would
Have one man but a man? And that is it
Hath made me rig my navy, at whose burthen
The anger'd ocean foams; with which I meant
To scourge the ingratitude that despiteful Rome
Cast on my noble father.

Cæs. Take your time.

Ant. Thou canst not fear us, Pompey, with thy sails;
We'll speak with thee at sea: at land, thou know'st
How much we do o'er-count thee.

Pom. At land, indeed,
Thou dost o'er-count me of my father's house:
But, since the cuckoo builds not for himself,
Remain in't as thou mayst.

Lep. Be pleased to tell us—
For this is from the present—how you take
The offers we have sent you.

Cæs. There's the point.

Ant. Which do not be entreated to, but weigh
What it is worth embraced.

Cæs. And what may follow,
To try a larger fortune.

Pom. You have made me offer

29, 30. *us—For . . . take*] Theobald (*For . . . present*); *us*, (*For . . . take*) F; *us*, (*For . . . now you talke*) F 2. 32-34. *Which . . . fortune*] As Rowe; lines end *too*, . . . *imbrac'd* . . . *Fortune* in Ff.

24. *fear*] frighten; as often. Compare Jonson, *Bartholomew Fair*, III. i.: "Well said, brave Whit! in, and *fear* the ale out o' the bottles into the bellies of the brethren," etc.

25. *speak with thee*] encounter thee. Compare II. ii. 164 *ante*.

27. *o'er-count . . . house*] Plutarch relates that Antony, having bought the elder Pompey's house at auction, afterwards refused to pay for it. See North, *ante*, pp. xxvii, xxxvi. Hence, as Malone observes, the phrase is equivocal; *outnumber* me by your possessing my father's house, and *cheat* me out of it by your sharp practice.

28. *But, since the cuckoo*, etc.] "Since, like the cuckoo, that seizes the nests of other birds, you have invaded a house which you could not build, keep it while you can" (Johnson). A sharp taunt, emphasising the insinuation of cheating. Compare R. Chester, *Love's Martyr*, 1601 (New Shakespeare Soc., 1878, p. 118):—

"She scornes to labour or make vp a nest,
But creepes by stealth into some others roome,
And with the *Larkes* deare yong, her yong ones rest,
Beeing by subtle dealing ouercome," etc.

The cuckoo's usual victim is the hedge-sparrow. See *1 Henry IV*. v. i. 60; *Lucrece*, 849.

33, 34. *And . . . fortune*] understood as a veiled menace in case his ambition

Of Sicily, Sardinia; and I must
Rid all the sea of pirates; then, to send
Measures of wheat to Rome; this 'greed upon,
To part with unhack'd edges, and bear back
Our targes undinted.

Cæs. Ant. Lep. That 's our offer.

Pom. Know, then,
I came before you here a man prepared
To take this offer: but Mark Antony
Put me to some impatience: though I lose
The praise of it by telling, you must know,
When Cæsar and your brother were at blows,
Your mother came to Sicily and did find
Her welcome friendly.

Ant. I have heard it, Pompey,
And am well studied for a liberal thanks
Which I do owe you.

Pom. Let me have your hand:
I did not think, sir, to have met you here.

Ant. The beds i' the east are soft; and thanks to you,
That call'd me timelier than my purpose hither;
For I have gain'd by 't.

Cæs. Since I saw you last,
There is a change upon you.

Pom. Well, I know not

39. *Cæs. Ant. Lep.*] Capell; *Omnes.* F. Pope; two lines divided after *heere* Ff. one line Ff. 53. *There is*] Rowe; *Ther's* F.

39, 40. *Know, . . . prepared*] As Rowe; 52, 53. *Since . . . you*] As Rowe;

rejects all offers and resorts to arms. It may, however, be meant for encouragement (as implied in Schlegel and Tieck's translation), and signify: "And what it may lead to, if you take the chance of developments in this alliance." *To try*, the infinitive used indefinitely, as often. Compare *The Winter's Tale*, II. ii. 57: "I know not what I shall incur to pass it, having no warrant."

36. *to send*] The insertion of *to* before a second infinitive depending on an auxiliary verb is frequent in Shakespeare and elsewhere. Compare *The Parliament of Criticks*, 1702, p. 79: "Let the *Keeper of Bedlam* take such distracted *gentlemen* as those into his Care, and consider whether their *Madness* be in the *Brain* or the *Blood*, and to report to the above-mentioned censors," etc.

39. *targes*] said to be monosyllabic here (*targs*), and in *Cymbeline*, v. v. 5.

47. *am well studied*, etc.] am well equipped for amply thanking you, by much thought of my debt. Compare II. ii. 138 *ante*; *Merchant of Venice*, II. ii. 205: "Like one *well studied* in a sad ostent, To please his grandam," etc.; Dekker, *The Bel-man of London*, 1608 (*Temple Classics*, p. 133): "so *well studied* that he hath the principles of the *Black-Art*, and can pick a lock if it be not too much crosse warded," etc.

What counts harsh fortune casts upon my face;
But in my bosom shall she never come,
To make my heart her vassal.

Lep. Well met here.

Pom. I hope so, Lepidus. Thus we are agreed:
I crave our composition may be written
And seal'd between us.

Cæs. That's the next to do.

Pom. We'll feast each other ere we part; and let's
Draw lots who shall begin.

Ant. That will I, Pompey.

Pom. No, Antony, take the lot: but, first
Or last, your fine Egyptian cookery
Shall have the fame. I have heard that Julius Cæsar
Grew fat with feasting there.

Ant. You have heard much.

Pom. I have fair meanings, sir.

Ant. And fair words to them.

Pom. Then so much have I heard:
And I have heard, Apollodorus carried—

56. *her*] F; *a* F 2. 58. *composition*] F 2; *composion* F. 62, 63. *No . . . cookery*] So divided by Capell, reading *noble Antony;* prose in Ff. 64, 65. *Shall . . . there*] As Rowe; prose in Ff. 66. *meanings*] Malone (Heath conj.); *meaning* F.

54. *counts*] reckonings. So George Herbert, *The Discharge*, line 6: "Hast thou not made thy *counts*, and summ'd up all?" In his careless answer, Pompey makes Fortune *score* on his face the record of her cruelties to him. Compare *Edward III.* (1596), ed. Moore Smith, IV. iv. 128, 129:—

"And stratagems forepast with iron pens
Are texted in thine honourable face."

casts] used, of course, in the technical sense: "Dost thou not know numbers? Canst thou not *cast?*" (*The Puritan*, 1607, III. i.).

55, 56. *But . . . vassal*] Compare *King Leir* (*Six Old Plays*, Nichols, 1779, p. 400):—

"Nor do I think, though fortune have the power,
To spoile mine honour, and debase my state,
That she hath any interest in my mind."

58. *composition*] agreement. Compare the use of *compose*, II. ii. 15 *ante*.

64, 65. *Cæsar . . . feasting there*] [Pothinus the Eunuch] "secretly layd waite all the wayes he could, how he might likewise kill Cæsar. Wherefore Cæsar hearing an inckling of it, beganne thenceforth to spend all the night long in *feasting* and bancketing, that his person might be in the better safetie" (North's Plutarch, 1579, *Julius Cæsar*, Tudor Trans., v. 50).

68-70. *Apollodorus . . . mattress*] [Cæsar] "secretly sent for Cleopatra which was in the contry to come unto him. She onely taking Apollodorus Sicilian of all her friendes, tooke a litle bote, and went away with him in it in the night, and came and landed hard by the foote of the castell. Then having no other meane to come in to the

Eno. No more of that: he did so.
Pom. What, I pray you?
Eno. A certain queen to Cæsar in a mattress.
Pom. I know thee now: how farest thou, soldier?
Eno. Well;
And well am like to do; for I perceive
Four feasts are toward.
Pom. Let me shake thy hand;
I never hated thee: I have seen thee fight,
When I have envied thy behaviour.
Eno. Sir,
I never loved you much; but I ha' praised ye
When you have well deserved ten times as much
As I have said you did.
Pom. Enjoy thy plainness,
It nothing ill becomes thee.
Aboard my galley I invite you all:
Will you lead, lords?
Cæs. Ant. Lep. Show us the way, sir.
Pom. Come.

[*Exeunt all but Menas and Enobarbus.*

Men. [*Aside*] Thy father, Pompey, would ne'er have made this treaty.—You and I have known, sir.

69. *of that*] F 3; *of* omitted in F. 71, 72. *Well . . . perceive*] As Theobald; one line Ff. 75. *Sir*] As Pope; begins next line in Ff. 81. *Cæs. Ant. Lep.*] Capell; *All.* F. *Show us*] *Shew us* Hanmer; *Shew's* F. *Exeunt . . .*] *Exeunt. Manet Enob. and Menas* F. 82. [*Aside*] Johnson.

court, without being knowen, she laid her selfe downe upon a mattresse or flockbed, which Apollodorus her frend tied and bound up together like a bundle with a great leather thong, and so tooke her up on his backe, and brought her thus hamperd in this fardell unto Cæsar, in at the castell gate. This was the first occasion, (as it is reported) that made Cæsar to love her: but afterwards, when he sawe her sweete conversation and pleasaunt entertainment, he fell then in further liking with her, and did reconcile her againe unto her brother the king, with condition, that they two joyntly should raigne together" (*ibid.* Tudor Trans., pp. 50, 51).

73. *toward*] impending; as in *Hamlet*, v. ii. 376:—

"O proud Death!
What feast is *toward* in thine eternal cell," etc.;

Jonson, *Every Man in his Humour*, i. i. 1: "A goodly day *toward*, and a fresh morning."

78. *Enjoy thy plainness*] Compare Brome, *The Damoiselle*, i. ii. (Pearson's *Brome*, i. 391): "Youle give me leave to use my *plainnesse* [*?*]," *i.e.* to speak plainly.

83. *known*] been acquainted. So in *Cymbeline*, i. iv. 36: "Sir, we have *known* together in Orleans," on which Professor Dowden quotes Jonson [Gifford's ed., Cunningham, i. 175*b*], *Cynthia's Revels*, iv. i.: "he salutes me as familiarly as if we had *known* together since the Deluge," etc.

Eno. At sea, I think.
Men. We have, sir.
Eno. You have done well by water.
Men. And you by land.
Eno. I will praise any man that will praise me; though it cannot be denied what I have done by land.
Men. Nor what I have done by water.
Eno. Yes, something you can deny for your own safety: you have been a great thief by sea.
Men. And you by land.
Eno. There I deny my land service. But give me your hand, Menas: if our eyes had authority, here they might take two thieves kissing.
Men. All men's faces are true, whatsome'er their hands are.
Eno. But there is never a fair woman has a true face.
Men. No slander; they steal hearts.
Eno. We came hither to fight with you.
Men. For my part, I am sorry it is turned to a drinking. Pompey doth this day laugh away his fortune.
Eno. If he do, sure, he cannot weep 't back again.
Men. You 've said, sir. We looked not for Mark Antony here: pray you, is he married to Cleopatra?
Eno. Cæsar's sister is called Octavia.
Men. True, sir; she was the wife of Caius Marcellus.
Eno. But she is now the wife of Marcus Antonius.

92. *been*] F 4; *bin* F. 104. *You 've*] Rowe; *y' have* F.

96. *two thieves kissing*] *i.e.* fraternising, in a general sense, if the speakers are the "two thieves," as lines 92, 93 indicate; but line 97 points rather to their hands, which the word *kissing* would suit very well. Compare *Romeo and Juliet*, I. v. 102, 105; *1 Ieronimo*, II. i. 25-58 (Kyd, ed. Boas, p. 309):—

> "*Bal.* . . . Here is my gage, a neuer fayling pawne;
> Twill keepe his day, his houre, nay minute; twill.
> *And.* Then thine and this posses one qualitie.
> *Bal.* O, let them *kis*.
> Did I not vnderstand thee noble, valliant, . . .
> For all Spaines wealth Ide not graspe hands."

97. *true*] honest, as in *1 Henry IV.* II. ii. 24. S. Rowlands, *The Four Knaves* (Percy Society, 1843, p. 89), versifies on the proverb: "When theeves fall out *true* men come by their goods." In the next line there appears to be a play on the word as meaning unsophisticated as well as honest. Mr. Craig suggests that in "All men's faces are true," *true* means (as well as "honest") "true indices of character, of their thoughts," and that Enobarbus infers the contrary of women, as he thinks of the inscrutable eyes of Cleopatra.

102, 103. *laugh away . . . weep 't back*] Proverbial, perhaps, but I fail to trace it.

Men. Pray ye, sir?
Eno. 'Tis true.
Men. Then is Cæsar and he for ever knit together.
Eno. If I were bound to divine of this unity, I would not prophesy so.
Men. I think the policy of that purpose made more in the marriage than the love of the parties.
Eno. I think so too. But you shall find, the band that seems to tie their friendship together will be the very strangler of their amity: Octavia is of a holy, cold, and still conversation.
Men. Who would not have his wife so?
Eno. Not he that himself is not so; which is Mark Antony. He will to his Egyptian dish again: then shall the sighs of Octavia blow the fire up in Cæsar; and, as I said before, that which is the strength of their amity shall prove the immediate author of their variance. Antony will use his affection where it is: he married but his occasion here.
Men. And thus it may be. Come, sir, will you aboard? I have a health for you.
Eno. I shall take it, sir: we have used our throats in Egypt.
Men. Come, let's away. [*Exeunt.*

109. *ye, sir?*] Pope; *'ye sir.* F. *estranger* Rowe.

118. *strangler*] F; *stranger* Ff 2-4;

119. *conversation*] behaviour, system of life. So in *Pericles*, II., Gower, 9: "The good in *conversation*"; Rosse, *Mel Heliconium* (1640), p. 8: "Before Christ came, the *Gentiles* were but Ants, men of Earthly *conversation*," etc.; *Life and Death of Sir Henry Vane* (1662), p. 23: "men of debauched consciences and bruitish *conversations*."

127. *but his occasion*] *i.e.* merely with an eye to expedience.

130. *used*] Whether we take this as = made use of *or* accustomed, the inference of practised pledging is the same.

SCENE VII.—*On board Pompey's galley, off Misenum.*

Music plays. Enter two or three Servants with a banquet.

First Serv. Here they'll be, man. Some o' their plants are ill-rooted already; the least wind i' the world will blow them down.

Sec. Serv. Lepidus is high-coloured.

First Serv. They have made him drink alms-drink.

Sec. Serv. As they pinch one another by the disposition,

On board . . .] Capell (*Aboard*); *Pompey's Galley* Rowe. 1, 4, etc. *First* (*Sec.*) *Serv.* 1. (2.) *Ser.* Rowe; 1. 2. F. 4. *high-coloured*] F 2; *high Conlord* F.

a banquet] *i.e.* as often, a dessert with wine. Malone quotes *The Life and Death of Thomas, Lord Cromwell*, 1602 [III. iii., *Supplement to Shakespeare*, ii. 411]:—

"'Tis strange, how that we and the Spaniard differ;
Their dinner is our *banquet* after dinner," etc.

See also Osborne, *Historical Memoires*, etc., 1658 (James I., pt. i., § 39): "And after such suppers huge *banquets* no lesse profuse, a waiter returning his servant home with a cloak-bag full of dried sweetmeats and confects, valued to his lordship at more than ten shillings the pound."

1. *plants*] A play, as Johnson noted, on the two senses of *plants*. For *plants*, a common Latinism for the soles of the feet and the feet themselves, compare Jonson, *Masque of Oberon:* "Knotty legs, and *plants* of clay"; Nash, *Christ's Tears* (*Archaica*, repr. 1815, p. 56): ". . . you pilgrims, that . . . wear the *plants* of your feet to the likeness of withered roots, by barelegged processioning (from afar) to the sepulchre," etc.

5. *alms-drink*] Ordinarily "the remains of liquor reserved for almspeople" (*New Eng. Dict.*); hence, perhaps, "leavings" here, possibly mixed leavings, not likely to agree with the recipient. Beaumont (Letter to Ben Jonson) speaks of water and claret lees as drink:—

"So mixt that given to the thirstiest one
'Twill not prove *alms* unless he have the stone."

Warburton is apparently the sole authority for "almsdrink" 's being "a phrase among good fellows to signify that liquor of another's share which his companion drinks to ease him." Can it here = *drink taken as a work of charity*, *i.e.* to further the reconciliation? See next speech. *Almsdrink* supplies a bitter reflection in Churchyard's *Tragicall Discourse of the Vnhappy Man's Life*, stanza 70 (reprinted in *Bibliographical Miscellanies*, Oxford, 1813, p. 31):—

"I see some bring from doells an empty cup
Yet craues an *almes*, and shoes a needye hand;" etc.

6. *pinch . . . disposition*] Some later editors decline to accept the natural explanation that the differing dispositions of the newly reconciled three occasionally clashed. Mr. Deighton says: "we have no reason for thinking they were quarrelsome in their cups": but the probability of some friction was great, and the next speech has far more point if it signifies that the means (more drink) whereby Lepidus *healed strife between the others*, increased that between himself and his discretion. That *pinch . . . disposition* should mean: "as they ply each other hard with the mischievous desire of seeing one another under the table" (Deighton), *or* = stint themselves by the disposal of alms (*i.e.* an extra share) to Lepidus, which is according to Mr. A. E. Thistleton, or that it refers to "the sign they give each other regarding 'the disposition' of Lepidus to drink" (Collier), is surely unlikely; as also the

he cries out "No more;" reconciles them to his entreaty and himself to the drink.

First Serv. But it raises the greater war between him and his discretion.

Sec. Serv. Why, this it is to have a name in great men's fellowship: I had as lief have a reed that will do me no service as a partisan I could not heave.

First Serv. To be called into a huge sphere, and not to be seen to move in 't, are the holes where eyes should be, which pitifully disaster the cheeks.

A sennet sounded. Enter CÆSAR, ANTONY, LEPIDUS, POMPEY, AGRIPPA, MÆCENAS, ENOBARBUS, MENAS, *with other captains.*

Ant. [*To Cæsar*] Thus do they, sir: they take the flow o' the Nile
By certain scales i' the pyramid; they know,

12. *lief*] Capell; *liue* F; *lieve* F 3.

17. [*To Cæsar*] Capell.

consequence that *no more* = no more drink, instead of being an exclamation like "Soft, Cæsar!" (II. ii. 83 *ante*), and that "reconciles them to his entreaty," etc. = obtains their assent to his taking no more and yet persuades himself to take it.

13. *partisan*] "a sharp two-edged sword placed on the summit of a staff for the defence of foot soldiers against cavalry" (Fairholt).

14-16. *To . . . cheeks*] According to the construction, two circumstances, the call to occupy a high position and the failure to make a figure in it, are compared to eyeless sockets. An allusion in *spheres* has been pointed out to the Ptolemaic system of astronomy, and the hollow concentric spheres, each of the first seven with its planet, with which that system surrounds the earth. The servant's elliptical speech seems to compare (1) such spheres, supposing their planets were *unseen*, to disfiguring eyeless sockets; (2) great positions in life, meanly tenanted, to spheres in such a case; and, finally, Lepidus, the man of no account, to the hypothetically non-luminous planets. Malone quotes for Shakespeare's use of *sphere* in connection with *eyes*, Sonnet cxix. and *Hamlet*, I. v. 17. The spheres aforesaid are those of the Moon, Mercury, Venus, the Sun, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn; after them is that of the fixed stars, and, finally, enfolding all, the *Primum Mobile*, which was the first moved and communicated its motion to the inner spheres. See also on IV. xv. 10, 11 *post*.

16. *disaster*] A word of astrological origin, and so probably suggested here, as Rolfe notes, by the preceding figure. An adjective *disastered* (compare "ill-starred") occurs thrice in the Countess of Pembroke's *Antonie* (1595), *e.g.* in Act II.: "us *disastered* men," "this *disastered* woe."

A sennet] A particular set of notes (not now known) on the trumpet, differing from a flourish. Compare *Satiromastix* (Pearson's *Dekker*, i. 222): "Trumpets sound a florish, and then *a sennate*." See the derivation discussed in Naylor's *Shakespeare and Music* (1896), p. 178. The forms *sonet*, *sonnet*, have suggested *sonare*,—*synnet*, *signet*, etc., *signum*, as the source.

18. *By certain scales*, etc.] Compare Lyly, *Campaspe*, The prologue at the Blacke Friers: "It was a signe of famine to Ægypt, when Nylus flowed

By the height, the lowness, or the mean, if dearth
Or foison follow: the higher Nilus swells,
The more it promises: as it ebbs, the seedsman
Upon the slime and ooze scatters his grain,
And shortly comes to harvest.

Lep. You've strange serpents there.

Ant. Ay, Lepidus.

Lep. Your serpent of Egypt is bred now of your mud by the operation of your sun: so is your crocodile.

Ant. They are so.

Pom. Sit,—and some wine! A health to Lepidus!

Lep. I am not so well as I should be, but I 'll ne'er out.

24. *You 've*] Rowe; *Y' have* F. *there.*] Rowe; *there?* F. 30. *I . . . out*] Prose first in Hanmer; two lines, *I . . . be: But . . . out.* Ff.

lesse than twelve cubites, or more than eighteene." Malone thinks Shakespeare got his information from Pory's translation of Leo's *History of Africa* (1600): "Upon another side of the island standeth an house alone by itselfe, in the midst whereof there is a foure-square cesterne or channel of eighteen cubits deep, whereinto the water of Nilus is conveyed by a certaine sluice under ground. And in the midst of the cisterne there is erected a certaine *piller*, which is *marked and divided into so many cubits as the cisterne containeth in depth.* . . . If the water reacheth only to the fifteenth cubit of the said *piller*, they hope for a fruitful yeere following; but if [it] stayeth between the twelfth cubit and the fifteenth, then the increase of the yeere will prove but mean: if it resteth between the tenth and twelfth cubits, then it is a sign that corne will be solde ten ducates the bushel." Reed quotes Holland's *Pliny* (1601), bk. v., chap. ix., but the resemblance there is more distant.

20. *foison*] profusion, plenty. Compare *The Tempest*, II. i. 163; IV. i. 110, etc.

26. *Your*] A common colloquialism. So in Hamlet, IV. iii. 22: "*Your* worm is *your* only emperor for diet," etc. On its occurrence in the text, Abbott (*Shakespearian Grammar*, § 221) observes: "Though in this instance the *your* may seem literally justified, the repetition of it indicates a colloquial vulgarity which suits the character of Lepidus." It certainly sets off his temporary condition.

bred . . . mud] The doctrine (abiogenesis or equivocal generation) was current in Shakespeare's day, that living matter can be produced from matter without life. So Jonson, *The Alchemist*, II. i:—

"Besides who doth not see in daily practice
Art can beget bees, hornets, beetles, wasps,
Out of the carcasses and dung of creatures;
Yea, scorpions of an herb, being rightly placed?"

Compare also Shirley, *The Traitor*, IV. ii. (Mermaid ed., p. 157):—

"oh that my voice
Could call a serpent from corrupted Nile," etc.;

and Sylvester's *Du Bartas*, week I, day 2, p. 31 in 1621 ed.: "As on the edges of som standing Lake . . . The foamy slime itselfe transformeth oft To green half-Tadpoles, . . . Half dead, half-living; half a frog, *half-mud*." At the present time the question has been re-opened owing to the results of certain experiments.

30. *I 'll ne'er out*] I 'll never refuse a pledge, never stand out. See *2 Henry IV.* v. iii. 71 (of drinking): "A' will not out; he is true bred"; Massinger, *The Parliament of Love*, II. i. at end: "*I 'll not out* for a second," where it is said by the second person to take up a bet; F. Spence's *Lucian* (1684),

Eno. Not till you have slept; I fear me you'll be in till then.

Lep. Nay, certainly, I have heard the Ptolemies' pyramises are very goodly things; without contradiction, I have heard that.

Men. [*Aside to Pom.*] Pompey, a word.

Pom. [*Aside to Men.*] Say in mine ear: what is 't?

Men. [*Aside to Pom.*] Forsake thy seat, I do beseech thee, captain,
And hear me speak a word.

Pom. [*Aside to Men.*] Forbear me till anon.—
This wine for Lepidus!

Lep. What manner o' thing is your crocodile?

Ant. It is shaped, sir, like itself; and it is as broad as it hath breadth: it is just so high as it is, and moves with it own organs: it lives by that which nourisheth it; and the elements once out of it, it transmigrates.

Lep. What colour is it of?

Ant. Of it own colour too.

Lep. 'Tis a strange serpent.

Ant. 'Tis so. And the tears of it are wet.

36-38. As *Asides* first by Rowe. *Eare.* F.

38. *anon.*—] *anon. Whispers in 's*

The Epistle Dedicatory, sig. C 2: "Yet *Custom* so requiring, I have very slavishly imitated *Others*, and fancy myself like those *Sparks*, who will ever be in the *Fashion*, Let it never be so damn'd Foppish, silly and Troublesome: Nay, rather than be *out*, we 'll go upon *Trust* for *Ridiculousness* and *Mortification*," etc.

31. *in*] A play on the opposite phrase to "be out" (so Felltham, *Lusoria*, 1661, xxxv. p. 33: "being *in*, I must go on") and the sense "*in* drink."

33. *pyramises*] A plural peculiar to the bibulous Lepidus, but corresponding with the Latin singular *pyramis*, the common form in Shakespeare's time. For the usual plural *pyramides*, compare v. ii. 61 *post*.

43, 46. *it*] its. A common flexionless form, transitional between the usual neuter possessive *his* and the later *its*. Compare *King Lear*, I. iv. 236, IV. ii. 32; Beard, *The Theatre of God's Judgments* (1597), cap. 24, p. 329: "Now as touching his first marriage with his brother's wife how vnfortunate it was in *it* owne nature," etc.

44. *elements . . . transmigrates*] Here "elements" apparently = the vital elements, life, not the complete group of four which compose everything (see on v. ii. 288 *post*). In "transmigrates" is probably, as Delius says, a facetious allusion to the Pythagorean doctrine of the transmigration of souls, as in *As You Like It*, III. ii. 186-88, and *Twelfth Night*, IV. ii. 54-65; unless the word be merely "rots," "passes into other forms of matter," in a quaint disguise.

48. *tears*] A by-allusion to the popular belief which furnishes a figure in *Othello*, IV. i. 257; *2 Henry VI*. III. i. 226. "If the Crocodile findeth a man by the brim of the water, or by the cliff, he slayeth him if he may, and then he weepeth upon him, and swalloweth him at the last. . . ." (*Bartholomew* [*Berthelet*], book xviii. § 33).

Cæs. Will this description satisfy him?

Ant. With the health that Pompey gives him, else he is a very epicure.

Pom. [*Aside to Men.*] Go hang, sir, hang! Tell me of that? away!
Do as I bid you.—Where 's this cup I call'd for?

Men. [*Aside to Pom.*] If for the sake of merit thou wilt hear me,
Rise from thy stool.

Pom. [*Aside to Men.*] I think thou 'rt mad. The matter? [*Rises, and walks aside.*

Men. I have ever held my cap off to thy fortunes.

Pom. Thou hast served me with much faith. What 's else to say?
Be jolly, lords.

Ant. These quick-sands, Lepidus,
Keep off them, for you sink.

Men. Wilt thou be lord of all the world?

Pom. What say'st thou?

Men. Wilt thou be lord of the whole world? That 's twice.

Pom. How should that be?

Men. But entertain it,

52-55. As *Asides* first by Johnson. 55. *thou 'rt*] Rowe; *Th' art* F. [*Rises . . .*] Johnson; omitted in Ff. 57, 58. *Thou . . . lords*] As Hanmer; prose Ff. 59. *for*] F; *'fore* Theobald; *or* Dyce, ed. 2 (S. Walker conj.). 61. *That 's twice*] As Rowe; a separate line Ff. 62-64. *But . . . world*] As Pope; prose Ff 1-3; two lines divided after *poor* F 4.

56. *held my cap off to*] been a servant to, followed. The phrase here seems rather to derive from the etiquette of service at a time when head-coverings were more constantly worn than now, than from occasional acts of deference or courtesy, such as "*Off-capp'd* to him" in *Othello*, I. i. 10. Compare Beaumont and Fletcher, *The Honest Man's Fortune*, I. i. (1679 folio, p. 512):—

"*Long.* Counsel's the office of a servant," . . .

"*Mont.* Stay, sir, what one example since the time
That first you put your *hat off* to me, have
You noted in me to encourage you
To this presumption?"

In some notes on England quoted by Sir W. Besant (*London in the Time of the Tudors*, 1904, p. 191) as written in 1558, and translated for and published in *The Antiquarian Repertory*, vol. iv., occurs: "The servants wait on the master bareheaded, and leave their *caps* on the buffet."

58, 59. *These quick-sands . . . sink*] Perhaps Lepidus collapses here. Pompey's health (see line 83 *post*) is too late. There is a drinking scene in Heywood's *Iron Age*, I. (Pearson's *Heywood*, iii. 281) in which Paris is similarly overcome, but feignedly, as afterwards appears, while Thersites has something of the mocking spirit of Enobarbus and the temperance of Cæsar.

60, etc.] See North, *ante*, p. xxxvii.

And, though thou think me poor, I am the man
Will give thee all the world.

Pom. Hast thou drunk well?

Men. No, Pompey, I have kept me from the cup.
Thou art, if thou dar'st be, the earthly Jove:
Whate'er the ocean pales, or sky inclips,
Is thine, if thou wilt ha 't.

Pom. Show me which way.

Men. These three world-sharers, these competitors,
Are in thy vessel: let me cut the cable;
And, when we are put off, fall to their throats:
All there is thine.

Pom. Ah, this thou shouldst have done,
And not have spoke on 't! In me 'tis villany;
In thee 't had been good service. Thou must know,
'Tis not my profit that does lead mine honour;
Mine honour, it. Repent that e'er thy tongue
Hath so betray'd thine act: being done unknown,
I should have found it afterwards well done;
But must condemn it now. Desist, and drink.

Men. [*Aside*] For this,
I 'll never follow thy pall'd fortunes more.
Who seeks, and will not take when once 'tis offer'd,
Shall never find it more.

Pom. This health to Lepidus!

Ant. Bear him ashore. I 'll pledge it for him, Pompey.

Eno. Here 's to thee, Menas!

Men. Enobarbus, welcome!

Pom. Fill till the cup be hid.

66. *dar'st*] F; *darest* Cambridge and several editors. 72. *there*] F; *then* Pope, and Southern MS. notes in F 4; *theirs* Steevens conj. 74. *been*] *bin* F. 80. [*Aside*] Capell. 80, 81. *For . . . more*] As Pope; two lines divided after *follow* in Ff. 84. As Pope; two lines Ff.

67. *pales . . . inclips*] fences in, as with pales . . . embraces. Compare *clip*, IV. viii. 8 *post*.

69. *competitors*] confederates. See on I. iv. 3 *ante*.

81. *pall'd*] decayed, dwindled. Compare *Hamlet*, v. ii. 9: "When our deep plots do *pall*"; Kyd, ed. Boas, *1 Ieronimo*, II. iv. 54: "Which strooke amazement to their *pauled* speeche," etc. *Pall* is said to be an abbreviated form of *appal*, both originally meaning to become *or* be made pale. So of wine when it loses colour and becomes vapid by standing. Compare Spence's *Lucian*, 1684, ii. 78: "swallow delitious Wine, whilst you must only drink such as is *pall'd* and Taplash."

Eno. There 's a strong fellow, Menas.

[*Pointing to the Attendant who carries off Lepidus.*

Men. Why?

Eno. A' bears the third part of the world, man; see'st not?

Men. The third part, then, is drunk: would it were all, 90
That it might go on wheels!

Eno. Drink thou; increase the reels.

Men. Come.

Pom. This is not yet an Alexandrian feast.

Ant. It ripens towards it. Strike the vessels, ho! 95
Here 's to Cæsar!

87. *Pointing . . .*] Steevens; *Pointing to Lepidus* Rowe; not in Ff. 90, 91. *The . . . wheels*] As Theobald; prose Ff. 90. *then is*] Rowe; *then he is* F. 96. *Here's*] (*Heere's*) F; *Here is* Pope.

91. *go on wheels*] Proverbial for "go fast," and especially of the world. Compare *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, III. i. 317; B. Rich, *The Honestie of this Age*, 1614 (Percy Society, 1844, p. 30): "They were wont to say, the world did runne on *wheeles;* and it may well bee it hath done so in times past, but I say now it goes on crouches, for it is waxen old," etc.; A. Wilson, *The Inconstant Ladie*, I. i. 11:—

"I am angrie
To see the guiddie world run thus o' *wheeles*
In such untoward tracks," etc.;

Mabbe's *Celestina*, 1631, ix. (Tudor Trans. p. 169): "But such is this world, it comes and goes upon *wheeles*."

92. *increase the reels*] Compare line 115 *post*, and example in note on line 123; *Coriolanus*, II. i. 121; also *Histriomastix*, IV. i. 28 (Simpson's *School of Shakspere*, ii. 57): "Why should this *reeling* world (drunke with the juice Of *Plenties*' bounty)," etc.; Heywood, *Rape of Lucrece* (Pearson's reprint, v. 168): "heres a giddy and drunken world, it *Reeles*, it hath got the staggers," etc. Douce conjectured *revels* for *reels*, and there is another word *rule*, signifying revel, bustle, rowdy behaviour: compare *Twelfth Night*, II. iii. 133; Middleton, *A Chaste Maid*, etc. I. i. 208: "Come now, we 'll see how the *rules* go within": but there seems no need of change. Steevens cleverly conjectured "and grease the wheels."

95. *Strike the vessels*] ? Tap the casks. So Weber, the editor of Beaumont and Fletcher's works, which supply: "Home, Launce, and *strike* a fresh piece of wine," etc. (*Monsieur Thomas*, v. x. 42); "*Strike* me the oldest Sack," etc. (*Love's Pilgrimage*, II. iv.). Dyce adds from Prior's *Alma*, chap. iii. 425:—

"*Strikes* not the present tun, for fear
The vintage should be bad next year," etc.

The demand comes rather late in the feast, but its giver had had to call thrice for wine, lines 29, 39, 53 *ante*. On the other hand, I suspect that a sense "fill the vessels (*i.e.* the cups) full" may some day find at least excuse. A "strike" was "an instrument with a straight edge for levelling (striking off) a measure of grain" (Skeat, *Etymol. Dict.* § v.), whence came "strike," a measure of varying amount, and a verb meaning to level corn to the top of the measure with a "strike"; and further (see Wright, *Eng. Dial. Dict.*), the adverb *strike*=full to the top. Again, the sense "fill" might conceivably be reached from that of "to lade a fluid from one vessel into another," as cane juice into a cooler in sugar making. This is clearly the sense in Harrison's directions for brewing (Holinshed's Chronicle, 1587, *Description of England*, book ii. chap. vi. p. 170): "and, when it hath sodden, . . . she *striketh* it also. and reserveth it vnto mixture with the rest when time dooth serue therefore." Just before (p. 169) we

Cæs. I could well forbear 't.
It's monstrous labour when I wash my brain
And it grow fouler.
Ant. Be a child o' the time.
Cæs. Possess it, I 'll make answer:
But I had rather fast from all four days
Than drink so much in one.
Eno. [*To Antony.*] Ha, my brave emperor!
Shall we dance now the Egyptian Bacchanals,
And celebrate our drink?
Pom. Let 's ha 't, good soldier.
Ant. Come, let 's all take hands,
Till that the conquering wine hath steep'd our sense
In soft and delicate Lethe.

96-98. *I . . . fouler*] As Pope; prose Ff. 98. *And it grow*] F; . . . *grows* F 2. 99-101. *Possess . . . one*] As Dyce; prose Ff. 101. [*To Antony*] Capell. 101-103. *Ha, . . . drink*] As Johnson; prose Ff.

have "where it is *striken* ouer, or from whence it is taken againe," etc. The suggestion of Holt White, again, that the vessels were kettledrums, though entirely neglected, is backed up by the likelihood of a call for a *noisy* toast in response to Pompey's request for Alexandrian riot. He quotes *Hamlet*, v. ii. 286, and Enobarbus, line 107 *post*. The idea of healths to music was familiar apart from Danish customs, Compare Beaumont and Fletcher, *The Scornful Lady*, I. i. *ad init.*: "at a gulp, without trumpets"; D'Avenant, *Albovine*, 1629, II. (*Dram. Works*, 1872, i. p. 36), where, if he had this scene in view, he is a valuable witness for Holt White:—

"*Cuny.* Sound high!
Alb. More wine and noise! Now boy, I celebrate
Valdaura's health——
Cuny. Bid their instruments speak louder."

Compare also Shadwell, *The Miser*, III. ii. (*Works*, 1720, iii. 52): "Come on, Musicianers, strike up, hey: Here, Forsooth, here 's your Health; . . . [*He drinks, they flourish.*] Ha, Ha; this is the prettiest way of drinking, I vow; it encourages us, as Drums and Trumpets do, when we let off our Guns at a Muster"; *Ibid.* (IV. i.), p. 71: "Oh, if I had but Fiddles to play a Health now!" Steevens's view that "strike the vessels" may be compared with "chink glasses," found a supporter in Cowden Clarke among modern editors.

97. *wash my brain*] Mr. Craig compares Nash, *Anatomie of Absurditie*, 1589 (ed. McKerrow, line 41): "Euery one knowes that he that *washeth his braines* with diuers kinds of wines, is the next doore to a drunken man," etc.

98. *And it grow*] Editors (save Singer, ed. 2, "*an it grow*") read with F 2. But *and* = if (whence the usual *an*) is used by Shakespeare. Compare *The Tempest*, II. i. 181:—

"*Ant.* What a blow vvas there giuen?
Seb. And it had not falne flat-long."

99. *Possess it*] Have your way, enjoy your wish to pledge me; a somewhat freer, but quite intelligible, use of *possess* than *e.g.* in Jonson's *Fox*, v. ii.:—

"He says, sir, he has weighty affairs of state,
That now require him whole; some other time
You may *possess* him."

Indeed we might boldly explain "take it." Compare *The Tempest*, III. ii. 100: "Remember First to *possess* his books;" etc. Among unnecessary conjectures are *Profess it* (Collier MS. and ed. 2), *Propose it* (Staunton).

105, 106. *steep'd . . . Lethe*] Compare *Twelfth Night*, IV. i. 66: "Let fancy still my sense in *Lethe steep*";

Eno. All take hands.
Make battery to our ears with the loud music:
The while I 'll place you: then the boy shall sing;
The holding every man shall bear as loud
As his strong sides can volley.

[*Music plays. Enobarbus places them hand in hand.*

THE SONG.

Come, thou monarch of the vine,
Plumpy Bacchus with pink eyne!
In thy fats our cares be drown'd,
With thy grapes our hairs be crown'd:
Cup us, till the world go round,
Cup us, till the world go round!

109. *bear*] Theobald; *beate* F.

and Armin, *Two Maids of Moreclacke* (1609), Grosart's *Occas. Issues*, vol. xiii. p. 99: "What is thy haste in *leathe steep't?* speak," etc.

109. *holding*] refrain or burden. Malone quotes a pamphlet, *The Servingmans Comfort*, 4to, 1598 [sig. C]: "A song is to be song, the vndersong or *holding* whereof is, It is merrie in Haul, when Beardes wagges all." This example and that in the text are the only ones in the *New Eng. Dict.*

112. *pink eyne*] "small, winking, half-shut eyes." Steevens quotes Holland's *Pliny*, bk. xi. [cxxxvii. p. 335 E in vol. i. 1601 ed.]: "also them that were *pinke-eyed* and had verie small eies they termed *ocellae*." Dyce cites Cotgrave, *Fr. and Eng. Dict.*: "*Oeil de rat*, a small eye, *pinke-eye*, little sight." Compare also Minshew, *Guide to the Tongues* (1617): "to Pinke, or *winke in slumbering*, *pinck-eyd*, *somniculosus*"; Lyly's *Euphues* (ed. Arber, p. 116): "if shee be gagge toothed, tell hir some merry iest, to make hir laughe, if *pinke eyed*, some dolefull Historye to cause hir weepe, in the one hir grinning will shew hir deformed, in the other hir whyning like a Pigge halfe rosted"; Kyd, *Soliman and Perseda* (v. iii. 7 in *Works*, ed. Boas, who prints *pinky-ey'd*): "The mightie *pinckanyed* brand-bearing God"; *Laneham's Letter* (*Captain Cox*, etc., Ballad Society, 1871, p. 17): "the bear with his *pink nyez* léering after his enmiez approch"; Nash, *Lenten Stuff*, 1599, ed. Hindley, p. 67: "she was a pretty *pinkeyed* and Venus priest"; Harrison's *Description of England* (Holinshed's *Chronicle*, 1587, bk. ii. chap. vi. p. 170): "and either fall quite vnder the boord, or else not daring to stirre from their stooles, sit still *pinking* with their narrow *eies* as halfe sleeping, till the fume of their aduersarie be digested that he may go to it afresh"; D'Avenant, *The Platonic Lovers*, II. i. (*Dramatic Works*, 1872 ed. ii. 26):—

"O Sir, she hath the prettiest *pinking eyes;*
The holes are no bigger than a pistol bore."

Even the indefinite among these examples and others, point rather to smallness than redness, a sense some think may be also referred to. In two or three allusions to the colour of Bacchus' eyes which I have come upon, the word *red* is used. Compare S. Rowlands, *More Knaves Yet?* etc. (Percy Society, xxxiv. 1843, p. 100): "What rhume's in Bacchus's eyes? how *red* they looke:" etc.

113. *fats*] vats, which is the Southern form of the word. Compare Browne, *Britannia's Pastorals*, II. i. 373: "Within a tanner's *fat* I oft have eyed . . . a large ox-hide In liquor mix'd" etc.

Cæs. What would you more? Pompey, good-night. Good brother,
Let me request you off: our graver business
Frowns at this levity. Gentle lords, let 's part;
You see we have burnt our cheeks: strong Enobarb
Is weaker than the wine; and mine own tongue
Splits what it speaks: the wild disguise hath almost
Antick'd us all. What needs more words? Good night.
Good Antony, your hand.

Pom. I 'll try you on the shore.

Ant. And shall, sir: give 's your hand.

Pom. O Antony,
You have my father's house,—But, what? we are friends.
Come, down into the boat.

Eno. Take heed you fall not.

[*Exeunt all but Enobarbus and Menas.*

Menas, I 'll not on shore.

Men. No, to my cabin.
These drums! these trumpets, flutes! what!

118. *you off: our*] Rowe (semicolon); *you of our* Ff. 122. *Splits*] F 4 *Spleet's* F. 125, 126. *O . . . friends*] As Capell; two lines, first ending *house.* Ff. 127. *Come,*] Capell; no comma Ff. 127, 128. *fall not. Menas,*] *fall not Menas:* F. *Exeunt . . .*] Camb. edd.; omitted in Ff; *Exeunt Pom. Cæs. Ant. and Attendants.* Capell. 127-129. *Take . . . what!*] *Take . . . cabin.* as Capell; *These . . . what!* as Steevens (1778); three lines ending *shore, Drummes, what* Ff. 128. *Men.*] Capell; Ff omit, assigning *Take . . . out* (lines 127-131) to *Eno.*

122. *disguise*] The *New Eng. Dict.* cites Jonson, *Masque of Augurs* [Cunningham's Gifford's ed. iii. 162 *a*]: "*Disguise!* what mean you by that? do you think that his majesty sits here to expect drunkards?" See also Shirley, *The Wedding*, v. ii. (*Works*, 1833, i. 448): "*Raw.* I am not drunk. *Lod.* No, but thou art *disguis'd* shrewdly."

123. *Antick'd us*] Made antics or grotesques of us. Compare Dekker, *The Bel-man of London*, pt. i. 1608 (*Temple Classics* ed., p. 86): "At the length, drunken healths reeled up and downe the table. . . . The whole *Roome* showed a farre off (but that there was heard such a noyse) like a Dutch peece of *Drollery:* for they sat at table as if they had beene so many *Anticks:*" etc.

124. *I 'll try . . . shore*] This may mean "I 'll test your hospitality ashore," with time of so doing undefined; but more probably Pompey, fired by the "Alexandrian feast," wants to continue the debauch, offers to vie drinking powers on shore then, and actually accompanies the other "great-fellows." This suits Antony's reply and his own: "Come, down into the boat" (line 127), which is otherwise rather abrupt to a departing guest. Capell's comma after *come* might in that case be dispensed with.

126. *my father's house*] See on II. vi. 27 *ante.*

Let Neptune hear we bid a loud farewell
To these great fellows: sound and be hang'd, sound out! [*Sound a flourish, with drums.*

Eno. Hoo! says a'. There's my cap.

Men. Hoo! Noble captain, come. [*Exeunt.*

130. *a loud*] Rowe, ed. 2; *aloud* F. 132. *Hoo*] Ff; *Ho* Capell, etc. *says a'. There's*] *says a! there's* Rowe; *saies a there's* F; . . . *a*, . . . F 3. 133. *Hoo*] Dyce; *Hoa* Ff; *Ho* Capell, etc.

132. *Hoo! . . . cap*] Compare *Coriolanus*, II. i. 115: "Take my *cap*, Jupiter, and I thank thee. *Hoo!* Marcius coming home!"

ACT III

SCENE I.—*A plain in Syria.*

Enter VENTIDIUS *as it were in triumph, with* SILIUS, *and other Romans, Officers, and Soldiers; the dead body of* PACORUS *borne before him.*

Ven. Now, darting Parthia, art thou struck; and now
Pleased fortune does of Marcus Crassus' death
Make me revenger. Bear the king's son's body
Before our army. Thy Pacorus, Orodes,
Pays this for Marcus Crassus.

Sil. Noble Ventidius,
Whilst yet with Parthian blood thy sword is warm,
The fugitive Parthians follow; spur through Media,
Mesopotamia, and the shelters whither
The routed fly: so thy grand captain Antony
Shall set thee on triumphant chariots and
Put garlands on thy head.

Ven. O Silius, Silius,

A plain . . .] Capell. *Enter . . .*] F, omitting "with Silius . . . soldiers"; *Enter, as from Conquest, Ventidius, . . .* Capell. 4. *Orodes*] Rowe; *Orades* Ff. 5. *Sil.*] Theobald; *Romaine* F. 8. *whither*] F 2; *whether* F.

Scene 1 [see North, *ante*, p. xxxviii].

1. *darting Parthia*] Alluding to the well-known tactics of Parthian horsemen, who, having flung their darts, avoided close quarters by swift retreat, shooting flights of arrows backward as they fled.

2. *Crassus' death*] Crassus (who formed the first triumvirate with Pompey and Cæsar) was defeated B.C. 53, in the plains of Mesopotamia, by Surenas, the general of Orodes, King of Parthia and father of Pacorus; and was treacherously killed during a conference proposed by the victor. Orodes poured melted gold into the dead man's mouth, bidding him take his fill of what he had so coveted in life. This act possibly suggested II. v. 34, 35 *ante*.

9. *grand captain*] as often. So *e.g.* John Heywood, *The Spider and the Flie*, 1556 (Spenser Soc., 1894, pp. 218, 223, etc.):—

"The *graund Captaine* standing
amid mong this rought,
Was the flie, that" etc.;

Roister Doister, IV. viii. (ed. Arber, p. 77): "I my selfe will mounsire *graunde captaine* vndertake."

I have done enough; a lower place, note well,
May make too great an act: for learn this, Silius;
Better to leave undone, than by our deed
Acquire too high a fame when him we serve 's away.
Cæsar and Antony have ever won
More in their officer than person: Sossius,
One of my place in Syria, his lieutenant,
For quick accumulation of renown,
Which he achieved by the minute, lost his favour.
Who does i' the wars more than his captain can
Becomes his captain's captain: and ambition,
The soldier's virtue, rather makes choice of loss,
Than gain which darkens him.
I could do more to do Antonius good,
But 'twould offend him; and in his offence
Should my performance perish.

Sil. Thou hast, Ventidius, that
Without the which a soldier, and his sword,
Grants scarce distinction. Thou wilt write to Antony?

Ven. I'll humbly signify what in his name,
That magical word of war, we have effected;
How, with his banners and his well-paid ranks,
The ne'er-yet-beaten horse of Parthia
We have jaded out o' the field.

27, 34. ***Sil.***] Theobald; *Rom.* Ff. 27-29. ***Thou hast . . . Antony?***] Capell's arrangement; prose in Ff.

20. ***lost his favour***] There is possibly no authority for this statement. It is not in North (see *ante*, p. xxxviii) or Plutarch, as was kindly pointed out to me by Professor A. C. Bradley.

22. ***captain's captain***] So is Desdemona called (*Othello*, II. i. 74).

22, 23. ***ambition . . . virtue***] Compare *Othello*, III. iii. 350: "the big wars That make *ambition virtue!*"

24. ***darkens him***] ***him***, *i.e.* the soldier, as ambition and the rest shows; otherwise it is equally true that he who becomes his captain's captain darkens ***him***. With ***darkens***, compare *Coriolanus*, IV. vii. 5: "And you are *darken'd* in this action, sir, Even by your own."

29. ***Grants scarce***] Equivalent to "scarcely admit of." Warburton first explained lines 28, 29 to mean that, without discretion, there would be very little difference between a soldier and his sword. Steevens quotes *Coriolanus*, I. iv. 52-54:—

"O noble fellow!
Who sensibly out-dares his senseless sword,
And, when it bows, stands up."

See also Beaumont and Fletcher, *The Maid's Tragedy*, IV. (folio 1679, p. 15): "That has no vertue in him, all 's in his sword." The Collier MS. has *Gains*.

31. ***word of war***] Compare II. ii. 44 *ante*.

34. ***jaded***] "driven harassed and dispirited" (Dyce). Compare Beaumont and Fletcher, *Philaster*, I. (fol. 1679, p. 22): "Oh! this same whorson Conscience, how it *jades* us!"

Sil. [illegible] Where is he now?
Ven. He purposeth to Athens: whither, with what haste
The weight we must convey with 's will permit,
We shall appear before him. On, there; pass along!
[*Exeunt.*

SCENE II.—*Rome. An ante-chamber in Cæsar's house.*

Enter AGRIPPA *at one door,* ENOBARBUS *at another.*

Agr. What, are the brothers parted?
Eno. They have despatch'd with Pompey; he is gone;
The other three are sealing. Octavia weeps
To part from Rome; Cæsar is sad; and Lepidus,
Since Pompey's feast, as Menas says, is troubled
With the green sickness.
Agr. [illegible] 'Tis a noble Lepidus.
Eno. A very fine one: O, how he loves Cæsar!
Agr. Nay, but how dearly he adores Mark Antony!
Eno. Cæsar? Why he 's the Jupiter of men.
Agr. What 's Antony? The god of Jupiter.
Eno. Spake you of Cæsar? How! the nonpareil!
Agr. O Antony! O thou Arabian bird!
Eno. Would you praise Cæsar, say "Cæsar": go no further.
Agr. Indeed, he plied them both with excellent praises.
Eno. But he loves Cæsar best; yet he loves Antony:
Hoo! hearts, tongues, figures, scribes, bards, poets, cannot

Rome . . .] Capell (substantially); *Rome.* Rowe. 11. *Spake*] F; *Speak* F. 3 *How!*] *How,* F; *Oh!* F 2. 16, 17. *Hoo*] Ff 1-3; *Ho* F 4. 16. *figures*] Hanmer; *Figure* F.

6. *green sickness*] Lepidus is credited with a form of anæmia much exploited by the dramatists as peculiar to love-sick damsels. "Lepidus, it is insinuated, is languishing for love of Cæsar and Antony" (L. in *The Eversley Shakespeare*).

7. *A very fine one*] This comment was possibly evoked by the sound of the word *Lepidus*, which, to me, at least, is rather suggestive of some kind of sea creature of the inerter type. But perhaps this is seeing too much: Lepidus is presently a "shard-borne beetle" (l. 20 *post*).

12. *O Antony!*] Hanmer, and some others, read "Of Antony?"

Arabian bird] A frequent phrase for the fabulous phœnix, of which but one was supposed to exist at a time. Compare *Cymbeline*, I. vi. 17.

13. *"Cæsar": go no further*] So "Cæsar" implies the perfection of generous clemency in III. xiii. 55 *post*: "Further than he is Cæsar."

16, 17. *Hoo! hearts . . . Think . . .*] I retain *Hoo!* of Ff 1-3 as characteristic of the speaker and also appropriate to the semi-hysterical adulation of Lepidus which he mimics; Clarke and

Think, speak, cast, write, sing, number, hoo!
His love to Antony. But as for Cæsar,
Kneel down, kneel down, and wonder.
Agr. Both he loves.
Eno. They are his shards, and he their beetle.
[*Trumpet within*] So;
This is to horse. Adieu, noble Agrippa.
Agr. Good fortune, worthy soldier, and farewell.

Enter CÆSAR, ANTONY, LEPIDUS, *and* OCTAVIA.

Ant. No further, sir.
Cæs. You take from me a great part of myself;
Use me well in 't. Sister, prove such a wife
As my thoughts make thee, and as my farthest band
Shall pass on thy approof. Most noble Antony,
Let not the piece of virtue which is set
Betwixt us as the cement of our love,
To keep it builded, be the ram to batter

20. [*Trumpet within*] Capell; omitted Ff.

Rolfe also read *Hoo!* for *How!* in line 11 above. But the spelling of *ho* is so capricious (see on IV. xiv. 104 *post*, and *Roister Doister*, *passim*, "how," "hough") that *hoo* and *ho* may be identical after all. A common practice of sonneteers is aimed at in the ensuing correspondence of a succession of nouns with another of verbs, in separate lines. Compare B. Griffin, *Fidessa*, 1596, Sonnet xlvii. :—

"I see, I hear, I feele, I know, I rue,
My fate, my fame, my praise, my losse, my fall;" etc.

17. *cast*] compute. Compare II. vi. 54 *ante*.

number] versify, put into numbers or verses.

20. *They . . . beetle*] Steevens: "They are the *wings* that raise this *heavy lumpish insect* from the ground. So, in *Macbeth* [III. ii. 43]: 'the *shard-borne beetle*.'" See also *Cymbeline*, III. iii. 20, "The *sharded beetle*." The shards are the horny cases or sheaths of the insect's wings.

26, 27. *as my farthest band . . . approof*] such as I would stake anything that you will prove to be. Compare the common expression, "I pass my word," etc. *Band* is frequent for *bond*, as in *Two Wise Men*, etc., 1619, I. i. (see Chapman, ed. 1875, *Poems*, etc., p. 388): "a friend of mine must use a thousand pound and intreats my *band*:" etc. For *approof* indicating the proved possession of a quality, compare *All's Well that Ends Well*, II. v. 3: "Of very valiant *approof*."

28. *piece of virtue*] So in *The Tempest*, I. ii. 56: "Thy mother was a *piece of virtue*"; Sir T. Browne, *Hydriotaphia*, Epistle Ded.: "A complete *piece of Virtue* must be made from the Centos of all Ages, as all the beauties of *Greece* could make but one handsome *Venus*." *Piece* often = masterpiece, as here (most probably) and in V. ii. 99 *post*, but is also used merely for "creature" and the like words. So in *The Taming of a Shrew* (*Six Old Plays*, Nichols, 1779, p. 212): "*Ferando*. 'Tis wel done *Kate*. *Emelia*. I sure, and like a loving *peece*," etc.

29. *cement*] accented on first syllable, like the verb in II. i. 48 *ante*. So commonly. Compare Sylvester, *A Hymn of Alms*, line 38: "*Alms* are the *Cæment* of this round theater."

The fortress of it; for better might we
Have loved without this mean, if on both parts
This be not cherish'd.

Ant. Make me not offended
In your distrust.

Cæs. I have said.

Ant. You shall not find,
Though you be therein curious, the least cause
For what you seem to fear: so, the gods keep you,
And make the hearts of Romans serve your ends!
We will here part.

Cæs. Farewell, my dearest sister, fare thee well:
The elements be kind to thee, and make
Thy spirits all of comfort! fare thee well.

Oct. My noble brother!

Ant. The April's in her eyes: it is love's spring,
And these the showers to bring it on. Be cheerful.

Oct. Sir, look well to my husband's house; and—

Cæs. What,
Octavia?

Oct. I'll tell you in your ear.

Ant. Her tongue will not obey her heart, nor can

33, 34. *Make . . . distrust*] As Rowe; one line Ff. 45, 46. *What, Octavia*] As Hanmer; one line Ff.

32. *mean*] *mean* and *means* were used indifferently. Compare Adlington's *Apuleius*, 1566, chap. xxii. (Tudor Trans. p. 124): "shewing a *mean* to Psyches to save her life," etc.

33, 34. *Make . . . In your distrust*] This does not seem to="In your distrust of me, don't offend me," but rather "Make me not offended *with*, or *at* your mistrust," the use of *in* being comparable to one or other of those remarked by Abbott (*Shakes. Grammar*, § 162). Compare *Troilus and Cressida*, II. iii. 149: "*In* second voice we 'll not be satisfied; We come to speak with him"; *Hamlet*, v. i. 317: "Strengthen your patience *in* our last night's speech."

35. *curious*] particular, minute in inquiry. The word is used of careful or over-exactness of any kind. See *All's Well that Ends Well*, I. ii. 20; Massinger, *The City Madame*, I. i. 59: "To your study; and be *curious* in the search Of the nativities"; and Appendix, *post*, p. 211, line 45.

40, 41. *The elements . . . comfort*] Most likely a parting wish for favourable weather; Mason quotes *Othello*, II. i. 45. Johnson, however, thought that the elements composing the human body are invoked to act harmoniously and induce cheerfulness. See on v. ii. 288 *post*.

43, 44. *The April's . . . on*] Compare Bodenham's *Belvedere*, 1600, (Spenser Soc., 1875, p. 28):—

"*MAY is not loues month, MAY is full of flowers,*
But dropping APRIL: Loue is full of showers."

47, 48. *nor can . . . her tongue*] Cleopatra, at parting, is similarly at a stand in I. iii. 89: "something it is I would,——"

Her heart inform her tongue—the swan's down-feather,
That stands upon the swell at the full of tide,
And neither way inclines.

Eno. [*Aside to Agr.*] Will Cæsar weep?

Agr. [*Aside to Eno.*] He has a cloud in 's face.

Eno. [*Aside to Agr.*] He were the worse for that, were he a horse;
So is he, being a man.

Agr. [*Aside to Eno.*] Why, Enobarbus,
When Antony found Julius Cæsar dead,
He cried almost to roaring; and he wept
When at Philippi he found Brutus slain.

Eno. [*Aside to Agr.*] That year, indeed, he was troubled with a rheum;
What willingly he did confound he wail'd,
Believe 't, till I wept too.

Cæs. No, sweet Octavia,
You shall hear from me still; the time shall not
Out-go my thinking on you.

48. *down-feather*] Hyphened by Rowe. 49. *at the full*] F; *at full* F 2, and many editors. 51-59. *Aside . . .*] Capell. 52, 53. *He . . . man*] As Pope; prose in Ff. 59. *wept*] Theobald; *weepe* F.

48-50. *the swan's . . . inclines*] It is not clear whether Octavia's heart is the swan's down-feather, swayed neither way on the full tide of emotion at parting with her brother to accompany her husband, or whether it is merely the *inaction* of heart and tongue, on the same occasion, which is elliptically compared to that of the feather.

52. *were he a horse*] Steevens, defining a cloud on a horse's face as "a black or dark-coloured spot in his forehead between his eyes," proceeds: "This gives him a sour look, and being supposed to indicate an ill-temper, is of course regarded as a great blemish." Confirmation of this assertion has not been met with, and the following examples from the *New Eng. Dict.* show that clouds are not confined to the forehead: 1675, *London Gaz.* No. 1039/4, "A plain iron gray Nag, with a cloud on his face"; 1676, *ibid.* No. 1120/4: "A Grey Mare . . . with a black cloud on one side of her face." Steevens cites Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*, ed. 1632, 524: "Every lover admires his mistress, though she be very deformed of her selfe—thin leane, chitty face, have clouds in her face, be crooked," etc.

57. *a rheum*] a running at the eyes. Compare D'Avenant, *The Just Italian*, IV. (*Works*, i. 258 in *Dramatists of Restoration*):—

"This is a sickly *rheum*, and not Compunction in my eyes."

It is very commonly used for any moist secretion of the head, as in *The Merchant of Venice*, I. iii. 118.

58. *What willingly . . . wail'd*] Compare v. i. 28-30 *post*.

59. *wept*] Steevens and Capell retain *weep* of Ff. The latter unaccountably thinks it out of character for Enobarbus to weep, and says on *Believe't till I weep too*, "Which he thought would be never." The former defends it as implying something like this: Believe it till you see me weeping on the like occasion, and then I 'll thank you for the same undeserved credit for compassion.

Ant. Come, sir, come;
I'll wrastle with you in my strength of love:
Look, here I have you; thus I let you go,
And give you to the gods.
Cæs. Adieu; be happy!
Lep. Let all the number of the stars give light
To thy fair way!
Cæs. Farewell, farewell! [*Kisses Octavia.*
Ant. Farewell!
[*Trumpets sound. Exeunt.*

SCENE III.—*Alexandria. Cleopatra's palace.*

Enter CLEOPATRA, CHARMIAN, IRAS, *and* ALEXAS.

Cleo. Where is the fellow?
Alex. Half afeard to come.
Cleo. Go to, go to.

Enter the Messenger as before.

Come hither, sir.
Alex. Good majesty,
Herod of Jewry dare not look upon you
But when you are well pleased.
Cleo. That Herod's head
I'll have: but how, when Antony is gone
Through whom I might command it? Come thou near.

62. *wrastle*] F; *wrestle* F 3 and edd.

Scene III.

Alexandria . . .] Capell (substantially); *Alexandria.* Rowe; *The Palace in Alexandria* Theobald. 2. *Enter . . .*] Ff, after *Sir.* 2-6. *Good majesty . . . it*] As Pope; prose Ff. 6. *Come thou near*] Placed as Theobald; separate line in Ff.

61. *Out-go . . . you*] Outstrip, etc., *i.e.* my loving thought of you shall keep pace with the days of absence.

62. *I'll wrastle . . . love*] After what precedes, this gives the impression of meaning that Antony would contend with Cæsar—with whom Octavia was finding it so hard to part—by putting forth the strength of his love to separate them; till we read the next line (63) which seems to confine Antony's expression of love to Cæsar, whom he embraces. *Wrastle* thus refers at once to their embrace and rivalry in mutual goodwill.

Scene III.

3. *Herod of Jewry*] See on I. ii. 28 *ante.*

Mess. Most gracious majesty,—
Cleo. Didst thou behold
Octavia?
Mess. Ay, dread queen.
Cleo. Where?
Mess. Madam, in Rome;
I look'd her in the face, and saw her led
Between her brother and Mark Antony.
Cleo. Is she as tall as me?
Mess. She is not, madam.
Cleo. Didst hear her speak? is she shrill-tongued or low?
Mess. Madam, I heard her speak; she is low-voiced.
Cleo. That's not so good: he cannot like her long.
Char. Like her! O Isis! 'tis impossible.
Cleo. I think so, Charmian: dull of tongue and dwarfish!
What majesty is in her gait? Remember,
If e'er thou look'dst on majesty.
Mess. She creeps:
Her motion and her station are as one;
She shows a body rather than a life,
A statue than a breather.
Cleo. Is this certain?
Mess. Or I have no observance.
Char. Three in Egypt
Cannot make better note.
Cleo. He's very knowing;

7, 8. *Didst . . . Octavia*] As Theobald; one line Ff. 8-10. *Madam . . . Antony*] As Capell; prose Ff. 18. *look'dst*] Pope; *look'st* F. 18, 19. *She . . . one*] As Rowe; one line Ff. 22-24. *Three . . . perceive't*] As Theobald; two lines Ff, the first ending *note*.

14. *That's . . . good*] That is less favourable news. Those who suppose the words to mean "That is no great commendation," on the strength of what immediately follows, and of "dull of tongue" (line 16), perhaps do not sufficiently consider Cleopatra's hopeful mood after her recent despair. "He cannot like her long" is probably merely a rebound from a momentary doubt, and = Nevertheless, he cannot, etc. As to "dull of tongue"—in her now mood of interpreting everything to her own advantage, she so presently construes *low-voiced*, just as she degrades any lower stature than her own to *dwarfish*, though she would doubtless have preferred the messenger to say "shrill-tongued." Compare I. i. 32 *ante*. On the contrary supposition, Malone (as in II. v. 82, 83) again applauds a suggestion of Queen Elizabeth in Cleopatra, because, forsooth, the Continuator of Stowe's *Chronicle* says: "She was *tall of stature*, . . . her *voyce loud and shrill*."

19. *station*] manner of standing, as in *Hamlet*, III. iv. 58.

I do perceive't: there's nothing in her yet:
The fellow has good judgement.
Char. Excellent.
Cleo. Guess at her years, I prithee.
Mess. Madam,
She was a widow—
Cleo. Widow! Charmian, hark.
Mess. And I think she's thirty.
Cleo. Bear'st thou her face in mind? is't long or round?
Mess. Round even to faultiness.
Cleo. For the most part, too, they are foolish that are so.
Her hair, what colour?
Mess. Brown, madam: and her forehead
As low as she would wish it.
Cleo. There's gold for thee.
Thou must not take my former sharpness ill:
I will employ thee back again; I find thee
Most fit for business: go make thee ready;
Our letters are prepared. [*Exit Messenger.*
Char. A proper man.
Cleo. Indeed, he is so: I repent me much

26, 27. *Madam, . . . widow—*] As Steevens (1793); one line Ff. 31, 32. *For . . . colour*] As Ff 3, 4; prose F, F 2. 37. *Exit . . .*] Hanmer; omitted in Ff.

30, 31. *Round . . . so*] Steevens derives Cleopatra's comment from the old writers on physiognomy, quoting inexactly Hill's *Pleasant History*, etc. (1613), p. 218. The information is given repeatedly of both head and face: "The face very *rounde*, argueth such an one to be foolish," etc. (p. 86 *b*); "The head spericall or throughly *round*, doth denote a quicke mouing, vnstablenesse, forgetfulnesse, small discretion, and little wit in that person" (p. 26 *b*); "The head short and very *round*, to be forgetfull and foolish. The head long in fashion to the Hammer, to be prudent and wary" (p. 218, wrongly paged 118); "The face very little and *round*, to be foolish" (p. 220, wrongly 120). In Mabbe's *Celestina*, 1613, i. (Tudor Trans. p. 32), Calisto, enumerating Melibea's beauties, says: "The forme of her face rather long then *round*."

32. *hair, what colour*] See on II. v. 114 *ante*.

33. *As low . . . it*] "The phrase employed by the Messenger is still a cant one. I once overheard a chambermaid say of her rival,—'that her legs were as thick *as she could wish them*'" (Steevens). A low forehead discredits beauty in *1 Antonio and Mellida*, iv. (Halliwell's *Marston*, i. p. 50):—

"Her beautie is not half so ravishing
As you discourse of; she hath a freckled face,
A *lowe* forehead, and a lumpish eye."

Similarly in *The City Wit*, IV. i. (Pearson's *Brome*, i. 339): "*Rufflit* here, he writes that you [*i.e.* Josina] have a grosse body, a dull eye, a *lowe* forehead, a black tooth, a fat hand, and a most lean purse." See also App. p. 206.

That so I harried him. Why, methinks, by him,
This creature's no such thing.

Char. Nothing, madam.

Cleo. The man hath seen some majesty, and should know.

Char. Hath he seen majesty? Isis else defend,
And serving you so long!

Cleo. I have one thing more to ask him yet, good Charmian:
But 'tis no matter; thou shalt bring him to me
Where I will write. All may be well enough.

Char. I warrant you, madam. [*Exeunt.*

SCENE IV.—*Athens. A room in Antony's house.*

Enter ANTONY *and* OCTAVIA.

Ant. Nay, nay, Octavia, not only that,—
That were excusable, that, and thousands more
Of semblable import,—but he hath waged
New wars 'gainst Pompey; made his will, and read it
To public ear:
Spoke scantly of me: when perforce he could not
But pay me terms of honour, cold and sickly
He vented them; most narrow measure lent me:
When the best hint was given him, he not took 't,
Or did it from his teeth.

41-43. *The man . . . long*] As Pope; prose Ff. 44-46. *I . . . enough*] As Rowe; prose Ff.

Scene IV.

Athens . . .] Capell; *Athens.* Rowe. 5, 6. *To . . . not*] Divided as Capell; first line ends *me*, in Ff. 6, 7. *me: when . . . honour, cold*] Rowe's pointing (approx.); *me, When . . . Honour: cold* Ff. 8. *them; most*] Rowe; *then most* Ff. 8, 9. *measure lent me: When . . . him,*] Rowe's pointing (approx.); *measure; lent me, When . . . him:* Ff. 9. *not took 't*] Theobald (Thirlby conj.); *not look 't* F; *had look 't* F 2; *o'er-look'd* Rowe; *but look'd* Collier MS.

39. *harried*] harassed, maltreated; from the original sense ravaged, laid waste. Steevens quotes *The Revenger's Tragedy*, 1607, i. [Collins' *Tourneur*, vol. ii. p. 36]: "He *harried* her amidst a throng of Panders," etc. Minshew, *The Guide to the Tongues*, 1617 (cited by Malone) has "to *Harrie, turmoile or vex.*"

Scene IV.

3. *semblable*] similar; as in *2 Henry IV.* v. i. 72. It sometimes appears as a noun; so in Day's *English Secretarie* (1599), p. 35: "whereof no hystorie hath the *semblable*, no region the match," etc.

4, 5. *made his will . . . ear*] In Plutarch it is Antony's will which Cæsar reads. See North, *ante*, p. xliv.

9. *not took 't*] The emendation is too probable to be rejected, although *not look 't* might signify "took no notice."

10. *from his teeth*] Compare "*Frae the teeth* forward [Not from the heart]"

Oct. O my good lord,
Believe not all; or, if you must believe,
Stomach not all. A more unhappy lady,
If this division chance, ne'er stood between,
Praying for both parts:
The good gods will mock me presently,
When I shall pray, "O, bless my lord and husband!"
Undo that prayer, by crying out as loud,
"O, bless my brother!" Husband win, win brother,
Prays, and destroys the prayer; no midway
'Twixt these extremes at all.

Ant. Gentle Octavia,
Let your best love draw to that point, which seeks
Best to preserve it: if I lose mine honour,
I lose myself: better I were not yours
Than yours so branchless. But, as you requested,
Yourself shall go between 's: the mean time, lady,
I'll raise the preparation of a war
Shall stain your brother: make your soonest haste;
So your desires are yours.

Oct. Thanks to my lord.
The Jove of power make me most weak, most weak,
Your reconciler! Wars 'twixt you twain would be

16. *pray*] F; *praying* Rowe. 24. *yours*] F 2; *your* F. 30. *Your*] F 2; *You* F.

(Henderson's *Scottish Proverbs*, ed. 1876, p. 110). Pye quotes *The Wild Gallant*, IV. i. (see Scott's *Dryden*, 1808, ii. 78): "I am confident she 's angry but *from the teeth* outwards."

12. *stomach*] resent. So in Danett's *Comines*, book ii. chap. viii.: "whereof scoffes arise, which they that are scoffed *stomacke*." Compare also II. ii. 9 *ante*.

12-20. Octavia's "situation and sentiments" are compared with those of Blanch in *King John*, III. i. 327 *et seq.*, and Volumnia in *Coriolanus*, v. iii. 103 *et seq.* Compare also North, *ante*, pp. xxxviii-ix.

15. *presently*] on the instant, immediately, as in II. ii. 159 *ante*.

27. *stain your brother*:] *i.e.* belittle him by comparison, eclipse any preparations in his power. Compare *Tottel's Miscellany*, 1557 (Arber's reprint, p. 163): "one whose face will *staine* you all"; *Robert Laneham's Letter*, ed. Furnivall, 1871, pp. 60, 61: "And, too say truth: what, with myne eyz, az I can amorously gloit it, . . . my deep diapason, my wanton warblz, my running, my tyming, my tuning, and my twynkling, I can gracify the matters az well az the prowdest of them; and waz yet neuer *staynd*, I thank God"; Churchyard, *The Worthiness of Wales*, 1587 (Repr. 1776, p. 98): "What newe things now, . . . can *staine* those deedes, our fathers old have done." Boswell's conjecture *stay* has found adopters; but even were the metaphor in the text less common, its source is obvious.

As if the world should cleave, and that slain men
Should solder up the rift.

Ant. When it appears to you where this begins,
Turn your displeasure that way; for our faults
Can never be so equal, that your love
Can equally move with them. Provide your going;
Choose your own company, and command what cost
Your heart has mind to. [*Exeunt.*

SCENE V.—*The same. Another room.*

Enter ENOBARBUS *and* EROS, *meeting.*

Eno. How now, friend Eros!

Eros. There's strange news come, sir.

Eno. What, man?

Eros. Cæsar and Lepidus have made wars upon Pompey.

Eno. This is old: what is the success?

Eros. Cæsar, having made use of him in the wars 'gainst Pompey, presently denied him rivality; would not let him partake in the glory of the action: and not resting here, accuses him of letters he had formerly wrote to Pompey; upon his own appeal, seizes him: so the poor third is up, till death enlarge his confine.

32. *solder*] Pope; *soader* F. 38. *has*] F 2; *he's* F.

Scene v.

The same . . .] Capell. *meeting*] Capell; omitted in Ff.

32. *solder . . . rift*] "I heard that the Earl of Northumberland liues apart againe from his lady nowe shee hath brought him an heire, which he sayd was the *soder* of their reconcilement:" etc. (*Manningham's Diary*, 1602, Camden Society ed., p. 79).

34-36. *for our faults . . . them*] *i.e.* for our faults cannot possibly be so equally balanced as not to decrease your love for one or the other in a greater degree.

Scene v.

5. *success*] issue. See on II. iv. 9 *ante*.

7. *rivality*] equality, the rank and rights of a partner. For *rivals* = associates, compare *Hamlet*, I. i. 13. In Chapman's *Bussy D'Ambois*, II. i. (*Plays*, ed. Shepherd, 1874, p. 149) rivality = rivalry: "I need fear No check in his rivality," etc.

10. *his own appeal*] his own (Cæsar's) accusation or impeachment. Compare *Richard II.* I. i. 4, and *Calisto and Melibœa* (Hazlitt's *Dodsley*, i. 70):—

"For where of mistrust ye have me *appealed*,
Have here my cloak, till your doubt be assoiled."

11. *up*] shut up; as appears from "till death enlarge his confine." Lepidus—whose crime was that he had played an entirely selfish game in the war with Pompey, and would have seized Sicily for himself, but for failing

Eno. Then, world, thou hast a pair of chaps, no more;
And throw between them all the food thou hast,
They 'll grind the one the other. Where 's Antony?
Eros. He 's walking in the garden—thus; and spurns
The rush that lies before him; cries, "Fool Lepidus!"
And threats the throat of that his officer
That murder'd Pompey.
Eno. Our great navy 's rigg'd.
Eros. For Italy and Cæsar. More, Domitius;
My lord desires you presently: my news
I might have told hereafter.
Eno. 'Twill be naught:
But let it be. Bring me to Antony.
Eros. Come, sir. [*Exeunt.*

12-14. *Then . . . Antony*] As Hanmer; prose Ff. 12. *world*] Hanmer; *would* F. *hast*] Hanmer; *hadst* F. *chaps,*] Theobald; no comma Ff. 14. *the one the other*] Capell (Johnson conject.); *the other* F. 18. *navy 's*] F 3 (*-ie 's*); *Nauies* F. 21, 22. *'Twill . . . Antony*] As Hanmer; one line Ff.

to win the confidence of his soldiers—was compelled to live at Circeii under strict observation, but not deprived of his private wealth or office of Pontifex Maximus. He was recalled to Rome on a false suspicion of being privy to his son's conspiracy at the time of the battle of Actium, but did not die till 13 B.C. See also Appendix I, on *up*.

13, 14. *And throw . . . other*] "Cæsar and Antony will make war on each other, though they have the world to prey upon between them" (Johnson). A metaphor related to that of the "pair of chaps," though different, occurs at the close of III. i. of Jonson's *Sejanus* (1605), and is derived from Suetonius, *Tiberius*, cap. 21:—

". . . The Roman race most wretched, that should live
Between so slow jaws, and so long a bruising."

15, 16. *spurns The rush*] Compare *Hamlet*, IV. v. 6: "*Spurns* enviously at straws."

17, 18. *officer . . . Pompey*] Pompey, defeated in Sicily, escaped to the East, and there, failing in designs on Antony's provinces, met his fate, in all probability by Antony's orders, however he might throw the obloquy of the deed on his lieutenants. See North, *Cæsar Augustus*, in *The Lives of Epaminondas*, etc., 1610, pp. 1166/7: "Whilst *Antonius* made warre with the Parthians, or rather infortunately they made warre with him to his great confusion: his Lieutenant *Titius* found the meanes to lay hands vpon *Sextus Pompeius* that was fled into the Ile of Samos, and then fortie yeares old: whom he put to death by *Antonius* commandement: for which fact he was so hated of the people of Rome, that though he had giuen them the pastime of certaine playes at his owne cost and charges, they draue him out of the Theater."

20. *presently*] at once. See II. ii. 159; III. iv. 15 *ante*.

21, 22. *'Twill be naught: But . . . be*] Presumably: 'Twill be something of no consequence he wants me for: but no matter: unless, indeed, Enobarbus is forecasting the issue of the expedition. Thiselton, I take it, implies this in giving references here "for Enobarbus' prescience"; and by including viii. 11 (*i.e.* x. 1 *post* in our text) among them, perhaps intends us to notice the very expression there, "Naught, naught," etc.

SCENE VI.—*Rome. Cæsar's house.*

Enter CÆSAR, AGRIPPA, *and* MÆCENAS.

Cæs. Contemning Rome, he has done all this, and more,
In Alexandria: here's the manner of't:
I' the market-place, on a tribunal silver'd,
Cleopatra and himself in chairs of gold
Were publicly enthroned: at the feet sat
Cæsarion, whom they call my father's son,
And all the unlawful issue that their lust
Since then hath made between them. Unto her
He gave the stablishment of Egypt; made her
Of Lower Syria, Cyprus, Lydia,
Absolute queen.

Mæc. This in the public eye?

Cæs. I' the common show-place, where they exercise.
His sons he there proclaim'd the kings of kings:
Great Media, Parthia, and Armenia,
He gave to Alexander; to Ptolemy he assign'd
Syria, Cilicia, and Phœnicia: she
In the habiliments of the goddess Isis
That day appear'd; and oft before gave audience,
As 'tis reported, so.

Mæc. Let Rome be thus
Inform'd.

Agr. Who, queasy with his insolence
Already, will their good thoughts call from him.

Cæs. The people knows it; and have now received
His accusations.

Rome . . .] Capell (substantially); *Rome.* Rowe. 2. *manner*] F; *matter* F 4. 10, 11. *Of . . . queen*] Rowe, ed. 2; one line Ff. 13. *he there*] Johnson; *hither* F. *kings of kings*] Rowe; *king of kings* F. 16. *Phœnicia*] F 2; *Phœnetia* F. 17. *the habiliments*] Rowe, ed. 2; *th' abiliments* F. 19. *reported, so*] Rowe; no comma in F. 19-21. *Let . . . him*] As Hanmer; three lines in Ff, ending *inform'd, already, him.* 22, 23. *The people . . . accusations*] As Pope; two lines, the division after *it,* in Ff. 22. *knows*] *knowes* F, F 2; *know* F 3.

Scene VI. [see North, *ante*, pp. xlii-iii].

6. *Cæsarion*] See on II. ii. 228 *ante.*

10. *Lydia*] So North; but Plutarch, *Lybia*, which Upton pointed out and Johnson adopted. Bocchus is king of Lybia in line 69 *post* and in North and Plutarch.

17. *Isis*] See on I. ii. 61 *ante.*

22. *knows*] See on I. iv. 21 *ante. Have now*, etc., appears to show that *people* is not a singular collective here.

Agr. Who does he accuse?
Cæs. Cæsar: and that, having in Sicily
Sextus Pompeius spoil'd, we had not rated him
His part o' the isle: then does he say, he lent me
Some shipping unrestored: lastly, he frets
That Lepidus of the triumvirate
Should be deposed; and, being, that we detain
All his revenue.
Agr. Sir, this should be answer'd.
Cæs. 'Tis done already, and the messenger gone.
I have told him, Lepidus was grown too cruel;
That he his high authority abused
And did deserve his change: for what I have conquer'd,
I grant him part; but then, in his Armenia,
And other of his conquer'd kingdoms, I
Demand the like.
Mæc. He 'll never yield to that.
Cæs. Nor must not then be yielded to in this.

Enter OCTAVIA *with her Train.*

Oct. Hail, Cæsar, and my lord! hail, most dear Cæsar!
Cæs. That ever I should call thee castaway!
Oct. You have not call'd me so, nor have you cause.
Cæs. Why have you stol'n upon us thus? You come not
Like Cæsar's sister: the wife of Antony
Should have an army for an usher, and
The neighs of horse to tell of her approach
Long ere she did appear; the trees by the way

23. *Who*] F; *Whom* F 2. 28-30. *That . . . revenue*] Rowe; two lines in Ff, ending *depos'd, Reuenue.* 29. *and, being, that*] *and being, that* Rowe; *And being that,* F. 31. *the*] F; *his* F 2. 34. *change: for*] F; *chance for* Ff 2-4, whence Rowe *chance. For.* 36, 37. *And . . . like*] As Rowe; one line Ff. 42. *have you*] F; *hast thou* F 2. *us*] F; *me* F 2.

25. *rated*] apportioned by estimate, a rare extension of the usual meaning "computed," "valued." See on III. xi. 69 *post*, and compare John Heywood, *The Spider and the Flie*, 1556 (Spenser Society, 1894, p. 211):—
"Where you two: chose vs two: your arbytres late,
To adiudge (by reason) the custome rightlie:
Of spiders and flies, in all windowes situate,
Which part should haue all: or what part we should *rate:*
To eyther part," etc.

29. *and, being, that*] Boswell (1821 Var.) reads *and, being that,*. This, in sense, corresponds with the reading of F, but has a clumsy effect on verse and construction.

Should have borne men; and expectation fainted,
Longing for what it had not; nay, the dust
Should have ascended to the roof of heaven,
Raised by your populous troops: but you are come
A market-maid to Rome; and have prevented
The ostentation of our love, which, left unshown,
Is often left unloved: we should have met you
By sea and land, supplying every stage
With an augmented greeting.

Oct. Good my lord,
To come thus was I not constrain'd, but did it
On my free will. My lord, Mark Antony,
Hearing that you prepared for war, acquainted
My grieved ear withal; whereon, I begg'd
His pardon for return

Cæs. Which soon he granted,
Being an obstruct 'tween his lust and him.

59. *grieved*] *greeved* F; *greeving* F 2. and most editors; *abstract* F.

61. *obstruct*] Theobald (Warburton)

50. *populous*] Similarly used in Hall's *Chronicle* (1548), Richard III. yere ii. fol. xvi. [*b*]: "where the duke not far of lay encamped wyth a *populous* army and a host of great strength and vigor," etc.; and again, *ibid.* yere iii. fol. xxix. [*a*].

52. *ostentation*] public manifestation, full display. Theobald read *ostent*, and S. Walker conjectured *ostention*, for metrical reasons.

52, 53. *which, left . . . unloved*] As it stands the text might conceivably mean: which, if not outwardly manifested, is often left without return, unreciprocated; but it much more probably signifies: a feeling which, if not openly exercised, often ceases to be felt at all. Similarly Cartwright, in *The Lady Errant* (1651), v. iv.:—

"Love doth cease
To be, when that it breaks not out into
Those signs of Joy; as Souls cease to be souls
When they leave off to show their Operations."

The ungenerous sentiment in a brother must be put down to Cæsar's momentary displeasure, unless we take *our* (line 52) to include Octavia, which much modifies its force. The Collier MS. reading, *held unlov'd, i.e.* considered unlov'd, is tempting, as Cæsar sets store by appearances and popular effects. Singer thought *felt* preferable to *held*, as containing the same letters as *left*, and Hudson adopts it. The latter also reads "which *left* unshown," observing: "The passage is commonly so pointed as to make *which*, referring to *love*, the subject of *is felt*; whereas it should be the clause itself—'which *being* left unshown,' or 'the leaving of which unshown.'" The change does not seem to me to warrant its assumed imperativeness, or to be advantageous.

61. *obstruct*] impediment. This noun is not found elsewhere, but Shakespeare frequently uses verbs as nouns, *e.g.* "your ladyship's *impose*," *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, iv. iii. 8; "false *accuse*," *2 Henry VI.* iii. i. 160. Ff *abstract* finds defenders, beginning with Henley and Steevens. Knight thinks it refers to Octavia as "something separating him [Antony] from the gratification of his desires." Schmidt, who calls *obstruct* "an idle conjecture of modern editors," explains *abstract* as

Oct. Do not say so, my lord.
Cæs. I have eyes upon him,
And his affairs come to me on the wind.
Where is he now?
Oct. My lord, in Athens.
Cæs. No, my most wronged sister; Cleopatra
Hath nodded him to her. He hath given his empire
Up to a whore; who now are levying
The kings o' the earth for war: he hath assembled
Bocchus, the king of Libya; Archelaus,
Of Cappadocia; Philadelphos, king
Of Paphlagonia; the Thracian king, Adallas;
King Mauchus of Arabia; King of Pont;
Herod of Jewry; Mithridates, king
Of Comagene; Polemon and Amyntas,
The kings of Mede and Lycaonia,
With a more larger list of sceptres.
Oct. Ay me, most wretched,
That have my heart parted betwixt two friends
That does afflict each other!
Cæs. Welcome hither:
Your letters did withhold our breaking forth;
Till we perceived both how you were wrong led
And we in negligent danger. Cheer your heart:
Be you not troubled with the time, which drives
O'er your content these strong necessities;
But let determined things to destiny
Hold unbewail'd their way. Welcome to Rome;
Nothing more dear to me. You are abused

63, 64. *And . . . now*] As Rowe; one line in Ff. 71. *Adallas*] Rowe; *Adullas* F. 74. *Comagene*] Rowe; *Comageat* F. 75. *Lycaonia*] F 2; *Licoania* F. 78. *does*] F; *do* F 2. 78, 79. *Welcome . . . forth*] As F 4; one line Ff 1-3. 80. *wrong led*] Ff; *wrong'd* Capell and several editors.

"the shortest way for him and his desires, the readiest opportunity to encompass his wishes." Presumably, this is suggested by the sense of *abstract* as a brief or epitome. See on I. iv. 9 *ante*.

68-76. Upton points out some confusion of kings and kingdoms here. Compare with North, p. xlv *ante*.

72. *Mauchus*] So Ff, wrongly for North's *Manchus*, unless the *u* stands for *l* in *Malchus*, to which Theobald and subsequent editors correct.

78. *does*] See on I. iv. 21 *ante*.

81. *negligent danger*] danger which we were neglecting. So I apprehend it, rather than "danger through negligence." For the transferred epithet, compare *The Winter's Tale*, I. ii. 397: "In ignorant concealment."

Beyond the mark of thought: and the high gods,
To do you justice, makes his ministers
Of us and those that love you. Best of comfort;
And ever welcome to us.

Agr. Welcome, lady.

Mæc. Welcome, dear madam.
Each heart in Rome does love and pity you:
Only the adulterous Antony, most large
In his abominations, turns you off;
And gives his potent regiment to a trull,
That noises it against us.

Oct. Is it so, sir?

Cæs. Most certain. Sister, welcome: pray you,
Be ever known to patience: my dear'st sister! [*Exeunt.*

88. *makes*] F; *make* F 2. *his*] F; *them* Capell and most edd.; *their* Theobald.

87. *Beyond the mark*] Beyond the reach; probably a metaphor from archery, as Deighton points out.

88. *makes his*] So F. *Makes* (plural) is probably correct (see on I. iv. 21 *ante*), and its identity with the singular form may be responsible for *his* of the folios; but if the reading had been *its* instead of *his*, there would have been no doubt that Collier (1843), who retained *his*, did right in referring it to justice instead of to *the high gods*. In 1858, he meekly accepted Singer's rebuke and objection that justice is not personified here, and that if it were, *his* would still be inapplicable (presumably, as not feminine), apparently not reflecting that if *his* = its, as often, both objections are invalid: compare *Hamlet*, IV. v. 124, 125: "treason . . . Acts little of *his* will." Why did Ff 2-4 alter *makes* and not *his*?

93. *large*] *large* in *Much Ado About Nothing*, referring to language, II. iii. 206, "*large* jests," and IV. i. 53, "word too *large*" = free, licentious, a sense often attributed here. More probably it is here = wide, unbounded. The *New Eng. Dict.* has: 1574, Hellowes, *Guevara's Fam. Ep.* (1577), 63, "It is not a just thing to be *large* in sinning, and short in praying." See also *Macbeth*, III. iv. 11: "Be *large* in mirth."

95. *regiment*] rule, authority. Very frequent. So Jonson, *New Inn*, II. ii. (Gifford's ed., Cunningham, ii. 359 *b*):—

"*Host.* A royal sovereign!
Lord L. And a rare stateswoman!
I admire her bearing
In her new regiment."

trull] harlot; the commonest but not invariable sense of the word. Compare *The Four Elements* (Hazlitt's *Dodsley*, i. 44):—

"For to satisfy your wanton lust,
I shall appoint you a *trull* of trust,"

with Phaer and Twyne's *Virgil* (this reference is Steevens's), [book xi. sig. R 7 in 1607 ed.]:—

"Pure virgins, with Tarpeia weilding glittring axe in fight
Italian *trulls*," etc.

96. *noises it*] makes a noise, is clamorous. Mabbe, *Celestina*, 1631, I. (Tudor Trans. p. 39) has: "Not one stone that strikes against another, but presently *noyseth* out, Old whore"; Milton (*Paradise Regained*, iv. 488) describes certain terrors as "*noising* loud And threat'ning nigh."

98. *known to patience*] Compare this circumlocution for "patient" with the scriptural "acquainted with grief."

SCENE VII.—*Near Actium. Antony's camp.*

Enter CLEOPATRA *and* ENOBARBUS.

Cleo. I will be even with thee, doubt it not.
Eno. But why, why, why?
Cleo. Thou hast forspoke my being in these wars,
And say'st it is not fit.
Eno. Well, is it, is it?
Cleo. If not denounced against us, why should not we
Be there in person?
Eno. [*Aside*] Well, I could reply.

Near . . .] Capell; *Actium.* Rowe. prose Ff. 5. *If . . . denounced*] Boswell (Malone conject.); *If not, denounc'd* Ff; *Is't not denounc'd* Rowe; *If not, denounce't* Malone; *Is't not? Denounce* Steevens, 1793 (Tyrwhitt conject.). 5-9. *If . . . horse*] As Hanmer; 6. *Aside*] Johnson.

3. *forspoke*] spoken against. See North, *ante*, p. xliii. The verb commonly =curse, bewitch, as in *Look About You*, 1600, sc. 26 (Hazlitt's *Dodsley*, vii. 465):—

"I think I was *fore-spoken* at the teat,
This damn'd rogue serv'd me thus!"

but also occurs in senses forbid, speak against, speak evil of. The *New Eng. Dict.* quotes: 1579, J. Stubbes, *Gaping Gulf*, E viij (*b*), "If he should speede (which God *forespeake*); 1611, W. Sclater, *Key* [*to the Key of Scripture*] (1629), 84: "The fashion of most men, in such judgements, is to cry out of ill tongues that have *forespoken* them."

5, 6. *If not denounced . . . person*] If the war were not proclaimed against me, why should I not be there in person? *i.e.* even if the sufficient reason that the war is proclaimed against me—as you well know—did not exist for my presence, what objection could you find to it? I suggest this as at least a possible interpretation of Malone's text, because (1) the simpler "If the war is not proclaimed against me, why," etc., would contain a hypothesis clean contrary to the fact, the war having been proclaimed against Cleopatra, and, indeed, Cleopatra alone, excluding Antony, as sufficiently appears in North (see *ante*, p. xlv), and (2) because Malone's own interpretation, "If there be no particular denunciation against me, why should we not be there in person?" obscures the relation of *denounced* to *these wars*, tacitly making *denounced* impersonal; whereas the uses of *denounce* and *denounce against* make that relation almost inevitable. See, for example, Herbert of Cherbury, *Poems* (ed. Collins, 1881, p. 77): "*Denounce* an open war"; Florio's *Montaigne*, I. v. (*Temple Classics*, i. 31): "the custome beareth, that they never undertake a warre, before the same be *denounced*," etc. The same objections apply to Deighton's further step, in: "If there is no special injunction against my taking part in these wars, why should I not be present in person?" Rowe's reading, "*Is't not denounc'd against us?*" (in Hanmer, "*. . . 'gainst us?*") gives an excellent sense, and is adopted in one or the other form by some editors. The other conjectures *denounce't* and *denounce* need not disturb the folio comma after *If not*, and depend on the use of *denounce* as in Turbervile's translation of Ovid's Epistle from Phyllis to Demophoon (Steevens's reference), "*Denounce* to me what I have doone," etc.; but they, too, have to infer disconnection between *denounced* and *wars*. I record Mr. A. E. Thiselton's explanation of the exact folio text, retaining the comma, though unable to accept it. He says: "'if not' is equivalent to '*otherwise*,' and the meaning is 'it must be fit, for since the wars are *declared* against us

If we should serve with horse and mares together,
The horse were merely lost; the mares would bear
A soldier and his horse.

Cleo. What is't you say?

Eno. Your presence needs must puzzle Antony;
Take from his heart, take from his brain, from's time,
What should not then be spared. He is already
Traduced for levity; and 'tis said in Rome
That Photinus, an eunuch, and your maids
Manage this war.

Cleo. Sink Rome, and their tongues rot
That speak against us! A charge we bear i' the war,
And, as the president of my kingdom, will
Appear there for a man. Speak not against it;
I will not stay behind.

Eno. Nay, I have done.
Here comes the emperor.

Enter ANTONY *and* CANIDIUS.

Ant. Is it not strange, Canidius,
That from Tarentum and Brundusium
He could so quickly cut the Ionian sea,
And take in Toryne? You have heard on't, sweet?

Cleo. Celerity is never more admired
Than by the negligent.

Ant. A good rebuke,

14. *Photinus, an*] Delius; Ff omit comma. 19, 20. *Nay . . . emperor*] As Hanmer; one line in Ff. 20. *Enter . . .*] As Capell; after *behinde*, line 19, in Ff. *Canidius*] Rowe; *Camidius* Ff, and *post*, lines 27, 57, etc. 21. *Brundusium*] F 2; *Brandusium* F. 23. *Toryne*] F 2; *Troine* F.

personally, how can it be improper for us to take the field in person?' Compare lines 16-18."

8. *merely*] utterly. So often. Compare *Hamlet*, I. ii. 137: "things rank . . . Possess it *merely*"; R. Braithwaite, *Nature's Embassie*, etc., 1621 (reprint 1877), p. 207: "I found Bellina *meerely* innocent."

14. *Photinus, an eunuch*] If Shakespeare strictly followed the corresponding passage in North, as given *ante*, p. xlv, to which Delius—who is responsible for the comma after Photinus—drew attention, the words "an eunuch" do not describe Photinus (the eunuch who was the cause of Pompey the Great's murder), but stand for Mardian.

16. *A charge . . . war*] See North, *ante*, p. xliv.

23. *take in Toryne*] occupy, etc. Compare I. i. 23 *ante*. See North, *ante*, p. xlvi, and for Tarentum and Brundusium, *ibid.*

Which might have well becomed the best of men,
To taunt at slackness. Canidius, we
Will fight with him by sea.

Cleo. By sea! what else?

Can. Why will my lord do so?

Ant. For that he dares us to't.

Eno. So hath my lord dared him to single fight.

Can. Ay, and to wage this battle at Pharsalia,
Where Cæsar fought with Pompey: but these offers,
Which serve not for his vantage, he shakes off;
And so should you.

Eno. Your ships are not well mann'd;
Your mariners are muleters, reapers, people
Ingross'd by swift impress; in Cæsar's fleet
Are those that often have 'gainst Pompey fought:
Their ships are yare, yours heavy: no disgrace
Shall fall you for refusing him at sea,
Being prepared for land.

Ant. By sea, by sea.

Eno. Most worthy sir, you therein throw away
The absolute soldiership you have by land;
Distract your army, which doth most consist

35. *muleters*] *Muliters* F 2; *Militers* F.

26. *becomed*] So in *Cymbeline*, v. v. 406; *A Report*, etc., 1591 (*The Revenge*, ed. Arber, p. 28): "And no man could haue lesse *becommed* the place of an Orator for such a purpose, then this *Morice* of *Desmond*."

27. *To taunt at*] for taunting at, "to cast as a taunt at" (Deighton). The gerundial infinitive.

30-32. *So hath . . . Pompey*] See North, *ante*, p. xlvi.

35. *muleters*] The contemporary form. Compare Peele, *Battle of Alcazar*, IV. i:—

"Three thousand pioners, and a thousand coachmen,
Besides a number almost numberless
Of drudges, negroes, slaves, and *muleters*," etc.

See also, and for the passage generally, North, *ante*, pp. xlvi, xlvii.

36. *impress*] impressment, as in *Troilus and Cressida*, II. i. 107.

38. *yare*] nimble, easily manœuvred. Compare II. ii. 211 *ante*, III. xiii. 131, v. ii. 282 *post*, and Gorges' *Lucan* (1614), lib. 3, p. 109:—

"But the *Massilian* gallies are
Of saile and stirrage much more *yare*,
Nimble and light to leaue or take,
And on their staies quick speed can make," etc.

39. *fall*] befall, as in *King John*, I. i. 78, "Fair *fall*," etc.

43. *Distract*] *distract* had the senses "confuse," as now, and "disjoin," "divide." See the example on line 76 *post*, and also the participle in *A Lover's Complaint*, 231. Schmidt assigns the latter here, and although "confuse" sorts suspiciously well with the ensuing appeal to the nature of the army, which consisted—as the soldier says, line 65 *post*—of men who "Have used to conquer standing on the earth, And fighting foot to foot," the passage

Of war-mark'd footmen; leave unexecuted
Your own renowned knowledge; quite forgo
The way which promises assurance; and
Give up yourself merely to chance and hazard,
From firm security.

Ant. I'll fight at sea.

Cleo. I have sixty sails, Cæsar none better.

Ant. Our overplus of shipping will we burn;
And, with the rest full-mann'd, from the head of Actium
Beat the approaching Cæsar. But if we fail,
We then can do 't at land.

Enter a Messenger.

Thy business?

Mess. The news is true, my lord; he is descried;
Cæsar has taken Toryne.

Ant. Can he be there in person? 'tis impossible;
Strange that his power should be. Canidius,
Our nineteen legions thou shalt hold by land,
And our twelve thousand horse. We 'll to our ship:
Away, my Thetis!

Enter a Soldier.

How now, worthy soldier!

Sold. O noble emperor, do not fight by sea;
Trust not to rotten planks: do you misdoubt
This sword and these my wounds? Let the Egyptians
And the Phœnicians go a-ducking: we
Have used to conquer, standing on the earth,
And fighting foot to foot.

Ant. Well, well: away!

[*Exeunt Antony, Cleopatra, and Enobarbus.*

51. *Actium*] F 2; *Action* F.

in North, *ante*, p. xlvii, confirms his view. The speech is there given to Canidius.

47. *merely*] utterly, as in line 8 *ante*.

57. *power*] forces, as below, line 76, and commonly.

58, 59. *nineteen legions . . . horse*] See North, *ante*, p. xlix.

60. *Thetis!*] "Antony may address Cleopatra by the name of this sea-nymph, because she had just promised him assistance in his naval expedition; or perhaps in allusion to her voyage down the Cydnus, when she appeared like *Thetis* surrounded by the Nereids" [see II. ii. 206] (Steevens).

61-66. See North, *ante*, p. xlviii.

64. *a-ducking*] As a result of "rotten planks" perhaps, though Deighton explains: "take to the water like ducks." Compare Beaumont and Fletcher, *The Scornful Lady*, ii. (1679 folio, p. 69): "'tis your turn next to sink, you shall *duck* twice before I help you."

Sold. By Hercules, I think I am i' the right.
Can. Soldier, thou art: but his whole action grows
Not in the power on 't: so our leader 's led,
And we are women's men.
Sold. You keep by land
The legions and the horse whole, do you not?
Can. Marcus Octavius, Marcus Justeius,
Publicola and Cælius, are for sea:
But we keep whole by land. This speed of Cæsar's
Carries beyond belief.
Sold. While he was yet in Rome,
His power went out in such distractions as
Beguiled all spies.
Can. Who 's his lieutenant, hear you?
Sold. They say, one Taurus.
Can. Well I know the man.

Enter a Messenger.

Mess. The emperor calls Canidius.
Can. With news the time 's with labour, and throes forth
Each minute some. [*Exeunt.*

69. *leader 's led*] Theobald; *Leaders leade* F. 70, 71. *You . . . not?*] As Rowe; prose in Ff. 72. *Can.*] Pope; *Ven.* F. *Justeius*] Theobald; *Justeus* F. 76, 77. *His . . . spies*] As Pope; Ff divide after *distractions*. 78. *Taurus*] Theobald; *Towrus* Ff throughout. *Well I*] Rowe (ed. 2); comma after *Well* Ff. 80, 81. *With . . . some*] As Rowe; divided after *labour* in Ff. 80. *throes*] Steevens (1793); *throwes* F.

68, 69. *his . . . power on 't*] his course in the war is shaped without regard to where his real strength lies, or, *more closely*, his action does not spring from the sources of its possible strength. Johnson's interpretation, "his whole conduct becomes ungoverned by the right, or by reason," differs from the usual one in referring *on 't* to *right* (line 67) instead of to *action*.

72-74. *Marcus Octavius*, etc.] See North, *ante*, p. xlviii; *whole by land*, p. xlix.

75. *Carries*] From the language of archery, as Steevens suggests. Compare with the whole passage, Daniel, *A Funerall Poeme Vpon the Earle of Deuonshire*, lines 217-20 (*Works*, Grosart, i. 180):—

"Here is no roome to tell with what strange speed
And secrecy he vsed to preuent
The enemies designes, nor with what heed
He marcht before report," etc.

76. *distractions*] detachments. Compare Harington's *Nugæ Antiquæ*, 1775, vol. ii. 170: "and the rebell not presuminge euery mann attended only to hasten to the quarters in a speedie marche, wherebie the army was *distracted* into an excessive lengthe, and brought therebie (althoughe into no disorder) yet into some vnreadynes." See also on line 43 *ante*.

78. *Taurus*] In North, *ante*, p. xlviii.

80. *throes*] Steevens quotes *The Tempest*, II. i. 231:—

"a birth indeed
Which *throes* thee much to yield."

Here also the folio spelling is *throwes*, a common form.

SCENE VIII.—*A plain near Actium.*

Enter CÆSAR, *and* TAURUS, *with his army, marching.*

Cæs. Taurus!
Taur. My lord?
Cæs. Strike not by land; keep whole: provoke not battle,
Till we have done at sea. Do not exceed
The prescript of this scroll: our fortune lies
Upon this jump. [*Exeunt.*

SCENE IX.—*Another part of the plain.*

Enter ANTONY *and* ENOBARBUS.

Ant. Set we our squadrons on yond side o' the hill,
In eye of Cæsar's battle; from which place
We may the number of the ships behold,
And so proceed accordingly. [*Exeunt.*

A plain . . .] Malone. *Enter . . .*] Cambridge edd.; Ff omit *and Taurus; Enter Cæsar, Taurus, Officers, and Others.* Capell. 3. *Strike . . . battle*] As Rowe; two lines in Ff, divided after *land.*

Scene IX.

Another . . .] Dyce; previous editors continue the scene.

6. *jump*] hazard. The noun occurs here only in Shakespeare, but the verb in *Macbeth*, I. vii. 7, and elsewhere. The *New Eng. Dict.* has *s.v.*: 1601, Holland, *Pliny*, ii. 219, "It [hellebore] putteth the Patient to a *jumpe* or great hazzard."

Scene IX.

1-4. Compare IV. x. 4-9 *post.*

2. *battle*] embattled army, as very often. More particularly it applies to the main body. So in Harington's *Nugæ Antiquæ* (1769), i. 51: "The order was this, Captain Lister led the forlorn hope; Sir Alexander Ratcliffe and his regiment had the vaunt-guard; my Lord of Dublin led the *battle*; Sir Arthur Savage the rear; the horse," etc.

SCENE X.—*Another part of the plain.*

CANIDIUS *marcheth with his land army one way over the stage; and* TAURUS, *the lieutenant of* CÆSAR, *the other way. After their going in, is heard the noise of a sea-fight.*

Alarum. Enter ENOBARBUS.

Eno. Naught, naught, all naught! I can behold no longer:
The Antoniad, the Egyptian admiral,
With all their sixty, fly and turn the rudder:
To see't mine eyes are blasted.

Enter SCARUS.

Scar. Gods and goddesses,
All the whole synod of them!
Eno. What's thy passion?
Scar. The greater cantle of the world is lost
With very ignorance; we have kiss'd away
Kingdoms and provinces.
Eno. How appears the fight?
Scar. On our side like the token'd pestilence,

Another . . .] Dyce; previous editors, save Pope, continue the scene. 2. *The Antoniad*] Capell; *Thantoniad* Ff (italics). 4, 5. *Gods . . . them*] As Theobald; one line Ff.

Scene x. [see North, *ante*, pp. xlviii-l].

2. *The Antoniad . . . admiral*] See North, p. xlv *ante*. *Admiral* occurs commonly for the most considerable ship of a fleet or as the equivalent of our "flagship". See *A Report*, etc., 1591 (*The Revenge*, Arber's reprint, p. 18): "The names of her Maiesties shippes were these as followeth: the *Defiaunce*, which was Admirall, the *Reuenge* Viceadmirall," etc.; also *1 Henry IV.* III. iii. 28.

5. *synod*] Nearly always, as here, of an assembly of the gods. So in *Coriolanus*, v. ii. 74: "The glorious gods sit in hourly *synod* about thy particular prosperity," etc.

6. *cantle*] Originally = corner, and so portion, piece, etc. Here (see *New Eng. Dict.*) "a segment of a circle or sphere." See also *1 Henry IV.* III. i. 100, and *The Magnificent Entertainment*, etc., 1604 (Bullen's *Middleton*, vii. 223): "The FOUR ELEMENTS, in proper shapes, artificially and aptly expressing their qualities, . . . went round in a proportionable and even circle, touching that *cantle* of the Globe (which was open) to the full view of his Majesty:" etc.

7. *With*] by, as often. Compare North, *ante*, p. xxxv, line 44.

9. *token'd pestilence*] Certain red spots have always been reckoned extremely ominous symptoms in plague, and, as Steevens tells us, were considered and called "God's tokens" of speedy death, in Shakespeare's time. He quotes *Love's Labour's Lost*, v. ii. 423, and *Two Wise Men*, etc. 1619 [IV.

Where death is sure. Yon ribaudred nag of Egypt,—
Whom leprosy o'ertake!—i' the midst o' the fight,
When vantage like a pair of twins appear'd,
Both as the same, or rather ours the elder,—

10. *ribaudred*] Ff. 1-3; *ribauldred* F 4; *ribauld* Rowe, and others.

ii. See Chapman, *Minor Poems*, etc., ed. 1875, p. 405]: "A will and a tolling bell are as present death as God's *tokens*." Sylvester (Du Bartas, *The Tropheis*, near the end) calls them "*Tokens* of Terror," and Dekker, *The Bel-man of London*, 1608 (*Temple Classics* ed., p. 241) has: "where the dore of a poore Artificer (if his child had died but with one *Token* of death about him) was close ram'd up," etc. Yet Dr. Forman lived to record in his *Diary*, under 1592: "and the 6 of Julie I toke my bed and had the plague in both my groines, and som moneth after I had the red *tokens* on my feet as brod as halfepence, and yt was 22 wickes before I was well again, the which did hinder me moch."

10. *ribaudred nag*] foul, wanton jade. Malone, Collier (ed. 1), Knight, adopt Steevens's conjecture *ribald-rid*, but "A *ribaudrous* and filthie tongue"—first quoted by Steevens from Baret's *Alvearie*, 1580, and urged by Singer with addition from Horman's *Vulgaria*: "Refrayne fro such foule and *rebaudry* wordes"—makes *ribaudred* a probable form. Gould's conjecture *ribanded* would else attract, as a natural expression of disgust at the "flying flags" which seem to have impressed Enobarbus (III. xiii. 11 *post*), and because race-horses were decked with ribands, as also, for sale purposes, unserviceable jades. Compare *The Country Captain*, 1649, I. (*Captain Underwit*, Bullen's *Old Plays*, ii. 333): "What thing's this that looks so like a race Nagg trick'd with *ribbands?*"; Fletcher, *Women Pleas'd*, I. i. 9-12, figuratively of law:—

"hung with gawdes and *ribbonds*
And pamper'd up to cousen him that bought her,
When she herself was hackney, lame, and founder'd";

Suckling, *The Goblins*, IV. (*Poems*, etc., ed. Hazlitt, 1874, ii. 47), of a woman "drest up to her height":—

"It looks like a jade, with his tale tied up
With *ribands*, going to a fair to be sold."

That the flags deck the ship, not Cleopatra, is of little consequence. Collier (ed. 2) and Singer adopt Tyrwhitt's conjecture, *hag* for *nag*, in view of *magic*, line 19; but *nag* for a runaway, and as applied to rebukable women (see *2 Henry IV.* II. iv. 205), is too probable. Compare also *Swetnam the Woman Hater*, etc., 1620, I. ii.: "Those that have good wives ride to Hell Vpon ambling Hackneyes, and all the rest Vpon trotting Iades to the devill."

11. *leprosy*] Steevens seems to think the word used in a sense appropriate to the stigma in *ribaudred*. See Donne, *Elegy IV.* line 60:—

"By thee the silly amorous sucks his death
By drawing in a *leprous* harlot's breath";

and Fairfax, *Eclogue the Fourth* (*The Muses Library*, 1741, p. 373):—

"But such the Issue was of that Embrace,
That deadly Poyson thro' her Body spread,
Rotted her Limbs, and *leprous* grew her Face."

As Johnson observes, however, leprosy was "an epidemical distemper of the Ægyptians." See Sylvester's Du Bartas, *The Furies*, lines 513-16:—

"So *Portugall* hath *Phthisiks* most of all,
Eber Kings-euils; Arné the *Sud-dain-Fall;*
Sauoy the *Mumps; West-India, Pox;* and *Nyle*
The *Leprosie;*" etc.

13. *the elder*] Steevens compares *Julius Cæsar*, II. ii. 46:—

"We are two lions littered in one day,
And I *the elder* and more terrible."

The breeze upon her, like a cow in June,
Hoists sails and flies.

Eno. That I beheld:
Mine eyes did sicken at the sight, and could not
Endure a further view.

Scar. She once being loof'd,
The noble ruin of her magic, Antony,
Claps on his sea-wing, and, like a doting mallard,
Leaving the fight in heighth, flies after her:
I never saw an action of such shame;
Experience, manhood, honour, ne'er before
Did violate so itself.

Eno. Alack, alack!

Enter CANIDIUS.

Can. Our fortune on the sea is out of breath,
And sinks most lamentably. Had our general
Been what he knew himself, it had gone well:

14. *The breeze . . . her*] In parentheses in Ff. 21. *heighth*] Ff; *height* Theobald and edd.

14. *the breeze . . . June*] This line presents a difficulty as soon as punctuation is considered, else one of little moment to poetry or sense. Some point, The . . . her, like . . . June!—Hoists, etc., which (rejecting Hudson's idea that *her* refers to *cow* and not to *nag*, the two parts of the line having been "transposed for the sake of the metre") may be taken to imply, Having the gadfly on her, like, etc., *breeze* being a metaphor for *fear* so far as the first part of the line is concerned. Others point somewhat ambiguously, as in the text, which does not prevent one connecting "like a cow in June" more or less consciously with *flies*. Compare Jonson, *The New Inn*, v. i.: "Runs like a heifer bitten with the brize," etc. The parenthesis of Ff (see textual variations, *supra*) favours this; and in the faint connection suggested, *Hoist sails* is either not remembered at all, or the difference between applying it to a cow which *is* a cow, and a nag which is Cleopatra so termed, is not felt.

18. *being loof'd*] being luffed, having turned her ship's head towards the wind, in order to make off. Skeat, *Etymol. Dict.*, explains that *to hold aloof* is=to hold on loof, literally, to keep to the windward, and means to keep away from instead of to approach, because a ship's tendency to drift on to a leeward vessel or object, can only be counteracted by keeping her up to the wind. North uses the verb intransitively, just before describing Cleopatra's flight: "Now Publicola seeing Agrippa put forth his left wing of Cæsars army, to compasse in Antonius shippes that fought: he was driven also to *loofe* of to have more roome," etc.

20. *mallard*] wild drake. Rolfe compares *1 Henry IV.* II. ii. 108: "there 's no more valour in that Poins than in a wild-duck," and *ibid.* IV. ii. 21; but the allusion here is rather to the drake's aptness to follow the coy female than to his timidity.

27. *Been . . . himself*] It is not very clear whether this is literally, Been what he knew himself to be—another way of saying, acted in character, displayed the courage and skill he consciously possessed—or whether *formerly* is implied in *knew*, as Delius seems to

O, he has given example for our flight,
Most grossly, by his own!

Eno. Ay, are you thereabouts? Why, then, good-night
Indeed.

Can. Toward Peloponnesus are they fled.

Scar. 'Tis easy to 't; and there I will attend
What further comes.

Can. To Cæsar will I render
My legions and my horse: six kings already
Show me the way of yielding.

Eno. I 'll yet follow
The wounded chance of Antony, though my reason
Sits in the wind against me. [*Exeunt.*

SCENE XI.—*Alexandria. Cleopatra's palace.*

Enter ANTONY *with Attendants.*

Ant. Hark! the land bids me tread no more upon 't;
It is ashamed to bear me! Friends, come hither:
I am so lated in the world that I
Have lost my way for ever: I have a ship

28. *he*] *hee* F 2; *his* F. 30, 31. *Ay . . . indeed*] As Hanmer; prose Ff. 32, 33. *'Tis . . . comes*] As Hanmer; division after *to 't* in Ff. 37. *Exeunt*] omitted in Ff.

Scene XI.

Alexandria . . .] Capell (substantially).

think, and the sense consequently, *either* Been the man he once knew in his own person, *or* Been the man he was once conscious of being. North has, "as if he had not oftentimes proved both the one and the other fortune," etc. (*ante*, pp. xlix-l).

36. *wounded chance*] "broken fortunes" (Malone, comparing v. ii. 173 *post*). *Chance* = fortune is common. Compare Countess of Pembroke, *Antonie*, 1595, Act v.: "Follow we our *chance*"; Churchyard, *A Tragicall Discourse of the Vnhappy Man's Life*, stanza 53 (*Chippes*, 1575):—

"This *chaunce* is she some say that leads men out
And brings them home, when least they looke therefore," etc.

37. *Sits . . . wind*] Shakespeare often uses *sits* of the wind itself, to denote its quarter, as in *The Merchant of Venice*, I. i. 18: "Plucking the grass, to know where *sits* the wind." We make free with the wind like Enobarbus in the colloquialism, "There 's something in the *wind*."

Scene XI.

1-24. See North, *ante*, p. xlix.

3. *lated*] belated, benighted. So in *Macbeth*, III. iii. 6: "Now spurs the *lated* traveller apace."

Laden with gold; take that, divide it; fly,
And make your peace with Cæsar.

All. Fly! not we.

Ant. I have fled myself; and have instructed cowards
To run and show their shoulders. Friends, be gone;
I have myself resolved upon a course
Which has no need of you; be gone:
My treasure 's in the harbour, take it. O,
I follow'd that I blush to look upon:
My very hairs do mutiny; for the white
Reprove the brown for rashness, and they them
For fear and doting. Friends, be gone: you shall
Have letters from me to some friends that will
Sweep your way for you. Pray you, look not sad,
Nor make replies of loathness: take the hint
Which my despair proclaims; let that be left
Which leaves itself: to the sea-side straightway:
I will possess you of that ship and treasure.
Leave me, I pray, a little: pray you now:
Nay, do so; for, indeed, I have lost command,
Therefore I pray you: I 'll see you by and by. [*Sits down.*

Enter CLEOPATRA *led by* CHARMIAN *and* IRAS; EROS *following.*

Eros. Nay, gentle madam, to him, comfort him.

Iras. Do, most dear queen.

6. *All.*] Cambridge edd.; *Omnes.* F.; *Att.* Capell. 19, 20. *that . . . leaves itself*] Capell; *them . . . leaues it selfe* F; *them . . . leave themselves* Rowe. *Enter . . .*] Dyce; Ff have *Enter Cleopatra led by Charmian and Eros.*

8. *show their shoulders*] Compare Beaumont and Fletcher, *A King and no King*, III. (1679 folio, p. 50): "I was never at battail but once, and there I was running, but *Mardonius* cudgel'd me; yet I got loose at last, but was so fraid that I saw no more than my *shoulders* doe," etc.

18. *replies of loathness*] Compare Overbury's *Characters* (*An Hypocrite*): "but this [*i.e.* accepting wine] must not be done neither, without a preface of seeming *lothnesse*," etc.

23. *for . . . command*] Johnson supposed Antony to refer to his own rising emotion, which does, in fact, become uncontrollable, and is perhaps already indicated by his short-breath'd speech; and this accords with his request for merely temporary solitude. Steevens's interpretation, however, is probable and generally accepted: "I entreat you to leave me, because I have lost all power to command your absence." Compare Beaumont and Fletcher, *A King and no King*, I. (1679 folio, p. 42):—

> "I pray you leave me, Sirs. I 'm proud of this,
> That you will be intreated from my sight."

Char. Do! why, what else?
Cleo. Let me sit down. O Juno!
Ant. No, no, no, no, no.
Eros. See you here, sir?
Ant. O fie, fie, fie!
Char. Madam!
Iras. Madam, O good empress!
Eros. Sir, sir!
Ant. Yes, my lord, yes; he at Philippi kept
His sword e'en like a dancer; while I struck
The lean and wrinkled Cassius; and 'twas I
That the mad Brutus ended: he alone
Dealt on lieutenantry, and no practice had
In the brave squares of war: yet now—No matter.
Cleo. Ah, stand by.

29. *No . . . no*] Perhaps in rejection of Eros' attempt, as Delius says; but possibly only an audible fragment of Antony's bitter reflections.

35. *Yes, my lord, yes*] To an imaginary collocutor, according to Delius; but Hudson refers it to Cæsar, whom, certainly, Antony might now in bitter irony call "my lord."

35, 36. *he at Philippi . . . dancer*] Steevens explains that Cæsar is charged with wearing his sword for ornament only, undrawn, like a dancer, and compares *Titus Andronicus*, II. i. 39:—

"Why boy, although our mother unadvised
Gave you a *dancing-rapier* by your side."

Malone added *All 's Well that Ends Well*, II. i. 33:—

". . . and no sword worn
But one to *dance* with."

See also the extracts from "A Paire of Spy-knaves" in the preface to *The Four Knaves* by S. Rowlands (Percy Society, No. xxxiv. p. xi.):—

"Bid him trim up my walking rapier neat,
My *dancing* rapier's pummell is too great;" etc.

On Cæsar at Philippi, see North, *ante*, p. xxx.

37. *The lean . . . Cassius*] Compare *Julius Cæsar*, I. ii. 194, etc.

37, 38. *I . . . mad Brutus ended*] Not to be taken literally. See North, *ante*, p. xxx. Brutus' high, unselfish aims, and ascription of the like to others, perhaps account for the epithet *mad*.

39. *Dealt on lieutenantry*] "fought by proxy" (Steevens). Compare III. i. 16, 17 and North, p. xxxviii *ante*. *Dealt on* seems to be = acted *or* proceeded in dependence on, unless it corresponds with our disparaging use of *to deal in, traffic in*. Steevens and Malone quote passages containing *deal upon*, but this in all these = deal with *or* "set to work upon" (*New Eng. Dict.*), as in *Richard III.* IV. ii. 75.

39, 40. *no practice . . . squares of war*] Compare the Countess of Pembroke's *Antonie* (1595), Act III.: "A man . . . In Mars' school who never lesson learned"; and again:—

"A man who never saw enlaced pikes
With bristled joints against his stomach bent.
Who fears the field and hides him cowardly
Dead at the very noise the soldiers make."

For *squares* = squadrons, compare *Henry V.* IV. ii. 28: "our *squares* of battle"; Markham's *Sir Richard Grinuile*, 1595 (p. 65 in Arber's repr.):—

"In foure great battailes marcht the *Spanish* hoast,
The first of *Siuill*, led in two great *squares*," etc.

Eros. The queen, my lord, the queen.
Iras. Go to him, madam, speak to him:
He is unqualitied with very shame.
Cleo. Well then, sustain me: O!
Eros. Most noble sir, arise; the queen approaches:
Her head 's declined, and death will seize her, but
Your comfort makes the rescue.
Ant. I have offended reputation,
A most unnoble swerving.
Eros. Sir, the queen.
Ant. O, whither hast thou led me, Egypt? See,
How I convey my shame out of thine eyes
By looking back what I have left behind
Stroy'd in dishonour.
Cleo. O my lord, my lord,
Forgive my fearful sails! I little thought
You would have follow'd.
Ant. Egypt, thou knew'st too well
My heart was to thy rudder tied by the strings,
And thou shouldst tow me after: o'er my spirit
Thy full supremacy thou knew'st, and that

44. *He is*] *Hee is* F 2; *Hee 's* F. F; *Strow'd* or *Strew'd* Capell conj. *Thy*] Theobald (ed. 2); *The* F. 47. *seize*] F 2; *cease* F. 54. *Stroy'd*] 58. *tow*] *towe* Rowe; *stowe* F. 59.

44. *unqualitied*] unmanned, not himself. *Qualited* occurs twice in *The Passionate Morrice*, 1593 (New Shakes. Society, 1876, pp. 82, 85): "They that were wealthy were meanely *qualited*, and they that had many good properties were moniles"; "an exquisite proper *qualited* Squire."

47. *seize*] *cease* for *seize*, as in F, is common. Compare Marston, *The Dutch Courtesan* (1605), III. i.: "mischiefe and a thousand divells *cease* him!"

but] unless. So Peele, *The Battle of Alcazar*, III. iv. 28: "The hellish prince . . . Ding down my soul to hell . . . *But* I perform religiously," etc.

52-54. *How I convey . . . dishonour*] See how I take my disgrace out of your sight by giving myself up to solitary brooding over the wreck of my fortunes and my honour. For *stroy'd*, compare Sir T. Wyatt, *Of the meane and sure estate*, etc., line 14: "And when her store was *stroyed* with the floode"; *A Collection of . . . Ballads and Broadsides* (1559-97), 1867, p. 122:—

"Let not the wicked thus preuayle,
To vexe thy church and sayntes;
But *stroy* them from the head to tayle," etc.

Both the infinitives *stroyen* and *destroyen* existed in Middle English. Some print the contraction *'stroy'd* here. It is used by Henry More, *Philosophicall Poems* (1647), p. 111, line 5: "For she may deem herself *'stroyed* quite," etc.

57. *the strings*] *i.e.* the heart strings. Compare the passage in the Countess of Pembroke's *Antonie* (1595), Act II., quoted by Steevens, and containing the lines:—

"Forgetful of his charge (as if his soul
Unto his ladies soul had been enchained,)" etc.

Thy beck might from the bidding of the gods
Command me.

Cleo. O, my pardon!

Ant. Now I must
To the young man send humble treaties, dodge
And palter in the shifts of lowness; who
With half the bulk o' the world play'd as I pleased,
Making and marring fortunes. You did know
How much you were my conqueror; and that
My sword, made weak by my affection, would
Obey it on all cause.

Cleo. Pardon, pardon!

Ant. Fall not a tear, I say; one of them rates
All that is won and lost: give me a kiss;
Even this repays me. We sent our schoolmaster;
Is a' come back? Love, I am full of lead.
Some wine, within there, and our viands! Fortune knows
We scorn her most when most she offers blows. [*Exeunt.*

62. *treaties*] F; *'treaties* Capell. 71-73. *Even . . . knows*] As Hanmer; in Ff four lines ending *repayes me* (*repayes* in Ff 2-4 which omit *me*) . . . *backe?* . . . *Wine . . . knowes,*. 72. *a'*] *a* F; *he* F 4 and edd.

62. *treaties*] propositions. So in *King John*, II. i. 481:—

"Why answer not the double majesties
This friendly *treaty* of our threaten'd town?"

65. *Making and marring*] Nothing is commoner than the collocation of *make* and *mar*, and "To make *or* mar" is a proverbial phrase. Yet, in conjunction with "play'd" (line 64), there seems to be an allusion here to a game of some kind. Rushton, *Shakespeare Illustrated by the Lex Scripta* (1870), p. 57, cites: ". . . places for bowling, tennis, dicing, white and black, *making and marring*, and other unlawful games prohibited by the laws and statutes of this realm," . . . "2 and 3 Philip and Mary, Cap. ix."

69. *Fall*] Transitively used, as in *The Tempest*, II. i. 296, and often. Compare R. Chester, *Love's Martyr*, 1601 (New Shakes. Society, 1878, p. 125):—

"*Fall* thou a teare, and thou shalt plainly see,
Mine eyes shall answer teare for teare of thine."

rates] "estimates, expresses the value of, is worth" (Schmidt, who observes that the passage is peculiar). The ordinary meaning (to assess, value) is seen in *Cymbeline*, I. iv. 83: "*Post.* I praised her as I *rated* her: so do I my stone. *Iach.* What do you esteem it at?" See also on III. vi. 25 *ante*; the *New Eng. Dict.* does not assist.

71. *schoolmaster*] Euphronius, the tutor of his children by Cleopatra. See North, *ante*, p. li.

SCENE XII.—*Egypt. Cæsar's camp.*

Enter CÆSAR, DOLABELLA, THYREUS, *with others.*

Cæs. Let him appear that's come from Antony.
Know you him?

Dol. Cæsar, 'tis his schoolmaster:
An argument that he is pluck'd, when hither
He sends so poor a pinion of his wing,
Which had superfluous kings for messengers
Not many moons gone by.

Enter EUPHRONIUS, *ambassador from Antony.*

Cæs. Approach, and speak.

Euph. Such as I am, I come from Antony:
I was of late as petty to his ends
As is the morn-dew on the myrtle-leaf
To his grand sea.

Cæs. Be 't so: declare thine office.

Euph. Lord of his fortunes he salutes thee, and
Requires to live in Egypt: which not granted,

Egypt . . .] *Cæsar's camp.* Rowe; *A Camp in Egypt. Cæsar's Tent.* Capell. *Enter . . .*] Capell; *Enter Cæsar, Agrippa, and Dolabella, with others.* Ff. 1. *from*] F; *for* F 2. 6. *Enter . . .*] Globe; Ff omit *Euphronius.* 7, etc. *Euph.*] *Eup.* Capell; *Amb.* F.

Scene XII. [see North, *ante*, pp. li-ii].

5. *kings for messengers*] Compare III. xiii. 91, and IV. ii. 13 *post.*

10. *To his grand sea*] Tyrwhitt conjectures *this* for *his*, supposing the sea visible from Cæsar's camp, but, as Steevens says, *his*=its, and the sea is the morn-dew's, as being its source (Steevens: "Shakspeare might have considered the sea as the source of dews as well as rain"), or, I imagine, as being its goal after exhalation by the sun. This latter would give—besides the usual interpretation, "in comparison with 'the sea from which the dew-drop is exhaled'" (Steevens)—an alternative, substituting *to which . . . passes* for *from which . . . is exhaled.* I have not seen it suggested that the simile may be elliptic, and=as petty to his purposes as the morn-dew to those of the great sea it comes from (*i.e.* as an insignificant part of it), *or* passes to (*i.e.* as an insignificant contributor to it). For *grand*=great, compare III. i. 9 *ante*, and Sylvester's *Du Bartas*, third day, first week, line 184:—

"Whither the Sea, which we *Atlantick* call,
Be but a peece of the *Grand Sea* of all;" etc.

In the preceding day, line 501 *et seq.*, we have the contemporary idea about dew:—

"Two sorts of vapours by his heat exhales
From floating Deeps, and from the flowry Dales:
. . . . . .
And if this vapour fair and softly sty [ascend],
Not to the cold Stage of the middle Sky,
But 'boue the Clouds, it turneth (in a trice)
In *April*, Deaw; in *Ianuary*, Ice."

He lessens his requests; and to thee sues
To let him breathe between the heavens and earth,
A private man in Athens: this for him.
Next, Cleopatra does confess thy greatness;
Submits her to thy might, and of thee craves
The circle of the Ptolemies for her heirs,
Now hazarded to thy grace.

Cæs. For Antony
I have no ears to his request. The queen
Of audience nor desire shall fail, so she
From Egypt drive her all-disgraced friend,
Or take his life there: this if she perform,
She shall not sue unheard. So to them both.

Euph. Fortune pursue thee!

Cæs. Bring him through the bands.

[*Exit Euphronius.*

[*To Thyreus*] To try thy eloquence, now 'tis time: despatch;
From Antony win Cleopatra: promise,
And in our name, what she requires; add more,
From thine invention, offers: women are not
In their best fortunes strong; but want will perjure
The ne'er-touch'd vestal: try thy cunning, Thyreus;
Make thine own edict for thy pains, which we
Will answer as a law.

Thyr. Cæsar, I go.

13. *lessens*] F 2; *Lessons* F. 25. [*Exit . . .*] omitted in Ff. 26. *To Thyreus*] Theobald; omitted in Ff; *To Thidias* Rowe. 31. *Thyreus*] Theobald; Ff throughout *Thidias*.

13. *lessens*] Thiselton defends *Lessons* of F 1 on the supposition that the initial capital indicates an emphasis scarcely appropriate in the case of *lessens;* and observes: "The fact that the ambassador is on this occasion a schoolmaster should have been sufficient to have warded off the sacrilegious hand of the emendator."

18. *circle*] crown, as in *King John*, v. i. 11.

19. *Now . . . grace*] The retention of which now depends on your favour.

28, 29. *add . . . offers*] S. Walker conjectures *and more . . . offer*. Grant White proposes a rearrangement of lines 28, 29:—

"What she requires; and in our name add more
Offers from thine invention:" etc

After all, in rapidly worded directions, *offers* comes in naturally enough where it stands in the text. It merely reinforces, by an emphatic word, what has been already expressed.

32, 33. *Make . . . law*] Put your own valuation on your services: I will conform to what you decree as to a law. The usual sense of *answer* in connection with law, is "meet the charge," "justify

Cæs. Observe how Antony becomes his flaw,
And what thou think'st his very action speaks
In every power that moves.
Thyr. Cæsar, I shall. [*Exeunt.*

SCENE XIII.—*Alexandria. Cleopatra's palace.*

Enter CLEOPATRA, ENOBARBUS, CHARMIAN, *and* IRAS.

Cleo. What shall we do, Enobarbus?
Eno. Think, and die.
Cleo. Is Antony or we in fault for this?
Eno. Antony only, that would make his will

Alexandria . . .] Capell (substantially); *Alexandria.* Rowe.

the fact," as in Brome, *The Court Beggar*, IV. ii. (Pearson's *Brome*, i. 244) :—

"*Doct.* You cannot answer it.
Gou. Better by *Law* then you can the intent
Of rape upon the Lady."

"Edicts at Rome were rules promulgated by magistrates upon entry into office; and when the practice became common of magistrates adopting the edicts of their predecessors, these edicts practically had the force of ordinary laws" (Deighton).

34. *becomes his flaw*] bears himself as a broken (*or* disgraced, as in line 22 above) man. Compare the verb in *Henry VIII.* I. i. 95: "For France hath *flaw'd* the league"; and see Day's *English Secretorie*, 1599, part i. p. 76: "Whilst there is yet but one craze or slender *flaw* in the touchstone of thy reputation, peece it up, and new flourish again by a greater excellencie, the square of thy workmanship."

35, 36. *And . . . power that moves*] And what may be augured of his state of mind from a close observation of his behaviour. *Power that moves*, faculty of body or mind that is put in action. Steevens compares *Troilus and Cressida*, IV. v. 55-57 :—

"There's language in her eye, her cheek, her lip,
Nay, her foot speaks; her wanton spirits look out
At every joint and *motion* of her body."

See also Sylvester's *Du Bartas*, 1621 ed. (*Babylon*, p. 262) :—

"mine eys . . .
By peece-meal close; all *moving powrs* be still;
From my dull fingers drops my fainting quill;" etc.

Scene XIII.

1. *Think, and die*] Hanmer read *drink*, and Tyrwhitt at first proposed *wink*, on the strength of the bidding *wink and die* in Fletcher's *Sea Voyage*, I. i. (1679 folio, p. 340). There are other instances, *e.g. 2 Henry IV.* I. iii. 33: "winking, leap'd into destruction"; D'Avenant, *To Endymion Porter*, etc. (*Works*, 1673, p. 235): "there I (Scarce griev'd for by my self) would winke and *die*"; Sir R. Howard, *Poems*, 1696, p. 16: "But like a Covvard wink't and fought"; but the question is rather whether to infer from *Think and die* that death is to be the result of thinking and no other agency (as apparently was later the case with Enobarbus, IV. vi. 35, 36 *post*, on which see), or to be self-inflicted after a melancholy view of a hopeless situation. The former sense, *i.e.* "Become a prey to melancholy and die of it," is favoured by IV. vi. 35, 36 (see note), but even the passage from *Julius Cæsar* (II. i. 187), quoted by Steevens, does not certainly decide the question in its favour :—

"If he love Cæsar, all that he can do
Is to himself, take thought and *die* for Cæsar."

Lord of his reason. What though you fled
From that great face of war, whose several ranges
Frighted each other? why should he follow?
The itch of his affection should not then
Have nick'd his captainship; at such a point,
When half to half the world opposed, he being
The meered question: 'twas a shame no less

8. *captainship; at*] Theobald; comma Ff, omitted Pope.

5. *face of war*] So in Beaumont and Fletcher, *The Queen of Corinth*, IV. i. (p. 16, 1679 folio): "Fear nothing that this *face of arms* presents."

ranges] the lines of the opposing fleets. For this noun, not elsewhere in Shakespeare, compare Hall's *Chronicle*, 1548, Henry VIII. v. yere, f. xxxiii.: "The frenchmen came on in iii *ranges*, xxxvi mens thickness"; *Historie of the Arrivall of Edward IV.*, etc. (Camden Society, 1838, p. 20): "assayled them, in the mydst and strongest of theyr battaile, . . . and, than, turned to the *range*, first on that one hand, and than on that othar hand, in lengthe, and so bet and bare them downe, so that," etc.; Fairfax's Tasso, *Godfrey of Bulloigne* (1600), vi. 107: "And breaking through the ranks and *ranges* long."

8. *nick'd*] There are sundry possible sources of this expression, and (1) I seem to be alone in suggesting that of gaming, whence—from a *nick* being a winning throw in the game of hazard—*to nick* came to mean to cheat, or merely *to get the better of*. So, in many passages, *e.g.*—with a play on words—in *Barnavelt*, v. ii. (Bullen's *Old Plays*, ii. 303), where the headsman is said to have "*Nickt* many a worthie gamester"; *Two Wise Men*, etc. (1619), vi. iv. (said by an inn-chamberlain of a guest who will order nothing): "but we 'll *nick* him well enough in his horse-meat and scurvy sheets"; and Borrow, *The Romany Rye* (1857), II. xiv. p. 213: "his reverence chated me, and I chated his reverence; the ould thaif knew every trick that I knew, and one or two more; but in daling out the cards I *nicked* his reverence; scarcely a trump did I ever give him, Shorsha, and won his money purty freely." The *Eng. Dial. Dict.* has many examples of the senses "cheat" and "steal". (2) From the simple sense of *nick'd, i.e.* notched, is obtained maimed. So Staunton (emasculated), Deighton (marred, disfigured), Herford (properly cut in notches, here "curtailed"). (3) Steevens, comparing *The Comedy of Errors*, v. i. 175: "His man with scissors *nicks* him like a fool," gives "set the mark of folly on," which has satisfied most editors. The hero is quaintly shaven for a fool in *Robert of Sicily* (Halliwell, *Nugæ Poeticæ*, 1844, p. 54), on which the editor quotes *Ipomydon* (Ellis's *Metrical Romances* [1805 ed. iii. 241]):—

"A barbor he callyd, withouten more,
And shore hym bothe byhynd and before,
Queyntly endentyd, oute and in;
And also he shore halfe his chynne:
He semyd a fole, that quaynte syre," etc.

(4) As I write, the *New Eng. Dict.* has not reached the word. The *Century Dict.* explains cut short, abridged, because "a false bottom in a beer can, by which customers were cheated, the *nick* below and the froth above filling up part of the measure," was called a *nick*; and for the verb quotes a reference of Halliwell's to *The Life of Robin Goodfellow*, 1628 [pt. ii. p. 29 in Percy Society reprint]: "There was a tapster, that with his pots smalnesse, and with frothing of his drinke, had got a good summe of money together. This *nicking* of the pots he would never leave," etc. See also Appendix I.

10. *meered question*] whole or sole ground of quarrel, if Mason is correct in supposing a coinage from *mere*. Compare Bullen's *Middleton*, v. (*The Widow*), v. i. 142:—

"Signor Francisco, whose *mere* object now
Is woman at these years," etc.;

Than was his loss, to course your flying flags
And leave his navy gazing.

Cleo. Prithee, peace.

Enter ANTONY *with* EUPHRONIUS, *the Ambassador.*

Ant. Is that his answer?

Euph. Ay, my lord.

Ant. The queen shall then have courtesy, so she
Will yield us up.

Euph. He says so.

Ant. Let her know 't.
To the boy Cæsar send this grizzled head,
And he will fill thy wishes to the brim
With principalities.

Cleo. That head, my lord?

Ant. To him again: tell him he wears the rose
Of youth upon him; from which the world should note
Something particular: his coin, ships, legions,
May be a coward's; whose ministers would prevail
Under the service of a child as soon
As i' the command of Cæsar: I dare him therefore
To lay his gay comparisons apart

Enter . . .] Globe; *Enter the Ambassador, with Anthony* Ff. 13. *that*] F *this* F 2. 14, etc. *Euph.*] *Eup.* Capell; *Amb.* F. 15, 16. *The . . . up*] As Malone; Ff divide after *courtesie;* Hanmer *queen, yield.* 16-18. *Let . . . brim*] As Rowe; prose Ff.

and for *question*, *Hamlet*, I. i. 111. Johnson cites *mere* a boundary, and some make *meered question* = "the matter to which the dispute is limited," comparing Spenser, *Ruins of Rome*, xxii.:—

"When that brave honour of the Latin name,
Which *mear'd* her rule with Africa and Byze," etc.

The boundaries (strips of grass or banks) in the common fields of Shakespeare's day were called *meers*, whence a verb to mark off land, which may appear in extended usage here. Johnson also conjectured *mooted; moved* (often *meued* or *meevid* thirty years or so before this play) is nearer in form and just as probable: "But which part should begin sute: that peace to *moue*," etc. (John Heywood, *The Spider and the Flie*, 1556, Spenser Society ed. p. 370).

20, 21. *rose Of youth*] Compare *All 's Well that Ends Well*, I. iii. 135, 136: "this thorn Doth to our rose of youth rightly belong."

26. *gay comparisons*] the showy supports in which he excels me. Most editors similarly understand *comparisons* (with Johnson) as = comparative superiority in fortune, and Malone quotes *Macbeth*, I. ii. 54-56:—

"Till that Bellona's bridegroom, lapp'd in proof,
Confronted him with *self-comparisons*," etc.;

but a few adopt Pope's reading *caparisons*. There is a play on the two words in *Sir Gyles Goosecappe*, IV. ii. (*Old Plays*, Bullen, iii. 64): "*Foul.* A my life a most rich *comparison*. *Goos.* Never stirre if it be not a richer *Caparison* then my Lorde my Cosin

And answer me declined, sword against sword,
Ourselves alone. I 'll write it: follow me.

[*Exeunt Antony and Euphronius*

Eno. [*Aside*] Yes, like enough, high-battled Cæsar will
Unstate his happiness, and be staged to the show
Against a sworder! I see men's judgements are
A parcel of their fortunes; and things outward
Do draw the inward quality after them,
To suffer all alike. That he should dream,
Knowing all measures, the full Cæsar will
Answer his emptiness! Cæsar, thou hast subdued
His judgement too.

Enter an Attendant.

Att. A messenger from Cæsar.

Cleo. What, no more ceremony? See, my women,

28. [*Exeunt . . .*] Capell; omitted in Ff. 29. [*Aside*] Capell. *Enter an Attendant*] Capell; . . . *a Seruant* Ff. 37. *Att.*] Capell; *Ser.* Ff.

wore at Tilt," etc. Perhaps it may support the text to note that *comparisons* are inferred between youth and age, fortune with its gifts and naked misfortune; and that while the gay, glittering ones, the gifts, can be set aside, the advantage in years and flush of success must remain.

27. *declined*] *i.e.* in fortune, and probably also "Into the vale of years" (*Othello*, III. iii. 265 *q.v.*). In the Countess of Pembroke's *Antonie*, iii., A. says he proffered combat:—

"Though he in prime and I by feeble age
Mightily weakened both in force and skill."

The 20th stanza of A. Copley's *A Fig for Fortune* (1596) begins: "There is no hell like to *declined* glorie."

29. *high-battled*] master of noble armies. See on III. ix. 2 *ante*, and compare *Titus Andronicus*, IV. iv. 35: "*High-witted* Tamora."

30. *Unstate his happiness*] *i.e.* strip it of state and dignity. See *King Lear*, I. ii. 108: "I would *unstate* myself to be in a due resolution" = "give up my position as a duke, forfeit my rank and fortune" (Craig). The context in both passages supports this view of *unstate*, which otherwise might merely equal unsettle, disestablish, as *stated* occurs in the sense, constituted, firmly fixed. So in Felltham's *Resolves* (ed. 1631), xxiv.: "a soul that is right[ly] *stated*"; xxvi.:—

"Nature is motive in the quest of ill;
Stated in mischief," etc.

30, 31. *staged . . . sworder*] Henley notes the allusion to the public combats of gladiators. With *staged*, compare *Measure for Measure*, I. i. 69:—

"I love the people
But do not like to *stage* me to their eyes";

for *sworder*, *2 Henry VI.* IV. i. 135: "A Roman *sworder* and bandit[to] slave."

32. *A parcel of*] "of a piece with" (Steevens), literally, a part of. Compare *Tom of all Trades* (New Shakes. Society, 1876, p. 141): "For by di[s]scription of the time it could bee n[o] other *parcell of* the yeare."

32-34. *and things outward . . . alike*] Compare Sonnet cxi.:—

"And almost thence my nature is subdued
To what it works in, like the dyer's *hand*."

The generous verdict of Antony on Enobarbus' conduct enforces a like truth in *his* case, the worse corruption of his honesty by "*things outward*" see IV. v. 16, 17 *post*.

Against the blown rose may they stop their nose
That kneel'd unto the buds. Admit him, sir.
[*Exit Attendant.*

Eno. [*Aside*] Mine honesty and I begin to square.
The loyalty well held to fools does make
Our faith mere folly: yet he that can endure
To follow with allegiance a fall'n lord
Does conquer him that did his master conquer,
And earns a place i' the story.

Enter THYREUS.

Cleo. Cæsar's will?

Thyr. Hear it apart.

Cleo. None but friends: say boldly.

Thyr. So, haply, are they friends to Antony.

Eno. He needs as many, sir, as Cæsar has,
Or needs not us. If Cæsar please, our master
Will leap to be his friend: for us, you know,
Whose he is we are, and that is, Cæsar's.

Thyr. So.
Thus then, thou most renown'd: Cæsar entreats,
Not to consider in what case thou stand'st
Further than he is Cæsar.

Cleo. Go on: right royal.

Thyr. He knows that you embrace not Antony
As you did love, but as you fear'd him.

Cleo. O!

40. [*Exit . . .*] Capell; omitted in Ff. 41. [*Aside*] Capell. 51. *us, you*] *you* F; *as you* F 2. 52. *So*] As Pope; begins line 53 in Ff. 55. *Cæsar*] 2; *Cæsars* F. 56. *embrace*] Ff; *embrac'd* Hudson (Capell conj.)

41. *square*] quarrel. See on II. i. 45 *ante.*

50. *Or needs not us*] Heath: "or lse he needs not even us, whose small umber and want of power render us ıcapable, without other assistance, of eing of any service to him"; Deigh-m: "or has no *need* for any friends, *e.* his case is beyond hope." Is Eno-arbus' speech, however, dictated by is meditated defection, and do these ords signify: or does not *need* us, r we are among them (*viz.* Cæsar's iends)? What follows contradicts is if "Whose he is" = whose friend he is, but not necessarily if it = whose creature (*i.e.* at whose discretion) he is, in which sense both commentators understood it.

55. *Further . . . Cæsar*] Beyond the fact that it is Cæsar, and no harsh conqueror, with whom you have to do. Malone reads *Cæsar's* from F *Cæsars*, explaining it by making *he* refer to Antony, to her connection with whom, Thyreus in that case limits the difficulties of Cleopatra's position. He refers to line 52 *ante*, and Thyreus' next speech perhaps lends some further support to the reading.

Thyr. The scars upon your honour, therefore, he
Does pity, as constrained blemishes,
Not as deserved.
Cleo. He is a god, and knows
What is most right: mine honour was not yielded,
But conquer'd merely.
Eno. [*Aside*] To be sure of that,
I will ask Antony. Sir, sir, thou art so leaky
That we must leave thee to thy sinking, for
Thy dearest quit thee. [*Exit.*
Thyr. Shall I say to Cæsar
What you require of him? for he partly begs
To be desired to give. It much would please him,
That of his fortunes you should make a staff
To lean upon: but it would warm his spirits,
To hear from me you had left Antony,
And put yourself under his shrowd,
The universal landlord.
Cleo. What's your name?
Thyr. My name is Thyreus.
Cleo. Most kind messenger,
Say to great Cæsar this in deputation:
I kiss his conquering hand: tell him, I am prompt

60-62. *He . . . merely*] As Pope; Ff end first line *God*, second *Honour*. 62. [*Aside*] Hanmer. 62, 63. *To be . . . leaky*] As Pope; two lines, the first ending *Anthony*. Ff. 71, 72. *And . . . landlord*] As Steevens (1778); one line Ff. 74. *this in deputation:*] *this in disputation*, F; *this; in deputation* Theobald (Warburton), and edd.

71. *shrowd*] shelter. See Kyd, *Works* (ed. Boas), *The Housholders Philosophie*, p. 248: "vnder the shade of a Tree, or *shroude* of a Church"; *ibid.* p. 240: "'The wrath of *Fortune* and of mightie me[n] I shun, howbeit I am eftsoones *shrowded* vnder the estate of Sauoy.' 'Vnder a magnanimous, just, and gratious Prince you soiourne then' (quoth he)."

74. *in deputation:*] in deputed authority, as my representative. I have been guided by the folio punctuation, seeing no necessity for the accepted arrangement due to Warburton, which places the colon after *this*, and makes the sense: "I kiss his conquering hand by proxy." Other passages hardly favour it. Compare *1 Henry IV.* IV. iii. 87:—

"Of all the favourites that the absent king
In deputation left behind him here,"
etc.;

ibid. IV. i. 32:—

"And that his friends by *deputation* could not
So soon be drawn."

See also *Troilus and Cressida*, I. iii. 152. Steevens (pointing as Warburton) believed that Ff *disputation* might be retained, suggesting the sense: "I own he has the better in the controversy. I confess my inability to dispute or contend with him." The probabilities seem to me, however, in favour of *dis-*

To lay my crown at 's feet, and there to kneel:
Tell him, from his all-obeying breath I hear
The doom of Egypt.

Thyr. 'Tis your noblest course.
Wisdom and fortune combating together,
If that the former dare but what it can,
No chance may shake it. Give me grace to lay
My duty on your hand.

Cleo. Your Cæsar's father oft,
When he hath mused of taking kingdoms in,
Bestow'd his lips on that unworthy place,
As it rain'd kisses.

Re-enter ANTONY *and* ENOBARBUS.

Ant. Favours, by Jove that thunders! What art thou, fellow?

Thyr. One that but performs
The bidding of the fullest man, and worthiest
To have command obey'd.

Eno. [*Aside*] You will be whipp'd.

Ant. Approach there! Ah, you kite! Now, gods and divels!

85. *Re-enter*] Capell; *Enter* Ff. Ff one line. 88, 94. [*Aside*] Capell. 85, 86. *Favours . . . fellow*] As Rowe; 89. *diuels*] F.

being a result of the attractive proximity of *this* and *kiss*.

77. *all-obeying*] "which all obey." With *obeying*=obeyed, compare *Rape of Lucrece*, 993, "unrecalling crime," *i.e.* crime past recall; *King Lear*, IV. vi. 226, "known and feeling [*i.e.* heart-felt] sorrows."

83. *taking . . . in*] Compare I. i. 23; III. vii. 23 *ante*.

87. *fullest*] Here, I think, not only, most completely endowed with man's best qualities, but also with the gifts of fortune. See line 35 *ante*. *Full* is particularly applied in *Othello*, II. i. 36: "Like a *full* [*i.e.* complete] soldier"; generally in Brome's *Court Beggar*, I. (at end):—

"The fellow's honest, valiant, and discreet,
Full man, in whom those three additions meet."

With the rest of the speech, compare Dercetas on Antony, v. i. 6, 7 *post*.

89. *Ah, you kite*] perhaps addressed to Cleopatra. Mr. Craig quotes this line on *King Lear*, I. iv. 284, "Detested kite," and says of *kite*: "a term of strong opprobrium, when by Shakespeare applied to women. . . . Turberville in his *Book of Faulconrie*, 1575, describes kites as 'base, bastardly, refuse, hawks.'" On the other hand, Thyreus might be so addressed. Compare *Ralph Roister Doister*, v. v. 9: "Roister Doister, that doughtie *kite*"; and Sylvester's *Du Bartas*, ed. 1621, p. 217 (*The Furies*):—

"whose *Siren*-notes
Inchant chaste *Susans*, and like hungry *Kite*
Flie at all game, they *Louers* are behight."

Authority melts from me: of late, when I cried "Ho!"
Like boys unto a muss, kings would start forth,
And cry "Your will?" Have you no ears?
I am Antony yet.

Enter Attendants.

Take hence this Jack, and whip him.

Eno. [*Aside*] 'Tis better playing with a lion's whelp
Than with an old one dying.

Ant. Moon and stars!
Whip him. Were 't twenty of the greatest tributaries
That do acknowledge Cæsar, should I find them
So saucy with the hand of she here,—what 's her name,
Since she was Cleopatra? Whip him, fellows,
Till, like a boy, you see him cringe his face,
And whine aloud for mercy: take him hence.

Thyr. Mark Antony!

90. *me: of late, when*] Johnson (*me. Of*); *me of late. When* F. 92, 93. *And . . . I am*] As Ff; one line, Capell and several editors. 93. *Enter . . .*] As Dyce; *Enter a servant.* Ff, after *him.*

91. *a muss*] a scramble. So Jonson, *Bart. Fair*, IV. i.: "*Cokes.* Ods so! *a muss, a muss, a muss, a muss!* [Falls a-scrambling for the pears]." The word seems to be a variant of *mess, mesh*, etc.; but there was also a game called *muss*, differently derived, which Halliwell (probably incorrectly) supposed Shakespeare to mean here. He quotes: "Arigatta, striving, as children play at *musse*" (Florio, *New World of Words*, 1611), etc. Grey pointed out its inclusion by Rabelais (I. xxii.) among the games of Gargantua, and mention again, in III. xl., where are these details: "I found them all [*i.e.* the high treasurers of France] recreating and diverting themselves at the play called *musse*, . . . provided that *hic not.* that the game of the musse is honest, healthful, ancient, and lawful, *a Muscho inventore*, . . . & *muscarii*, such as play and sport it at the musse, are excusable in and by law, . . . And at the very same time was master Tielman Picquet one of the players of that game of musse. There is nothing that I do better remember: for he laughed heartily when his fellow-members of the aforesaid judicial chamber spoiled their caps in swindging of his shoulders:" etc. (*Works*, Chatto & Windus, *n.d.* p. 354). With the succeeding reference to kings, compare III. xii. 5 *ante*, and IV. ii. 13 *post.*

93. *Jack*] fellow, impudent rascal. The frequency of the name led to its use for clown, peasant, etc. (as now for sailor), and so in more or less contemptuous senses. Compare our *Jacks-in-office*, and with it the corresponding phrase in "And I may set up for an *Author*, I hope, among the *Crowd* . . . where *Licensers*, *Correctors*, and *Criticks*, are made but *Jacks* in an Office" (*The Parliament of Criticks*, 1702, p. 2).

whip him] See North, *ante*, p. lii.

100. *cringe his face*] The *New Eng. Dict.* quotes for this transitive use of *cringe*, in addition to the present passage, Bishop Hall, *Satires*, 1598, IV. ii. [ed. Singer, 1824, p. 85]: "And shake his head, and *cringe* his neck and side"; Taylor, the Water Poet, *Red Herring*, *circa* 1630: "They, *cringing* in their necks, like rats, smothered in the hold, poorly replied."

Ant. Tug him away: being whipp'd,
Bring him again: this Jack of Cæsar's shall
Bear us an arrant to him.

[*Exeunt Attendants with Thyreus.*

You were half blasted ere I knew you: ha!
Have I my pillow left unpress'd in Rome,
Forborne the getting of a lawful race,
And by a gem of women, to be abused
By one that looks on feeders?

Cleo. Good my lord,—

Ant. You have been a boggler ever:
But when we in our viciousness grow hard—
O misery on 't!—the wise gods seel our eyes;
In our own filth drop our clear judgements; make us

103. *this*] Pope; *the* F. 104. *arrant*] F; *errand* F 4 and edd. *Exeunt . . .*] Capell; *Exeunt with Thidius.* F. 112. *seel*] *seele* F; *seale* F 3. 112, 113. *eyes; In . . . filth*] Warburton (colon); no stop after *eyes*, comma after *filth* Ff.

107. *Forborne . . . race*] Not the fact. See North, *ante*, p. xxxix.

108. *gem*] Headley (*Select Beauties*, etc., ed. 1810, i. 161) quotes this passage to illustrate, "My chosen pheare, my *gem*, and all my joy," from G. Gascoigne's *Poems*, p. 141, 1587, 4to. He considers *gem* "An expression of endearment of great beauty."

109. *feeders*] servants. Similarly they are called *cormorants*: "I . . . forgot to bring one of my *cormorants* to attend me" (Jonson, *Every Man Out*, etc., v. i.); *beef-eaters*: "Begone yee greedy *beefe-eaters*" (*Histriomastix*, iii. i. 99); "*eaters of broken meats*" (*King Lear*, ii. ii. 15); *eaters*: "tall *eaters* in blue coats" (D'Avenant, *The Wits*, iii. i.; *Works*, 1872, ii. 167); *mouths*: "Where are all my eaters? my *mouths* now? [*Enter Servants*" (Jonson, *The Silent Woman*, iii. ii.). To the last two, quoted by Steevens, Gifford adds from Fletcher, *The Nice Valour*, iii. i.: "Now servants he has kept, lusty tall *feeders*"; and in *As You Like It*, ii. iv. 99: "I will your very faithful *feeder* be," the word is mostly taken as = servant. It is noteworthy that in none of these passages are eating propensities *apropos*, so that the terms are general; and though it is otherwise in *Timon of Athens*, ii. ii. 168: "When all our offices have been oppress'd With riotous *feeders*," the sense of the word is determined here too, as Steevens pointed out, by its conjunction with *offices* or servants' quarters. The weight of evidence is wholly against Delius' and Schmidt's explanation, *parasites*. Compare also lines 123, 124, 157 *post*.

110. *boggler*] waverer, shifty one. See *All 's Well that Ends Well*, v. iii. 232: "You *boggle* shrewdly," etc.

112. *seel*] The term in falconry for sewing up a hawk's eyelids temporarily, to prepare it for the use of the hood. Often used figuratively as here. Compare Jonson, *Catiline*, i. i.:—

"Are your eyes yet *unseeled?* dare they look day
In the dull face?"

The practice had other uses. Among amusements provided by Zelmane (Sidney's *Arcadia*, bk. i. ed. 1725, p. 99) this figures: "Now she brought them to see a *seeled* dove, who, the blinder she was, the higher she strove."

113. *In . . . judgements*] Probability and Steevens's illustration from *Henry V.* iii. v. 59: "He 'll *drop* his heart into the *sink* of fear," negative the pointing of Ff, to which Knight adheres. Compare also Nash, *Christ's*

Adore our errors; laugh at's while we strut
To our confusion.

Cleo. O, is't come to this?

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

Cleo. Wherefore is this?

Ant. To let a fellow that will take rewards
And say "God quit you!" be familiar with
My playfellow, your hand; this kingly seal
And plighter of high hearts! O, that I were
Upon the hill of Basan, to outroar
The horned herd! for I have savage cause;
And to proclaim it civilly, were like
A halter'd neck which does the hangman thank
For being yare about him.

118. *Cneius*] F 2; *Gneius* F.

Tears (p. 45, *Archaica*, 1815, vol. i.): "Her own heart she eateth, and digesteth into the draught with riot and excess."

116, 117. *morsel . . . trencher*] Compare the metaphor for Cleopatra, "his Egyptian dish," II. vi. 122 *ante*.

117. *fragment*] left scrap or morsel. Compare the plural in *Cymbeline*, v. iii. 44.

118. *Cneius Pompey's*] Compare IV. xii. 13 *post*, and see North, p. xxxi *ante*.

120. *luxuriously*] lustfully. So the adjective = lustful, as in *Titus Andronicus*, v. i. 88: "O most insatiate and *luxurious* woman!" and the noun, "lust," as in *Hamlet*, I. v. 83, in Shakespeare and his contemporaries.

124. *quit*] requite. Compare Browne, *Britannia's Pastorals*, II. iv. 964: "You whose flocks . . . By my protection *quit* your industry."

125. *seal*] So in *A Midsummer-Night's Dream*, III. ii. 143, 144: "thy hand: . . . this *seal* of bliss!"

127, 128. *Basan . . . herd*] Steevens quotes the Prayer-book versions of Psalms lxviii. 15 and xxii. 12: "As the hill of *Basan*, so is God's hill: even an high hill, as the hill of *Basan*"; "Many oxen are come about me: fat bulls of *Basan* close me in on every side." With the inevitable allusion to *horned*, compare I. ii. 4 *ante*. See also Heywood, *A Challenge for Beauty* (1636), v. i. 3: "*Alda*. What meanes my sonne? *Valla*. To runne, and roare, and bellow. *Cont*. You are not mad? *Valla*. As the great beast call'd Bull."

131. *yare*] adroit, quick. Compare II. ii. 211; III. vii. 38 *ante*; v. ii. 282 *post*.

Re-enter Attendants with THYREUS.

Is he whipp'd?

First Att. Soundly, my lord.

Ant. Cried he? and begg'd a' pardon?

First Att. He did ask favour.

Ant. If that thy father live, let him repent
Thou wast not made his daughter; and be thou sorry
To follow Cæsar in his triumph, since
Thou hast been whipp'd for following him: henceforth
The white hand of a lady fever thee;
Shake thou to look on't. Get thee back to Cæsar;
Tell him thy entertainment: look thou say
He makes me angry with him; for he seems
Proud and disdainful, harping on what I am,
Not what he knew I was: he makes me angry;
And at this time most easy 'tis to do't,
When my good stars, that were my former guides,
Have empty left their orbs, and shot their fires
Into the abysm of hell. If he mislike
My speech and what is done, tell him he has
Hipparchus, my enfranched bondman, whom
He may at pleasure whip, or hang, or torture,
As he shall like, to quit me: urge it thou:
Hence with thy stripes, begone! [*Exit Thyreus.*

Cleo. Have you done yet?

Ant. Alack, our terrene moon

131. *Re-enter . . .*] As Collier; *Enter a Servant with Thidias.* Ff (after *whipt?*). 132, 133. *First Att.*] Capell (1. *A.*); *Ser.* F. 132. *a'*] Theobald; *a* Ff; *he* Capell and most editors. 137. *been*] F 2; *bin* F. *whipp'd for*] Theobald; *whipp'd, for* Rowe; *whipt. For* Ff. 153-155. *Alack . . . Antony*] As Capell; two lines in Ff, divided after *Eclipst.*

132. *a'*] For *a* = he in Ff, compare II. vii. 89, 132 *ante.*

141-147. *He . . . angry*, etc.] See North, *ante*, p. lii.

142, 143. *what I am . . . was*] Compare *Arden of Feversham*, i. 322, for the reverse idea: "Measure me *what I am*, not what I *was*."

146. *orbs*] spheres. See on II. vii. 14-16 *ante*, and IV. xv. 10 *post.*

149. *Hipparchus*] See North, *ante*, pp. xlix, lii. Antony is not abandoning an innocent man thus, but a revolter.

enfranched] Only here in Shakespeare. The *New Eng. Dict.* also cites Marbeck, *Book of Notes* (1581), p. 193: "By him we be *enfraunched* from the captivitie and thraldome of the Divell"; and passages later than our text.

151. *quit me*] pay me out, requite me. Compare line 124 *ante.*

153, 154. *moon . . . eclipsed . . portends*] He has already, in his anger, referred to Cleopatra as no longer herself (line 99 *ante*); now similarly, but in softer mood, he figures her as a

Is now eclipsed; and it portends alone
The fall of Antony!

Cleo. I must stay his time.

Ant. To flatter Cæsar, would you mingle eyes
With one that ties his points?

Cleo. Not know me yet?

Ant. Cold-hearted toward me?

Cleo. Ah, dear, if I be so,
From my cold heart let heaven engender hail,
And poison it in the source; and the first stone
Drop in my neck: as it determines, so
Dissolve my life! The next Cæsarion smite!
Till by degrees the memory of my womb,
Together with my brave Egyptians all,
By the discandying of this pelleted storm
Lie graveless, till the flies and gnats of Nile
Have buried them for prey!

Ant. I am satisfied.
Cæsar sits down in Alexandria, where
I will oppose his fate. Our force by land
Hath nobly held; our sever'd navy too

162. *smite l*] Rowe; *smile*, F. 165. *discandying*] Theobald (Thirlby conj.); *discandering* F. 168. *sits*] Johnson; *sets* F.

moon darkened, lustreless, and hence, according to the common superstition, portending evil. See *King Lear*, I. ii. 112. Capell supposes him to think of Cleopatra as Isis. See on I. ii. 61 *ante*, and compare III. vi. 17 *ante*.

157. *one that . . . points*] A contemptuous phrase for a menial, like *feeder*, line 109 *ante*. *Points* were the tagged laces with which the parts of a man's or woman's dress were fastened together. See *1 Henry IV.* II. iv. 239; *Kemps nine daies vvonder*, 1600 (Camden Society, 1840, p. 17): "it was the mischaunce of a homely maide, that, belike, was but newly crept into the fashion of long wasted peticotes tyde with *points*," etc.

161. *determines*] comes to an end, dissolves. See *Coriolanus*, III. iii. 43: "Must all *determine* here?" Day's *English Secretorie* (1599), pt. i. p. 41: "He died (my L.) as hee euer liued, vertuouslie and honourablie, the *determination* of whose deceasing corps, was preparation to newe joyes," etc.

162. *Cæsarion*] Compare III. vi. 6 *ante*.

165. *discandying*] melting. This and *discandy*, IV. xii. 22 *post*, seem to be the only known instances, but the opposite idea is common. Compare Sylvester's Du Bartas, *The Lawe*, 1621 ed. p. 362:—

"As thick, or thicker then the Welkin pours
His *candi'd* drops vpon the ears of Corn," etc.

The conceit seems to be that the poison in the hail (line 160) is liberated by the melting. The wish which follows resembles that in v. ii. 57-60 *post*.

pelleted] occurs also in *A Lover's Complaint*, 18: "the brine That season'd woe had *pelleted* in tears."

169. *his fate*] Compare *Henry V.* II. iv. 64: "and let us fear The native mightiness and *fate* of him."

Have knit again, and fleet, threatening most sea-like.
Where hast thou been, my heart? Dost thou hear, lady?
If from the field I shall return once more
To kiss these lips, I will appear in blood;
I and my sword will earn our chronicle:
There 's hope in 't yet.

Cleo. That 's my brave lord!

Ant. I will be treble-sinew'd, hearted, breath'd,
And fight maliciously: for when mine hours
Were nice and lucky, men did ransom lives
Of me for jests; but now I 'll set my teeth,
And send to darkness all that stop me. Come,

172. *been*] F 2; *bin* F. 175. *our*] F; *my* F 2.

171. *fleet*] float. Very common; so T. Hudson, Du Bartas's *Judith*, 1584 (p. 693 in Sylvester, 1621 ed.):—

"When Seas are calme, and thousand vessels *fleet*
Vpon the sleeping seas with passage sweet;" etc.;

Selimus, 1594, ed. Grosart, 467: "a quiet road for *fleeting* ships."

172. *heart*] With Delius, I understand this as courage, spirit, and not as addressed to Cleopatra.

174. *in blood*] Besides the obvious sense, Deighton detects "an allusion to the phrase as used of a stag when in full vigour," and compares *1 Henry VI.* IV. ii. 48, and *Coriolanus*, IV. v. 225: "But when they shall see, sir, his crest up again, and the man *in blood*, they will," etc. See also *Sejanus*, II. ii. (Gifford's *Jonson*, ed. Cunningham, 291 *b*):—

"The way to put
A prince *in blood*, is to present the shapes
Of dangers greater than they are," etc.

175. *our chronicle*] a record of our deeds. Compare line 46 *ante*, and Beaumont and Fletcher, *Philaster*, v. (1679 fol. p. 37): "Well, my dear Countrymen, What ye lack, if you continue and fall not back upon the first broken shin, I 'le have you *chronicled* and *chronicled*, and cut and *chronicled*, and all to be prais'd, and sung in Sonnets," etc.

178. *breath'd*] Some print *breathed* and explain "exercised," a frequent sense; but here a treble strength of breath goes with the like of heart and sinews.

180. *nice*] The favoured sense of *nice* here is Warburton's "delicate," or the like (compare Minshew, 1617, "Nice, *or daintie . . . or effeminate*"), and Schmidt well supports with *2 Henry IV.* I. i. 145:—

"Hence, therefore, thou *nice* crutch!
A scaly gauntlet now with joints of steel
Must glove this hand:" etc.

A slight objection to this and most senses suggested, is that as Antony is speaking of his former *fighting* temper, his hours, however lucky, could only have been dainty, etc., in a very relative sense. Johnson preferred the modern "just fit for my purpose, agreeable to my wish"; and it is perhaps worth remarking that "nice and lucky" as a colloquialism nowadays would mean extremely, or satisfactorily, lucky. Other suggestions are, "trifling" (Steevens), as in *Romeo and Juliet*, v. ii. 18, etc.—and "jests" would certainly suit hours that were trivial compared with the present crisis —"amorous, or wanton," Douce, who quotes Stowe, of one Mary Breame in 1583, who "had beene *accused* by her husband to bee a *nice woman of her body*." As *nice* comes from *nescius*, ignorant, this is a probable degradation of the word, and seems to occur in *Nice Wanton*, on p. 167 of Hazlitt's *Dodsley*, vol. ii.: "Your daughter hath *nice* tricks three or four." Douce appealed to the title of this play.

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

Cleo. It is my birth-day: I had thought to have held it poor; but, since my lord
Is Antony again, I will be Cleopatra.

Ant. We will yet do well.

Cleo. Call all his noble captains to my lord.

Ant. Do so, we 'll speak to them; and to-night I 'll force
The wine peep through their scars. Come on, my queen;
There 's sap in 't yet. The next time I do fight,
I 'll make death love me; for I will contend
Even with his pestilent scythe.

[*Exeunt all but Enobarbus.*

Eno. Now he 'll outstare the lightning. To be furious,
Is to be frighted out of fear; and in that mood
The dove will peck the estridge; and I see still,

186. *to have*] *t' haue* Ff. 190, 191. *Do . . . queen*] As Rowe; Ff four lines, ending *them, force, scarres, queen.* 194. *Exeunt . . .*] Camb. edd.; *Exeunt* Ff; Capell specifies *Ant.*, *Cleo.*, and so on.

183. *gaudy*] festive. Feast days are still called "gaudy days" at Oxford. Reed quotes Blount's *Glossographia* [see for the following, ed. 4, 1674]: "In the Inns of Court there are four of these in the year, that is, one in every Term, *viz. Ascension-day* in *Easter* Term, *Midsummer-day* in *Trinity* Term, *All-Saints-day* in *Michaelmas* Term, and *Candlemas-day* in *Hillary* Term; these four are no days in Court, and on these days double Commons are allowed, and Musick on *All-Saints* and *Candlemas-day*, as the first and last of *Christmas*. The Etymology of the word may be taken from Judge *Gawdy*, who (as some affirm) was the first institutor of those days; or rather from *gaudium*, because (to say truth) they are days of *joy*, as bringing good cheer to the hungry Students. In Colledges, they are most commonly called *Gaudy*, in Inns of Court, *Grand days*, and at Court, *Coller days*." See Bullen's *Middleton*, viii. 44, *The Black Book*, where "Pierce Pennyless, exceeding poor scholar, that hath made clean shoes in both universities" is spoken of as not "once munching commons but only upon *gaudy*-days"; and, for the general use, Edward Phillips' *Life of John Milton*, 1694 (Appendix to Godwin's *Lives of Edward and John Philips*, 1815, p. 365): "with these gentlemen, he would so far make bold with his body, as now and then to keep a *gawdy*-day."

185. *birth-day*] See North, *ante*, p. lii.

197. *estridge*] goshawk. See on the word here and in *1 Henry IV.* iv. i. 98, Douce (*Illustrations of Shakespeare*, 1807, i. 436), who appeals to *3 Henry VI.* i. iv. 41: "So doves do peck the falcon's piercing talons," and quotes the Romance of Guy of Warwick, of which the *Early English Text Soc.* editions, 1883, have (pt. i. p. 12, lines 175, 176) from Auchinleck MS.:—

"Michel he coube of hauk and hounde,
Of *estriche* faucons of gret mounde";

and line 177, p. 13, from Caius MS.: "Of *Ostours*, of Faukons of grete moundes." Nares (*Glossary*, 1822) under *Astringer*, cites Blount's *Tenures*, ed. 1784, p. 166: "A goshawk is in our records termed by the several

A diminution in our captain's brain
Restores his heart: when valour preys on reason,
It eats the sword it fights with. I will seek
Some way to leave him. [*Exit.*

199. *preys on*] Rowe; *prayes in* F.

201. *Exit*] Rowe; *Exeunt* Ff.

names of *osturcum*, *hostricum*, *estricium*, *asturcum*, and *austurcum*, all from the French *astour*"; and Halliwell (*Dict. Archaic and Provincial Words*) explains the word in the text as Douce. Editors have entirely ignored all this, and are kept in countenance by the *New Eng. Dict.*, in which the sense "goshawk" is unnoticed, and our text illustrates that of *ostrich*, for which *estridge* commonly appears. In Professor Littledale's re-issue of Dyce's *Glossary to Shakespeare*, the correction is made in the Appendix, but ascribed to Madden (*Diary of Master William Silence*, pp. 144, 155, etc.).

ACT IV

SCENE I.—*Before Alexandria. Cæsar's camp.*

Enter CÆSAR, AGRIPPA, *and* MÆCENAS, *with his Army;* CÆSAR *reading a letter.*

Cæs. He calls me boy, and chides, as he had power
To beat me out of Egypt; my messenger
He hath whipp'd with rods; dares me to personal combat,
Cæsar to Antony: let the old ruffian know
I have many other ways to die; meantime
Laugh at his challenge.

Mæc. Cæsar must think,
When one so great begins to rage, he 's hunted
Even to falling. Give him no breath, but now
Make boot of his distraction: never anger
Made good guard for itself.

Cæs. Let our best heads
Know, that to-morrow the last of many battles
We mean to fight: within our files there are,
Of those that served Mark Antony but late,
Enough to fetch him in. See it done:
And feast the army; we have store to do 't,
And they have earn'd the waste. Poor Antony! [*Exeunt.*

Before . . .] *Cæsar's camp.* Rowe; *Camp before Alexandria.* Capell. 10, 11. *Let . . . battles*] As Theobald; Ff divide after *know*,.

5. *I have . . . die*] Hanmer and Upton read *He hath* (and so, necessarily, prefix *I* to line 6) to correspond with the sense of Plutarch, and to remove a supposed admission on Cæsar's part of certain defeat to ensue. But Cæsar's words need mean no more than "I can risk my life in more creditable ways," and are due, as Farmer pointed out, to North's ambiguous phrase. See *ante*, p. liii.

9. *Make boot of*] Take advantage of. See on II. v. 71 *ante*.

14. *fetch him in*] capture him, as in *Cymbeline*, IV. ii. 141: "and sweare He 'ld *fetch us in*."

SCENE II.—*Alexandria. Cleopatra's palace.*

Enter ANTONY, CLEOPATRA, ENOBARBUS, CHARMIAN, IRAS, ALEXAS, *with others.*

Ant. He will not fight with me, Domitius?

Eno. No.

Ant. Why should he not?

Eno. He thinks, being twenty times of better fortune,
He is twenty men to one.

Ant. To-morrow, soldier,
By sea and land I 'll fight: or I will live,
Or bathe my dying honour in the blood
Shall make it live again. Woo 't thou fight well?

Eno. I 'll strike, and cry "Take all".

Ant. Well said; come on.
Call forth my household servants: let 's to-night
Be bounteous at our meal.

Enter three or four Servitors.

Give me thy hand,
Thou hast been rightly honest;—so hast thou;—

Alexandria . . .] Capell (substantially); *Alexandria.* Rowe; *The Palace in Alexandria.* Theobald. 1. *Domitius?*] *Domitius.* Rowe and others; *Domitian?* F. 10. *Enter . . .*] After line 9 in Ff. 11. *been*] *bin* F.

Scene II. [see North, *ante*, p. liii].

6. *Or bathe . . . blood*] Perhaps an allusion to baths of blood as a remedy. Mr. C. Crawford refers me to Jonson's *Discoveries*: "*Morbi.* The body hath certain diseases that are with less evil tolerated than removed. As if to cure a leprosy a man should *bathe* himself with the warm *blood* of a murdered child, so," etc., on which Professor Schelling refers, *inter alia*, to "*Gesta Romanorum*, ed. Oesterley, No. 230, in which a girl afflicted with leprosy, only to be cured by her *bathing* in royal *blood*, accepts the sacrifice of her royal lover, who allows so much blood to be taken from him that it causes his death." In a citation of Carlyle's (*French Rev.* I. i. 2) from Lacretelle, *Histoire de France*, etc., occurs: "an absurd and horrid rumour rises among the people; it is said that the doctors have ordered a Great Person to take *baths* of young human *blood* for the restoration of his own, all spoiled by debaucheries."

7. *Woo 't*] A common form = *wilt*. Compare IV. xv. 59 *post*; *Hamlet*, v. i. 298; S. Rowlands, *The Knave of Clubbs* (Percy Society, 1843, No. xxxiv. pp. 9-12 *passim*): "Why doe and *t' woot*," etc.

8. "*Take all*"] Johnson: "Let the survivor *take all*. No composition; victory or death." No doubt the expression comes, as Collier says, from the language of gaming. See *A Warning for Faire Women*, ii. 688 (Simpson, *School of Shakspere*, ii. 295): "*Yong San.* Come, Harrie, shall we play at game? *Har.* At what? *Yong San.* Why, at crosse and pile. *Har.* You have no Counters. *Yong San.* Yes, but I have as many as you. *Har.* Ile drop with you; and he that has most, *take all.*" A proverbial expression, "the longer liver *take all*," occurs in *Romeo and Juliet*, I. v. 17, and elsewhere.

Thou,—and thou,—and thou:—you have served me well,
And kings have been your fellows.

Cleo. [*Aside to Eno.*] What means this?

Eno. [*Aside to Cleo.*] 'Tis one of those odd tricks which sorrow shoots
Out of the mind.

Ant. And thou art honest too.
I wish I could be made so many men,
And all of you clapp'd up together in
An Antony, that I might do you service
So good as you have done.

Serv. The gods forbid!

Ant. Well, my good fellows, wait on me to-night:
Scant not my cups; and make as much of me
As when mine empire was your fellow too,
And suffer'd my command.

Cleo. [*Aside to Eno.*] What does he mean?

Eno. [*Aside to Cleo.*] To make his followers weep.

Ant. Tend me to-night;
May be it is the period of your duty:
Haply you shall not see me more; or if,
A mangled shadow: perchance to-morrow
You'll serve another master. I look on you
As one that takes his leave. Mine honest friends,
I turn you not away; but, like a master
Married to your good service, stay till death:
Tend me to-night two hours, I ask no more,
And the gods yield you for 't!

Eno. What mean you, sir,
To give them this discomfort? Look, they weep,
And I, an ass, am onion-eyed: for shame,
Transform us not to women.

13. [*Aside . . .*] Capell. 14. [*Aside . . .*] Johnson. 19. *Serv.*] Malone; *Omnes.* Ff. 23, 24. [*Aside . . .*] Capell.

13. *kings . . . fellows*] Compare III. xii. 5 and xiii. 91 *ante*.

25. *period*] end, as in IV. xiv. 107 *post*.

33. *yield*] pay, requite, the original sense. Compare *As You Like It*, III. iii. 76: "God *'ild* you for your last company," etc.

35. *And I, . . . onion-eyed*] Compare I. iii. 167, 168 *ante*. Enobarbus' mocking reference to his own probably real emotion is quite in character, without seeking further; but just possibly it indicates some impatience of feeling in an intending "master-leaver." We bid good-bye to his mocking spirit here.

Ant. Ho, ho, ho!
Now the witch take me, if I meant it thus!
Grace grow where those drops fall! My hearty friends,
You take me in too dolorous a sense;
For I spake to you for your comfort; did desire you
To burn this night with torches: know, my hearts,
I hope well of to-morrow; and will lead you
Where rather I 'll expect victorious life
Than death and honour. Let 's to supper, come,
And drown consideration. [*Exeunt.*

SCENE III.—*The same. Before the palace.*

Enter two Soldiers to their guard.

First Sold. Brother, good night: to-morrow is the day.
Sec. Sold. It will determine one way: fare you well.
Heard you of nothing strange about the streets?
First Sold. Nothing. What news?
Sec. Sold. Belike 'tis but a rumour. Good night to you.
First Sold. Well, sir, good night.

Enter two other Soldiers.

Sec. Sold. Soldiers, have careful watch.
Third Sold. And you. Good night, good night.
[*They place themselves in every corner of the stage.*

38. *fall! My . . . friends,*] Theobald; *fall* (*my . . . Friends*) F.

Scene III.

The same . . .] Capell; *A Court of Guard before . . .* Theobald. *Enter . . .*] Capell; *Enter a Company of Soldiours.* Ff. 6. *Enter . . .*] Capell; *They meete other Soldiers.* F. 7, 10. *Third Sold.*] 3. S. Capell; 1. Ff.

36. *Ho, ho, ho*] After his brief indulgence in sentiment and pathos, Antony laughs it off. Holt White seriously produces many instances of a single *ho* = stop, to show that *stop* or *desist* is the sense here.

37. *the witch take me*] may I be bewitched! For *take* = bewitch, exert a malignant influence on, compare *Hamlet*, I. i. 163: "No fairy *takes*, nor witch hath power to charm"; *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, IV. iv. 32, of Herne the hunter: "And then he blasts the tree and *takes* the cattle," etc.; *Gammer Gurton's Needle* (1575), I. ii. (Hazlitt's *Dodsley*, iii. 177): "As though they had been *taken* with fairies, or else with some ill-spreet."

38. *Grace grow . . . fall*] Steevens quotes *Richard II.* [III. iv. 104, 105]:—
"Here did she fall a tear; here in this place
I 'll set a bank of rue, sour herb of *grace*."

44. *death and honour*] refers to IV. ii. 6 *ante*.

Scene III.

5. *Belike*] probably, as in I. ii. 35 *ante*.

Fourth Sold. Here we: and if to-morrow
Our navy thrive, I have an absolute hope
Our landmen will stand up.
Third Sold. 'Tis a brave army,
And full of purpose.
[*Music of the hautboys as under the stage.*
Fourth Sold. Peace! what noise?
First Sold. List, list!
Sec. Sold. Hark!
First Sold. Music i' the air.
Third Sold. Under the earth.
Fourth Sold. It signs well, does it not?
Third Sold. No.
First Sold. Peace, I say!
What should this mean?
Sec. Sold. 'Tis the god Hercules, whom Antony loved,
Now leaves him.
First Sold. Walk; let's see if other watchmen
Do hear what we do. [*They advance to another post.*
Sec. Sold. How now, masters!
All. [*Speaking together*] How now!
How now! do you hear this?
First Sold. Ay; is't not strange?
Third Sold. Do you hear, masters? do you hear?

8, 11. *Fourth Sold.*] 4. *S.* Capell; 2. Ff. 8. *and if*] F; *an if* S. Walker conject. 10, 11. *'Tis . . . purpose*] As Capell; one line Ff. 11. [*Music . . . as . . .*] *is* Ff. 13. *signs*] *signes* F; *singes* F 3. 13, 14. *Peace . . . mean*] As Capell; one line Ff. 17. [*They advance . . .*] Malone. 17. *All* [*Speaking together*] Cambridge edd.; *Speak together. Omnes.* Ff. 17, 18. *How now! How now! . . . this*] As Steevens, 1793; one line Ff.

11. ***noise***] possibly = music here, as understood in *Macbeth*, IV. i. 106: "and what *noise* is this? [*Hautboys.*"; but the word in North (see *ante*, p. liii) applies generally, including the cries and sounds of a multitude, as well as music, and the marginal note is, "Straunge *noises* heard, and nothing seene."

13. ***signs well***] portends well, is a good sign.

15. *Hercules . . . loved*] See on I. iii. 84 *ante*. Upton and Capell note that Shakespeare varies from Plutarch here (see extracts, *ante*, p. liii) in substituting Hercules, Antony's supposed ancestor, for Bacchus, the object of his "singular devotion," etc. In recounting the signs and wonders antecedent to Actium, Plutarch says (North, *Tudor Trans.* vi. 63): "And at the citie of Athens also, . . . the statue of Bacchus with a terrible winde was throwen downe in the Theater. It was sayd that Antonius came of the race of Hercules, as you have heard before, and in the manner of his life he followed Bacchus: and therefore he was called the new Bacchus." Compare also North extracts, *ante*, p. xxxii.

First Sold. Follow the noise so far as we have quarter;
Let's see how it will give off.
All. Content. 'Tis strange. [*Exeunt.*

SCENE IV.—*The same. A room in the palace.*

Enter ANTONY *and* CLEOPATRA, CHARMIAN, *and others attending.*

Ant. Eros! mine armour, Eros!
Cleo. Sleep a little.
Ant. No, my chuck. Eros, come; mine armour, Eros!

Enter EROS *with armour.*

Come, good fellow, put mine iron on:
If fortune be not ours to-day, it is
Because we brave her: come.
Cleo. Nay, I'll help too.
What's this for?
Ant. Ah, let be, let be! thou art
The armourer of my heart: false, false; this, this.
Cleo. Sooth, la, I'll help: thus it must be.
Ant. Well, well:
We shall thrive now. Seest thou, my good fellow?
Go put on thy defences.
Eros. Briefly, sir.

21. *All*] Capell; *Omnes.* Ff.

Scene IV.

The same . . .] Capell; *Cleopatra's Palace.* Pope. *Enter . . .*] Malone; *Enter Anthony and Cleopatra, with others.* Ff. 2. *Enter . . .*] Capell; *Enter Eros.* Ff. 3. *mine*] Hanmer; *thine* F. 5-8. *Nay . . . must be*] As Malone (Capell's suggestion); in Ff all assigned to Cleo. reading *Nay, I'll help too, Anthony.* 8-10. *Well . . . defences*] As Capell; two lines in Ff, divided after *now.*

20. *as . . . quarter*] as the post assigned to us (*i.e.* our watch) extends. Compare *King John*, v. v. 20: "Well: keep good *quarter* and good care to-night."

Scene IV.

2. *chuck*] This term of fondness (=chick) was used of either sex. So Mistress Potluck in Cartwright's *Ordinary*, 1651, I. ii.: "Thou must keep nothing from thy Rib, good *Chuck.*"

3. *mine iron*] Malone and the Variorum editor retain the Ff reading *thine.* Malone explains: "the *iron* which thou hast in thy hand, *i.e.* Antony's armour."

6, 7. *thou . . . heart*] "your work is to steel my *heart* with courage, not," etc. (Deighton).

7. *false, false*] "That is all wrong" (Deighton).

Cleo. Is not this buckled well?

Ant. Rarely, rarely:
He that unbuckles this, till we do please
To daff't for our repose, shall hear a storm.
Thou fumblest, Eros; and my queen's a squire
More tight at this than thou: despatch. O love,
That thou couldst see my wars to-day, and knew'st
The royal occupation! thou shouldst see
A workman in't.

Enter an armed Soldier.

Good morrow to thee; welcome:
Thou look'st like him that knows a warlike charge:
To business that we love we rise betime,
And go to't with delight.

Sold. A thousand, sir,
Early though't be, have on their riveted trim,
And at the port expect you. [*Shout. Trumpets flourish.*

Enter Captains and Soldiers.

Capt. The morn is fair. Good morrow, general.

All. Good morrow, general.

Ant. 'Tis well blown, lads:

13. *daff't*] Dyce; *daft* F; *doft* F 2. 21-23. *A . . . you*] As Rowe; two lines in Ff, divided after *their*. 24. *Capt.*] Rowe; *Alex.* Ff.

13. *daff't*] doff it, put it off. For the form, compare *Much Ado About Nothing*, II. iii. 176; v. i. 78.

15. *tight*] deft, adroit. So the adverb in Massinger, *The Picture*, v. iii. 58: "You shall see I am experienced at the game, And can play it *tightly*"; and Spence's *Lucian* (1684), i. 70: "*Vulcan.* [To Jupiter] Take heed we don't commit some Absurdity, for I shall not manage you so *tightly* as a Midwife wou'd." *Tight* sometimes improperly represents the adverb *tite* = quickly.

18. *A workman in't*] Compare *Timon of Athens*, IV. iii. 438: "Do villainy . . . Like *workmen*."

22. *riveted trim*] *trim* = any kind of dress or finery (compare Sonnet xcviii.), here, by anachronism, the armour of a knight. See *Jack Drum's Entertainment*, 1616, v. (Simpson's *School of Shakspere*, ii. 200):—

"*Riuet* my Armour, and Caparison
A mightie Centaure; for I 'le run at *Tilt*,
And tumble downe yon Giant in the dust";

and *Henry V.* iv. prol. 13, on which Douce: "This does not solely refer to the business of *riveting* the plate armour before it was put on, but as to part when it was on. Thus," etc. See *Illustrations of Shakespeare*, 1807, or *Henry V.* (*Arden Shakespeare*), p. 95, note.

23. *port*] gate. So in *2 Henry IV.* IV. v. 24: "the *ports* of slumber," and Chapman's Hesiod, *Georgics*, i. note: "He calls this seven-*ported* Thebes, to distinguish it from that of Egypt, that had a hundred *ports*," etc. See also on I. iii. 46 *ante*.

24. *Capt.*] Rowe's necessary substitution for Ff *Alex.* See IV. vi. 12 *post*.

25. *'Tis well blown*] Delius and Rolfe refer this to the trumpets (which

This morning, like the spirit of a youth
That means to be of note, begins betimes.
So, so; come, give me that: this way; well said.
Fare thee well, dame, whate'er becomes of me:
This is a soldier's kiss: rebukeable [*Kisses her.*
And worthy shameful check it were, to stand
On more mechanic compliment; I'll leave thee
Now, like a man of steel. You that will fight,
Follow me close; I'll bring you to't. Adieu.
[*Exeunt Antony, Eros, Captains, and Soldiers.*

Char. Please you, retire to your chamber.

Cleo. Lead me.

He goes forth gallantly. That he and Cæsar might
Determine this great war in single fight!
Then, Antony,—but now—Well, on. [*Exeunt.*

SCENE V.—*Alexandria. Antony's camp.*

Trumpets sound. Enter ANTONY *and* EROS; *a Soldier meeting them.*

Sold. The gods make this a happy day to Antony!

Ant. Would thou and those thy scars had once prevail'd
To make me fight at land!

28. *well said*] F 2; *well-sed* F. 30. [*kisses her*] Johnson. 32, 33. *thee Now, . . . steel.*] *thee, Now, . . . steel.* Rowe; *thee. Now . . . Steele,* F. 34. *Exeunt . . .*] Capell (substantially); *Exeunt.* Ff. 35. *chamber.*] Capell; *Chamber?* F.

Scene v.

Alexandria . . .] Capell (substantially). *a Soldier . . .*] Theobald; omitted Ff. 1. *Sold.*] Theobald (Thirlby conj.); *Eros* Ff.

blow a "Good morrow": see Mr. Hart's note on *Othello*, III. i. 2, *Arden Shakespeare*), Hudson and Deighton to the morning; "the metaphor being employed of night blossoming into day" (Hudson). The former explanation is simple and unforced, the latter forced: yet, as it has some excuse in lines 26, 27, it at least demands record.

28. *well said*] well done, as often in Shakespeare. Compare *2 Henry IV.* III. ii. 295; *Romeo and Juliet*, I. v. 88; and Nash, *Summer's Last Will*, etc. (Hazlitt's *Dodsley*, viii. 24): "O brave Hall! O, *well said*, butcher. Now for the credit of Worcestershire."

32. *mechanic*] From the contemptuous application to artisans, as in v. ii. 208 *post*, "mechanic slaves," the word came to mean "vulgar," "common"; and this sense, or "journeyman-like," is assigned here. It does not seem altogether satisfactory; I should prefer to take "to stand on more mechanic compliment" as = to stand on ceremony, were evidence forthcoming for the early use of *mechanic* for unspontaneous, and so ceremonious or conventional.

Scene v.

1. *happy*] lucky.

2, 3. *Would . . . land!*] See III. vii. 61-66 *ante*.

Sold. Hadst thou done so,
The kings that have revolted, and the soldier
That has this morning left thee, would have still
Follow'd thy heels.
Ant. Who 's gone this morning?
Sold. Who!
One ever near thee: call for Enobarbus,
He shall not hear thee; or from Cæsar's camp
Say "I am none of thine".
Ant. What say'st thou?
Sold. Sir,
He is with Cæsar.
Eros. Sir, his chests and treasure
He has not with him.
Ant. Is he gone?
Sold. Most certain.
Ant. Go, Eros, send his treasure after; do it;
Detain no jot, I charge thee: write to him—
I will subscribe—gentle adieus and greetings;
Say that I wish he never find more cause
To change a master. O, my fortunes have
Corrupted honest men! Despatch.—Enobarbus!
[*Exeunt.*

3, 6. *Sold.*] *Sol.* Capell; *Eros* Ff. 6, 7. *Who! . . . Enobarbus*] As Pope; one line Ff. 9, 10. *Sir, . . . Cæsar*] As Theobald; one line Ff. 10, 11. *Sir . . . him*] As Theobald; one line Ff. 17. *Despatch.—Enobarbus!*] See note *infra*.

7. *Enobarbus*] In Plutarch (see North, *ante*, p. xlvii) Enobarbus deserts prior to Actium. It is the brave man-at-arms whom Antony calls Scarus in scenes vii. and viii. *post* who presently decamps with his reward.

16, 17. *O, my fortunes . . . men*] See note on III. xiii. 32-34 *ante*.

17. *Despatch.—Enobarbus!*] F has *Dispatch Enobarbus;* F 2 *Dispatch Eros*, whence Pope, *Dispatch my Eros;* Steevens, 1793 (Ritson conj.) *Eros, despatch.* Steevens (1773) reads *Dispatch. Enobarbus!* Capell *Dispatch. —O Enobarbus!* Thiselton says the reading of F means "Get fully quit of Enobarbus by sending his belongings after him," a sense which would need much softening to put it in harmony with what precedes. For Antony's conduct, compare North, *ante*, p. xlvii. According to Plutarch, Cæsar similarly treated Labienus on his desertion to Pompey (*Life of Julius Cæsar*).

SCENE VI.—*Alexandria. Cæsar's camp.*

Flourish. Enter CÆSAR *with* AGRIPPA, ENOBARBUS, *and others.*

Cæs. Go forth, Agrippa, and begin the fight:
Our will is Antony be took alive;
Make it so known.
Agr. Cæsar, I shall. [*Exit.*
Cæs. The time of universal peace is near:
Prove this a prosperous day, the three-nook'd world
Shall bear the olive freely.

Enter a Messenger.

Mess. Antony
Is come into the field.
Cæs. Go charge Agrippa
Plant those that have revolted in the vant,
That Antony may seem to spend his fury
Upon himself. [*Exeunt all but Enobarbus.*
Eno. Alexas did revolt; and went to Jewry on

Alexandria . . .] Capell (substantially); *Cæsar's camp.* Rowe. *Enter . . .*] Capell; *Enter Agrippa, Cæsar, with Enobarbus, and Dollabella* Ff. 4. [*Exit*] omitted in Ff. 7, 8. *Antony . . . field*] As Capell; one line Ff. 9. *vant*] F; *van* F 2 and edd. 11. *Exeunt . . .*] *Exeunt.* Ff. 12. *Alexas . . . on*] Ff; Steevens (1793) and many editors divide after *Jewry.*

6. *three-nook'd*] three cornered; alluding, perhaps, to the world's having been divided between the Triumvirs, or merely because the Roman world fell naturally into such a division of East and West provinces and Africa. See also *Julius Cæsar*, IV. i. 14. A trine aspect of the world was familiar to contemporary poets apart from such associations. See Pearson's *Heywood*, iii. 242 (*The Brazen Age*): "Il'e make her Empresse ore the *triple* world"; *Locrine*, III. iv. 36: "Stout Hercules . . . That tam'd the monsters of the *three-fold* world"; *ibid.* v. iv. 5: "The great foundation of the *triple* world, Trembleth," etc. In such cases the phrase was probably caught from the *triplex mundus* of Ovid, *Metam.* xii. 40, involving sky, land and sea. Du Bartas (Sylvester, 1621 ed.) speaks of the earth as divided "in *three* vnequall Portions" by the sea and its arms (p. 49), and again (p. 268), of "this spacious Orb" as parted by the Creator "Into *three* Parts," east, south and west, "Twixt *Sem*, and *Cham*, and *Japheth*."

7. *bear*] bring forth. Compare *2 Henry IV.* IV. iv. 87: "But Peace puts forth her olive everywhere." Mason—in favour of *bear* = carry—ignores metaphor in objecting that Augustus' success "could not make the olive-tree grow without culture in all climates"; but Schmidt also explains *wear*. So D'Avenant sings in *The first dayes entertainment at Rutland House:*—

"Did ever war so cease
That all might olive *wear?*"

9. *vant*] The old form of the word, short for *vantwarde*, whence *vanguard* and so *van.*

Affairs of Antony; there did persuade
Great Herod to incline himself to Cæsar
And leave his master Antony: for this pains
Cæsar hath hang'd him. Canidius and the rest
That fell away have entertainment, but
No honourable trust. I have done ill:
Of which I do accuse myself so sorely
That I will joy no more.

Enter a Soldier of CÆSAR'S.

Sold. Enobarbus, Antony
Hath after thee sent all thy treasure, with
His bounty overplus: the messenger
Came on my guard; and at thy tent is now
Unloading of his mules.

Eno. I give it you.

Sold. Mock not, Enobarbus.
I tell you true: best you safed the bringer
Out of the host; I must attend mine office,
Or would have done't myself. Your emperor
Continues still a Jove. [*Exit.*

Eno. I am alone the villain of the earth,
And feel I am so most. O Antony,
Thou mine of bounty, how wouldst thou have paid

13. *persuade*] Rowe; *disswade* Ff.

20. *more*] F 2; *mote* F.

13. *persuade*] Johnson thought *dissuade* of Ff probably right, and Collier at first (1843) retained it. North (see *ante*, p. li) has *perswaded*, but it is not impossible that the thought of dissuasion from Antony's service determined the word here. When King John's emissary pander, in Drayton's *Legend of Matilda*, becomes threateningly persuasive, the heroine does not describe herself, during her hesitation, as by fear *persuaded*, but "By fear disswaded, menaced by murder" (stanza 74), not thinking of persuasion to unchasteness —the natural sequence—but dissuasion from chastity. *Dissuade* can be followed by the infinitive: the *New Eng. Dict.* quotes Camden's *Remains*, ed. 1637, p. 246: "Some *disswaded* him to hunt that day." Compare also *A Report*, etc., 1591 (*The Revenge*, ed. Arber, p. 23): "being no hard matter to *diswade* men from death to life."

17. *entertainment*] employment. Compare *All's Well that Ends Well*, IV. i. 17: "He must think us some band of strangers i' the adversary's *entertainment*"; *A Report*, etc., 1591 (*The Revenge*, ed. Arber, p. 27): "A notable testimonie of their rich *entertainment* and great wages."

26. *safed*] conducted safely. Compare Chapman's Homer, *Odyssey*, iv. (ed. Shepherd, p. 332): "Neptune . . . *Saft* him unwrack'd, to the Gyræan isle." *Safe* = make safe, occurs in I. iii. 55 *ante*.

31. *And feel . . . most*] And am he who most realises it.

32. *mine of bounty*] Compare *1 Henry IV.* III. i. 168, 169: "as bountiful As *mines* of India."

My better service, when my turpitude
Thou dost so crown with gold! This blows my heart:
If swift thought break it not, a swifter mean
Shall outstrike thought: but thought will do't, I feel.
I fight against thee! No: I will go seek
Some ditch wherein to die; the foul'st best fits
My latter part of life. [*Exit.*

SCENE VII.—*Field of battle between the camps.*

Alarum. Drums and trumpets. Enter AGRIPPA *and others.*

Agr. Retire, we have engaged ourselves too far:
Cæsar himself has work, and our oppression
Exceeds what we expected. [*Exeunt.*

Alarums. Enter ANTONY, *and* SCARUS *wounded.*

Scar. O my brave emperor, this is fought indeed!
Had we done so at first, we had droven them home
With clouts about their heads.
Ant. Thou bleed'st apace.

36. *do't, I feel.*] Rowe; *doo't. I feele* F.

Scene VII.

Field . . .] Capell (*Between . . . , Field . . .*). *Enter . . .*] Steevens, 1778; *Enter Agrippa.* Ff.

34. *blows*] swells, "makes it full to bursting" (Schmidt). Compare *blown* = swollen, v. ii. 347 *post*, and Jonson, *Catiline*, IV. i. 18: "It is our base petitionary breath That *blows* them to this greatness."

35. *mean*] See on III. ii. 32 *ante*.

35, 36. *thought*] melancholy. See on III. xiii. 1 *ante*, and compare "in great trowble, *thowght*, and hevines" (p. 13) with "right great trowble, sorow, and hevines" (p. 17) in *Historie of the Arrivall of Edward IV.* etc. (Camden Society, 1838). See also Hall's *Chronicle*, 1548, *passim*, *e.g.* p. 407: "whyther ye people would impute her death to the *thought* or sicknes," etc.; *Hamlet*, IV. v. 188; and Brome, *A mad Couple well Match'd* (Pearson's *Brome*, i. 16): "And can you be so mild? then farwell *thought*," the exclamation of a husband whose wife has inquired into the cause of his melancholy and forgiven its offensive nature when confessed.

Scene VII.

4. *Scarus*] As Capell notes, the name is not from Plutarch, the hero of this sally being merely "one of his [Antony's] men of armes." The character, as he further says, was a necessity, in order to fill up the place about Antony left vacant by Enobarbus.

6. *clouts*] cloths, bandages. The suggested "cuffs," or "blows" is not bloodthirsty enough for Scarus or for the wounds of the scene, received and meditated (line 12).

Scar. I had a wound here that was like a T,
But now 'tis made an H. [*Retreat afar off.*
Ant. They do retire.
Scar. We'll beat 'em into bench-holes: I have yet
Room for six scotches more.

Enter EROS.

Eros. They are beaten, sir; and our advantage serves
For a fair victory.
Scar. Let us score their backs,
And snatch 'em up, as we take hares, behind:
'Tis sport to maul a runner.
Ant. I will reward thee
Once for thy spritely comfort, and ten-fold
For thy good valour. Come thee on.
Scar. I'll halt after.
[*Exeunt.*

SCENE VIII.—*Under the walls of Alexandria.*

Alarum. Enter ANTONY, *in a march;* SCARUS, *with others.*

Ant. We have beat him to his camp: run one before,
And let the queen know of our gests. To-morrow,

8. *Retreat . . .*] Capell; *Far off.* after *heads* (line 6) F. 13. *hares,*] Theobald added comma.

Scene VIII.

Under . . .] Steevens, 1778; *Gates of Alexandria.* Capell. *Enter . . .*] Ff have *againe* after *Anthony.* 1, 2. *We . . . To-morrow*] As Rowe; Ff divide after *one.* 2. *gests*] Theobald (Warburton); *guests* F.

8. *an H*] Scarus's jocular allusion to the enlargement of his wound is supposed to include a play on *H* and *ache*, once often pronounced alike. Compare *Much Ado About Nothing*, III. iv. 56, and Hall's *Virgidemiarum*, 1597, VI. i. (ed. Singer, 1824, p. 153):—

"Or Gellia wore a velvet mastic-patch
Upon her temples when no tooth did *ach*," etc.

There would be more confidence about it if we could find any particular reason for selecting T just before.

9. *bench-holes*] holes of privies. Compare *North-ward Hoe*, 1607, v. (Pearson's *Dekker*, iii. 78): "The Trab [*i.e. drab*] will driue you (if she out you before her) into a *pench hole*"; Fletcher, *Woman Pleased*, IV. iii. (1679 folio, p. 201):—

"That I were a Cat now,
Or anything could run into a *Bench-hole.*"

Malone quote's Cecil's *Secret Correspondence* (ed. Lord Hailes, 1766): " . . . I will leave it like an abort in a *bench-hole.*"

Scene VIII.

Scene VIII. [See North, *ante*, p. liii].

2. *gests*] deeds. So Heywood, *The Exemplary Lives . . . of Nine, the most worthy Women of the World*, 1640, sig. **3: "Of History there be foure species, either taken from place,

Before the sun shall see's, we 'll spill the blood
That has to-day escaped. I thank you all;
For doughty-handed are you, and have fought
Not as you served the cause, but as 't had been
Each man's like mine; you have shown all Hectors.
Enter the city, clip your wives, your friends,
Tell them your feats; whilst they with joyful tears
Wash the congealment from your wounds, and kiss
The honour'd gashes whole. [*To Scarus.*] Give me thy hand;

Enter CLEOPATRA, *attended.*

To this great fairy I 'll commend thy acts,
Make her thanks bless thee. O thou day o' the world,
Chain mine arm'd neck; leap thou, attire and all,
Through proof of harness to my heart, and there
Ride on the pants triumphing!

Cleo. Lord of lords!
O infinite virtue, comest thou smiling from
The world's great snare uncaught?

Ant. My nightingale,

11. [*To . . .*] Rowe; omitted in Ff. *Enter . . .*] Capell; *Enter Cleopatra.* Ff, after *whole.* 18. *My*] F 2; *Mine* F.

as Geography; from time, as Chronologie; from Generation, as Genealogie; or from *gests* really done," etc. Johnson (and the Variorum editor) retained *guests*, as denoting the officers whom Antony had invited to supper.

8. *clip*] hug; as frequently. So in *Coriolanus*, I. vi. 29: "O let me *clip* ye," etc.

12. *fairy*] enchantress. Used of Venus by Sylvester, Du Bartas, *The Magnificence*, ed. 1621, p. 461: "But O, fair *Faëry*, who art thou?"; by Braithwaite, of a courtesan, *Strappado for the Diuell*, 1615, *The Conyburrow*:—

"Now my (prodigious *faery*) that canst take
Vpon occasion a contrary shape."

In Shirley's *The Brothers*, II. i. (*Works*, 1833, i. 217), Carlos says of a girl: "Ha! turn away That *fairy*, she's a witch, the count talks with her." Delius says Cleopatra is so called as dispenser of the good fortune which Scarus had deserved by his valour, such being the light in which the fairies were regarded in Shakespeare's time.

15. *proof of harness*] proof-armour, in which sense *proof* alone usually appears. Compare *Romeo and Juliet*, I. i. 216: "And in strong *proof* of chastity well arm'd."

16. *Ride . . . triumphing*] Fletcher imitates this in *The False One*, IV. ii. (1679 folio, p. 329):—

"*Cleo.* . . . I love with as much ambition as a Conqueror,
And where I love, will triumph.
Cæsar. So you shall
My heart shall be the chariot that shall bear ye," etc.

For the accentuation, *triúmphing*, compare *Richard III.* III. iv. 91.

17. *virtue*] valour (the Latin *virtus*), as in *King Lear*, V. iii. 103: "Trust to thy single *virtue*," etc.

18. *world's great snare*] "*i.e.* the war" (Steevens).

We have beat them to their beds. What, girl! though grey
Do something mingle with our younger brown, yet ha' we
A brain that nourishes our nerves, and can
Get goal for goal of youth. Behold this man;
Commend unto his lips thy favouring hand:
Kiss it, my warrior: he hath fought to-day
As if a god in hate of mankind had
Destroy'd in such a shape.
Cleo. I 'll give thee, friend,
An armour all of gold; it was a king's.
Ant. He has deserved it, were it carbuncled
Like holy Phœbus' car. Give me thy hand:
Through Alexandria make a jolly march;
Bear our hack'd targets like the men that owe them:
Had our great palace the capacity
To camp this host, we all would sup together,
And drink carouses to the next day's fate,

23. *favouring*] Theobald; *savouring* F.

22. *Get goal . . . youth*] "At all plays of barriers, the boundary is called a *goal*; to *win a goal* is to be a superior in a contest of activity" (Johnson).

25. *mankind*] "Accented mostly on the last syllable in *Timon of Athens*, on the first in the other plays" (Schmidt).

28, 29. *carbuncled . . . car*] Compare *Cymbeline*, v. v. 189, 190, "a *carbuncle* of Phœbus wheel." In the description in Ovid, *Metam.* ii., which probably suggests the simile, the yoke of Phœbus' chariot is set with chrisolites and gems, his palace with carbuncles. See also Fairfax's *Tasso*, 1600, xvii. 34:—

"Her chariot like *Auroraes* glorious waine,
With *Carbuncles* and Iacinthes glistred round."

31. *owe*] own, as very often. The whole line admits of two senses; Johnson's straightforward: "Bear . . . with spirit and exultation, such as becomes the brave warriors that own them," and Warburton's interpretation of "hack'd targets," etc., as = "hack'd as much as the men to whom they belong." Abbott (*Shakespearian Grammar*, § 419 *a*) includes the line as a probable case of such transposition of adjectival phrases.

34. *drink carouses*] drain bumpers. A German adverb *garaus* = right out is the ultimate source of *carouse*, etc., and underwent little or no modification at first as English adverb, verb, noun. See, *e.g.* Fynes Moryson, *An Itinerary*, 1617, pt. iii. p. 90: "did at the very beginning of supper, drinke great *garausses*," etc. B. Rich, *The Irish Hubbub* (see p. xix. Introduction to *The Honestie of this Age*, Percy Society, 1844) begins a description of "*Healths*" thus: "In former ages they had no conceits whereby to draw on drunkennesse; their best was, I drinke to you, and I pledge yee, till at length some shallow-witted drunkard found out the *Carowse*, which shortly afterwards was turned into a hearty draught." Each of the company drank a full cup quite out, or a carouse, in turn, after much ceremony, and then, turning the cup bottom upward, "in ostentation of his dexteritie," filliped it "to make it cry *Twango*." "Hearty draught" was a new name mockingly employed by the

Which promises royal peril. Trumpeters,
With brazen din blast you the city's ear;
Make mingle with our rattling tabourines;
That heaven and earth may strike their sounds together,
Applauding our approach. [*Exeunt.*

SCENE IX.—*Cæsar's camp.*

Sentinels at their post.

First Sold. If we be not relieved within this hour,
We must return to the court of guard: the night
Is shiny; and they say we shall embattle
By the second hour i' the morn.
Sec. Sold. This last day was
A shrewd one to's.

Enter ENOBARBUS.

Eno. O, bear me witness, night,—
Third Sold. What man is this?
Sec. Sold. Stand close, and list him.
Eno. Be witness to me, O thou blessed moon,
When men revolted shall upon record

Cæsar's camp] Rowe. *Sentinels . . .*] Dyce, based on Capell; *Enter a Centerie, and his Company, Enobarbus followes* F. 1, etc. *First Sold.*] 1 *Sold.* Malone; *Cent.* Ff. 4. *Sec. Sold.*] 2 *Sold.* Malone; 1 *Watch* Ff. 4, 5. *This . . . to's*] As Capell; one line Ff. 5. *Enter . . .*] Dyce. 6, etc. *Third Sold.*] Malone; 2. Ff. 6, etc. *Sec. Sold.*] Malone; 1. Ff.

convivial, since *Quaffing* and *Carowsing* were reprobated. See Gascoigne, *A Delicate Diet for daintie mouthde Droonkardes*, 1576.

37. *tabourines*] Compare *Troilus and Cressida*, IV. v. 275. The commentators very naturally explain, "small drums," but the tabourine appears to have been "the full-sized military drum, corresponding to the modern side-drum," while the tabor was a little drum, chiefly devoted to peaceful amusements. See Naylor, *Shakespeare and Music*, 1896, pp. 161, 162.

Scene IX.

2. *court of guard*] guard-room, or other place of muster, as in *1 Henry VI.* II. i. 4; Heywood, ΓΥΝΑΙΚΕΙΟΝ, 1624, p. 408: "his officers leave the *court of guard* and come to know the matter." According to the *New Eng. Dict.*, a perversion of *Corps de garde*, which came to mean guard-room, as well as the guard itself. In the original sense, it occurs several times in Greene's *Orlando Furioso* (*Works*, Dyce, ed. 1883, pp. 94-96), *e.g.* "The *court-of-guard* is put unto the sword." The forms *court de* (*du*) *guard* also occur.

5. *shrewd*] ill, curst; the old sense. So in *All's Well that Ends Well*, III. v. 71: "a *shrewd* turn."

Bear hateful memory, poor Enobarbus did
Before thy face repent!

First Sold. Enobarbus!

Third Sold. Peace!

Hark further.

Eno. O sovereign mistress of true melancholy,
The poisonous damp of night disponge upon me,
That life, a very rebel to my will,
May hang no longer on me: throw my heart
Against the flint and hardness of my fault;
Which, being dried with grief, will break to powder,
And finish all foul thoughts. O Antony,
Nobler than my revolt is infamous,
Forgive me in thine own particular;
But let the world rank me in register
A master-leaver and a fugitive:
O Antony! O Antony! [*Dies.*

Sec. Sold. Let 's speak to him.

First Sold. Let 's hear him, for the things he speaks
May concern Cæsar.

Third Sold. Let 's do so. But he sleeps.

First Sold. Swoonds rather; for so bad a prayer as his
Was never yet for sleep.

Sec. Sold. Go we to him.

Third Sold. Awake, sir, awake; speak to us.

Sec. Sold. Hear you, sir?

First Sold. The hand of death hath raught him.
[*Drums afar off.*] Hark! the drums
Demurely wake the sleepers. Let us bear him

10, 11. *Peace! . . . further*] As Hanmer; one line Ff. 23. [*Dies*] Rowe; omitted Ff. 23. Steevens (1793) and many editors end line at *speak*. 26. *Swoonds*] F; *Swoons* Rowe. 29-32. *The hand . . . out*] As Malone; Ff divide after *him, sleepers, note*. 29. *the*] F; *how the* F 2.

12. *O . . . melancholy*] The moon; so apostrophized for her "wanne" face, and supposed influence in mental disease.

13. *disponge*] drop, as from a sponge. Browne, *Brit. Pastorals*, I. ii. 239, has: "The hand of Heaven his *spongy* clouds doth strain," etc.

20. *in . . . particular*] as far as you yourself are concerned. Compare I. iii. 54 *ante*.

22. *fugitive*] deserter, as in Latin.

29. *raught*] = *reached*, but here most likely used in the further sense of *snatched away*. So *2 Henry VI.* II. iii. 43, and Middleton, *Mayor of Queenborough*, IV. ii. 154:—

"I was surpris'd
By villains, and so *raught*."

30. *Demurely*] solemnly (Warburton), soberly, gravely (Schmidt), in a subdued manner (*New Eng. Dict.*). Per-

To the court of guard; he is of note: our hour
Is fully out.

Third Sold. Come on, then; he may recover yet.

[*Exeunt with the body.*

SCENE X.—*Between the two camps.*

Enter ANTONY *and* SCARUS, *with their Army.*

Ant. Their preparation is to-day by sea;
We please them not by land.

Scar. For both, my lord.

Ant. I would they 'ld fight i' the fire or i' the air;
We 'ld fight there too. But this it is; our foot
Upon the hills adjoining to the city
Shall stay with us:—order for sea is given;
They have put forth the haven:—
Where their appointment we may best discover
And look on their endeavour. [*Exeunt.*

33. *Exeunt . . .*] Capell; *Exeunt.* Ff.

Scene x.

Between . . .] Rowe. 6, 7. *us:—order . . . haven:—*] Knight; *vs. Order . . . Hauen:* F.

haps the soldier inconsistently treats the mellowed sound, that reaches him at a distance, as if it were similarly heard by those in camp. Hanmer reads *din early wakes;* Collier MS. and ed. 2, *Do early wake;* Dyce conjectures *Do merrily wake.*

31. *court of guard*] See on line 2 above.

Scene x.

6, 7. *—order . . . haven:—*] Most editors consider line 7 incomplete, and some out of many rash conjectures have even appeared in the text, as: *Further on*, Rowe; *Let 's seek a spot*, Malone; *—forward, now*, Dyce, etc. If *Where* (line 8) has the force of *Whither*, as most of them assume, the sense might be: They have . . . haven, *to a place where* we may best observe their array and watch their efforts; but *best* would be improbably applied save to Antony's choice of a vantage-point for observation, and bearing in mind that the situation is very like that in III. ix. *ante*, *Where* in line 8, here, seems to refer to *hills* (line 5) almost as inevitably as *from which place* to *yond side o' the hill* in that passage. Like Staunton, who, nevertheless, believed line 7 incomplete, I tentatively adopt the parenthesis of Knight, Collier and Singer, as affording a plain sense in a practically undisturbed text. That *their* (line 8) refers to *They* (line 7) does not favour the parenthesis, but sense and not grammar allots *They* itself. For the corresponding passage in North, see *ante*, pp. liii-iv.

SCENE XI.—*Another part of the same.*

Enter CÆSAR, *and his Army.*

Cæs. But being charged, we will be still by land,
Which, as I take 't, we shall; for his best force
Is forth to man his galleys. To the vales,
And hold our best advantage. [*Exeunt.*

SCENE XII.—*Another part of the same.*

Enter ANTONY *and* SCARUS.

Ant. Yet they are not join'd: where yond pine does stand,
I shall discover all: I 'll bring thee word
Straight, how 'tis like to go. [*Exit.*

Scar. Swallows have built
In Cleopatra's sails their nests: the augurers
Say they know not, they cannot tell; look grimly,
And dare not speak their knowledge. Antony
Is valiant, and dejected; and, by starts,
His fretted fortunes give him hope, and fear,
Of what he has, and has not.

[*Alarum afar off, as at a sea fight.*

Scene XI.

Another . . .] Dyce; scene unchanged by previous edd.

Scene XII.

Another . . .] Dyce; scene unchanged by previous edd. 1-3. *Yet . . . go*] As Capell; Ff divide after *joyn'd, all.* 4. *augurers*] Capell; *Auguries* F. 9. *Alarum . . .*] Placed here by Steevens, 1778; in Ff at end of previous scene.

Scene XI.

1, 2. *But . . . shall*] Except being charged, etc., *i.e.* Unless we are assailed, we will remain quiescent by land, which I expect we shall be left to do. Compare *but* as a preposition in such phrases as "We were all *but* killed *or* being killed."

Scene XII.

1. *pine*] The conspicuous tree probably supplies Antony with the metaphor for himself in line 23 below, as Thiselton notes. His further deductions I cannot follow.

3. *Swallows*, etc.] This omen is transferred from before Actium. See North, *ante*, p. xlv; and for the rest of the scene, p. liv.

8. *fretted*] chequered. *To fret* is to interlace, and the noun *fret*—originally, a grille or grating—signifies heraldic or architectural ornament partaking of the nature of trelliswork. Hence the figurative use in the text to express mingled or varied fortune, a sense which the context seems to indicate in preference to that of *harassed, im-*

Re-enter ANTONY.

Ant. All is lost;
This foul Egyptian hath betrayed me:
My fleet hath yielded to the foe; and yonder
They cast their caps up and carouse together
Like friends long lost. Triple-turn'd whore! 'tis thou
Hast sold me to this novice; and my heart
Makes only wars on thee. Bid them all fly;
For when I am revenged upon my charm,
I have done all. Bid them all fly; begone. [*Exit Scarus.*
O sun, thy uprise shall I see no more:
Fortune and Antony part here; even here
Do we shake hands. All come to this? The hearts
That spaniel'd me at heels, to whom I gave
Their wishes, do discandy, melt their sweets

17. *Exit Scarus*] Capell; omitted in Ff. 20. *hands.*] Capell; *hands?* F. 21. *spaniel'd*] Hanmer; *pannelled* F.

paired, from the verb *fret* = gnaw, corrode. In *Julius Cæsar*, II. i. 104:—

"and yon grey lines
That *fret* the clouds are messengers of day";

we encounter the word in the like, though not figurative, sense of chequer, variegate.

8, 9. *hope, and fear, Of . . . not*] *i.e.* probably, hope of keeping and fear of losing the power he still has, and hope of recovering and fear of not recovering what he has no longer. It seems better not to apply hope and fear separately, that is to *has not* and *has* respectively, supposing an irregular correspondency as in IV. xv. 25, 26 *post.*

13. *Triple-turn'd*] Compare III. xiii. 116-18 *ante.* Staunton's acuteness reconciled this epithet with the fact that Cleopatra had more than three lovers, if Octavius was to be reckoned as one. He says: "From Julius Cæsar to Cneius Pompey, from Pompey to Antony, and, as he suspects now, from him to Octavius Cæsar." Previous commentators had disputed as to whether Pompey or Octavius was to be left out of the application.

16. *charm*] Abstract for concrete, charmer or enchantress. Compare *charmer* = enchantress in *Othello*, III. iv. 57, and *charm* l. 25, *spell*, l. 30, *post*,

21. *spaniel'd*] In support of this emendation of Hanmer's, Tollet urges the frequent spelling *spannel* for *spaniel* [see, *e.g. spannell* in Lyly's *Campaspe*, v. i.] and quotes *A Midsummer-Night's Dream*, II. i. 203 *et seq.*: "I am your *spaniel*," etc. Halliwell supplies an example closely resembling the text, from Copley's *Fig for Fortune*, 1596, p. 64: "I *spanield* after Catechrysius' foot." Compare also *The Buggbears*, II. i. 19, 20 (*Early Plays from the Italian*, 1911, R. Warwick Bond, p. 99): ". . . they shold not run & lackie like spaniells at my stirrop, but shold ride everye iornye," etc. Upton defended Ff *pannelled* on the ground that a panel of wainscot, being inset, comes behind the main surface; and Theobald, more reasonably, adopted Warburton's conjecture *pantler'd me* for "ran after me like footmen or pantlers," comparing the contemptuous application of the noun in *Cymbeline*, II. iii. 129. But, as has been observed, *pantler* does not mean servant or footman, and therefore one likely to follow at heel, but the servant who has the care of bread.

22. *discandy*] See on III. xiii. 165 *ante.*

On blossoming Cæsar; and this pine is bark'd,
That overtopp'd them all. Betray'd I am:
O this false soul of Egypt! this grave charm,—
Whose eye beck'd forth my wars, and call'd them home;
Whose bosom was my crownet, my chief end,—
Like a right gipsy, hath, at fast and loose,
Beguiled me to the very heart of loss.
What, Eros, Eros!

25. *soul of Egypt*] Capell reads *soil*, Collier MS. *spell*, as in line 30 below. Kinnear takes *soul of Egypt* as = soul of Cleopatra, who is called *Egypt* elsewhere. See IV. xiv. 15 *post*.

grave charm] Steevens: "deadly or destructive piece of witchcraft." Pope changed the epithet to *gay*, but *grave* in the above or some allied sense is far more beautiful and appropriate than this or other suggestions, as *great* (Collier MS.), *grand* (Singer, ed. 2), *brave* (Deighton conj.). In support of it Steevens adduces two passages from Chapman's Homer, *viz. Iliad*, xix., and *Odyssey*, xxii. [see Herne Shepherd's ed., 1875, pp. 237, 510], containing "thy *grave* ruin" and "Their *grave* steel" respectively. It is also possible, especially in view of the next line, that the word = potent or commanding. Chapman (*Odyssey*, xxii., *ibid.* p. 509) makes Minerva say to Ulysses: "Priam's broad-way'd town By thy *grave* parts was sack'd and overthrown."

27. *crownet*] *i.e.* coronet; the object and reward of my toils. Compare the use of *crown*, in various senses of fulfilment and superlativeness, in IV. xv. 63 *post*; Chapman's Homer (Steevens's reference), *Iliad*, II. [ed. Herne Shepherd, 1875, p. 33]: "and all things have their *crown*"; *ibid.* p. 29: "We fly, not putting on the *crown* of our so long-held war." The form *crownet* recurs in v. ii. 91 *post*; in Peele, *Arraignment of Paris*, I. i. 76: "Her robes, her lawns, her *crownet*, and her mace"; and often.

28. *gipsy*] Hawkins notes "a kind of pun . . . arising from the corruption of the word *Ægyptian* into *gipsy*." The gipsies were falsely supposed from Egypt: hence this name *via* Middle English *Egyptien*, and *Gipsen*, instanced by Skeat, *Etymol. Dict.*, from Spenser, *Mother Hubbard's Tale*, line 86. See *Othello*, III. iv. 56, and Jonson, *The Gipsies Metam.*, First Song: "Thus the Ægyptians throng in clusters"; and other passages, as line 5: "Gaze upon them, as on the offspring of Ptolemy, begotten upon several Cleopatras," and

"And Queen Cleopatra,
The *gipsies'* grand matra"

(the Patrico's speech, lines 27, 28). Egyptian may still be heard for gipsy among the lower classes.

fast and loose] A cheating game thus described by Sir I. Hawkins (1821 Variorum): "A leathern belt is made up into a number of intricate folds, and placed edgewise upon a table. One of the folds is made to represent the middle of the girdle, so that whoever should thrust a skewer into it would think he held it fast to the table; whereas, when he has so done, the person with whom he plays may take hold of both ends, and draw it away." There is a play on the game and hanging in Whetstone's *1 Promos and Cassandra*, II. v.:—

"Heare are new ropes: how are my knots? I faith syr, slippery.
At *fast or loose* with my Giptian, I mean to have a cast";

and again in Harvey's *The Trimming of Thomas Nashe Gentleman*, etc., 1597, near the end. The name was applied to any trick of apparent knots, and its figurative use is as familiar to-day as ever. Compare also *Love's Labour's Lost*, I. ii. 162, III. i. 104; and Suckling, "Upon my Lord Brohall's Wedding":—

"How weak is lover's law!
The bonds made there (like gipsies' knots) with ease
Are *fast and loose*, as they that hold them please."

29. *heart of loss*] So Jonson, *Sejanus*, I. i.:—

"I do not know
The *heart* of his designs."

Enter CLEOPATRA.

Ah, thou spell! Avaunt!

Cleo. Why is my lord enraged against his love?

Ant. Vanish, or I shall give thee thy deserving,
And blemish Cæsar's triumph. Let him take thee,
And hoist thee up to the shouting plebeians:
Follow his chariot, like the greatest spot
Of all thy sex: most monster-like, be shown
For poor'st diminutives, for dolts; and let
Patient Octavia plough thy visage up
With her prepared nails. [*Exit Cleopatra.*

'Tis well thou 'rt gone,
If it be well to live; but better 'twere
Thou fell'st into my fury, for one death
Might have prevented many. Eros, ho!
The shirt of Nessus is upon me: teach me,

39. *thou 'rt*] Rowe; *th' art* F.

34. *plebeians*] The accent is similarly on the first syllable in *Coriolanus*, I. ix. 7; V. iv. 39.

37. *For . . . diminutives, for dolts*] For poor undersized weaklings, for fools. Though some who accept Thirlby's ingenious *doits* for *dolts* also explain *diminutives* thus, with most editors the change involves interpreting *diminutives* as small pieces of money, for which no instance is adduced; whereas, as applied to persons, we have "Such a *diminutive?*" (Chapman, *Byron's Conspiracy*, v. i. 88), *diminutives of nature* (*Troilus and Cressida*, v. i. 38), and such phrases as "your *diminutive* excellence" (*i.e.* "Little Numps," *Nashe's Lenten Stuffe*, 1599, *The Epistle Dedicatory*), "your *diminutive* attendance" (Marston, *1 Antonio and Mellida*, II. i. 3). The change also rather interrupts the sequence of ideas, which seems wholly concerned with (1) the triumph; (2) the vengeance of Octavia, as is the case also in later reminiscences of the passage; one in general terms, IV. xv. 23-29 *post*, and two in particular, V. ii. 52-57, and 207 *et seq. post*, all of which persuade that the showing is in the procession and in that only, maugre a reference in the last to puppet-shows, of which—as Gifford says—shows of monsters were the constant concomitants. Certain passages alone cause hesitation, *viz. The Tempest*, II. ii. 28-34, concluding: "when they will not give a doit to relieve a lame beggar, they will lay out ten to see a dead Indian"; *Macbeth* (a play of near date to *Antony and Cleopatra*), v. viii. 25-27: "We'll have thee, as our rarer monsters are, Painted upon a pole, and underwrit, 'Here may you see the tyrant'"; and this new one (Chapman, *Bussy D'Ambois*, III. i. 26-30, pr. 1607 and produced 1605, according to Mr. Fleay [*Chron. of the Eng. Drama*]):—

> "the sly charms
> Of the witch policy makes him [*i.e.* sin] like a monster
> Kept only to show men for servile money:" etc.

This passage immediately follows that which corresponds with IV. xiv. 2-7 *post* (see note there), and increases the probabilities in favour of *doits;* but such do not justify tampering with a text clear and reasonable in sense as it stands.

39. *prepared*] "Suffered to grow for this purpose," as Warburton says, or, may be, sharpened.

43. *shirt of Nessus*] The centaur, Nessus, mortally wounded by Hercules, in revenge deluded Dejanira into re-

Alcides, thou mine ancestor, thy rage:
Let me lodge Lichas on the horns o' the moon;
And with those hands, that grasp'd the heaviest club,
Subdue my worthiest self. The witch shall die:
To the young Roman boy she hath sold me, and I fall
Under this plot; she dies for 't. Eros, ho! [*Exit.*

SCENE XIII.—*Alexandria. Cleopatra's palace.*

Enter CLEOPATRA, CHARMIAN, IRAS, *and* MARDIAN.

Cleo. Help me, my women! O, he is more mad
Than Telamon for his shield; the boar of Thessaly
Was never so emboss'd.

Alexandria . . .] Capell (substantially). 1. *he is*] F 2; *hee's* F.

taining a shirt, dipped in his poisoned blood, as a love charm. Sent to Hercules as such later, by the hands of Lichas, it caused his torture and self-destruction. See on 45 *infra*.

44. *mine ancestor*] See on 1. iii. 84 *ante*.

45. *Let . . . Lichas . . . moon*] Lichas, who innocently brought the shirt to Hercules, was flung skyward by his infuriated master, and fell into the sea, after being turned into pebble-stone by the force of his despatch. See Golding, Ovid's *Metam.* bk. ix., and for a dramatization of the story, Heywood's *Brazen Age*. In *The Actor's Vindication, n.d.* p. 30, Heywood relates the story of Julius Cæsar's realistic personation of Hercules, even to the actual slaying of the representative of Lichas. Compare for the hyperbole in the text for extreme height, *Coriolanus*, 1. i. 217, and Fletcher, *The Sea Voyage*, 1. i. 5: "I saw a Dolphin hang i' the horns o' th' *moon*, Shot from a wave," etc. Warburton thought it derived in this case from Seneca's *Hercules Oetæus*. John Studley translates:—

"With Lycas thus his labours end
throwne vp to heauen they say,
That with his dropping bloud the
cloudes he stayned all the way"
(*Seneca, His Tenne Tragedies*, etc., 1581, p. 201).

47. *worthiest*] Rolfe explains: "*worthiest* of being *subdued* or destroyed"; but Antony in lines 45-47 expresses the fury he seeks to show, in terms of the actions of his ancestor, the last of which was to destroy himself. His own worth is, therefore, confused with that of Hercules; but, apart from that, there is no reason why he should not assert it in a passage expressive of rage and resentment, and not of humiliation.

Scene XIII.

2. *Telamon*] Ajax Telamon, who went mad and slew himself when Ulysses, and not he, was awarded the armour and famous shield of Achilles as bravest of the Greeks. Heywood treats the story in *The Iron Age*, pt. i. Act v.

boar of Thessaly] The boar—whose "eies did glister bloud and fire" (Golding, Ovid's *Metam.* bk. viii.)—sent by Diana in revenge for omitted sacrifices to ravage the territories of the king of Caledon, and slain by his son Meleager, the brother of Dejanira. The story is one of the themes of Heywood's *Brazen Age*.

3. *emboss'd*] A term of the chase, sometimes used merely for "driven to extremity," sometimes to signify that the quarry showed signs of exhaustion by foaming at the mouth. Compare *1 King Edward IV.* (Pearson's *Heywood*, i. 40): "*Dutch.* Cam'st thou not downe the wood? *Hobs.* Yes mistriss; that I did. *Dutch.* And sawest thou not the deere *imbost?*" with Lyly,

Char. To the monument!
There lock yourself, and send him word you are dead.
The soul and body rive not more in parting
Than greatness going off.
Cleo. To the monument!
Mardian, go tell him I have slain myself;
Say, that the last I spoke was "Antony,"
And word it, prithee, piteously: hence, Mardian,
And bring me how he takes my death. To the monument! [*Exeunt.*

SCENE XIV.—*The same. Another room.*

Enter ANTONY *and* EROS.

Ant. Eros, thou yet behold'st me?
Eros. Ay, noble lord.
Ant. Sometime we see a cloud that's dragonish,

3, 4. *To . . . dead*] As Pope; Ff two lines divided after *your selfe.* 10. *death. To*] Pope; *death to* F.

Scene XIV.

The same . . .] Capell.

Midas, IV. iii.: "*Pet.* There was a boy leasht on the single because when he was *imbost*, he tooke soyle. *Licio.* Whats that? *Pet.* Why, a boy was beaten on the taile with a leathern thong, bicause when he fomde at the mouth with running, he went into the water"; and P. Fletcher, Psalm xlii. (*Poems*, ed. Grosart, iii. 248):—

"Look as an hart with sweat and bloud embrued
Chas'd and *embost*, thirsts in the soil to be."

In our text are meant the similar tokens of rage. The *New Eng. Dict.* cites Markham, *Sir Richard Grinuile*, 1595, st. cxxiii. [p. 74 in Arber's ed.]: "with rage *imbost*," said of the Goddess Misfortune. The term is often applied to men in the sense *spent, visibly heated by exertion.* So in *Albumazar*, v. ii. 12 (Hazlitt's *Dodsley*, xi. 406):—

"I am *emboss'd*
With trotting all the streets to find Pandolfo";

and *Swetnam the Woman Hater* (1620), I. ii.:—

"Hast thou been running for a wager, Sirrah?
Thou art horribly *imbost*."

While both senses at the head of this note are thought to derive from a verb whose primary sense is "to take shelter in a wood," the second of the two is probably influenced by another verb *emboss*, to form protuberances, or bosses, to which blobs of foam have some resemblance. See the *New Eng. Dict.*, *s.v.*

3, 4. *To the monument!* etc.] See North, *ante*, p. liv.

5, 6. *The soul . . . off*] Malone compares *Henry VIII.* [II. iii. 12-16]. The idea in line 5 also occurs in *Arden of Feversham*, III. i. 19, 20, and Chapman (*Plays*, ed. Herne Shepherd, 1874, p. 150), *Bussy D'Ambois*, ii.:—

"I must utter that
That will in parting break more strings in me
Than death when life parts;" etc.

Scene XIV.

2-7. *Sometime we see*, etc.] Several passages have been suggested as the

A vapour sometime like a bear or lion,
A tower'd citadel, a pendent rock,
A forked mountain, or blue promontory
With trees upon 't, that nod unto the world
And mock our eyes with air: thou hast seen these signs;
They are black vesper's pageants.

Eros. Ay, my lord.

Ant. That which is now a horse, even with a thought

4. *tower'd*] Rowe; *toward* F.

source of this fancy, but its beautiful and striking use to illustrate man's unstable hold of his very entity seems to occur here only. The passages are Aristophanes, *Nubes*, 346 [in Theobald's version, *The Clouds*, 1715, p. 20: "In looking upon the Sky, have you never seen a Cloud resemble a Centaur, a Leopard, a Wolf, or a Bull?"] (Sir W. Rawlinson); Holland's Pliny, *Natural History*, II. iii., where the shapes are of chariot, bear, bull (Steevens); Chapman's *Monsieur D'Olive*, 1606 [Act II. *Plays*, ed. Shepherd, 1874, p. 122]:—

"our great men
Like to a mass of clouds that now seem like
An elephant, and straightways like an ox,
And then a mouse," etc. (Steevens);

where, indeed, as in the text, the dwindling of the great is expressed; Chapman's *Bussy D'Ambois*, 1607 [Act III. *ibid.* p. 154], where the shapes are dragons, lions, elephants (Malone); *A Treatise of Spectres*, etc. 4to, 1605: "The *cloudes* sometimes will seem to be monsters, *lions*, bulls, and wolves; painted and figured: albeit . . . nothing but a *moyst humour mounted in the ayre*," etc. (Malone). I have met with passages anterior to these last in Sylvester's Du Bartas (1598), *The Imposture* (in 1621 ed. p. 189):—

"For, as the Air, with scattred clouds bespred,
Is heer and there black, yellow, white and red,
Resembling Armies, Monsters, Mountains, Dragons,
Rocks, fiery Castles, Forrests, Ships, and Wagons,
And such to vs through glass transparent clear
From form to form varying it doth appear:" etc.:

and Fairfax's *Tasso*, 1600, bk. xvi. st. 69:—

"As oft the clouds frame shapes of castles great
Amid the aire, that little time do last,
But are dissolu'd by winde or Titans heat;" etc.

Examples later than *Antony and Cleopatra* occur in Ford, etc., *The Witch of Edmonton*, v. i. 15; *The City Night-cap*, IV. i. (Bullen's *Davenport*, p. 150).

8. *pageants*] The following from Whetstone's *2 Promos and Cassandra*, 1578, I. v. (Nichols, *Six Old Plays*, 1779, p. 65), explains the allusion:—

"*Phallax.* With what strange showes doo they their *Pageaunt* grace?
Bedell. They have *Hercules* of monsters conqueryng,
Huge great *Giants* in a forest fighting
With *Lyons*, *Beares*, *Wolves*, *Apes*, *Foxes*, and *Grayes*,
Baiards, *Brockes*, &c."

According to Singer, Boswell somewhere (not in 1821 Variorum) cites "the following apposite passage from a sermon by Bishop Hall": "I feare some of you are like the *pageants* of your great solemnities, wherein there is a show of a solid body, whether of a lion, or elephant, or unicorne; but if they be curiously look'd into, there is nothing but cloth, and sticks, and ayre." Pageants were originally the movable stages on which Miracle plays were represented, then the plays themselves, and so moving shows or spectacles in general.

9. *even with a thought*] as fast as thought. So in *Julius Cæsar*, v. iii. 19: "I will be here again, *even with a thought.*"

The rack dislimns, and makes it indistinct,
As water is in water.

Eros. It does, my lord.

Ant. My good knave Eros, now thy captain is
Even such a body: here I am Antony;
Yet cannot hold this visible shape, my knave.
I made these wars for Egypt; and the queen,—
Whose heart I thought I had, for she had mine;
Which whilst it was mine had annex'd unto 't
A million moe, now lost,—she, Eros, has
Pack'd cards with Cæsar, and false-play'd my glory

10. *dislimns*] Theobald; *dislimes* F. 18. *moe*] F; *more* Rowe and many editors. 19. *Cæsar*] Rowe; *Cæsars* F; *Cæsar's* Collier, ed. 1.

10. *The rack dislimns*] The drifting clouds efface. Compare Jonson, *Masque of Hymen:* "Here the upper part of the scene, which was all of clouds, and made artificially to swell, and ride like the *rack*, began to open:" etc. *Dislimns* reverses *limns* (*i.e. paints*), and is not found elsewhere till imitated in the nineteenth century. See *New Eng. Dict.*

12. *knave*] boy, servant, as often; the former is the original meaning.

15. *Egypt*] Cleopatra. So in I. iii. 41, 78 *ante*, etc.

18. *moe*] more *in number*, while *more* referred to degree. Originally an adverbial comparative.

19. *Pack'd . . . Cæsar*] Ensured good hands for herself and Cæsar by false dealing, *i.e.* treacherously conspired with Cæsar. Compare Cartwright, *The Ordinary*, 1651, II. iii. p. 28: "For Cards you may . . . without the cut or shuffle, Or the *packt* trick, have what you will yourself"; Southey, *Commonplace Book*, 4th series, 1850, p. 275: "The Lady Cheatabell, playing at hunt the Knave out of town, *packed* the cards, and gave herself the Knave of Hearts, being Jack"; and for a figurative use, as in the text, *The Parliament of Criticks*, 12mo, 1702, p. 16: "The *Cards* are *pack'd* by Authority, and Dominion turns up what *Trump* it pleases." We still speak of *packing* a jury. Thiselton observes that "knave" and "queen" (lines 14, 15) possibly suggested the metaphor from cards.

19, 20. *false-play'd . . . triumph*] Warburton was probably right in seeing in *triumph*—as well as the obvious sense—an allusion to the trump card, or *triumph* as it was originally called. Compare French *triomphe*. Halliwell cites Cotgrave, who has "Triomphe: f. The card-game called Ruffe, or Trump; also the Ruffe, or Trump at it" [1660 ed.]; and Warburton's reference to Latimer's *Sermons on the Card* yields: "The game that we will play at shall be called the *triumph*," etc. (Parker Society ed. p. 8): "Let therefore every christian man and woman play at these cards, that they may have and obtain the *triumph:* you must mark also that the *triumph* must apply to fetch home unto him all the other cards, whatsoever suit they be of" (pp. 8, 9). Later on he employs "trump" (pp. 12, 13), but so that we may identify it with the triumph, that fetches "home the other cards": "Now turn up your trump, your heart (hearts is trump, as I said before), and cast your trump, your heart, on this card;" etc. The objection of Malone and others that playing false to an *adversary's* trump would be meaningless here, does not hold. Cæsar, in Antony's view, is only *in show* Cleopatra's adversary. Ostensibly Antony's partner, Cleopatra not only unfairly helps Cæsar to secure good cards, but *false-plays* those in her own power (involving Antony's glory) to encounter them. The form *triump* occurs in *The Interlude of Youth* (Hazlitt's Dodsley, II. 34): "Also at the cards I can teach you to play,

Unto an enemy's triumph.
Nay, weep not, gentle Eros; there is left us
Ourselves to end ourselves.

Enter MARDIAN.

O, thy vilde lady!
She has robb'd me of my sword.

Mar. No, Antony;
My mistress loved thee, and her fortunes mingled
With thine entirely.

Ant. Hence, saucy eunuch; peace!
She hath betray'd me and shall die the death.

Mar. Death of one person can be paid but once,
And that she has discharged: what thou wouldst do
Is done unto thy hand: the last she spake
Was "Antony! most noble Antony!"
Then in the midst a tearing groan did break
The name of Antony; it was divided
Between her heart and lips: she render'd life,
Thy name so buried in her.

Ant. Dead, then?

Mar. Dead.

Ant. Unarm, Eros; the long day's task is done,
And we must sleep. [*To Mar.*] That thou depart'st hence safe,
Does pay thy labour richly; go. [*Exit Mardian.*
Off, pluck off:
The seven-fold shield of Ajax cannot keep

22, 23. *O . . . sword*] As Rowe; one line Ff. 22. *vilde*] F; *vile* F 4 and edd. 25, 26. *Hence . . . death*] As Hanmer; first line ends *me* in Ff. 35. *Unarm*] *Vnarme* F; Rowe and several editors *Unarm me.* 36. [*To Mar.*] Globe.

At the *triumph* and one-and-thirty, Post, pinion, and also aums-ace," etc. Whiter quotes Jonson, *The Fortunate Isles:* "Except the four knaves entertained for the guards, Of the kings and the queens that *triumph* in the cards."

26. *die the death*] See on *Cymbeline*, IV. ii. 96, and *A Midsummer-Night's Dream*, I. i. 65, in *Arden Shakespeare*.

31-34. *Then in the midst*, etc.] The like of this is cleverly ridiculed by Sheridan in *The Critic*, near the end:—

"*Whisk.* . . . And Whiskerandos quits this bustling scene
For all eter——
Beef. ——nity—he would have added, but stern death
Cut short his being, and the noun at once!"

35. *Unarm*] See North, *ante*, p. liv.

38. *seven-fold shield of Ajax*] The shield of brass, backed with seven folds of ox-hide, which defied the lance of Hector (Homer, *Iliad*, vii. 222, 245, etc.):—

The battery from my heart. O, cleave, my sides!
Heart, once be stronger than thy continent,
Crack thy frail case! Apace, Eros, apace!
No more a soldier: bruised pieces, go;
You have been nobly borne. From me awhile.

[*Exit Eros.*

I will o'ertake thee, Cleopatra, and
Weep for my pardon. So it must be, for now
All length is torture: since the torch is out,
Lie down, and stray no farther: now all labour
Mars what it does; yea, very force entangles
Itself with strength: seal then, and all is done.

43. *been*] *bin* F.

"Six folds th' untamed dart strook through, and in the *seventh* tough hide
The point was check'd"
(see Chapman's *Homer*, 1598, ed. R. H. Shepherd, 1875, pp. 95, 96). See also Ovid, *Metam.* xiii. 2: "The owner of the *seauenfold shield*, to these did Ajax rise" (Golding, ed. 1593).

39. *The battery . . . heart*] The sense generally received here is Boswell's: "the battery proceeding from my heart, which is strong enough to break through the seven-fold shield of Ajax," which depends on the ensuing "O cleave," etc. However probable, it is, nevertheless, as I think, unconvincing. The sense of oppression from the heart's agitation would explain "Off, pluck off" if it stood alone, but it is natural to suppose it repeats the thought in "Unarm Eros," etc., line 35, the source of which is entirely different. If that be so, it is as safe to interpret "No external arms—even the strongest—can defend me from the assault of such a calamity as this," regarding line 35 and disregarding line 39 ("O cleave," etc.), as to regard the latter and disregard the former with Boswell. Compare Kyd (ed. Boas, p. 14), *The Spanish Tragedie*, I. iii. 57: "My *hart* growne hard gainst mischiefes *battery*." A shield, moreover, is not so placed as to curb inward batteries. We should rather expect a reference to armour, as in I. i. 6-8 *ante*, and Marston, *1 Antonio and Mellida*, v. i. 311, where Andrugio, entering "in armour," says: "And twere not hoopt with steele, my brest wold break."

40, 41. *Heart . . . case*] For this frequent appeal, compare *King Lear*, II. iv. 200: "O sides, you are too tough"; and from Heywood, one of several passages (Pearson's ed. ii. 299), *Faire Maid of the West*, iii.:—

"Wilt thou not breake *heart?*
Are these my ribs wrought out of brasse or steele,
Thou canst not craze their barres?"

40. *thy continent*] what contains thee. So *King Lear*, III. ii. 58:—

"close pent-up guilts
Rive your concealing *continents*,"
etc.

Sandys, *A Paraphrase*, etc., 1638, *Job*, chap. xxxii. p. 41:—

"My Bowels boyle like wine that hath no vent;
Ready to breake the swelling *Continent*."

46. *length*] *i.e.* of time *or* life, duration. So in *Richard II.* v. i. 94: "... there is such *length* in grief," etc.

48, 49. *very force . . . strength*] even the power of strength serves only to embarrass it. Compare Sylvester's Du Bartas, 1621 ed., *The Colonies*, p. 272: "and learned Diligence Itselfe intangles."

49. *seal then*, etc.] For the metaphor from sealing and thus *completing* agreements, compare *Henry V.* IV. vi. 26; *Hamlet*, III. ii. 41; Daniel, *Cleopatra*, IV. line 1024 (*Works*, ed. Grosart, vol. iii.): "My blood must *seale* th' assurance of his state."

Eros!—I come, my queen:—Eros!—Stay for me:
Where souls do couch on flowers, we'll hand in hand,
And with our sprightly port make the ghosts gaze:
Dido and her Æneas shall want troops,
And all the haunt be ours. Come, Eros, Eros!

Re-enter EROS.

Eros. What would my lord?
Ant. Since Cleopatra died,
I have lived in such dishonour that the gods
Detest my baseness. I, that with my sword
Quarter'd the world, and o'er green Neptune's back
With ships made cities, condemn myself to lack
The courage of a woman; less noble mind
Than she which by her death our Cæsar tells
"I am conqueror of myself". Thou art sworn, Eros,

51. *Where souls . . . flowers*, etc.] So in a delightful passage depicting "deaths Ioyes" in *Nero*, 1624, IV. [Scene vii.] (Bullen's *Old Plays*, i. 81):—

"Mingled with that faire company shall we
On bankes of *Violets* and of *Hiacinths*,
Of loves devising, sit and gently sport;" etc.

With *couch*, compare *Much Ado About Nothing*, III. i. 46: "as fortunate a bed, As ever Beatrice shall *couch* upon."

53. *Dido and her Æneas*] Successive commentators tell us that Shakespeare forgot that Virgil (*Æneid*, vi. 467-74) consorts Dido with her husband, Sichæus, in Hades, and makes her repel Æneas during his visit to the shades. But Shakespeare was not likely, any more than others, to uncouple a famous pair of lovers for a pedantic scruple. Theobald long ago quoted the jailor's daughter in *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, IV. ii. [1679 folio, p. 443]: "For in the next world will *Dido* see *Palamon*, and Then will she be out of love with *Æneas*." The ingenious author of *Nero*, in the passage quoted in the last note, even reconciles Lucrece and Tarquin in Elysium; and Thomas May, *Antony and Cleopatra*, v. 1639, sig. D 12, makes Antony say:—

"I 'll follow thee,
And beg thy pardon in the other world.
All crimes are there for evermore forgot.
There *Ariadne* pardons *Theseus* falsehood.
Dido forgives the perjur'd Prince of Troy,
And *Troilus* repentant *Cressida*."

Re-enter Eros] For the rest of the scene, compare North, *ante*, pp. liv, lv.

60. *less noble mind*] This gives me the impression of being in apposition with *I*, line 57, in which case there is scarcely need to suppose any ellipse, as is usual if it be made to depend on *condemn myself* or *to lack*. Rowe, Pope, Dyce, for *mind* read *minded*, and Steevens, quoting examples of *to mind* = to intend, be disposed or inclined (to do something), and presumably regarding *mind* as a contraction for *minded*, would read *less nobly mind* = less nobly inclined; but the corresponding passage in North supports the noun. See p. liv *ante*. Malone, comparing, *e.g. The Winter's Tale*, III. ii. 55-57, supposes an inaccurate use of *less* after *to lack*, making Antony say "that he is *destitute of a less noble mind* than Cleopatra," when he means to "acknowledge he *has* a less noble mind than she."

That, when the exigent should come,—which now
Is come indeed,—when I should see behind me
The inevitable prosecution of
Disgrace and horror, that, on my command,
Thou then wouldst kill me: do't; the time is come:
Thou strik'st not me, 'tis Cæsar thou defeat'st.
Put colour in thy cheek.

Eros. The gods withhold me!
Shall I do that which all the Parthian darts,
Though enemy, lost aim, and could not?

Ant. Eros,
Wouldst thou be window'd in great Rome and see
Thy master thus with pleach'd arms, bending down
His corrigible neck, his face subdued
To penetrative shame, whilst the wheel'd seat

65-69. *The . . . cheek*] As Capell; in Ff four lines, divided after *horror, kill me, not me, Cheeke.*

63. *exigent*] exigency, emergency. Compare *Julius Cæsar*, v. i. 19; Sidney's *Arcadia*, bk. ii. (ed. 1725, i. 169): "Now was *Zelmane* brought to an *exigent*," etc.

65. *inevitable prosecution*] pursuit admitting no escape. For *inevitable*, compare S. Marmion, *Cupid and Psyche*, 1637 (reprint 1820, p. 72):—

"What darkness can protect me? what disguise
Hide me from her *inevitable* eyes?"

68. *defeat'st*] frustratest. Compare v. i. 65 *post*. Some—I think unnecessarily—explain by *destroyest*, comparing such passages as *Othello*, iv. ii. 160: "And his unkindness may *defeat* my life."

71. *enemy*] Here an adjective, as in *Coriolanus*, iv. iv. 24: "This *enemy* town"; *King Lear*, v. iii. 220: "Follow'd his *enemy* king."

73. *pleach'd*] folded or intertwined. Compare *Much Ado About Nothing*, i. ii. 10: "a thick-*pleached* alley"; iii. i. 7: "the *pleached* bower," etc. Delius suggests that Antony thus indicates the together-bound arms of a captive. With the whole passage Steevens compares Kyd, *Cornelia*, 1594 [iii. ii. 12-15, *Works*, Boas]:—

"Now shalt thou march (thy hands fast bound behind thee),
Thy head hung downe, thy cheeks with teares besprent,
Before the victor; Whyle thy rebell sonne,
With crowned front, tryumphing followes thee."

In this passage, unlike that in the text, the proper order of captives ("Before the victor") in a Roman triumph is observed.

74. *corrigible*] "submissive to correction." The *New Eng. Dict.* cites 1583, Babington, *Commandm.*, iii. (1637), 28: "If hee be *corrigible*, not euen in the Lords cause should I curse my brother." It is used in an active sense = "corrective" in *Othello*, i. iii. 329.

75. *penetrative*] penetrating. Not elsewhere in Shakespeare. The *Century Dict.* cites Sir T. Elyot, *Castle of Health*, ii.: "The rayne water . . . if it be receyued pure and cleane, it is most subtyl and *penetrative* of any other waters"; Sir H. Wotton, *Reliquiæ Wottonianæ* [1672], p. 7: ". . . the Aire: . . . That it be not too *gross*, nor too *penetrative*."

Of fortunate Cæsar, drawn before him, branded
His baseness that ensued?

Eros. I would not see 't.

Ant. Come, then; for with a wound I must be cured.
Draw that thy honest sword, which thou hast worn
Most useful for thy country.

Eros. O, sir, pardon me!

Ant. When I did make thee free, sworest thou not then
To do this when I bade thee? Do it at once;
Or thy precedent services are all
But accidents unpurposed. Draw, and come.

Eros. Turn from me, then, that noble countenance,
Wherein the worship of the whole world lies.

Ant. Lo thee! [*Turning from him.*

Eros. My sword is drawn.

Ant. Then let it do at once
The thing why thou hast drawn it.

Eros. My dear master,
My captain, and my emperor, let me say,
Before I strike this bloody stroke, farewell.

Ant. 'Tis said, man; and farewell.

Eros. Farewell, great chief. Shall I strike now?

Ant. Now, Eros.

Eros. Why, there then: thus I do escape the sorrow
Of Antony's death. [*Kills himself.*

Ant. Thrice-nobler than myself!
Thou teachest me, O valiant Eros, what
I should, and thou couldst not. My queen and Eros
Have by their brave instruction got upon me

87. [*Turning . . .*] Rowe; omitted in Ff. 92, 93. *'Tis . . . chief*] one line Capell. 94, 95. *Why . . . death*] As Capell; two lines, division after *then*, in Ff. 95. [*Kills . . .*] Opposite *Eros*, line 93, in Ff.

76, 77. *branded . . . ensued*] rendered conspicuous, as by a brand, the abject condition of him who followed. With *ensued*, compare Queen Elizabeth, *Translation out of Seneca, Nugæ Antiquæ* (1769), i. 137: "The cleare daies followes the darck clowdes; the rowghest seas *insues* the greattest calmes."

81. *sworest thou not*, etc.] Compare the inferior scene between Cassius and Pindarus in *Julius Cæsar*, v. iii.

86. *worship . . . world*] everything to which the world owes reverence. Johnson's "dignity, authority," scarcely give the force of *worship* here.

87. *Lo thee*] So in *Henry VIII.* i. i. 202: "*Lo*, you, my lord," etc.

98, 99. *Have . . . record*] Have, as my tutors in courage, *or*, by teaching

A nobleness in record: but I will be
A bridegroom in my death, and run into 't
As to a lover's bed. Come, then; and, Eros,
Thy master dies thy scholar: to do thus
[*Falling on his sword.*
I learnt of thee. How! not dead? not dead?
The guard, ho! O, despatch me!

Enter DERCETAS *and Guard.*

First Guard. What 's the noise?
Ant. I have done my work ill, friends: O, make an end
Of what I have begun.
Sec. Guard. The star is fall'n.
First Guard. And time is at his period.
All. Alas, and woe!
Ant. Let him that loves me strike me dead.
First Guard. Not I.
Sec. Guard. Nor I.
Third Guard. Nor any one. [*Exeunt Guard.*
Der. Thy death and fortunes bid thy followers fly.
This sword but shown to Cæsar, with this tidings,
Shall enter me with him.

Enter DIOMEDES.

Dio. Where 's Antony?
Der. There, Diomed, there.
Dio. Lives he?
Wilt thou not answer, man? [*Exit Dercetas.*

102. [*Falling . . .*] Rowe; omitted in Ff. 104. *ho!*] Theobald; *how?* F. *Enter . . .*] Pope; *Enter a Guard.* Ff. 105, 106. *I . . . begun*] As Hanmer; first line ends *Friends:* in Ff. 110. [*Exeunt Guard*] Pope; *Exeunt* Ff. 111, 114. *Der.*] Pope; *Decre.* Ff. 114, 115. *Lives . . . man*] As Steevens (1793); one line Ff. 115. *Exit . . .*] Ff omit; marked first by Capell.

me a lesson in bravery, won for themselves [upon me] a noble place in story. Perhaps "got upon me" would justify the comparative, "a nobler place." Rolfe's "forestalled me in gaining" is a very attractive explanation, for which he compares "win upon me" in II. iv. 9 *ante*. But the case does not strike me as parallel, and I should rather compare Milton, *Samson Agonistes*, 470: "all these boasted trophies won on me." Mr. A. E. Thiselton discerns a "procreative sense" in "got upon me."

104. *ho*] The Ff spelling *how* for *ho* is frequent. Compare I. ii. 110 *ante*, and "Peace, *how*, peace! I charg you, keep the peace!" (*Sir Thomas More*, p. 25, Shakes. Society, 1844), on which Dyce comments: "One of a hundred passages in old plays, which shew how improperly the two latest editors [Knight and Collier] of Shakespeare have followed the folios in printing, 'The guard!—*how?*' *Ant. and Cleop.*, act IV. sc. 12."

107. *period*] end, as in IV. ii. 25 *ante*.

Ant. Art thou there, Diomed? Draw thy sword, and give me
Sufficing strokes for death.
Dio. Most absolute lord,
My mistress Cleopatra sent me to thee.
Ant. When did she send thee?
Dio. Now, my lord.
Ant. Where is she?
Dio. Lock'd in her monument. She had a prophesying
fear
Of what hath come to pass: for when she saw—
Which never shall be found—you did suspect
She had disposed with Cæsar, and that your rage
Would not be purged, she sent you word she was dead;
But fearing since how it might work, hath sent
Me to proclaim the truth; and I am come,
I dread, too late.
Ant. Too late, good Diomed: call my guard, I prithee.
Dio. What, ho, the emperor's guard! The guard, what, ho!
Come, your lord calls!

Enter four or five of the Guard of ANTONY.

Ant. Bear me, good friends, where Cleopatra bides;
'Tis the last service that I shall command you.
First Guard. Woe, woe are we, sir, you may not live to wear
All your true followers out.
All. Most heavy day!
Ant. Nay, good my fellows, do not please sharp fate
To grace it with your sorrows: bid that welcome
Which comes to punish us, and we punish it
Seeming to bear it lightly. Take me up:
I have led you oft: carry me now, good friends,
And have my thanks for all.

[*Exeunt, bearing Antony.*

129, 130. *The guard . . . calls*] As Pope; one line Ff.

123. *disposed*] made arrangements *or* dispositions, come to terms. The sole example in *New Eng. Dict.*

124. *purged*] expelled [by assertions of innocence]. See on I. iii. 53 *ante.* The figure is perhaps continued in *work*, next line.

136. *To grace*] a gerund = by gracing. So in *Richard II.* II. ii. 95: "But I shall grieve you to report the rest." See Abbott (*Shakes. Gram.*, § 356).

SCENE XV.—*The same. A monument.*

Enter CLEOPATRA, *and her maids aloft, with* CHARMIAN *and* IRAS.

Cleo. O Charmian, I will never go from hence.
Char. Be comforted, dear madam.
Cleo. No, I will not:
All strange and terrible events are welcome,
But comforts we despise; our size of sorrow,
Proportion'd to our cause, must be as great
As that which makes it.

Enter, below, DIOMEDES.

How now! is he dead?
Dio. His death's upon him, but not dead.
Look out o' the other side your monument;
His guard have brought him thither.

Enter, below, ANTONY, *borne by the Guard.*

Cleo. O sun,
Burn the great sphere thou movest in! darkling stand
The varying shore o' the world. O Antony,

The same . . .] Capell; *A magnificent Monument* Rowe. 6. *Enter . . .*] Collier; *Enter Diomed.* Ff. 9. *Enter . . .*] Collier; *Enter Anthony, and the Guard.* Ff. 11-13. *The . . . hither*] As Malone; in Ff lines end with third *Antony, Friends, hither.*

Scene XV. [See North, *ante*, pp. liv-v].

7. Steevens thought that respect for the questioner, as well as metre, necessitated the insertion of *madam* after *him;* Keightly reads "but *he is* not dead."

10, 11. *Burn the great sphere . . . world*] See on II. vii. 14-16 *ante*. In the system there described, "the sun was a planet, and was whirled round the earth by the motion of a solid sphere in which it was fixed.—If the sun therefore was to set fire to the sphere, so as to consume it, the consequence must be, that itself, for want of support, must drop through, and wander in endless space; and in this case the earth would be involved in endless night" (Heath). For *darkling*, *i.e.* in darkness, compare *King Lear*, I. iv. 237. Warburton explains *The varying shore o' the world* as the shore "of the *earth*, where light and darkness make an incessant *variation*." Hudson applauds and adopts a conjecture of Staunton's (*Athenæum*, 1873) of *star* (*starre*) for *shore*, making "the varying star"=the changing moon. He observes that Shakespeare uses *star*, with some epithet, such as *moist* or *watery*, for the moon; but that is not the same thing as calling it "the varying star *o' the world*." If "darkling stand," etc. is a consequence, Cleopatra would make it apply to the orb that held herself and Antony rather than to the moon.

Antony, Antony! Help, Charmian, help, Iras, help;
Help, friends below; let's draw him hither.
Ant. Peace!
Not Cæsar's valour hath o'erthrown Antony,
But Antony's hath triumph'd on itself.
Cleo. So it should be, that none but Antony
Should conquer Antony; but woe 'tis so!
Ant. I am dying, Egypt, dying; only
I here importune death awhile, until
Of many thousand kisses the poor last
I lay upon thy lips.
Cleo. I dare not, dear,—
Dear my lord, pardon,—I dare not,
Lest I be taken: not the imperious show
Of the full-fortuned Cæsar ever shall
Be brooch'd with me; if knife, drugs, serpents, have
Edge, sting, or operation, I am safe:
Your wife Octavia, with her modest eyes
And still conclusion, shall acquire no honour
Demuring upon me. But come, come, Antony,—

16, 17. *So . . . so*] As Rowe; in Ff three lines ending *be*, *conquer Anthony*, *so*.

16, 17. *that none . . . Antony*] Compare Ovid, *Metam.* xiii. 390: "That none may Ajax overcome save Ajax" (Golding's Ovid), and *Julius Cæsar*, v. v. 56, 57.

19. *importune death awhile*] *importune* seems to be used with much latitude here. Johnson explains: "I *solicit* death to delay *or* I trouble death by keeping him in waiting." Shakespeare always accents the word on the penult, and so contemporary poets.

25. *brooch'd*] adorned; a brooch being always an ornament, as Ritson observes. Compare *Hamlet*, iv. vii. 94: "he is the *brooch* indeed And gem of all the nation." Steevens cites Jonson, *The Staple of News* [III. i.]: "The very *brooch* of the bench, gem of the city"; *The Magnetic Lady* [I. i.]: "The *brooch* to any true state-cap in Europe." In the last passage, the brooch is the last of several ornaments, to which "the jewel Of all the court, close Master Bias" is compared, and the prevailing mode of wearing a brooch in the front of the cap or hat is alluded to, as also in *The Poetaster*, I. i.: "honour's a good *brooch* to wear in a man's hat at all times."

26. *sting, or operation*] Hanmer reads *operation, or sting* to correspond in order with *drugs, serpents;* but for disregard of such nicety, compare *Hamlet*, III. i. 159.

28. *still conclusion*] composed and silent censure, quiet formation of opinion. The idea seems to be one of disapproval following on inspection, instinctively felt by its object, maugre silence and "modest eyes" or demure looks. Compare v. ii. 54 *post*.

29. *Demuring upon me*] Looking demurely upon me, with an air of innocence. *Demuring* is not found elsewhere. It is just possible that it may be from *demur*, for which *demure* is often found; and thus used to indicate the leisurely consideration of Octavia, the deliberation, as of one doubtful, with which she would appear to draw her conclusions. Compare Sir John

Help me, my women,—we must draw thee up:
Assist, good friends.

Ant. O, quick, or I am gone.

Cleo. Here 's sport indeed! How heavy weighs my lord!
Our strength is all gone into heaviness,
That makes the weight: had I great Juno's power,
The strong-wing'd Mercury should fetch thee up,
And set thee by Jove's side. Yet come a little,—
Wishers were ever fools,—O, come, come, come;
[*They heave Antony aloft to Cleopatra.*
And welcome, welcome! die where thou hast lived:
Quicken with kissing: had my lips that power,
Thus would I wear them out.

All. A heavy sight!

Ant. I am dying, Egypt, dying:
Give me some wine, and let me speak a little.

Cleo. No, let me speak; and let me rail so high,
That the false huswife Fortune break her wheel,
Provoked by my offence.

33. *heaviness*,] pointed as Ff; *heaviness;* Cambridge edd. 38. *where*] Pope; *when* F.

Harington, *Epigrams* (ed. 1633, bk. i. 37):—

"Once, by mishap, two Poets fell a squaring,
The Sonnet and our Epigram comparing;
And *Faustus* having long *demur'd* upon it,
Yet at the last gave sentence for the Sonnet," etc.

32. *Here's sport indeed*] The grim humour of this exclamation was lost on Johnson, who took it for a rebuke of trifling efforts! and others have positively suggested emendations. Possibly, as Malone suggests, there is a thought of their former fishing diversions. Compare II. v. 13-15 *ante*:—

"and, as I draw them up,
I 'll think them every one an Antony,
And say, 'Ah, ha! you 're caught.'"

33. *heaviness*] Malone: "equivocally for sorrow and weight." See the passages cited on IV. vi. 36 *ante*. Compare, for the thought, Daniel, *Cleopatra*, 1607 (*Works*, ed. Grosart, III. 8): "Whose surcharg'd heart more then her body wayes."

37. *Wishers . . . fools*] This sounds like a proverb. In Ray's collection occurs, "Wishers and woulders are never good householders."

38. *where*] Thiselton accepts the folio reading *when*, "die when," etc., in that case meaning, as he says, "live ere thou diest."

39. *Quicken*] gain life or vitality. Compare *Othello*, III. iii. 277.

44. *huswife*] Here, as often, *huswife* has a bad sense: jilt, wanton, etc. Compare *Henry V.* v. i. 85: "Doth Fortune play the *huswife* with me now?" *Huswiverie* is similarly used, *e.g.* mistrust in husbands is said to "plante newe trickes of *huswiuerie* in their wiues consciences" (*Tell-Trothe's New-yeares Gift*, 1593, New Shakes. Soc., 1876, p. 22). In this speech, lines 43-45, Cleopatra seems to strike a false note. The like of line 44, which Johnson calls "this despicable line," is in keeping in *As You Like It*, I. ii. 34, 35; here it savours of uncouth early dramas.

Ant. One word, sweet queen:
Of Cæsar seek your honour, with your safety. O!
Cleo. They do not go together.
Ant. Gentle, hear me:
None about Cæsar trust but Proculeius.
Cleo. My resolution and my hands I 'll trust;
None about Cæsar.
Ant. The miserable change now at my end
Lament nor sorrow at; but please your thoughts
In feeding them with those my former fortunes,
Wherein I lived the greatest prince o' the world,
The noblest; and do now not basely die,
Not cowardly put off my helmet to
My countryman,—a Roman by a Roman
Valiantly vanquish'd. Now my spirit is going;
I can no more.
Cleo. Noblest of men, woo 't die?
Hast thou no care of me? shall I abide
In this dull world, which in thy absence is
No better than a sty? O, see, my women, [*Antony dies.*
The crown o' the earth doth melt. My lord!
O, wither'd is the garland of the war,
The soldier's pole is fall'n: young boys and girls

54. *lived the*] Theobald; *lived. The* F. 62. [*Antony dies*] Capell; Rowe after *more*, line 59; Ff omit.

56-58. *Not cowardly put*, etc.] See North, *ante*, p. lv. Rowe placed a comma after *cowardly* with F 4, thus connecting it with *die*, and changed *not* to *nor*. This is defensible; but surely those who, with Pope, read *Nor cowardly put off* . . . weaken the connection of the negative with *cowardly*; to which alone it applies and not to *put off*, etc.

59. *woo 't*] See on IV. ii. 7 *ante*.

63. *crown*] Compare next note, and see on IV. xii. 27 *ante*.

64. *garland of the war*] Compare *Coriolanus*, I. i. 188: "And call . . . Him vile that was your *garland*"; Quarles, *Argalus and Parthenia*, bk. i. (ed. 1701, p. 35):—

"he that is the crown
Of prized virtue, honour and renown,
The flower of Arts, the *Cyprian* living story,
Arcadia's Garland, and great *Greece's* glory";

Du Bartas, etc. ed. 1621, *The Printer, to the Reader*: "The name of Joshuah Sylvester is *garland* enough to hang before this doore."

65. *pole*] perhaps standard, which the aptitude of the metaphor supports. Boswell gets the credit of the suggestion, really Beckett's (*Concordance*, 1787, p. 445). Schmidt and the Temple and Eversley editors explain by "lodestar," and, certainly, the second guard in IV. xiv. 106 *ante* says "The star is fall'n," while the use of *pole* in simile or metaphor is common. Compare Richard James (1592-1638), *Poems*, ed. Grosart, 1880, p. 124: "This [*i.e.* Faith and True Religion] was the *Pole*, the Pillar, and the light," etc.

Are level now with men; the odds is gone,
And there is nothing left remarkable
Beneath the visiting moon. [*Faints.*

Char. O, quietness, lady!

Iras. She's dead too, our sovereign.

Char. Lady!

Iras. Madam!

Char. O madam, madam, madam!

Iras. Royal Egypt,

Empress!

Char. Peace, peace, Iras!

Cleo. No more but e'en a woman, and commanded
By such poor passion as the maid that milks
And does the meanest chares. It were for me
To throw my sceptre at the injurious gods;
To tell them that this world did equal theirs
Till they had stol'n our jewel. All's but naught;
Patience is sottish, and impatience does

68. [*Faints*] *She faints.* Rowe; Ff omit. 69. *She's*] Ff; *She is* Hanmer and many editors. 70, 71. *Royal . . . Empress*] Divided as Capell; one line in Ff. 73. *e'en*] Johnson; *in* Ff.

66. *the odds is gone*] *odds* is both singular and plural in Shakespeare, the latter less frequently. The sense is, I suppose, that now the moving spirit is gone, all are equally unavailing. Compare *No-body and Some-body*, lines 107, 108 (Simpson's *School of Shakspere*, i. 281): "if your highnesse note his leg and mine, there is *ods;* and for a foot, I dare compare."

67. *remarkable*] Staunton receives credit for observing that this word had, when this play was written, a more impressive sense, far worthier of the occasion, than the present one of merely "observable or noteworthy," but he had the remark from Gifford. See the latter's *Massinger*, 1805, i. 157, note on *The Unnatural Combat*, II. i. Malone compares with lines 66-68, *Macbeth*, II. iii. 97-101:—

"from this instant
There's nothing serious in mortality:" etc.

73. *No more but e'en a woman*] As Malone observes, this responds to the words of Iras, without noticing those of Charmian. But is the sense, as he takes it—placing with most editors (Johnson's conjecture) a comma after *more*—No more (*i.e.* no longer) an empress, but just a woman; or merely, No more than just a woman, as Hudson evidently interprets? One can only be guided here by an instinctive preference, and specious as the first explanation is, my impulse is to read with Hudson, as in the text above. The words seem to me not so much an answer to Iras, as the outcome of a train of thought suggested by Iras.

75. *chares*] tasks. A *char* or *chare* is a turn, and hence, a turn of work. Compare *char-woman*. The word is used by Shakespeare only in this play, but was very common in his time. See Peele, *Edward I.* (ed. Bullen, sc. vi. line 119): "Why, so, this *chare* is chared"; *The Brazen Age* (Pearson's *Heywood*, iii. 241): "Augment my taske, vnto a treble *chare.*" Also on v. ii. 230 *post.*

79. *sottish*] foolish, mere stupidity. Not elsewhere in Shakespeare, but common; so in The Epistle Dedicatorie, *Mirour for Magistrates*, 1587: "not coũted wise, righteous, and constant, but *sottish*, rude and desperate."

Become a dog that's mad: then is it sin
To rush into the secret house of death,
Ere death dare come to us? How do you, women?
What, what! good cheer! Why, how now, Charmian!
My noble girls! Ah, women, women, look,
Our lamp is spent, it's out! Good sirs, take heart:
We'll bury him; and then, what's brave, what's noble,
Let's do it after the high Roman fashion,
And make death proud to take us. Come, away:
This case of that huge spirit now is cold:
Ah, women, women! come; we have no friend
But resolution, and the briefest end.

[*Exeunt; those above bearing off Antony's body.*

83. *what! good cheer!*] Theobald (*what, . . . !*); *what good cheere?* F. 87. *do it*] Pope; *doo't* F. 91. *Exeunt . . .*] Capell (substantially); *Exeunt, bearing of Anthonies body.* Ff.

85. *Good sirs*] To the women. Compare *Sirrah Iras*, v. ii. 228 *post*, and Whetstone, *1 Promos and Cassandra*, IV. vii. 6:—

"*Grimball.* . . . kysse me for acquaintaunce.
Dalia. If I lyke your manhoode, I may do so perchaunce.
[*She faynes to looke in his basket.*
Grimball. Bate me an ase, quoth *Boulton:* Tush your minde I know:
Ah *Syr*, you would, belike, let my cocke sparrowes goe."

Dyce quotes examples from Beaumont and Fletcher, *The Coxcomb*, IV. iii. 45; *A King and no King*, II. i. (1679 fol. p. 46); *Philaster*, IV. iii. 53.

86. *what's brave*, etc.] the thing which is brave, etc.

ACT V

SCENE I.—*Alexandria. Cæsar's camp.*

Enter CÆSAR, AGRIPPA, DOLABELLA, MÆCENAS, GALLUS, PROCULEIUS, *and others, his council of war.*

Cæs. Go to him, Dolabella, bid him yield:
Being so frustrate, tell him he mocks
The pauses that he makes.

Dol. Cæsar, I shall. [*Exit.*

Enter DERCETAS, *with the sword of* ANTONY.

Cæs. Wherefore is that? and what art thou that dar'st
Appear thus to us?

Der. I am call'd Dercetas:
Mark Antony I served, who best was worthy

Alexandria. Cæsar's Camp.] *Cæsar's camp.* Rowe; *Camp before Alexandria.* Capell. *Enter . . .*] Globe; *Enter Cæsar, Agrippa, Dolabella, Menas, with his Counsell of Warre.* Ff. 2, 3. *Being . . . makes*] As Hanmer; Ff divide after *him;* commas after *yeeld, frustrate, him,* in Ff. 3. [*Exit*] *Exit Dolabella.* Theobald; omitted in Ff. *Enter Dercetas . . .*] Pope; Ff have *Decretas* here and in line 5. 5, 13. *Der.*] Pope; *Dec.* F.

Scene I. [see North, *ante*, pp. lv-vi].

Enter . . . Mæcenas . . .] Theobald (Thirlby conj.) first substituted *Mæcenas* for *Menas* of Ff, pointing out that the speeches of the character are marked *Mec.* in the margin, and that though *Menas* died a partisan of Cæsar, it was five years before Antony's death.

2. *frustrate*] baffled. So *The Tempest*, III. iii. 10: "Our *frustrate* search on land." Perhaps pronounced as a trisyllable. Compare *mistress*, II. v. 27 *ante*.

2, 3. *he mocks . . . makes*] his delays are mere mockery. Steevens suggested this very probable sense, which seems capable of being deduced from the text. I can imagine a phrase "to mock pauses" as equivalent to "to make mocking pauses," *i.e.* pauses mocking either the maker or another, according to the sense required by the context; and perhaps "to mock" here is a condensation for something like "to make ineffectually," or "to make ridiculously." The other case in which Shakespeare uses *mock* peculiarly (*Othello*, III. iii. 166, 167: "the green-eyed monster which doth *mock* The meat it feeds on:") does not help here, so far as I can see, in spite of the similarity of construction. Malone evaded the difficulty by reading "*mocks* us by."

5. *thus*] *i.e.* as Delius observes, with a naked, bloody sword.

6, 7. *who best . . . served*] Compare Thyreus on Cæsar, III. xiii. 87, 88 *ante*.

Best to be served: whilst he stood up and spoke,
He was my master; and I wore my life
To spend upon his haters. If thou please
To take me to thee, as I was to him
I'll be to Cæsar; if thou pleasest not,
I yield thee up my life.

Cæs. What is't thou say'st?

Der. I say, O Cæsar, Antony is dead.

Cæs. The breaking of so great a thing should make
A greater crack: the round world
Should have shook lions into civil streets,
And citizens to their dens: the death of Antony
Is not a single doom; in the name lay
A moiety of the world.

Der. He is dead, Cæsar;
Not by a public minister of justice,
Nor by a hired knife; but that self hand,
Which writ his honour in the acts it did,
Hath, with the courage which the heart did lend it,
Splitted the heart. This is his sword;
I robb'd his wound of it; behold it stain'd
With his most noble blood.

Cæs. Look you sad, friends?
The gods rebuke me, but it is tidings
To wash the eyes of kings.

Agr. And strange it is,

11, 12. *I'll . . . life*] As Rowe; one line Ff. 26. *Look . . . sad, friends?*] Hanmer; . . . *sad, friends*:— Theobald; *Looke . . . sad friends*, F; *Look you, sad friends*, F 3. 27. *tidings*] *Tydings* F; Ff 2-4 pre-insert *a*. 28, 31. *Agr.*] Theobald; *Dol.* Ff.

15. An omission has been generally suspected here, and made the subject of many conjectures. Steevens suggested: "A greater crack than this: the ruin'd world". As the sense is plain, may not the short line have been intentional? a pause here would be natural and impressive. For the thought, compare *Julius Cæsar*, I. iii. 3, 4; 20-22.

19. *moiety*] half, the strict sense of the word, as in *All's Well that Ends Well*, III. ii. 69. Often merely = share, portion, as in *King Lear*, I. i. 7.

21. *self*] same, as in *The Comedy of Errors*, V. i. 10: "that *self* chain about his neck," *King Lear*, IV. iii. 36, etc. Compare also *The Three Lords*, etc. (Hazlitt's *Dodsley*, vi. 376): "Nor all our ships do sail for one *self* haven."

24. *Splitted*] Compare *2 Henry VI.* III. ii. 411; *The Comedy of Errors*, I. i. 104; V. i. 308:—

"O time's extremity
Hast thou so crack'd and *splitted* my poor tongue," etc.

28-30. *And strange . . . deeds*] Compare III. ii. 58 *ante*.

That nature must compel us to lament
Our most persisted deeds.

Mæc. His taints and honours
Waged equal with him.

Agr. A rarer spirit never
Did steer humanity: but you, gods, will give us
Some faults to make us men. Cæsar is touch'd.

Mæc. When such a spacious mirror's set before him
He needs must see himself.

Cæs. O Antony!
I have follow'd thee to this; but we do launch
Diseases in our bodies: I must perforce
Have shown to thee such a declining day,
Or look on thine; we could not stall together
In the whole world: but yet let me lament,
With tears as sovereign as the blood of hearts
That thou, my brother, my competitor
In top of all design, my mate in empire,
Friend and companion in the front of war,
The arm of mine own body, and the heart
Where mine his thoughts did kindle,—that our stars,

30, 31. *His . . . him*] As Pope; one line Ff. 31. *Waged*] *wag'd* F; *way* F 2; *weigh'd* Rowe. 36. *launch*] F; *lance* Theobald and edd.

31. *Waged equal*] Steevens: "were an equal match, *i.e.* were opposed to each other in just proportions, like the counterparts of a wager." This explanation is confirmed by *Pericles*, IV. ii. 34: "The commodity *wages* not with the danger."

36. *launch*] *launch* or *lanch* is the old and common form of the word. Compare Nash, *Christ's Tears* (*Archaica* reprint, 1815, p. 149): "and even as Archabius, the trumpeter, had more given him to cease than to sound (the noise that he made was so harsh), so will they give them more to . . . feed their sores than to *launch* them"; and see Mr. Craig's note on *King Lear*, II. i. 52 (*Arden Shakespeare*).

39. *stall together*] See Whetstone, *2 Promos and Cassandra*, III. ii. (Nichols, *Six Old Plays*, 1779, p. 83):—

"Well, ere I leave, my poorest subjects shall
Both lyve and lyke, and by the richest *stawl*."

41. *sovereign . . . blood*] See on IV. ii. 6 *ante*, the thought being, perhaps, of a sovereign remedy.

42. *competitor*] Perhaps here = friendly rival, [thou] who viedst with me, rather than merely—as in I. iv. 3 and II. vii. 69 *ante*—associate.

43. *In top . . . design*] "In top of" means "in height of," and expresses the superlative degree of whatever is in question, as in *A Lover's Complaint*, 55: "This said, *in top of* rage the lines she rents," etc. Hence, possibly, it may be allowable to paraphrase here: "in the daring (*or* supreme) conception and conduct of all enterprise."

46. *Where . . . kindle*] No one seems to find a difficulty here. *His*, of course, = its, but does "Where my heart did kindle its thoughts" = Where I found inspiration, or merely indicate the close commune of friends?

Unreconciliable, should divide
Our equalness to this. Hear me, good friends,—

Enter an Egyptian.

But I will tell you at some meeter season:
The business of this man looks out of him;
We 'll hear him what he says. Whence are you?
Egyp. A poor Egyptian yet. The queen my mistress,
Confined in all she has, her monument,
Of thy intents desires instruction,
That she preparedly may frame herself
To the way she 's forced to.
Cæs. Bid her have good heart:
She soon shall know of us, by some of ours,
How honourable and how kindly we
Determine for her; for Cæsar cannot live
To be ungentle.
Egyp. So the gods preserve thee! [*Exit.*
Cæs. Come hither, Proculeius. Go and say,
We purpose her no shame: give her what comforts
The quality of her passion shall require,
Lest, in her greatness, by some mortal stroke
She do defeat us; for her life in Rome

47, 48. *Unreconciliable . . . this*] As Hanmer; one line Ff. 49. *Enter . . .*] Ff, but after *sayes*, line 51. 52. *yet. The*] *yet; the* Rowe (ed. 2); *yet, the* F. 59, 60. *Determine . . . ungentle*] As Pope; one line Ff. 59. *live*] Rowe (ed. 2) and Southern MS.; *leaue* F; *learn* Dyce (Tyrwhitt conj.). 60. *ungentle*] F; *gentle* Capell, reading *Leave* transferred to this line.

47, 48. *divide . . . this*] sunder us, who were thus equal associates in everything, so widely and so fatally.

50. *The business . . . him*] Compare *Cymbeline*, v. v. 23: "There 's business in their faces"; and *Macbeth*, I. ii. 46: "What a haste looks through his eyes!"

52. *A poor Egyptian yet*] Taken in connection with what follows, this reply seems equivalent to: "From what is yet Egypt, till your intents pronounce its fate." Johnson's explanation is: "Yet a servant of the Queen of Egypt, though soon to become a subject of Rome." A new suggestion is made by Deighton, *vis.*: "one who, though conquered, still boasts himself an Egyptian." Schmidt prefers the Ff reading, explaining "a poor Egyptian yet, the queen," as "My queen, who is now no more than a poor Egyptian."

65, 66. *her life . . . triumph*] Not "her abode in Rome would perpetuate my triumph," but "her presence, *alive*, at my triumph in Rome, would make it everlastingly memorable." The sense of *life* is not here "continuous existence," but merely contains the idea of life, as opposed to that of death involved in "some mortal stroke." We may, perhaps, regard *eternal* here as having become merely intensive, and explain: "her presence . . . would contribute in the highest degree to my triumph." Expressions like "an eternal

Would be eternal in our triumph: go,
And with your speediest bring us what she says,
And how you find of her.

Pro. Cæsar, I shall. [*Exit.*

Cæs. Gallus, go you along. [*Exit Gallus.*] Where's Dolabella,
To second Proculeius?

All. Dolabella! 70

Cæs. Let him alone, for I remember now
How he's employ'd: he shall in time be ready.
Go with me to my tent; where you shall see
How hardly I was drawn into this war;
How calm and gentle I proceeded still 75
In all my writings: go with me, and see
What I can show in this. [*Exeunt.*

SCENE II.—*Alexandria. A room in the monument.*

Enter CLEOPATRA, CHARMIAN, *and* IRAS.

Cleo. My desolation does begin to make
A better life. 'Tis paltry to be Cæsar;
Not being Fortune, he's but Fortune's knave,

69, 70. *Gallus . . . Proculeius*] As Pope; prose in Ff. 69. [*Exit Gallus*] Theobald; omitted in Ff.

Scene II.

Alexandria. A . . .] Capell (substantially); *The Monument* Rowe. *Enter . . .*] Capell; Ff . . . , *Iras and Mardian.*

swindle" may be heard nowadays. See also on *eternal villain* in *Othello*, IV. ii. 131, ed. H. C. Hart (*Arden Shakespeare*). Compare North, *ante*, p. lvi.

67. *with your speediest*] as quickly as you can. Compare "*with your earliest*," *Othello*, II. iii. 7, and the examples in Mr. Hart's note in the *Arden Shakespeare* edition.

Scene II.

Enter Cleopatra, etc.] *i.e.* to the balcony at the rear, which was a special feature of the old stage, and enabled Cleopatra and her women to be represented *within* the monument, Proculeius and his followers *without*, on the stage below. A well-known sketch of the interior of the Swan Theatre in 1596 (?) by a Dutch traveller, reproduced in Mr. Ordish's *Early London Theatres* and *Shakespeare's London*, represents it as a sort of stage box divided by five pillars, occupying the length of the tiring house—at some height above its doors—at the back of the stage.

2. *A better life*] *i.e.* a life in which Fortune's gifts are rightly estimated and despised, and the contemplation of one crowning and emancipating deed restores a sense of confidence, and superiority over Fortune's minion.

3. *knave*] servant, as in IV. xiv. 12 *ante*.

A minister of her will: and it is great
To do that thing that ends all other deeds;
Which shackles accidents and bolts up change;
Which sleeps, and never palates more the dung,
The beggar's nurse and Cæsar's.

Enter, to the gates of the monument, PROCULEIUS, GALLUS, *and Soldiers.*

Pro. Cæsar sends greeting to the Queen of Egypt;
And bids thee study on what fair demands
Thou mean'st to have him grant thee.

Cleo. What 's thy name?

Pro. My name is Proculeius.

Cleo. Antony
Did tell me of you, bade me trust you; but

7. *palates*] Theobald; *pallates* F. *dung*] Ff; *dugg* Theobald (Warburton). *Enter . . .*] Capell; *Enter Proculeius.* Ff.

7, 8. *Which . . . Cæsar's*] Fortune's favour has just been scorned: it remains to decry life, which Cæsar and the beggar must retain by the same means. "Which sleeps," etc. (line 7), is a bold equivalent for: Which is a sleep, emancipated from need of the base food on which depends as much the life of Cæsar as a beggar's. Johnson says: "The difficulty of the passage, if any difficulty there be, arises only from this, that the act of suicide, and the state which is the effect of suicide, are confounded. Voluntary death, says she, is an act *which bolts up change;* it produces a state . . . which has no longer need of the gross and terrene sustenance, in the use of which Cæsar and the beggar are on a level. The speech is abrupt, but perturbation in such a state is surely natural." For *palates* = tastes, compare *Troilus and Cressida*, IV. i. 59: "Not *palating* the taste of her dishonour." A little earlier (IV. xv. 62) Cleopatra has described the world as now "No better than a sty," and in I. i. 35-37 *ante*, Antony contrasts the nobleness of life in love with kingship over clay: "our dungy earth alike," he says, "feeds beast as man": and as the play is full of reminiscences, we have probably one such here. The same or a like Swiftian thought is common, see *Timon of Athens*, IV. iii. 443-45; *The Winter's Tale*, II. i. 157; Chapman, *The Shadow of Night*, p. 8 (*Works*, ed. Shepherd, 1875): "th' infectious dunghill of this round"; Rosse, *Mel Heliconium* (1640), p. 104: "Alas, my soul, how men are vext, That fix their love on gilded dung": and numerous passages in which the earth is called nurse, or described as such, as in *Romeo and Juliet*, II. iii. 12, could be adduced (compare Sylvester, *Du Bartas*, 1621 ed. p. 56: "The Earth receiues man when he first is born: Th' Earth nurses him," etc.), so that in the face of this, it is probably —quite as much or more than the word *nurse*—the attraction of an inoffensive for an unpleasant idea, repulsive to modern refinement, which has caused so many editors to read *dug* for *dung* with Warburton (who, however, supposed a line omitted before line 7, introducing a new antecedent, such as "wearied nature," for "which sleeps," etc.), some making the dug the beggar's nurse and Cæsar's, and some, like Warburton, death, though without the excuse of his interpolation.

8. *Enter . . . Proculeius . . .*] With what follows, to line 46, compare North, *ante*, p. lvi.

I do not greatly care to be deceived,
That have no use for trusting. If your master
Would have a queen his beggar, you must tell him,
That majesty, to keep decorum, must
No less beg than a kingdom: if he please
To give me conquer'd Egypt for my son,
He gives me so much of mine own as I
Will kneel to him with thanks.

Pro. Be of good cheer;
You're fall'n into a princely hand; fear nothing:
Make your full reference freely to my lord,
Who is so full of grace that it flows over
On all that need: let me report to him
Your sweet dependency; and you shall find
A conqueror that will pray in aid for kindness,
Where he for grace is kneel'd to.

Cleo. Pray you, tell him
I am his fortune's vassal, and I send him
The greatness he has got. I hourly learn
A doctrine of obedience, and would gladly
Look him i' the face.

Pro. This I 'll report, dear lady.
Have comfort, for I know your plight is pitied
Of him that caused it.

22. *You're*] Rowe; *Y' are* F.

14. *care to be deceived*] *i.e.* care whether I am deceived or not (Delius).

20. *as*] = that, after *so*. Compare *Richard III.* iii. iv. 40:—

"And finds the testy gentleman so hot,
As he will lose his head ere give consent," etc.;

and see Abbott (*Shakes. Gram.*, § 109).

27. *pray in aid*] A legal term, as Hanmer pointed out. Here, with the context, equivalent to, beg your assistance in order that he may omit no kindness. "This word [Ayde] is also particularly used in matter of Pleading, for a Petition made in Court for the calling in of help from another that hath an interest in the cause in question, and is likely both to give strength to the Party that prayeth in ayd of him, and also to avoid a prejudice growing toward his own right, except it be prevented." So Cowel's *Interpreter*, enlarged by Manley, ed. 2, 1684, under *Ayde*. The meaning of the term seems to admit of the above "beg *your* assistance" instead of merely "seek assistance," and in lines 185, 186 *post*, Cæsar says:—

"For we intend so to dispose you as
Yourself shall give us counsel."

The simpler sense occurs in Bacon's essay "Of Friendship": "But yet without *praying in aid* of alchemists," etc.

29, 30. *I send . . . got*] Johnson: "I allow him to be my conqueror; I own his superiority with complete submission."

Gal. You see how easily she may be surprised:
[*Here Proculeius and two of the Guard ascend the monument by a ladder placed against a window, and, having descended, come behind Cleopatra. Some of the Guard unbar and open the gates.*
[*To Proculeius and the Guard*] Guard her till Cæsar come.
[*Exit.*

Iras. Royal queen!
Char. O Cleopatra! thou art taken, queen.
Cleo. Quick, quick, good hands. [*Drawing a dagger.*
Pro. Hold, worthy lady, hold:
[*Seizes and disarms her.*
Do not yourself such wrong, who are in this
Relieved, but not betray'd.
Cleo. What, of death too,
That rids our dogs of languish?
Pro. Cleopatra,
Do not abuse my master's bounty by
The undoing of yourself: let the world see
His nobleness well acted, which your death
Will never let come forth.
Cleo. Where art thou, death?
Come hither, come! come, come, and take a queen
Worth many babes and beggars!
Pro. O, temperance, lady!

35. *Gal.*] Malone; *Pro.* F; *Char.* Ff 2-4. See note. [*Here . . .*] Malone, formed on Plutarch; no stage-direction in Ff. 36. [*To Proculeius . . .*] Malone. *Exit*] *Exit Gallus* Malone; Ff omit. 39. [*Drawing . . .*] Theobald; Ff omit. [*Seizes . . .*] Malone; Ff omit. 41, 42. *What . . . languish*] As Capell; one line Ff. 42, 43. *Cleopatra, . . . by*] As Capell; one line Ff.

35, 36. *Gal. You . . . come*] Theobald was the first to see, by reference to Plutarch, that line 35 belongs to Gallus. Line 36, however, "Guard her," etc., he left to Proculeius, inserting a corresponding stage-direction after line 34: "Here Gallus, and Guard, ascend the Monument by a ladder, and enter at a back-window." See *ante*, p. lvi, for the passage in North which justifies Malone in assigning line 36 also to Gallus, by showing that Proculeius, with two of his men, was now within the monument in presence of Cleopatra, while Gallus remained without.

42. *languish*] the miserable drooping condition caused by disease or injury. See *Romeo and Juliet*, I. ii. 49, and *langour* in similar sense in *The Troublesome Raigne of King John*, part i. (Nichols, *Six Old Plays*, 1779, p. 266):—

"Ile to the king, and say his will is done,
And of the *langor* tell him thou art dead," etc.

A late example is cited in the *New Eng. Dict.*: "A long record of perishable *languish*" (H. Coleridge, *Poems*, 1851, i. 118).

Cleo. Sir, I will eat no meat, I 'll not drink, sir,—
If idle talk will once be necessary,—
I 'll not sleep neither: this mortal house I 'll ruin,
Do Cæsar what he can. Know, sir, that I
Will not wait pinion'd at your master's court;
Nor once be chastised with the sober eye
Of dull Octavia. Shall they hoist me up
And show me to the shouting varletry
Of censuring Rome? Rather a ditch in Egypt
Be gentle grave unto me! rather on Nilus' mud
Lay me stark-nak'd, and let the water-flies
Blow me into abhorring! rather make
My country's high pyramides my gibbet,
And hang me up in chains!

Pro. You do extend
These thoughts of horror further than you shall
Find cause in Cæsar.

49, 50. *sir,— . . . necessary,—*] See note; *sir, . . . necessary* F. 56. *varletry*] *Varlotry* F 2; *Varlotarie* F.

50. *If . . . necessary,—*] I prefer to regard this line as parenthetical, with Singer and Kinnear. Most editors point, *sir; If . . . necessary, I'll . . . neither:* F has no stop save comma after *sir* and full stop after *neither*. Hitherto (and she reverts to this course in her interview with Cæsar) Cleopatra has silently nursed her purpose and deceived her conquerors. Now, shaken out of her self-possession, she reveals it in threats, idle talk, as she calls them by contrast with her settled and previously dissembled purpose. "Words," says Daniel's Cleopatra, "are for them that can complaine and liue" (*Works*, Grosart, iii. 73, *Cleopatra*, IV. line 1154). The line will then mean: "If for once I must weakly deal in words"; and it seems more naturally to follow the first threats than to be confined to that of not sleeping. Steevens suggested: "If it be necessary, for once, to talk of performing impossibilities, why, I 'll not sleep neither." Malone and Ritson believed a line to be lost after *necessary*, such as—according to the former—"I 'll not so much as syllable a word." Hanmer has *accessary*, and so, too, the Collier MS. and Staunton, the last named explaining: "and if idle talk will for the nonce be assistant, I 'll not sleep." Capell reads *speak* for *sleep*. The omission of the line (50) as one cancelled by Shakespeare but retained by the printer, has also been suggested. With Cleopatra's threats, compare:—

"I neuer will nor eate, nor drinke, nor taste
Of any Cates that may preserue my life:
I neuer will nor smile, nor sleepe, nor rest."

A Woman Kilde with Kindnesse, 1607 (Pearson's *Heywood*, ii. 151).

52-57. Compare IV. xii. 33-39 *ante*, and V. ii. 208 *et seq. post.*

58-60. Compare the wish in III. xiii. 166, 167 *ante.*

61. *high pyramides*] Though *pyramids* occurs in *Macbeth*, IV. i. 57, the classical and quadrisyllabic plural was the prevalent form. Compare, *e.g. Locrine*, III. iv. (*Shakes. Supplement*, 1780, ii. 231):—

"the high *pyramides*,
Which with their top surmount the firmament";

and Heywood, *The Actor's Vindication*, N.D. London, by G. E. for W. C. p. 7: "Hercules . . . on his high *Pyramides* writing *Nil ultra*," etc.

Enter DOLABELLA.

Dol. Proculeius,
What thou hast done thy master Cæsar knows,
And he hath sent for thee: for the queen,
I'll take her to my guard.
Pro. So, Dolabella,
It shall content me best: be gentle to her.
[*To Cleo.*] To Cæsar I will speak what you shall please,
If you'll employ me to him.
Cleo. Say, I would die.
[*Exeunt Proculeius and Soldiers.*
Dol. Most noble empress, you have heard of me?
Cleo. I cannot tell.
Dol. Assuredly you know me.
Cleo. No matter, sir, what I have heard or known.
You laugh when boys or women tell their dreams;
Is't not your trick?
Dol. I understand not, madam.
Cleo. I dreamt there was an Emperor Antony:
O, such another sleep, that I might see
But such another man!
Dol. If it might please ye,—
Cleo. His face was as the heavens; and therein stuck
A sun and moon, which kept their course, and lighted
The little O, the earth.
Dol. Most sovereign creature,—
Cleo. His legs bestrid the ocean: his rear'd arm

66. *for the queen*] F; *as for . . .* F 2. 69. [*To Cleo.*] Hanmer. 70. [*Exeunt . . .*] Capell; *Exit Proculeius.* Ff, after *him.* 71. *me?*] Capell; *me.* F. 81. *O, the*] Steevens; *o' th'* F; *O o'th* Theobald.

64. *Enter Dolabella*] In North (see p. lvi *ante*) it is Epaphroditus who is sent at this stage. For *Dolabella*, see *ibid.* p. lviii, the source of lines 196-206 *post.*

81. *O, the earth*] This reading squares with Shakespeare's use of O for anything circular, as in *Henry V.* (prol. 13: "Within this wooden *O*,"), for the first Globe theatre, a round building. See also *A Midsummer-Night's Dream*, III. ii. 188; *Love's Labour 's Lost*, v. ii. 45. Hanmer has "orb *o th' earth*," as in *Coriolanus*, v. vi. 127.

82. *His legs . . . ocean*] Compare *Julius Cæsar*, I. ii. 135:—
"Why man, he doth bestride the narrow world
Like a Colossus," etc.;
and Webster, *Appius and Virginia*, 1654, III. i. (*Works*, Hazlitt, iii. 168): "The high Colossus that bestrides us all,"

Crested the world: his voice was propertied
As all the tuned spheres, and that to friends;
But when he meant to quail and shake the orb,
He was as rattling thunder. For his bounty,
There was no winter in 't; an autumn 'twas
That grew the more by reaping: his delights

87. *autumn 'twas*] Thirlby conj.; Theobald, independently; *Anthony it was* Ff.

83. *Crested the world*] Percy: "Alluding to some of the old crests in heraldry, where a raised arm on a wreath was mounted on the helmet."

83, 84. *was propertied . . . spheres*] was as musical in quality as, etc. "Pythagoras (saith Censorinus) asserted, that this whole World is made according to musical proportion, and that the seven Planets, betwixt Heaven and the Earth, which govern the Nativities of Mortals, have a harmonious motion, and Intervals correspondent to musical Diastemes, and render various sounds, according to their several heights, so consonant, that they make most sweet melody; but to us inaudible, by reason of the greatness of the noise, which the narrow passage of our Ears is not capable to receive" (Stanley, *History of Philosophy*, ed. 3, 1701, p. 393, pt. ix. sect. iv. chap. iii.). See also on II. vii. 14-16 *ante*. This sphere-music is the subject of a poetical scene (the last of Act III.) in *Lingua* (Hazlitt's *Dodsley*, ix. 406-10) and recurs constantly in Elizabethan poetry. For *propertied*, compare *The English Traveller*, I. i. (Pearson's *Heywood*, iv. 9):—

"This approues you,
To be most nobly *propertied*, that," etc.

84. *and that to friends*] Theobald read *when that* with no advantage. Anon. conj. *addrest;* Staunton, *and sweet;* Elze, *and soft*. Compare *The Roaring Girl*, 1611, IV. ii. 110 (Bullen's *Middleton*, iv. 106):—

"when *friends* meet,
The music of the spheres sounds not more sweet
Than does their conference."

85. *quail*] Often, as here, transitive; cow, overpower. Compare *The Three Ladies of London*, 1584 (Hazlitt's *Dodsley*, vi. 266): "She cannot *quail* me, if she came in likeness of the great devil."

87. *an autumn 'twas*] Jonson's use of *autumn* in the following passage (*The Fox*, v. iv.) is illustrative of this convincing emendation:—

"You should have some would swell now, like a wine-fat
With such an *autumn*—Did he give you all, Sir?"

Malone quotes the 53rd Sonnet:—

"Speak of the spring, and foison of the year;
The one doth shadow of your beauty show,
The other as your bounty doth appear," etc.

Courageous attempts to defend the folio reading are best left undisturbed. See, however, *Notes and Queries*, 18th April, 1874, and A. E. Thiselton, "*Some Textual Notes on . . . Anthony and Cleopatra*, . . . 1899," p. 27.

88-90. *his delights . . . in*] This seems to mean that not even the sea of pleasure in which he lived could conceal the strength and greatness of the man, which his very pastimes displayed. Delius explains that Antony was not submerged in his pleasures, but knew how to keep himself always above them. By reading *their back* for *his back* Hanmer made the delights into consistent dolphins but spoiled the sense. With the image, Steevens compares a poem ["Being Absent from his Mistresse," etc.] from Lodge's *William Longbeard*, 1593 (see *Glaucus and Scylla*, etc., Chiswick Press, 1819, p. 115):—

"Oh, faire of fairest, dolphin-like,
Within the riuers of my plaint,
With labouring finnes the waue I strike," etc.

In the explanation of the frontispiece to a work on the "Law of Drinking," quoted in Braithwaite's *Barnabee's Journal* (ed. Hazlitt, 1876, pp. 44, 45 *note*), occurs: "Next adjoyning stands the signe of the Dolphin with a bush and upon the signe this impreze, TEMULENTIS LÆTOR IN UNDIS."

Were dolphin-like; they show'd his back above
The element they lived in: in his livery
Walk'd crowns and crownets; realms and islands were
As plates dropp'd from his pocket.

Dol. Cleopatra!

Cleo. Think you there was, or might be, such a man
As this I dreamt of?

Dol. Gentle madam, no.

Cleo. You lie, up to the hearing of the gods.
But, if there be, or ever were, one such,
It's past the size of dreaming: nature wants stuff
To vie strange forms with fancy; yet, to imagine

91. *were*] F; omitted in Ff 2-4. 96. *or*] Ff 3, 4; *nor* F, F 2.

91. *crownets*] coronets, as in IV. xii. 27 *ante*, *q.v.* Crowns and crownets are put for their wearers, as often drum for drummer and the like.

92. *plates*] silver coins or pieces, a sense derived from the Spanish form (*plata*) of *plate*. Compare *Christmas Carols*, from a collection "probably printed between 1546 and 1552" (*Bibliographical Miscellanies*, Oxford, 1813, p. 51):—

"For .xxx. *plates* of money
His mayster had he solde," etc.

Steevens quotes Marlowe, *Jew of Malta* [II. iii. 104]:—

"What, can he steal that you demand so much?
Belike he has some new trick for a purse;
And if he has, he is worth three hundred *plates*."

And again, immediately after:—

"Rat'st thou this Moor but at two hundred *plates*?"

The Spanish original reappears in *Tom Cringle's Log*, 1834, chap. xiii.: "and last of all we got two live landcrabs from the servants, by dint of persuasion and a little *plata*, and clapped one into each stocking foot."

96. *or*] Mr. Thiselton thinks *nor* of F, F 2 "has been unwarrantably changed to *or*, owing to its being overlooked that this line is in direct contrast with the preceding, and that *nor* implies an ellipsis of *neither* or *not*." "Cleopatra would ask," he says, "But assuming for the moment you are right how came I to dream of such a one?" This is ingenious, but Shakespeare's ellipses of *neither* are always unmistakable and cause no ambiguity.

97. *It's past . . . dreaming*] No dream can come up to the reality. The thought is not unlike *Othello*, II. i. 63-65:—

"One that excels the quirks of blazoning pens,
And in the essential vesture of creation
Does tire the ingener."

Compare "size of words," *Timon of Athens*, v. i. 69.

98. *To vie . . . fancy*] To compete with fancy in the creation of strange forms. "To vie" in gaming was to stake or counter-stake, originally (see Skeat, *Etymol. Dict.*) "to draw on or invite a game" by staking a sum, *vie* and *invite* being different forms of one original. Compare *The Taming of the Shrew*, II. i. 311, and *Swetnam the Woman Hater*, 1620, IV. iii., where the tying of Misogynus to a post and pricking him with pins is jocularly treated as a game of Post and Pair: "*Scold.* First, stake. *Mis.* Oh, oh, oh, oh. . . . *Aur.* Againe, for me too, I will *vye* it"; also Braithwaite, *Strappado for the Diuell*, 1615 (reprint 1878), p. 146:—

"from his eyes
Her teares by his finde their renew'd supplies,
Both *vie* as for a wager, which to winne," etc.

An Antony, were nature's piece 'gainst fancy,
Condemning shadows quite.

Dol. Hear me, good madam.
Your loss is as yourself, great; and you bear it
As answering to the weight: would I might never
O'ertake pursued success, but I do feel,
By the rebound of yours, a grief that smites
My very heart at root.

Cleo. I thank you, sir.
Know you what Cæsar means to do with me?

Dol. I am loath to tell you what I would you knew.

Cleo. Nay, pray you, sir,—

Dol. Though he be honourable,—

Cleo. He 'll lead me, then, in triumph?

Dol. Madam, he will; I know 't.

[*Flourish and shout within*, 'Make way there: Cæsar!'

Enter CÆSAR, GALLUS, PROCULEIUS, MÆCENAS, SELEUCUS, *and others of his Train.*

Cæs. Which is the Queen of Egypt?

Dol. It is the emperor, madam. [*Cleopatra kneels.*

Cæs. Arise, you shall not kneel:
I pray you, rise; rise, Egypt.

Cleo. Sir, the gods
Will have it thus; my master and my lord
I must obey.

Cæs. Take to you no hard thoughts:

104. *smites*] Capell; *suites* F; *shoots* Pope. 109, 110. *He 'll . . . will*] One line in Hanmer. 109. *triumph?*] Pope; full stop in Ff. 110. [*Flourish . . .*] *Flourish.* (opposite *know 't*) F only. [*Flourish . . . within,* "*Make . . .*] Cambridge edd. *All. Make . . . Cæsar.* F; *within. Make . . . there,—Cæsar.* Capell. *Enter . . .*] Ff (substantially); *Seleucus* added by Capell. 114-116. *Sir . . . obey*] As Pope; two lines in Ff, division after *thus.*

99, 100. *were nature's piece . . . quite*] would be a masterpiece of conception which would entirely discredit the unsubstantial creations of fancy. For *piece*, see on III. ii. 28 *ante*, and compare Mabbe, *Celestina*, 1631, IV. (Tudor Trans. p. 97): "Not a woman that sees him, but praiseth Nature's workemanship, whose hand did draw so perfect a *piece;*" etc.

104. *smites*] Pope's reading (shoots), which Malone and Boswell adopt, relying on the once similar pronunciation of *suits* and *shoots*, is further supported by Mr. Thiselton's reference to *Coriolanus*, v. i. 44: "grief-shot With his unkindness." But it does not agree with "at root," as *smites* does.

111. *Enter Cæsar*, etc.] With what follows, down to line 189, compare North, *ante*, p. lvii.

The record of what injuries you did us,
Though written in our flesh, we shall remember
As things but done by chance.

Cleo. Sole sir o' the world,
I cannot project mine own cause so well
To make it clear; but do confess I have
Been laden with like frailties which before
Have often shamed our sex.

Cæs. Cleopatra, know,
We will extenuate rather than enforce:
If you apply yourself to our intents,
Which towards you are most gentle, you shall find
A benefit in this change; but if you seek
To lay on me a cruelty by taking
Antony's course, you shall bereave yourself
Of my good purposes, and put your children
To that destruction which I 'll guard them from,
If thereon you rely. I 'll take my leave.

Cleo. And may, through all the world: 'tis yours; and we,
Your scutcheons and your signs of conquest, shall
Hang in what place you please. Here, my good lord.

Cæs. You shall advise me in all for Cleopatra.

Cleo. This is the brief of money, plate, and jewels,

120. *project*] frame or set forth. The projector of Shakespeare's day was the promoter of ours, one who framed or planned a scheme and set it forth to the best advantage. The extension of the sense from *plan* to *set forth* seems, therefore, natural, but I have not met with another example of the latter. The former is common. Compare Nabbes, *Covent Garden*, IV. iii. (*Works*, Bullen, i. 67): "A countrey Gentleman to sell his land, is as it were to change his copie: leave his knowne trade to *project* a better profit"; and Quarles, *Argalus and Parthenia*, book i. (ed. 1701, p. 14):—

"*Projects* and casts about which way to find
The progress of young Parthenia's heart."

124. *enforce*] press home, emphasize [frailties]. Compare II. ii. 99 *ante*; and *Julius Cæsar*, III. ii. 43: "his glory not extenuated, wherein he was worthy, nor his offences *enforced*, for which he suffered death."

125. *If . . . intents*] If you conform yourself to my intentions, fall in with my designs.

133. *And may . . . world*] As Delius remarks, Cleopatra takes *leave* in a wider sense than Octavius. She tells him that liberty to do his will is now his without restriction of place; or, perhaps, says, as Deighton puts it: "the whole world is yours and therefore you are free to go through it from end to end."

134. *scutcheons*] shields, or representations of them, showing the armorial bearings. Compare *1 Henry IV.* v. i. 143: "Honour is a mere *scutcheon*"; *Love's Labour's Lost*, v. ii. 567.

137. *brief*] concise list, schedule. See *A Midsummer-Night's Dream*, v. i. 42: "There is a *brief* how many sports are ripe," etc. Also in sense of *abstract* or *summary*, as in *Edward III.* II. i. 82:—

I am possess'd of: 'tis exactly valued,
Not petty things admitted. Where 's Seleucus?
Sel. Here, madam.
Cleo. This is my treasurer: let him speak, my lord,
Upon his peril, that I have reserved
To myself nothing. Speak the truth, Seleucus.
Sel. Madam,
I had rather seal my lips, than, to my peril,
Speak that which is not.
Cleo. What have I kept back?
Sel. Enough to purchase what you have made known.
Cæs. Nay, blush not, Cleopatra; I approve
Your wisdom in the deed.
Cleo. See, Cæsar! O, behold,
How pomp is follow'd! mine will now be yours,
And, should we shift estates, yours would be mine.
The ingratitude of this Seleucus does
Even make me wild: O slave, of no more trust
Than love that 's hired! What, goest thou back? thou shalt
Go back, I warrant thee; but I 'll catch thine eyes,
Though they had wings: slave, soulless villain, dog!
O rarely base!
Cæs. Good queen, let us entreat you.

144-146. *Madam . . . not*] As Hanmer; in Ff two lines, division after *lippes*.
145. *seal*] *seale* F 3; *seele* F. 156. *soulless*] Pope; comma follows in Ff.

"Whose body is an abstract or a *brief*,
Contains each general virtue in the world";
Jonson, *A Tale of a Tub*, v. iii.: "Give me the *brief* of your subject."

139. *admitted*] Because Cleopatra immediately calls Seleucus to witness that she has reserved nothing, Theobald reads, "Not petty things *omitted*"; "for this declaration," he says, "lays open her falsehood; and makes her angry when her treasurer detects her in a direct lie." But her anger, as Johnson observes, is because "she is accused of having reserved more than petty things." Warburton, Hanmer, and Capell read as Theobald.

145. *seal*] Misled by the earlier folios, Johnson and some others read *seel* as in III. xiii. 112 *ante*, a word never applied to the lips. For the common phrase in the text compare *King Lear*, IV. vi. 174, etc.; also the scene in Jonson's *Every Man out of his Humour*, v. iv., in which Carlo Buffone's lips are literally sealed up by his enraged butt, Sir Puntarvolo.

150. *mine*] *i.e.* my followers.

154, 156. *What, goest thou back? thou shalt*, etc.] Said as Seleucus recoils before Cleopatra's threatening looks. I very much question the existence of any figurative meaning in *Go back*, line 155, such as "succumb," "get the worst" (Schmidt). Is it not as much concessive as minatory in a plain sense? If so, the whole equals this: So you go back, do you? yes, you shall do that, yet find no escape from the look that dismays you.

Cleo. O Cæsar, what a wounding shame is this,
That thou, vouchsafing here to visit me,
Doing the honour of thy lordliness
To one so meek, that mine own servant should
Parcel the sum of my disgraces by
Addition of his envy! Say, good Cæsar,
That I some lady trifles have reserved,
Immoment toys, things of such dignity
As we greet modern friends withal; and say,
Some nobler token I have kept apart
For Livia and Octavia, to induce
Their mediation; must I be unfolded
With one that I have bred? The gods! it smites me
Beneath the fall I have. [*To Seleucus*] Prithee, go hence;

171. [*To Seleucus*] Johnson.

161. *meek*] Malone: "tame, subdued by adversity.... Cleopatra, in any other sense, was not eminent for meekness."

162, 163. *Parcel . . . envy*] The *New Eng. Dict.* observes that the verb here has not been satisfactorily explained, and cites the versions of Johnson ("To make up into a mass") and Schmidt ("To enumerate by items, specify"). Johnson does not explain how he takes *addition*, on which much depends, and, in any case, if *parcel* means what he says, *sum* is rather unnecessary. Schmidt, like Delius, takes *addition* as "the summing up of numbers," which suits his sense of *parcel* and yields, practically, "reckons up my disgraces by his malicious adding up *or* counting." But Seleucus had not done this: what he did was to increase the number of disgraces by one more, a sense at least met by Malone —whom most editors follow—with "add one more parcel or *item* to the sum of my disgraces, namely, his own malice." The difficulty is the doubtful possibility of Malone's interpretation of "parcel by addition." After the morris dance in *Summer's Last Will*, etc. (Nash), 1600 (Hazlitt's *Dodsley*, viii. 25), *Ver* says: "May it please my lord, this is the grand capital sum; but there are certain parcels behind, as you shall see," to which *Summer* rejoins: "Nay, nay, no more; for this is all too much." The participle *parcell'd* occurs in *Richard III.* II. ii. 81, but in sense, distributed, severally assigned: "Their woes are parcell'd, mine are general."

165. *Immoment*] Of no moment or consequence. No other example of the word is known.

166. *modern*] ordinary, common. Compare *Othello*, I. iii. 109; *Macbeth*, IV. iii. 170:—

"where violent sorrow seems
A *modern* ecstacy."

See also Jonson, *The Poetaster*, v. i. (Gifford's *Jonson*, ed. Cunningham, line 256 *b*): "Alas! that were no *modern* consequence," etc. The present-day sense was also in use. It is probably the sense in Marston's *Scourge of Villanie*, ix. 45: "O what a tricksie, lerned, nicking strain Is this applauded, senselesse, *modern* vain"; and certainly in *Jack Drum's Entertainment*, 1601, iv. 37 (*School of Shakespeare*, 1878, II. 183): "Brother, how like you of our *modern* wits? How like you the new Poet *Mellidus?*" In the same play, IV. 100 (*ibid.* 185): "Indeed I yeeld, 'tis *moderne* policie, To kisse euen durt that plaisters vp our wants," the sense is as likely, or more so, to be "common."

168. *Livia*] Cæsar's wife.

169, 170. *unfolded With*] exposed by. *Unfold* has a similar sense in *Othello*, IV. ii. 141; v. i. 21. For *with* = by, see *The Winter's Tale*, v. i. 113; v. ii. 68; *King Lear*, II. iv. 308, etc.

Or I shall show the cinders of my spirits
Through the ashes of my chance: wert thou a man,
Thou wouldst have mercy on me.

Cæs. Forbear, Seleucus.

[*Exit Seleucus.*

Cleo. Be it known, that we, the greatest, are misthought
For things that others do; and, when we fall,
We answer others' merits in our name,
Are therefore to be pitied.

Cæs. Cleopatra,
Not what you have reserved, nor what acknowledged,
Put we i' the roll of conquest: still be 't yours;
Bestow it at your pleasure, and believe,

174. *Exit . . .*] Capell; omitted Ff. 177. *merits*] comma in Ff, omitted by Johnson. *name,*] *name;* Johnson; no comma Ff.

172, 173. *cinders . . . chance*] The metaphor from fire concealed under ashes is very frequent. See II. ii. 13 *ante;* Sidney's *Arcadia*, ii. (1725 ed. i. p. 202): "so truly the cold ashes laid upon my fire, did not take the nature of fire from it. Full often hath my breast swollen with keeping my sighs imprisoned," etc.; R. Tailor's *The Hog hath lost his Pearle*, I. i. (Hazlitt's *Dodsley*, xi. 431):—

"I am that spark, sir, though now raked up in ashes;
Yet when it pleaseth fortune's chaps to blow
Some gentler gale upon me, I may then
From forth of embers rise and shine again."

Jonson uses it very nobly in *Sejanus*, I. i. Cleopatra says that the fires of her nature are within an ace of showing that they are not utterly overwhelmed by the ashes to which her power and prosperity (see on *chance*, III. x. 36 *ante*) have been reduced; in plain English, that her misfortunes have not subdued her past a dangerous resentment. Dr. Hudson, however, adopts *spirit* (S. Walker conj. and Collier MS.) for *spirits* (used III. xiii. 69 *ante*) —an unnecessary change—and Dr. Ingleby's "correction" (*Shakespeare Hermeneutics*, 1875, p. 158) of *glance* for *chance*, on the ground that "neither *my chance*, nor *mischance* [Hanmer], nor *my change* [S. Walker conj.], appears to answer the occasion or the speaker's mood: we seem," he says, "to need some word referring directly to Cleopatra's own person or personal appearance." Why?

174. *Forbear*] equivalent to "withdraw." Compare *Forbear me*, I. ii. 118 *ante*.

175. *misthought*] misjudged. Compare *3 Henry VI.* II. v. 108: "How will the country . . . *Misthink* the king and not be satisfied!"

177. *We answer . . . name*] We answer (are accountable) in our own names for the demerits (or misdeeds) of others. Compare *Stukeley*, line 1126 (Simpson's *School of Shakspere*, i. 204): "No sir I will not, and will *answer* it." The observation is general, or Cleopatra has forgotten that she has practically acknowledged the particular delinquency. Delius separates "in our name" from "answer," and makes "others' merits in our name" = what others have misdone in our name; but the connection with "answer" is too probable to be lightly dismissed, admitting this expansion to be possible. *Merits* and *demerits* were used interchangeably. Compare Braithwaite, *Strappado for the Diuell*, 1615 (reprint 1878, p. 174):—

"That those which wil not labour they should sterue,
(For rightly so their *merits* do deserue," etc.,

with *Coriolanus*, I. i. 276: "Opinion . . . shall Of his *demerits* rob Cominius."

Cæsar's no merchant, to make prize with you
Of things that merchants sold. Therefore be cheer'd;
Make not your thoughts your prisons: no, dear queen;
For we intend so to dispose you as
Yourself shall give us counsel. Feed, and sleep:
Our care and pity is so much upon you,
That we remain your friend; and so, adieu.

Cleo. My master, and my lord!

Cæs. Not so. Adieu.

[*Flourish. Exeunt Cæsar and his Train.*

Cleo. He words me, girls, he words me, that I should not
Be noble to myself: but, hark thee, Charmian.

[*Whispers Charmian.*

Iras. Finish, good lady; the bright day is done,
And we are for the dark.

Cleo. Hie thee again:
I have spoke already, and it is provided;
Go put it to the haste.

Char. Madam, I will.

Re-enter DOLABELLA.

Dol. Where is the queen?

Char. Behold, sir. [*Exit.*

Cleo. Dolabella!

190, 191. *He . . . Charmian*] As Hanmer; three lines in Ff, ending *me* (the second), *selfe, Charmian.* 191. [*Whispers . . .*] Theobald; omitted in Ff. 196. *Where is*] Pope; *Where's* F. [*Exit*] omitted in Ff; *Exit Charmian* placed here by Capell, line 195 Theobald.

182. *make prize with you*] This usually escapes comment, but Deighton explains "with you" as "together with you," quoting *Richard III.* III. vii. 187: "widow . . . Made *prize* and purchase of his lustful eye." Compare also Pearson's Brome (*Works*, i. 159, *The Novella*, IV. ii.): "You 'l give me leave To make *prize* of her if I can," etc. Schmidt, however, explains *prize* as *estimation*, quoting *Cymbeline*, III. vi. 77, *King Lear*, II. i. 122, leaving us to speculate whether he takes "make," etc., as make estimation "like you" (as Deighton understands him), *or* (referring to the goods), in the same category with you, *or*, finally, make estimation along with you, *i.e.* enter into the question of reservations with you ("whether 'tis exactly valued, Not petty things admitted"), a tempting sense if *prize* can really equal estimation in the sense of valuation. But its *proved* sense is so far value, and estimation in that sense only.

184. *Make not . . . prisons*] Johnson: "Be not a prisoner in imagination, when in reality you are free." Compare Bacon, *Device on the Queen's Day* (1595), "The Hermit's Speech in the Presence": "there is no *prison* to the *prison* of the thoughts, which are free under the greatest tyrants."

195. *the haste*] Compare *i' the haste* for "in great haste" (*King Lear*, II. i. 26).

196-206. *Dolabella! . . .*] Compare North, *ante*, p. lviii.

Dol. Madam, as thereto sworn by your command,
Which my love makes religion to obey,
I tell you this: Cæsar through Syria
Intends his journey, and within three days
You with your children will he send before:
Make your best use of this: I have perform'd
Your pleasure and my promise.
Cleo. Dolabella,
I shall remain your debtor.
Dol. I your servant.
Adieu, good queen; I must attend on Cæsar.
Cleo. Farewell, and thanks. [*Exit Dolabella.*
Now, Iras, what think'st thou?
Thou, an Egyptian puppet, shall be shown
In Rome, as well as I: mechanic slaves
With greasy aprons, rules, and hammers, shall
Uplift us to the view; in their thick breaths,
Rank of gross diet, shall we be enclouded,
And forced to drink their vapour.
Iras. The gods forbid!
Cleo. Nay, 'tis most certain, Iras: saucy lictors
Will catch at us like strumpets; and scald rhymers
Ballad us out o' tune: the quick comedians

203, 204. *Dolabella . . . debtor*] As Pope; one line Ff. 206. *Exit . . .*] Capell; *Exit* Ff, after *Cæsar.* 207. *shall*] F; *shalt* F 2 and edd. 215. *Ballad*] F 2; *Ballads* F. *o'*] Theobald; *a* F.

207. ***an Egyptian puppet***] An allusion to the innumerable puppet shows of the time, which drew their subjects from contemporary events, as well as popular plays, and history, sacred and profane. See Jonson, *Bartholomew Fair*, v. 1.: "O, the motions that I, Lanthorn Leatherhead, have given light to, in my time, since my Master Pod died! Jerusalem was a stately thing, and so was Nineveh, and the City of Norwich, and Sodom and Gomorrah, with the rising of the prentices, and pulling down the bawdy-houses there upon Shrove-Tuesday; but the Gun-powder Plot, there was a get-penny!" etc. With what follows, compare IV. xii. 33 *et seq.* and v. ii. 55-57 *ante.*

209. *rules*] Instruments for ruling straight lines, and measuring short lengths, used by carpenters, etc. Compare *Julius Cæsar*, I. i. 7: "Where is thy leather apron and thy *rule?*" and Sylvester's Du Bartas, *The Magnificence*, 1621 ed. p. 447:—

"Where e'r she [Wisdom] go, she never goes without
Compasse and *Rule*, Measure and weights about."

214. *scald*] scabbed, scurvy. So in *Henry V.* v. i. 5: "the rascally, *scauld*, beggarly, lousy, pragging knave, Pistol," etc.

215. *Ballad us*] Compare *Andromana*, v. ii. (Hazlitt's *Dodsley*, xiv. 267):—

"I shall be grown discourse for grooms and footboys,
Be *balladed*, and sung to filthy tunes."

Extemporally will stage us, and present
Our Alexandrian revels; Antony
Shall be brought drunken forth, and I shall see
Some squeaking Cleopatra boy my greatness
I' the posture of a whore.

Iras. O the good gods!

Cleo. Nay, that's certain.

Iras. I'll never see't; for I am sure my nails
Are stronger than mine eyes.

Cleo. Why, that's the way
To fool their preparation, and to conquer
Their most absurd intents.

Re-enter CHARMIAN.

Now, Charmian!
Show me, my women, like a queen: go fetch
My best attires: I am again for Cydnus,
To meet Mark Antony: sirrah Iras, go.
Now, noble Charmian, we'll dispatch indeed;

219. *squeaking Cleopatra boy*] . . . *Boy* F; *speaking-Cleopatra-Boy* Ff 2, 3 (F 4 omits first hyphen). 222. *my*] F 2; *mine* F. 223-225. *Why . . . Charmian*] As Rowe; three lines in Ff, ending *preparation, intents, Charmian.* 224. *to conquer*] Ff 2-4 omit *to.* 225. *absurd*] F; *assur'd* Theobald. 227. *Cydnus*] Theobald; *Cidnus* Rowe; *Cidrus* F. 228, 229. *go. Now, . . . indeed;*] *go* (*Now . . . indeede,*) F; Rowe removed parenthesis.

Massinger deplores the plague of ballads at the end of *The Bondman*, in a longer passage containing these lines:—

"Let but a chapel fall, or a street be fired,
A foolish lover hang himself for pure love,
Or any such like accident, and, before
They are cold in their graves, some damn'd ditty 's made," etc.

215. *quick*] Malone: "lively, inventive, quick-witted," for Johnson's "gay inventive."

216. *stage us, and present*] So Jonson, *Poetaster*, III. i.: "I hear you 'll bring me o' the *stage* there; you 'll play me, they say; I shall be presented by a sort of copper-laced scoundrels of you: life of Pluto! an you *stage* me, stinkard," etc.

219. *boy*] English, unlike Continental practice, confined female parts to boys or young men on public stages, till a clause in the patent granted to D'Avenant in Jan. 1662-63 provided: "That, whereas the women's parts in plays have hitherto been acted by men in the habits of women, at which some have taken offence, we permit and give leave for the time to come, that all women's parts be acted by women." See D'Avenant, *Works*, 1872, i. lxvii. (*Prefatory Memoir*). In 1656, he had already experimented by giving the part of Ianthe in his musical piece, *The Siege of Rhodes*, to Mrs. Coleman. See *ibid.* lxiv.

227. *I . . . Cydnus*] See II. ii. 187 *et seq.*, *ante*.

228. *sirrah*] Women were often addressed thus. Compare *Ralph Roister Doister*, IV. viii. 2: "Ah *sirrha* now, Custance," etc. Philippa calls Violetta *sirrah* in *The Widow*, III. ii. 28 (Bullen's *Middleton*, v. 175). See also on IV. xv. 85 *ante*, and examples in Pearson's *Dekker*, ii. 383, illustrating *Westward Hoe*, p. 292.

And, when thou hast done this chare, I'll give thee leave
To play till doomsday. Bring our crown and all.
Wherefore's this noise? [*Exit Iras. A noise within.*

Enter a Guardsman.

Guard. Here is a rural fellow
That will not be denied your highness' presence:
He brings you figs.
Cleo. Let him come in. [*Exit Guardsman.*
What poor an instrument
May do a noble deed! he brings me liberty.
My resolution's placed, and I have nothing
Of woman in me: now from head to foot
I am marble-constant; now the fleeting moon
No planet is of mine.

Re-enter Guardsman, with Clown bringing in a basket.

Guard. This is the man.
Cleo. Avoid, and leave him. [*Exit Guardsman.*
Hast thou the pretty worm of Nilus there,
That kills and pains not?
Clown. Truly, I have him: but I would not be the party
that should desire you to touch him, for his biting is

232. *Exit . . .*] Malone; Ff omit *Exit Iras;* Capell has *Exit Iras. Charmian falls to adjusting Cleopatra's Dress. Noise within.* 235. *What*] F; *How* F 2. 239. *marble-constant*] hyphened by Capell. 240. *Re-enter . . .*] Globe; *Enter Guardsman, and Clowne* Ff; Rowe adds: *with a Basket.*

230. *chare*] See on IV. xv. 75 *ante*, and compare *Sir Thomas More* (Shakes. Society, 1844, p. 37): "This *charre* being charde, then all our debt is payd."

232, etc. *Here . . . rural fellow . . .*] See North, *ante*, pp. lviii-ix.

235. *What poor an instrument*] Abbot (*Shakes. Gram.* § 422) treating of transposition of the article, observes on this passage that "we can say 'how poor an instrument,' regarding 'how' as an adverb, and 'how poor' as an adverbialised expression, but not 'what poor an instrument,' because 'what' has almost lost with us its adverbial force."

239. *marble-constant*] Philoclea, in Sidney's *Arcadia*, bk. ii., inscribed her vows of chastity on marble; but subsequently blaming her love for Zelmane, composed other verses to subjoin to the former, confessing "how ill agree in one, A woman's hand with *constant marble* stone."

fleeting moon] As at III. xiii. 153, 154 *q.v.*, Capell thinks that Cleopatra's imitation of the goddess Isis, the moon goddess, is alluded to. The suggestion here is originally Warburton's.

242. *worm*] snake; an old and common sense. So in *Cymbeline*, III. iv. 37; "outvenoms all the *worms* of Nile"; Jonson, *Sejanus*, v. i.: "T' express a *worm*, a snake!"

immortal; those that do die of it do seldom or never recover.

Cleo. Rememberest thou any that have died on 't?

Clown. Very many, men and women too. I heard of one of them no longer than yesterday: a very honest woman, but something given to lie; as a woman should not do, but in the way of honesty: how she died of the biting of it, what pain she felt: truly, she makes a very good report o' the worm; but he that will believe all that they say, shall never be saved by half that they do: but this is most falliable, the worm 's an odd worm.

Cleo. Get thee hence; farewell.

Clown. I wish you all joy of the worm.

[*Setting down his basket.*

Cleo. Farewell.

Clown. You must think this, look you, that the worm will do his kind.

Cleo. Ay, ay; farewell.

Clown. Look you, the worm is not to be trusted but in the keeping of wise people; for, indeed, there is no goodness in the worm.

Cleo. Take thou no care; it shall be heeded.

Clown. Very good. Give it nothing, I pray you, for it is not worth the feeding.

Cleo. Will it eat me?

Clown. You must not think I am so simple but I know the divell himself will not eat a woman: I know that a woman is a dish for the gods, if the divell dress her not. But, truly, these same whoreson divels do the

248. *Rememberest*] Dyce; *Remember'st* F. 256. *falliable*] F; *fallible* F 2 and edd. 259. [*Setting . . .*] Capell; Ff omit. 272. *diuell*] F. 274, 276. *diuels*] F.

256. *falliable*] Editors read *fallible* with F 2, but the odd form may be as intentional as the positions of *all* and *half* in the preceding clause, which Warburton wished to transpose.

262. *his kind*] what his nature dictates. Compare "the deed of *kind*" (*The Merchant of Venice*, I. iii. 86); Jonson, *The New Inn*, III. ii.: "She did her *kind*, according to her latitude"; Fuller, *The Profane State*, v. xviii., 1648, p. 477: "Diseases do but their *kind*, if they kill, and an evil expected, is the lesse evil: but no such Torment as to die of the remedie," etc.

gods great harm in their women; for in every ten that they make, the divels mar five.

Cleo. Well, get thee gone; farewell.

Clown. Yes, forsooth: I wish you joy o' the worm. [*Exit.*

Re-enter IRAS *with a robe, crown, etc.*

Cleo. Give me my robe, put on my crown; I have
Immortal longings in me: now no more
The juice of Egypt's grape shall moist this lip:
Yare, yare, good Iras; quick. Methinks I hear
Antony call; I see him rouse himself
To praise my noble act; I hear him mock
The luck of Cæsar, which the gods give men
To excuse their after wrath. Husband, I come:
Now to that name my courage prove my title!
I am fire and air; my other elements
I give to baser life. So; have you done?
Come then, and take the last warmth of my lips.
Farewell, kind Charmian, Iras, long farewell.

[*Kisses them. Iras falls and dies.*

Re-enter . . .] Capell (substantially), but Malone added *crown;* omitted in Ff. 291. *Kisses . . .*] Malone; *Kissing them.* Hanmer; *Kissing them. Iras falls* Capell; omitted in Ff.

279. *robe, . . . crown*] Compare North, *ante*, p. lix.

280. *Immortal longings*] longings for immortality.

282. *Yare, yare*] quick, quick. See II. ii. 211 *ante*, etc., and compare Chapman (*Plays*, ed. Shepherd, 105), *The Gentleman Usher*, v. i.: "some false alarms To make men *yare* and wary of their foe."

288. *my other elements*] *i.e.* earth and water, as man was thought to be composed of the four elements, whose relative proportions determined his character in each case. Compare *Henry V.* III. vii. 22, 23, of the Dauphin's horse: "he is pure air and fire; and the dull *elements* of earth and water never appear in him"; *Twelfth Night*, II. iii. 10; *Julius Cæsar*, v. v. 73. There is a full discussion of the matter in Sylvester's *Du Bartas*, week 1, day 2, pp. 20-22 in 1621 ed., from which is:—

"For, in our Flesh, our Bodie's Earth remains:
Our vitall spirits, our Fire and Aire possess:
And last, our Water in our humours rests."

289. *I give . . . life*] According to Deighton, "I leave to be eaten by worms." I doubt the idea's being so definite. "Fire and air" are that part of Cleopatra which she supposes to escape through death to immortal life: her other elements she leaves with the *baser* conditions she is quitting, baser whether compared with the new life or with death, by which that is to be nobly attained. In my view it is simply life in a general sense, the abstract idea of life as opposed to death, that is implied.

291. *Charmian, Iras*] So the folio; with the result in sound of slow, unbroken movement befitting farewells and in sense, of uniting both women in the long adieu. The usual separative pointing, *Charmian; Iras*, gains nothing but a paltry contrast of the halves of the line.

Have I the aspic in my lips? Dost fall?
If thou and nature can so gently part,
The stroke of death is as a lover's pinch,
Which hurts, and is desired. Dost thou lie still?
If thus thou vanishest, thou tell'st the world
It is not worth leave-taking.

Char. Dissolve, thick cloud, and rain, that I may say,
The gods themselves do weep!

Cleo. This proves me base:
If she first meet the curled Antony,
He 'll make demand of her, and spend that kiss
Which is my heaven to have. Come, thou mortal wretch,
[*To an asp, which she applies to her breast.*
With thy sharp teeth this knot intrinsicate
Of life at once untie: poor venomous fool,
Be angry, and despatch. O, couldst thou speak,
That I might hear thee call great Cæsar ass
Unpolicied!

Char. O eastern star!

302. [*To . . .*] Capell (substantially); *To the Serpent*] Pope; omitted in Ff. 306, 307. *That . . . unpolicied*] As Pope; one line Ff.

292. *aspic*] The form of the word used by North (see *ante*, p lix.) and others. So in *Othello*, III. iii. 450.

Dost fall] Steevens: "Iras must be supposed to have applied an asp to her arm while her mistress was settling her dress, or I know not why she should fall so soon." I am rather inclined to agree with Delius that Iras is meant to die of grief at parting from her mistress. After all, the improbability is little, if any, greater than that connected with the death of Enobarbus.

300. *curled*] Probably she thinks of Antony as she first saw him, "barber'd ten times o'er" (II. ii. 224 *ante*), again set off to the best advantage for this meeting, as she herself will be (lines 226-228 *ante*) in "her best attires," "again for Cydnus, To meet Mark Antony." Shakespeare alludes to the fashion of his own day, as in *Othello*, I. ii. 68: "The wealthy *curled* darlings of our nation." Compare Lyly, *Mydas*, III. ii. (Fairholt's *Lyly*, ii. 29): "A low *curle* on your head like a bull, or dangling locke like a spaniell? . . . your love-lockes wreathed with a silken twist, or shaggie to fall on your shoulders?"

301. *He 'll make demand . . . kiss*] Johnson: "He will enquire of her concerning me, and kiss her for giving him intelligence."

302. *mortal*] deadly. Similarly used of a creature in *2 Henry VI.* III. ii. 263 ("The *mortal* worm"), and elsewhere in Shakespeare.

wretch] merely = creature. Compare *Othello*, III. iii. 90: "Excellent *wretch!*"

303. *intrinsicate*] intricate. The word, as has been pointed out, is ridiculed as a "new-minted epithet" in Marston's preface to his *Scourge of Villanie*, 1598, and affectedly used by Amorphus in Jonson's *Cynthia's Revels* (in the 1616 folio additions), v. ii. 14: "Yet there are certaine *puntilioes*, or (as I may more nakedly insinuate them) certaine *intrinsecate* strokes, and wardes, to which your actiuitie is not yet amounted." See *King Lear*, II. ii. 81, for *intrinse* in same sense.

Cleo. Peace, peace!
Dost thou not see my baby at my breast,
That sucks the nurse asleep?
Char. O, break! O, break!
Cleo. As sweet as balm, as soft as air, as gentle,—
O Antony!—Nay, I will take thee too:
[*Applying another asp to her arm.*
What should I stay— [*Dies.*
Char. In this vile world? So, fare thee well.
Now boast thee, death, in thy possession lies
A lass unparallel'd. Downy windows, close;
And golden Phœbus never be beheld
Of eyes again so royal! Your crown's awry;
I 'll mend it, and then play.

Enter the Guard, rushing in.

First Guard. Where is the queen?
Char. Speak softly, wake her not.

311. [*Applying . . .*] Theobald; omitted in Ff. 313. *vile*] Capell; *wilde* F. 317. *awry*] Rowe, ed. 2; *away* F. 318. *play.*] Capell; *play*— F. *Enter . . .*] Rowe; *Enter the Guard rustling in, and Dolabella* Ff. 319. *Where is*] Hanmer; *Where 's* F.

308. *baby*] In Peele's *Edward I.*, 1593 (*Works*, ed. Bullen, i. 187), the same idea occurs to Queen Elinor, when she cruelly kills the Mayoress by applying a serpent to her breast: "Why, so; now she is a nurse.—Suck on, sweet *babe*." See also *Christ's Tears*, etc., 1593-94 (Grosart's *Nashe*, prose, iv. pp. 211, 212): "At thy breasts (as at Cleopatraes) aspisses shall be put out to nurse."

311. [*Applying another . . . arm*] One aspic (biting the arm only, not the breast) is mentioned in Plutarch, though some Latin writers speak of two: see *ante*, pp. lix, lx; and Sir T. Browne, *Vulgar and Common Errors*, v. xii., "Of the Picture describing the death of Cleopatra," speaking of the breast being indicated as the place in some writers, says: "But herein the mistake was easy, it being the custom in capital malefactors to apply them unto the breast; as the author *De Theriaca ad Pisonem*, an eye-witness hereof in Alexandria, where Cleopatra died, determineth; 'I beheld,' saith he, 'in Alexandria, how suddenly these serpents bereave a man of life; for when any one is condemned to this kind of death, if they intend to use him favourably, that is, to despatch him suddenly, they fasten an asp unto his breast, and bidding him walk about, he presently perisheth thereby.'" Halliwell (folio ed.) quotes this passage.

312. *What*] *Why*, as in *King Lear*, II. iv. 264, 266.

313. *vile*] F *wilde* is probably a misprint of *vilde*, a very common form of *vile*; but some editors retain *wild* = desert, savage. Compare "*vilde* lady!" IV. xiv. 22 *ante*. Here I respect Capell's modernization.

315. *windows*] eyelids, as in *Romeo and Juliet*, IV. i. 100: "thy eyes' *windows* fall"; *Cymbeline*, II. ii. 22, and elsewhere.

318. *play*] a touching reference to her mistress's words, line 231 *ante*.

First Guard. Cæsar hath sent—
Char. Too slow a messenger. [*Applies an asp.*
O, come apace, despatch! I partly feel thee.
First Guard. Approach, ho! All's not well: Cæsar's beguiled.
Sec. Guard. There's Dolabella sent from Cæsar; call him.
First Guard. What work is here! Charmian, is this well done?
Char. It is well done, and fitting for a princess
Descended of so many royal kings.
Ah, soldier! [*Dies.*

Re-enter DOLABELLA.

Dol. How goes it here?
Sec. Guard. All dead.
Dol. Cæsar, thy thoughts
Touch their effects in this: thyself art coming
To see perform'd the dreaded act which thou
So sought'st to hinder.
[*Within* 'A way there, a way for Cæsar!'

Re-enter CÆSAR *and all his Train, marching.*

Dol. O sir, you are too sure an augurer;
That you did fear is done.
Cæs. Bravest at the last,
She levell'd at our purposes, and, being royal,

320. [*Applies . . .*] omitted in Ff; *Charmian and Iras apply the asp.* Rowe. 324. *What . . . done*] As Rowe; two lines in Ff, ending *Charmian?* and *done? here! Charmian, is*] *here?—Charmian, is* Capell; *heere Charmian? Is* F. 331. [*Within.*] Capell; *All* F. *A . . ., a . . .*] F; *Make . . ., make . . .* F 3. *Re-enter . . .*] *Enter . . .* Ff, after *hinder.*

320 *ad fin.*] *Cæsar hath sent—*] See North, *ante*, pp. lix-lx.

329. *Touch their effects*] Meet with realization. Compare *King Lear*, IV. ii. 15:—

"Our wishes on the way
May prove *effects*";

Rape of Lucrece, 353: "Thoughts are but dreams till their *effects* be tried."

334. *levell'd at*] guessed at; a tropical sense from levelling a weapon to take aim, which also occurs in *The Merchant of Venice*, I. ii. 41. It means *aimed at* in *Nobody and Somebody* (Simpson's *School of Shakspere*, i. 298): "My thoughts are *leveld* at a bloody end"; and for the concrete sense, compare Sylvester's *Du Bartas*, ed. 1621, week 1, day 7, lines 22, 23: "A skilfull Gunner with his left eye winking, *Levels* directly at an oak hard by."

Took her own way. The manner of their deaths?
I do not see them bleed.
Dol. Who was last with them?
First Guard. A simple countryman, that brought her figs:
This was his basket.
Cæs. Poison'd, then.
First Guard. O Cæsar,
This Charmian lived but now; she stood and spake:
I found her trimming up the diadem
On her dead mistress; tremblingly she stood,
And on the sudden dropp'd.
Cæs. O noble weakness!
If they had swallow'd poison, 'twould appear
By external swelling: but she looks like sleep,
As she would catch another Antony
In her strong toil of grace.
Dol. Here, on her breast,
There is a vent of blood and something blown:
The like is on her arm.
First Guard. This is an aspic's trail: and these fig-leaves
Have slime upon them, such as the aspic leaves
Upon the caves of Nile.
Cæs. Most probable
That so she died; for her physician tells me
She hath pursued conclusions infinite
Of easy ways to die. Take up her bed;
And bear her women from the monument:
She shall be buried by her Antony:

349-351. *This . . . Nile*] As Johnson; three lines in Ff, divided after *traile, such.* 351. *caves*] Ff 2-4; *caues* F; *canes* Barry conj.

337. *simple*] of humble degree. Compare *King Lear*, IV. vi. 155: "yond *simple* thief."

344. *external swelling*] Compare North, *ante*, pp. li, lix, and see on line 311 *ante*. There are many allusions to the painlessness of the death caused by asps: in Sylvester's Du Bartas, *The Lawe* (p. 350 in 1621 ed.), the absence of swelling is also noted:—

"So th' Aspick pale . . . doth spet
. . . . . .
A drowzy bane, that inly creeps, and burns
So secretly, that without sense of pain,
Scar, wound, or swelling, soon the Partie 's slain."

347. *blown*] swollen. See on IV. vi. 34 *ante*.

353. *conclusions*] experiments, as in *Hamlet*, III. iv. 195; *Lucrece*, 1160, etc. So Braithwaite, *His Odes*, 1621, No. 7, verse 6:—

"*These, conclusions* try on man, *Surgeon and Physician*," etc.

For the physician's information, compare North, *ante*, pp. l-li.

No grave upon the earth shall clip in it
A pair so famous. High events as these
Strike those that make them; and their story is
No less in pity than his glory which
Brought them to be lamented. Our army shall
In solemn show attend this funeral,
And then to Rome. Come, Dolabella, see
High order in this great solemnity. [*Exeunt.*

364. [*Exeunt*] *Exeunt omnes.* Ff.

357. *clip*] clasp. See on IV. viii. 8 *ante*.

359. *Strike . . . make them*] Afflict those whose actions have caused them. A reflection corresponding with V. i. 36 *et seq.*, *ante*: "I have follow'd thee to this, . . . but yet let me lament," etc.

360, 361. *No less . . . lamented*] Apparently elliptical for: and the tale of these events is as pitiful as the renown of him who caused their lamentable nature is glorious. But in an uncritical perusal, the mind—and perhaps rightly after all—may refer *their* in *their story* to *A pair so famous*, and understand: and there is as much to pity in their story as glory for him who made them objects of pity.

APPENDIX I

"An arm-gaunt steed" (I. v. 48); and various supplemental notes.

IN favour of *arm-gaunt*, or at least its first syllable, are (1) the frequent application to *horse* or *steed* of epithets from arms, as war-apparelled, barbed, harnessed, all-armed, as in Drayton's *Baron's War*, vi. 85 (ed. Morley, p. 158), "why fell I not from that all-armed horse On which I rode before the gates of Gaunt," etc., (2) the existence of like compounds, as the Chaucerian *arm-greet* (as great as one's arm), *arm-strong* (strong of arm: *Locrine*, I. i.; III. i.; III. iv.), etc.; and the fact that *arm* was not restricted to the limbs of man (see *New Eng. Dict. s.v.*). (*a*) From *gaunt* = lean, we have suggested meanings: worn lean by much service in war (Warburton), gaunt by bearing arms (Collier), thin-shouldered (Seward, pref. to *Beaumont and Fletcher:* in 1778 ed. p. lxxi., note), thin as one's arm (Halliwell, who compares *arm-greet*, as above), having lean fore-limbs (*Temple Shakespeare*), ? with gaunt limbs (*New. Eng. Dict.*). The following from Sylvester's Du Bartas (*The Handycrafts*, p. 227 in 1621 ed.) favours the latter meanings in giving some characteristics of "a gallant Horse":—

> With Pasterns short, vpright (but yet in mean);
> Dry sinewie shanks; strong, flesh-less knees, and lean;
> With Hart-like legs, etc.

(*b*) From derived senses of *gaunt:* looking fierce in armour (Boswell: who conjectures a sense "fierce" for *gaunt* from its being used of animals made savage by hunger), hungry for battle (Thiselton; relying on Jonson, *Catiline*, III. i.: "and let His own [*i.e.* Jove's] gaunt eagle fly at him and tire," a reference of Staunton's). In *New Eng. Dict.* under sense *hungry, greedy*, etc., I find: Smollett, *Reproof*, 125, "Gorg'd with our plunder, yet still gaunt for spoil," etc. (*c*) From *gaunt* as = gaunted, *i.e.* gloved, armour-gloved (Nicholson), gloved in arms (Schmidt). No evidence of the sense is

adduced: *Gaunters* occurs for Glovers in the list of crafts and plays, dated 1415, pr. in *York Plays*, ed. Toulmin Smith, 1881. (*d*) Schmidt suggests also: completely armed, harnessed; *or rather* lusty in arms, full of life and martial spirits, from another *gaunt* found in Old English, the German *ganz*, signifying "whole," "healthful," "lusty." The *English Dialect Dict.* (Wright) has *ganty* (of a horse) = frisky (Sussex), and I find in Braithwaite, *Barnabee's Iournall*, pt. 3 (ed. Hazlitt, 1876, sig. H 3), presumably in a somewhat similar sense:—

> Where were dainty Ducks, and gant ones,
> Wenches that could play the wantons, etc.

In the following, however, *gaunte* seems to mean slenderness in a maid: "hur medyll ys bothe gaunte and small" (*Anglia*, 10 Aug. 1908, p. 315, *Songs* temp. *Henry VIII.*, from Rawlinson MS. c. 813).

The chief emendations proposed are: *arm-girt* (Hanmer) *termagaunt* (Mason) *war-gaunt* (Jackson) *arrogaunt* (Boaden) *rampaunt* (Lettsom). As to *arm-girt*, *guirt* is a common spelling of *girt*, and the word (which Hudson adopts) retains the article *an* of the text. Singer urges this advantage on behalf of *arrogant* (adopted by himself, Delius, and Deighton), and cites "el cavallo arrogante" from Lope de Vega's *Aura-co Domado*. Kinnear quotes Velasquez, *Spanish Dict.*, for *arrogancia*, "stately carriage of a high-mettled horse," but objects the absence of this sense in English. I have one suggestion to add; if Spenser could call the horse of a luxurious courtier, with its trappings, "a gowned beast," Alexas might conceivably call that of Antony turned warrior, an *arm-gowned* steed: see *Mother Hubberd's Tale* (*Works of Spenser*, Globe ed. p. 519 b), of "the brave Courtier":—

> Without a gowned beast him fast beside,
> A vaine ensample of the Persian pride.

The spelling might be *gownd* or even *gound*. See also *The Misfortunes of Arthur*, III. iii. (Hazlitt's Dodsley, IV. p. 308):—

> yea, let that princock come,
> With sudden soldiers pamper'd up in peace,
> And gowned troops and wantons worn with ease.

I. ii. 28. *Herod of Jewry*] Dr. Furness cites, and unwillingly inclines to accept, the suggestion of Th. Zielinski (*Philologus*, p. 19) that in Charmian's speech, the child is Christ, and the three Kings are the three wise men, or three Kings [of Cologne] as they were usually called. The possibility rests on the suggestion in the words "three Kings" to an Elizabethan audience, the text, *Matthew* II. 8, in which Herod states his

desire to worship the young child, and the coincidence of dates. "The play opens in B.C. 40 and extends to B.C. 32 [30?]; if Charmian be now eighteen or twenty, she will be fifty in the year when Christ was born." Charmian, however, is speaking at the *beginning* of the play, and would consequently be nearer sixty than fifty at the required date.

II. ii. 64. *pace*] perhaps merely = guide, control here, but commentators have usually given it the full technical meaning, and this has also the authority of the *New Eng. Dict.*, which cites this passage as an example of the figurative use of the word in sense "To train (a horse) to pace; to exercise in pacing". *Cf. Pericles*, IV. vi. 68-70, "My lord, she's not paced yet; you must take some pains to work her to your manage". The persistence of the metaphor is seen in *thorough-paced*. A thorough-paced scoundrel is one accomplished in all the degrees of rascality, as the paced or trained horse is perfect in its paces, the trot, amble, etc.

II. v. 3. *billiards*] In a citation by Dr. Furness from A. A. Adee in *Lit. World*, 21 April, 1883, Boston, it is urged that "Shakespeare got the idea that billiards was an Egyptian game, and a favourite pastime of women" from Chapman, *The Blind Beggar of Alexandria*, 1598 [Plays, ed. Shepherd, p. 9]: "go, Aspasia, Send for some ladies to go play with you, At chess, at billiards, and at other game."

II. vii. 109. *holding*] The note beneath the text needs re-statement. The *New Eng. Dict.* gives "Holding. The burden of a song," with two examples as there stated, and presumably without intention to exclude either the primary or secondary meaning of *burden*—the representative (owing to etymological confusion) of Old French *bourdon*, Chaucer's *burdoun* in the *Prologue to the Canterbury Tales*, l. 673: "This Somonour bar to hym a stif burdoun". Probably the first example exemplifies the primary meaning, *viz.* bass or undersong, as in the line from Chaucer, the words "It is merrie in Haul," etc., being sung during the song at a lower pitch (see Naylor's *Shakespeare and Music*, 1896, pp. 23, 24). But in the second example, that from the text, the sense appears to be the secondary one of chorus or refrain, as given in the note, for an undersong delivered as in ll. 109, 110 would utterly drown the boy's song.

III. ii. 52. *were he a horse*] According to Madden (*Diary of Master William Silence*) "a cloud" was simply the absence of a white star. His authorities are Gervase Markham (*Cavalarice*) for the star as "an excellent good marke" and the viciousness of "the horse that hath no white at all"; and Sadler, *De*

Procreandis, etc., *equis*, 1587 : *Equus nebula* (*ut vulgo dicitur*) *in facie, cujus vultus tristis est et melancholicus, jure vituperatur.* Such a horse he says later (p. 339 in 1907 ed.) is Arcite's unlucky steed in *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, v. iv. 62, "a blacke one, owing Not a hayre worth of white," etc. The quotations from *New Eng. Dict.* on p. 92 *ante*, however, though later, witness to a more definite meaning. The Duke of Newcastle, who wrote both on horsemanship and the management of horses, uses the phrase something like Shakespeare in *The Triumphant Widow, or The Medley of Humours. A comedy*, 1677 (see extracts in Lamb's *Specimens*, Bohn's ed., p. 511), of a footpad going to execution :—

> *2nd Woman.* Look, what a down look he has!
> *1st Woman.* Ay, and what a cloud in his forehead, goody Twattle, mark that.
> *2nd Woman.* Ay, and such frowning wrinkles, I warrant you; not so much as a smile from him.

III. iii. 33. *As low as she would wish it*] I have lately met with the following examples of this expression to supplement Steevens' hitherto unsupported evidence of its currency (see note, p. 95): Sidney, *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia*, Bk. I (ed. 1725, l. 19): "This lowtish clown is such, that . . . and for his apparel, even as I would wish him"; Furetière, *Le Roman Bourgeois*, 1666 (F. Tulou, Paris, N.D., p. 245): "Il estoit aussi laid qu'on le puisse souhaitter, si tant est qu'on fasse des souhaits pour la laideur; mais je ne suis pas le premier qui parle ainsi". The wisher in these two cases is the hostile speaker; in Shakespeare the person criticized is apparently given the bad taste to prefer as well as possess a bad feature; in Steevens it is really doubtful to whom the and others) to substitute *you* for *she* in the text, and another English example would lend support: see Etherege, *The Man of Mode*, 1676, I. i., *Works*, 1715, p. 181: "Then she's as wild as you wou'd wish her."

III. v. 11. *up*] Dr. Furness advocates the sense "finished, done, as in the current phrase 'the game is up'" taking "till death . . . confine" in a general sense merely. But a strained sense must give way to a proved idiom: see Brome, *The Antipodes*, IV. xii. *ad fin.* :—

> *Ioy.* Sure your Lordship
> Meanes not to make your house our prison.
> *Let.* By
> My Lordship but I will for this one night.
> See, sir, the keyes are in my hand. Y'are *up*,
> As I am true Letoy.

III. xiii. 8. *nick'd*] The *New Eng. Dict.* has given ll. 7, 8, with some modern examples under sense, "To cut into or through; to cut short". An entirely new suggestion is due to Dr. Furness's perception that the metaphor in *itch* (which has hitherto been referred to *affection* only) may be connected with *nick'd*, which will then signify the effect upon the hair of some cutaneous disorder; this disorder expert authority has identified for him with ringworm.

IV. i. 12. *files*] *Shakespeare's England*, Oxford, 1916, I., iv., p. 114 and note, gives interesting detail about the file and drill in the 16th century, and throws light on the use of the word by the remark: "It must be added that the file was, in those days, the unit (to use a modern phrase) in which the strength of an army was expressed. Men took their places in the *files*, not in the *ranks* of an army."

IV. viii. 37. *tabourines*] The authority cited in the note on p. 151 calls the tabourine "the full-sized military drum," and Mr. Cowling (*Music on the Shakespearian Stage*, Camb., 1913, chap. iii., p. 42) says: "The big drum or tabourine was used for playing military marches," etc., and again: "It was on the drum or tabourine that the drummers played their 'alarums,' that is to say drum-rolls to indicate that a battle was being fought, and also 'retreats'. They were employed on the stage, and also behind the scenes if it was desired to imitate a distant battle." The *New Eng. Dict.*, however, says: "A kind of drum, less wide and longer than the tabor, and struck with one drumstick only, to accompany the sound of a flute which is played with the other hand"; and, after a few early 16th century examples, gives only *Troilus and Cressida*, IV. v. 275: "Beat loud the tabourines, let the trumpets blow". More appears to be wanted. The adjective "rattling" hardly seems to suit the big drum, and, on the other hand, for the occasions described, one drumstick to the sound of a flute does not seem noisy enough. *Shakespeare's England*, chap. xvii., § 2, vol. ii., p. 47, merely repeats *New Eng. Dict.*, and cites the passages from *Troilus and Cressida* and our text. In both it is not flutes but trumpets which sound with the tabourines.

IV. xii. 35. *spot*] Compare Bunyan, *The Pilgrim's Progress*, ed. Brown, 1887, p. 93: "They say You are a *spot* among Christians, and that Religion fareth the worse," etc.

IV. xii. 39-42. *'Tis well . . . many*] These lines, if they stood alone, might be explained: That you are gone is a good thing, if, etc.: but that you fell before my fury (a moment ago) would be a better, for one death might then have pre-

vented many [which your treacheries may yet cause]. But, taking account of ll. 47, 49, and xiv. 26 *post*, "The witch shall die," etc., the words appear to mean not a mere change of *opinion*, but a change of *intention*. The first tenses are then regular, but that in l. 42 becomes a real difficulty, and can only be guessed to refer to the remoter past, to which, on quite other grounds, Dr. Furness assigns it. The complete sense would then be: It is well you are gone, if life is worth having; but it *would be* better you *should fall* before my fury, for [had you done so long ago] one death might have prevented many [that have since happened].

v. ii. 200. *Intends his journey*] It may be that, as explained in *Shakespeare's England*, 1916, chap. xxx., vol. ii., p. 564, the Latin phrase *iter intendere* (to bend or direct one's course) is the guide to the sense here, and that "purpose" the sole meaning of *intend* to-day may mislead. If so, Dolabella uses the phrase in an anticipative sense for vividness' sake, for Cæsar is only as yet *resolved* to move:—

> within three days
> You with your children will he send *before*.

The case is different in *Sonnet* xxvii., "My thoughts . . . Intend a zealous pilgrimage to thee," for the lover's thoughts are already on their travels; and even in *Pericles*, I. ii. 116, "Tyre, I now look from thee then, and to Tarsus Intend my travel," for Pericles will go at once and secretly, and his first words, "Tyre," etc., project his thoughts forward. The *New Eng. Dict.*, *s.v.* †*b*, recognises purpose in an intransitive use of *intend* = To start on a journey, to set out, by adding "(sometimes app. ellipt. for 'intend to go or start,' purpose a journey)," and compares the ordinary transitive and contemporary uses (18) of intend = purpose, design. I am therefore not fully convinced that "designs" is not the sense here, for when the modern meanings of words are also old (as "purpose" is of *intend*) commentators must be on their guard against the attraction of more recondite meanings. "Well said!" sometimes means in Elizabethan what it appears to mean to a modern, although it frequently means "well done!"

v. ii. 216. *Extemporally*] Dr. Winifred Smith, in *The Commedia dell' Arte*, 1912, p. 182, after giving evidence of the visits of Italian players to England, and unmistakable references in plays, etc., to the Italian practice of improvisation, observes on this passage: "Whether Cleopatra's forecast . . . refers to the Italian practice is doubtful."

APPENDIX II

Her gentlewomen, like the Nereides,
So many mermaids, tended her i' the eyes,
And made their bends adornings (II. ii. 206-208).

THE discussion of this much vexed passage is necessarily lengthy, though the result be only a choice of unsatisfactory explanations. To begin with the last line only, referring to the note on II. ii. 207 for "tended her i' the eyes," thus Warburton: "bowed with so good an air that it added new graces to them." In the *Parliament of Criticks*, 1702, p. 27, occurs the expression, "standing upon the Bend of a Complement." Deighton makes the tableau receive benefit, not merely the nymphs: "lent fresh beauty to the picture by the grace with which they paid their homage"; and we might also substitute Cleopatra for the picture, or regard the *bends* as merely movements due to the performance of duties of attendance or navigation. A passage quoted by Malone—though not so applied—from Drayton's *Mortimeriados*, 4to, n.d. (slightly varied in *The Baron's Wars*, vi.), assists here:—

The naked nymphes, some up, some downe descending,
Small scattering flowres one at another flung,
With pretty turns their lymber bodies bending.

Some, again, make *bends* = glances—originally a suggestion of Malone, who "once thought *their bends* referred to Cleopatra's eyes, and not to her gentlewomen." "Her attendants," he says, "in order to learn their mistress's will, watched the motion of her eyes, the *bends* or movements of which added new lustre to her beauty." . . . He relied chiefly on *Julius Cæsar*, I. ii. 123: "And that same eye, whose bend doth awe the world": *bent* probably has the same sense in Stanyhurst's *Virgil*, iv. (Arber's Reprint, p. 108). "Nor thee father Saturne with his eyes bent rightlye behold-this?"

Some have transferred *bends* to the glances of the gentlewomen. Hudson cites with applause, "Mr. Crosby's explanation," of which the core is, "*regarded her* with such attention

and veneration as to reflect beauty on her; really making *her* more beautiful by their watchful and graceful looks," which, in practically identical language, is also Schmidt's version. Professor Herford has, "made the glances of their eyes an added grace to her."

I do not know that the common but neglected signification of *bend*, any ornamental band, tie, or sash, fillet or chaplet, ought to be omitted: *cf.* Shirley, *The Triumphs of Peace*, in a description of Numa: "and a white bend or diadem about his head," Jonson, *Masque of Hymen*, "her garments . . . girded unto her with a white bend," etc. In the fourth "Nuptiall Hymne" in Peacham's *Period of Mourning*, etc., 1613, occurs:

> Next *Venus* comes, with all her beauteous crew,
> Whom Dolphins in a shelly chariot drew.
> No Nymph was there but did some gift bestow,
> That did in Amphitrites bosom grow:
> *Cymothoe* brought a girdle passing faire
> Of silver, twisted with her Christall haire.
> Young *Spathale*, a pearely Carcanet,
> And *Clotho* Corrall good as she could get.
> Faire *Galatea* from the Persian Shore,
> Strange Iemmes and Flowers, some unknowne before,
> Which to ELIZA, as their loues they sent,
> (Herewith adorning *Venus* as she went), etc.

This passage is interesting as coinciding with that of Shakerley Marmion to be quoted later on (see p. 211) with regard to the adornment of Venus *during* her progress, and in relation to the sense of *bend* under discussion here, because the gifts partook of the nature of *bends*, more or less. It seems just within the bounds of possibility that "made their bends [*or* bends'] adornings" might = made their garlands ornaments of [Cleopatra], [*or* made their ornaments, consisting of chaplets, or garlands].

So far, it has not been necessary to interfere with the sense "in her presence" for "i' the eyes," l. 207. The following conjectures involve such interference; and first, as nearest related to the preceding, and, as in its case, merely as bound to pursue all trails in this quest, I ask whether "tended her i' the eyes" might not mean *tended her eyes*, as Heath supposed (see *A Revisal*, etc., 1765, p. 455), and amount to "artificially heightened their beauty." This merely implies that the part served is defined here, as we define, *e.g.* the part wounded, in "wounded him in the leg." Beaumont and Fletcher have—almost analogously—"her he killed in the eye" (*Philaster*, IV. i. 1679 fol. p. 32). As to the eyes and artifice, *cf.* Braithwaite, *A Strappado for*

the Diuell, 1615 (ed. Ebsworth, 1878, p. 108): "His crispled haire, his fixing of his eye, his ceruss-cheeke, and such effemnacie"; and especially Shakerley Marmion, *Cupid and Psyche*, 1637 (ed. Singer, 1820, p. 55) of Venus. I give the passage in full for its general relation to the subject, italicising here and there :—

> The graces came about her, and in haste
> What the rough seas or rude winds had misplac'd,
> Did recompose with art and studious care,
> Combing the cerule drops from her loose hair,
> Which, dry'd with rosy powder, they did fold,
> And bind it round up in a braid of gold.
> These wait about her person still, and pass
> Their judgment on her, equal with her glass.
>
> These are the only criticks that debate
> All beauty, and all fashions arbitrate:
> *These temper her ceruse, and paint, and limn*
> *Her face with oil, and put her in her trim:*
> Twelve other handmaids, clad in white array,
> Call'd the twelve Hours, and daughters of the day,
> Did help to dress her: there were added more,
> Twelve of the night, whose eyes were shadow'd o'er
> With dusky and black veils, lest Vulcan's light,
> Or vapours, should offend their bleared sight,
> When they her linen starch, or else prepare
> Strong distillations to make her fair.
> *These bring her baths and ointments for her eyes,*
> And provide cordials 'gainst she shall arise.
> These play on music, and perfume her bed,
> And snuff the candle while she lies to read
> Herself asleep: thus all, assign'd unto
> Their several office, had enough to do.
> And had they twenty times as many been,
> They all might be employ'd about the queen.
> *For though they used more reverence than at prayer,*
> And sat in council upon every hair,
> And every plait and posture of her gown,
> *Giving observance to each frequent frown;*
> And rather wish'd the state disorder'd were,
> Than the least implement that she did wear:
> As if, of all, that were the greatest sin,
> And that their fate were fasten'd to each pin:
> Though their whole life and study were to please,
> Yet such a sullen humour and disease
> Reign'd in her curious eyes, she ever sought,
> And scowling look'd, where she might find a fault;
> Yet felt she no distemper from the care
> Of other business, nor did any dare
> To interpose or put into her mind
> A thought of any either foe or friend,
> Receipt or payment, but they all were bent
> To place each jewel and each ornament,

If this possibility for "tended her i' the eyes" be admitted, the last line will signify, "made their (*i.e.* her eyes') brows (and lids?) ornamental to her." For the sense given to bends, there is no need to rely on expressions like that in "Bliss in our brows' bent," I. iii. 36 *ante*: for the actual word, see Richard James (1592-1638), *Poems*, ed. Grosart, p. 213, "A Defence of Red Haire":—

> A sweete stinking wanton pigmie girle
> T' have *bends* of ebonye, cleere teeth of perle,
> A sunbeame-passing smile, etc.,

for Dr. Grosart is clearly wrong in querying "bands or locks (of hair)" for *bends*. See too, Sylvester, Sonnet i. (of two with *An Ode . . . of Astræa*), "Browes bending quaintly your round Ebene Arks Smile that then Venus sooner Man besots."

There remain the very positive explanations of those who follow Jackson (*Shakespeare's Genius Justified*, 1819, pp. 291-293) in an appeal to nautical terms. Dr. Ingleby (*Shakespeare Hermeneutics*, p. 119) says: "We read, after Zachary Jackson, '*the* bends' adornings.' Both *eyes* and *bends* were parts of Cleopatra's barge." He understands these words in technical senses as the hawseholes and wales, or thickest planks in the ship's sides, respectively, and supposes Shakespeare to describe the mermaids as ornaments to the ship's *bends* while they were "tending the tackle and ropes" near the eyes. His arguments are (1) that North says, "some steering the helm, others tending the tackle and ropes of the barge"—which has some significance—(2) that the hardy soldier Enobarbus could not care for the curves of the mermaids' bodies, which is obviously of no value whatever. With regard to (1), as Rolfe points out, the part of North's description which corresponds to our passage, is "the statement that the gentlewomen were apparelled 'like the Graces,'" and not the words "others tending the tackle and ropes of the barge," to which "the counterpart in the play is *the silken tackle*, etc., which occupies the same position in the description." "Tended her" is surely also an obstacle to the banishment of the nymphs to the bows, or even to the stays, where Jackson had located the eyes.

Finally Mr. N. Hancock Prenter (in *Notes and Queries*, 9th Series, ix.) dispensing with Jackson's alteration of the text, comes nearer North's "tackle and ropes of the barge" by taking *bends* in the nautical sense of knots. He says: "I take Enobarbus' words to mean that the crew were busily engaged 'i' the eyes' (*i.e.* in the bow) attending to the various bends

or the rigging (North, 'ropes'); and by throwing over the whole process the indescribable charm that is all a woman's, especially when she is occupied with a work that we are accustomed to see performed by an ordinary rude ship's hand, these gentlewomen actually made the object of their work an additional ornament to the scene." Objections to Dr. Ingleby's version are equally applicable here: but besides, though we accept *eyes* = the bow, we must also turn knots into rigging, allow Jackson's and Dr. Ingleby's emendation of *their* to *the* to be rejected in the text and employed in the explanation, and *made their bends* to be equivalent to *attended to their bends*. If *their* refers to the nymphs, *made their bends* could only mean "made their knots," and *made . . . adornings* at most, made the knots (*let us grant even:* made the making of the knots) with which they united ropes, ornamental [to the scene?]: if to the eyes, the meaning must be still more circumscribed. No one can say that Shakespeare "wanted art" after this.

A good deal of stress is laid, both by Dr. Ingleby and Mr. Prenter, on a correspondence with North, and the point that Shakespeare is following him closely. The fact is that Shakespeare very naturally adds and omits throughout. The additions of poetical detail from l. 191 on are considerable, including the idea of the burnished throne which burned on the water, the perfume of the sails and its effect on the winds, the corresponding effect of the oars upon the water, the change from merely apparel like that of Venus to a superiority in person over Venus, the various colours of the fans and the whole of what refers to their effect. In the same lines he confines the music to flutes, and leaves us to understand it as on the barge, omits any allusion to Cleopatra's dress, and compresses "apparelled as painters do set forth god Cupid" into "like smiling Cupids." As he next omits "the Graces," and substitutes one mermaid for "some" at the helm, it does not appear why he could not dispense with the services of the rest as navigators. Mr. Prenter is concerned that "one solitary overworked 'gentlewoman'" should "mind the helm, pull the ropes, and lay on to the tackle with her 'flower-soft hands,'" but his sympathy is probably thrown away, as it is most likely to "touches" on the helm that the tackle answers.

To emend the text, Warburton, not content with the sense he had found in it, confidently read *bends adorings*, seeing an allusion to the adoration and homage of the sea-deities when Venus rose from the waves. Grant White conjectured *bends, adoring*. Mr. Bullen points out (*Old Plays*, iii. 101), a misprint of *adorning* for adoring, in *Doctor Dodypoll*:—

Like Pilgrims, with there dutuous sacrifice,
Adorning thee as Regent of their loves.[1]

I have now set forth the various conjectures (save one or two very unconvincing attempts at emendation) about this passage, and considered one or two other clues, perhaps rightly neglected. As an expression of personal opinion, I think the least unsatisfactory explanation remains that of Warburton and Steevens. To take *bends* = glances seems to me to give too subtle a sense to the phrase to which it belongs; and I cannot think Shakespeare at all likely to have blemished a glowing passage with ambiguous references to naval architecture or equipment.

[1] The case for the *sense* "adoring" is much strengthened by evidence that *adore* and *adorn*, by confusion between ME. *adore-n* and *adorn-en* "and contact of meanings in sense of *honour*," were interchangeably used. See *New Eng. Dict.* under both verbs. The above is probably an example and no misprint, and Spenser exemplifies both uses. See F.Q.; iv. xi. xlvi., "like to the hore Congealed little drops which doe the morne adore" and *Virgil's Gnat*, st. 4. 4: "Wherefore ye Sisters . . . Go too, and dauncing all in companie, Adorne that God". See also Phaer and Twyne's *Virgil*, ed. 1607, Bk. xiii., added by Maphæus Vegius and translated by Twyne in 1583, last line:—

"And did amid the stars Æneas place, whom Julies line
Their private god doth call, adorning him with rites diuine."

and verses by Thomas Brewer before Heywoods, *The Exemplary Lives . . . of Nine the Most Worthy Women of the World*, 1640, sig. A 2:—

"cloathing thier every part
In all th' adorements of such eminent stories."

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