

An Edition of *The Tragedie of Cleopatra*, by
Samuel Daniel

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Volume 1

Abstract

Although highly regarded – and much published – in his lifetime, the poet, literary critic and historian, Samuel Daniel is now overshadowed by his contemporary, William Shakespeare. Interest in this late Elizabethan / early Jacobean writer has been restricted by the lack of a complete critical edition of Daniel's works, a gap which no single thesis could attempt to fill. One problem facing prospective editors has been Daniel's propensity for amending pieces as they went through successive editions. An additional difficulty for an editor is that few of his works were presented in a stand-alone format even in their initial presentation to the reading public. This thesis offers a scholarly edition of one of Daniel's earliest pieces, *The Tragedie of Cleopatra*. It argues that *Cleopatra* transcends the label 'closet drama' that is often attached to it which has overshadowed recognition of its literary merits and the political, philosophical and religious concerns of its period which it addresses. In addition, Shakespeare's *Antony and Cleopatra*, written more than a decade later, has captured the attention of critics and audiences. Whilst I acknowledge these points, I position *Cleopatra* as an important work from the late Elizabethan period. By including an overview of related works and paratextual material by Daniel, I provide insight into his life and a context for the play. I consider also the source material available to Daniel and detail how he was influenced by and utilised Plutarch's *Lives*. It is my intention that through this thesis, *The Tragedie of Cleopatra* will become available as a resource for both students and scholars. The copytext for my annotated edition of the tragedy is the Blickling Hall copy of *The works of Samuel Daniel newly augmented* (London, 1601) and I include variants from those editions of the tragedy which were published in the period 1594–1605.

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General Introduction

The main purpose of this thesis is to present an edition of the 1601 *Tragedie of Cleopatra* (held at Blickling Hall) together with annotations and variants. *Cleopatra* has not appeared in print for over fifty years, even then it was neither annotated nor the 1601 version.¹ I argue in this thesis that *The Tragedie of Cleopatra* marked a turning point in Daniel's life. As his early versifying matured into an individual and confident style and successive and diverse works reached print, he became an established literary figure. Whereas in the Dedication of *Cleopatra* Daniel acknowledged the talents of 'great SYDNEY & our SPENCER', two years later Thomas Nashe coupled Daniel's name with those whom he had praised: 'the famous Schollars of our time ... S. *Philip Sidney*, M. *Watson*, M. *Spencer*, M. *Daniell*'.² In support of my claim for the significance of *Cleopatra* in Daniel's writing career, the first two chapters are a biographical account of Daniel and a critical account of a selection of his works.

My research sheds light on Daniel's life from a perspective that other Daniel scholars have not adopted up to now, providing a firm foundation for a reappraisal of this neglected author. In the course of this research I identified many 'occasional' verses by Daniel, several of which have not received scholarly attention; these should be included in any future 'Collected Works'.³ By using his own words and those of his contemporaries as recorded in his and their published writings I have discovered insights into Daniel 'the man' in addition to Daniel 'the professional writer', which increase our knowledge of him and the milieu in which he moved. Daniel was not the only well educated gentleman seeking to make a living with little else but a well trained mind. Richard Helgerson has described the effects of an expansion of humanist education in the mid to late sixteenth century:

The extraordinary recourse of gentlemen's sons to the seats of learning ... had... an unforeseen result. It quickly saturated the offices of state with men trained in good letters, leaving few openings for those who came behind. So in order to support themselves in as gentlemanly a fashion as possible and to catch the attention of potential benefactors, they turned to writing.⁴

¹ Geoffrey Bullough, ed. *Narrative and Dramatic Sources of Shakespeare* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1964), V, *The Roman Plays: Julius Cæsar, Antony and Cleopatra, Coriolanus*.

² Samuel Daniel, *Delia and Rosamond augmented. Cleopatra* (London, 1594), sig. [H7^r]. Thomas Nashe, *Have with you to Saffron-Walden* (London, 1596), sig. V2^r.

³ See Appendix D for a list of occasional verses.

⁴ Richard Helgerson, *The Elizabethan Prodigals* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976), p. 23.

In my biographical account of Daniel it is possible to trace this mode of behaviour. Working from material which has survived for four hundred years will inevitably introduce some distortion either from the absence of pieces now no longer extant or the presence of matter which when written was regarded as ephemeral; however I am confident that the process is a valuable addition to traditional biographical tools. Whilst earlier biographers of Daniel have relied on physical evidence of his life such as administrative records or mentions of him in contemporary correspondence, my information has been accessed digitally from books and leaflets published in late sixteenth / early seventeenth centuries. Year on year Daniel produced items for publication and these have been an amazingly productive resource for information about him and his associates.

This thesis will counter the lack of attention which Daniel has received. In recent years studies have concentrated chiefly on individual works or specific themes. By linking *Cleopatra* to some of Daniel's other pieces I will present a major and more nuanced appraisal of his achievements. His writing career extended over three decades, but the works which I examine in Chapter Two date within a few years of *Cleopatra* and are linked to it by both physical proximity in his volumes and by context. They thus demonstrate the trajectory his career subsequently followed. In the third chapter I discuss the political and religious background within which Daniel was working and also the print history of the play. Yasmin Arshad's work on *Cleopatra* provides an insight into Daniel's 1607 version of the tragedy, a play which differs significantly from earlier printings as I will discuss later.⁵ Literary criticism has viewed Cleopatra from the perspectives of her race, sex or royal status, as an example of a tragic heroine or as the epitome of feminine power. I discuss historical and Renaissance literary portrayals of her in my review of Daniel's sources in Chapter Four.

By making a detailed comparison of Daniel's text with historical and fictional accounts of Cleopatra's last days I can firmly identify Daniel's main source as Plutarch's *Lives* as translated by North.⁶ The text of *Cleopatra* which I have used as copytext is from a volume of *The works of Samuel Daniel newly augmented* (London, 1601) held by the National Trust at Blickling Hall. My main reason for choosing this edition was that it was prepared by Daniel for inclusion in a presentation volume to give to patrons; a secondary

⁵ Yasmin Arshad, *Imagining Cleopatra: Performing Gender and Power in Early Modern England* (London: Bloomsbury, 2019).

⁶ Plutarch, *The lives of the noble Grecians and Romans*, trans out of Greeke into French ... and out of French into Englishe, by Thomas North (London, 1579).

motive was to track revisions made year on year to his tragedy by Daniel and, not least in importance, was its physical accessibility.

For ease of reading, I have silently changed ‘f’ to ‘s’ and normalised the usages of ‘i’, ‘j’, ‘u’, ‘v’ and ‘w’ in quotations, titles and the playtext. More details of these matters are given in a textual note preceding the play.

Chapter One

Daniel's life through his own words

Outline biography

Very little is known for certain about Samuel Daniel's life. The standard biographical accounts by Joan Rees and John Pitcher provide less in the way of verifiable facts than one would wish, but the same could be said regarding biographies of Daniel's contemporary, William Shakespeare.¹ Pitcher commences his *ODNB* account with 'Daniel, Samuel (1562/3-1619) ... was born either in north Somerset, somewhere between Bath and Frome, or further to the east on Salisbury Plain in Wiltshire'; a statement in which the only substantiated fact is the year of death. Parish records of births were scanty in the sixteenth century, but deaths were more likely to be evidenced by gravestones or memorials. In the case of Daniel, he has what Pevsner describes as 'a most interesting hanging monument' (illustrated at the end of this chapter) in St. George's Church, Beckington, Somerset.² Administrative documentary evidence of Daniel's life is limited to a few items: matriculation as a commoner (pleb.) at Oxford in 1581, appointment to Queen Anne's service as groom of her chamber, potential legal problems arising over the performance of *The Tragedie of Philotas*, his death and his will.³ Daniel's will named his 'brother John Daniel' as an executor, giving a glimpse of his family.⁴ His brother, John, also attended Oxford, gaining a B. Mus. degree in 1600, which together with Daniel's own years there – though he left without a degree – would imply that they came from a comfortably off background.⁵

My sources of biographical information

Few holograph items have survived; Pitcher has identified as 'less than ten' the number of known letters by Daniel.⁶ There is however an abundance of printed literary material

¹ Joan Rees, *Samuel Daniel: A Critical and Biographical Study* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1964). John Pitcher, 'Daniel, Samuel (1562/3-1619)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004, online edn, Sept. 2004 <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/7120> [accessed 29 Sept. 2017].

² Nikolaus Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: North Somerset and Bristol* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1958; repr. 2001), pp. 141-2.

³ 'Daniell, Samuel, of Somerset, pleb. MAGDALEN HALL, matric. 17 Nov. 1581, aged 19', J. Forster, *Alumni Oxonienses: the members of the University of Oxford 1500-1714* (Oxford: Parker, 1891; 1892), Early Series, p. 371. Other items will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter.

⁴ Public Record Office, prob/11/135/95.

⁵ 'Daniel, John, of CHRIST CHURCH; B. Mus. in July, 1600, a musician of eminence, and sole executor of his brother Samuel', *Alumni Oxonienses*, p. 370.

⁶ John Pitcher, 'Samuel Daniel's Letter to Sir Thomas Egerton', *Huntington Library Quarterly* 47(1), (1984), 55-61 (p. 55).

authored by Daniel or referring to him dating from the late Elizabethan and early Jacobean periods and spanning three decades. Sadly his works are not currently in print, although extracts or individual pieces appear from time to time, as for example his ‘Defence of Rhyme’ within a volume of Renaissance criticism.⁷

As mentioned in the General Introduction, I have created a new technique for preparing a biography. My biographical resource is printed material dating from Daniel’s lifetime, concentrating on pieces written by Daniel or referring to Daniel. Finding such items was facilitated by digital technology; the EEBO archive is searchable by keywords. For each year from 1585 through to 1619, I searched for ‘Samuel Daniel’, in various spellings and abbreviations, also the individual words ‘Samuel’ and ‘Daniel’. Two problems arise from such a method: false positives – the very many religious works referring to ‘Samuel’ or ‘Daniel’ had to be eliminated – and false negatives where no keyword was found, but pieces by Daniel may have existed within another’s work. This latter situation arose if the method originally used to copy the text only enabled the title page of the text to be searchable on EEBO. Additionally, there are doubtless items which are not available through EEBO, an archive heavily dependent on the goodwill of participating organisations and individuals.

Daniel was an assiduous writer, his works were published year on year, and he was acutely aware of how they should be presented, surrounding the majority of his pieces with additional material, paratexts in many formats. As I create this biography by linking texts to their originator, Daniel also is presenting himself to his contemporaries through his works and words, continually refining and reinventing himself as he moves from patron to patron and genre to genre. From the paratexts surrounding Daniel’s works, his occasional pieces and works by others which mention him, I have put together a ‘life’ of Daniel, albeit a partial one, since he was reticent about his personal affairs. Gerard Genette distinguishes ‘peritext’ – aspects under the publisher’s control – from ‘paratext’, a message from the author.⁸ In this chapter, I will consider the ‘spatial, temporal, substantial, pragmatic and functional characteristics’ of such paratextual messages from Daniel.⁹ Some of the peritextual aspects of Daniel’s works such as title page and choice of paper are discussed later in conjunction with particular volumes, aspects which would be considered after composition of a piece. Daniel’s

⁷ Gavin Alexander, ed., *Sidney’s The Defence of Poesy and Selected Renaissance Literary Criticism* (London: Penguin, 2004).

⁸ Gerard Genette, *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation*, trans. by Jane E. Lewin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 16.

⁹ Genette, p. 4.

paratexts demand attention because of his significant investment in the format: he made each paratext not peripheral to but integral to the work, whether of his own or that of another.

Discovering Daniel

Daniel's biographers, Pitcher and Rees, describe Daniel's life and works through the volumes which he authored and various contemporary documents. My online research highlights the interactions between Daniel and other people, not only patrons but writers and friends providing an alternative focus from that employed by Pitcher and Rees. Daniel's impact on the literary scene of the late sixteenth / early seventeenth centuries should not be underestimated. The material I use provides insight into the patronage and intellectual networks in which Daniel moved. The numerous authors I have discovered who reference Daniel in their own works, not merely Ben Jonson but also Thomas Nashe, Thomas Churchyard, Michael Drayton and others less well-known today, provide clear evidence of Daniel's influence and open up an avenue for other researchers to follow. In contrast Daniel himself makes little mention of his contemporaries apart from Sir Philip Sidney and Edmund Spenser. He does however provide encouragement in the way of commendatory verses to preface, in the main, translations. An interesting link between Daniel and Spenser is that both of them provided a commendatory verse for William Jones's translation of Nenna, as did George Chapman.¹⁰ Little critical attention, or in some cases, none, has previously been paid to such 'occasional' verses by Daniel, which I suggest, provide compelling evidence of Daniel's own interests and the works which he enjoyed reading: see Appendix D.

My chronological account has a basic assumption, that there was very little time lag for Daniel between composition and publication; he was, after all, making his livelihood through his literary skills. The paratexts I use include dedicatory verses, epistles addressed to individuals or to 'readers', and passages written commending the work of others. It is in the nature of such pieces that the author will reveal only such material as he chooses: there may be partial truths to discover but not necessarily complete revelations. Daniel constructs his image – 'the building of my life' – with careful attention to both the individual addressed and a general readership:

What I have done, it is mine owne I may
Do whatsoever therewithall I will
I may pull downe, raise and reedifie
It is the building of my life the fee

¹⁰ Giovanni Battista Nenna, *Nennio, or A treatise of nobility*, trans. William Jones (London, 1595).

Of Nature, all th'inheritance that I
Shall leave to those which must come after me.¹¹

I shall be returning to this passage, but it provides an insight into two contradictory characteristics of Daniel, his authorial confidence in his work and a never-ending stream of amendments to it. This latter characteristic would appear to confirm my supposition that newly written pieces were published promptly. In some ways, Daniel is helpful to a biographer who is relying on printed material; he used one publisher, Simon Waterson, for the majority of his works, which came out at almost yearly intervals, and he frequently identified himself through individual title pages or signatures attached to the pieces within a volume. However such identification can mislead, as I will describe later in this chapter. How an author is viewed by his contemporaries can provide either a counterbalance to self-promotion or confirmation of lasting worth, but again must be viewed with some caution. To his contemporaries Daniel was a significant figure on the cultural scene: there are many explicit mentions made by admirers, emulators, friends and enemies. Therefore, I will consider the originator and the purpose of those references to Daniel which appear in works of the period whilst remembering that the author is predominantly intent on presenting his own work to the reading public. A list of Daniel's works and dates of publication is included as Appendix C.

Very few of Daniel's works appeared without some sort of peripheral matter, ranging from an overelaborate title page to a lengthy dedication or a message 'To the Reader'. Kevin Dunn identifies prefatory pieces as a 'logical progression of topics – the author's unwillingness, the request of the dedicatee, and the utility of the subject – [which] moves the speaker from the ostensibly valued sphere of private retirement into the world of public affairs'.¹² Whilst Daniel may have conformed to Dunn's pattern in, for example, the initial dedication of *Delia*, his later works were accompanied by more confident statements of his and their worth.¹³ Indeed not all authors were inclined to 'private retirement': George Pettie's 'Preface to the Reader' boldly states his intention, whilst decrying his earlier publications:

to purchase to myself some better fame by some better woorke ... Those
which mislike that a Gentleman should publish the fruites of his learning,

¹¹ Samuel Daniel, *Certaine small works* (London, 1607), STC (2nd ed.) 6240, (sig. C3^r).

Note: STC identification will be used when more than one version of a work is available on Early Modern Books (formerly EEBO).

¹² Kevin Dunn, *Pretexes of Authority: The Rhetoric of Authorship in the Renaissance Preface* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994), p. 5.

¹³ Samuel Daniel, *Delia, Contayning certaine Sonnets: with the complaynt of Rosamond* (London, 1592).

are some curious Gentlemen, who thynke it most commendable in a Gentleman, to cloake his arte and skill in every thyng.¹⁴

There was a certain amount of false modesty on Pettie's part as his own work *A petite pallace of Pettie his pleasure* (London, 1576) had had a second printing in 1578 surely indicating some success. Dunn contrasts 'private retirement' with 'public affairs' as if these were the only options, but Daniel achieved the bulk of his writing whilst living as a private citizen and it was only in the latter stages of his career that he received a formal appointment to the Court.

First publication

As far as Daniel's own authorship goes, his first publication, a translation from Italian of a text by Paolo Giovio on emblems, can be regarded both as a trial piece and a foretaste of Daniel's literary style.¹⁵ Daniel had a claim to be a gentleman; he was educated, he had travelled abroad and he had made the acquaintance of gentlemen of rank. Translating from Italian provided evidence of his cultured background.¹⁶ For an aspiring writer who was also a gentleman, there was difficulty in conforming with the courtly practice of sprezzatura, as described in Baldesar Castiglione's *Il Courtegiario*, to decry one's own efforts – whilst simultaneously wanting appreciation, possibly monetary, for one's skill.¹⁷ J. W. Saunders' essay, 'The Stigma of Print', discusses this problem in the context of the opportunity of increased and uncontrolled circulation of printed works as opposed to those in manuscript, which were restricted by cost and time.¹⁸

Unlike many of his contemporaries, Daniel eschewed anonymity when his works were printed; the title page of *Paulus Jovius* proclaims 'By Samuell Daniell late Student in Oxenforde'. The dedication is to 'Sir Edward Dimmock, Champion to her Majestie' (sig.*ij^r). Dymoke's title and his position at court assist in situating both author and publication: 'In like maner right Worshipfull, have I adventured to place these my unpolished Labors on the Piller of your Worthines, craving the supportance of your favorable protection' (sig.*ij^r). 'Champion to her Majestie' was a hereditary position with a minor role in coronation

¹⁴ George Pettie, *The Civile Conversation of M. Steeven Guazzo* (London, 1581), sig. j^v.

¹⁵ Paolo Giovio, *The worthy tract of Paulus Jovius*, trans. by Samuel Daniel (London, 1585) (STC (2nd ed.) 11900).

¹⁶ Katherine Duncan-Jones deplores the lack of identification by Daniel of the other sources he used in compiling this work. Katherine Duncan-Jones, 'Two Elizabethan versions of Giovi's Treatise on Imprese', *English Studies*, 52 (1971), 118-123, (p. 122-3).

¹⁷ Baldesar Castiglione, *The Book of the Courtier*, trans. by George Bull (London: Penguin, 1967; repr. 1976)

¹⁸ J.W. Saunders, 'The Stigma of Print, A Note on the Social Bases of Tudor Poetry', *Essays in Criticism*, 1(2) (1951), 139-164.

ceremonies. Sir Edward's grandfather – another Edward – played a part in the coronation of Queen Elizabeth, but the glory of that had long passed.¹⁹ Daniel's progression through society can be evidenced by the status of those to whom he dedicated works, commencing with Sir Edward and culminating with royalty. Dedications were not necessarily addressed to an individual known to the author, but there is evidence in the text of *Paulus Jovius* that Daniel knew or knew of the family. Apart from the dedication, in which Daniel doesn't decry his own efforts, though he emphasises Dymoke's part in enabling them 'whose offered courtesie hath enforced me to undertake the tillage of so hard a soyle, to make you a present of the first fruits thereof' (sig. *ij^v), on the final page there is a description of Sir Edward's personal device: 'A noble minded Gentleman ... hath for his Imprese a sword'.²⁰ Daniel's figurative reference to this, his earliest published writing, as 'the first fruits', carries a double message: he is making an offering to a superior and it is also an intimation that more works would follow. He was following well established phraseology; a translation of Giovanni Boccaccio carried a message from the translator 'To the reader' with a hope that 'thy friendly worde ... maye happelie yeld, unto my first fruits, a calme and favourable winde'.²¹ Similarly, Richard Rowlands in a dedication to 'Syr Thomas Greasham' describes his translation of Richard Verstegan's *The post of the world* as 'the first fruites of my labours ... trusting hereafter ... to impart... some further matter'.²² Daniel's friend, John Florio, used the phrase in the title of his 1578 publication *Florio His first Fruites* with which Daniel was likely to be familiar from his language studies with Florio; it was a prototype of a teach yourself book, being a combined Italian grammar, dictionary and phrasebook. H. Sellars cites a manuscript version of *Giardino di Ricreatione* dated 1582 as evidence of friendship between Florio and Daniel dating from their time at Oxford. The manuscript circulated for some ten years before it reached print in 1591.²³ Such a method of transmission may have provided the impetus for commendatory pieces; trusted friends or critics might append their comments to a manuscript before returning it or passing it on. Florio's manuscript includes a quatrain in Latin, headed 'In proverbia Italica *Johannis Flori Tetrastichon Samuelis Danielis*':

Italicos posterit flores cum nectere Florus,
Nomine Florus, erit re quoqu[e]; Florilegus,

¹⁹ A. J. Musson, 'Dymoke (Dymmok) family (per. c. 1340–c.1580)', *ODNB*, article 42007 [accessed 23 March 2020].

²⁰ Duncan-Jones, p. 122.

²¹ Giovanni Boccaccio, *A pleasant and delightful history*, trans. by T.C. (London, 1565), sig. [Aiii^r].

²² Richard Verstegan, *The post of the world*, trans. by Richard Rowlands (London, 1576), sig. [Aiii^r].

²³ John Florio, *Florios second fruites ... To which is annexed his Gardine of recreation* (London, 1591).

Floribus ex istis (mirum) nasutus oderes
Non capit, et naso qui caret, ille capit.²⁴

Without attempting an exact translation, Daniel is clearly punning on Florio's name and perhaps gently teasing him ('nasutus' translates to 'big-nosed').

As for the 'favorable protection' received by Daniel from Dymoke, Pitcher states that he spent some years 'at Dymoke's home in Lincolnshire in the late 1580s', making his dedication of *Paulus Jovius* either an extremely successful plea for favour or recompense for favours received.²⁵ The brevity and infrequency of Daniel's supply of commendatory pieces for others' works might be seen as reaction to the somewhat verbose piece written by 'N.W.' to his 'Good Friend Samuel Daniel' which follows the dedication (sig. *iii^r). Daniel's address 'To the Friendly Reader' states his desire to impart 'this delightful tract... barely clothed in an English habite, voyde of all such ornaments as are due unto the Worthines thereof'; he then gives his reader a wide-ranging historical and contemporary account of the use of 'imprese' or emblems (sig. Aj^r). The 'English habite' did not prevent Daniel from liberally sprinkling his translation with classical allusions and tags, perhaps to emphasise Daniel's own status as a former student at Oxford. This early work did not go unnoticed amongst his contemporaries; when Henry Peacham wrote on the same topic in 1612, he acknowledges in his prefatory remarks 'To the Reader' that 'It is not my intent ... to discourse at large on the Nature and Libertie of *Emblems* ... because heerein I have beene already prevented by * others.'²⁶ The * is elucidated in a marginal note: 'Paulus Jovius Sainbucus, Mr. Sam. Daniell'. Peacham accords equal importance to translator and author: he has been 'prevented' because of the respect in which he holds the earlier work, but he is also providing a hint that his own work is equally worthy.

An author's name

Aspects of his first printed work recur throughout Daniel's later publications: his interest in and use of works written in Italian; his acknowledgement and appreciation of translation work and his approval of the use of vernacular language. His dedications would express gratitude for patronage and encouragement already received whilst making a discreet appeal for future help; he would use his awareness of the interests of his patrons to link patron to work appropriately. Less explicit in subsequent pieces are his references to classical languages and authors, although his knowledge of them permeates his writing. Since none of

²⁴ H. Sellers, 'Samuel Daniel: Additions to the Text', *Modern Language Review*, 11 (1) (1916), 28-32, (p. 31).

²⁵ Pitcher, *ODNB*.

²⁶ Henry Peacham, *Minerva Britannia*, (London, 1612), sig. A3^v.

his later works included commendatory pieces by others, Daniel's confidence in his ability to attract readers through his own name and the content of his work seems clear.

In an era when spelling was not standardised, even one's own name could be written in a variety of ways. The title page of *Paulus Jovius* declares the author to be 'Samuell Daniell'; his dedication to 'Sir Edward Dimmock' (Sir Edward Dymoke) is from 'Samuel Daniel'; N. W. addresses his 'good friend Samvel Daniel' and 'To the frendly reader' is signed 'S.D.'.²⁷ Abbreviation of one's name to initials was common amongst Renaissance writers; it seems to be used as a means of (semi) anonymity, for speed and also as a way of signalling to the literati 'you know who I am'. Daniel's practice was to use his full name on title pages and on occasion 'S. D.' attached to short pieces within the work. One could surmise that Daniel was well aware of the risks of misattribution in a time of political uncertainty and was careful to ensure that his name appeared on title pages of his printed works.

Foreign travel and return to England

In a time of comparative peace, a continental 'Grand Tour' would be undertaken by young men of the wealthier and aristocratic classes: Daniel visited both France and Italy in the 1580s to 1590s despite being neither wealthy nor of the nobility. Mark Eccles places Daniel in France through the evidence of two letters to Sir Francis Walsingham dated 1586.²⁸ One of the letters was written from the English Ambassador's residence, which would imply Daniel had a position in the household; Pitcher describes him as a 'servant of some kind'.²⁹ Eccles cites Daniel's own writings as evidence of a sojourn in Italy; independent verification of this is discussed in a more recent essay by June Schlueter.³⁰ She cites signatures and dates in an 'album amicorum', or autograph album, as evidence that Daniel on June 30th 1591, was travelling in the company of other Englishmen and an Austrian, Erhard Grünthaler, the owner of the album. Daniel's words in the album 'Hoc Incundissimae memoriae causa | Et dulce per Alpes Itineris simul | facti recordatione, nobillisso iuveni | Eherhardo Grünthaler consacro' are translated by Schlueter as 'For the sake of a most pleasant memory and in sweet remembrance of a journey made at the same time through the Alps, I dedicate this to the most noble young man, Erhard Grünthaler'. The words confirm a journey through the

²⁷ *Paulus Jovius*, title page; sig. *ji^r; sig. *jii^r; sig. [Aviii^r].

²⁸ Mark Eccles, 'Samuel Daniel in France and Italy', *Studies in Philology*, 34 (2) (Apr.1937), 148-167.

²⁹ Pitcher, *ODNB*.

³⁰ June Schlueter, 'Samuel Daniel in Italy: New Documentary Evidence', *The Huntington Library Quarterly*, 75(2) (Summer 2012), 283-90.

Alps and since Grünthaler is known to have visited Padua in July that year it is probable that Daniel was also heading into Italy. Daniel's *Delia* sonnets, first printed as a cycle in 1592, mention in the 1594 version a visit to Italy: 'Sonnet. XLVII | *At the Authors going into Italie*' and also 'Sonnet. XLVIII | *This Sonnet was made at the Authors | beeing in Italie*'.³¹ The latter sonnet had previously appeared in the 1592 edition, placing Daniel's time in Italy as at an earlier date. In Sonnet XXXV (labelled XXXVIII in the 1594 *Delia*) Daniel paid tribute to the Italian origins of the sonnet form and its renowned exponent, Petrarch:

Thou canst not dye whilst any zeale abounde
 In feeling harts, that can conceive these lines:
 Though thou a *Laura* hast no *Petrarch* founde,
 In base attire, yet cleerely Beautie shines.
 And I, though borne in a colder clime,
 Doe feele mine inward heate as great, I knowe it:
 He never had more faith, although more rime,
 I love as well, though he could better shew it.
 But I may ad one feather to thy fame,
 To helpe her flight throughout the fairest Ile:
 And if my penne could more enlarge thy name,
 Then shouldst thou live in an immortal stile.
 But though that *Laura* better limned bee,
 Suffice, thou shalt be lov'd as well as shee.³²

Daniel, whilst decrying his skill in describing Delia, his verse is 'base attire', Petrarch had 'more rime' and Laura was 'better limned', still demands attention for his work: 'if my penne could more enlarge thy name | Then shouldst thou live in an immortal stile'. Within two years, Delia's immortality created by Daniel's work is referenced by Daniel in claiming 'if by my penne procure I shall | But to defend me, and my name to save, | Then though I die, I cannot yet die all': the poet himself has become immortal through his work, but not so the work nor the subject of that work.³³ In writing sonnets Daniel was following the Elizabethan convention that a gentleman should show some ability in the courtly skill of writing verse, preferably addressed to an unobtainable lady. Daniel's sonnets probably circulated originally in manuscript form amongst his friends and acquaintances: their emergence into print was to transform Daniel's career.

Additional material from which inference could be drawn of Daniel's travels abroad comes in Florio's work, *Florio's second fruits*:

³¹ Daniel, *Delia* (1594), sig. [G4^r]. sig. [G4^v].

³² Daniel, *Delia*. (1592), sig. F2^r. STC (2nd ed.) 6243.2. Note: in the STC (2nd ed.) 6243.3 version the sonnet is numbered XXXIX.

³³ Daniel, *Delia* (1594) sig. [H6^r]

S. Where have you been so long, that we could not see you?
 D. I have been abroad in the countrie, else would I long ere this have come,
 to have done my dutie to you.³⁴

‘Abroad’ is an indefinite place, somewhere other than where the speakers are: ‘in the countrie’ could simply mean ‘not in London’ or ‘country’ as opposed to ‘town’ but the timing of the publication and the choice of speaker seem more than mere coincidence. It may also be possible to interpret the interchanges in the sequence as giving a description of Daniel’s general demeanour and habitual courtesy:

S. What is he that walkes so solitarie along the streete? Doo you know him,
 master Nicholas?
 N. O I knowe him, hee is my verie friend, and does ever goe with his head
 downward, as you see him now. (sig. [L4^r])

N. What master Daniell, beare with me in that I came not downe to to you.
 D. Naie beare with me, if I trouble you with my coming. (sig. M2^r)

The conversation turns to reading and to books:

D. What faire, and good bookes have you master Stephan, you bee so well
 stored of them?
 S. Few that be faire, but some of those few (as I perswade my selfe) that be
 good.
 N. In good trueth you have a notable faire librarie....
 S. If among these few bookes, there be anie that likes you, take it for my
 sake.
 D. I am like a souldier, who seeth no faire weapon, but wisheth for it, so I
 cannot see a good or rare booke, but I doo covet to have it. (sig. M2^r)

Whether Florio was visualising his friend Daniel or not as he wrote these sentences, they carry sentiments with which Daniel would concur and which he may himself have uttered. In his memorial verse on the death of a later patron, Sir Charles Blount (Lord Mountjoy, Earl of Devonshire), Daniel writes with appreciation and knowledge of Blount’s library:

thou hadst not bookes as many have
 For ostentation, but for use, and that
 Thy bountious memorie was such, as gave
 A lardge revenu of the good, it gat.
 Witnesse so many volumes whereto thou
 Hast set thy notes under thy learned hand³⁵

³⁴ John Florio, *Florio’s second fruites* (London, 1591), sig. M1^r, STC (2nd ed.) 11097.

³⁵ Samuel Daniel, *A funerall poem uppon the death of the late noble Earle of Devonshire* (London, 1606), sig. A3^r.

The *Delia* sonnets and the Pembrokes

Daniel was soon to have the opportunity to explore many ‘good or rare’ books when he came to live at Wilton House, the country estate of the Earl and Countess of Pembroke. Although the illustration I include is of Wilton House as it is now, it would have been an imposing building four centuries ago, in keeping with the status of the Pembroke family. Joan Rees suggests that ‘the translation of *Paulus Jovius* may possibly have brought Daniel to the notice of the Earl of Pembroke ... for the Earl was interested in heraldry and related subjects.’³⁶ The Earl had significant holdings in Wales and appropriately the National Museum of Wales holds a portrait of him (DA000146) which shows a wealthy and powerful man.³⁷

Less favourable attention would have occurred when ‘sundry other rare Sonnets of divers Noble men and Gentlemen’ were appended to Sir Philip Sidney’s sonnet sequence *Astrophel and Stella*, the whole published after Sidney’s death and printed by Thomas Newman without the approval of Sidney’s sister, the Countess of Pembroke.³⁸ It is unclear whether Daniel approved the enterprise, but twenty seven numbered sonnets, together with an introductory poem, dominate the latter part of the publication; his identity is disclosed as ‘*The Author of this Poeme, S.D.*’ before the initial verse and by ‘*Finis, Daniel*’ printed after sonnet 27.³⁹ The opening words of the first verse, ‘Go wayling verse the infant of my love’ and the closing line of the poem ‘And feare this deed will make the world abhor her’ express the suitable reluctance and apprehension of a gentleman to allow his works to circulate other than within a close circle of friends (sig. I3^v).

Even if Daniel was being disingenuous, his association by proximity with Sidney enabled his verse to reach a wider audience; the following year Simon Waterson ventured on the publication of *Delia*, a much enlarged and rearranged collection of Daniel’s sonnets plus a fashionable ‘complaint’ piece, ‘Rosamond’.⁴⁰ In somewhat ambiguous phrasing, Pitcher asserts that Daniel ‘was permitted the following year [1592] to dedicate an authorized version of the *Delia* sonnets ... to Sidney’s sister, Mary, countess of Pembroke’.⁴¹

³⁶ Rees, p. 7.

³⁷ Illustration not included for copyright reasons.

³⁸ Sir Philip Sidney, *Syr P.S. His Astrophel and Stella* (London, 1591), STC (2nd ed) 22536, title page.

³⁹ Sidney, sig. I3^v; sig. L2^v.

⁴⁰ Daniel, *Delia* (1592).

⁴¹ Pitcher, *ODNB*.



Wilton House, South-West front.

© Dorothy Bowles

An author could dedicate a work to an individual without their permission, but in view of the annoyance that the publication of *Astrophil and Stella* had caused to Sidney's sister, the Countess of Pembroke, it is perhaps very likely that Daniel asked for permission. By an 'authorized version' Pitcher implies that the author was involved in the arrangement and selection of his work; Waterson presents the sonnets with care, placing one per page and using headpieces which emphasise both their individual value and their part within a sonnet sequence. C.R.Wilson, who is one of the sources to whom Pitcher refers in his *ODNB* biography, ponders the evidence for Daniel's involvement in the 1591 *Astrophel and Stella* but his description of Daniel as being at that time 'a fully committed professional poet' does not seem an accurate picture as I now discuss.⁴²

⁴² C.R.Wilson, "'Astrophil and Stella': a tangled editorial web", *The Library* s6-1 (1979), 336-46, (p. 338).



‘Mary Herbert, Countess of Pembroke’ by Simon de Passe, line engraving.
© National Portrait Gallery, London

In the dedication of *Delia*, Daniel claims that ‘betraide by the indiscretion of a greedie Printer ... I am forced to publish that which I never ment.’⁴³ The ‘never ment’ is superficially simply part of his apology to the Countess of Pembroke, but could imply that either he did not mean those particular verses to be published or that he did not wish his work to be published at all. Daniel is giving the appearance of gentlemanly diffidence about his poetry rather than seeking to establish himself as the ‘professional poet’ Wilson claims he had become. The original sonnets printed ‘uncorrected’ with *Astrophel and Stella* are thus (dis)owned, allowing a different publisher and printer to bring out ‘corrected’ versions – though the original ones were again reprinted with *Astrophel and Stella*, in 1597.⁴⁴ Daniel

⁴³ Daniel, *Delia* (1592), sig. A2^r.

⁴⁴ Sir Philip Sidney, *Syr P.S. His Astrophel and Stella* (London, 1597), STC (2nd ed) 22538.

continues ‘But this wrong was not onely doone to mee, but to him whose unmatched lines have indured the like misfortune’, a graceful move from apology for his own perceived misdeeds to praise for Sidney’s poetry and an appeal for favour from the Countess.⁴⁵ The printing history of the *Delia* sonnets illustrates the rights of the publisher as opposed to the author. The rather grandiose title page of the second printing of *Delia*, also in 1592, featuring a ‘conspitious porche and gate’, was recycled from an illustration in Francesco Colonna’s *Hypnerotomachia: The strife of love in a dreame* also published by Waterson that year; the words of Daniel’s title and motto were split and the print size was varied to fit the space.⁴⁶ Daniel may have influenced the choice of a Latin phrase from Propertius, ‘Ætas prima canat veneres postrema tumultus’ – ‘Let my first youth sing of loves, my last of battles’ – since it reappears on many of his later works. The conceit fits with the Renaissance view that poetry, especially the composition of sonnets, was the idle fancy of young men.⁴⁷ In his survey of printed poetry, Lukas Erne describes *Delia* as ‘the best seller of the sonnet collections of the period with five editions from 1592 to 1598’.⁴⁸ Waterson would exploit the fame of *Delia* by including it year on year with Daniel’s latest works, as in his 1594 publication, *Delia and Rosamond augmented Cleopatra by Samuel Daniel* although by then the tone of the dedication of the volume to the Countess of Pembroke had changed.⁴⁹ Daniel had discarded his previous apologetic prose epistle for an assured dedication in verse. He praises the ‘Great Patroness of these my humble rhymes’, but though eulogising her as ‘Wonder of these, glory of other times. | O thou whom Envy ev’n is forst t’admire’, he makes it clear that the creativity is his: ‘the travaile I may challenge mine, | But yet the glory, (Madam) must be thine.’⁵⁰ Daniel would appear confident in his status as poet and as recipient of her patronage. Reading the dedications written during Daniel’s time at Wilton reveals Daniel’s growing sense of himself as an author which, I contend, is linked to a great extent with his accomplishment in writing *The Tragedie of Cleopatra*, a text in which he expands his range of genres and develops an individual voice. Within the 1594 volume is a second and lengthier

⁴⁵ Daniel, *Delia* (1592), sig. A2^r.

⁴⁶ Francesco Colonna, *Hypnerotomachia: The strife of love in a dreame* (London, 1592), STC (2nd ed.) 5577, sig. G3^v and sig. [G4^r].

⁴⁷ Richard Helgerson explores this theme in *The Elizabethan Prodigals* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976).

⁴⁸ Lukas Erne and Tamsin Badsoe, ‘Shakespeare and the Popularity of Poetry Books in Print, 1583-1622’, *The Review of English Studies*, 65 (268), (2014), 33-57 (p. 52).

⁴⁹ Daniel, *Delia* (1594).

⁵⁰ Daniel, *Delia* (1594) sig. A2^r.

dedication to the Countess, which as it precedes *Cleopatra* will be discussed in conjunction with that work.

Recognition from other writers

Surprisingly, in view of its apparent popularity – it was reprinted numerous times – the ‘Complaint of Rosamond’ was never individually dedicated. It is noteworthy that when Shakespeare’s sonnets were printed in 1609 the sonnets were followed by ‘A lovers complaint’, so stylistic linking of a sonnet cycle to a complaint poem seems to have been considered appropriate.⁵¹ Daniel’s fame was spreading: Gabriel Harvey in his ‘Third Letter’ recognised Daniel’s merits:

Such right-Olympicall hilles of amountinge witte: I cordially recommend to the deere Lovers of the Muses: and namely to the professed Sonnes of the same; *Edmond Spencer, Richard Stanihurst, Abraham France, Thomas Watson, Samuell Daniell, Thomas Nash*, and the rest: whome I affectionately thancke for their studious endeavours, commendably employed in enriching, & polishing their native Tongue, never so furnished, or embellished, as of late.⁵²

Harvey was certainly percipient in so far as Daniel was concerned, as he became both an eloquent advocate of the merits of writing in English and was an inveterate amender of his works. In a literary spat with Harvey, Thomas Nashe picked up the reference to himself and reiterates the phrase ‘sonnes of the Muses’ and so, almost accidentally, reconfirms Daniel’s place alongside Spenser.⁵³ In 1596, Nashe, in paraphrasing a polemic from Harvey, positions Daniel ‘amongst the famous Schollers of our time, as *S. Philip Sidney, M. Watson. M. Spencer, M. Daniell*’.⁵⁴ By then, Daniel had ‘augmented’ *Delia and Rosamond* with *The Tragedie of Cleopatra* and commenced his verse history of the *Civile Wars*, so deservedly could be described as a ‘Scholler’. *Cleopatra* and the *Civile Wars* mark the moment in Daniel’s career when he became confident enough in his own skill to venture into new genres, to research historical accounts and build upon that knowledge to create original works. Of the two pieces, *Cleopatra* was complete in itself, whereas the *Civile Wars* became an ongoing project. Both these works mark new departures for Daniel and demonstrate his growing literary expertise, but before discussing them I will consider his earlier pieces.

⁵¹ William Shakespeare, *Shake-speares sonnets, never before imprinted* (London, 1609), STC (2nd ed.) 22353.

⁵² Gabriel Harvey, *Four letters, and certaine sonnets* (London, 1592), sig. [F4^v].

⁵³ Thomas Nashe, *The apology of Pierce Pennilesse* (London, 1593), sig. L2^r.

⁵⁴ Nashe, *Have with you* (1596), sig. V2^r.

Daniel's sonnet cycle, *Delia*, comprised verses written in the first person and addressed by a male persona to an unidentified - or possibly, even probably, imaginary - female, 'Delia'. The 'Complaint of Rosamond' was his first sustained thematic work; he assumed the voice of deceased Rosamond, lamenting her fate. 'Complaint' poems were more narrative in character than sonnet cycles and so a useful demonstration of versatility for a versifier and in Daniel's case a first depiction of the 'historic' past in verse. Thomas Churchyard had some years earlier related a similar theme in 'Shores wyfe'.⁵⁵ He was quick to recognise Daniel's skill: 'because Rosimond is so excellently sette forth (the actor whereof I honour)', and with the same mock humility as Nashe used, Churchyard declares that his revisions have 'somewhat beautified my Shores wife, not in any kind of emulation'.⁵⁶ In Churchyard's *A pleasant conceite* he uses the guise of describing places to speak of individual members of the nobility, here of the Countess of Pembroke:

Pembroke a pearle, that orient is of kind,
 A Sidney right, that shall not in silence sit:
 A gemme more worth, then all the gold of Ind,
 For she enjoyes, the wise Minervaes wit,
 And sets to schoole, our Poets ev'ry where:
 That doth presume the Lawrell crowne to weare.
 The Muses nine, and all the Graces three:
 In Pembrokes bookes, and verses shall you see.⁵⁷

Since Churchyard's verse was published only a year after the Countess had first reached print, with translations of works by Philippe de Mornay and Robert Garnier, the reference to 'Pembroke's bookes and verses' might include those produced by members of her household such as Samuel Daniel whom she had 'set to school', in other words to intellectual work. The influence of the Pembroke family is shown by their motto. The motto would have served both to assure others of the Pembroke family's loyalty to the crown and as a reminder of the loyalty owed to them by their retainers including those like Daniel who were employed at Wilton.

⁵⁵ Thomas Churchyard, 'Shores wyfe' in *The laste part of The Mirour for Magistrates* by William Baldwin (London, 1574), f. 153.

⁵⁶ Thomas Churchyard, *Churchyards Challenge* (London, 1593), p. 126.

⁵⁷ Thomas Churchyard, *A pleasant conceite* (London, 1593), sig. B1^v.



Shield above main door, Wilton House © Dorothy Bowles
The motto reads 'UNG JE SERVIRAY', 'I will serve but one'

Thomas Lodge makes a graceful reference to Daniel in his *Phyllis*, which fashionably contained both sonnets and a 'complaynt'. He uses an 'Induction' to deplore his own lack of skill, his 'mute and ragged rime ... little loves but latlie hatched', and to praise both Spenser and Daniel.⁵⁸ When he writes of the 'Herculean labours of your pen ...' he is acknowledging that writing poetry is a serious business and his following verses elegantly praise Spenser's and Daniel's works whilst speaking only to those who know of them:

If so you come where learned *Colin* feedes
His lovely flocke, packe thence and quickly haste you;
You are but mistes before so bright a sunne,
Who hath the Palme for deepe invention wunne.

Kisse *Delias* hand for her sweet Prophets sake,
Whose not affected but well couched teares:
Have power, have worth, a Marble minde to shake;
Whose fame, no Iron-age or time out weares.
Then lay you downe in *Phyllis* lap and sleepe,
Until the weeping read, and reading weepe.⁵⁹

'Learned *Colin*' refers to Spenser who had adopted the name 'Colin Clout' in *The Shepheardes Calendar* and in *Colin Clouts come home againe*. Even in his satirical work, *A fig for Momus*, Lodge links Spenser and Daniel. He dedicates Eclogue 4 'To Master Samuel Daniel'; the first Eclogue was 'To reverend Colin'.⁶⁰ To depreciate Momus, initially the Greek god of censure and ridicule but later a description of a carping critic, was an assertion of the importance of poetry and of poets. A year later, Lodge carefully differentiated the poets' merits: '*Spencer*, best read in ancient Poetry: *Daniel*, choise in word, and invention'

⁵⁸ Thomas Lodge, *Phyllis: honoured with pastoral sonnets, elegies, and amorous delights* (London, 1593).

⁵⁹ Lodge, sig. B1^v.

⁶⁰ Thomas Lodge, *A fig for Momus* (London, 1595), sig. D2^v, sig. [B4^r].

and urged his fellow poets not to ‘neglect one another’, perhaps an appeal for some sort of reciprocal gesture of approval.⁶¹

One of the earliest writers to recognise Daniel’s talent and to urge him on had in fact been Spenser:

And there is a new shepheard late up sprong...
Then rouze thy feathers quickly Daniell,
And to what course thou please thy selfe advance:
But most me seemes, thy accent will excell,
In Tragick plaints and passionate mischance’.⁶²

This verse would seem to applaud Daniel’s sonnets and his complaint poem, ‘Rosamond’, whilst saying that he must ‘please thy selfe’ – possibly a hint that writing purely to please a patron was an unsatisfactory choice.

Poet and historian

By the middle of the last decade of the sixteenth century Daniel had achieved recognition amongst his contemporaries: he was now someone who could be described as a ‘professional poet, with his eye on personal profit, social promotion and a national reputation’.⁶³ Personal profit and social promotion could be gained by becoming being attached to a wealthy, preferably noble, household. The absence of a dedicatory piece fronting *The first fowre books of the civile wars* seems surprising, but Daniel was changing style from romantic poetry to historical epic (albeit in verse) and was potentially touching on controversial political matters.⁶⁴ His fellow writers may have been confused by his change of genre; Edward Guilpin names Daniel in ‘Satire VI’, but expresses some doubt as to his use of his talent: ‘Daniel (as some holds) might mount if he list, | But others say he’s a Lucanist.’⁶⁵ The reference would have been readily understood by his classically educated readers: Daniel would at that time appear to be following the same literary trajectory as Lucan, a Roman poet who wrote an epic poem, *Bellum Civile*, on the civil war between Pompey and Julius Cæsar. The same comparison was made some years later by John Speed in his prose history: ‘a flourishing Writer in our age (willing neerely to have imitated *Lucan*, as hee is indeed called

⁶¹ Thomas Lodge, *Wits Miserie, and the Worlds Madnesse* (London, 1596), p. 57.

⁶² Edmund Spenser, *Colin Clouts come home againe* (London, 1595), sig. C2^r.

⁶³ Saunders, p. 155.

⁶⁴ Samuel Daniel, *The first fowre books of the civile wars between the two houses of Lancaster and Yorke* (London, 1595)

⁶⁵ Edward Guilpin, *Skialetheia: Or, a shadowe of truth* (London, 1598), sig. E1^r.

our *Lucan*)'.⁶⁶ Speed goes on to quote the opening lines of the 'First Book': 'I sing the civill warres, tumultuous broiles... While all pretending right, all right throwne downe.'⁶⁷ The link between Daniel and Lucan was also made by Francis Meres who whilst including Daniel amongst those who 'bewaile and bemoane the perplexities of Love', and who wrote 'so every one passionateth when he readeth the afflicted death of *Daniels* distressed *Rosamond*' also acknowledged Daniel's historical works.⁶⁸ Meres notes 'As *Lucan* hath mournefully depainted the civil wars of *Pompey & Cæsar*: so hath *Daniel* the civill wars of Yorke and Lancaster'.⁶⁹

Michael Drayton appended sonnets to his verse history, which covered the period of Edward II, and the conjunction would appear to have brought other writers of epics to mind:

Many there be excelling in this kind,
Whose well trick'd rimes with all invention swell,
Let each commend as best shall like his minde,
Some Sidney, Constable, some Daniell.⁷⁰

It is noteworthy that Sidney's and Daniel's names are frequently linked in these favourable comments; possibly there was an element of attempting to please the Countess of Pembroke by praising her brother and also Daniel, a recipient of her patronage.

A change of patron

Rees puts forward the view that a rift occurred between Daniel and the household at Wilton somewhere between 1593 and 1594/5, but provides no evidence for this.⁷¹ Any such disagreement was not lasting, as I will demonstrate through his later dedications. Daniel's duties at Wilton seem not to have been clearly defined; it is possible that he may have acted as a secretary to the Earl or to the Countess or to have assisted in tutoring their young sons, William and Philip. If the latter, then in 1592/3 (the date is confused by the different dating styles which were variously used at the time) both boys entered New College, Oxford and the need for home tutoring would have diminished.⁷² I would suggest that there is evidence for a departure from Wilton sometime later than June 1594 but before the 1595 publication of the

⁶⁶ John Speed, *The history of Great Britaine* (London, 1611), p. 601.

⁶⁷ Speed, p. 601. Speed is quoting, using his own idiosyncratic spelling, from Daniel's *The first foure bookes of the civile wars*, sig. B1^r.

⁶⁸ Francis Meres, *Palladis tamia* (London, 1598), sig. Oo4^r, sig. [Nn8^v].

⁶⁹ Meres, sig. Oo1^r.

⁷⁰ Michael Drayton, *The barrons wars in the raigne of Edward the second* (London, 1603), 'Sonnet 3', sig. [O8^r].

⁷¹ Rees, p. 62.

⁷² *Alumni oxonienses*, p. 696.

Civile Wars. My supposition is based on the gratitude Daniel explicitly expressed to ‘Mountjoy’, a title which Charles Blount had inherited in June 1594.⁷³ The fifth stanza of the first book reads:

And thou *Charles Mountjoy* borne the worldes delight,
That hath receiv’d into thy quiet shore,
My tempest-driven fortune-tossed wight, ...
Receive the worke I consecrate to thee
Borne of that rest which thou dost give to mee. (sig. B2^r)

The stanza was retained through successive editions; in 1609, by which time Mountjoy was dead, it was modified to:

And thou *Charles Mountjoy* (who didst once afford
Rest for my fortunes, on thy quiet shore;
And cheer’d mee on, these measures to record
In graver tones, then I had us’d before)
Beholde: my gratitude makes good my word
Ingag’d to thee (although thou be no more)
That I, who heretofore have lived by thee,
Doo give thee now a roome to live with me.⁷⁴

The maritime metaphor in the earlier version signifies that Daniel had experienced some unspecified difficulties and that Mountjoy had provided a refuge for him. The original four books of the *Civile wars* must have met with some success because by 1599 Daniel had added a further book. The five ‘books’ were published under a generic title, *The poeticall essayes of Sam. Danyel*, a volume which included two other new works, *Musophilus* and ‘A Letter from Octavia to Marcus Antonius’.⁷⁵ Daniel was scrupulous in retaining the original dedicatee for each work he wrote – unless the content were substantially altered as in the successive *Civile wars* – even if the substance and tenor of the dedication changed, so the *Essayes* were an opportunity to demonstrate the acquisition of new patrons and to reward them for their support.

The choice of dedicatee for the *Civile wars* within the 1599 *Poetical Essayes* was an astute recognition of the military reputation and career of Charles Blount. The wording proclaims his knighthood, his inheritance of title, and his standing in Elizabeth’s court: ‘To the Right honorable, Sir *Charles Blunt* Knight, Lord *Mountjoy*, and Knight of the most Noble

⁷³ Christopher Maginn, ‘Blount, Charles, eighth Baron Mountjoy and earl of Devonshire (1563-1606)’, *ODNB*, article 2683, [accessed 27 March 2020].

⁷⁴ Samuel Daniel, *The civile wars between the howses of Lancaster and Yorke corrected and continued by Samuel Daniel one of the groomes of hir Majesties most honorable Privie Chamber* (London, 1609), sig. B1^v.

⁷⁵ Samuel Daniel, *The poeticall essayes of Sam. Danyel* (London, 1599).

between patronage and friendship, an inequality in worldly status but equality in intellectual interests, that existed between Daniel and Greville.⁷⁹ Quinn traces the alterations Daniel made to his references to Greville in subsequent editions of *Musophilus*, as a reflection of Daniel's increasing self-assurance in both his poetic skills and in the firmness of the relationship between the two.

A change of role

Placed in *The poeticall essays* immediately following the intellectual devices of *Musophilus*, came a more prosaic piece. 'A Letter from Octavia to Marcus Antonius' is fundamentally a complaint piece, but written as an epistolary poem. I discuss 'Octavia' at more length in Chapter Two. The choice of subject and dedicatee reflect Daniel's position around the late 1590s within the household of the Countess of Cumberland. He had become a tutor to her daughter, Lady Anne Clifford, a role which may not have been entirely easy.



'Anne, Countess of Pembroke', (Lady Anne Clifford) by Robert White, © National Portrait Gallery, London.

Pitcher identifies a manuscript letter as being in the hand of Daniel, in which he excuses himself for failing to spend time on his history of the Civil Wars: 'whilst I should have written the actions of men, I have been constraigned to live with Children'.⁸⁰ Daniel addresses the Countess in the dedicatory piece preceding 'Octavia': 'To the right Honourable and most vertuous *Ladie, the Ladie Margaret Countesse of Cumberland*' (sig. [A1^r], separate

⁷⁹ Kelly A. Quinn, 'Fulke Greville's Friendly Patronage', *Studies in Philology*, 103(4), (Autumn 2006), 417-35.

⁸⁰ Pitcher, 'Samuel Daniel's Letter' (p. 56).

register). In later printings, the dedication and heading remain unchanged, apart from the curious omission of ‘most’ in 1607 and 1611, presumably a typesetting error rather than a deliberate slight. Rees claims that ‘the whole story of Octavia, as Daniel treats it, is an oblique comment on the Countess’s personal situation’.⁸¹ The dedication would have been understood by the acquaintances of the Countess as a very direct reference to her as a ‘great afflicted Ladie’, (sig. [A1^r] separate register), deserted, as was Octavia, by a philandering husband. Daniel decries his capacity, as of ‘the meaner sort’ to envisage the sorrows of the great, but he ‘adventur’d to bestow | Words upon grieffe, as my griefes comprehend ... Out of my feelings’ (sig. [A1^r], separate register). The traditional Aristoteleian concept of tragedies, that they told of happenings to great men, seems to be referenced here; desertion of a tradesman’s wife would not be worthy of poetry whereas that of Octavia (and of the Countess) was. Yet again in a dedication, Daniel makes reference to his own circumstances and perhaps a plea for additional employment:

Yet have I here adventur’d to bestow
 Words upon grieffe, as my griefes comprehend ...
 And here the same, I bring forth, to attend
 Upon thy reverent name, to live with thee ...
 Most vertuous Ladie, that vouchsaf’st to lend
 Eare to my notes, and comfort unto me,
 That one day may thine owne faire vertues spread
 Be’ing secretarie now, but to the dead. (sig. [A1^r], separate register)

There seems an echo in the words ‘to live with thee’ of those addressed to Mountjoy in the dedication to the *Civile wars*: ‘I | That liv’d by thee’.⁸² The patronage Daniel received has provided him not simply with literary approval but the more tangible benefit of accommodation.

Following the dedication, Daniel presents a detailed ‘Argument’ which follows Plutarch closely in outlining Octavia’s circumstances. I discuss Daniel’s use of Plutarch in relation to *Cleopatra* in a later chapter; it is clear that it was a resource to which he returned for ‘Octavia’. The ‘Letter’ has a ring of authenticity regarding the feelings of a deserted wife without directly naming the Countess of Cumberland. The biography of the Countess states, ‘her affections towards him (the Earl of Cumberland) remained undiminished ... [she was] an exceedingly pious lady, a zealous puritan’.⁸³ Daniel did not omit to acknowledge an earlier

⁸¹ Rees, *Samuel Daniel*, p. 76.

⁸² Daniel, *The poeticall essayes*, sig. [A1^r].

⁸³ Richard T. Spence, ‘Clifford (née Russell), Margaret, countess of Cumberland (1560-1616)’, *ODNB*, article 5655, [accessed 27 March 2020].

patroness, the Countess of Pembroke, by his inclusion, virtually unchanged, of the lengthy dedicatory verse epistle prefacing *The Tragedie of Cleopatra*. *Delia* however is omitted entirely: the 1599 volume closes with ‘Rosamond’, perhaps to supplement his tribute to the Countess of Cumberland.

Daniel’s publisher, Simon Waterson, must have found sufficient buyers for the *Poetical essayes* to warrant a near repeat in 1601 but under the title *The workes of Samuel Daniel newly augmented*. Augmentation neatly describes the addition of another book and a new dedication to the *Civile Wars*, some changes to *Cleopatra* and the other works plus a reappearance of *Delia*, now revised. Possibly the most significant change in terms of Daniel’s standing on the literary scene is the dedication of the *Civile Wars*, with a flamboyant royal coat of arms as headpiece, ‘To her sacred Majestie’.⁸⁴ It is possible that the failed uprising of the Earl of Essex early in 1601 made a judicious show of loyalty on Daniel’s part wise; both Greville and Mountjoy had moved in the same circles as Essex. Daniel’s ‘dedication’ was moderate in tone compared with other effusions printed that year; a flattering portrait of Elizabeth, surrounded by biblical texts, prefaced *Cæsars dialogue* by E. Nesbit.⁸⁵ By contrast, the recurrent emphasis throughout Daniel’s verse epistle is on ‘peace’: Elizabeth is praised as the ‘Queene of Peace’ for the ‘th’intire release | From bloud and sorrowes by thy governing’.⁸⁶ In fact, the dedication is a reworking of the sentiments expressed in stanzas 3 and 4 of the first book, ‘the blisse of thee ELIZA’, and Daniel’s own desire for quiet and calm to do his work. The third and fourth verses of the dedication state this desire explicitly:

I who by that most blessed hand sustain’d
In quietnes, do eat the bread of rest:
And by that all-reviving powre obtain’d
That comfort which my Muse and me hath blest ...
Whereto if these my Labors shall attaine,
And which, if Fortune give me leave to end,
It will not be the least worke of thy Raigne ...⁸⁷

Daniel has lost the diffidence of his earlier years: these are the words of a man confident in his skills and also aware of the environment in which he could best use them. The final verses of the sixth book of the *Civile wars* leave open the question of whether he should continue his account: ‘Our sighes had ended, and my Muse had ceast ... And knowes not yet what to

⁸⁴ Samuel Daniel, *The workes of Samuel Daniel newly augmented* (London, 1601).

⁸⁵ E. Nesbit, *Cæsars dialogue or A familiar communication containing the first institution of a subject, in allegiance to his soveraigne* (London, 1601).

⁸⁶ Daniel, *Workes*, sig. A2^r.

⁸⁷ Daniel, *Workes*, sig. A2^r, A2^v.

resolve upon, | Whether to leave off heere, or else go on.’⁸⁸ This hesitancy, whether real or feigned, to continue his historical work could be linked to the difficulty of ensuring that his portrayal of the comparatively recent establishment of the Tudor dynasty would not offend the monarch. The *Workes* as with the earlier *Essayes* was printed with separate registers for the main texts, enabling the bookseller to sell by parts or bound as a whole. This would seem to imply that the dedication to Queen Elizabeth was intended to apply to the *Civile wars* alone. Whether the dedication of the *Civile wars* was effective in gaining royal favour is unclear; it may have been useful to deflect attention from any possible connection with the Essex conspiracy of that year. Daniel’s patrons Greville and Mountjoy were on the periphery of events, which in future years were to cause him trouble as I will describe later in this chapter.

One literary figure who believed that Daniel had been favoured by royalty was Henry Chettle, who on the Queen’s death in 1603, castigates Daniel for his failure to commemorate her through verse:

He that could so well sing the fatall strife
Between the royall Roses White and Red,
That prais’d so oft *Eliza* in her life,
His Muse seems now to dye, as she is dead:
 Thou sweetest song-man of all English swaines,
 Awake for shame, honour ensues thy paines.⁸⁹

Daniel was not the only poet so chastised, merely the first in a list of ten, but from the wording it would seem that Daniel had composed other pieces, possibly in manuscript but now unknown, specifically praising Elizabeth, apart from the almost obligatory mentions of ‘*Eliza*’ or ‘*Eliza*’s reign’ which appear scattered amongst his texts.⁹⁰ The 1602 edition of *The workes* is differentiated from the 1601 by the date of printing and by variations in the quality and dimensions of paper used. Pitcher states ‘most of the 1601 issue were large-paper gift copies – Daniel gave copies to Queen Elizabeth and to Sir Thomas Egerton – while the 1602 issue, on less expensive paper, was for general sale’.⁹¹ A ‘large-paper’ edition would be printed from the same typesetting but with wider margins than usual enabling careful and

⁸⁸ Daniel, *Workes*, sig. Tiii^v.

⁸⁹ Henry Chettle, *Englandes mourning garment* (London, 1603) STC (2nd ed.) 5122, sig. D1^v.

⁹⁰ Identification of Daniel made by Katherine Duncan-Jones, ‘Poetry and Poets in John Lane’s “The corrected Historie of Gwy Earle of Warwick” 1621’, in *In the Prayse of Writing: Early Modern Manuscript Studies*, ed. by S.P. Cerasano and Steven W. May (London: British Library, 2012), pp. 93-113 (p.102).

⁹¹ John Pitcher, ““After the manner of Horace” : Samuel Daniel in the Bodleian in 1605’, *The Papers of the Bibliographic Society of America*, 113(2) (June, 2019), 149–86 (p. 154).

elaborate binding, possibly including an individually printed dedication or title page. Typographical differences between the two editions are discussed in Chapter Three, Introduction to *The Tragedie of Cleopatra*.

Patronage rewarded

Daniel would appear to have maintained his connections with his earliest patron, Sir Edward Dymoke and indeed with the Dymoke family. Sir Edward's youngest brother, Tailboys Dymoke, wrote under the pseudonym of Thomas Cutwode an allegorical piece, *Caltha poetarum, or, The bumble bee*. The preface 'To the conceited Poets of our age' speaks of 'sweete pleasing *Sidney*. *Tasso* the grave. Polished *Daniel* the Historick. *Spenser* the Truthes Faith'.⁹² This tribute to Daniel and the whole poem survive despite *Caltha poetarum* being included on a list of works, 'satires, epigrams and licentious poems', which the Stationers Company were ordered to burn.⁹³ In 1602, Daniel's friend and publisher Simon Waterson of the Stationers' Company brought out a translation of Guarini's *Il Pastor fido*. The translation is believed to have been made by John Dymoke, a relative of the 'Syr Edward Dymock' to whom Daniel dedicated *Paulus Jovius*. Waterson himself wrote an explanatory dedication addressed to Sir Edward: 'Syr, this worke was committed to me to publish to the world, and by reason of the nearest of kinne to the deceased Translator ... I knew none fitter to Patronize the same', he ends with 'to whom I wish all happinesse, and a prosperous new year, London this last of December, 1601'.⁹⁴ It is possible that Daniel brought the translation to Waterson's attention, for Daniel himself wrote a graceful and grateful prefatory sonnet, also addressed to Sir Edward Dymoke, which evokes the memory of their travels in Italy some ten years earlier and conversations with Guarini:

I do rejoyce learned and worthy Knight...
Thy deare esteem'd Guarini comes to light:
 Who in thy love I know tooke great delight ...
Though I remember he hath oft imbas'd
Unto us both, the vertues of the North,
Saying, our costes were with no measures grac'd,
Nor barbarous tongues could any verse bring forth.⁹⁵

This warm recollection of an encounter with 'deere esteem'd Guarini' may have influenced the choice of a pastoral theme for Daniel's later works, *The Queen's Arcadia* and *Hymen's*

⁹² Tailboys Dymoke, *pseud.* Thomas Cutwode, *Caltha poetarum: or The bumble bee* (London, 1599), sig. A5^r.

⁹³ Eleri Larkum, 'Dymoke Tailboys [*pseud.* Thomas Cutwode], *ODNB*, article 6985.

⁹⁴ Battista Guarini, *Il Pastor fido, or the faithfull shepheard, Translated out of Italian into English* (London, 1602), sig. [A2^r].

⁹⁵ Guarini, sig [A1^v].

Triumph. In Eccles's view, Daniel 'chose *Il Pastor Fido* as a model' for these works.⁹⁶ Guarini's teasing words had been referenced within Daniel's dedication of *Cleopatra*: 'Now when so many pennes (like Speares) are charg'd, | To chase away this tyrant of the North: | *Gross Barbarism ...*'.⁹⁷

New opportunities: a change of monarch

As has been noted, the death of Elizabeth in March 1603 did not lead Daniel to eulogise her; he put his poetic talents to more practical use in preparing for the arrival of a new monarch, James, by writing *A panegyricke congratatorie*. This was delivered to the King when he paused at Lord Harrington's house in Rutland on his progress south from Scotland to take up the throne. It is not recounted whether Daniel recited the over seventy verses to the King or simply presented an autograph manuscript but as a bid for royal favour it succeeded. Daniel's 'sweet', 'sugared' words become a torrent of approbation and advice, with an admixture of historical and geographical information. Daniel presents himself as a loyal subject, ending with 'The pedestal whereon thy Greatnesse stands, | Is built of all our hearts, and all our hands.'⁹⁸ Through the work of his 'hands' Daniel was endeavouring to secure for himself a reliable base (if not the glory of a 'pedestal') within court favour; within weeks the *Panegyrike* was rushed into print.⁹⁹ The publication was not only a signal to all Daniel's friends and patrons that he was, potentially, in royal favour (the title alone, *A panegyrike congratulatory delivered to the Kings most excellent majesty at Burleigh Harrington in Rutlandshire*, proclaimed that) but also that they had not been forgotten. Included within the volume were no less than six epistles 'after the manner of Horace written to diverse noble personages'.¹⁰⁰ The epistles are formal in style; it is possible that they had been written for inclusion in individual presentation gift copies of the 1601 *Works*: Pitcher mentions Sir Thomas Egerton as one recipient of such a copy. The 'six' were in order of presentation within the volume: Sir Thomas Egerton (keeper of the Privy Seal); Lord Henry Howard (member of the Privy Council); Lady Margaret, the Countess of Cumberland; Lady Lucy Countess of Bedford (daughter of Sir John Harrington, and possibly the instigator of Daniel's presence at Burleigh Harrington); Lady Anne Clifford (his former pupil and daughter of the

⁹⁶ Eccles, p. 166.

⁹⁷ Daniel, *Delia and Rosamond augmented*, sig. H5^v.

⁹⁸ Samuel Daniel, *A panegyrike congratatorie* (London, 1603), STC (2nd ed.) 6259, sig. [B4^r].

⁹⁹ Pitcher states printing occurred within eight weeks of accession which would imply it was for sale in London within days of James's arrival there, *ODNB*.

¹⁰⁰ Daniel, *Panegyrike*, inner title leaf preceding sig.C1^r.

Countess of Cumberland); and finally Henry Wriothesly, Earl of Southampton. If these were insufficient claims to aristocratic acquaintances, William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, son of the now Dowager Countess of Pembroke, was the dedicatee of an additional major piece, *A Defence of Ryme*, whilst Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford is the addressee of an explanatory letter relating to a whimsical piece, ‘A distressed man in a boate upon the sea’. Previous publications had brought together disparate elements, the *Poetical Essays* of 1599 combined five books of the *Civile Wars* with *Musophilus*, ‘Octavia’, *Cleopatra* and ‘Rosamond’, but the *Panegyrike* package was a massive marketing opportunity for Daniel which he exploited to the full.

The *Defence of Ryme* was Daniel’s response to Thomas Campion’s 1602 *Observations in the Art of English Poesy* and he claimed it was initially formulated as a ‘private letter ... to a Learned gentleman, a great friend of mine, then in Court’(sig. G2^r). The ‘Learned gentleman’ was William Herbert, who having succeeded his father as Earl of Pembroke, had joined the court shortly after James’s accession. Daniel addressed his prefatory remarks ‘To all the Worthie Lovers and learned Professors of Ryme within his Majesties Dominion ... seeing the times to promise more regarde to the present condition of our writings, in respect of our Soveraignes happy inclination this way’ he decided to give ‘a greater body to the same Argument’ (sig. G2^v). Without explicitly saying so, Daniel is intimating he has royal approval for his own poetic style and writings whilst also claiming the ‘patronage of a Noble Earle’ (sig. G2^v). Daniel would certainly have been well acquainted with William Herbert, then a youth, from his time at Wilton, which he recalls:

Having beene first encourag’d or framed thereunto by your most Worthy and Honourable Mother, receiving the first notion for the formall ordering of those compositions at *Wilton*, which I must ever acknowledge to have beene my best Schoole, and therefore always am to hold a feeling and gratefull Memory. Afterwards drawn farther on by the well liking and approbation of my worthy Lord, the fosterer of mee and my Muse, I adventured to bestow all my whole powers therin...¹⁰¹

¹⁰¹ Daniel, *Panegyrike*, sig. G3^r.



Daniel Mytens (1590-1648), Portrait of William Herbert 3rd Earl of Pembroke (1580-1630), from a private collection on display at Audley End House, Essex.

As ever, Daniel combines generous acknowledgement of help and encouragement received with an assertion of his own worth as a poet. He must surely also have been encouraged by the praise he received from fellow authors. Daniel's choice of words, his championing of the use of the English tongue and his facility in this, were commended by many of his contemporaries, amongst them Anthony Gibson: 'Had I a Spencers spirit, a Daniels powers'; Francis Davison, 'SAMUEL DANIEL, *Prince of English Poets* ... Liricall...Tragicall... Heroicall'; Robert Anton, 'Morrall Daniell with his pleasing phrase'; Josuah Sylvester, 'some sweet Daniell'; Augustine Taylor, 'Sweet'st Daniell ... t'make our Language famous'.¹⁰² Lodge and Davison were not the only poets to address Daniel at the start of a verse or short work. Thomas Bastard did so with Epigram 16, '*Ad Samuelem Danielem*', a Latinisation which may have irritated such a vocal advocate of the English language, despite the praise of his skill which followed.¹⁰³ With the self deprecation which was an accepted way to put verse before the reading public, Richard Nugent's sonnets to *Cynthia* contain the wish that Daniel 'should his glorious muse, her worth unmaske', an economical method of complimenting both 'Cynthia' and Daniel.¹⁰⁴

A surprising constituent of the *Panegyrike* volume is a short poem, with an uncharacteristically lengthy title:

The passion of a distressed man, who being in a tempest on the Sea, & having in his boate two women, of whom he loved the one that disdained him, and scorned the other, who affected him, was by commandment from *Neptune*, to cast out one of them to appease the rage of the tempest, but which, was reserved to his own choyce.¹⁰⁵

The poem could almost be seen as a pastiche of Daniel's style and subject; it is about vacillation, a theme he often pursued. However, it could also be Daniel's reflections on the choice he has made to fully support James. The ending 'But here I must | Be of a side, to goe against my hart, | And her disdaine her due reward must have | She must be cast away that would not save', could signify Daniel abandoning past unrequited loyalty to Queen Elizabeth for a new patron.¹⁰⁶ A single leaf, held by the British Library and given the same STC numbering (6259) as the *Panegyrike*, is addressed to 'Edward Seymour | Earle of Hertford: |

¹⁰² Alexandre de Pontaymeri, *A womans woorth* trans. by Anthony Gibson (London, 1599), sig. [A7r]; Francis Davison, *A poetical rapsody* (London, 1602), sig. [E8^v]; Robert Anton, *The philosophers satyrs* (London, 1616), p. 64; Josuah Sylvester, *The parliament of vertues royal* (London, 1614), sig. F3^r; Augustine Taylor, *Encomiasticke elegies* (London, 1614), sig. A3^v.

¹⁰³ Thomas Bastard, *Chrestoleros* (London, 1598), p. 140.

¹⁰⁴ Richard Nugent, *Cynthia containing direfull sonnets* (London, 1604), sig. [A4^v].

¹⁰⁵ Daniel, *Panegyrike*, sig. F2^r.

¹⁰⁶ Daniel, *Panegyrike*, sig. E3^v.

concerning his question of a distressed | man in a Boate upon the Seas’ and has ‘Samvel Daniel’ printed at the foot of the page. Daniel explains to Seymour ‘I judge of this case (which your Honour hath moved unto me) as my selfe do stand looking thorow the prospective of mine own imagination’.¹⁰⁷ The theme would therefore appear to have been suggested by Seymour to Daniel and the letter shows that *Cleopatra* was not his only work whose genesis was the prompting of a patron. The poem together with the Epistles and the *Panegyrike* itself demonstrates that Daniel is now moving not simply in an aristocratic household but within the periphery of the royal court itself.

Royal patronage

The newly formed royal court surrounding James and his wife, Anne of Denmark, was a milieu in which both Daniel and a friend from his time at Oxford, John Florio, flourished. Florio’s translation of Montaigne’s *Essays*, printed in 1603, was dedicated to, amongst others, ‘Lucie Countesse of Bedford’ and ‘her best-most loved-loving Mother, *Ladie Anne Harrington*’.¹⁰⁸ The evidence of page signatures suggests that a piece by Daniel ‘To my dere friend M. *John Florio*, concerning *his translation of Montaigne*’ was typeset, together with a list of ‘Errors and omissions’, after the initial print run (sig. ¶1^r, ¶2^r). The positioning and signatures of these pages imply that Daniel was enabled to read a proof copy of Florio’s work; possibly Florio and he jointly checked the proofs. Daniel writes of the proliferation of the written word, ‘*This Babel of our skill, this Towre of wit... But yet although we labour with this store... And have too many bookes, yet want we more*’ (sig. ¶1^r). He then praises Montaigne as ‘*this great Potentate, This Prince*’ (sig. ¶1^r). In a tribute to the skills of translators and in particular of Florio, he says:

Wrap Excellencie up never so much,
In Hieroglyphicques, Ciphers, Characters,
And let her speake never so strange a speech
Her Genius yet finds apt discipherers. (sig. ¶1^v)

In her biography of Florio, Frances Yates asserts that Florio married Daniel’s sister, but there is no record of this and the evidence seems to rely on phraseology.¹⁰⁹ Daniel addressed Florio

¹⁰⁷ Leaf, no signature, British Library, STC (2nd ed.) 6259.

¹⁰⁸ Michel de Montaigne, *The essays*, trans. by John Florio (London, 1603), STC (2nd ed.) 18041, sig. A2^r.

¹⁰⁹ Frances A. Yates, *John Florio: The Life of an Italian in Shakespeare’s England* (New York: Octagon, 1968), p. 54.

as ‘my deare brother and friend’ in the revised commendatory verse included with the 1613 printing of Montaigne’s *Essays*; in 1603 the verse was to ‘my deere friend’.¹¹⁰

By 1613, the fortunes of both Daniel and Florio had changed significantly, both being favoured by Queen Anne. The publication in 1611 by Florio of *Queen Anna’s new world of words*, enabled Florio to declare his status on the title page as ‘Reader of the Italian unto the Sovereign Majestie of ANNA’ and ‘one of the Gentlemen of hir Royall Privie Chamber’.¹¹¹ Daniel’s verse addressed ‘To my deere friend and brother ... one of the Gentlemen of hir Majesties Royall Privy-chamber’ both applauds Florio’s industry and marvels at his ability to devote so much effort to it, ‘so many serious howres’ (sig. [¶4^r]). What Daniel fails to mention here is that he too is ‘one of the Gentlemen extraordinarie of her Majesties most royall privie Chamber’, or as he stated in 1607 ‘one of the groomes of the Queenes Maiesties privie Chamber’.¹¹² Sadly for both Florio and Daniel, status didn’t necessarily equal financial reward. After Queen Anne’s death, their salaries were quoted as £100 and £60 per annum, respectively but overdue amounts then went unpaid.¹¹³

Daniel had achieved his employment status in the court after undertaking various royal commissions for entertainments. The fashion was for elaborate set pieces, masques, in which both professionals and members of the court could perform. Daniel’s 1604 ‘Vision of the 12 goddesses’ must have been spectacularly memorable since an unauthorised version was printed, which enabled Daniel to inveigh against ‘the unmannerly presumption of an indiscreet Printer’ whilst bringing out his own more detailed version.¹¹⁴ He dedicated the work to the Countess of Bedford: in the masque she was robed as a goddess, as were the Queen and ten other court ladies. Daniel describes in painstaking detail the costumes and scenery: ‘Pallas (which was the person her Majestie chose to represent) was attyred in a blew mantle, with a silver imbrodery of all weapons and engines of war, with a helmet-dressing on her head, and presents a Launce and target.’¹¹⁵ His detailed instructions for performers, which contained not just their words, but also their movements and intentions, make the contrast between the stylised spectacle of a masque and the neo-Senecan *Tragedie of Cleopatra* clear. Daniel was now writing works for performance, even though within a narrow remit. The

¹¹⁰ Michel de Montaigne, *The Essays* (London, 1613), STC (2nd ed.) 18042, sig. A3^r.

¹¹¹ John Florio, *Queen Anna’s new world of words* (London, 1611), STC (2nd ed.) 11099, title page.

¹¹² Montaigne, (1613), sig. A3^v; Daniel, *Certaine small workes* (1607), frontispiece.

¹¹³ Yates, p. 247-8.

¹¹⁴ Samuel Daniel, *The vision of the 12 goddesses* (London, 1604), STC (2nd ed.) 6265, sig. A3^r.

¹¹⁵ Daniel, *The vision*, sig.A 4^v.

Queen's subsequent appointment of Daniel as licensor of the Children of the Queen's Revels was not, however, a success. The wording of the patent empowering Daniel would seem wide ranging: 'Provided allwaies that noe such Playes or Shewes shal be presented before the said Queene our wife by the said Children or by them any where publiqelie acted but by the approbacion and allowaunce of Samuell Danyell, whome her pleasure is to appoint for that purpose'.¹¹⁶ Sadly, Daniel failed in political acumen by his choice of plays to be performed. A major mistake was in electing that his own play, *The Tragedie of Philotas*, be presented at court where the plot was unfortunately understood to be a reference to the Essex affair of 1601. As Richard Dutton points out, Daniel was 'the first dramatist held individually accountable by the Privy Council as the author of a play'.¹¹⁷ Daniel claimed that the first acts of his play had been written before the events of 1601, citing Mountjoy as one who saw the early drafts. This was a signally poor choice of potential witness: Mountjoy himself had been at risk as one on the periphery of the conspiracy so was annoyed at being linked with the play. Daniel made the plea that it did but present 'the universall notions of ambition and envie the perpetuall argumen^{ts} of bookes & tragedies'.¹¹⁸

Daniel managed to excuse himself effectively enough for the play to be printed in 1605 in *Certaine small poems lately printed with the tragedie of Philotas*. He further attempted to ensure that the work would be viewed favourably by dedicating it to Prince Henry, James's eldest son. The epistle 'To the Prince' emphasises the moral lessons to be learnt and dangers to be averted: 'Here shall you see, how men disguise their ends, | And playte bad courses under pleasing shews'.¹¹⁹ The latter half of the dedication focuses on Daniel himself: 'Though I the remnant of another time ... never had my harmlesse Pen at all | Distained with any loose unmodestie ... I have out lived the date | Of former grace, acceptance, and delight' and he bemoans that his 'Muse ... hath sung ynow | And more then wilbe heard, and then as good | As not to write, as not be understood'.¹²⁰ These words seem to be addressed to his accusers rather than Prince Henry, claiming to be misunderstood was part of Daniel's defence. The separate register for *Philotas* implies that the tragedy was

¹¹⁶ E. K. Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage*, 4 vols (Oxford: Clarendon, 1923), II, p. 235.

¹¹⁷ Richard Dutton, *Mastering the Revels: The Regulation and Censorship of English Renaissance Drama* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1991), p. 165.

¹¹⁸ Lucy Munro, *Children of the Queen's Revels: A Jacobean Theatre Repertory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 140.

¹¹⁹ Samuel Daniel, *Certaine small poems lately printed with the tragedie of Philotas* (London, 1605), STC (2nd ed.) 6239, separate register sig. A4^r.

¹²⁰ Daniel, *Certaine small poems*, separate register, sig. [A5^r]

typeset at a different time from the rest of the volume, perhaps betraying uncertainty about its reception.

Questions of attribution

In a more lighthearted vein were the verses included in Pierre Erondelle's *The French garden*, 'In commendation of Mounsieur Erondel and his Garden'.¹²¹ Sellers identifies the four stanzas as by Daniel: they are 'signed S.D, a not infrequent signature by Daniel.'¹²² The '*Garden*' is an instructional text for the French language specifically written for women. Daniel apparently enjoyed reading it: he wrote '*Gramercy Monsieur, for this winters flight, ... this Garden others all exceedes, | Where everie one gets flowers, none finde weedes*'.¹²³ From his time with the Countess of Pembroke, his tutorship of Lady Anne Clifford and his service in the court of Queen Anne, Daniel would have been aware of the abilities of educated women so it is unsurprising that Erondelle's work clearly met with his approval: 'Where former age regarded not their neede, Before all others thou has done the deede' (sig [A6^r]).

A much earlier dedicatory verse also has 'S. D.' attached to it. Written shortly after the defeat of the Spanish Armada and addressed to Queen Elizabeth it reads:

England to hir Queene,
S.D.
Eternall yeares, thee prosper and uphold,
(My soveraigne Queene) the MIGHTIE HAND,
And grante thee morne and evening to behold,
Health, content, joy, on thee, and me thy land.
Treasure heaped up, of silver and of gold,
Both day and night, within thy presence stand,
And for reward befall upon thy foe,
Punishment and paine, with ever during wo (sig. A1^v).

The verse precedes a dedicatory epistle to Lord Howard by James Lea, an author of a few anti-catholic works, prefacing his translation from Spanish of a piece decrying falsehoods disseminated after the defeat.¹²⁴ In his known works, Daniel's name or 'S. D.' is positioned after a piece, rather than below the opening phrase, but this is inconclusive as evidence for or

¹²¹ Pierre Erondelle, *The French garden for English ladyes and gentlewomen to walke in* (London, 1605) STC (2nd ed.) 10513, sig. [A6^r].

¹²² Sellers, p. 32.

¹²³ Erondelle, sig. [A6^r].

¹²⁴ D. F. R. de M., *An answer to the Untruths* (London, 1589) (STC (2nd ed.) 17132). Item held by the Huntington Library, San Merino, California.

against authorship; a printer may be following a house style. I have not identified any other author than Daniel using 'S.D.' in the late sixteenth century. A possibility is that 'S.D.' is an abbreviation for 'salutem dicit', a standard preliminary remark of the time, but this initially appeared unlikely since it does not appear above a verse entitled 'England to hir Admirall' nor the epistolary address to Lord Howard, both individually signed by Lea. However, on pages included in the two British Library copies of the work but omitted from the Huntington Library photographs which I consulted on EEBO is another verse with 'S.D.' below the title. This verse entitled 'The author to hir Majestie' is presumably by James Lea, so the implication is that 'S. D.' was simply 'salutem dicem'. If the lines were by Daniel, then they do not appear to have gained him Elizabeth's favour. It would be many years before Daniel was to dedicate a work of his own, the *Civile Warres*, to Queen Elizabeth.

Royal favour restored

Whilst the early part of 1605 was marred for Daniel by the debacle of *Philotas*, the later months found him restored to royal favour. King James and his entourage visited Oxford in late August and amongst the entertainments arranged for them was 'A Pastorall tragedie-comedie' written by Daniel. This, initially entitled *Arcadia Reformed*, was performed in front of an audience including the King, the Queen, Prince Henry and many notables and was a success; a factor in its success may have been that it was in English, for many of the previous ceremonial events had been declaimed in Latin. Waterson published the play the following year as *The Queenes Arcadia*, further emphasising the royal connection on the title page: 'presented to her Majestie and her Ladies, by the Universitie of Oxford in Christ Church, in August last, 1605'.¹²⁵ Unusually, 'Samuel Daniel' or even 'S. D.' does not appear on the frontispiece or elsewhere in the publication, but there may have been an outer title page now lost. The address immediately following 'The names of the Actors' is to the Queen; her love of masques may have prompted the choice of Daniel as author. In place of a signature at the end of the 'address' is the phrase 'Chi non fa, non falla' (He who does nothing, achieves nothing) (sig. A2^v), an acknowledgement of the Queen's ability in Italian.

The King's literary interests were well known and whilst in Oxford he made a formal visit to the University's new Library, nowadays known as the Bodleian. Pitcher surmises that Daniel marked the occasion by presenting to the library a bound volume consisting of the

¹²⁵ Samuel Daniel, *The Queenes Arcadia* (London, 1606), STC (2nd ed.) 6262.

addressed to Queen Elizabeth it would seem a pragmatic decision to supplant a deceased patron by one who potentially would collect further works by Daniel for the library.

Although Daniel's role at court may have precluded the ability to spend time on his own writing, he did maintain interest in the work of others; a sonnet 'To my good friend, M. Sylvester' accompanied Josuah Sylvester's translation of Du Bartas. He praises 'industrious SYLVESTER' and commends the ability to 're-convey | The best of treasures from a Forraine Coast'.¹³⁰ The foreign coast was that of France and the work which Sylvester translated was a creation epic *La Semaine* by the protestant Du Bartas. Over a dozen of Sylvester's friends and acquaintances provided commendatory pieces, but that by Daniel, perhaps at that time the most pre-eminent of them in the literary world, carries conviction. It is also one of Daniel's few references to religious belief:

And heer enrich us with th'immortall store
Of other's sacred lines; which from them brought,
Comes by thy taking greater then before:
So hast thou lighted from a flame devout,
As great a flame, that never shall goe out. (sig. [B5^r])

The death of Mountjoy

1606 brought a different type of tribute from Daniel when his patron, Mountjoy, who by then had become Earl of Devonshire, died. Daniel in writing a 'Funerall poem' expresses his personal grief, whilst acknowledging his indebtedness for patronage:

Now shalt thou have the service of my pen,
(The tongue of my best thoughts) and in this case,
I cannot be suppos'd to flatter, when
I speak behind thy backe, not to thy face
And am untied from any other chaine
Than of my love, which free-borne draws free breath;
The benefite thou gav'st me to sustaine
My humble life, I lose it by thy death ...
 And thus Great Patrone of my muse have I
Paid thee my vowes, and fairly cleer'd th'accounts
Which in my love I owe thy memory. ¹³¹

Daniel implicitly acknowledges that some of his dedications and commendatory works in the past may have been written 'to flatter' the recipient, or in recompense for the 'chaine' of

¹³⁰ Du Bartas, *Bartas his devine weekes and workes translated, & dedicated to the Kings most excellent Majestie*, by Josuah Sylvester (London, 1605), STC (2nd ed.) 21649, sig [B5^r].

¹³¹ Samuel Daniel, *A funerall poem uppon the death of the late noble Earle of Devonshire* (London, 1606) sig. A1^v, A3^r, sig. C2^r.

duty, but here he is writing freely. Though a formal piece – it was written to be read at the time of Mountjoy’s funeral – it conveys a personal sense of loss whilst paying tribute to Mountjoy’s love of learning and his patronage. Daniel wrote of Mountjoy’s character:

Milde, affable, and easie of accesse
He was, but with a due reservednes:
So that the passage to his favours lay
Not common to all commers, nor yet was
So narrow, but it gave a gentle way
To such as fitly might or ought to passe. (sig. B2^v)

The poem was revised for inclusion in *Certaine small workes* which was published the following year; Daniel included a passage relating to Mountjoy’s military success in Ireland in the final months of Elizabeth’s reign. Irish rebels under Tyrone reinforced by a Spanish contingent were decisively defeated, the Spaniards being besieged by Mountjoy in Kinsale. Daniel avoids describing the fighting, but portrays Mountjoy encouraging his men: ‘And for my parte I counte the field to bee | The honourable bed to dye upon, | And here your eies this day shall either see | My body laid, or else this action donne.’¹³² There seems an echo here of the rather more rousing speech of encouragement in *Henry V* (IV.3) which Shakespeare had written some years earlier.¹³³ Richard Dutton has argued for a reference in the Prologue to Act V to be to Mountjoy: Essex is usually assumed to be the subject.¹³⁴

the general of our gracious Empress,
As in good time he may, from Ireland coming,
Bringing rebellion broached on his sword. (l. 30–2)

Dutton contends that *Henry V* was revised in 1602 to include the passage, shortly after news came of Mountjoy’s defeat of the Irish rebels. As Shakespeare’s play was presented at court in 1605, it was entirely possible that Daniel saw it and later recalled passages when composing the funeral poem.

The building of Daniel’s life

Daniel’s inveterate habit of amending, adding, and revising was clearly exercised in the preparation of *Certaine small workes heretofore divulged by Samuel Daniel one of the groomes of the Queenes Majesties privie Chamber, & now againe by him corrected and*

¹³² Daniel, *Certaine small workes* (1607), sig. [V5^v].

¹³³ Editors use internal evidence to date *Henry V* to 1599.

¹³⁴ Richard Dutton “‘Methinks the truth should live from age to age’: The Dating and Contexts for *Henry V*”, *The Huntington Library Quarterly*, Vol. 68, No. 1-2 (March 2005), pp. 173-204.

augmented.¹³⁵ Waterson, whilst arranging for the publication and sale of Daniel's works must have bemoaned the inability to absorb any overruns of previous years when there were such substantial changes in the text. The title emphasises Daniel's position at court while also making a connection between the purchaser and author in the careful wording of 'heretofore divulged'; the book buyer is confirmed in his opinion of himself as an appreciative and informed individual. The opening piece echoes some of Daniel's thoughts from the Bodleian poem in 'To the Reader'. The enduring nature of the written word and in particular his own work is envisaged: 'I know I shalbe read, among the rest | So long as men speake english, and so long | As verse and vertue shalbe in request', (sig. [C4^r]). In justification for the emendations to his works in the volume, all previously published and in some cases previously amended, he gives the analogy of a building being refurbished: he is 'like to the curious builder who this yeare | Puls down, and alters what he did the last' (sig. C3^r). He continues the metaphor:

What I have done, it is mine owne I may
Do whatsoever therewithall I will
I may pull downe, raise and reedifie
It is the building of my life the fee
Of Nature, all th'inheritance that I
Shall leave to those which must come after me (sig. C3^r).

There is an almost elegaic tone to his words: 'And glad I am that I have lived to see | This edifice renewed ... For man is a tree | That hath his fruite late ripe' (sig. C3^v). This latter commonplace seems not to fit comfortably to a volume in which the only entirely new work was this prefatory piece, but in the context of achieving worldly success, an established and paid position at court and recognition as one of the pre-eminent poets of the day, perhaps it was appropriate. Daniel is portraying the changes in his life as a series of revisions; he is as much a creation as any of his works. The affair of *Philotas* clearly still rankled with Daniel: 'Authoritie of powerfull censure may | Prejudicate the forme wherein we mould | This matter of our spirit' (sig [C4^r]). In a slightly grudging apology for past mistakes he wishes that poetic faults were all that he had made: 'And would to God that nothing falty were | But only that poore accent in my verse' and admits to the 'errors of my judgement ...' (sig.[C4^v]). A desire to 'unrehearse | What I have vainly said' links the passage closely to the ill-fated performance of *Philotas* (sig [C4^r]). It reads as if the words had previously been spoken or written by him in exculpation; in the 1623 edition of the *Whole works* of Daniel a short piece

¹³⁵ Daniel, *Certaine small workes* (1607).

entitled ‘An Apology’ follows *Philotas*, it would appear to have been written, though not published, shortly after the debacle.¹³⁶ The placing of *The Tragedie of Philotas* immediately after ‘To the Reader’ would seem to be an affirmation of Daniel’s claim to the poetic integrity of his writings and in particular of *Philotas*.

The pieces within *Certaine small works* bear traces of rewriting to a greater or lesser degree. The lengthy 1605 dedication of *Philotas* to Prince Henry was much abbreviated for 1607; *Cleopatra* was virtually rewritten for this printing and those changes will be dealt with in the ‘Introduction to *The Tragedie of Cleopatra*’. *Musophilus* is dedicated as before to Fulke Greville, but with acknowledgement of his increased status: ‘To the right worthy knight Sir Foulke Grivell’. New wording expresses Daniel’s assessment of the importance of being true to himself after a period of self doubt:

And for my part, I have beene oft constrained
To reexamine this my course herein
And question with my selfe what is containd
Or what soliditie there was therein.
And then in casting it with that account
And recknings of the world, I therein found
It came farre short, and neither did amount
In valew, with those hopes I did propound
Nor answer’d the expences of my time
Which made me much distrust my selfe and ryme.

His conclusion contains a more positive note: ‘fresh forces come | And brought me back unto my selfe again’.¹³⁷ The final sentence contains an ambiguous message:

I have made good, against the difference
Of fortune, and the world, that which I told.
And have maintained your honour in the same
Who herein holds an interest in my fame.

One supposition may be that Daniel is maintaining, yet again, his innocence of any ill-intent in presenting *Philotas* to the court and claiming that he kept Greville’s name out of the affair. Alternatively, he is thanking Greville for his patronage and encouragement over the years which has enabled him to become a well known writer.

¹³⁶ Samuel Daniel, *The whole workes of Samuel Daniel Esquire in poetrie* (London, 1623), p. 253 (thumbnail 262, Early Modern Books, Huntington Library copy). NB As the volume includes overruns of various pieces, the page numbering is little help in ascertaining position.

¹³⁷ Unfortunately the pages of the 1607 *Certain small works* available to view on EEBO have been miscollated making page signatures difficult to ascertain.

In the same year, Edward Blount, who often co-operated with Simon Waterson to arrange printing and publication, published a volume of Daniel's works which commenced with *The Tragedie of Philotas*, complete with the lengthy 1605 dedication to Prince Henry.¹³⁸ This would imply that it predated *Certaine small works* and may have been printed in response to an immediate demand for Daniel's controversial play whilst the significantly larger *Certain small works* was in the course of preparation.

Other works

A volume which appeared in 1608 may have caught Daniel's eye for several reasons: it was *An Epitome of Frossard*, translated by P. Golding. It claimed to be a summary of those episodes from Froissart's famous *Histories* which concerned 'England and France' and had the benefit of being published 'Cum Privilegio'.¹³⁹ This was a situation where the monarch empowered the author to be also the publisher, cutting out the monopoly enjoyed by the Stationers Company, so any profit from its sale would be his. Daniel's abilities as both historian and linguist were known by the court and Golding's translation would certainly have been discussed there. Whether prompted by this publication or no, Daniel continued his verse history of the *Civile Wars* through two more books, forming an eight 'book' work which was published the following year. The title page of *The civile wars betweene the houses of Lancaster and Yorke corrected and continued* contains a portrait of Daniel, later much reproduced and appended to copies of his works, and a reminder of his position as 'one of the Groomes of hir Majesties most honourable Privie Chamber'.¹⁴⁰

The dedication is to the Dowager Countess of Pembroke and has a serious tone, almost one of a testamentary statement:

And, having nothing else to doo with my life, but to worke whil'st I have it; I held it my part, to adorne (the best I could) this Province, Nature hath allotted to my Charge: and which I desire to leave, after my death, in the best forme I may; seeing I can erect no other pillars to sustaine my memorie, but my lines, nor otherwise pay my debts and the recknings of my gratitude to their honour who have donne me good, and furthered this Worke (sig. A2^r).

¹³⁸ Samuel Daniel, *The Tragedie of Philotas* (London, 1607), STC (2nd ed.) 6263.

¹³⁹ Jean Froissart, *An epitome of Frossard*, trans. by P. Golding (London, 1608), title page.

¹⁴⁰ Daniel, *The civile wars* (1609), title page.



‘Samuel Daniel’ by Thomas Cockson after Unknown artist, line engraving,

© National Portrait Gallery, London.

The building analogy of ‘To the Reader’ reappears: ‘I can erect no other pillars ... but my lines’; his life is created by the written word. He was, by the dedication, making a belated acknowledgement that the first four books of his *Civile Wars* dated from around his time at Wilton in the early 1590s. In the event, Daniel lived for another ten years and abandoned the constraints of verse to write his more comprehensive *Collection of the historie of England*.

Daniel joined Sylvester in commending in verse the work of their friend Clement Edmondcs, *Observations upon Cæsars Comentarics*, which combined those aspects, history and translation, which Daniel seems to have respected most in the writing of others. Daniel’s choice of metaphor in the first quatrain of the sonnet links literary to scientific endeavours:

Who thus extracts, with more than Chymique Art,
The spirit of Bookes, shewes the true way to finde
Th’Elixer that our leaden Parts convert
Into the golden Metall of the Minde.¹⁴¹

Daniel’s defence of translation may have been prompted by a perceived slight in Ben Jonsons’s *Volpone*:

¹⁴¹ Clement Edmondcs, *Observations upon Cæsars Comentarics* (London, 1609), STC (2nd ed.) 7491, sig. [Aiii].

LAD, Here's *Pastor Fide* – VOLP, Professe obstinate silence,
 That's now, my safest, LAD, All our *Englishe Writers*,
 I meane such, as are happy in th' *Italian*,
 Will deigne to steale out of this *Author*, mainly;
 Almost as much, as from *Montaigne*;¹⁴²

A commission to write a masque for performance at the celebrations surrounding the investiture of Prince Henry as Prince of Wales would have occupied Daniel in the early months of 1610. *Tethys Festival*, performed at Whitehall, was devised to please the Queen and enable her and her ladies to appear in dramatic guise as the Queen of the Ocean and attendant nymphs. Daniel precedes his description of the performance of *Tethys Festival* with an apologetic piece, 'The Preface to the Reader': 'it is expected (according now to the custome) that I, being imployed in the busines, should publish a discription and forme of the late Mask'.¹⁴³ Daniel had clearly learnt from the 1604 *Vision of the twelve goddesses* that he should get his version into print quickly before a less authentic one appeared. He claims that he is doing this 'not, out of a desire, to be seene in pamphlets ... for I thank God, I labour not with that disease of ostentation ... having my name already wider in this kind, then I desire, and more in the winde then I would' (sig. E1^r). With such public self-effacement, Daniel achieves the publicity he claims to despise, a demonstration of the art of sprezzatura, whilst also decrying the hasty creation and printing of works in 'pamphlet' form. He does however end with an acknowledgement of 'the arte and invention of the Architect ... *Inago Iones*' (sig. E2^r). Whether Daniel was famous or not, Waterson clearly thought he was marketable and brought out a reprint (newly typeset) of *Certaine small works* in 1611. This contained at the end 'Faults escaped in printing', an unusual inclusion in Daniel's works; it is not clear whether every page had been checked, but the major pieces, *Philotas*, *Cleopatra* etc. had been scrutinised. Whether this was done by a meticulous foreman in the printing shop or by Daniel is not stated, but the final words seem to be from a person familiar with the problems of typesetting: 'Faults wherein letters are either turned, changed or wanting in the words, I leave uncorrected'.¹⁴⁴ A well-intentioned inclusion sadly fails in its purpose since for a reader to correct faults from the list is well nigh impossible as the numbers used to identify pages do not tally with the printing.

¹⁴² Ben Jonson, *Ben: Jonson his Volpone or The foxe* (London, 1607), sig. G2^r. See Eccles p. 166 for further discussion.

¹⁴³ Samuel Daniel, *The order and solemnitie of the creation of the High and mightie Prince Henry* (London, 1610), STC (2nd ed.) 13161, sig. E1^r.

¹⁴⁴ Samuel Daniel, *Certaine small works* (London, 1611), STC (2nd ed.) 6242, sig. [Q3v].

Daniel's attention may have been elsewhere as he prepared a prose history. This was far more ambitious in scope than his *Civile wars*; it was to be 'A briefe relation of the State of this land, from the first knowledge we have thereof ... especially from the coming of the Norman, to the end of the line of Tewdor.'¹⁴⁵ He dedicated the volume to Sir Robert Carr, Viscount Rochester, and makes the claim that he 'spent much time of my best understanding, in this part of humane Learning, Historie, both in forraine countries ... and also at home' (sig. A2^v). Daniel also makes an overt claim for Rochester's assistance in bringing the work to the attention of the King:

Nor can there be a better testimony to the world of your owne worth, then that you love and cherish the same, (wheresoever you finde it) in others. And if by your hand it may come to the sight of his Royall Majesty ... I shall think it happy (sig. A4r.)

The Latin tag which had been attached to many of his works 'Ætas prima canat veneres postrema tumultus' (see p. 17) which would seem apposite to this prose history, is omitted. Perhaps it had served as an excuse for writing verse, but now was unnecessary as Daniel had, in his eyes at least, reached the stage of more mature writing. The volume concludes with a piece entitled 'Errata', but which is more of a message to the reader. Daniel exculpates the printer, Nicholas Okes, from any faults – perhaps the pages of faults in the 1611 *Certaine small works* had been an irritation – and takes all upon himself.

For the Faults committed herein, Charitable Reader, know they are not the Printers (who hath bin honestly carefull for his part) but merely mine owne: freely confessing my selfe to be more an honorer then searcher of antiquities, that lie far off from us, and onely studious of the generall notions, which especially concerne the sucession of affaires of action, which is the part I have undertakeⁿ (p. 239).

He explains that 'this private impression, which is but of a few coppies for my friends' was merely a rough draft and would be amended and he makes a plea for the aid of his friends and 'worthy men that are furnisht with matter of this nature' to enable him do this (p. 239). Daniel uses the concept of a building yet again as he explains 'I ... am now come into a more playne and open passage, where I shall be better able to stand to answer for what shall be done' (p. 239). The *Historie* was published again the following year, but 'Printed for the Company of STATIONERS', which would appear to be an endorsement of the commercial value of Daniel's work.¹⁴⁶ The use of no fewer than three different printers, Humphrey

¹⁴⁵ Samuel Daniel, *The first part of the historie of England* (London, 1612), STC (2nd ed.) 6246, sig. B1^r.

¹⁴⁶ Pitcher, 'The 1612 quarto must have been an immediate success since the Stationers bought the book outright from Daniel (over two hundred copies) and reprinted it in 1613', *ODNB*.

Lownes, John Beale and William Jaggard, would enable the production of multiple copies quickly, each would deal with separate quires and use the 1612 edition as copytext, before the whole was collated.

By the second decade of the seventeenth century, Daniel had moved away from writing the verse so admired by fellow poets. His masques and prose history received far less attention than his earlier works. John Taylor was more concerned with achieving a neat anagram than in lauding Daniel: ‘To the worthy Gentleman Master | SAMUEL DANIEL. | Anagramma. | Iesu Amend all. | How ever my poore lines are understood | Yet I am sure thy Anagram is good’.¹⁴⁷ Jonson in his play *Epicoene or The silent Woman* manages to be both self referential and critical of others: ‘so thee may censure *poets*, and authors, and stiles, and compare ’hem, DANIEL with SPENSER, JONSON with the tother youth’.¹⁴⁸ Daniel still had loyal friends however, such as Sir John Harington; Daniel’s name and fame as a poet figured in his collection of epigrams. Epigram 100 pointed out ‘Lesbias rule of praise’, she only praised women whom she excelled in beauty: ‘So, *Linus* praises *Churchyard* in his censure, | Not *Sydney, Daniel, Constable* or *Spencer*’.¹⁴⁹ Daniel was thus linked in ability with Sidney and Spenser throughout his literary career, despite being overshadowed by them in retrospect.

Daniel was unable to devote his time entirely to his ambitious project, his duties at court continued and he was to compose a ‘Pastorall Tragicomaedie’ for the festivities surrounding the wedding of one of the Queen’s attendants, Jean Drummond, to Lord Roxborough.¹⁵⁰ The work was ‘Presented at the Queenes Court in the Strand’, a building which the Queen had had expensively refurbished and which figures more in Daniel’s dedication to the Queen than the nuptials:

Here, what your sacred influence begat ...
 As being a piece of that solemnitie,
 Which your Magnificence did celebrate
 In hallowing of those roofs (you rear’d of late)
 With fires and cheerefull hospitalitie. (sig. ¶2^r)

Greg gives ‘the 3rd of February 1613–14’ as the date of the performance, so perhaps Daniel better recalled the fires and hospitality than the nominal purpose of the occasion.¹⁵¹ *Hymens*

¹⁴⁷ John Taylor, *The nipping and snipping of abuses* (London, 1614), sig. [E4^r].

¹⁴⁸ Ben Jonson, *The workes of Benjamin Jonson* (London, 1616), sig. Zz1^r.

¹⁴⁹ Sir John Harington, *The most elegant and witty epigrams* (London, 1618), sig. H3^r.

¹⁵⁰ Samuel Daniel, *Hymens triumph, A pastorall tragicomaedie* (London, 1615).

¹⁵¹ W.W.Greg, “‘Hymens Triumph’ and the Drummond manuscript”, *The Modern Language Quarterly* (1900-1904) 6(2), 59-64 (p. 59).

Triumph is, despite a plethora of nymphs, rustic persons and shepherds, much closer to a play than a masque; it is structured into acts, subdivided into scenes in which the actors converse with each other (though, of course, in reality for the benefit of the audience). One constraint which must have influenced the format of the entertainment is that it was to be performed in ‘a little square paved Court’, which would seem to preclude the more elaborate dances and audience participation of full scale court masques (Greg p. 59). Daniel gives none of the descriptions of costumes, scenery and noble participants which filled out the printings of his previous masques, instead he provided the printer with a list of ‘Speakers’ (characters), the words of five Acts each with sung choruses but nothing to indicate the supposed setting of the play. Greg quotes from a letter by John Chamberlain ‘This day sennight ... the Entertainment was great, & cost the Queen, as she says, above 3000£. The *Pastoral* made by Samuel Daniel was solemn and dull; but perhaps better to be read than represented’ (p. 59).

Daniel must have been much occupied in the following years in consulting the works of other authors in preparation for the next instalment of his *Historie*. In ‘Certaine Advertisements to the Reader’ he gives the Renaissance equivalent of a bibliography, listing over twenty authors by name, ranging from ones virtually unknown today to Giraldus Cambrensis, Caxton, Froissart and Holinshed.¹⁵² In addition he consulted such state records as he could, acknowledging such sources in the margins. His intention was clear: ‘So that the Reader shall be sure to be payd with no counterfeite Coyne, but such as shall have the Stampe of Antiquitie, the approbation of Testimony, and the allowance of Authority, so farre as I shall proceed herein’ (sig. A3^v). His *Collection of the historie of England* incorporated the periods covered by his earlier *Historie* but took the story on, ending with the death of Edward III. Daniel clearly recognised the potential profitability of his work and the advantage conveyed by a ‘Cum Privilegio’ authorisation which Froissart’s earlier history had enjoyed. James granted Daniel the patent for this ‘in the Fifteenth yeare of his Raigne of England’; the full text of the patent is reproduced alongside the title page. This gave Daniel the equivalent of copyright, both for the volume and ‘an Appendix’ to the same. In his dedication to the Queen, Daniel acknowledges her support during his writing and gives an indication that he may not be able to complete the history through to the end of the Tudor dynasty, in other words up to James’s accession, as originally intended:

which, as it is a worke of mine, appertaines of right to your Majestie, being for the most parte done under your Roofe, during my attendance upon your

¹⁵² Samuel Daniel, *The collection of the historie of England* (London, 1618), sig. A3^v.

sacred person: and if ever it shall come to bee an intire worke it must remaine among the memorials of you ... Howsoever, this which is done shall yet shew how desirous I have beene to lay out my time and industry, as farre as my ability would extend to doe your Majestie, and my Country service in this kinde. (sig.¶1^r)

Addressing his readers, Daniel asserts ‘It is more then the worke of one man (were hee of never so strong forces) to Compose a passable contexture of the whole History of England’ and explains that he ‘had rather be Master of a small piece handsomely contrived, then of vaste roomes ill proportioned, and unfurnished’ (sig. A3^r). Daniel’s closing words to the *Collection* seem almost wistful: ‘And here I leave, unlesse by which this is done I finde encouragement to goe on’ (p. 222). Royal encouragement was probably limited: Queen Anne was severely ill during 1618 and died the following March. Daniel’s health also was not good: he was to die in the autumn of the same year.

In summary, through my close reading of his paratextual matter, Daniel has revealed both factual information about himself, where he was living from time to time, who was supporting him either financially or through encouragement, and also more nebulous matters such as his character and what his interests were. The interpositioning of comments by authors contemporary with Daniel provides evidence that he was a writer of considerable standing in his time, although in his later years he received less praise. *Cleopatra* marked the division in Daniel’s life from being an occasional poet to becoming a fully fledged author able to turn his skill with the pen to a variety of genres with equal facility.

Whilst this chapter is not a conventional biography, it has been firmly evidenced by accessible printed information, in the main contemporaneous with Daniel’s life. It is a significant contribution to our understanding not only of Daniel himself but of literary life during the late Elizabethan / early Jacobean period in which he lived. By this work I have redefined the concept of a ‘literary biography’ by utilising the materiality of his texts to provide its structure. An additional contribution to knowledge is the identification of several verses by Daniel, which have previously received little or no critical attention, to be added to his oeuvre: details of these are included in Appendix D.



Bust, wearing laurel wreath, on pediment, memorial to Samuel Daniel, (c.1650),
St. George's Church, Beckington, © Dorothy Bowles

In my view, the lasting monument to Daniel is not the stone carving above, but his works and in particular *The Tragedie of Cleopatra*, the writing of which marked a significant turning point in his literary career.

Chapter Two

Daniel the writer

I will be discussing *The Tragedie of Cleopatra* in the following chapter, but here I am taking a wider view of Daniel's writings and identifying the ways in which various pieces in differing genres relate to *Cleopatra*. In the previous chapter I explored Daniel's life through the printed record of his interactions with others: here it is not people but works that interconnect and demonstrate the literary development of their author. There has been very little in terms of an overview of Daniel's works since Rees's biography in 1964. Individual aspects have been examined: for example, Daniel Cadman groups Daniel with Mary Sidney (the Countess of Pembroke), Samuel Brandon, Fulke Greville and four other contemporaneous authors of 'closet dramas' in his recent book, which though valuable as an overview of aspects of the genre does not permit much attention to individual works.¹ Indeed Daniel's works have been noted mainly in terms of broad genres, such as sonnets or historical writing or else studied from modes of critical thought. The depiction of Cleopatra has been subjected to feminist and racial attention, but as with Cadman's volume, Daniel's tragedy is seen alongside Mary Sidney's *Antonie* in Joyce Green Macdonald's book.² Pitcher has written several journal articles concentrating on finite aspects of Daniel's oeuvre, but his promised 'Complete Works' has yet to be published.³ The benefit of this dearth of critical attention has been to open up Daniel's writings for reassessment.

From Daniel's oeuvre, over twenty volumes of which were printed in his three productive decades, I have chosen three pieces to discuss in this chapter which I consider will complement in various ways my edition of *Cleopatra*; these works provide insight into his development as a writer. The three works are very different from each other in format, style and subject. Each shows a stage in the development of Daniel, as a poet, as a historian, as a philosopher and as a critic; it is arguable whether any of these roles truly satisfied him. However, it is possible to trace a connection between each aspect and *The tragedie of Cleopatra*. The long soliloquys in *Cleopatra* in which an exotic Eastern queen bemoans her fate are both contrasted and complemented by the almost analytical tenor of *A Letter from*

¹ Daniel Cadman, *Sovereigns and Subjects in Early Modern Neo-Senecan Drama: Republicanism, Stoicism and Authority* (London and New York: Routledge, 2016).

² Joyce Green MacDonald, *Women and Race in Early Modern Texts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

³ John Pitcher, 'Samuel Daniel: New and Future Research', Oxford Handbooks Online www.oxfordhandbooks.com [accessed 09 March 2018].

Octavia to Marcus Antonius. Daniel distinguishes the ways and attitudes of the Egyptians from those of the Romans in *Cleopatra*; in *Octavia* he had a female central figure who was also Roman, an opportunity to portray Roman virtues which of necessity had had to be subordinated in *Cleopatra*. Daniel's interest in history was perhaps kindled by his study of North's translation of Plutarch's *Lives*, from which he derived elements of both *Cleopatra* and *Octavia*. The role of the Chorus in *Cleopatra* was to comment, analyse and deplore but ultimately not to influence events. In *Musophilus*, the second work I examine in this chapter, Philocosmus and Musophilus follow a similar philosophical pattern but with an intention to convince the other of the rightness of their views. One could equate Philocosmus with the utilitarian Romans, defeated by the stronger will and ideals of a different culture – that of Musophilus. In the third work, the *Defence of Ryme*, Daniel allows his own voice to come through; he also uses prose, it is as if he no longer needs to hide behind a poetic screen, but can argue a case in his own right; he has a literary identity.

Pitcher, who has devoted considerable attention to Daniel, considers that Daniel took a 'a keen interest ... in the arrangement of the poems and plays in relation to one another' in his printed volumes.⁴ He further suggests that Daniel considered the intellectual responses of his readers to the proximity of his works one to another. That may be so, but the interposing of individual title pages between works and the sale of volumes unbound would suggest that the printer and publisher took a more pragmatic commercial view.

Motivation for publication may have come from gratitude for patronage, or expectation of approval, but his printed works were designed for a wider audience than just a dedicatee. In these three works Daniel uses his skill with the written word to enhance rhetorical arguments and they demonstrate his ability to present a viewpoint: the theme of power runs through all three. They present first a powerless state, secondly a rhetorical argument with an equal, and finally a firm declaration of an uncompromising opinion. In chronological order of publication, they are *Musophilus* and *A Letter from Octavia to Marcus Antonius*, both of which appeared first in *The poeticall essayes of Sam. Danyel* (1599) and *A defence of ryme* from the later 1603 editions of *A panegyrike congratulatorie delivered to the King*.

⁴ John Pitcher, 'Essays, works and small poems: divulging, publishing and augmenting the Elizabethan poet, Samuel Daniel' in *The Renaissance Text: Theory, Editing, Textuality* ed. by Andrew Murphy (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), pp. 8-29, p. 8.

These pieces, published within a few years of the earliest version of *Cleopatra* which was printed in 1594, demonstrate the ability of Daniel to write in different genres and his critical exposition of the role of poetry and of the poet. Daniel's decision to place the first two of these works to precede *Cleopatra* in his volumes from 1599 to 1602, and for *Octavia* to continue to precede *Cleopatra* subsequently argues for a close literary link between the works. Thematically, *Octavia* is closest to *Cleopatra* since both derive from the same historical sources which I will discuss in detail in the next chapter, but Daniel's interpretation and narrative style differ markedly between the two works. *Musophilus* is a philosophical discussion written as a rhetorical argument in verse, with two speakers, Philocosmus and Musophilus. The subtitle, 'Containing a generall defence of all learning', sets out Daniel's intentions. From defending learning in general, Daniel moved onto his specialism, poetry, and to a specific technique in *A defence of ryme*. This latter work has been reprinted in part or in whole many times and is today viewed as an early example of literary criticism.⁵ The *Defence*, or as it became in the headers 'An apologie for ryme', is also an argument, but against a pamphlet, and is set out in the form of a prose letter. Each piece is written in a distinct voice: in *Octavia*, that of a deserted wife, in *Musophilus* it is as if two academics are disputing priorities, whilst in the *Defence* Daniel himself is speaking.

The deserted wife

I will discuss *A letter from Octavia* first since it follows a series of works by Daniel linked to women. His sonnet sequence, *Delia*, contains over fifty sonnets which follow a conventional pattern: poems as from a male suitor addressed to an elusive and unobtainable female.⁶ The sonnets are designed to demonstrate poetic skill rather than initiate amorous encounters; following a conventional form, there would be praise for the loved one's beauty, a complaint of her cruelty in ignoring the sonneteer, whilst claiming her as the source of inspiration. Daniel encapsulates this formulaic approach in his lines 'O had she not beene faire, and thus unkinde, | My Muse had slept, and none had known my minde'.⁷ In the 1592 printing, *Delia* was published with a companion piece, *The complaynt of Rosamond*. 'Complaint' poems achieved a certain vogue in the Renaissance; their themes were of unrequited or ill-fated love, of misfortune or injustice. The voice would be that of the sufferer, often from beyond the grave. Daniel's *Rosamond* is a woman seduced and destroyed by a king: she declaims 'Out

⁵ Alexander, pp. 205-33.

⁶ To define the number of *Delia* sonnets is difficult; individual poems were altered, rearranged, added or excluded by Daniel throughout the many editions of his sequence, see Appendix C.

⁷ *Delia* (1592), STC (2nd ed.) 6243.3, Sonnet VI, sig. B3^v.

from the horror of infernel deepes, | My poore afflicted ghost comes heere to plaine it'.⁸ If in *Delia* Daniel is ventriloquising a male (rejected) lover, in *Rosamond* his sympathy lies with a clearly female voice, which can be viewed as anticipating his portrayal of Cleopatra's anguish in his later tragedy. Both *Delia* and *Rosamond* follow the conventions of courtly poetry; these works were praised by his contemporaries for Daniel's poetic skills; originality of theme was less important than 'well couched teares'.⁹

When *The Tragedie of Cleopatra* 'augmented' the publication of *Delia* in 1594, it too was in a well recognised genre, that of a Senecan-style tragedy. The focus here was on the historical figure of Cleopatra in the immediate aftermath of Antony's death. Cleopatra is the main speaker in the drama; her thoughts are explored in extensive soliloquys. It is possible that whilst writing *Cleopatra*, Daniel noted the potential to explore the off-stage character of Octavia; within the play she gets little attention:

That I should passe whereas Octavia stands
To view my misery that purchast hers. (Act I. 69)

But what I kept, I kept to make my way
Unto thy *Livia*, and *Octavias* grace
That thereby in compassion mooved, they
Might mediate thy favour in my case. (Act III. 2. 686)

The work which gave Octavia a voice has been dismissed by Sprague as 'the dismal *Letter from Octavia*'.¹⁰ It is not clear from this scornful remark whether Sprague is referring to style or content, but I contend that it is a work which deserves some attention. By the time he came to write it, it is arguable that Daniel's record as a Renaissance writer with a sympathetic understanding of women was impeccable and he had also demonstrated the ability to use a variety of poetic forms and voices. Elements of each of his previous female protagonists permeate his portrayal of Octavia. The 'Argument' of *Octavia* describes her as a 'civill nurtred Matrone ... [who] knew not to cloth her affections in any other colours, then the plain habit of truth' (sig. B1^r, separate register); a similar imagery of 'colours of truth' had been used in Sonnet VI of *Delia* in describing 'a modest maide, deckt with a blush of honour'.¹¹ Daniel had drawn upon Plutarch for *Cleopatra* and there would have found the description of

⁸ *Delia* (1592), sig. H3^r.

⁹ Lodge, *Phyllis*, sig. B1^v, see Ch.1, p. 20.

¹⁰ *Samuel Daniel: Poems and a Defence of Ryme*, ed. by Arthur Colby Sprague (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1950), p. xx.

¹¹ *Delia* (1592), sig. B3^v.

Octavia as ‘having an excellent grace, wisdom & honestie’.¹² Octavia is of incomparable rectitude, but suffers as did Rosamond from loving a powerful man, a soldier king, whose desires could not be thwarted. Rosamond laments her lack of choice, ‘he is my King and may constraine me’; Octavia’s marriage to Antony was dictated by political expediency.¹³

Cleopatra describes the anguish of a woman losing Antony to death; Octavia in the ‘Letter’ mourns the loss of him in life:

To thee (yet deere) though most disloiall Lord,
Whom impious love keeps in a barbarous land,
Thy wronged wife *Octavia* sendeth word... (sig. B2^r)

Breake from these snares, thy judgment unbeguile
Free thine owne torment, and my griefs release. (sig. [D2^v])

The dedication and argument

Octavia is preceded by a short dedication ‘To the right honourable and most vertuous Ladie, the Ladie Margaret Countess of Cumberland’ and also by ‘The Argument’. Both these pieces enhance understanding of the ‘Letter’. In the first Daniel is setting out his position with respect to the Countess, the second summarises in prose the context of his verse epistle, presumably to aid readers without a classical education. Daniel starts his dedicatory sonnet rather humbly, ‘Although the meaner sort (whose thoughts are plac’d | As in another region, far below | The sphere of greatness) ... Yet haue I here aduentur’d to bestow | Words upon grieffe’.¹⁴ Wendy Wall discusses the implications of Daniel’s ‘Dedication’ and sees him as setting up:

a hierarchical social geography of readers that stretches from the “meaner sort”, whose thoughts cannot rise to understand female passion correctly, to the truly enlightened who are sensitive to affliction and pain. The afflictions of Octavia become a touchstone for testing the worth of readers and writers.¹⁵

This concept seems to demand from the addressee of the Dedication, the Countess of Cumberland, several levels of sympathetic understanding: the sufferings of the historical Octavia; Daniel’s identification of his empathy with the troubles of Octavia, ‘And made this great afflicted Ladie show | out of my feelings, what she might have pend’ (sig. [A2^r]); the

¹² Plutarch, *The liues of the noble Grecians and Romans*, trans. by Thomas North (London, 1579), STC (2nd ed.) 20065, p. 984, see Appendix A.

¹³ *Delia*, (1592), sig. K3^r.

¹⁴ Samuel Daniel, *The poeticall essayes of Sam. Danyel* (London, 1599), sig. [A2^r], separate register. Subsequent references to the ‘Letter’ will be given as *Octavia*.

¹⁵ Wendy Wall, *The Imprint of Gender: Authorship and Publication in the English Renaissance* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1993).

correlation with her own marital situation; and the appropriate response of a potential patron to a literary offering; all this before even reading the epistle. In accordance with sprezzatura style, Daniel deprecates his ability to comprehend let alone convey the sorrows of those of a higher social class. However, it was perhaps possible in a humble capacity to document them: ‘Be’ing secretairie now, but to the dead’ (sig. [A2^r]). Daniel thus uses a complex mix of self-deprecation and self-assertion, of servant and ambassador; he is acting as a ‘secretairie’ by putting into an enduring form words which Octavia might herself have ‘pend’, or have wanted written.

‘The Argument’ explains that Octavia, sister to Octavius Caesar, was used as a political pawn to bind Antony to Caesar, she was ‘made but the instrument of others ends, and deliuered up as an Ostage’, as wife to Antony (sig. B1^r). Octavia, ‘a ciuill nurtured Matrone, whose entertainment bounded with modestie’, was unable to compete with the ‘allurements’ of Cleopatra, ‘a most incomparable beautie’ (sig. B1^r). Daniel concludes the Argument by describing how Antony returned to Egypt, ‘a pray to his own pleasures’ which ‘gave to Octavia the cause of much affliction, and to me the Argument of this letter’(sig. B1^v). There are elements in this which would have struck the Countess as relevant to her own situation; marriage in the upper classes was frequently an arranged alliance, as for Octavia and Antony. Daniel portrayed Octavia as loving Antony despite his unfaithfulness, similarly the Countess’s ‘affection ... remained undiminished’ towards her husband with ‘his courtly profligacy and infidelity’ which ‘led to their separation in 1600’.¹⁶

Gillian Beer calls attention to a common theme amongst ‘heroic epistles’: ‘the privation of women and the sumptuousness of their imaginative life’.¹⁷ In many cases, the epistles are in reality written by men; she instances authorship by ‘Ovid, Drayton, Daniel, Dryden, and Pope’ (p. 135). This masculine appropriation, whether empathetic or not, of women’s feelings makes their description even more poignant. Daniel achieves his communication with Octavia across the divides of time and sex within the verbal constraints of using verse. Unlike Sprague, I do not read the poem as ‘dismal’ but as an elegant evocation of a situation as tragic as that of Cleopatra. Daniel’s later collection of epistles, a collection of six, variously addressed, included in the 1603 *Panegyrike* publication, was far more straightforward for contemporary readers to interpret, being poetical epistles discussing

¹⁶ Spence, *ODNB*, article 5655.

¹⁷ Gillian Beer, “‘Our unnatural No-voice’: The Heroic Epistle, Pope, and Women’s Gothic”, *The Yearbook of English Studies*, 12 (1982) 125-51 (p. 135).

in formal language a matter of interest to both the poet and the living recipient. However, one of these epistles, that in fact to the Countess of Cumberland, has provoked critical attention in an unexpected way. Amendments to a manuscript version of it appear to suggest that it was intended at some stage for a different recipient.¹⁸ The implication of this would be that either Daniel wrote generic epistles which were then given individual titles or that having written verses for a specific dedicatee they were later recycled for another. This latter behaviour would not be regarded as reprehensible then or now, indeed knowledge of the original dedicatee could even add to the pleasure of a later recipient. Martha Hale Shackford describes the stand-alone epistles as being written with ‘a sort of decorum, a severe reserve, which prevents us from learning anything about his own life’ or indeed much about the purported addressee.¹⁹ In the earlier fictional epistle *Octavia*, Daniel has captured the fluctuating emotions of an abandoned wife; sorrow, rage, humiliation, jealousy intermixed with love and desire are all readily recognisable despite the centuries since the ‘Letter’ was written. What his contemporaries would also have recognised was a close correspondence between *Octavia*’s situation and that of his dedicatee, the Countess of Cumberland, who was ‘a courageous woman ill used by her husband, George the third Earl’.²⁰ The Earl was notorious for his affairs and for his neglect of his wife, so much so that after his death not only did his title pass to his brother, but under his will also the bulk of his possessions. The estrangement between husband and wife would have been common knowledge around the turn of the century when Daniel was employed as tutor to Lady Anne Clifford, the daughter of the Countess. It may seem inappropriate to document marital discord in such a thin disguise as *Octavia*, but perhaps he was simply vocalising emotions which the Countess was too proud to reveal. A theme in common between *Octavia* and the Epistle is the stoic attitude displayed to adverse circumstances. Daniel praises the Countess for her religious faith and ability to remain steadfast :

I see you labour all you can
To plant your hart, & let your thought as neere
His glorious mansion as your powres can beare,

Which, Madam, are so soundly fashioned
By that cleere judgement that hath carried you
Beyond the feeble limits of your kinde

¹⁸ For further discussion see: Arthur Freeman, ‘An Epistle for two’, *The Library*, s5-XXV (3) (Sept., 1970), 226-36, and Margaret Maurer, ‘Samuel Daniel’s Poetical Epistles, Especially Those to Sir Thomas Egerton and Lucy, Countess of Bedford’, *Studies in Philology*, 74 (4) (Oct. 1977), 418-44.

¹⁹ Martha Hale Shackford, ‘Samuel Daniel’s Poetical Epistles, especially that to the Countess of Cumberland’, *Studies in Philology* 45(2) (Apr. 1948), 180-95 (p. 181).

²⁰ Sprague, p. xviii.

... You in the region of your selfe remaine,
 ... a cleere conscience, that without all staine
 Rises in peace, in innocence rests.²¹

Daniel's praise must be to some extent discounted as that due to a patroness, but his verses carry conviction that the Countess had in no way compromised her dignity. She did not publicly bewail her fate: neither had Octavia.

Octavia

In contrast to the formality of the Dedication and the dry factual tone of the Argument, the language of *Octavia* is that of a private intimate letter, not that of a public document. As Beer points out 'the women in heroic epistles ... write in the main to correspondents who, they fear, will neither read nor pay attention.'²² The second stanza of *Octavia* encapsulates this concern:

Although perhaps, these my complaints may come
 Wilst thou in th'armes of that incestious Queene
 The staine of *Ægypt*, and the shame of *Rome*
 Shalt dallying sit, and blush to have them seene:
 Whilst proud disdainfull she, gessing from whome
 The message came, and what the cause hath beene,
 Wil skorning saie, faith, this comes from your Deere,
 Now sir you must be shent for staying heere. (sig. B2^r)²³

In contrast to the dignified tone of the dedication and argument, the text of *Octavia* has both intimacy and informality of expression, whilst maintaining Daniel's skill and economy with words. The 'proud disdainfull' Cleopatra contrasts with Octavia's dignity even whilst she reproaches Antony. In discussing sources for Shakespeare's *Antony and Cleopatra*, Bullough accepts the suggestion, made earlier by Franklin Dickey, that this stanza may have provided Shakespeare with the theme for the opening scene of *Antony and Cleopatra* 'in which Cleopatra mocks at Fulvia's letters'.²⁴

Apart from any correspondence between the situation of the Countess of Cumberland and that of Octavia, a stimulus to Daniel's decision to write the *Letter* may have been the publication a year earlier of Samuel Brandon's *The Tragicomoedi of the vertuous Octavia*.

²¹ Samuel Daniel, 'To the Lady Margaret Countesse of Cumberland', *A panegyrike congratulatorie deliuered to the King's most excellent Majestie* (London, 1603), sig. D2^v. STC (2nd ed.) 6260.

²² Beer, p. 135.

²³ 'shent' possibly 'shunned' or 'disgraced' see *OED* 'shent', n.

²⁴ Bullough, p. 238.

Written in the Senecan dramatic style of the Countess of Pembroke's *Antonie* and Daniel's *Cleopatra*, the lengthy monologues of Brandon's speakers and the lack of action seem unlikely stimuli to a poet as versatile as Daniel, but possibly the choice of protagonist aroused his interest.²⁵ Unlike Daniel's Octavia, Brandon's heroine contemplates and rejects death or revenge, almost as if she views steadfast virtue as a more powerful retaliation. Brandon follows his *Tragicomoedi* with an interchange of letters between Octavia and Antony, each declaring love, Octavia for Antony and Antony for Cleopatra. Of the two letters, Antony's is perhaps the more lyrical as he relates the overpowering passion engendered by Cleopatra's charms, whereas Octavia's reproaches lack force. These endpieces may have been the genesis of Daniel's *Octavia*, in which he gives her a clear-sighted acceptance of her situation. Shackford considers that Daniel 'presented her with dramatic skill: she not only reproached her husband in spirited scathing terms, but she discussed the position of women, in general, and denounced the inequalities of social life and law.'²⁶ The voice we hear is that of any woman in a male dominated society:

You can be onely heard whilst we are taught
 To hold our peace ...
 What? Are there bars for us, no bounds for you?
 Must levitie stand sure, though firmnes fall?
 And are you priviledg'd to be untrue. (sig. B4^v, sig. C1^r)

It is possible that Octavia's words carry Daniel's own thoughts on the inequitable position of women; he lived in a country ruled by a Queen and he had spent some years in the household of the Countess of Pembroke, so would have been aware of the capabilities of women. Daniel was perhaps out of step with many of his contemporaries. Shakespeare's *The Taming of the Shrew* articulated in the early scenes common contemporary perceptions of appropriate behaviour for a wife before giving Katherine, particularly in the final scene, a voice:

My mind hath been as big as one of yours,
 My heart as great, my reason haply more (V.2.170-1)

The ambiguities inherent in any depiction of sexual dominance make for variations in interpretation by both performers and audience but both Katherine and Octavia are representations of articulate women in a predominately male society.

Examining the detailed construction of *Octavia*, it is possible to see how each stanza focuses on one thread within the overall design. In this, it bears a resemblance to the choruses

²⁵ Rees argues that Brandon's *Octavia* was derived from that of Daniel, but dates of publication contradict this theory, pp. 78-80.

²⁶ Shackford, p.181.

of *Cleopatra* which follow each act with an exposition, moving from the general to the specific, of a single aspect. The potential limitations of the eight line pattern of *ottava rima*, used in the Renaissance period for ‘heroic’ verse, are transformed by Daniel into an indictment of Antony’s behaviour. The opening stanza addresses separation:

To thee (yet deere) though most disloiall Lord,
Whom impious love keepes in a barbarous land,
Thy wronged wife *Octavia* sendeth word
Of th’unkind wounds received by thy hand,
Grant *Antony*, ô let thine eyes afford
But to permit thy heart to understand
The hurt thou dost, and do but read her teares
That still is thine though thou wilt not be hers. (sig. B2^r)

The adjectives Daniel uses in this verse, ‘disloiall, impious, barbarous, wronged, unkind’ form an indictment of Antony’s behaviour whilst the love Octavia bears him is threaded through the lines ‘yet deere, wife, thy heart, thine’. The rhymes used in the end couplet (‘teares / hers’) of this stanza and similarly in the following stanzas both reveal and conceal Octavia’s emotional responses and could in many cases summarise the stanza. Listing the rhyming pairs even for just the first eight stanzas makes the pattern of love given and rejected plain: teares / hers; Deere / heere; are / warre; believe / grieve; Sinne / within; trust / unjust; newe / untrue; mine / thine. The closing couplet, ‘Wherefore no more but only I commend | To thee the hart that’s thine, and so I end’, completes this stoical recital of pain endured (sig.[D2^v]).

The poem is enlivened for a modern reader by Daniel’s juxtaposition of Stygian gloom with ridicule; consider the rhyming of ‘ominous’ with ‘frivolous’ and ‘hippopotamus’:

With what strange formes and shadowes ominous
Did my last sleepe, my griev’d soule intertaine?
I dreamt, yet ô, dreames are but frivolous,
And yet Ile tell it, and God grant it vaine.
A sea Horse Me thought a mighty *Hippopotamus*
From *Nilus* floting, thrusts into the maine,
Upon whose backe a wanton Mermaide sate,
As if she ruled his course and steerd his fate. (sig. D1^v)

A Renaissance reader might have read the verse as a description of the exotic East rather than felt it to be bathetic since, ever thoughtful for his readers, the marginal note, one of the few which are placed beside Daniel’s verse, clarifies ‘hippopotamus’. Pliny may have been Daniel’s source, since in his *Historie of the world* he says ‘The same river Nilus bringeth

forth another beast called Hippopotamus, a river-horse. Taller hee is from the ground than the crocodile'.²⁷ The description and on occasion the interpretation of dreams was a standard trope which could be used to avoid graphic details, here of Antony and Cleopatra's sexual activity. The following stanza links myth with colour imagery with: 'Neptunes mantle takes | A purple colour dyde with streames of bloud', to indicate Antony's imperial ambitions and eventual downfall (sig.[D2^r]).

In *Octavia*, Daniel was demonstrating versatility in verse composition by using a newly fashionable format, *ottavo rimo*, which he may have admired in Harington's translation of *Orlando furioso* (1591). Within that form, his capacity for and enjoyment of rhyme is ably utilised, and his stanzas seem to flow effortlessly through the sequence of cross-rhymed sestets leading to each final couplet.

It may signify satisfaction with his creation that Daniel refrained from revising *Octavia*; comparison of the 1599 version with that of 1601 and the final printing of it in his lifetime in 1611 reveals no substantial changes. Alternatively, it could be that he lost interest in it as a work, but this is unlikely as it appeared preceding *Cleopatra* in all printings of his tragedy in his lifetime subsequent to its composition in 1599. The consistent juxtaposition of the two works does seem to signify that Daniel considered them as linked; a comparison with the fluidity of his other arrangements shows that even the initial pairing of *Delia* and *Rosamond* was broken within a few years of their first publication. If we consider Daniel's female protagonists, Octavia and Cleopatra, not simply as rivals for Antony's love, then a number of different potential oppositions are apparent. They are representations of different cultures, Roman steadfastness and virtue is set against the changeability and luxuriousness of the Orient. I have already linked the composition of *Octavia* to the period Daniel spent in the Countess of Cumberland's employment; she was firmly Protestant in her beliefs. Octavia and Cleopatra could be seen as representing contrasting religions, Protestant and Catholic. Cleopatra, as a priestess of Isis, was clearly alien to Elizabethan England; was she also a danger to the established order as were the Spanish to the English? Daniel's contemporaries may have been better able than we are to interpret *Octavia*, but it is regrettable that there is little critical appraisal of the piece available today.

²⁷ Pliny the Elder, *The historie of the world*, trans. by Philemon Holland (London, 1601) p. 210. Although I am quoting from an edition printed later than *Octavia*, Pliny's works were known and read in both the original language and in translation long before.

Daniel does not reveal the impetus for the composition of *Octavia* unlike many of his other works where he claims the influence of a particular patron or event. His work may have been initiated by Brandon's *Tragicomoedi* or his own *Cleopatra*, a desire to experiment with a different rhyme form or to complete his sequence of female focused works, or a wish to please the Countess of Cumberland. In my view *Octavia* is a piece that deserves more than a cursory glance, it stands beside and complements *Cleopatra* in its exposition of the limitations faced by women in a world dominated by men. In view of this, it is perhaps the most contemporary in outlook of all his oeuvre, despite the four hundred years since its composition.

***Musophilus*: An academic argument**

In his Introduction to the *Riverside Shakespeare* Harry Levin argues that:

The Elizabethans shared the grandiose humanistic confidence in the power of words as an instrument of reason. Logic and grammar stood squarely behind rhetoric, and rhetoric was the art of persuasion by words.²⁸

Whilst Levin was thinking in the context of Shakespeare's plays, his comment seems totally apposite to Daniel's works. In *Cleopatra* there are many passages of intense reflective thought voiced not just by Cleopatra, but also by Octavian, and by the minor characters; these reflective speeches are mainly in the form of soliloquys or a conversational mode. In contrast to *Cleopatra*, where Cleopatra and Octavian reflect separately but speak together only on practical matters, in *Musophilus*, Daniel sets up opinions and then contests them in the form of a rhetorical debate such as he would have experienced during his schooling and university years.

Musophilus is positioned before *Octavia* in the 1599 *Poeticall essayes*. This arrangement would seem to be deliberate since on the reverse of the outer title page the volume contains a listing of the contents:

The Argumentes of these
Essayes following.
The civill wars between the the two houses of *Lancaster* and *Yorke.*
Musophilus, or a defence of learning.

²⁸ Harry Levin, 'General Introduction' in *The Riverside Shakespeare* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1997), pp. 1-25 (p. 9).

The Epistle of *Octavia to Antonius*.
 The Tragedy of *Cleopatra* corrected.
 The complaint of *Rosamond*.

Listings of contents were a relatively new phenomenon in Daniel's time and were by no means to be relied upon for order or for completeness if the volume formed a collection of independent pieces, though in this instance the list was totally accurate. In the positioning of these disparate works, *Musophilus* forms a barrier separating the dissension between noble families from those within families – I use the word 'family' to include the liaisons of Cleopatra and Rosamond. It also separates the politics of state from those in a more domestic sphere albeit that of rulers. The physical barrier is of ink on paper but there is a mental barrier in the form of a period of reflective thought which *Musophilus* provides. Of course, a reader may peruse a book in any order he chooses and the printers of the early modern age frequently facilitated this by providing separate title pages for individual items within a volume. In the case of the *Poetical essayes*, *Musophilus*, *Octavia* and *Cleopatra* have individual title pages and registers. *Rosamond* follows immediately after the ending of *Cleopatra*, (sig. [K4^v]), with signatures starting at Bb^r.

The discussion contained in *Musophilus* is intellectual and structured in the form of a debate rather than a disagreement. The participants' names, Philocosmus and Musophilus, are derived from Greek and my loose translations as 'lover of the world' and 'lover of the muses' encapsulate their viewpoints. Daniel's choice of Greek as the basis of their names would have served as an indicator to his readers that the work that followed was of a serious intellectual nature. Possible evidence that it was read and admired by his contemporaries appears in a dedication by Cyril Tourneur, writing the following year, when he addresses Christopher Heydon 'To thee Musophilus'.²⁹ In addition, Richard Brathwaite used 'Musophilus' as his pseudonym in a miscellany of works produced in the early decades of the seventeenth century. The influence of *Musophilus*, even four hundred years later, is shown by the multitude of contemporary references, critical analyses and even quotations from it which can be found.³⁰

Preceding *Musophilus* is a dedication, in sonnet form, to 'maister Fulke Grevill' which I have discussed in a different context in the previous chapter.³¹

²⁹ Cyril Tourneur, *The transformed metamorphosis* (London, 1600), sig. [A2^r].

³⁰ The *OED* cites 48 quotations from *Musophilus*, illustrating the usage of words both known and newly coined, e.g. 'interjangle'.

³¹ Chapter one, p. 24.

I do not here upon this hum'rous Stage,
 Bring my transformed verse apparaild
 With others passions, or with others rage;
 With loves, with wounds, with factions furnished:
 But here present thee, onelie modelled
 In this poore frame, the forme of mine owne heart:
 Here to revive my selfe my Muse is lead
 With motions of her owne, t'act her owne part
 Striving to make, her now contemned arte
 As faire t'her selfe as possiblie she can;
 Least seeming of no force, of no desart
 She might repent the course that she began,
 And, with these times of dissolution, fall
 From goodnes, vertue, glorie, fame and all. (sig. [A1^v] sep. register)

Examining individual words of the sonnet makes the proximity of the poem to the *Civill wars* apposite. The 'passions', 'rage', 'wounds', 'factions' of the first four lines are softened by 'heart', 'Muse', 'arte', 'faire' of the middle section, followed by 'contemned', 'repent' in the third quatrain and an ambiguous final couplet: 'And, with these times of dissolution, fall | From goodnes, vertue, glorie, fame and all'. Fortunately, the opening line makes the conflicts which are to be discussed within the poem seem less dangerous than those of war: 'I do not here upon this hum'rous stage...'. The subtitle of *Musophilus*, 'Containing a generall defence of all learning', sets out Daniel's purpose in writing the piece. A 'defence' presupposes the existence of an attack. Accordingly Philocosmus speaks first, allowing Daniel to set out both sides of the argument. It is possible to read into Philocosmus's words some of the self-doubt which may have troubled Daniel, but the dialogue form of the poem and the rules of rhetorical debate which allow full exposition of both positions make identifying his personal feelings difficult:

Fond man, *Musophilus*, that thus dost spend
 In an ungainefull arte thy deerest daies,
 Tying thy wits and toiling to no end,
 But to attaine that idle smoake³² of praise;
 Now when this busie world cannot attend
 Th'untimely musicke of neglected layes.
 Other delights then these, other desires
 This wiser profit-seeking age requires. (sig. [A2^r])

³² Cf. Daniel's use of 'smoake' in *Cleopatra*, 40n, 1166n.

Chloe Kathleen Preedy, 'The Mists of Error: Predicting Disaster on the Early Modern Stage', CEMS Seminar, 16 October 2019. Preedy examines the correlation between the pollution of the early modern city and the proliferation of 'smoke' in literary and dramatic works.

The medium of the fictive discussion between Philocosmos and Musophilus is verse; it can almost seem contradictory that Philocosmos, who opposes the importance of the arts, is using a ‘lay’ to expound his views and one with a strong poetic structure, being an alternate rhymed sestet followed by a couplet. Verse is also clearly the weapon in this duel, since Musophilus’s response is both lengthier and more complex, composed of three sestets followed by a quatrain all using alternate rhyme. After a similarly patterned but even longer response from Philocosmos, Musophilus dominates the rest of the poem, barely allowing Philocosmos one more speech. Within the disputants’ expositions, two of which last for hundreds of lines, the typesetter has thoughtfully highlighted the sestets by outdenting the first word of each. The strong structural format could be likened to bricks building a wall; the individual sestets are strengthened by being mortared together. Daniel uses one of his many architectural metaphors in the Dedication: ‘But here present thee, onelie modelled | In this poore frame ...’ (sig. [A1^v]). The concept of a ‘frame’ is utilised by Maren-Sofia Røstvig in considering the structure of several of Daniel’s poems; she identified ‘patterns which support the thematic movement’ from the ‘surface verbal texture’.³³ The analytical technique she uses is to choose a piece or an excerpt with narrative unity and then highlight key rhyming words or repetitions of words in a search for underlying structures. Although *Musophilus* was not subjected to the same scrutiny by Røstvig, in the conclusion of her essay is a passage which seems relevant:

the words which establish the linking of the parts are concepts whose importance is increased by their position, and added emphasis is provided by placing such words in rhyme position. (p. 136)

An example from *Musophilus* would seem to confirm this theory: the final couplet of Philocosmos’s first speech uses ‘desires’ as a rhyming word and it appears in the first line of his second speech: ‘Sillie desires of selfe-abusing man (sig. B1^r). Its first usage was in conjunction with ‘delights’: ‘Other delights then these, other desires’(sig. [A2^r]). In response, Musophilus uses ‘delight’ as a rhyming word in both the fourth line at the start of his speech and also the fourth line from the end, so taking control of the concept and additionally providing a certain measure of symmetry. In the closing couplets of the second and third elements of the dialogue, there is again balance:

And though we die we shall not perish quite,
But live two lives where other have but one. (Musophilus) (sig. [A2^v])

³³ Maren-Sofia Røstvig, ‘A Frame of Words on the Craftsmanship of Samuel Daniel’, *English Studies*, 60 (2) (1979), 122-137 (p. 122). Note: The title of her essay derives from Daniel’s *A defence of ryme*: ‘All verse is but a frame of words’.

Whereby we come to burie our desarts
In th'obscure grace of singularitie. (Philocosmus) (sig. B1^v)

In *Cleopatra* there was considerable emphasis on physical death as a means of expressing oneself; the suicides of Antony and Cleopatra were political messages to Octavian. In this work, Daniel explores in depth how ideas or thoughts survive the individual.

Various critical accounts of *Musophilus* have focused on potential sources of Daniel's work; Geoffrey Hiller argues that Daniel was influenced by Guazzo's *The Civile Conversation* which was translated by Pettie in 1581.³⁴ The first three books 'constitute a treatise in dialogue ... on the subject of the virtues of learning and education' (p. 306). Pettie's 'Preface to the Readers' makes his views plain: 'Those that mislyke studie or learnyng in Gentlemen, are some freshe water Souldiers ... Alas you wyll be but ungentle Gentlemen, yf you be no Schollers'.³⁵ The parallels with Daniel's work are clear, however these were topics which were much debated in the Renaissance period and Daniel was not alone in exploring them. Hiller suggests that, around the time of the composition of *Musophilus*, Daniel was 'undergoing a crisis of doubt about the value of learning and indeed of poetry itself' (p. 306). Hiller was not alone in tracing the influences of his contemporaries on Daniel. Raymond Himelick notes the fourth eclogue in Thomas Lodge's *A fig for Momus* (1595) which is addressed 'To Master Samuel Daniel', and is in the form of a dispute between a man of action and a sedentary 'word-bold warrier'.³⁶ Himelick suggests that Daniel may well have been stimulated to write *Musophilus* as a more sustained and articulate development of Lodge's 'inconclusive and superficial' dialogue using proponents with stronger views.³⁷ *Musophilus* is portrayed as man of clear views but moderate in their exposition; he decries 'th'oppressing humors, wherewithall | The idle multitude surcharge their laies' (sig. B3^v). These words could be one of what some fifty years ago Anthony LaBranche called Daniel's 'moments of sincere self-revelation'.³⁸ LaBranche accepts that Daniel's poetry may seem less than 'poetically engaging'(p. 125) but argues that it can

³⁴ Geoffrey G. Hiller, 'Samuel Daniel's debt to Stefano Guazzo', *Notes and Queries*, 64(2) (2017), 305-8.

³⁵ Stefano Guazzo, *The civile conueration of M. Steeven Guazzo*, trans. by George Pettie (London, 1581) (sig. j^v).

³⁶ Lodge, *A fig for Momus* (sig. D2^v, E1^r).

³⁷ Raymond Himelick, 'A fig for Momus and Daniel's *Musophilus*', *Modern Language Quarterly*, 18(3) (1957), 247-50, (p. 250).

³⁸ Anthony LaBranche, 'Samuel Daniel: A Voice of Thoughtfulness', *The Rhetoric of Renaissance Poetry: From Wyatt to Milton*, ed. by Thomas O. Sloan and Raymond B. Waddington (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974), pp. 123-39 (p. 123).

contain moments of ‘sober, tenacious contemplation’ (p. 127) which deserve the reader’s attention. A core concept in his essay is that:

most of Daniel’s rhetorical traits, his word-play, sunken imagery, and tenacious if syntactically loose-jointed pursuit of a theme, point to the welcoming of a thought process as the basic activity of his poetry – the poetic imitation of an argument rather than the argument itself. (p. 131)

This analysis of Daniel’s style authorises the reader to set aside any need to be emotionally moved by Daniel’s verse in favour of the intellectual enjoyment gained by following the train of his thoughts. Indeed Musophilus, speaking with Daniel figuratively at his shoulder, says:

And for my part if onely one allow
The care my labouring spirits take in this,
He is to me a Theater large ynow,
And his applause only sufficient is. (sig. D3^r)

But, of course, Daniel whilst claiming in his dedicatory pieces that he is creating a work for one specific individual, would prefer to be read by more, so ‘his’ (Musophilus’s) words perform a rhetorical flourish of their own. Saunders reminds us that for professional poets, such as Daniel, ‘the writing of poetry was essentially an act of self-advertisement’.³⁹ By reading *Musophilus* we experience layers of meaning through a poet writing a poem about appreciating poetry.

Musophilus reiterates throughout the work the theme that poetry survives the individual, that ‘arte’ is of enduring worth. His words to Philocosmus seem apposite to both artefact, the written word, and content:

Considering in how small room do lie
And yet lie safe, as fresh as if alive
All those great worthies of antiquitie,
Which long foreliv’d thee, & shal long survive,
Who stronger tombs found for eternitie,
Then could the powres of al the earth contrive. (sig. C3^v)

As if in confirmation of Musophilus’s contention, we have Daniel’s works still accessible today, albeit with the aid of research libraries and the internet, including *Musophilus* itself. Poetry and literature dominate the ‘arts’ which Musophilus defends; he declares that distinguished authors of the past, ‘great worthies of antiquitie’, survive through their writings (sig. C3^v). In the style of a live debate, Philocosmus seizes the image of a ‘room’ and decries enduring fame in his reply:

³⁹ Saunders, p. 164.

Alas poor Fame, in what a narrow roome
 As an incaged Parrot, art thou pent
 Here amongst us, where even as good be domb
 As speake, and to be heard with no attent? ...
 But lo how many reads not, or disdaines
 The labors of the chiefe and excellent.
 How many thousands never heard the name
 Of *Sydney*, or of *Spencer*, or their bookes? ...
 Do you not see these *Pamphlets*, *Libels*, *Rymes*,
 These strange confused tumults of the minde,
 Are grown to be the sickness of these times,
 The great disease inflicted on mankind?...
 Schooles, arts, professions, all in so great store ...
 And fewer roomes them to accommodate. (sig. [C4^r, C4^v])

The image of an ‘incaged Parrot’ may betray Daniel’s own feelings on ‘writing to order’ to satisfy a patron; *Cleopatra* would seem to be an example of this constrained originality as in the Dedication Daniel reveals the influence of the Countess of Pembroke upon the choice of subject. Through the references by Philocosmus to Sidney and Spenser, the two most revered writers of the time, as examples of those whose fame was limited, Daniel achieved more than just an internal contradiction to Philocosmus’s views on the ephemeral nature of fame, as four hundred years later their works are still regarded as significant contributions to Renaissance literature. There would be less for Musophilus to contest in the scorn for ‘*Pamphlets*, *Libels*, *Rymes*, | These strange confused tumults of the minde’; Daniel’s personal disdain for ‘Pamphlets’ emerges more clearly in *A defence of ryme*. Philocosmus is a man of action and so concedes the usefulness of words of encouragement:

Yet do I not dislike that in some wise
 Be sung the great heroycall deserts
 Of brave renowned spirits ...
 But so that all our spirits may tend hereto
 To make it not our grace, to say, but do. (sig. D2^r)

The ‘great heroycall deserts | Of brave renowned spirit’ would seem an apt description of Cleopatra, since suicide was deemed a more worthy act than surrender. In the context of the 1599 volume with *Musophilus* immediately following Daniel’s *Civile Warres* and preceding *Octavia* and *Cleopatra*, this reads as an encomium for Daniel’s thematic choices, perhaps even more to be valued since it is spoken by Philocosmus, his apparent antagonist.

Daniel seems a supremely self-aware poet; his carefully chosen and situated words are designed to establish the value of his works. The simulacrum of a rhetorical debate on the

value of poetry as in *Musophilus* was an ideal situation for Daniel to explore his own thoughts or those of others whilst working within the safety of a claim that he was merely representing his speakers. Walter Ong states that ‘rhetoric ... is essentially antithetical for the orator speaks in the face of at least implied adversaries’.⁴⁰ He identifies its roots ‘to the tendency among the Greeks... to maximise oppositions in the mental as in the extramental world’ adding that ‘poetry itself was often assimilated to epideictic oratory, and was considered to be concerned basically with praise or blame’ (p. 111). Poetry itself could be the subject as well as the tool of praise or blame. Daniel uses Philocosmus, speaking in verse, seemingly to express the basic lack of utility of poetry whilst in practice expressing a poet’s view of critics:

And what art thou the better thus to leave
A multitude of words to small effect...
Besides some viperous Creticke may bereave
Th’opinion of thy worth for some defect,
And get more reputation of his wit. (sig. B1^r)

Even Philocosmus, the worldly man of action, is aware of the importance of ‘opinion’; the word recurs again and again in the volume, not just in *Musophilus*, but throughout the *Civile Warres* and is a theme of the Act II Chorus in *Cleopatra* which commences: ‘OPINION, how doost thou molest | Th’affected minde of restlesse man’ (l. 402). The interaction of Daniel’s works cannot be denied; there are echoes of the *Civile Warres* in *Musophilus*’s words ‘And his faire house rais’d hie in envies eie, | Whose pillars rear’d perhaps on blood & wrong, | The spoyles and pillage of iniquitie’ (sig. B2^r). Within these lines, there are densely packed images and constructions: Daniel’s recurring trope of architecture: word play ‘pillars / pillage’: metaphor ‘house / blood’ which reminds one of ‘issue / blood’ which Daniel used in *Cleopatra*: internal rhymes ‘hie in envies eie’ and rhetorical devices: antithesis ‘faire / spoyles’ and synomia ‘wrong / spoyles / pillage’. The complexity of language used in *Musophilus* shows how Daniel’s writing has matured into a personal style of which there was earlier evidence in the choruses of *Cleopatra*. Here are a few lines of the final stanza (l. 247-251) of the chorus to Act 1:

| | |
|--|--|
| <p>The scene is broken down And all uncover’d lyes</p> | <p>theatrical ‘architecture’ double meaning, ‘lyes’ / ‘lies’, exposure and condemnation of the behaviour of Antony and Cleopatra</p> |
| <p>The purple actors knowne</p> | <p>‘purple’: personification for ruler / monarch, ‘actors’: reiteration of theatrical metaphor</p> |

⁴⁰ Walter Ong, *Orality and Literacy: the Technologizing of the Word* (London: Methuen, 1982), p. 111.

Scarce men, whom men despise ‘men’ / ‘men’: syllepsis.

As in *Musophilus*, where the words of the speakers need careful analysis to develop their full meaning, so the Choruses in *Cleopatra* contain much for an audience or reader to ponder. Ong reminds us that ‘it was taken for granted that a written text of any worth was meant to be and deserved to be read aloud’ (p. 115). Andrew Pettegree describes the sixteenth century as a period in which the leisure habits of the manuscript age continued: ‘a book could be read from, admired and served up as a conversation point, as an alternative or counterpoint to music or storytelling’.⁴¹

Daniel himself uses *Musophilus* as both ‘book’ and ‘counterpoint’; it contains the ‘worthiness’ of Ong and the enjoyment of ‘storytelling’. An example of this comes in *Musophilus*’s exposition of the importance of learning; he disparages man’s attempts to attain immortality by physical constructions: ‘Where wil you have your vertuous names safe laid, | In gorgeous tombes, in sacred Cels secure?’ (sig. C2^r). He illustrates his point by referring to Stonehenge:

And whereto serve that wondrous *trophei* now,
That on the godly plaine near *Wilton* stands?
That huge domb heap, that cannot tel us how,
Nor what, nor whence it was.... (sig. C2^v)

Daniel describes the ‘gazing passenger’ asking his ‘fellow travailer | What he hath heard and his opinion: | And he knows nothing’ (sig. C2^v) and illustrates how lack of knowledge can lead to invention: ‘Then ignorance with fabulous discourse... | Tels how those stones were by the divels force | From Affricke brought ... | From giants hand redeem’d by *Merlins* sleight’ (sig. C3^r). Constructions of the intellect are perceived by *Musophilus* as more lasting, he asks ‘Who shall be fittest to negotiate | Contemn’d *Justinian*, or else *Littleton*?’ (sig. F1^r) These famed codifiers of laws ‘found deseignes that judgement shal decree ... even the ignorant may understand’ (sig. F1^r).

The identification of *Musophilus* with Daniel and *Philocosmus* with Greville which Himelick intimates may be valid. Since the closing stanzas of the *Musophilus* poem are directly addressed to Greville, it is reasonable to suppose that Daniel, in the guise of the protagonist, is speaking. He apologises for any lack of skill if his ‘will was caried far beyond my force’ (sig. F3^r). He elucidates the ‘function of a *Poem*, to discourse’ and asks Greville

⁴¹ Andrew Pettegree, *The Book in the Renaissance* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2010), p. 155.

for his support if there were criticism: ‘Thy worthy judgement which I most esteeme | (Worthy Fulke Grevil) must defend this course’ (sig. F3^r). Daniel both defers to Greville and asks for approval; ‘worthy’ although linked to ‘judgement’ manages to imply the underlying worth of the work. In the lines below, Daniel attributes to Greville the initial encouragement of his poetry, whilst claiming for himself the talent:

By whose mild grace, and gentle hand at first
My infant Muse was brought into open sight ...
Which peradventure never else had durst
T’appeare in place, but had been smothered quite. (sig. F3^v)

The smothering of an ‘infant Muse’ is perhaps an unfortunate image, but Daniel had used childbirth previously as a metaphor for the creation of a poem: ‘Goe wayling verse, the Infants of my love’.⁴² Within the 1594 dedication to the Countess of Pembroke of *Delia and Rosamond augmented Cleopatra*, Daniel used pregnancy as a symbol for the creation of poetry: ‘Let not the quickening seede be over-throwne, | Of that which may be borne to honour thee’ (sig. A2^r). However, it seems unusual to dwell on creative impulses at the end of a work so Daniel may have been preparing his reader for the second new work in the volume, *A Letter from Octavia*, positioned immediately following *Musophilus*. Quinn draws attention to the positioning of these ‘commendatory lines’ at the end of the work as ‘integral to the text’.⁴³ Her phraseology would seem to imply that Greville was influential in Daniel’s formation of the opinions expressed in *Musophilus*, either by opposition or approbation. Whether this argument is valid or no, the positioning of dedicatory words at the start and commendatory words at the end provide the same function as book covers in encapsulating the contents of a text. Himelick regards the friendship between Daniel and Greville as providing an impetus to Daniel’s choice of subject; he identifies *A defence of ryme*, the next work I discuss, as being influenced by their friendship: ‘Greville, whose redoubtable opposition to Daniel’s optimistic humanism could have served as catalyst to this concretion of defence’ (p. 247).

Daniel’s defence of custom and nature in *A defence of ryme*

For a poet to write *A defence of ryme* would not seem surprising, but for Daniel, all of whose earlier original works (I exclude his translation of *Paulus Jovius*) were in verse, to write his

⁴² *Delia* (1592) sig. B1^v.

⁴³ Quinn, (p. 423).

Defence in prose seems a little odd. He had written history, his *Civile Wars*, in verse let alone more malleable subjects, so why use prose? I suggest it was to demonstrate his mastery of the English language in any medium but it could possibly be also a moment of truth in which he assessed whether or not he was solely a poet.

Daniel had first come to general attention with his sonnet cycle *Delia* and poetry was the medium he used for succeeding works over many years, whilst writing in genres as varied as history, tragedy and philosophy. He utilised different formats for his verses but one element was constant, his use of rhyme. In Appendix B, I analyse the rhyming schemes used in the choruses of *Cleopatra*, which demonstrate his flexibility within conformity. When he wrote *Cleopatra* Daniel was attempting his first lengthy poetic piece and though it was followed by many others, it established his style. Words are chosen and positioned so that their rhythm and rhyme form a smooth flow. For a poet this was no doubt instinctive, but not every poet has the ability to stand outside their work and analyse why their structure works; this Daniel did in *A defence of ryme*.

Daniel's *Defence of ryme* is encapsulated metaphorically by the concept of a new reign under a male monarch and physically in the printed volume by works addressed to the king himself and to members of the court surrounding him.⁴⁴ That this placement was clearly intentional and significant is evidenced by page signatures; the *Defence* signatures run on from the pieces placed earlier in the volume, although its individual title page would enable it to be sold separately. The choice of subject may relate more to the link between James VI/I and verse than the purported one of an 'Answer to "Observations in the Art of English poesie"' (sig. E5^r). Daniel's *Panegyrike* was in the main addressing and informing James VI/I on matters relating to accession, government and princely behaviour; the *Defence* can be seen as written in deference to James's cultural interests and to enlarge his knowledge of such matters in his new realm. For James had, some two decades earlier, written a short treatise *Essayes of a Prentise, in the Divine Art of Poesie*, printed in Edinburgh by Vautrollier in 1585. Whilst it is possible that Daniel had not seen it, the evidence suggests that the book was readily available in England from shortly after its production. Vautrollier had moved to Edinburgh from London in 1583; 'his wife who remained in London, continued to run the London business, ensuring a smooth supply of texts not available locally' (Pettegree, p. 264). The transfer of texts was two way: Sebastiaan Verweij has identified surviving copies of

⁴⁴ Samuel Daniel, *A panegyrike congratulatorie* (London, 1603), STC (2nd ed.) 6260. Note: This edition, printed by R. Read, is more completely reproduced on EEBO than that printed, probably earlier in the same year, by V. Simmes.

James's early printed works, especially of the *Essayes of a Prentise*, as evidence of its reception in England, locating 'forty-three surviving copies...these numbers excluding books held in private collections'.⁴⁵ Some copies are presentation copies which were sent to specific members of Elizabeth's court, but the numbers suggest that the work had a wide circulation and was likely to be available to Daniel, either for a hasty read on James's accession or known to him from earlier years.

James had been educated as befitted a king, 'he was given a thorough training in foreign languages, ancient and modern' and his admiration for the works of the French protestant writer Du Bartas was such that he translated and included in *The Essayes* one of Du Bartas's poems.⁴⁶ Of potential importance to Daniel, *The Essayes* also included James's 'The Reulis and Cautelis to be Observit and eschewit in Scottis Poesie'. James certainly didn't lack confidence; he puts forward his views on the correct use and placement of rhymes, on syllabic measure and what he describes as 'Flowing, the verie twichestane quhair of is Musique'.⁴⁷ He continued: 'I have teachit zow now shortly the reulis of *Ryming*, *Fete*, and *Flowing*. There restis yet to teach zow the wordis, sentences, and phrasis necessair for a Poete to use in his verse, quhik I have set down in reulis, as efter followis' (sig. Liiij). Fortunately for Daniel's future progress into royal favour, James's avowed approval of verse and of versifiers concurred with his own understanding of style and purpose.

By the time Daniel set down his own thoughts on poetry several other English authors had put forward their ideas, most notably Sir Philip Sidney in *The Defence of Poesy*, printed 1595, and George Puttenham in *The Art of English Poesy* (1589). Alexander sees these texts together with Daniel's own *Defence of ryme* and the work of other writers as forming essentially the function of literary criticism and paving the way for a fundamentally English culture:

the Reformation gave an edge to questions about rivalry and dependence. England now had much more to prove ... these [areas] include the study of the vernacular, to vindicate it as a vehicle of scholarship and poetry worthy of comparison to the classical languages: the theorization of vernacular versification ... the defence of vernacular literature, together with the generation of the rules needed to give it more confidence.⁴⁸

⁴⁵ Sebastiaan Verweij, "'Booke, go thy wayes": The Publication, Reading and Reception of James VI/I's Early Poetic Works', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 77(2), (2014), 111-31 (p. 113).

⁴⁶ Ian Ross, Verse Translation at the Court of King James VI of Scotland', *Texas Studies in Literature and Language*, 4(2) (1962), 252-67 (p. 257).

⁴⁷ James VI/I, *Essayes of a Prentise* (Edinburgh, 1584), STC (2nd ed.) 14373, sig. Liiij.

⁴⁸ Alexander, p. xxi.

The concept of needing rules seems puzzling, but the humanist writers of the Renaissance had been thoroughly grounded in classical literature with its emphasis on conformity to ideals of expression and subject and so would anticipate that their own writings would be measured against a generally accepted standard. The courtiers surrounding James VI/I would certainly have studied his ‘reulis’ with care before venturing their own writings for royal approval. Whilst Daniel himself wrote in a variety of styles, including sonnets, odes, epistles and heroic verse, he was versatile without being an originator of form. Alexander defines *imitatio*, a key humanist concept, as the ‘imitation of literary and stylistic models’, a form of imitation clearly to be distinguished from slavish copying (p. xxxiv). In the Preface to the *Defence of ryme*, addressed to ‘All the Worthie Lovers and Learned Professors⁴⁹ of Ryme, within his Majesties Dominions’, Daniel writes that:

in respect of our Soveraignes happy inclination this way; whereby we are rather to expect an incouragement to goe on with what we doe, then that anye innovation should checke us ... I have now given a greater body to the same Argument. (sig. [E6^v])

What Daniel did, and what his essay argued strenuously for, was use rhyme. He flamboyantly declares that ‘now, upon the great discovery of these new measures, threatening to overthrow the whole state of Ryme in this kingdome, I must either stand out to defend, or else be forced to forsake my selfe, and give over all’ (sig.[E8^v]). Daniel’s repeated use of images of royalty as in ‘Majesties Dominions’, ‘Soveraignes’, ‘state’ and ‘kingdome’, aligns him firmly with James and James’s own essay on ‘poesie’. Placing the *Defence* in the same volume as the *Panegyrike* would ensure publicity for Daniel’s implicit loyalty to and approval of the new monarch. The ‘new measures’ were in fact derived from classical meters, which for English verse had fallen out of favour but which Thomas Campion advocated in his *Observations in the Art of English Poesy*, published in 1602. His suggested technique involved using stress and syllabic count, as in Latin verses, to compose poetry in English. The work could possibly have been ignored as an aberration from someone whose own poetry used rhymes had not Elizabeth’s reign ended shortly after. As an aspirant for royal favour, Daniel needed to distinguish himself from others with literary pretensions so a public rebuttal of Campion’s theories was a useful mechanism; he was tactful, mentioning Campion’s ‘commendable Rymes’ (sig. F1^r). Identification of whom Daniel was addressing apart from Campion himself and, hopefully, the King, is somewhat uncertain. Unlike

⁴⁹ *OED* ‘professor’, n. II 5.a, a person who makes a profession of any subject or field.

Musophilus, which contained rhetorical arguments aimed directly at a cultured elite, the *Defence* is written for the most part in easy, straightforward prose, but it is interspersed with quotations in Latin which though designed to bring emphasis to Daniel's arguments almost contradict Daniel's own advocacy of the English language. Robert Matz claims that written language was 'shaped by an elite education in classical literature' and that 'true possession of the "kingdom of our language" was limited to a select, gentle, or noble few, as was authority in the political kingdom'.⁵⁰

The general flow of Daniel's argument was the power of 'Custome & Nature ... Custome that is before all Law, Nature that is above all Arte' (sig. F2^r). He uses Campion's choice of words to oppose him. The thrust of Campion's contentions was that rhyme was a 'vulgar and unartificiall custome', a 'vulgar and easie kind of Poesie' and that verse structured around vowel and syllable length, as used in Latin, was much more commendable.⁵¹ He goes on to describe 'riming' as 'childish titillation' and that 'the facilitie & popularitie of Rime creates as many Poets, as a hot sommer flies' (pp. 4-5). He makes a meticulous identification of feet, dactyls, spondees, their description and variants, their usage and syllabic content. Problems arise when he attempts to fit the English language into an unsuitable straitjacket and his verse examples lend little conviction to his theories. The concluding words lack the dogmatism which marks his opening pages:

In the meane season, as the Grammarians leave many sillables to the authority of Poets, so do I likewise leave many to their judgements; and withall thus conclude, that there is no Art begun and perfected at one enterprise. (p. 43)

Daniel's response is far more measured in tone and less prescriptive in intention; he notes that the views of Campion, 'a man of faire parts, and good reputation ... may throw downe more at once then the labours of many shall ... build up againe, specially upon the slippery foundation of opinion' (sig. F1^r). Whilst using his favoured architectural metaphor, Daniel is also highlighting the theme of 'opinion' which runs through his works including *Cleopatra* (Chorus, Act II). He notes that the 'new-old arte' would have been uncontroversial had not Campion attacked rhyme (sig. F1^v). Daniel speaks for 'every Rymer in this universall Iland as well as my selfe', potentially including James, when he uses 'we': 'We could have allowed of his numbers had he not disgraced our Ryme which both Custome & Nature doth most

⁵⁰ Robert Matz, 'Theories and Philosophies of Poetry', *A Companion to Renaissance Poetry*, ed. Catherine Bates (Hoboken, N. J.: Wiley Blackwell, 2018), pp. 154-65, pp. 162-3.

⁵¹ Thomas Campion, *Observations in the art of English poesie* (London, 1602), sig. B3^v, p. 3.

powerfully defend' (sig. F1^v, F2^r). In the *Defence*, Daniel ruminates on the nature of verse and extends his readers' understanding of the mechanisms a poet uses:

All verse is but a frame of wordes confinde within certain measure,
differing from the ordinary speach, and introduced, the better to express
mens conceipts, both for delight and memorie. Which frame of words... are
disposed into divers fashions, according to the humour of the Composer,
and the set of the time. (sig. F2^r)

This concept, 'a frame of words', and others used by Daniel in the *Defence* have been traced by Micha Lazarus as originating from Aristotle via Talon's *Rhetoric*, texts of which were readily available in the late sixteenth century.⁵² Daniel then delves more deeply into how rhyme provides 'delight and memorie': 'it is likewise number and harmonie of words, consisting of an agreeing sound in the last silables of severall verses, giving both to the Eare an Eccho of a delightfull report, and to the Memorie a deeper impression of what is delivered therein' (sig. F2^v). Daniel reinforces his argument by subtly reminding his readers of the Cicero's approved rhetorical structure, *docere, delectare, movere*, (to teach, delight and move). He argues that the use of rhyme is a 'custome, which nature hath thus ratified' in 'delighting the eare, stirring the hart, & satisfying the judgment in such sort as I doubt whether ever single numbers will doe in our Climate' (sig. F4^r). When Cleopatra speaking of Antony says:

Who now throwne downe, disgrac'd, confounded lies
Crusht with the weight of Shame and Infamie,
Following th'unlucky party of mine eies,
The traine of lust and imbecilitie (l. 17)

the reader hears the reinforcement of 'infamie' by 'imbecilitie'; rhyme is a mechanism for conveying a message as much as individual words.

Daniel firmly embeds his *Defence* within England, her customs, language, land and even her cultural and actual climate, but extends the range of his discussion to the major change the country was facing: the arrival of a new monarch, bringing with him his own perceptions of royal powers and the country's legal framework. The different structures of poetry favoured by Campion and Daniel could be a metaphor for the differences between Scottish Civil Law and English Common Law. Helgerson states 'for Daniel ... the form of

⁵² Micha Lazarus, 'Samuel Daniel and Talon's Rhetoric', *Notes and Queries*, 65(4), (2018), 560-4.

English verse was as much a political as an aesthetic matter ... the distribution of syllables in a line of verse inevitably figured the distribution of power in the state'.⁵³ He continues:

In the *Defense of Rime*, political innovation seems to worry Daniel still more than the changes in verse form that Campion was suggesting. And well it might. Only a few months before the book was published ... a new monarch, a foreigner, had assumed power. (p. 37)

Whilst Daniel's words are not subversive they can be interpreted as containing a coded message: 'So that if our labours have wrought out a manumission from bondage, and that wee go at liberty, notwithstanding these ties, we are no longer the slaves of Ryme, but we make it a most excellent instrument to serve us' (sig. [F7^v]). Daniel's choice of words in the preceding paragraphs when he talks of 'rules', 'lawes', 'feters', carry more than disapprobation for Campion's thesis, they evoke disquiet that England's 'custom', her unwritten constitution, as opposed to the formalities of Scottish Civil Law, was imperilled. He envisages a potential clash of cultures: 'Nor can it but touch of arrogant ignorance, to hold this or that nation Barborous, these or those times grosse' (sig. G1^r). There is a certain amount of defensiveness in Daniel's words, not only had Campion classed the use of rhyme as a barbarous practice falling short of classical perfection, but there was inevitably national pride at stake. Daniel conflates his thoughts on verse and the state through a shared metaphor, that of a structure, a frame, a building:

looke upon the wonderfull Architecture of this state of *England*, ... there is no one the least pillar of Majestie, but was set with most profound judgement, and borne up with the just conveniencie of Prince and people. No Court of Justice, but laide by the Rule and Square of Nature, and the best of the best cōmon-wealths, that ever were in the world. So strong and substantiall, as it hath stood against all the storms of factions, both of believe & ambition, which so powerfully beat upon it (sig. [G6^r])

Just as Daniel deplores Campion's attempt to change the construction of verse in English, so he is wary of innovation in other ways: 'It is but a fantastike giddinesse to forsake the waye of other men, especially where it lyes tollerable' (sig. [G7^r]). In a gesture towards modesty he says 'I thanke God that I am none of these great Schollers ...' and describes himself as 'plodding on the plaine tract I finde beaten by Custome and the Time, contenting me with

⁵³ Richard Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood: the Elizabethan Writing of England* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1994), p. 37.

what I see in use' (sig. [G7^v]). 'Plodding' carries connotations of persistent effort, so Daniel's disclaimer is perhaps less humble than it seems at first sight; it also serves to deflect unfavourable attention by potential mischief makers by making his thoughts seem unimportant, especially any which could be interpreted as criticism of James.

Daniel's choice of words to describe Campion, 'our adversary' (sig. [G8^v]), 'the *Radamanthus*' (in Greek Mythology a king and lawgiver), and 'tyrant' (sig. H1^r), seem unduly strong. The actions attributed, 'to torture sillables, and adjudge them their perpetuall doome' (sig. H1^r) seem more applicable to sensate beings than to words and may reflect an underlying concern regarding James's concept of the divine authority of kings. In the *Panegyrike*, Daniel wrote 'Religion comes with thee, peace, righteousness, | Judgement and Justice ...' (sig. A3^v), but clearly he hoped for the application of English Common Law rather than unknown Scottish ways. Daniel's *Defence* has the same theme: 'And now see if in like sort another tyrant the next yere should arise and abrogate these lawes, and ordaine others cleane contrary, according to his humor' (sig. H1^r). He reiterates his basic tenet: 'Were it not farre better to hold us fast to our olde custome' (sig. H1^v), then, seeming to remember his overt purpose, proceeds to demolish step by step Campion's 'strange precepts of Arte' (sig. H1^v). After this Daniel contemplates his own usage:

notwithstanding all this which I have heere delivered in the defence of Ryme, I am not so farre in love with mine owne mysterie... as to be against the reformation, and the better settling these measures of ours. ... And I must confesse, that to mine own eare, those continuall cadences of couplets... are very tyresome, & unpleasing, by reason that stil, me thinks they runne on. (sig. [H6^r])

He goes so far as to deplore his own use of feminine rhymes, a style which he had used in *Delia* and also to some extent in *Cleopatra*; in exculpation he claims 'there are not above two couplettes of that kinde in all my Poem of the Civill warres' (sig. [H7^r]). Despite having made this self-advertisement, Daniel continues by saying that the greatest fault of poets is 'Selfe-love, whereunto we Versifiers are ever noted to be especially subject' (sig. [H7^v]), which 'perswades him that his lines cannot but please others, which so much delight himself' (sig. [H8^r]). Daniel's concluding lines may hint at an acceptance of change, in particular to the introduction of 'forraine words, bee they never so strange' which could 'stabish them as Free-denizens in our language' (sig. [H8^v]). Certainly James and his Scottish court would have brought with them into England their own ways of speech and idioms, which would have become instantly fashionable.

The *Defence* marks a breakthrough for Daniel; he moved from writing what he thought would please others to revealing his personal views. This burgeoning confidence is evidenced in the contrast between the ways he addressed mother and son in the frontpieces to *Cleopatra* and the *Defence*. In *Cleopatra* the Dedication commences: ‘To the right Honourable, the | Lady Mary, Countess of | PEMBROOKE’, and concludes

But (Madam), this doth animate my mind,
Thay yet I shal be read among the rest,
And though I do not to perfection grow,
Yet something shall I be, though not the best. (Dl.112–5)

The *Defence* commences with ‘To | WILLIAM HERBERT | ERLE OF PEMBROOKE’ and plunges straight into Daniel’s argument before concluding with:

But this is but a Character of that perpetuall revolution which we see to be
in all things that never remaine the same, and we must herein be content to
submit ourselves to the law of time, which in a few yeers will make all that,
for which we now contend, *Nothing*. (sig. [H8^v])

The simplicity and directness of Daniel’s words to William Herbert contrast with the almost reverence of his opening phrase to Herbert’s mother. Comparing the ending of the pieces, there is in ‘I shal be read’ an early glimpse of the argument for the endurance of culture in *Musophilus*: though this is not negated in the closing lines of the *Defence*, Daniel uses the imagery of the ‘perpetual revolution’, the circle of time, which had appeared in *Cleopatra*, to provide an image of recurrence rather than permanence. For an argument which had maintained to this point a high level of intensity and personal investment this seems a remarkably low key ending with a stoic acceptance of change, yet ‘*Nothing*’, It is described by Alexander as ‘a glorious shock’, which perhaps was the intention since Daniel always considered the impact of his chosen words.⁵⁴

Considering these three works in relation to *Cleopatra*, they demonstrate the development of Daniel’s literary skill. In *Cleopatra* he was given a theme by the Countess of Pembroke, his plotline came from Plutarch, his format from previous neo-Senecan dramas, but the words were his. *Octavia* forms a companion piece to *Cleopatra*, giving an alternative view of loyalty; *Musophilus* can be seen as male protagonists arguing for intellectual dominance, whilst the *Defence* is a confident assertion of what Daniel valued. Each of the three works presents the reader with thoughtful analysis, interesting exposition and a

⁵⁴Alexander, p. lxxi.

potential impetus to act or think differently, the rhetorical structure of *docere, delectare, movere* in action. In none of his works written in succeeding years do we find such clear indications of a philosophical frame of mind except perhaps in his unemotional relation of events and their consequences in the *Historie of England* (1612 and subsequently) which was published towards the end of his life. For all his possible misgivings about the advent of James VI/I it was to the court and in particular in service to Queen Anne that Daniel's professional life was aligned in the years following the publication of the *Defence*, so perhaps that piece was his both his first and last truly self-motivated work.

Chapter Three

Introduction to *The tragedie of Cleopatra*

For a writer whose previous works, as far as is known, were a prose translation from Italian (*Paulus Jovius*) and a collection of sonnets (*Delia*), printed with ‘An Ode’ and a complaint poem (*Rosamond*), to compose a full length verse play would seem a major departure. Yet Daniel succeeded in producing a tragedy which not only complemented the Countess of Pembroke’s *Antonius*, but had the merit of being original in content (although I will discuss the origins of the plot in the next chapter) rather than simply a close translation as was *Antonius*.¹ *Cleopatra* is of importance as a drama in which the protagonist is a woman, the other characters exist only through their relationship to her story, but being female was not in itself the core of the drama. The aspects of *The Tragedie of Cleopatra* which I will consider in this introduction are centred around underlying elements of the plot: from the role and voices of women to the depiction of their death; from the concept of empire to the constraints of the tomb. My description of *Cleopatra* as a ‘play’ is itself ambiguous; at the time of its composition the word ‘play’ was used to describe works written for public performance – see page 39 for Bodley’s disparaging words on such pieces – and *Cleopatra* was not composed for that purpose as I will show, so in the final section of this chapter I will discuss the print history of Daniel’s tragedy.

The impetus to composition

There is no evidence that Daniel had shown any skill or interest in dramatic representation before he wrote *The Tragedie of Cleopatra*, but his literary talents were clearly well regarded by Mary Sidney Herbert, the Countess of Pembroke.² She was well placed to judge them since she had not only translated Garnier’s play, *Marc Antoine*, but rendered it in verse. Although publication did not occur until two years later, the Countess’s version, *Antonius*, was, according to the final words on the printed page, completed ‘At Ramsburie. 26. of November. 1590’.³ The date when Daniel joined the Pembroke household has been variously suggested as ‘soon after the publication of Newman’s pirated edition of *Astrophil and Stella*

¹ Phillippe de Mornay, *A discourse of life and death ... Antonius, a tragoedie written also in French by Ro. Garnier. Both done in English by the Countesse of Pembroke* (London, 1592), STC (2nd ed) 18138. To avoid confusion, I will refer to Garnier’s play as *Antoine* and the translation as *Antonius*.

² Future references will be to ‘the Countess’.

³ *Antonius* (sig. [O2^v]).

(1591)' by Michael Brennan and 'the early 1590s' by Margaret Hannay.⁴ Rees, Daniel's biographer, claimed that 'the date ... must be pushed forward from 1585, the commonly accepted date, as far as 1592'.⁵ Each suggested date relies on interpreting an item of Daniel's printed work as prompting his appointment to the household; 1585, if the Earl of Pembroke had his interest caught by *Paulus Jovius*; 1591 if the Pembrokes enjoyed the selection of *Delia* sonnets included in *Astrophil and Stella*, whilst deploring the latter's publication without their consent; around 1592 if the dedication of Daniel's *Delia* to the Countess is placed as either an apology for the inclusion of his sonnets in *Astrophil and Stella* or in gratitude for newly acquired patronage. Whether Daniel saw the Countess's translations in manuscript before their publication in 1592 or no, he would, as a courtesy to his patroness, have made himself familiar with their content.

A translation of a work by Philippe de Mornay preceded *Antonius* in the printed volume; its position may have indicated the importance the Countess placed on this work. By translating Philippe de Mornay du Plessis's *Excellent discours de la Vie et de la Mort* she was paying homage to her brother Philip Sidney, a friend of de Mornay, to the Huguenot movement in France and to Protestant beliefs. The publication was intended to raise support and funding for the Protestant cause on the Continent at a time when France was suffering internal religious and political conflict and the largely Protestant Netherlands were in revolt against Spanish Catholic overlords.⁶ The Countess was making a statement of support for the cause for which her brother had died. Friendship between the Sidney and de Mornay families, initially begun by her brother Philip, continued after his death.⁷ Roger Kuin places a strengthening of Philip's friendship with de Mornay to the years 1577–8 during which de Mornay lived in London; incidentally a period when Philip's reputation at Elizabeth's court was high.⁸ Philip's translation of de Mornay's *Vérité de la religion chrestienne* was published in 1587 under the title of *A Woorke concerning the trewnesse of the Christian Religion*.⁹ This

⁴ Michael Brennan, *Literary Patronage in the English Renaissance: The Pembroke Family* (London and New York: Routledge, 1988), p. 75; Margaret P. Hannay, *Philip's Phoenix: Mary Sidney, Countess of Pembroke* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), p. 126.

⁵ Rees, *Samuel Daniel*, p. 9.

⁶ 'Introduction', *The Collected Works of Mary Sidney Herbert*, ed. by Hannay, Kinnamon and Brennan (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), I, p. 24.

⁷ Both Philip Sidney and de Mornay were given protection by the English ambassador during the St. Bartholomew's Day massacre in Paris, see Hannay, *Philip's Phoenix*, p. 29. Hannay also instances de Mornay requesting help from Robert Sidney, p. 62.

⁸ Roger Kuin, 'Life, Death, and the Daughter of Time: Philip and Mary Sidney's Translations of Duplessis-Mornay', *French Connections in the English Renaissance*, ed. Catherine Gimelli Martin and Hassan Melehy (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016), pp. 131–46, p. 131.

⁹ For details regarding a controversy over the translator of this work, see Kuin, p. 133.

work appeared in print shortly after Philip Sidney's death, providing a link to and possibly an impetus for the Countess's own translation of de Mornay a few years later. Religion and politics were inextricably mingled during this period. The adoption by French dramatists of historical events expressed in Senecan style tragedies enabled them 'particularly Garnier, [to] choose themes which reflect[ed] the situation in France – rebellion and civil war, with all the bitterness, cruelty and misery which these entail'.¹⁰

Reading the *Discourse* and *Antonius* would have provided Daniel with an indication of the style and ethos approved by the Countess; the translation of de Mornay's work had been completed some months earlier than *Antonius* on 'The 13. of May 1590. At Wilton.' (sig. [E3^r]). The conjunction of a serious philosophical religious essay with a historically based tragedy in one volume – the title clearly indicates the intention that they should be together – provides a possible foundation for Daniel's interpretation of Cleopatra's character as evinced by her lengthy soliloquys.¹¹ *The Tragedie of Cleopatra* was published in 1594 together with the popular *Delia* sonnets; their initial print run under the oversight of the publisher / bookseller, Simon Waterson, in 1592 had been quickly followed by a second. The timing would suggest that, even assuming the manuscript version of *Cleopatra* was shown to the Countess before publication, Daniel had had sufficient time to research historical accounts of Antony's life. Since the 'Argument' of *Antonius* ends with '*The historie to be read at large in Plutarch in the life of Antonius*' it would seem likely that the library at Wilton contained that resource (sig. F1^v).

I would contend that one of Daniel's achievements in *The Tragedie of Cleopatra* was to present his patroness with a piece that tactfully allowed her to recognise elements, such as structure and phraseology, in common with her own work. *Antonie* commences with a soliloquy by Antony in which he both declares and deplores his love for Cleopatra and also fears forming part of Octavian's triumph (sig. F2^r). There is a mirror image of these themes in Act I of *Cleopatra* where Cleopatra declares her love for Antony, deplores its consequences and fears being taken to Rome in Octavian's triumph (ll. 13–24, 47–70). Nevertheless, on publication in 1594 the title page of *Delia and Rosamond augmented Cleopatra* firmly declares 'By Samuel Daniel'; to the purchasers of the volume authorship is established as

¹⁰ Gillian Jondorf, *Robert Garnier and the Themes of Political Tragedy in the Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), p. 16.

¹¹ The conjunction of theological reflection with Cleopatra's 'earthly' love reappears in Emilia Lanier's *Salve Deus Rex Judæorum* (London, 1611), STC (2nd ed) 15227, sig. F3^r.

Daniel's alone.¹² The apologetic dedication to the Countess which prefaced *Delia* in the two 1592 editions has disappeared and been replaced by the following somewhat ambiguous sonnet:

TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE, THE LADY *MARY*,
Countesse of *Pembrooke*.

Wonder of these, glory of other times,
O thou whom Envy ev'n is forst t'admyre:
Great Patroness of these my humble Rymes,
Which thou from out thy greatnes doost inspire:
Sith onely thou hast deign'd to rayse them higher,
Vouchsafe now to accept them as thine owne,
Begotten by thy hand, and my desire,
Wherein my Zeale, and thy great might is shewne.
And seeing this unto the world is knowne,
O leave not, still to grace thy worke in mee:
Let not the quickning seede be over-throwne,
Of that which may be borne to honour thee.
Whereof, the travaile I may challenge mine,
But yet the glory, (Madam) must be thine. (sig. A2^r)

Although the *Delia* sonnets follow immediately and *Cleopatra* has a separate dedicatory poem, also addressed to the Countess, the sonnet by its placement immediately following the title page may be interpreted as applying to all the works in the volume. She 'inspires' his 'humble Rymes', they are 'begotten by thy hand'; his is the 'desire', the 'Zeale', the 'travaile'. Julie Crawford, in commenting on the relationship between author and dedicatee, emphasises 'how seriously such dedications were taken in the period' and sees them as an indicator of the 'collaborative nature of literary production', giving this sonnet as evidence for such a relationship.¹³ There seems to be a plea for understanding of the creative process in 'Let not the quickning seede be over-throwne, | Of that which may be borne to honour thee'. Although the skill of translation was well respected, and Daniel had himself commenced his literary career in that way, there seems to be a clear distinction between original creation and translation in the comparison of 'quickning seede' with 'thy worke'. An alternative interpretation could be that 'thy worke' was the support and patronage which the Countess gave not only to Daniel but to other aspiring authors. Perhaps Daniel wished to assert a measure of independence, in thought if not financially, from his 'Great Patroness'. Within a

¹² *Delia* (1594), title page.

¹³ Julie Crawford, *Mediatrix: Women, Politics, and Literary Production in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), p. 4.

sonnet form the sentiments of the concluding couplet are frequently employed to encapsulate the theme of the whole; Daniel has written the play but it would enhance the cultural reputation of the Countess as a source of both inspiration and patronage.

Daniel reinforces his message in the longer dedicatory poem preceding *Cleopatra*: ‘Loe heere the worke the which she did impose, | Who onely doth predominate my Muse’ (sig. [H5r]). To describe *Cleopatra* as ‘worke ... she did impose’ could be interpreted as the writing of the play being ‘entrusted’ to him, so rather than a criticism of the Countess the words become a commendation for Daniel. However, this is the only piece in which Daniel states outright that he was writing ‘to order’: ‘thy well graced *Antony* ... Requir’d his *Cleopatras* company’ (sig. [H5r]). Later works, such as the masques composed for Queen Anne, were commissioned and written for specific occasions and probably to flatter both audience and participants, but in undertaking *Cleopatra* Daniel moved his career from being an occasional versifier to becoming one whose livelihood depended in part upon his poetic skill. For *Cleopatra* to become the ‘company’ that *Antonius* required, Daniel would need to structure his tragedy similarly to that of the Countess.

Genre and structure

In addition to the recently translated *Antonie*, Daniel probably had access at Wilton to manuscript copies of Philip Sidney’s writings and in particular to a piece written more than a decade earlier which has become known as *The Defense of Poesy*. In this Sidney deplores ‘our tragedies and comedies ... observing rules neither of honest civility nor skilful poetry – excepting *Gorboduc*... yet in truth it is very defectuous’.¹⁴ George Puttenham was similarly concerned to identify themes and forms suitable for dramatic expression. His exposition of the ‘four sundry formes of Poesie *Dramaticke* ... to wit, the *Satyre*, old *Comedie*, new *Comedie*, and *Tragedie*’ together with his derivation of the word for tragedy from ‘tragos’, a goat, as sacrificed to the gods, does not delineate how each was to be structured.¹⁵ His chapter heading ‘In what forme of Poesie the evill and outrageous behaviours of Princes were reprehended’ makes it clear that words and plot (or a moral expounded) were what mattered to his contemporaries (sig. Fi^v). In addition, a tragedy would only be appropriate for the ‘matters of great Princes’ (sig. Fij^f). Timothy Reiss provides evidence from Continental

¹⁴ Alexander, p. 44.

¹⁵ George Puttenham, *The arte of English Poesie* (London, 1589), STC (2nd ed.) 20519, sig Fij^f.

authors that this was the generally understood concept of tragedy.¹⁶ He translates from Lazare de Baif an explanation of tragedy as ‘a morality composed of great calamities, murders and adversities inflicted on noble and excellent personages’.¹⁷ By entitling his work as *The Tragedie of Cleopatra* Daniel was encapsulating the contents as belonging to a clearly defined genre.

The cultured elite whom Daniel was addressing would recognise a ‘tragedy’ as a formal structure, one which they had met in their humanist education. The Senecan or neo-Senecan style, as it has come to be described, was used not only by classical authors but also by Renaissance writers on the Continent. Translations of Seneca’s works into English (previous translations and performances were from Greek to Latin) proliferated in the sixteenth century.¹⁸ By 1581 a volume of ten of his tragedies was in print.¹⁹ Robert Miola notes that ‘in 1566 players at Gray’s Inn staged the first performance of Greek tragedy in English, Euripides’ *Phoenissae*’; though even that came to the stage via translation from the Italian of Lodovico Dolce’s *Giocasta* (1549).²⁰ Greg Walker describes *Gorboduc*, which was performed and subsequently printed in the 1560s, as ‘the earliest attempt to imitate Senecan tragic form in English ... it offers itself as a point of departure for much of the Renaissance dramatic experimentation of the following decades’.²¹ The defects Sidney had found in *Gorboduc* were related to its lack of conformity to a complete Senecan style. The ‘Senecan’ format is distinguished by having unity of time, space and action, the latter sometimes defined as theme. The modern concept of a ‘real-time’ event has historical precedent in such dramas where the events described occur during the duration of one day. Strictly, the unities of space and action would limit the setting to one location, restrictions which stage dramatists would circumvent by using two levels and a messenger to recount distant events. Additionally, the number of characters in total and on stage at any one time were few, with the exception of a chorus, composed of either an individual or a group speaking with one voice, who acted as a commentator on events. Daniel’s *Cleopatra* follows these precedents as

¹⁶ Timothy J. Reiss, ‘Renaissance theatre and the theory of tragedy’ in *The Cambridge History of Literary Criticism: Vol. 3 The Renaissance* ed. by Glyn P. Morton (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 229-57 (p. 229).

¹⁷ Reiss, p. 229.

¹⁸ Douglas A. Brooks, *From Playhouse to Printing House: Drama and Authorship in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 23.

¹⁹ *Seneca his tenne tragedies*, translated into English (London, 1581), STC (2nd ed.) 22221.

²⁰ Robert S. Miola, ‘Euripides at Gray’s Inn’ in *The Female Tragic Hero in English Renaissance Drama*, ed. by Naomi Conn Liebler (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002), pp. 33–50, p. 33.

²¹ Greg Walker, *The Politics of Performance in Early Renaissance Drama* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 201.

did Garnier's *Antonie* and would have been seen in the late sixteenth century as conventional in style, rather than an anachronism.

As well as being labelled 'neo-Senecan' in style both *Antonius* and *Cleopatra* are often described as 'closet' dramas. Both concepts describe a drama more suited to reading, either aloud in a domestic setting, or to oneself, rather than acting; also one possibly contentious in content but certainly containing matter deserving reflective thought. Marta Straznicky identifies a closet drama as 'a play that is not intended for commercial performance' whilst assessing it as one which enables 'a woman writer ... to engage in political discourse without exposing her views to an indiscriminate public'.²² A crossover between private reading and public consumption occurs when such a play is printed, but even then it would only be available to a limited section of society, those who were literate and wealthy enough to purchase it. The motivations and packaging for publication were significantly different between the Countess of Pembroke's *Antonius* and Daniel's *Cleopatra*: the Countess was seeking to gain publicity for de Mornay and the Huguenot cause, whilst Daniel was reinforcing his credentials as a poet with mastery of several genres. Neither play was initially issued as a stand-alone item; *Antonius* was separately printed in 1595 and the *Discourse* went through several printings but *Cleopatra* always appeared with other works by Daniel. Straznicky argues that 'drawing on the politicization of English and continental precursors, the Sidnean closet plays are tragedies of state in senecan form, exploring the issue of tyranny from the viewpoint of characters who are variously disempowered'.²³ This suggestion has perhaps been coloured by the furore over Daniel's later tragedy, *The tragedie of Philotas*, which was thought to comment on the abortive Essex rebellion. *Philotas*, itself a tragedy about the discretion needed in politics, caused a political problem for Daniel when *The tragedie of Philotas* came to the attention of the court of James VI/I and to his government ministers. Laurence Michel in his edition of the play suggests that the tragedy was performed by the Children of the Queen's Revels, the company for which Daniel was at that time the Master, in early January 1605.²⁴ The subject of the play was the downfall of Philotas, a favourite of Alexander the Great, his trial for treason, torture, confession and execution. Daniel claimed, in side notes to the Argument, that his sources were the classical

²² Marta Straznicky, *Privacy, Playreading and Women's Closet Drama, 1550-1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p. 1.

²³ Straznicky, p. 14.

²⁴ Samuel Daniel, *The Tragedy of Philotas*, ed. by Laurence Michel (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1949).

authors Plutarch and Quintus Curtius.²⁵ Philotas's treason was an act of silence; he failed to reveal a plot against Alexander, who 'drawing a pedigree from heaven' was becoming unpopular.²⁶ The parallels that could be drawn between James VI/I's view of himself as divinely appointed and also the downfall of Queen Elizabeth's favourite, Essex, were noted; Daniel was summoned to appear before the Privy Council. He escaped censure, the tragedy was printed later that year with a Dedication to Prince Henry and there were several subsequent editions.²⁷ Daniel's defence that it was only a play written by his 'harmlesse Pen' would appear to support Straznický's theory that 'closet drama' was a safe place to explore political ideology, except for the undeniable fact that it had a public (though not commercial) performance.²⁸ The 'safety' that S. P. Cerasano and Marion Wynne-Davies perceive is that 'the plays [closet dramas] would not be performed on the public stage, but would be read or acted, within the privacy of family homes', but even that limitation might provide a substantial audience in the case of the Pembroke household.²⁹ Printing the actual text was one way to ensure that reported misrepresentations of any resemblance to current political issues could be averted, although, as with all texts personal interpretation remained.

The printed text of *Cleopatra* gives minimal indication that any physical representation of the drama was intended or occurred. The division into five acts each with a concluding chorus might appear to be a conventional dramatic structure, but scene divisions are less clearly named; these are often only indicated by a horizontal line on the page. The Senecan style of a limited number of characters 'on stage' at any time is followed; the majority of scenes are either monologues or dialogues. The whole tragedy could be envisaged as occurring inside or in the vicinity of Cleopatra's tomb and within the space of a few hours. Earlier events are related by the characters – the equivalent of cinematic flashbacks – so that the whole conformed with the Senecan unities of time, space and action. These restrictions do not seem to have hindered Daniel; indeed he may well have taken them as little different from the conventions of sonnet or complaint forms in which he had previously worked. What may have been more difficult was to achieve a full length tragedy from a minimal plot line, the death of Cleopatra. Daniel Cadman describes *Cleopatra* as 'a direct sequel to *Antonius*, with

²⁵ Daniel, *Certaine small poems* (1605), sep. seq. sig. A6^r, A6^v.

²⁶ Daniel *Certaine small poems*, sig. A6^v.

²⁷ See Chapter One, p. 36.

²⁸ See Chapter One, p. 36.

²⁹ 'Introduction' in *Renaissance Drama by Women: Texts and Documents* ed. by S. P. Cerasano and Marion Wynne-Davies (London: Routledge, 1996), pp. 3-5, (p. 4).

the first scene picking up more or less instantly from the moment when Sidney's play ends.³⁰ The problem with such a description is that it would imply continuity not just of plot but also of character: Daniel's Cleopatra is a much more complex person than that portrayed in *Antonius*.

Portrayal of death

A significant problem for Daniel in writing his play would have been to reconcile his portrayal of Cleopatra's life and eventual suicide with virtues espoused by the firmly protestant Pembroke family, as evidenced by the translation of the *Discourse*; death was to be welcomed not as an escape from the troubles of life but as a way to eternal life and its advent should not be precipitated by the individual. One of the analogies de Mornay uses is of God as a landowner and man as a tenant:

For hee is not borne for himselfe, but for God: of whome he holdes his life at farme, as his tenant at will, to yeeld him the profites. It is in the landlord to take it from him, not in him to surrender it, when a conceit takes him.
(sig. E2^v)

Daniel's heroine had therefore to seem to be both overcome by a force outside her control, Octavian, and also simultaneously act as a queen, since tragedies had to have as their protagonist a person of importance.³¹ The contradictions this imposes on the decision to die seem even more convoluted since Octavian wants a live Cleopatra as an element in his triumphal return to Rome. Cleopatra's physical separation of herself from her conquered country, Egypt, by entering the monument carries an echo of a passage in the *Discourse* where De Mornay makes it clear that man cannot escape from his sins:

Retire wee our selves into our selves, we find it there as uncleane as anywhere. We are in the world and the worlde in us, and to seperate us from the worlde, we must seperate us from our selves. Nowe this seperation is called Death. (sig. C3^r)

De Mornay explicitly states that suicide is wrong: 'to cast our selves out of the world is in no sort permitted us. The Christian ... cannot leave his place without incurring reproch and infamie' (sig. E2^r).

Daniel's play commences with Cleopatra already in the tomb; she has attempted to escape from the complexity of her relationship with Antony and her failure to preserve her

³⁰ Cadman, p. 53.

³¹ Puttenham, 'the matters of great Princes', sig. Fij^r.

country from Octavian but in de Mornay's words she is 'as uncleane as anywhere' (sig. C3^r). The self-reproach of Cleopatra's soliloquys and the castigation of her actions by the Chorus epitomise this concept of the inescapability from sin or being 'uncleane'. Plutarch describes Cleopatra fleeing from Antony's anger: 'she being affraied of his fury, fled into the tombe which she had caused to be made, and there locked the doores unto her, and shut all the springes of the lockes with great boltes'.³² The convention of Greek tragedies, as analysed by Nicole Loraux, was that suicide by women took place off stage: 'the staging in Sophocles even follows a standard sequence – a silent exit, a choral chant, and then the announcement of a messenger that, out of sight, the woman has killed herself.'³³ Loraux describes 'the door of that closed place where a woman takes refuge to die ... with its solid bolts that have to be forced back for the dead woman to be reached'.³⁴ Daniel's Cleopatra vocalises her anguish (unlike Sophoclean heroines) in the early acts of his play, but her actual death is described by the Nuntius, speaking to the Chorus.

There would seem to be fewer difficulties for the Countess in describing Antony's suicide; in translating Garnier she was constrained by his words. There was however a problem in that it was deemed honourable for a Roman leader defeated in battle to kill himself, but the Argument of *Antonius* describes Antony's death as occurring some time after his defeat at Actium. He became '*jealouse and to suspect Cleopatra*' and finally kills himself for love because he believed Cleopatra dead (sig. F1^v). The scope of the tragedy is limited to this final phase of Antony's life, the overwhelming and disastrous love of Antony for Cleopatra; it ends on an inconclusive note as Cleopatra discusses her own death but does not take active steps to procure it. Jondorf views Garnier's *Marc-Antoine* as a comment on the French political situation by 'the incorporation into the tragedy of many passages about political problems and in particular about the nature and duties of kingship'.³⁵ She claims the 'main character ... in *Marc-Antoine* ... is ... Love'.³⁶ Love and its fatal effects permeate the play without any relief from 'the pessimism in which the whole play is steeped'.³⁷ In requiring Daniel to write a companion piece to her translation, the Countess seemed to be giving him little scope; she had effectively killed off both protagonists. Indeed, Eve Rachele

³² Plutarch, p. 1006, see Appendix A.

³³ Nicole Loraux, *Tragic Ways of Killing a Woman*, trans. by Anthony Forster (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1991), p. 20.

³⁴ Loraux, p. 23.

³⁵ Jondorf, p. 21.

³⁶ Jondorf, p. 140.

³⁷ Jondorf, p. 140.

Sanders claims that ‘to readers of Sidney’s *Antonius*, the resurrection of Cleopatra in Daniel’s play could only have come as an astounding anti-climax’.³⁸ Since Sanders argues that ‘Garnier/Sidney had portrayed Cleopatra as a gender-bending wife-hero capable of both “female” and “male” forms of virtue’ it would seem a triumph for Daniel that he found any latitude at all to compose a play with Cleopatra as protagonist.³⁹ Daniel could have portrayed Cleopatra as a conventional heroine, one who suffered the torments of love before, on the death of the loved one, killing herself, but he chose to write a more nuanced version of the story. In accepting the Countess’s commission, he would have familiarised himself not only with *Antonius* but with the *Discourse*. He may not consciously have referenced the latter, but his tragedy enables him to explore its themes, many of which were of concern to his contemporaries: the responsibilities of a monarch for the people; succession issues; self determination; stoicism.

Monarchy, succession and contemporary parallels

Protestant anxieties that Queen Elizabeth would marry a Catholic had subsided by the 1590s, but in view of her age and her disinclination to commit to marriage the succession problem was clearly not now to be solved by the birth to her of an heir. The identification of Cleopatra with Egypt (see 23-24n) was comparable to that of Elizabeth with England; both countries faced a doubtful future when their Queen’s reign ended. Cleopatra, unlike Elizabeth, had several children all with potential claims to power; she describes them as ‘Confused issue, yet of Roman race’ (l. 352). The phrasing might remind a reader of Daniel’s tragedy of Henry VIII’s children, each by a different mother, but given royal status through their male parent. Cleopatra’s children by Antony had a claim to various areas of the eastern mediterranean region through Antony’s misguided attempts to place them as overlords. However, Cæsario offered the greatest threat to the whole of the Roman empire through Cleopatra’s assertion that he was the son of Julius Cæsar; Octavian was merely a great nephew. An analogy to the familial relationship of James VI to Queen Elizabeth (he was the son of her cousin, Mary) could be noted from that of Octavian to Julius Cæsar. James was Protestant, legitimate and experienced in kingship; Daniel’s representation of Octavian as skilled in statesmanship, honourable and pragmatic could have provided for the late Elizabethan age an assurance that their potential future monarch would be acceptable, if lacking in the charisma of their queen.

³⁸ Eve Rachele Sanders, *Gender and Literacy on Stage in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), p. 118.

³⁹ Sanders, p. 106.

It was safer to dramatise historic events than to comment on current political situations, therefore any comparison between Cleopatra and Elizabeth other than that they were female monarchs could have been fatal. Fulke Greville in his memoirs, thinly disguised as a biography of Sir Philip Sidney, wrote of one of his own plays, ‘*Antonie and Cleopatra*, according to their irregular passions, in forsaking Empire to follow sensuality, were sacrificed to the fire. The executioner, the author himself.’⁴⁰ There is an uncomfortable resonance with the life of Mary, Queen of Scots, whose liaisons led to her loss of power in Scotland and eventual execution. Cleopatra’s affair with Antony precipitated the invasion of Egypt and her suicide. The ‘fire’ brings to mind the many individuals burnt during the Tudor period for dissent, ostensibly treasonable but in reality for religious reasons. Paulina Kewes notes ‘the repeated emphasis on the fact that with Cleopatra Egypt’s ruling dynasty, the Ptolemies, comes to an end further reinforces the parallel with Elizabeth, the last of the Tudors’.⁴¹ It would perhaps be more accurate to describe Elizabeth as ‘the last of Henry VIII’s children’, since the division of historical periods into Tudor, Stuart etc. is retrospective. Indeed, Elizabethans would have recognised James VI’s claim to the throne of England as derived from his descent from the the first Tudor king, Henry VII. Kewes argues that ‘Sidney’s *Antonius* ... suggests an analogy between ancient Egypt and contemporary England which Daniel picks up and develops in his play’.⁴² A connection could also be made between the imperial power of Rome and that of Catholic Spain. Originally written less than a decade after the threat of invasion by Spain was nullified by the loss of the Spanish Armada in 1588, *Cleopatra* portrays the loss of sovereignty, a risk which had been all too real.

Octavian is portrayed as much an administrator as a military leader. His concern with Egypt is to incorporate it into the Roman Empire; his quarrel with Antony was over authority. With Antony dead, Octavian has to ensure that Cleopatra did not retain power in Egypt; removing her to Rome as part of his ‘triumph’ would effectively end her reign. Contemporary events in the late sixteenth century bear a resemblance to this situation: it is possible to equate the expansionist policies of the Roman empire with the increasing growth of English influence overseas, in sea power, in the colonisation of North America and in the dominance of English direct rule in Ireland.

⁴⁰ Fulke Greville, *The life of the renowned Sir Philip Sidney* (London, 1651), p. 178.

⁴¹ Paulina Kewes, ‘A Fit Memorial for the Times to Come: Admonition and Topical Application in Mary Sidney’s “Antonius” and Samuel Daniel’s “Cleopatra”’, *The Review of English Studies*, New Series, Vol. 63, 259 (April 2012), 243–64 (p. 246).

⁴² Kewes, p. 245.

Self-determination and philosophical beliefs

As with Garnier's tragedies, written to express contemporary problems in France in terms of historical events, *Cleopatra* could be interpreted as a critique of late sixteenth-century England but Daniel's emphasis seems more upon the individual and the moral and philosophical dilemmas they face. Throughout the drama, in particular in the choruses, there are references to stoic cosmology, the cyclic nature of events and to an overarching power or design (see 544-53n.). Viewing Cleopatra's suicide as occurring within this framework of beliefs makes it an expression of her indifference to the materiality of her life and her acceptance of the inexorable nature of the Roman conquest of her country. Cleopatra's strength of purpose contrasts with the temporising and self-interest of Arius and Philostratus whom Cadman describes as sympathising 'with the human desire for self-preservation'.⁴³ His comment reminds one that since Daniel's Cleopatra no longer valued her body as a symbol of power her suicide could be viewed as less of a statement. Straznicky and Richard Belling put forward the view that:

the political conflict between Cæsar and Cleopatra ... is represented in terms of stoic discourse, for the struggle over the person of Cleopatra prompts questions about the success of a merely physical conquest, about the power of self-possession, about the division between body and mind.⁴⁴

Cleopatra subverts the Christian belief that death unites man with God by her declaration that 'My selfe will bring my soule to Antony' (l. 1181); earthly love has not entirely lost its power over her. Daniel's description of Cleopatra's suicide makes clear her wish to die honourably rather than face the dishonour of becoming part of Octavian's triumph. In this choice she was paradoxically following the Roman /Senecan attitude, that it was honourable to choose death if life was intolerable. Cadman considers that *Cleopatra* 'highlights the shortcomings of the principles of stoicism, particularly when applied to the situation of women, as a means of addressing political marginalisation.'⁴⁵ As an argument, this would appear to apply more closely to *Octavia*; Octavia displays stoic behaviour in the face of male dominance. In *Cleopatra* I would contend that Cleopatra does not test stoicism, she had become politically irrelevant except as a symbol of Octavian's conquest but consistently rejected a 'do nothing' approach. Daniel was writing in a period in which humanism brought a renewed interest in stoicism, whilst visible adherence to Protestant principles was the norm. This conjunction

⁴³ Cadman, p. 57.

⁴⁴ Marta Straznicky and Richard Belling, 'Profane Stoical Paradoxes: "The Tragedy of Mariam" and Sidnean Closet Drama', *English Literary Renaissance* 24 (1), (Winter 1994), 104-34 (p. 123).

⁴⁵ Cadman, p. 68.

affected the language used in *Cleopatra*; stoic ‘Fate’ (l. 547) and christian ‘Providence’ (l. 1754) appear, also ‘providence’ (l. 1677) and ‘Fortune’ (ll. 11 and 1135), plus many instances of ‘fortune’ and ‘Chance’ (l. 278). Inconsistent capitalisation makes identification of these concepts as being personified uncertain, but their very variety and frequency emphasise an inevitable course of events. Female endurance under difficult circumstances is a topic to which Daniel returned a few years later in his Epistle addressed to the Countess of Cumberland, whom Crawford describes as ‘characterised as an exemplary Christian neostoic, unmoved by “all the thunder-cracks | Of tyrants threats”’.⁴⁶

An interesting subtext to Daniel’s work is the question of loyalty which threads through the tragedy right from the Dedication to the final chorus. Dolabella, one of Octavian’s entourage, was swayed by Cleopatra’s beauty to betray to her Octavian’s plans. Although this incident appears only briefly in Plutarch’s account it may have been included by Daniel to demonstrate the dangerous power of women. Rodon, Cæsario’s tutor, is bribed to betray Cleopatra’s trust whereas Seleucus allows ambition to influence his actions. Dolabella, Rodon and Seleucus are all minor characters in the play who are disloyal to their employers: Cleopatra’s moral failures are more damaging. By failing to support Antony at the battle of Actium, he was defeated, so ultimately Cleopatra not only betrayed her lover but also her country. The chorus puts the situation succinctly: ‘she hath her state, herselfe and us undone’ (l. 234). There may be a parallel here to Mary, Queen of Scots, who had been executed less than a decade before Daniel wrote his play.

Having examined some of the influences on Daniel’s composition of *Cleopatra*, I will now discuss the publication of this work.

Stationers, printers and publishers

An author, or aspiring author, in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries had to negotiate a minefield if he or she wished to gain readership whilst retaining control over their works. If an author distributed their creations in manuscript, possibly to a circle of friends, then their writings could be read more widely than he or she intended, or attributed to someone else, or unauthorised copies be made which could include changes. Away from London and the University towns of Oxford and Cambridge, there was no legal print industry

⁴⁶ Crawford, p. 42. The quotation is from ‘The Epistle to the Countess of Cumberland’, *A Panegyricke congratularie to the Kings Majestie* (London, 1603), STC (2nd ed.) 6258, sig. D1^v.

in England.⁴⁷ To be published, one needed to contact a member of the Stationers' Company; the Company controlled the printing – and to a great extent the distribution – of books.

Within the Company, members were involved in various trades. McKerrow states that:

though a printer, unless specially privileged by the Sovereign, was bound to be a member of the Stationers' Company, this was not necessary in the case of a bookseller or bookbinder. It was probably more convenient for a man whose chief business lay in book-dealing to belong to the Stationers.⁴⁸

Simon Waterson performed for Daniel the role of, what we would now term, a publisher; he acted as a facilitator, purchasing or otherwise acquiring a text either in manuscript or previously printed, contracting with a printer – and possibly funding the work – and then displaying the printed pages for sale on his book stall.⁴⁹ Peter Blayney identifies Waterson as trading from various premises near St Paul's Church in the 1590s.⁵⁰ The relationship between Daniel and Waterson commenced with the publication of *Paulus Jovius*; McKerrow notes that Waterson's 'first entry in the Registers [of the Stationers' Company] was on November 26th, 1584, and referred to Daniel's translation ... which was printed for him in the following year'.⁵¹ So, not only was this Daniel's first book and the start of his literary career, it was also Waterson's first independent action as a member of the Stationers' Company. Although Waterson specialised in religious and scientific texts, he became the member of the Company with whom Daniel predominantly dealt; a relationship which endured.⁵² Indeed, Daniel appointed his 'loving ffriend', Simon Waterson, to be an overseer of his will.⁵³

Waterson, who had become a member of the Company through 'patrimony' – his father had been a member – employed printers to produce books, which were then sold, either in bulk to other booksellers, or individually by him to the public.⁵⁴ However, once a book had either been recorded in the Company Register, or actually printed, the copyright belonged to the Stationer, i.e. Waterson. The author might have sold his work, or it could have been

⁴⁷ R. B. McKerrow 'Introduction', *A Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers in England, Scotland and Ireland, and of Foreign Printers of English Books, 1557-1640*, by H.G. Aldis and others, ed. by R. B. McKerrow (Oxford: Bibliographical Society, 1968), p. xiv.

⁴⁸ McKerrow, p. xix.

⁴⁹ McKerrow, p. 284.

⁵⁰ Peter Blayney, 'The Bookshops in Paul's Cross Churchyard', *Occasional Papers of the Bibliographical Society* (Otley: Smith Settle, 1990).

⁵¹ McKerrow, p. 285. The Register entry, SRO2423, shows 'Symon waterson / Receauved of him for his licence to printe a booke intituled The worthie Tracte of Paulus Jovius... Fee 6 pence'.

⁵² Zachary Lesser, *Renaissance Drama and the Politics of Publication: Readings in the English Book Trade* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p. 46. Lesser quotes Jaggard's *Catalogue* (1618) as giving Waterson's scientific speciality.

⁵³ Rees, *Daniel*, p. 167.

⁵⁴ McKerrow, p. 284.

pirated, as Daniel claimed had happened to the *Delia* sonnets when first printed. Financially, unless agreed otherwise, only the bookseller and printer would gain from the popularity of a ‘best-seller’. A difficulty for them would occur if the book were unpopular and sold fewer copies than had been printed or alternatively all the copies were sold and it was still in demand. In the first case, taking individual works from the unsold (and thus unbound) copies and packaging them with a newer piece might solve the problem; the second situation was more difficult as the type was set in formes which were continually being opened up and the type reused so it was likely that for a reprint the whole volume would have to be typeset again. Titles were designed to entice the reader and to enable the bookseller to market as ‘new’ books whose contents were not entirely new. Daniel’s own works illustrate this: *Delia and Rosamund augmented Cleopatra* and *The works of Samuel Daniel newly augmented* are but two examples. Where authors rearranged, altered and ‘augmented’ their works it may have been possible to strike a new deal with a member of the Stationers’ Company. Because Daniel would repackage his various works within different outer covers it is possible to track the continual process of amendment to which they were subjected. Exceptionally, an individual could be given the ‘privilege’ to publish by the sovereign. Daniel was granted this right for ‘*The Collection of the Historie of England*, printed by Nicholas Okes ... for the author. Cum priuilegio.’⁵⁵ A substantial cluster of booksellers were situated around St. Paul’s churchyard: Simon Waterson advertised his premises in 1592 as ‘in Paules Church-yard at the signe of the Crowne’.⁵⁶ Blayney describes the area ‘during the second half of the sixteenth century’ as ‘the unrivalled centre of retail bookselling in London, and consequently in England. Other than St. Paul’s School, the Sermon House, and the cathedral itself, by the time of the Civil War virtually every frontage in the Cross Yard either was, or had been, a bookshop’.⁵⁷

Daniel entrusted the majority of his works to Simon Waterson: Waterson would negotiate with a printer; over the years several different printers were used by him. The outer title page of the 1592 *Delia* with its impressive portico design does not give Daniel’s name, but has publication details prominently displayed: ‘AT LONDON | printed by *J. C.* for S. | *Watersonne*’.⁵⁸ J. C. was confident that his initials were sufficient to identify him to any

⁵⁵ See p. 49.

⁵⁶ Daniel, *Delia* (1592), STC (2nd ed.) 6243.2, outer title page.

⁵⁷ Blayney, p. 5.

⁵⁸ *Delia*, (1592) title page, STC (2nd ed.) 6243.3, University of Glasgow Library. I have reproduced as nearly as possible the typefaces used.

prospective customers who might be impressed by his printing skills and the range of fonts he had at his disposal. Since such outer title pages were often used as flyers for advertising, it was possibly more important to show the stationer's name, which would enable prospective purchasers to locate him, than the author's. Lukas Erne discusses the importance of title pages: they 'were more than front covers', they 'were put on posts and elsewhere, serving publishers as crucial tools for the marketing of books'.⁵⁹ Erne reminds us of Philip Gaskell's finding that 'the type for title pages was often kept standing after the printing of the book, allowing for easy reuse if additional advertising was needed'.⁶⁰ The popularity of Daniel's 1592 *Delia* was perhaps unanticipated as there are two distinctly different title pages, evidence of a second partial or full print run.⁶¹

It is noteworthy that many different printers were involved over the years in the production of *The Tragedie of Cleopatra*.⁶² It is not clear why this was so; availability of press time might have been a factor, since it was only the more successful printers who would own two or more presses with their accompanying quantity of type. Printing was a potentially risky occupation; penalties were enforced by the Company, by ecclesiastical authorities, and by the crown, for offences ranging from failure to formally present apprentices (John Windet, fined) to 'printing books obnoxious to the authorities' (Valentine Simmes, 'press seized and type melted').⁶³ Both printers were amongst those used by Waterson. Work could be apportioned between printers; the 1601 *Works of Samuel Daniel* were printed by Valentine Simmes and W. White. Within the printing shop, typesetting could be performed by more than one workman, with resulting small variations in appearance. Some authors would supervise the production of their works, proof reading and correcting as necessary. Corrections could be made during the printing process, 'stop press' changes, or listed on an errata sheet placed at the beginning or end or bound in with the final volume. The 1594 *Delia* has an impressively presented errata sheet, with decorative head and tail-pieces, using one of the designs which surround each sonnet. The onus was then placed on the purchaser to make corrections: 'Gentle Reader correct these faultes escaped in the printing' (sig. A2^r). In his 1612 *Historie of England*, Daniel places the blame for any errors firmly on himself: 'For the faults committed herein, Charitable Reader, know they are not the Printers (who hath bin

⁵⁹ Lukas Erne, *Shakespeare as Literary Dramatist*, 2nd edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), p. 60.

⁶⁰ Philip Gaskell, *A New Introduction to Bibliography* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), p. 116.

⁶¹ See *Delia* STC (2nd ed.) 6243.2 and 6243.3.

⁶² See Appendix C for a list of Daniel's publications.

⁶³ McKerrow, p. 294, p. 245.

honestly carefull for his part) but merely mine owne'.⁶⁴ This tactful commendation of the printer, Nicholas Okes in this case, would seem to cover factual errors on Daniel's part plus any printing faults. Gaskell, discussing the proof reading process, says 'it had been the compositor's duty to correct or normalise the spelling, punctuation, and capitalisation (known nowadays as the 'accidentals') of the manuscript.'⁶⁵ For all of these aspects, the printer would probably have a 'house style', but even within any single work of Daniel's there are variations in spelling, in the use of italics and in layout, so it would seem that the exercise of this duty depended on the individual.

The early print history of *Cleopatra*

As previously discussed, it was Daniel's custom to present his poetical works in volumes containing two or more pieces – although his masques, the funeral poem for Mountjoy and the initial printing of the *Panegyrike* were sold individually – *Cleopatra* was always accompanied in print by other works, but preceded by an individual title page. It was placed alongside a variety of works, ranging from the sonnet cycle *Delia* and the complaint piece *Rosamond* on first publication in 1594, to verse histories and epistles. Apart from in the earliest printings, 1594, 1595 and 1598, all entitled *Delia and Rosamond augmented Cleopatra*, *Cleopatra* is concealed behind a variety of outer title pages. These proclaimed the contents as *Poeticall essayes* (1599), *Works* (1601), *Certaine small poems* (1605), *Certaine small workes* (1607), *Certaine small workes* (1611) and after his death *The whole works* (1623). All these generic titles included Samuel Daniel's name; the potential buyer was being lured by author rather than named content, which signifies his status on the literary scene.

A change, or even no change, to the outer title page was no indicator of whether individual items had been altered or were the same; a buyer attracted to the *Delia* sonnet cycle would have received 50 sonnets in the first edition of 1592, 54 in the second and 55 in 1594, with individual numbering inconsistent as the additional sonnets were interspersed amongst the originals. The titles used in 1607 and 1611, *Certaine small workes heretofore divulged by Samuel Daniel ... and now again by him corrected and augmented*, give little indication of which works have been affected. Critics have noted Daniel's propensity to continually alter his writings. John Pitcher comments: 'he would revise again and again even when he had exhausted a passage, a quatrain or a line He altered the *Delia* sonnets five

⁶⁴ See p. 47.

⁶⁵ Gaskell, p. 111.

times.... *The Tragedie of Cleopatra* five, and so on.’⁶⁶ In the case of *Cleopatra*, I argue that Pitcher fails to distinguish between the level of alterations, minor in the earlier editions but followed by a complete restructuring and rewrite in 1607. It will be clear from the variants I have noted covering the period 1594 to 1605 that *Cleopatra* was a piece to which Daniel continually returned. As well as changing content, there were changes in surroundings. Whilst a publisher might have concerns for saleability, or a printer for the demands of manufacture, as author Daniel appeared to care about proximity. When *Cleopatra* was first published in 1594, it comprised part of a volume containing two established works by Daniel: a sonnet cycle, *Delia*, and a long poem, *The Complaint of Rosamond*, which had previously been printed two years earlier. The drama was accompanied by a paratext, a dedicatory epistle to the Countess of Pembroke, which itself went through several revisions. By placing his new work, *Cleopatra*, third in the volume, Daniel was situating it primarily as poetry for reading rather than as a play for performance.

The texts of dramatic productions, playbooks, were often hastily printed in pamphlet form, and were then sold cheaply. Theatres had been closed during much of the two years preceding 1594, leading to unsatisfied demand and a subsequent spike in play production / printing in 1594. Two tragedies of lasting interest printed in that year were Christopher Marlowe and Thomas Nashe’s *Dido Queene of Carthage* and Shakespeare’s *Titus Andronicus*. Both of these reached print after performance, *Titus Andronicus* being ‘Plaide by the Right Honourable the Earle of Darbie, Earle of Pembroke, and Earle of Sussex their Servants’.⁶⁷ Sponsorship of a troupe of actors did not entail attending public performances, but it is an interesting possibility that Daniel may have seen *Titus* whilst in the throes of composing *Cleopatra*. The contrast between the two tragedies in style and depiction of death could hardly be more marked. On the title page *Titus* was described as a ‘Romaine tragedy’ but as in *Cleopatra* the background is conflict amongst Romans and between Romans and the people of other cultures. The conquered queen of the Goths, Tamara, suffers the indignity which Cleopatra rejected: ‘we are brought to Rome | To beautifie thy triumphs’.⁶⁸

One intractable problem in describing the printing history of *The Tragedie of Cleopatra* is that the surviving evidence we have is four hundred years old. The method of

⁶⁶ John Pitcher, ‘Benefitting from the Book: The Oxford Edition of Samuel Daniel’, *The Yearbook of English Studies*, Vol. 29 (1991), pp. 69–87 (p. 74).

⁶⁷ William Shakespeare, *The most lamentable tragedie of Titus Andronicus* (London, 1594), STC (2nd ed.) 22328 sig. A3^r.

⁶⁸ Shakespeare, *Titus*, sig. B1^r.

transmission from Daniel's original composition to the printed text is unknown; no preliminary or working papers survive. In his listing of Daniel's major works, James Harner dates *Cleopatra* to 1594, the year it was printed.⁶⁹ Simon Waterson had, in 1592, published Daniel's *Delia, Containing certaine Sonnets: with the complaynt of Rosamond*.⁷⁰ The success of this work would certainly have led Waterson to encourage Daniel to provide a new piece without delay, so it is reasonable to suppose that composition was quickly followed by printing. When Daniel's sonnet sequence reappeared in 1594 the outer title page proclaimed *Delia and Rosamond augmented. Cleopatra*.⁷¹ The careful placement of a full stop after augmented might imply that Daniel has made additions or alterations to his sonnet sequence, *Delia*, and to the narrative poem, *Rosamond*, whereas *Cleopatra* is a new work. Waterson is deploying a marketing strategy which utilises the favourable reception given to Daniel's poetry to bring forward a new work. Erne, whilst discussing printing practices relating to Shakespeare's plays and to play-texts in general, says 'accuracy about a book's contents mattered less to publishers than the promotion the title page guaranteed'.⁷² It is not until the reader reaches the end of *Rosamond* that the genre of *Cleopatra* is revealed by an inner title page, *The Tragedie of Cleopatra*.⁷³ It was common practice to place individual title pages before each major, and in some cases minor, work in a volume. The printer would be able to apportion individual works amongst his compositors, for later assembly by a bookbinder. Repetition of signature sequences within a volume reveal such a piecemeal approach to setting in type.⁷⁴ Individual inner as well as outer title sheets could be used as flyers or billposters by the bookseller. This first publication of *Cleopatra* was in octavo, a small size which made a volume portable and reading an individual and private experience. Waterson's caution in not revealing on the outer title page that *Cleopatra* was a play, albeit not one written for commercial performance, may relate to the perceived lack of respectability of plays and players in the late Elizabethan era. Daniel makes clear the reputable nature of his play, by naming it a 'Tragedie', by giving it provenance with a dedication to 'Lady Marie, Countesse of Pembroke' and the content of that dedication and by his exposition of the plot in 'The Argument', placing the events described firmly in a classical and historical context.

⁶⁹ James L. Harner, *Samuel Daniel and Michael Drayton: A Reference Guide* (Boston MA: Hall, 1980), p. 3.

⁷⁰ *Delia*, (1592).

⁷¹ *Delia* (1594).

⁷² Erne, p. 60.

⁷³ *Delia* (1594), sig. [H4^r].

⁷⁴ The ESTC catalogue note for Daniel's 1601 *Works* gives White and Simmes as printers, with the possible involvement of a third; it details the signatures as 'A² B-O⁶ P-T⁴; A-N⁶; A-B⁶ C⁴'.

The following year, 1595, the title reappeared and in addition Waterson published Daniel's verse history, *The first fowre bookes of the civile warres between the two houses of Lancaster and Yorke*, which would appear to confirm the saleability of Daniel's works. Unfortunately, although the English Short Title Catalogue (ESTC) lists the 1595 *Delia and Rosamond augmented. Cleopatra* as containing *Cleopatra*, the copy digitised and viewed on Early English Books Online (EEBO) only contains *Delia* and *Rosamond*.⁷⁵ The ESTC entry shows that no copies of the 1595 volume are held in the UK and describes *Delia* as being 'an expanded edition' but does not comment on *Cleopatra*. From comparison of the 1594 edition of *Cleopatra* with those subsequent to 1595 it would appear that any changes made for the 1595 edition were likely to be minimal.⁷⁶ Year on year in his lifetime, Daniel's works continued to be published, frequently with new works accompanying established pieces.

***Cleopatra* after 1595**

The first part of Daniel's verse history of the wars of the roses, *The first fowre bookes of the civile wars between the two houses of Lancaster and Yorke*, was published in 1595. Rees notes that it was entered on the Stationers' Register 'almost exactly twelve months later' than the first entry for *Cleopatra*.⁷⁷ With nearly 1,000 lines of verse, Daniel's industry is commendable and perhaps with an eye to his intention to write further 'bookes' he ended on a cliffhanger: 'Forward he tendes with hope t'attaine a crowne'.⁷⁸ Although Daniel persisted with this work (a fifth book was published in 1599 and it reached eight books by 1609) it clearly didn't sell as readily as *Delia and Rosamond augmented Cleopatra* which was reprinted in 1598, retaining the order of each text as in 1594/5. By the following year, Daniel was sufficiently well established as a poet for his name alone to make a volume saleable; there is no indication of the contents from his next title *The poeticall essayes of Sam. Danyel* (1599). The order of pieces in this volume is: five books of the *Civile Warres* (the fifth book new); two totally new works, *Musophilus*, and *The Epistle of Octavia to Antonius; The Tragedy of Cleopatra corrected; Rosamond*. I interpret the juxtaposition of these last three works as intentional especially as the sonnet cycle has been dropped and the sequence *Delia*,

⁷⁵ Samuel Daniel, *Delia and Rosamond augmented. Cleopatra* (London, 1595). The copy accessed through EEBO is a reproduction of the original in the Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery. Email correspondance with the library has confirmed that their copy does only contain *Delia* and *Rosamond*; the Folger Shakespeare Library catalogue shows that one of their three 1595 editions is comprised solely of *Cleopatra*. Emails dated 22 and 23 January 2020 between Dorothy Bowles and Samuel Wylie, Reference Services Assistant and Stephen Tabor, Curator of Rare Books, both of the Huntington Library.

⁷⁶ Physical access to volumes in the Folger collection will not be possible for some years due to building works.

⁷⁷ Rees, *Samuel Daniel*, p. 62.

⁷⁸ Daniel, *The first fowre bookes* (1595), p. 88.

Rosamond, *Cleopatra* broken. Viewing the volume as a whole, one could surmise that Daniel has given his historical and philosophical works greater status by placing them before the narratives of women, *Octavia*, *Cleopatra* and *Rosamond*. An alternative view would be that he has placed new pieces before old, albeit that *Cleopatra* has undergone some changes. There may also have been practical issues, such as the size of the volume, the time and cost of production.

Two years later in 1601, the appearance of the finished product was all important. Waterson entrusted printing to Valentine Simmes and W. White of *The works of Samuel Daniel newly augmented*. The title was significant; this was placing Daniel in the company of well respected authors such as Chaucer, whose collection, *The Workes of Geffray Chaucer*, had been first printed in 1532 and ran through many editions over the course of the century. *The tragedie of Cleopatra* was not just a poem or a play; it was a literary work divorced from what Erne describes as ‘the disreputable acting profession’ and ‘the stigma of commerce’.⁷⁹ When *The workes of Benjamin Jonson* appeared in 1616 it contained plays, but Daniel had preceded him in innovation by over a decade, although his tragedy was not designed for the professional theatre. The importance of *The works* lies in the uses to which finished copies were to be put: printed on large paper these were for Daniel to present to the Queen, to members of the court and to the dedicatees of individual works. A ‘large paper’ copy involved no additional typesetting but merely the use of paper of a larger size – and presumably of better quality – to go through the printing press. The printed words were exactly as on the standard sized copies.⁸⁰ He clearly retained at least one large paper copy as this was later presented to the Bodleian library.⁸¹ Additional copies were printed on ordinary paper to be sold later with an outer title page showing the date of printing as 1602. The recipients of Daniel’s gift copies were thus enabled to possess something uniquely personal.

The death of Queen Elizabeth and accession of James VI/I altered the course of Daniel’s writing. The impetus to flatter the Queen by tracing the Tudor dynasty in his *Civile Warres* had ended. It was 1609 before two more books were added to the work. It was now more important to seek favour with James and his court by laudatory pieces such as the *Panegyrike* (1603) and ‘Epistles’ and to please Queen Anne with a *Royal masque* (1604). Daniel reasserted himself as a serious poet the following year when *Certaine small poems*

⁷⁹ Erne, p. 68.

⁸⁰ More details of ‘large paper’ are given in the Textual note, Chapter Five.

⁸¹ See p. 38.

lately printed: with the tragedie of Philotas appeared. This carefully composed title carries an implicit message that the poems included are special; they have been in print before and are now accompanied by a work new to print, *Philotas*.⁸² The marketing strategy seems to be to put forward new, possibly difficult or contentious pieces, preceded by well-known earlier ones. There was also another new piece, a short poem ‘Ulysses and the Syren’; this latter work could be interpreted as an expression of Daniel’s ambivalence about the milieu in which he now existed. The stanzas alternate between the words of the siren and those of Ulysses, the Latin variant of Odysseus. Ulysses first response to the siren’s song is:

Faire Nimph, if fame, or honor were
To be attayned with ease
Then would I come, and rest with thee,
And leave such toyles as these,
But here it dwels, and here must I
With danger seeke it forth,
To spend the time luxuriously
Becomes not men of worth.⁸³

These lines would seem to encapsulate court life, a place where honour and fame were available, but with ‘toyle’, a choice of word which suggests work not necessarily undertaken willingly. ‘With danger seek it forth’ could refer to the risks which followed the dramatic presentation of *Philotas*.⁸⁴ The concluding lines of the verse, ‘to spend the time luxuriously | Becomes not men of worth’, elegantly deplore idleness. Daniel changes the ending of the poem from that in the *Odyssey*; the siren accepts Ulysses’s decision to reject a life of ease in order to continue on his chosen course and decides to join him: ‘I see | I shall not have thee heere, | And therefore I will come to thee, | And take my fortunes there’ (sig. [H8^v]).

Cleopatra was placed between *Octavia* and *Rosamond* at the start of the volume, an order unchanged since 1599, with minor changes in the text. However, whether Daniel was influenced by the furore over *Philotas* or by a wish to make *Cleopatra* more suitable for the stage or by Shakespeare’s *Antony and Cleopatra* or for other reasons, the next printing of *Cleopatra*, in 1607, was of a markedly different text. The strength of the royal connection was proclaimed by the title: *Certaine small workes heretofore divulged by Samuel Daniel one of the groomes of the Queenes Majesties priiue Chamber, & now againe by him corrected*

⁸² See p. 36

⁸³ Daniel, *Certaine small poems*, sig. [H6^v].

⁸⁴ See p. 36.

and augmented. In the first piece in the volume: ‘To the Reader’, Daniel addresses not one person, a dedicatee, but all those who might open the volume.⁸⁵ Daniel was not the only or even the first to write such an address; printers would ask the ‘friendly reader’ to forgive them for errors, editors and authors would proclaim the worth of their work.⁸⁶ In Daniel’s address to the reader he explains, in verse, his method of making and amending verse. He speaks as a craftsman, with pride in his product, yet always striving to improve it:

BEhold once more with serious labor here
 Have I refurnisht out this little frame,
 Repaired some parts defective here and there,
 And passages new added to the same,
 Some rooms inlargd, made some les then they were
 Like to the curious builder who this yeare
 Puls down, and alters what he did the last ...⁸⁷

One work which the assiduous reader of Daniel’s oeuvre might recognise as being reconstructed by the ‘curious builder’ is *The Tragedie of Cleopatra*; certainly the concept of year on year changes seems particularly apt.

Cleopatra in 1607 and subsequently

After the outer title page of the 1607 *Certain small works* is a list of ‘The POEMS herein contained’; at the head of this list is ‘*The tragedy of Cleopatra newly altred*’. Although Daniel had previously claimed that he had augmented, in other words amended or revised, his works, a claim which would facilitate their sale, in this case ‘altred’ is an understatement. The original closet drama style of *The Tragedie of Cleopatra* is replaced in 1607 by a hybrid text, part declamatory and part conversational. The ‘curious builder’ has reconstructed a ‘tragedy’ into a ‘play’, possibly to make it more suitable for an audience. The list of ‘Actors’, the early term for characters, omits ‘Nuntius’ (a significant role in neo-Senecan drama) and adds Cæsario, Dircetus, Diomedes, Charmion and Eras. These minor additional participants reduce significantly the tension generated by Daniel’s original conception of Cleopatra as an individual meditating on her fate. Reports of speeches and events are replaced by onstage action: for example, the play commences Act I with Cleopatra, Cæsario and Rodon on stage

⁸⁵ Daniel, *Certain small workes* (1607), sig. C3^r.

⁸⁶ Thomas Blenerhasset, ‘The Printer to the Friendly Reader’, *The seconde part of the Mirrour for magistrates* (London, 1578), sig. *ii^r. Robert Allott, ‘To the Reader’, *Englands Parnassus* (London, 1600), sig. [A5^r].

⁸⁷ See also pp. 41-2.

preparing for Cæsario's departure and speaking words which in the earlier versions of the play were reported by Rodon in Act IV. The remainder of Rodon's words from Act IV are split in the 1607 version between the opening dialogue of Act IV (with Seleucus) and Scene 3 in the same Act, in which Cæsario speaks to a guard words which Rodon had in the earlier version reported. The intensity of Rodon's remorse for his treachery and his fear for his life is diluted even more by the insertion of a new scene, between these two extracts, in which Cleopatra peruses Dolabella's letter. Dolabella's minor indiscretion, even though it precipitates Cleopatra's suicide, seems hardly of the same magnitude as Rodon's betrayal of trust. Cleopatra's original Act 1 soliloquy is similarly rearranged and reassigned: it is moved in part to Act II where it becomes a discussion between Cleopatra and Charmian, her maid. Octavian is cast in a slightly different light by Daniel's 1607 revisions: a description of Antony's death is introduced (Act I, scene 2), which enables Octavian to appear magnanimous in victory. Minor wording changes in Act III make Octavian's heirs important, whereas in the original Cleopatra such considerations did not arise. Compare the 1601 lines:

And sure I cannot see, how this can stand
 With great *Augustus* safety and his honor,
 To cut off all succession from our land
 For her offence that pulld the warres upon her
 Phi. Why must her issue pay the price of that?
 Ari. The price is life that they are rated at. (l. 572)

with those from 1607:

And sure I cannot see how this can lie
 With great *Augustus* safetie and renowne
 T'extinguish thus the race of *Antony*
 And *Cleopatra*, to confirme his owne.
 Phi. Why must their issue be extinguished?
 Ar. It must: *Antillus* is already dead. (sig. I2^r)

Noteworthy, in the political context of the change in 1603 from a female monarch to the male Stuart dynasty is the way in which such small alterations move the emphasis from succession issues in Egypt to those in Rome. Daniel has also removed 'feminine' rhymes (honor / upon her) in favour of stressed rhyming words (renowne / owne).

Yasmin Arshad has explored the context and the performative possibilities of the 1607 *Cleopatra* and clearly the reduction of reported speech in favour of direct speech would have made this more viable.⁸⁸ The many differences between *Cleopatra* prior to 1607 and the

⁸⁸ Arshad, *Imagining Cleopatra*.

new version are such that they should perhaps be regarded as different works, one a poetic tragedy the other a dramatic one. As this thesis has its primary focus on the 1601 *Cleopatra* this is not the place for further detailed analysis of the changes made by Daniel in 1607, although Pitcher at one time envisaged an edition with parallel texts.⁸⁹ However, those I have discussed do provide an illustration of the ways in which Daniel reworked material. Some questions which arise from his substantial rewrite of the play are: was it to present the play in a form more suitable for public performance; did it reflect a public performance; was another hand involved in the work? By 1607, Daniel had been closely involved with a company of boy actors, acting as licensee for the Children of the Queen's Revels. His play *Philotas* had been performed by the Company at court, albeit with potentially dangerous political repercussion; it is plausible that he hoped to turn *Cleopatra* into a more commercial commodity. As to whether someone else collaborated in the rewrite, there is nothing in Daniel's descriptions of himself as author to suggest that he had either followed or not followed what was in that period a fairly common practice both in commercial theatre and within groups of friends exchanging manuscripts. Shakespeare scholars have argued that there are resemblances between Daniel's *Cleopatra* and Shakespeare's *Antony and Cleopatra*.⁹⁰ In the fairly small literary milieu of the early Jacobean period Daniel and Shakespeare would certainly have been aware of each other's works, but the question of cross-influences is not one which would apply to the 1601 *Cleopatra*, the core text for this thesis. Indeed, in view of the dating of *Antoni*us and *Cleopatra*, both written more than a decade before Shakespeare's play, it is quite possible that these 'closet' dramas influenced Shakespeare.

In discussing *Cleopatra*, Alexander Witherspoon wrote: 'The text of the 1607 version was followed in 1609 and 1611'.⁹¹ My research on EEBO, COPAC and ESTC has failed to uncover a 1609 edition of *Cleopatra*, so either one existed in the past but is no more, or Witherspoon was confused by the two 1611 printings. Witherspoon is not entirely correct in stating that the 1611 versions follow that of 1607; the Dedication, which in my view is closely associated with the drama, is reinstated in position in 1611, placed between the title page and the Argument. Incidentally, the Argument and the title itself are the only aspects of

⁸⁹ John Pitcher, 'Editing Daniel' in *New Ways of Looking at Old Texts, Papers of the Renaissance English Text Society, 1985-1991*, ed. W. Speed Hill (New York: Renaissance English Text Society, 1993), 57-73 (p. 73).

⁹⁰ See Bullough.

⁹¹ Alexander Maclaren Witherspoon, *The Influence of Robert Garnier on Elizabethan Drama* (New Haven, London and Oxford: Yale University Press, 1924), p. 111.

the tragedy which survive intact through the years. I. L. (John Legat) was employed by Waterson in 1611 to print *Certain small workes heretofore divulged by Samuell Daniell*. The volume included *Delia*, which had been out of print for nearly a decade and was placed towards the end. *Cleopatra* was preceded by *Octavia*, which followed the opening work, *Philotas*, thus giving prominence to Daniel's tragedies. A modern style contents page, with listings and page numbers in order, was a development still to come, but publishers increasingly included a page naming the 'highlights' of a volume. This page, as with the title page(s), could be used as a bill, or flyer, to promote the publication. *Delia*'s inclusion in the volume and mention on the preliminary page is an indication that Daniel's skill as a poet and dramatist was well known. In both 1607 and 1611, *The Tragedie of Cleopatra newly altered* is first in the list, an indicator of its acceptability to the public. The two 1611 publications appear to be a first and second impression; there are differences in typesetting of the title listings and within the dedication and argument of *Philotas*. Amusingly, the errata pages at the back of each volume appear to be identical, which would imply that the typesetter was attempting to produce a page by page copy of the first print run, rather than a new edition – although some corrections have been made.⁹²

After 1611, Daniel's published writings turned from verse to prose, with *The collection of the historie of England*, a mammoth undertaking, which, no doubt sensibly, he did not attempt in verse, unlike *The Civil Wars*. No evidence of later publication of *Cleopatra* in Daniel's lifetime survives; Daniel died in 1619, but in 1623 (notable also for the publication of Shakespeare's *First Folio*), Simon Waterson and Daniel's brother, John, brought out an edition of Daniel's works which included *Cleopatra*; it was entitled *The whole works of Samuel Daniel Esquire in poetrie*. This publication presented *Cleopatra* in the 1601/2 version, ignoring the 1607 changes. Apart from the positioning of the Dedication after the list of actors, rather than immediately after the title page, and changes in nomenclature of acts and scenes, the text is as in 1601/2. From the evidence of the reversion in 1623 to this early version of *Cleopatra*, I would surmise that Waterson and John Daniel had access to and preferred that version; it was, after all, the one which Daniel had used for presentation copies. I discuss my preference for the 1601 text in Chapter Five. The 1623 publication used a variety of sources for copytexts; I would assume that Waterson had at his disposal or could

⁹² Ascertaining the words to be corrected is not easy, since the terse instructions do not specify the 'incorrect' word. However, 'In the Tragedie of Cleopatra. | Pag. 4. L. 32. r. I have not done.' there is sufficient information to confirm that the wording in STC (2nd ed.) 6242 'I have done' is corrected to 'I have not done' in STC (2nd ed.) 6243 (sig. [E3^v]). Some of the other listed faults are remedied, others not.

access copies of most if not all of Daniel's works over the years, since he had published the majority of them. An argument could be made for a deliberate selection of individual copytexts to give the printer; the collection starts with the 1609 version of the *Civil Wars*, including a frontispiece of a portrait of Daniel. It may well be that Waterson was using surplus stock from 1609. The next piece, *Letter from Octavia*, has minor spelling differences but is otherwise as in 1601; it no longer precedes *Cleopatra* which is now placed hundreds of pages later. The order had been *Octavia* then *Cleopatra* in every printing of *Cleopatra* since 1599. It is possible that Daniel had previously chosen their placement based on the historical relationship, whereas Waterson had more commercial priorities. The *Letter* is followed by *A Funerall Poem Vpon the death of the noble Earle of Devonshire*, which uses not its first publication in 1606 but a later one with side notes as appeared in 1607. From the evidence of these three opening pieces in *The whole works* I conclude that they and *Cleopatra* were chosen to present the best texts, in the view of his brother and his publisher, of each of Daniel's works. John Daniel dedicates the collection to Prince Charles whilst eulogising both dedicatee and his own brother: 'I humbly invite leaving the Songs of his Muse, who living so sweetly chanted the glory of your High Name: Sacred is the fame of Poets, Sacred the Name of Princes.'⁹³

Afterlife of *Cleopatra*

Although Waterson published in 1626 Daniel's *The Collection of the historie of England*, his poetic works were not seen again in print until 1635 when John Waterson, Simon's son, brought out a collection of *Drammaticke poems, Written by Samuel Daniel Esquire*. This volume consists of selected overruns from the 1623 collection as evidenced by the page numbers. *Cleopatra* was included, as was *Philotas*, complete with Daniel's 'Apology'. *The tragedie of Cleopatra* subsequently disappeared from print and Daniel was mainly remembered for his *Historie*, which was added to by John Trussel and went through several editions during the seventeenth century. There is no comprehensive modern edition of Daniel's writings; the long awaited multi-volume edition to be published by Oxford University Press has yet to arrive (as at July 2020).⁹⁴ Over a century ago, Alexander Grosart embarked on an ambitious four volume project – five by the time he finished – of Daniel's

⁹³ Daniel, *The whole works*, sig. [A1v].

⁹⁴ Various articles by John Pitcher relating to a proposed edition include: 'Editing Daniel', (1993); 'Essays, works and small poems: divulging publishing and augmenting the Elizabethan poet, Samuel Daniel', *The Renaissance Text: theory, editing, textuality* ed. Andrew Murphy (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), pp. 8–29; 'Samuel Daniel: New and Future Research', Oxford Handbooks Online www.oxfordhandbooks.com [accessed 09 March 2018].

complete œuvre.⁹⁵ This work was published in a limited edition of 100 copies, probably a smaller printing run than any of Daniel's original publications. Grosart's work has been digitised and is available in that format or hard copy. Sprague's 1930 selection of Daniel's writings, which does not include *Cleopatra*, reprinted in 1950 and again in 1965, is more readily available, but, like Grosart, his concern is more to reproduce than comment.⁹⁶ The present-day availability of Daniel's *Cleopatra* in hard copy is limited; Grosart's volumes appear to have been reprinted from the digitised version and published by the British Library in their 'Fiction and Prose Literature Collection', but with limited availability.⁹⁷ I have been fortunate in being able to consult a complete original copy of Grosart held by Bristol University library. Grosart used the 1623 text of *Cleopatra*, whilst complaining that 'it is singular that John Daniel should have ignored the text of 1607, especially as it was repeated in 1609 and 1611 ... unquestionably some of the finest work of Daniel has thus been lost to literature.'⁹⁸ This is a view I challenge when discussing my choice of copy-text. The most recent print source I have found is in Bullough's *Narrative and Dramatic Sources of Shakespeare*, which reproduces the 1599 text.⁹⁹ Another twentieth century source is Lederer's 1911 edition of *Cleopatra*, which reproduces the text of 1611; the introduction and bibliographical notes are in German, and a reprint is dated 1963.¹⁰⁰ *Cleopatra* has been brought to life more recently; in 2013 an experimental production (possibly the first ever performance) of *The Tragedie of Cleopatra* was initiated by Yasmin Arshad and Helen Hackett.¹⁰¹ This followed research by Arshad into a portrait, whereabouts now unknown, which showed a lady from the Jacobean period dressed as Cleopatra.¹⁰²

The *Cleopatra* theme

⁹⁵ Samuel Daniel, *The Complete Works in Verse and Prose of Samuel Daniel*, 5 vols ed. Alexander B. Grosart (London, Hazell, Watson and Viney, 1885-96).

⁹⁶ Sprague does not include either historical or dramatic works.

⁹⁷ I hold a copy of Volume V, obtained through Amazon (advertised as the complete collection).

⁹⁸ Grosart, Vol. III, p. 19. John Daniel, Samuel's younger brother joined with Waterson in the publication of 'The whole works' in 1623, after Daniel's death in 1619.

⁹⁹ Bullough, pp. 406-49.

¹⁰⁰ M. Lederer, ed., *Daniel's tragedie of Cleopatra nach dem drucke von 1611* (Louvain: Uystpruyst, 1911; facsimile repr. Vaduz: Kraus Reprint, 1963).

¹⁰¹ The script was derived from the 1607 edition in the British Library, Lederer's 1911 edition and EEBO, with some lines cut to shorten the performance. Details supplied by Yasmin Arshad, email to me dated 14 Nov. 2017. For an account of the performance see an article by Yasmin Arshad, Helen Hackett and Emma Whipday 'Daniel's "Cleopatra" and Lady Anne Clifford: From a Jacobean Portrait to Modern Performance', *Early Theatre*, 18(2) (2015), 167-186.

¹⁰² Yasmin Arshad, 'The enigma of a portrait: Lady Anne Clifford and Daniel's "Cleopatra"', *British Art Journal*, 11(3), (Spring 2011), 30-36.

After the publications of *Antonius* and *Cleopatra* works from several other writers appeared which made use of the same themes. One which did not reach print was by Fulke Greville; he wrote of Antony and Cleopatra around the turn of the sixteenth century but forbore to publish as I have previously described. An image of the failure of Virgil's Dido to persuade Æneas from his future role in the foundation of Rome and her death on a funeral pyre seems evoked by Greville's words 'sacrificed to the fire'.¹⁰³ I discuss the depiction of Cleopatra herself in the *Aeneid* in the next chapter. A tragedy written in the same period as *Cleopatra* was *The tragicomoedia of the vertuous Octavia*: it was published in 1598, the author, Samuel Brandon is unknown apart from this one work. His Octavia, deserted by Antony contemplates suicide, but decides that:

The heavens are just, let them revenge thy wrong.
Cruell to me, selfe wronging Antony
Thy follie shall not make Octavia sinne ...
Ile be as true in vertuous constancie,
As thou art false and infamous therein (sig. [C8^r]).

In some of the phrasing there are echoes of Daniel's work: Octavia's negativity in 'But woe is me, no way, no meanes I finde'(sig. [C8^r]) contrasts with Cleopatra's words ' And I of all meanes else am disappointed. But yet I must a way and meanes seeke' (l. 1171). Octavia's 'scepter-bearing hands' (sig. E3^r) are as lacking power as Cleopatra's whose 'weake fingers are not yron-pointed' (l. 1169). Brandon does not have Daniel's facility with words and the tone of his work is drearily moral, so unsurprisingly it seems not to have been reprinted before a Malone Society edition in 1909. Later than Brandon's tragedy came Shakespeare's *Antony and Cleopatra*, dated around 1606/7. Michael Neill in his 'Introduction' to the Oxford World Classics edition of the play discusses the reasons for the 'generally acknowledged ... influence ... [of] *The Tragedy of Cleopatra*, a closet drama written by the Countess of Pembroke's protégé, Samuel Daniel, in 1594'.¹⁰⁴ Neill instances various parallels in wording but also points to two situations where Daniel enlarged on Plutarch and Shakespeare then appears to have utilised his interpretations. These are Cleopatra's strong reaction to Seleucus's revealing her retention of some jewels – both Daniel and Shakespeare use the word 'toys' –and making Dolabella's relation of Octavian's intentions a more significant factor in Cleopatra's suicide. Whether Shakespeare's drama then influenced Daniel in his major rewrite of *Cleopatra* published in 1607 is a possibility which is outside the scope of

¹⁰³ Greville, p. 178.

¹⁰⁴ William Shakespeare, *Anthony and Cleopatra* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994; 2008), Michael Neill, 'Introduction', pp. 1–84 (p. 16).

this thesis to discuss. By the early seventeenth century the image of Cleopatra had moved from the destroyer of Antony's greatness depicted by classical writers through to the faithful wife of Antony described by Chaucer (of which more in the following chapter) and then to the infinitely more complex woman of the Renaissance.

Whilst Cleopatra today is synonymous with a beautiful and alluring female, to classical writers she was seen as a barbarian ruler, a danger to Rome and to western civilisation. Whilst the danger to Rome – or rather to Octavian – was not discounted in either Garnier's *Antonie* or Daniel's *Cleopatra*, Cleopatra was not depicted as a 'barbarian' but as an articulate cultured ruler of a country which was part of the Eastern region over which Antony was overlord. I will be looking in detail at the ways in which Daniel utilised classical authors and in particular Plutarch in the following chapter.

The concept of Cleopatra has changed over the centuries: one way in which these changes were expressed was through physical images. Mary Morrison notes the archaeological discovery in 1512 of 'a beautiful ancient statue, which was believed to represent Cleopatra, reclining in the sleep of death.'¹⁰⁵ This sculpture, although later identified as 'Sleeping Ariadne', was the stimulus of a succession of paintings, engravings and tapestries. Artists portrayed Cleopatra with an asp variously on Cleopatra's arm, or wrist or breast; the tragic love story figures in a series of five Flemish tapestries bought by the Bishop of Namur (c.1682-1740) now on display in Sizergh Castle. Here, Cleopatra's maids are seen straightening the crown of their dying queen. Plutarch's account has been transformed from a relation of historical tragedy to a wallcovering to be admired.

¹⁰⁵ Mary Morrison, 'Some Aspects of the Treatment of the Theme of Antony and Cleopatra in Tragedies of the Sixteenth Century', *Journal of European Studies*, 4 (1974), 113–25 (p. 113).



Flemish tapestry, one of a series of five 'Antony and Cleopatra' tapestries held by the National Trust at Sizergh Castle

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Chapter Four

Daniel's sources

In the absence of a manuscript or book annotated by Daniel or even a manuscript copy of his tragedy, there is little proof of the sources of his plot, except for the internal evidence provided by his text in his choice of words and the allusions he made. However, it is not unreasonable to suppose that as a well educated man, which in the late sixteenth century would have entailed a firm grounding in Latin and Greek, who had travelled on the continent and was fluent in Italian and possibly French, and with access to the library of his patron, the Countess of Pembroke, he would have been familiar with, and could have used as a source, works of both classical and contemporary authors. During his schooling, Daniel would have followed a curriculum heavily biased towards classical (humanist) works. In his discussion of the education that Shakespeare, Daniel's contemporary, received, Colin Burrow describes how country grammar schools, such as the one at Stratford on Avon emulated the curriculum and methods of elite London schools such as St .Paul's.¹ The standard educational method was to translate from a text in Latin or Greek into English, then translate back into the original language. Even with this concentration on technique rather than content, there would have been some exposure to the historical or mythical content of the text. In my review of historical sources, I have taken the view that if there is evidence either from a translation or through references in contemporary works that an author was known and read in late sixteenth century England, then it is feasible that Daniel would have at least a passing acquaintance with the work. I have used translations from the period where possible in preference to more modern ones.

Attributions

In her translation of Garnier, the Countess of Pembroke acknowledges Plutarch as a source of the story. Garnier himself alludes to Virgil's myth of Dido and Æneas and gives both Cassius Dio and Plutarch as sources of his tragedy. Daniel's *Cleopatra* has no such attribution, indeed Daniel rarely acknowledges the influence of other writers on his poetic works although he is more scrupulous in the histories. These differences in attribution could reflect the individual author's preferred style or how they wish to present themselves in connection with the individual work. At the end of the Argument of *Antonius* the Countess

¹ Colin Burrow, 'Shakespeare and humanist culture', *Shakespeare and the Classics*, eds Charles Martindale and A. B. Taylor (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 9–28, p. 11.

states ‘The Historie to be read at large in Plutarch in the life of Antonius’, which would suggest that she herself had read the ‘Life’.² Plutarch (c. AD 46 – AD 120) was writing around the start of the second century thus he documented historical events of little more than a century previously in ‘The Life of Marcus Antonius’.³ He provides some justification for the accuracy of his account: ‘And for prooffe hereof, I have heard my grandfather *Lampyrus* report, that one *Philotas* a Phisition ... told him he was at that time in ALEXANDRIA ... [and went] to *Antonius* house’ (p. 982). Plutarch’s description of Alexandria in Cleopatra’s time could therefore derive from verbatim accounts transmitted through no more than one intermediary. However, before considering Plutarch’s version of the deaths of Antony and Cleopatra, I will look at the works of other classical authors. As will become evident, I consider Plutarch to be Daniel’s main source for the outline of the plot and indeed for many details of the tragedy and therefore I am placing my detailed analysis of his use of Plutarch after these minor sources. I then examine potential post classical influences before coming to the text of the play in the following chapter. In the sixteenth century not only were many works printed in their original Greek or Latin, but they were also printed in translations into French or other continental languages and even sometimes retranslated into English, as was the case with the text of Plutarch’s *Lives*. Although I will use English translations available in the latter half of the sixteenth century, it is possible that some works were more readily available in their original tongue.

Classical sources: Virgil and Dio

In writing *The Aeneid* Virgil (70 BC – 19 BC) was providing for the Romans of Augustus Cæsar’s time a mythical tale of adventure and courage which encompassed the foundation of Rome. An early print version of *The Aeneid* in English came from Caxton in 1490; he translated from French into which the original Latin had been rendered. By Elizabethan times, readers had an abundance of choices of text since various translations were made direct from Latin from the mid-sixteenth century on. Within his epic poem, Virgil included in the guise of a myth contemporaneous references to the foundation of imperial Rome, including the events leading to the deaths of Antony and Cleopatra. In a 1956 translation into English, the goddess Venus, mother of Aeneas, presented him with a shield ‘with its

² Countess of Pembroke, *Antonius*, (1592) sig. F1^v.

³ Plutarch, *The lives of the noble Grecians and Romanes*, trans. out of Greeke into French ... and out of French into Englishe by Thomas North (London, 1579), STC (2nd ed.) 20065, pp. 970-1012. In my references to Plutarch as a source, I am in fact referring to North’s translation. Extracts from this translation with page numbers from North are in Appendix A.

texture beyond all telling', upon the surface of which could be seen images of both the past and the future.⁴ A much earlier translation of *The Aeneid* prefaced each chapter with an Argument; that of 'The eyght booke' related how 'Vulcan entised therto by the flattery of Venus maketh armour for his sonne in law, which she bryngeth unto Æneas. Who beyng surprised with the beautie thereof: diligently woundreth at every thyng therin, especially his targat [shield], wherein were curiously engraven such noble exploytes as should be valiantly atchived, by his worthy posteritie'.⁵ Both translations emphasise the importance of the shield in depicting for Æneas a future role for himself and his descendants. Daniel's tragedy shows little direct influence from Virgil's epic, but his portrayal of Cleopatra's concern for posterity through her son Cæsario bears some consideration, as do the ongoing anxieties relating to the succession in the Elizabethan period. A recent commentator, D. S. Wilson-Okamura, highlights the Renaissance interest in dynastic epic; it would therefore seem likely that Daniel was familiar with *The Aeneid* not only from his schooldays but as an important literary work.⁶

Returning to the Penguin edition, the events depicted on the shield are described:

In the centre could be seen the bronze-plated fleets battling at Actium ... On one side was Augustus Cæsar (Octavian) leading Italians into battle...opposing them was Antony; with him, on board, he had Egyptians and the whole strength of the East ... on his side was the wealth of the Orient ... followed – the shame of it! – by an Egyptian wife' (p. 221–2).

The events of the battle of Actium and Antony's subsequent suicide occur before the commencement of Daniel's *Cleopatra*, but there is a recurrent motif of seaborne disaster in the language Cleopatra uses. In her first speech, she says 'my dissolution is become | The grave of Egypt, and the wracke of all' (l. 21). In the translation of the *Aeneid* the words 'the wealth of the Orient' contrast markedly with 'the shame of it... an Egyptian wife'; it would appear that the East was a territory of wealth, but its people were to be despised. Cleopatra's shame, her 'unforeseeing weakenesse' was to desert Antony and so 'intoome | My Countries fame and glory with my fall' (l. 23). MacDonald examines the differing portrayals of Cleopatra in *Antonie* and *Cleopatra*; she maintains that 'Pembroke uses Cleopatra's sexuality to efface the existence of racial difference between Roman and Egyptian. Daniel uses it to proclaim and indict difference ... the play perceives Romans and Egyptians as

⁴ Virgil, *The Aeneid*, trans. by W. F. Jackson Knight (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1956), Book VIII, p. 220.

⁵ Virgil, *The whole xii bookes of the Æneidos of Virgill ... converted into English meeter by Thomas Phaër Esquire* (London, 1573), sig. Xj^v.

⁶ David Scott Wilson-Okamura, *Virgil in the Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 2010).

having two separate and unalterably opposed identities'.⁷ Yet this argument has a flaw in that MacDonald herself emphasises the 'whiteness' of Pembroke's Cleopatra whilst failing to recognise that the appearance of Daniel's Cleopatra goes unremarked, apart from her 'wrinkles of declining' (l. 172). The conflict I perceive in *Cleopatra* is a power struggle between individuals rather than races.

Although Said places the cultural 'Oriental Renaissance' as 'from the late eighteenth to the middle nineteenth century', in the early modern period the Orient was seen, or rather imagined, as a place of fabulous wealth and exoticism.⁸ The Countess of Pembroke was described by Thomas Churchyard as: 'Pembroke a pearle, that orient is of kind. | A Sidney right, shall not in silence sit: | A gemme more worth, than all the gold of Ind'.⁹ His verse thus evaluates the culture of the West in terms of Eastern wealth. To the Greeks and Romans, the eastern end of the Mediterranean was the edge of the Orient, since it was from there the overland routes into the continent of Asia began. Actium was as much a battle between two cultures as between two rivals for power. The battle is described by Virgil in vivid detail; Cleopatra, although not named, is a key figure: 'The queen in the centre called up her columns by sounding the tambourine of her land; she had as yet no thought of the pair of asps which fate held in store for her' (p. 222). An interesting aspect of Virgil's description, which is surely related to how Augustus wished the battle to be remembered, is the minimising of Antony's part and the emphasis on Cleopatra, conflating her with Egypt and the Nile: 'Before her the River Nile, with sorrow expressed throughout his great length... invited the vanquished to the bosom of his blue waters and the refuge of his streams' (p. 222). The poetic style of Daniel's text has more in common with the lyricism of Virgil's work than the factual prose of Plutarch. In particular, in the final chorus of his tragedy, Daniel uses the great rivers of Egypt and Rome as metaphors for Cleopatra and Octavian: 'And canst O Nylus thou, | Father of floods indure, | That yellow Tyber should | With sandy streames rule thee?' (l. 1694)

Virgil was as much dependent on favour as Daniel was on patronage, so it is unsurprising that his account had of necessity to focus on Octavian, later to be named Augustus. Immediately following the battle imagery, the ultimate scene the shield showed was of Augustus in splendour, receiving tribute from the citizens of Rome, from subjected

⁷ MacDonald, p. 39.

⁸ Edward W. Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (London: Vintage, 1994), p. 234.

⁹ Churchyard, *A pleasant conceit*, sig. B1^v.

peoples and even from the river Euphrates, showing ‘humility in his current’s flow’ (p. 222). In the context of an epic poem almost certainly written to please Augustus, Cleopatra is described by her status as a queen, although unsuitable, ‘the shame of it’, to be consort to a Roman. It was more fitting for Octavian to defeat a country and its ruler than the mistress of a dissolute ageing soldier. Whilst the battle of Actium occurred before the events related in Daniel’s tragedy, its importance in destroying Antony’s control over the Orient and in defeating the Egyptians, Queen, people and country, forms the background to the play, the text of which includes numerous maritime references. For example, in Act I, Cleopatra uses the metaphor of their naval defeat to encompass their disastrous romantic entanglement:

And such we tooke of either such firme hold
 In th’overwhelming seas of fortune cast,
 What powre should be of powre to reunfold
 The armes of our affections lockt so fast
 For grapling in the ocean of our pride,
 We suncke each others greatnesse both together,
 And both made shipwracke of our fame beside. (l. 139)

A more mythical love story than that of Antony and Cleopatra is related in *The Aeneid*, that of Dido and Aeneas; Dido, like Cleopatra, is depicted as a female ruler attempting to deflect a male warrior-hero from his duty. Aeneas flees the destruction of Troy and arrives on the coast of Africa, where Dido rules Carthage. Mercury, messenger of the gods, had arranged that ‘the Carthaginians had put from them all thoughts of hostility. Especially he inspired their queen with a tolerance for the Trojans and a kindly intent’ (Book I, p. 36). Aeneas, like Antony, was a famous soldier, encountering a Queen ruling a prosperous state on the African shore of the Mediterranean. Virgil’s description of Dido and Aeneas as ‘spending all the long winter together in comfort and self-indulgence, caught in the snare of shameful passion, with never a thought of their royal duty’ (Book IV, p. 102-3) bears comparison with the complaints of the Chorus in Daniel’s play that ‘This hath her riot wonne: | And thus she hath her state, herselfe and us undonne’(l. 232). Dido ‘called it a marriage: she used this word to screen her sin’ (p. 102), whereas Cleopatra described herself as a ‘wife’, a word with less legal connotations.¹⁰ Unlike Antony, Aeneas wrenches himself away from a destructive love; he sets sail with his fleet and departs for Italy, there eventually to found Rome. Dido, bereft, ‘was lost ... her one prayer now was for death’ and, like Cleopatra, she contrived it in such a way that it could not be prevented, but using a

¹⁰ ‘To save thy wofull wife from such disgrace’ (l. 1139), also ‘a life-desiring wife’ (l. 1162).

sword rather than snakes as the means (Book IV, p. 117–8). Dido’s funeral pyre as with Cleopatra immuring herself within the tomb, or monument, symbolically represents a fatal intention. Both Dido and Cleopatra, powerful royal females, achieve a nobler end through meaningful suicide than do their male counterparts. Antony’s messy and inglorious death matches Aeneas’s departure as an example of male inability to face the consequences of their love affairs. Aeneas can be compared with Daniel’s Octavius in his knowledge of ‘the extremity to which a woman in distraction will go’ (Book V, p. 119). The significant difference is in the measures taken by Octavius:

And sure I thinke sh’will never condescend,
To live to grace our spoiles with her disgrace:
But yet let still a wary troupe attend
To guard her person, and to watch the place. (l. 395)

The works of the historian Cassius Dio (c. AD 155 – AD 235), a writer perhaps less well known today than the poet Virgil, were recommended for reading and imitation by Roger Ascham, tutor in Latin and Greek to Queen Elizabeth.¹¹ Ascham would have expected Dio’s *Histories* to be read in the original Greek which, if not so widely known as Latin, was still a mark of a humanist education. Not all of the texts of the 80 books of Dio’s *Histories* have survived, but he was an author whose works were known and referred to in the period.¹² Dio elaborates on the relationship between Cleopatra and Octavius, or rather on the one Cleopatra wished to create. Initially, she is described as attempting to placate – or bribe – him: ‘unknown to Antony, Cleopatra sent to him [Cæsar] a golden sceptre ... the queen promised that she would give him large amounts of money’.¹³ Deception was mutual: ‘Octavius sent therefore Thyrsus, a freedman of his, to speak to her kindly... and to tell her ... that he [Octavius] was in love with her. He hoped at least by this means, since she thought that she had the power to arouse passion in all mankind that he might remove Antony from the scene and keep her and her money intact’ (p. 107). Meeting with Octavius, Cleopatra reads from the letters Julius Cæsar had sent her: ‘you may hear how he honored me’ and implies that Octavius could succeed him in her favour: ‘But if I have him, I have you’ (p. 108). Daniel’s description of the scene contains many of the same elements; Julius

¹¹ Roger Ascham, *Disertissimi viri Rogeri Aschami* (London, 1576), ‘Quos libros, ipse Dion: in Commentario ... quid in ea, vel tuto imitandum’, p. 8.

¹² George Abbot, *An exposition upon the prophet Jonah* (London, 1600), contains over a dozen references to Dion’s books; Dio and Dion seem interchangeable words in this period.

¹³ Herbert Baldwin Forster, *Dio’s Rome III*, Project Gutenberg, www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/10162, [accessed 21 February 2019], p. 106. Translated from Greek and originally published in 1906.

Cæsar's letters, his securing the throne of Egypt for her and an implication that Octavius could succeed in her affections. Cleopatra, speaking to Octavian, says 'Great Cæsar me a Queene at first did make ... Reade here these lines which stil I keepe with me ... Thinke thou the same I might have been to thee' (l. 662). Octavius's intentions were otherwise: he 'kept a careful watch upon her, that she might add brilliance to his triumph' (p. 109) becomes in Daniel's words 'And sure I thinke sh'will never condescend,| To live to grace our spoils with her disgrace: | But yet let still a wary watch attend' (l. 395). Dio differs from other early classical writers in that he ascribes motivation and emotion to actions and gives details of appearance; he describes Cleopatra preparing herself to receive Octavian as she 'adorned herself further in a kind of careless fashion, for her mourning garb mightily became her ... when ... Cæsar entered, she hastily arose, blushing' (p. 108). But on the crucial matter of Cleopatra's death, he avoids committing himself. He prevaricates with 'No one knows...some say ... others declare', giving 'serpents, 'reptiles' as well as an 'asp' to describe potential sources of poison (p. 109). A fondness for adding colourful detail makes Dio's account both interesting and unreliable, but provides a possible source for Daniel's attribution of the prime motivation for Cleopatra's suicide being a wish to avoid being taken captive to Rome. Dio describes Cleopatra as 'regarding this as worse than innumerable deaths, she began to desire really to die' (p. 109), whereas Plutarch makes less of Cleopatra's distress at being taken to Rome; his Cleopatra and her children were threatened with death (p. 1007). Daniel's Cleopatra speaks of 'seeing death to be the last of woes, | And life lasting disgrace, which I shall get, | What doe I lose, that have but life to lose?' (l. 1596)

Suetonius

Dio follows Suetonius (c. AD 69 – c. AD 130) in suggesting that Octavius attempted to have Cleopatra revived. Suetonius writing some fifty years earlier said: 'He was so anxious to save Cleopatra as an ornament for his triumph that he actually summoned Psyllian snake-charmers to suck the poison from her self-inflicted wound, supposedly the bite of an asp'.¹⁴ Dio retells this anecdote as follows: 'Cæsar on hearing of her demise was shocked, and both viewed her body, and applied drugs to it and sent for Psylli, in the hope that she may possibly revive ... Cæsar ... was himself excessively grieved, as much as if he had been deprived of all the glory of the victory'(p. 109). The impact of this story is diminished by Dio's diversion into a fanciful description of the Psylli tribe. Whilst both Suetonius and Dio

¹⁴ Suetonius, *The Twelve Cæsars*, trans. by Robert Graves (London: Folio, 1964), p. 61. Translated from Latin.

were writing to please their contemporary readers – the political desire of Octavius to keep Cleopatra alive also puts him in a good light – Daniel’s focus is on Cleopatra. Octavius is barely mentioned in the final act of the tragedy, he having ‘gess’d all went not right | And forthwith sends, yet ere the message came | She was dispatcht, he crost in his intent’(l. 1674).

Historians such as Dio and Suetonius describe conflicts in which male deaths are inflicted by weapons, a vastly different situation from deaths self-inflicted by women; this may explain their inability to be precise about the method of Cleopatra’s suicide. Dio described Antony’s death in all its gory detail: ‘Antony gave himself a wound and fell upon his face ... he ... stood up... but a great gush of blood from his wound made him despair... he died there on Cleopatra’s bosom’ (p. 108). Even in fiction, classical writers found women’s deaths problematic; although Loraux based her discussion of the deaths of women on the versions portrayed in Greek tragedy, her findings may relate also to more factual writing, such as Dio’s histories. The convention was that female deaths should be described but not shown on stage. As for the place of death, Loraux writes: ‘Was it because they were on the brink of a social transgression that these desperate women had to fly to their quarters – shadowy, hidden, mysterious – to put themselves to death, so that a nurse or an attendant had to come and tell the public what they had done?’¹⁵ Loraux could be describing Cleopatra immuring herself in the monument, followed by the relation of her suicide by the Nuntius. Daniel is following the very formalised style of a Greek tragedy; Cleopatra’s death not only occurs out of sight it also happens somewhere between Acts IV and V. However, the reason for death diverges from the Greek format:

an apparent truth, proper to tragedy ... the death of a man inevitably calls for the suicide of a woman, his wife. Why should a woman’s death counterbalance a man’s? Because of the heroic code of honour that tragedy loves to recall.¹⁶

In *Cleopatra* this balance is called into question; Antony’s death precedes the action of the play and Cleopatra’s motivation oscillates between a desire to join her lover in death and a wish to avoid the dishonour of being part of Octavius’ triumph, with the latter aspect predominating. Cleopatra demonstrates her understanding of royal honour by turning her defeat in battle by Octavius into a victory over him by her death.

¹⁵ Loraux, p. ix.

¹⁶ Loraux, p. 7.

Appian

Appian (AD 95 – AD165) was, like Dio, commended by Roger Ascham, in Appian's case for the ability to write of complex affairs in a way readily understood: 'Appianus Alexandrinus is very commendable, and not by chance but by skil doth follow this order, declaryng in his Prologue just causes why he should do so'.¹⁷ Appian wrote in his *Civil Wars* specifically on the troubled period leading up to the establishment of the Augustan dynasty. He chose to distinguish the final conflict between Antony and Octavius from earlier ones by classifying it as an Egyptian War, to be related in a separate book, now unfortunately lost. The sixteenth-century translator, W.B., of *An auncient historie and exquisite chronicle of the Romanes warres ... with a continuation because that part of Appian is not extant... to the overthrow of Antonie and Cleopatra* may have utilised alternative undeclared sources.¹⁸ In the continuation, well rehearsed themes emerge, the dissipation of the Egyptian court and Cleopatra's interest in poisons: '[Antony] beyng otherwise perswaded by *Cleopatra*, he came to the courte to Alexandria, and their gave hymselfe to feasting and banqettyng'; '*Cleopatra* beside all this gave hyr selfe to the searche of moste speedy poyson and venom' (p. 390). There is a distinction here between 'poyson', which came from plants – 'growying thyngs' – and 'venom' from 'lyving beastes and Serpentes' (p. 390). The description of Cleopatra withdrawing to the sepulchre, after Antony had been falsely informed of her death, would appear to be influenced by the writer's knowledge of defensive buildings: 'She being afrayed of his furie, got hir into hir Sepulchre, causing the bridge to be drawne' (p. 392). The same attention to practical details is shown in this passage: '*Proculeius* having got scalling ladders with two more got into ye window where *Antony* was taken in, & went streight to the place where she was talking to *Gallus*. Then one of her women cried, O unhappy *Cleopatra*, thou art taken alive. Then she would have stricked herselfe, for she ware a dagger' (pp. 393–4). Daniel's description of Proculeius entry into the monument is less precise than that of Appian: Proculeius tells Octavian 'I found the meanes up to the Tombe to clime' (l. 296). Although Appian's descriptions are vivid and detailed, there seems little in them which correlates directly with the text of Daniel's tragedy, therefore I suggest that amongst the classical writers I have discussed, Appian was the least influential source for Daniel.

¹⁷ Roger Ascham, *A report and discourse written by Roger Ascham* (London, 1570), p. 33.

¹⁸ Appianus, *An auncient historie* (London, 1578) STC (2nd ed.) 713. Originally in Greek, ambiguity on the title page as to whether translated directly.

The classical writers I have discussed, Virgil, Dio, Appian and Suetonius, each wrote about Antony and Cleopatra within the context of a much larger picture, whereas Plutarch in his *Lives* had a very different purpose, one which makes him possibly the most significant source of material for Daniel.

Plutarch

Plutarch's *Lives* differs in a major respect from the works of the other classical authors whom I have considered: he is focused on the lives of individuals rather than an overarching historical or fictional account. Whereas Virgil, Dio and Appian were writing about events – or mythical events – occurring over a time scale of decades or even centuries, Plutarch's perspective is that of a biographer. Daniel uses the same close focus, though the events he describes are those purportedly of a few hours, whereas Plutarch deals with a lifetime. The mechanism Plutarch used was to avoid making direct critical comments within each individual 'life', but to set up a comparison or opposition between two individuals. So, after his lives of Demetrius and Antonius, there comes 'The comparison of Demetrius and Antonius'.¹⁹ It is noteworthy that although the subjects of his *Lives* were men, Plutarch provides a considerable amount of information on Cleopatra; his description of the downfall of Antony and Cleopatra's subsequent death is substantially longer and provides more detail than those of the other classical authors I have previously discussed. Through tracing the events described in *Cleopatra* and comparing them with Plutarch's account in his 'Life of Antonius', I will test the proposition that Daniel used Plutarch as a source for his work. Where there are points of close comparison or wide divergence between the various classical accounts I will include them in this section and compare them with Daniel's text.

Evidence of Plutarch (as translated by North) as the main source

When Thomas North translated Plutarch's *Lives* from the French of Bishop Amyot into English, he was following fashionable precedents; the works of many classical authors reached England via a translation from the original Greek or Latin into a continental language and then into English. Marie-Alice Belle and Brenda M. Hosington discuss such 'transformative translations' in a recent article.²⁰ The education of the nobility and gentry would have included a heavy emphasis both on reading classical or continental authors in

¹⁹ Plutarch, p. 1011.

²⁰ Marie-Alice Belle and Brenda M. Hosington, 'Transformative Translations: Linguistic, Cultural and Material Transfers in Early Modern England and France', *Renaissance and Reformation* 43(2) (2020), 9-66 (p.15).

their original tongue and on translating them into English; the Countess of Pembroke's translation of Garnier was one such. Less emphasis was placed in Renaissance times on verbal 'word for word' accuracy than on producing a well-expressed text. In my analysis of Plutarch as a source for Daniel, there are four aspects to consider: did Daniel follow closely the depiction of specific events; did he incorporate wording and phrases from Plutarch; either in the description of events or transmuted in some way; did he utilise themes and how did his and Plutarch's attitudes to Cleopatra compare?

Scenes and events

Where an event is described by both Plutarch and another classical author it is debatable whether each wrote independently or if one followed the other. Comparison between Appian's and Plutarch's descriptions, or rather that given in the translations, of the scene when Proculeius enters the monument (see p. 122) would suggest that either Appian followed Plutarch or they each derived their work from a common source. The common points between Plutarch and Appian make it difficult to determine which Daniel might have favoured; on balance, my opinion is that Plutarch was his main source since there are very many close resemblances which I will now discuss. In the version from Plutarch:

Proculeius did set up a ladder against that high windowe, by the which *Antonius* was triced up, and came downe into the monument with two of his men hard by the gate, where *Cleopatra* stooode to heare what *Gallus* sayd unto her. One of her women which was shut in her monuments with her, saw *Proculeius* by chaunce as he came downe, and shreeked out: O, poore *Cleopatra*, thou art taken. Then when she sawe *Proculeius* behind her as she came from the gate, she thought to have stabbed her selfe in with a short dagger she ware of purpose by her side. (Plutarch, p. 1007)

Daniel uses Proculeius to describe the scene:

With *Gallus* sent to trie an other time,
The whilst he entertaines her at the grate,
I found the meanes up to the Tombe to clime
Where, in descending in the closest wise,
And silent manner as I could contrive:
Her woman me descri'd, and out she cries,
Poore *Cleopatra*, thou art tane alive
With that the Queene raught from her side her knife. (l. 294)

Daniel omits the detail that Proculeius enters the tomb via the window through which Antony was hoisted, but since Antony's death is not described in his play, it would be irrelevant. In a second instance of a difference, he diverges from Plutarch and Appian in using the word 'knife' for Cleopatra's weapon, whereas they use 'dagger'; however, since

he uses 'knife' to rhyme with 'life' for his alternate line rhyme scheme this is a constructive difference.

The opening scene of Act III seems initially to be a diversion from the main thrust of the tragedy; two Philosophers, Arius and Philostratus discuss their survival following Octavius's conquest of Egypt. Philostratus says:

How deepely *Arius* am I bound to thee,
Thou sav'dst from death this wretched life of mine
Obtaining Cæsars gentle grace for mee (l. 472)

Daniel would appear however to be keeping closely to the order of events in Plutarch who, within a few lines after describing the meeting between Cleopatra and Octavius, writes of Octavius:

he in the meane time entred the citie of ALEXANDRIA, and as he went talked with the Philosopher Arrius ... who cried pardon for him selfe and many others, & specially for Philostratus ... howbeit he falsly named him selfe an Academicke Philosopher' (p. 1007).

As Arrius and Philostratus are not mentioned in Dio's text and Appian simply states 'he [Octavius] entred the Citie with *Arrius* the philosopher, holding him by the hande, that the Citizens mighte see in what honor he had him'(Appianus, p. 394). It would seem fairly conclusive that Daniel's source for his scene was the episode in Plutarch. Plutarch quotes Arius as saying to Octavius, '*Too Many Cæsars is not good*', a phrase which Octavius acts upon: '*Cæsar* did put *Cæsario* to death, after the death of his mother *Cleopatra*' (p. 1008). Daniel utilises the phrase in a stichomythic exchange between the philosophers:

Phi. Why must her issue pay the price of that?
Ari. The price is life that they are rated at.
Phi. *Cæsario* too, issued of *Cæsars* blood?
Ari. Pluralitie of *Cæsars* are not good. (l. 576)

Daniel alters the timing of *Cæsario*'s death to accord with one of the Senecan concepts, the unity of time, in that the events of a tragedy should occur within one day, but stays close to Plutarch's description of the means:

But for *Cæsario* ... his mother *Cleopatra* had sent him unto the INDIANS through ÆTHIOPIA ... one of his governors also called *Rhodon* ... perswaded him to return into his countrie, & told him that *Cæsar* sent for him to geve him his mothers kingdom. (p. 1008)

This episode is utilised by Daniel in Act IV when, as in Act III, discussion between two individuals allows ample opportunity for reflective heartsearching by them, but additionally, by report, Cleopatra. Rodon bewails his betrayal of Cleopatra's trust: 'And back to *Rhodes* did reconvey my charge, | Pretending that *Octavius* for him sent, | To make him King of Egipt presently' (l. 975). Betrayal is the theme of this scene; Rodon recounts how another tutor, Theodor 'one of my coate' betrayed:

The yong *Antillus* sonne of *Anthonie*,
And at his death from off his necke convaid
A jewell: which being askt, he did denie:
Cæsar occasion tooke to hang him strait. (l. 1061)

The elements of this episode are as recounted by Plutarch even to '*Cæsar* trussed him up for it' (p. 1008). The evidence that Daniel utilised Plutarch for the bones of his tragedy is accumulating, more is to come as I look in detail at the words of the tragedy.

The text of *Cleopatra* compared with Plutarch's words

When Proculeius is inside the tomb, he speaks to Cleopatra; there is a very close resemblance between the words given to Proculeius by Plutarch, '*Cleopatra*, first thou shalt doe thy selfe great wrong, and secondly unto *Cæsar*' (p. 1007), and those used by Daniel: 'Ah *Cleopatra*, why shouldst thou, (said I) | Both injurie thy selfe and *Cæsar* so?' (l. 305). The continuations of the argument also concur: 'to deprive him of the occasion and opportunitie, openly to shew his bountie and mercie' (p. 1007) becomes in *Cleopatra*: 'Barre him the honour of his victorie, | Who ever deales most mildly with his foe? | Live, and relie on him, whose mercy will | To thy submission alwayes readie be' (l. 307). Interaction between Cleopatra and Octavius does not go smoothly; she presents herself to Octavius as a weak woman: 'what should a woman doe | Opprest with greatnes? ... For when the Lord of all the Orient bade, | Who but obeyed'd? who was not glad to please?' (l. 621, l. 626). Daniel would appear to be following Plutarch, who is explicit: 'Cleopatra began to cleere and excuse her selfe for that she had done, laying all to the feare she had of Antonius. Cæsar, in contrairie maner, reproved her in every poynt' (p. 1008). Daniel's Octavius does more than disagree. He firmly blames Cleopatra herself: 'it was th'innated hatred | That thou and thine hast ever borne our people' (l. 632). 'She gave him a breefe and memoriall of all the readie money & treasure she had' (Plutarch, p. 1008) becomes in Daniel 'And heere I do present thee with a note | Of all the treasure, all the jewels rare | That Egipt in many ages got' (l. 670). Seleuceus, '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' (p. 1008),

speaks in the play ‘Nay there’s not all set downe within that roule, | I know some things she has reserv’d apart’ (l. 674). Cleopatra’s reaction, ‘What, vile ungrateful wretch, dar’st thou controule | Thy Queene and soveraigne, caitife as thou art’ (l. 676), bears a close resemblance to:

Alas, said she, O *Cæsar*: is this not a great shame and reproche, that thou having vouchsafed to take the peines to come to me, and done me this honor, poore wretche, and caitife creature. (p. 1008-9)

It is noteworthy that in Daniel’s tragedy, Cleopatra uses ‘wretch’ and caitife’ to describe Seleuceus whereas Plutarch quotes Cleopatra as speaking about herself. ‘Caitife’ could be used to describe a miserable person, a villain or, significantly, a prisoner. This switch of attribution could signify Daniel’s dexterity with words or an attitude of mind towards the relative positions of emotional power of Octavius and Cleopatra. Such identity between the English words Daniel uses and those in North’s translation of Plutarch provides evidence for my argument that Daniel had that translation at hand when writing his tragedy rather than the Latin text. Both Plutarch and Daniel agree on the reason given by Cleopatra for her retention of some items: ‘some juells & trifles ... not for me... but meaning to geve some pretie presents & gifts unto *Octavia* and *Livia* that they making meanes & intercession for me to thee’ (p. 1009). In *Cleopatra* the explanation becomes: ‘But what I kept, I kept to make my way | Unto thy *Livia* and *Octavias* grace, | That thereby in compassion mooved, they | Might mediate thy favour in my case’ (l. 686). Appian’s relation of Cleopatra’s claim that she was ‘keeping a fewe womens thynges wherewith I would winne thy wife *Livia*, and thy sister *Octavia*, to make thee more favourable to mee’ (p. 395) seems a little over detailed; both Plutarch and Daniel take it for granted that their readers know who Livia and Octavia were. Octavius speaks soothingly to Cleopatra and they part. In one of his rare comments on motivation, Plutarch says ‘he tooke his leave of her, supposing he had deceived her, but in deede he was decieved him selfe’ (p. 1009). Daniel makes this clear:

[*Cæs.*] Til when farewell. *Cl.* Thanks thrice renowned *Cæsar*. (l. 698)

This unique use by Daniel in *Cleopatra* of a verse line split between two speakers seems symbolic of their complex relationship.

Plutarch describes Dolabella as a ‘young gentleman’ who ‘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 SVRIA, & that within three dayes he would sende her away

before with her children' (p. 1009). In Daniel's tragedy, Octavius speaks directly to Dolabella: 'She with her children shall to Rome be sent, | Whilst I by Syria thither take my way' (l. 746). The usage of 'Syria', 'sent' and 'children' within a brief message does not appear coincidental but yet another instance of Daniel utilising North. Appian again seems to be elaborating on Plutarch: his Cæsar will 'go home by land through *Syria*' and Cleopatra and her children would be 'sent to *Italy* by shippe' (p. 395). After receiving Dolabella's warning, Plutarch describes Cleopatra mourning Antony at his tomb and addressing him directly:

Whilst 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 ROMAN, hast bene buried in Ægypt: even so wretched creature I, an Ægyptian, shall be buried in ITALIE. (p. 1009)

The same concept occurs in *Cleopatra*:

O if in life we could not severd be,
Shall death divide our bodies now asunder?
Must thine in Egypt, mine in Italie,
Be kept the Monuments of Fortunes wonder? (l. 1132)

Whilst Appian retains the concept of the separation in death of Antony and Cleopatra, he avoids speaking of graves or burial; Cleopatra calls upon the Gods there' [in Italy] to prevent the separation occurring as 'oure Gods have deceyved us heere' (p. 395). This would appear to follow and elaborate on Plutarch. Indeed, the English text of Appian, translated in 1578 states clearly on the title page that there is a continuation because 'that part of Appian is not extant from the death of Sextus Pompeius, second sonne to Pompey the Great, till the overthrow of Antonie and Cleopatra'. 'Continuation' is ambiguous in the context, clearly the translator wished his account to be a complete historical recital, but the suspicion remains that he utilised Plutarch or another author for the basis of his text.

After mourning Antony, Cleopatra returns to the monument and in Plutarch's description 'After *Cleopatra* had dined, she sent a certaine table written and sealed unto *Cæsar*, and commanded them all to go out of the tombes where she was, but the two women' (p. 1009). In Act V, Titius describes to Dolabella:

How having din'd, she writes, and sends away
Him [a messenger] strait to *Cæsar*, and commanded than
All should depart the Tombe, and none to stay
But her two maides, and one poore countryman. (l. 1349)

Plutarch had earlier set the scene for Cleopatra's death by giving a detailed description of Cleopatra's researches into the effects of poisons:

Cleopatra in the meane time was verie carefull in gathering all sorts of poysons together to destroy men. Now to make proof of theose poysons which made men dye with least paine, she tried it upon condemned men in prison. For when she saw the poysons that were sodaine and vehement, and brought speedy death with grievous torments: & in contrary maner, that such as were more milde and gentle, had not that quicke speede and force to make one dye sodainly: she afterwarde went about to prove the stinging of snakes and adders,...she found none of them all she had proved so fit, as the biting of an Aspicke, the which only caused a heavines of the head, without swoounding or complaining, and bringeth a great desire also to sleepe... no living creature perceiving that the pacientes feele any paine (p. 1004).

Daniel incorporates into the Nuntius's relation of Cleopatra's death symptoms as described by Plutarch: she was 'Contented to bewray least sence of paine ... she staies, and makes a sodaine pause ... For in that instant I might well perceive | The drowsie humor in her falling brow .. sure I thinke shee did her paine prevent' (l. 1608). Plutarch's 'heaviness of the head' is followed through in the death scene by Charmion 'trimming the Diademe which Cleopatra ware upon her head'(p. 1009); Daniel's words accord with this: 'in her sinking downe she wries | The Diademe which on her head shee wore, | Which *Charmion* (poore weake feeble maid) espies, | and hastes to right it..... they found ... *Charmion* trimming of her head' (l. 1644, l. 1662). Daniel uses the mechanism of a Nuntius (a theatrical term for a messenger) speaking to the Chorus to describe the last moments of Cleopatra's life. He, sent by Cleopatra to find 'Two Aspicks'(l. 1444), went 'disguis'd in habite' (l. 1453) and returned bringing:

The Aspickes, in a basket closely pent.
Which I had filled with Figges, and leaves upon.
And comming to the guard that kept the dore,
What hast thou there? said they, and lookt thereon.
Seeing the figges, they deem'd of nothing more,
But said, they were the fairest they had seene.
Taste some, said I, for they are good and pleasant.
No, no, said they, go beare them to thy Queene. (l. 1456)

Plutarch relates:

Nowe whilst she was at dinner, there came a countriman, 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 ... they all of them marvelled to see so goodly figges. The countrieman 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. (p. 1009)

In *Cleopatra*, Octavius is alerted to Cleopatra's suicide 'By Letters which before to him she sent ... She writes, and earnestly intreats, she might | Be buried in one tomb with Antony' (l. 1670). Daniel writes of Cleopatra's wish, whereas Plutarch describes an action: 'After Cleopatra died, Octavius ordered that 'she should be nobly buried and layed by Antonius' (p. 1010). Again we see Daniel using the same or similar phrases as Plutarch; they both use 'countryman' for the bearer of the basket of figs and 'buried ... with Antony' becomes 'layed by Antonius'. In the following section, I examine situations where Daniel utilises words or phrases from Plutarch to illuminate his themes.

Themes and variations

An example of Daniel using Plutarch as a springboard for his verse is that of Antony as Hercules (Plutarch) which is transformed by Daniel into Antony as Atlas. Within a detailed account of Marcus Antonius's family and birth, Plutarch includes a reference to 'a speche of old time, that the famile of the Antonij were discended from one Anton, the sonne of Hercules' (p. 971). He describes the appearance of Antonius as 'he had a goodly thicke beard, broad forehead, crooke nosed, and there appeared such a manly looke in his countenance, as is commonly seene, in Hercules pictures, stamped or grauen in mettell' (p. 971). Daniel uses Cleopatra's speech in Act I to compare Antony not to Hercules, but to a different mythical strong man, Atlas: 'Whiles on his shoulders all my rest relide | On whom the burthen of m'ambition lay, | My Atlas, and supporter of my pride | That did the world of all my glory sway'(l. 13). The description of Antony as 'Atlas', who was commonly depicted as holding up the world, provides a reminder of Antony's power as 'Lord of all the Orient' (l. 626). Plutarch's intermixing of mythical and factual figures could have stimulated Daniel's imagery of Antony as Atlas. A link between Hercules and Atlas is the myth that Hercules is reputed to have temporarily taken the load from Atlas.²¹ This myth was clearly well known in Daniel's time; Andrew Gurr states that the 'labour of building and financing the Globe [theatre] ... was adjudged a Herculean effort by its supporters...[they] named it the Globe and chose as its emblem the figure of Hercules upholding it'.²²

²¹ Robert Graves, *The Greek Myths: I*, rev. 1960 (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1955, repr.1962), 39.d. p. 144.

²² The Globe was first constructed in 1599. Andrew Gurr, 'Why the Globe is famous', *The Oxford Handbook of Early Modern Theatre*, ed. by Richard Dutton (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011: online 2012); Gurr's note against his comment says 'a supposition widely debated, but affirmed on good evidence by Dutton.' The

A second instance of Daniel using a classical source for a thematic purpose occurs within the same Act; he uses a specific word, ‘swallowes’, which had appeared in Plutarch’s description of Cleopatra’s flagship at the commencement of the battle of Actium, to add imagery to Cleopatra’s soliloquy. Plutarch notes what may have been a symbolic depiction of impending disaster: ‘a marvelous ill signe. Swallowes had bred under the poepe of her shippe, & there came others after them that drave away the first, & plucked downe their nests’ (p. 999). Daniel may have utilised this image of fleeing birds in Cleopatra’s lament for her changed state and desertion by her courtiers: ‘Witnesse these gallant fortune-following traines, | These Summer Swallowes of felicitie | Gone with the heate’ (1.43, 44n). Christopher McDonough explores the symbolism of the swallows on Cleopatra’s ship, but claims that ‘The battle is an event so heavily encrusted with Augustan propaganda that it is difficult to ascertain what really happened, either before or during the conflict.’²³ In his essay, McDonough quotes from a rhetorical handbook, *Ad Herrenium*, which illustrates the use of simile by the example of summer swallows, ‘ut hirundines aestivo tempore praesto sunt ... just as swallows stay with us in the summertime’, to represent false friends departing in the ‘winter of our fortune’.²⁴ This example, from a handbook known and used in sixteenth-century England, provides an alternative derivation of Daniel’s imagery; McDonough’s conclusion that ‘It is this sense of departure as disloyalty, linked with the loss of fortune, that truly animates the omen of the swallows on Cleopatra’s ship’ could apply as much to Cleopatra fleeing the scene of battle as to the final downfall of the lovers.²⁵

Plutarch describes how Antony believed Cleopatra to be conspiring with Octavius, so ‘she being affraied of his fury, fled into the tombe which she had caused to be made, and there locked the doores unto her, and shut all the springes of the lockes with great boltes’ (p. 1006). Daniel seems to echo Plutarch’s description of physical seclusion in Octavius’s ruminations on mental control:

Free is the heart, the temple of the minde,
The Sanctuarie sacred from above,
Where nature keeps the keies that loose and bind.
No mortall hand force open can that doore,
So close shut up, and lockt to all mankind. (l. 264)

reference is to an article by Richard Dutton, ‘Hamlet, An Apology for Actors, and the Sign of the Globe’, *Shakespeare Survey*, 41 (1989), 35–43.

²³ Christopher M. McDonough, ‘The Swallows on Cleopatra’s Ship’, *The Classical World*, 96 (3) (Spring, 2003), 251–258 (p. 252).

²⁴ McDonough, p. 258.

²⁵ McDonough, p. 258.

In the neo-Senecan style, actions are described rather than shown, but Daniel provides a further layer of separation by placing Cleopatra in the tomb before the play commences yet he evokes the locks which physically constrain her through the figurative imagery of Octavius's words.

The lack of stage directions in *Cleopatra* is a disadvantage when it comes to envisaging the interview between Cleopatra and Octavius. The classical authors almost revel in describing the scene: Dio's Cleopatra 'prepared a luxurious apartment and costly couch', whilst Appian's Cleopatra was distinctly unglamorous, 'hir eyes were sonke, and hir colour swart'; Plutarch has her 'marvelously disfigured ... her eyes sonke into her heade with continuall blubbering' and devotes considerable attention to the details.²⁶ By contrast, Daniel's choice of words for Cleopatra testify to her state of mind and through that her appearance: a second instance of Daniel shifting emphasis from the physical state to that of the mind as he did earlier in the play.²⁷ Cleopatra speaks of 'sorrow', 'oppressed thoughts', 'disgrace', 'despaire', and 'solitarie horror', but her appearance is not specified (l. 601).

Attitudes to Cleopatra

Although Plutarch recorded the events of Antony's life in approximately chronological order, the final tragedy of his death is made to overshadow the earlier happenings by inserting into the narrative phrases such as 'the last and extreamest mischief of all others', placed immediately before describing Antony's meeting with Cleopatra (p. 981). Plutarch blames Cleopatra for Antony's fall: 'if any sparke of goodnesse or hope of rising were left him, Cleopatra quenched it straight and made it worse then before' (p. 981). Daniel follows Plutarch in apportioning blame, but with respect to Cleopatra's fall; Octavius tells Cleopatra:

none but thy selfe is cause of al,
And yet, would all were but thine own alone:
That others ruine had not with thy fall
Brought Rome her sorrowes, to my triumphs mone. (l. 612)

Plutarch pays tribute to Cleopatra's personality whilst downplaying her looks: 'her beawtie (as it is reported) was not ...suche, as upon present viewe did enamor men with her: but so sweete was her conversacion, that a man could not possiblie but be taken' (p. 982). Daniel's

²⁶ Dio, p. 108; Appian p. 394; Plutarch p. 1008.

²⁷ 'Free is the heart, the temple of the mind', l. 264.

Cleopatra acknowledges her irresistible charm: ‘I saw my state, and knew my beautie; | Saw how the world admir’d me, how they woo’d, | I then thought all men must love me of duetie’ (l. 156). Plutarch acknowledges the attraction of Cleopatra’s conversation, Daniel the attraction of her queenly state – perhaps there is a comparison here to Queen Elizabeth?

In Daniel’s tragedy, Proculeius describes his attempts to negotiate with Cleopatra. The reader has to imagine the scene, but Proculeius gives both a physical description of Cleopatra and his interpretation of her emotions, so intensifying the reader’s experience: ‘Her proud griev’d eyes, held sorow and disdain, | State and distresse warring within her soule, | Dying ambition dispossess her raigne’ (l. 313). By using such techniques, the tragedy’s lack of on-stage action can be utilised beneficially.

Plutarch attributes a double motive to Octavius:

he sent *Proculeius*, and commanded him to doe what he could possible to get *Cleopatra* alive, fearing least otherwise all the treasure would be lost: and, furthermore, he thought that if he could take *Cleopatra*, and bring her alive to ROME, she would marvelously beautifie and sette out his triumphe. (p. 1007)

The order of priority, treasure then Cleopatra, is maintained in Dio, ‘Cæsar was anxious to make himself master of his treasures, to seize her alive, and to take her back for his triumph’ (p. 108), and in Appian: ‘She had a goodly sepulchre made ... in the whiche she had placed all hir treasure, and princely things. And Cæsar being afraid, that if she were driven to desperation, she woulde set all on fire, put hir in great hope alwayes’ (p. 391). The costly practicalities of war made seizing plunder, the treasures of Egypt, of prime importance after success in battle and this was recognised and unquestioned by the classical writers. Daniel’s Cleopatra has taken into the monument ‘the treasure, all the jewels rare | That Egypt hath in many ages got’ (l. 671). In his version, Octavius tells Proculeius ‘All Egypt yeelds to my all-conqu’ring hand, | And all their treasure and themselves resigne’ (l. 273), an optimistic conflation of Egypt and Cleopatra.

Plutarch’s Cleopatra is a woman to be respected not only for her position but also for her abilities, but equally to be deplored for the disastrous effect she had on Antony and the Roman empire. Daniel’s Cleopatra speaks for herself, her soliloquys and reported words convey insight into her position; criticism comes from the Chorus, representing the nation of Egypt and its people, an entity Plutarch ignores.

To summarise my thoughts on Daniel's use of the works of classical writers, I would argue for Plutarch being his main source and indeed feasibly his only source since in no instance did I identify elements of his text which could derive only from another of the writers whose works I examined, whereas in many instances Plutarch was the sole source.

The post-classical period

In the post-classical years, the story of Antony and Cleopatra surfaced repeatedly in various guises, from descriptions of enduring love to admonitory tracts on the depravity they epitomised. By the fifteenth and sixteenth century the purportedly historical classical accounts of the lives of Antony and Cleopatra were superseded by both favourable and critical narrations. The core events seem to have been sufficiently well known by European audiences and readers to allow authors considerable latitude in interpretation. Even two centuries earlier, Dante (1265–1321) could encapsulate Cleopatra in a word, as 'luxurious', as he placed her amongst the carnal sinners in the second circle of Hell.²⁸ There was a vogue in Italy for descriptions of Cleopatra; Mary Morrison cites Boccaccio (1313–75) as 'hostile to Cleopatra in *De claris mulieribus*' and instances three tragedies based on Cleopatra by Italian writers, Gherardi Cinthio, Cesari and Pistorelli, all written in the sixteenth century.²⁹ Interest was sustained through 'biographies' of Cleopatra, *Vita di Cleopatra* (1551) by Landi and the later *Di Cleopatra Regina D'Egitto, La Vita Considerata* (1642), by Paganino Gaudenzi. Since Daniel had spent some months in Italy and was fluent in Italian, he may well have read or seen Cinthio's *Cleopatra tragedia*, which was published in 1583, some forty years after it was first performed. But before discussing this drama, and those contemporaneous to it from French and English authors, I will examine how Cleopatra was perceived by an earlier English writer.

Chaucer (1345–1400) may well have been alone in attempting to rehabilitate Cleopatra's image after the criticism she incurred in the classical period. In the prologue to *The Legend of Good Women* he wrote 'At Cleopatre I wole that thou bygynne' and then does begin with the 'Legend' of Cleopatra placed first before more notably 'good' women.³⁰ The text survives in manuscript versions, but was also printed and reprinted throughout the

²⁸ Bullough, p. 221.

²⁹ Morrison, p. 114.

³⁰ Geoffrey Chaucer, *The Legend of Good Women*, ed. by Janet Cowen and George Kane (East Lansing: Colleagues Press, 1995), p. 200.

sixteenth century in *The workes of Jeffrey Chaucer*. The ‘Argument’ explains why Chaucer wrote the work:

For that some Ladies in the Court took offence at Chaucers large speeches against the untruth of women, the Queene enjoyned him to compile this booke in the commendation of sundry maydens and wives, who shewed themselves faithfull to faithlesse men.³¹

In his retelling of Cleopatra’s life, Chaucer omits her early liaison with Julius Cæsar.

Antonius returns to Egypt after marrying Octavia: ‘And over all this the suster of Cesar | He lafte hire falseie er that she was war | And wolde algates han another wif’.³² Antonius marries Cleopatra, with ‘wedding and the feaste’; the battle at Actium is lost and Antonius ‘for dispeir out of his witte sterte | And roos hymself anoon thurghout the herte’.³³ This latter deviation from Plutarch’s version suits Chaucer’s theme, the faithless man stabs himself in the organ linked to love, the heart, rather than the less glamorous but more utilitarian side or stomach. Cleopatra is described making a bejewelled shrine in which she puts spices to embalm Antonius’s corpse; then she digs ‘a pyt’ into which she put ‘all the serpentis that she myght[e] have’ before ‘naked with full good herte, | Amongst the serpentis in the pitte she sterte ... Anoon the eddres gonne hir for to stinge’.³⁴ His specific use of ‘eddres’ (adders) to ‘stinge’ Cleopatra would have placed her in a situation recognisable to his English readers, whereas the more generalised description, ‘serpentis’, were of alien creatures linked to evil, as in *Genesis*. Cleopatra is ‘naked’, free from all embellishment except that provided by Chaucer’s description of her as a courageous, faithful and loving wife. Having diverged from a conventional depiction of Cleopatra, Chaucer was more scrupulous in his ‘Legend of Dido’, where he states his intention to follow Virgil’s account as best he could. His willingness to follow a classical author when it suits his overall theme makes the ‘Legend of Cleopatra’ an interesting divergence from orthodoxy.

Continental authors

The climate of literary opinion regarding Cleopatra, her beauty, character and disastrous affair with Antony, was influenced in the latter half of the sixteenth century by various

³¹ Geoffrey Chaucer, *The workes of our antient and lerned English poet Geffrey Chaucer* (London, 1598), STC (2nd ed.) 5077, sig. [cw].

³² Chaucer, *The Legend*, p. 201.

³³ Chaucer, *The Legend*, p. 205.

³⁴ Chaucer, *The Legend*, p. 206.

tragedies, written in neo-Senecan style. Morrison notes that ‘in the Italian plays her love has a dignified conjugal quality ... she is unshakeably true to Antony’.³⁵ In the prologue to his *Cleopatra*, Cinthio (1504–73) expresses his view that the imitations (*mimesis*) of ‘real actions | With such solemnity and such decorum’ would induce ‘pity ... and also horror, | Purging our mortal souls from every vice ... By seeing how those persons meet their end | Who are not either wholly good or bad’.³⁶

In adhering to the views expressed in Aristotle’s *Poetics* on the purpose of tragedy, Cinthio gave encouragement to the audience to view Antony and Cleopatra as mortals like themselves, rather than being epitomes of vice. This softens their image whilst still enabling a moral to be drawn from their fate. He concludes the prologue on a positive note: ‘Thus never may | Desires vain afflict you, but your life | Be ever happy, happy too your end, | And glory eternal in this world attend you’.³⁷ The tragedy follows Plutarch’s account but with some introduced episodes; one such has Cleopatra ordering her doctor Olimpus to prepare poison. Given Daniel’s facility in Italian and his travels in Italy he may have read Cinthio’s works or possibly seen a performance. There are some notable resemblances in Daniel’s play to the earlier *Cleopatra* of Cinthio; for example, when Cleopatra excuses herself to Octavius, putting the blame for her actions onto powerful Antony: ‘Caesar, what should a woman doe | ... | For when the Lord of all the Orient bade, | Who but obey’d? who was not glad to please?’ (l. 621, l. 626) Compare the same episode in a translation of Cinthio:

That was not, Sir, result of my own wish,
Nor could I do aught else, unhappy woman,
Timid by nature, inexpert in affairs,
When Antony came upon me with such power,
So numerous a host ... I was not fitted to resist him then,
Nor was I able to refuse to obey him.³⁸

Cinthio’s Cleopatra ‘inexpert in affairs’ may have prompted Daniel application of the same concept but to Antony, ‘Thou comming from the strictnesse of thy Citty, | ... in womens wiles unwitty’ (l. 165, l. 167). Cleopatra is the focus of Cinthio’s play, and although his play commences whilst the outcome of the battle at Actium is yet unknown events revolve around her; he devotes little space to Antony’s death. Anne Barton interprets Cinthio’s description of Cleopatra’s death as ‘the queen finally expires of a broken heart while

³⁵ Morrison, p. 120.

³⁶ Bullough, p. 344. I am indebted to Bullough for the translation of Cinthio’s words.

³⁷ Bullough, p. 345.

³⁸ Bullough, p. 353.

conducting the funeral rites over Antony's as yet unburied corpse'.³⁹ This does not seem to accord with the final scene of the play in which a priest describes her end as 'She took a golden tube ... and placed it in a bowl... Over the bowl she laid her naked arm | And taking up the tube she touched her flesh ... as by gentle sleep | Borne down.' (Bullough, p. 357). Although Cleopatra's heart may have been metaphorically broken, Cinthio describes her as actively seeking death using a 'golden tube'. The implication is that it contained poison supplied by her physician. Recent research has shown that the use of poison to procure death, either for murder or for suicide, voluntary or forced, was recognised and documented in Renaissance Italy.⁴⁰ As with Chaucer's use of adders in his description of Cleopatra's death, Cinthio is making reference to a situation, if not familiar, at least known to his audience.

In describing the many Italian, French and English versions of Cleopatra's death as a 'dramatic cult', Bullough recognises the attraction the story had both for writers and audiences.⁴¹ In France, barely a decade after the first performance of Cinthio's tragedy, Etienne Jodelle's *Cléopâtre captive* was presented in 1552; the tragedy was performed on several occasions through the next fifty years. Morrison comments that 'Renaissance authors appear to enjoy showing helpless victims bewailing and suffering their fate, rather than active beings struggling to produce their own destiny, and being responsible for their fate'.⁴² However it is arguable that Cleopatra, whilst bewailing her situation, was consistently represented as having mastery of her destiny. Jodelle's protagonist dies bravely, 'Ayant un coeur plus que d'homme', a somewhat dubious compliment in view of Antony's mismanaged suicide.⁴³ I focus here on Jodelle amongst the French authors because his work may have influenced Daniel; Garnier's *Marc Antoine* will be considered in its English translation by the Countess of Pembroke and the later publication of Nicolas de Montreux's *Cleopatre* in 1595 postdates Daniel's tragedy.⁴⁴ Hillman claims that the inclusion in

³⁹ Anne Barton, *Essays, Mainly Shakespeare* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994, repr. 1996), p. 123.

⁴⁰ Marianne Karamanou, George Androustos, A. Wallace Hayes and Aristides Tsatsakis, 'Toxicology in the Borgias period: The mystery of Cantarella poison', *Toxicology Research and Application*, 2 (2018), 1–3.

⁴¹ Bullough, p. 228.

⁴² Mary Morrison, *The Tragedies of G-B. Giraldi Cinthio: The Transformation of Narrative Source into Stage Play* (Lewiston: Mellon, 1997), p. 12.

⁴³ 'Ayant un coeur plus que d'homme' – 'Having a heart greater than that of a man', trans. by Dorothy Bowles. Franklin M. Dickey, *Not Wisely But Too Well: Love Tragedies* (San Merino: Princeton University Press, 1957; repr. Alhambra: Braun, 1966), p. 162.

⁴⁴ Richard Hillman, *French Reflections in the Shakespearean Tragic: Three Case Studies* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012), p. 100. Hillman links Montreux's description of Cleopatra greeting the serpent 'joyusement' with Daniel's treatment of the same moment.

Jodelle's play of Seleucus is evidence of 'Daniel's indebtedness' to the French tragedy, but it would seem equally plausible that Daniel was indebted to Plutarch for content, although possibly influenced stylistically by Jodelle.⁴⁵ Jodelle's 'Acte I' uses feminine rhymes in its entirety, a style which Daniel used early in his career then later deplored and virtually eradicated from his works. A flavour of the general gloom, despondency and guilt which both Antony and Cleopatra express in the play can be seen in the opening couplet, spoken by Antony's ghost:

Dans le val tenebreux, où les nuicts eternelles
Font eternelle peine aux ombres criminelles.⁴⁶

The opening lines of Daniel's *Cleopatra* dwell more on continued existence than death, but have a similar sombre feel:

YET do I live, and yet doth breath extend
My life beyond my life? nor can my grave
Shut up my griefs, to make my end my end? (1. 1)

Structurally, Jodelle's *Cléopâtre*, as did Daniel's tragedy, followed the almost standard pattern of five acts with a chorus after each act. However, in Robert Garnier's tragedy, *Marc Antoine*, with its main protagonist Antony rather than Cleopatra a final chorus is omitted; it is to this work in its anglicised form that I now turn.

Translation from Garnier

The Countess of Pembroke, or her printer, showed a certain amount of inconsistency in the name of her play and its main character, using Antonius, Antonie and Antony. To avoid confusion I use *Antonius* for the play and Antony for the person. The translation from Garnier diverges from the original very little except that the Countess used blank verse instead of Garnier's formalistic alexandrines, a style possibly better suited to the French language. The Chorus is of Egyptians in the first three Acts, then of Roman soldiers after Act IV. In each case they are present on stage throughout the preceding acts, a stage direction which gives their moralising commentary a closer link to the on-stage events. Indeed, in the second Act they comment on each scene. *Antonius* covers the period from the

⁴⁵ Hillman, p. 103.

⁴⁶ Etienne Jodelle, *Cléopâtre Captive*, ed. by Lowell Bryce Ellis (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1946), p. 62. Trans. by Dorothy Bowles: 'In the valley of darkness, where night is eternal | There is everlasting punishment for the guilty shades' [ghosts].

battle of Actium to Antony's death in Cleopatra's arms; in the final Act she mourns him, takes her leave of her children but does not herself die, though the tears she sheds make drowning a possibility. In the closing words of the play she addresses Antony's corpse:

A thousand kisses, thousand thousand more
 Let my mouth for honors farewell give:
 That in this office weake my limmes may growe,
 Fainting on you, and fourth my soule may flowe. (sig. [O2^v])

The Countess's Cleopatra has not indulged in overblown histrionics but is faithful to Garnier's words: 'Que de mille baisers, et mille et mille encore | Pour office dernier ma bouche vous honore'; Morrison describes Cleopatra as 'the embodiment of passion and fidelity'.⁴⁷ This final representation of Cleopatra in *Antonius* is far removed from the complex and politically adept heroine of Daniel's play.

In looking for a historical basis of these 'Cleopatra' tragedies, playwrights used accounts written by men and with male subjects; Cleopatra's life had to be pieced out from her interaction with others. In Plutarch's 'Life of Julius Cæsar' she is barely mentioned; even in the main source, his life of Antony, she has little more space devoted to her than to any one of the many wars he fought. Richard Rainolde tells us of an unattractive Cleopatra, who figures briefly in his life of Octavius, part of *A chronicle of all the noble emperours of the Romaines* (London, 1571). She and Antony are labelled 'conspiratours' and classed with those whom Octavius pursued after Julius Cæsar's assassination (sig. C*i*^r). Cleopatra has a distinctly unpleasant reputation according to Rainolde: 'she sought to spoyle him [Herod] of his kingdome ... knowinge what horrible murthers she had done of majnye Princes... Herod was compelled with great treasures to pacifye the bloody purpose of Cleopatra' (sig. C*i*^v). Rainolde attributes Cleopatra's suicide to her desire to avoid being taken to Rome for Octavius's triumph, 'she thought it more honour and renowne to her to dye a queene thoughe she killed her selfe, then to goe to Rome in triumphe... a captive, a spectacle, a laughinge stocke to all y^e world' (sig. C*i*^v). Rainolde's description is of a woman, '*Antonius harlotte*', whose death was more creditable than her life (sig. C*i*^v). This 'historical' account has more freedom to enlarge on Cleopatra's crimes than the dramatists I have discussed. However, the neo-Senecan dramatists used the restrictions of time and place that their choice of format imposed upon them to enlarge upon the final phase of the lives of the doomed lovers, rather than their earlier less than estimable careers.

⁴⁷ Morrison, *Some Aspects*, p. 121

To summarise, I consider that North's translation of Plutarch was the most influential source for *Cleopatra*; it provided both the structure of the plot and many individual words and phrases. However, as a recipient of the patronage of the Countess of Pembroke, Daniel was careful that his representation of Cleopatra's character would be in accordance with her depiction, although I consider it to be more fully developed in his tragedy. I have instanced several occasions when it would appear that Daniel has taken a concept from an author such as Jodelle or Cinthio and then transformed it. Having looked at potential sources of inspiration for Daniel's *Cleopatra* it is appropriate that the next chapter contains the text of the tragedy.

Chapter Five

The Tragedie of Cleopatra

Editing *Cleopatra*

Daniel presents an editor with an unusual problem in that during his lifetime numerous versions of the majority of his works were printed with his name attached. This is a totally different situation from that faced by Shakespeare's editors who have to reconcile printed versions of his plays based on playbooks, prompt texts or players' memory – even the 'Folios' date from after his death. These editors aspire to produce an 'authentic' text whereas Daniel has provided what may be regarded as a superfluity of available copytexts. In writing of the introduction of photofacsimiles of early editions Randall McLeod states:

However Shakespeare's contemporaries looked upon his text is difficult to say; but for us to witness the vast difference between the evidence of text conveyed by photofacsimiles and what stands revealed as editorial rumours and irrelevant improvements of it, is immediately to unedit Shakespeare.¹

Following from this pronouncement, it would appear that *Cleopatra* as viewed through the resources of EEBO has the desirability of an 'unedited' version (allowing for the intervention of photography, microfilm and digitisation) but as soon as it is transcribed it loses something of its authenticity through the actions, deliberate or inadvertent, of the transcriber. A contemporary series of publications, *A Digital Anthology of Early Modern English Drama*, presents an alternative way of obtaining authenticity; a 'documentary' edition of an early modern drama 'draws on one individual copy'; the *Digital Anthology* uses the play's first edition.² In this way the editors claim that their documentary edition 'replicates the textual features of that single witness to the fullest extent possible.'³

The following 'version-based' edition of *Cleopatra* which I present contains elements of both these contemporary schools of editorial thought. It can be called a 'documentary' version in so far as it draws on 'one single copy' of the tragedy, namely the 1601 *Works* held at Blickling Hall. However, it cannot be truly described as 'unedited', in so far as it makes

¹ Randall McLeod, 'Un "Editing" Shak-speare', *SubStance*, Vol. 10/11, Vol. 10, no. 1, Issue 33-34, (1981/1982), 26-55 (p. 36).

² *A Digital Anthology of Early Modern English Drama*, <https://emed.folger.edu/research-resources/editing>, [accessed 11 November 2020].

³ *A Digital Anthology of Early Modern English Drama*.

some very minimal changes to aid modern readers, as I have done here in changing *VWorks* to *Works*. These changes are outlined on p. 146.

Textual note

The copytext is from *The works of Samuel Daniel newly augmented* (London, 1601), STC (2nd ed.) 6236, using the hard copy, held by the National Trust at Blickling Hall, which I have personally examined. Variants from earlier editions of *Cleopatra* and the most immediately succeeding ones, as listed below, are recorded separately following my annotations in Volume Two. These editions were accessed using Early English Books Online (EEBO).

Delia and Rosamond augmented. Cleopatra (London, 1594), STC (2nd ed.) 6243.4, The Huntington Library

Delia and Rosamond augmented. Cleopatra (London, 1598), STC (2nd ed.) 6243.6, British Library

The poetical essayes of Sam. Danyel (London, 1599), STC (2nd ed.) 6261, Harvard University Library

The works of Samuel Daniel newly augmented (London, 1601), STC (2nd ed.) 6236, British Library

The works of Samuel Daniel newly augmented (London, 1602), STC (2nd ed.) 6237, The Huntington Library

Certaine small poems lately printed with the tragedie of Philotas (London, 1605), STC (2nd ed.) 6239, British Library

The British Library 1601 and 1602 copies were also examined in person. My decision to use the 1601 version is based on two main points; the primary one is that it was this volume that Daniel chose to be printed on ‘large’ paper for presentation to patrons, both current and potential. He was, therefore, confident that the works it contained were of a literary standard that would enhance his reputation. Indeed, a few years later, he presented the Bodleian Library with a copy of *The works* bound with the *Panegyrike* (which had been composed on the accession of James VI/I in 1603) and an individually printed dedication (see p. 39). Presentation to a library rather than to an individual could be viewed as an attempt to preserve these works for posterity. My secondary reason is based on Daniel’s propensity to make changes to his texts; by tracking the alterations in *Cleopatra* from its first publication in 1594 through to 1605 it is possible to see that the original is followed fairly closely through to 1601/2 with no structural changes. Acts, scenes, speakers are as first set out; changes in individual words, phrases and a few short passages including those in the 1605 edition are

noted in the Variants. The 1607 version of *Cleopatra* is a very different play as discussed earlier (see p. 105-8) and although it was used for the 1611 edition, the last reprint of *Cleopatra* in Daniel's lifetime, it was not chosen by Simon Waterson and John Daniel for their posthumous collection of Daniel's works published in 1623.⁴

The library at Blickling Hall

A practical reason for using the Blickling Hall copy of *The works* (BH) was that of access; I am grateful to the librarian, John Gandy, at Blickling Hall and to the National Trust for permission to photograph each page of *Cleopatra* and providing facilities for me to do so, thus enabling me to prepare a text for this thesis. It is thought that this volume arrived at Blickling Hall in the 1740s when a vast collection of books was left to the Hobart family, owners of the Blickling estate, by a cousin, Sir Richard Ellys. However, the National Trust catalogue for Blickling Hall has little to say on the provenance of Daniel's *Works*:

'Provenance : manuscript former shelfmark on inside front cover: "D.4.25."' ⁵ By contrast, the only other of Daniel's works held there, a 1650 printing of *The collection of the history of England*, has a fuller provenance: 'Uilenbroek library copy (lot 1113 in sale catalogue)' ⁶ The sale catalogue referred to is one prepared in 1729 for an auction of part of the library of the book collector Gosuin Uilenbroek. ⁷ The 1729 catalogue is arranged by categories; the *History* is grouped in lot 1113 with Trussel's *Continuation* of Daniel's *History*; Trussel's volume is not listed as held at Blickling Hall. The *History* is the only one of Daniel's volumes to figure in the Uilenbroek catalogue. Whether it was bought in 1729 or at a later auction held in 1741 after the death of Uilenbroek is not clear, but Sir Richard Ellys is reported in November 1741 to have had 'success at the Uilenbroek auction'. ⁸ The *Works* is shelved with other of Ellys's books, but since the library at Blickling has undergone various re-arrangements over the years this may not be proof of its origin. ⁹ Some of Ellys's volumes have clear indications of

⁴ It would appear that the text of *Cleopatra* used in 1623 is that of 1601/2. Norland errs in claiming it as the 1599 version. Howard B. Norland, *Neoclassical Tragedy in Elizabethan England* (Newark, NJ: University of Delaware Press, 2009), p. 217.

⁵ National Trust, online catalogue, item 3217227, www.nationaltrustcollections.org.uk, [accessed 24 November 2020].

⁶ National Trust, online catalogue, item 3012236., www.nationaltrustcollections.org.uk, [accessed 24 November 2020].

⁷ *Bibliotheca Uilenbroukiana, Sive Catalogus Librorum*, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek digital, [accessed via EROMM 25 November, 2020].

⁸ Michael Honeybone and Yvonne Lewis, 'Ellys, Sir Richard, third baronet. (1682-1742)', *ODNB*, article 8729, [accessed 11 November 2020].

⁹ S. West, 'The Development of Libraries in Norfolk Country Houses, 1660-1830' (doctoral thesis, University of East Anglia, 2000).

his ownership: ‘on front fly leaf “M” [i.e. catalogue code of John Mitchell (ca 1685-1751) librarian to Sir Richard Ellys]’.¹⁰ Ellys’s books are predominately of a serious nature including religious writings and classical histories so Daniel’s *Works* seems a little out of place amongst them.¹¹ Possibly, like Bodley, Ellys was willing to include it in his collection either for Daniel’s verse history, the *Civile wars* or indeed for the quality of the writing (see p. 39-40).

An alternative suggestion is that Daniel’s volume was already at Blickling Hall when Ellys’s library arrived. Susie West has established that various playtexts were in the possession of the Hobart family in the late seventeenth century. A 1699 inventory lists:

Virgil’s *Æneid* by Mr. Dryden; Shakespears Comedys & Tragedys.
 Beaumonts last remains, five playes by Sir Robert Howard, The Bible in Quarto, Justinian against the Vandalls in French, Ben Johnson’s play with several loose songs, plays & pamphlets.¹²

Although this list does not specify anything by Daniel there is a clear indication that the Hobarts purchased contemporary publications which could have included Daniel’s *Works* which would not have been out of place in this company.

Comparing 1601 and 1602 editions

The paper quality and size of BH and both copies of the 1602 British Library volumes (BL2) appear very much the same, whereas the British Library 1601 volume (BL1) is on larger paper of a heavier quality although the dimensions of the printed areas are the same. It would appear that BL1 is a ‘large’ paper copy; these ‘large’ paper copies use the type as set for standard paper but when presented as a volume form a larger book with noticeably wider margins. Binding and rebinding over the years will have altered paper size, but there are still significant differences to note. The pages of BH measure 25 x 15.5 cm. with margins around the print area of approximately 1.5cm., making the print area 22 x 12 cm.: BL1 has the same print area but the outer side margins are approximately 2.4 cm, as are the upper and lower margins.¹³ The collation formats are identical: ‘A2 B-O6 P-T4; A-N6; A-B6 C4; 2 A5V’;

¹⁰ National Trust, online catalogue, item 3060354, www.nationaltrustcollections.org.uk, [accessed 26 November 2020].

¹¹ Honeybone, ‘Ellys’.

¹² Susie West, ‘An overlooked inventory for Blickling Hall, Norfolk’, *Library History*, 19(2), 143-5, (p.144). www.oro.open.ac.uk, [accessed 25 November 2020].

¹³ Measurements and collation details of BH supplied by the librarian.

according to the ESTC the printer of '1st A and 2nd A-N' was Simmes: these signatures comprise *Musophilus*, *Octavia*, *Cleopatra* and *Rosalind*, providing additional evidence that Daniel intended that they should be viewed sequentially.

Presentation copies would probably have individually printed dedications and good quality binding. BL1 retains no presentation page of its own, but has manuscript notations on the title page placing it in the ownership of 'Timothy Lang[l]y / avrill [] 1696' and 'Wm. Thompson / Queen's Coll. Oxon. 1745.' Bound in with BL1 is a handwritten letter on headed stationery, 'PARK LODGE.| WIMBLEDON.| S.W.], and signed 'W. W. G.' [W. W. Greg]. The letter explains that in the Bodleian copy leaf A2, containing dedicatory verses for the *Civil Wars*, is replaced by a double leaf, a2, containing verses dedicating the copy to the Bodleian Library. Typed copies of this poem are bound behind the letter and all are placed before the printed pages, as is a portrait of Daniel, the one first printed with his 1609 *Civil Wars* (see p. 45). Two other copies of the 1601 *Works* are held in libraries in this country, at Dulwich College and the Bodleian Library, Oxford; these I have not examined.

My comparison of copies of *The works* held at the British Library, one dated 1601 (BL1) and two dated 1602 (BL2), has identified differences which place the Blickling Hall (BH) copy as arguably the earliest of the four. Anomalies in printing relating to *Cleopatra* between BH, BL1 and BL2 are such that it is possible that the print run sequence was as follows:

- type set up, including a title page dated 1601, one or more copies printed on standard paper one of which becomes BH and is possibly an unique survival, printing checked.
- 1. 1558 'tel' replaced by 'tell', probably a stop press change.
- incorrect signature 'Dijj' in large typeface on an otherwise blank page between the 'Argument' and 'Actors' of *Cleopatra* replaced by the correct signature 'Fijj', probably a stop press change.
- more copies run off; the surplus forms part of the 1602 impression, two copies of which are held by the British Library, BL2
- the running title on recto page sig. H1^r 'O CLEOPATRA' corrected to 'OF CLEOPATRA', the 'F' being in a different font and slightly misaligned, again possibly a stop press change

- 'large paper' gift /presentation copies printed
- more 1602 copies printed, regular paper. The 1602 version available on EEBO, from The Huntington Library (STC (2nd ed.) 6237), shows the first two stop press corrections.

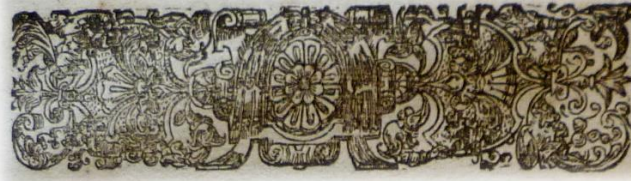
Transcription and variants

Substantives and accidentals are unchanged, with the exceptions that I have silently changed 'I' to 's' and normalised the usages of 'i', 'j', 'u', 'v', and 'w'. Italicisation and capitalisation are unchanged. Page signatures are noted by [] placed in the left margin adjacent to the first line of each page; the first word is preceded by ^l. [[]] denotes a signature not given on recto pages in the copytext. Majuscules are replaced by standard capitals and noted in the annotations section. Abbreviations are retained. Catchwords are not shown as this is an edition of the text not a facsimile copy.

Line numbering is continuous through the play, with separate sequences for the dedicatory verses (Dl) and the Argument (Al). Act divisions are as in the play; the inconsistent scene division marking is retained. Exits, entrances and actor names are as given.

Only verbal variants and changes in italicisation are noted; variations in spelling, punctuation indentation and paragraphing are thus ignored. I have taken an editorial decision that 'misprints' should go uncorrected in the text but be noted in the annotations or variants as appropriate.

Note: The ornaments shown on the title page of *Cleopatra* and preceding the Argument are reproduced by kind permission of the National Trust.



THE
TRAGEDIAE

of Cleopatra

Ætas prima canat veneres postrema tumultus.

[[Ev^v]]

[ornament]

[[Evi^r]]

To the right Honourable, the

Lady Mary, Countesse of

P E M B R O O K E

LOe heere the labour which she did impose,
 Whose influence did predominate my Muse: 5
 The starre of wonder my desires first chose
 To guide their travels in the course I use:
 She, whose cleere brightnesse had the powre t'infuse
 Strength to my thoghts, from whence these motions came
 Call'd up my spirits from out their low repose, 10
 To sing of State, and tragicke notes to frame.

I, who (contented with an humble song,)
 Made musique to my selfe that pleasd me best,
 And onelie told of DELIA, and her wrong,
 And praisd her eyes, and plained mine owne unrest: 15
 (A text from whence my Muse had not digrest)
 Madam, had not thy well grac'd *Antony*,
 (Who all alone, having remained long,)
 Requir'd his *Cleopatras* company.

Who if she heere do so appeere in Act, 20
 That he can scarce discerne her for his Queene,
 Finding how much she of her selfe hath lackt,
 And miss'd that grace wherein she should be seene,
 Her worth obscur'd, her spirit embased cleene,
 Yet lightning thou by thy sweete cheerefulnes, 25
 My darke defects, which from her powres detract,

He may her gesse by some resemblances.

[[Evi^v]]

'And I hereafter in another kinde,
 More suting to the nature of my vaine,
 May peradventure raise my humble minde 30
 To other musique in this higher straine;
 Since I perceive the world and thou dost daigne
 To countenance my Song, and cherish me,
 I must so worke Posteritie may finde,
 My love to verse, my gratitude to thee. 35

Now when so many Pennes (like Speares) are charg'd,
 To chase away this tyrant of the North;
Grosse Barbarisme, whose powre grown far inlarg'd,
 Was lately by thy valiant brothers worth
 First found, encountred, and provoked forth: 40
 Whose onset made the rest audacious,
 Whereby they likewise have so well discharg'd
 Upon that hideous beast incroching thus.

And now must I with that poore strength I have,
 Resist so foule a foe in what I may: 45
 And arme against Oblivion and the Grave,
 That else in darkenesse carries all away,
 And makes of all an uninersall pray;
 So that if by my Penne procure I shall
 But to defend me, and my name to save, 50
 Then though I die, I cannot yet die all;

But still the better part of me will live,
 And in that part will live thy reverent name,
 Although thy selfe dost farre more glory give

Unto thy selfe, then I can by the same. 55

Who dost with thine owne hand a Bulwarke frame
 Against these monsters, (enemies of honour)
 Which evermore shall so defend thy Fame,
 As Time, or they shall never prey upon her.

[F] 'Those Hymnes which thou dost consecrate to heaven, 60

Which Israels Singer to his God did frame:
 Unto thy voice Eternitie hath given,
 And makes thee deere to him from whence they came,
 In them must rest thy venerable name,
 So long as Sions God remaineth honoured; 65
 And till confusion hath all zeale bereaven,
 And murdered Faith, and Temples ruined.

By this (great Ladie) thou must then be knowne,
 When *Wilton* lies low levell'd with the ground:
 And this is that which thou maist call thine owne, 70
 Which sacrilegious Time cannot confound;
 Heere thou surviv'st thy selfe, heere thou art found
 Of late succeeding ages, fresh in fame:
 This monument cannot be overthrowne,
 Where, in eternall Brasse remaines thy Name. 75

O that the Ocean did not bound our stile
 Within these strict and narrow limites so:
 But that the melodie of our sweete Ile,
 Might now be heard to *Tyber*, *Arne*, and *Po*:
 That they might know how far Thames doth out-go 80
 The Musike of declined Italie:
 And listning to our songs another while,

Might learne of thee their notes to purifie.

O why may not some after-comming hand

Unlocke these limites, open our confines, 85

And break asunder this imprisoning band,

T'inlarge our spirits, and publish our desseignes;

Planting our roses on the *Apenines*?

And to teach *Rheyne*, to *Loyre*, and *Rhodanus*,

Our accents, and the wonders of our Land, 90

That they might all admire and honour us.

[F*]

Wherby great *Sydney* and our *Spencer* might,

With those *Po*-singers being equalled,

Enchant the world with such a sweete delight,

That their eternall Songs (for ever read) 95

May shew what great *Elizaes* raigne hath bred.

What musike in the kingdome of her peace

Hath now beene made to her, and by her might,

Whereby her glorious fame shall never cease.

But if that fortune doth denie us this, 100

Then *Neptune*, locke up with the Ocean key

This treasure to our selves, and let them misse

Of so sweet riches: as unworthie they

To taste the great delights that we injoy.

And let our harmonie so pleasing growne, 105

Content our selves, whose errour ever is

Strange notes to like, and disesteeme our owne.

But, whither do my vowes transport me now,

Without the compasse of my course injoynd?

Alas, what honour can a voyce so low 110

As this of mine, expect hereby to find?
But, (Madam,) this doth animate my mind,
That yet I shal be read among the rest,
And though I do not to perfection grow,
Yet something shall I be, though not the best.

115

[Fii']



After the death of *Antonius*, *Cleopatra*, (living still in the Monument shee had caused to be built,) could not, by any means be drawne foorth, although *Octavius Cæsar* very earnestly labored it: and sent *Proculeius*, to use al dilligence to bring hir unto him: for that he thought it would bee a great Ornament to his Triumphes, to get her alive to Rome. But never would she put her selfe into the hands of *Proculeius*, although on a time hee founde the meanes, (by a window that was at the toppe of the Monument,) to come downe unto her: where hee perswaded her (all hee might) to yeelde her selfe to *Cæsars* mercie. Which shee, (to be ridde of him,) cunningly seemed to grant unto. After that, *Octavius* in person went to visite her, to whom she excused her offence, laying all the fault upon the greatnes, and feare she had of *Antonius*, and withall, seemed very tractable, and willing to be disposed of by him.

[Fii'v]

Whereupon *Octavius*, (thinking himself sure) resolved presently to send her away to Rome. Whereof, *Dolabella*, a favourite of *Cæsars*, (and one that was growne in^lto some good liking of her) having certified her, shee makes her humble petition to *Cæsar*, that he would suffer her to sacrifice to the ghost of *Antonius*: which being granted her, she was brought unto his sepulchre, where, after her rites performed, she returned to the Monument, and there dined with great magnificence. And in dinner time, came there one in the habite of a countryman, with a basket of Figs unto her, who (unsuspected) was suffered to carry them in. And in that Basket (among the Figges) were conveyed the Aspicks wherewith she did herselfe to death. Dinner being ended, she dispatched Letters to *Cæsar*, containing great lamentations: with an earnest supplication, that shee might be intombed with *Antonius*. Whereupon *Cæsar* knowing what she intended, sent presently with all speede, Messengers to have prevented her death, which notwithstanding, before they came, was dispatched.

Cæsario, her sonne, which she had by *Julius Cæsar* (conveyed before unto India, out of the danger of the warres) was about the same time of her death, murdered at Rhodes: trained thither by the falshoode of his Tutor, corrupted by *Cæsar*. And so, hereby came the race of the *Ptolomies* to be wholly extinct, and the flourishing rich kingdome of Egypt utterly overthrowne and subdued.

Dij

[[Fiii^v]]

[Ornament]

The Scène supposed *Alexandria*.

THE ACTORS

Cleopatra. Octavius Cæsar.

Proculeius. Dolabella.

Titius, servant to Dolabella.

| | | |
|---------------|---|-------------------|
| Arius, | } | two Philosophers. |
| Philostratus, | | |

Seleucus, secretarie to Cleopatra.

Rodon, Tutor to Cæsario.

Nuntius.

The Chorus, all Egyptians.

[Fiiii']

[ornament]

T H E T R A G E D I E
of Cleopatra

ACTUS PRIMUS

Cleopatra.

YET do I live, and yet doth breath extend
 My life beyond my life? nor can my grave
 Shut up my griefes, to make my end my end?
 Will yet confusion have more then I have?
 Is th'honor, wonder, glory, pompe, and all 5
 Of *Cleopatra* dead, and she not dead?
 Have I out-liv'd my selfe, and seene the fall
 Of all upon me, and not ruined?
 Can yet these endure the ghastly looke
 Of Desolations darke and ougly face, 10
 Wont but on Fortunes fairest side to looke,
 Where nought but was applause, but smiles and grace?
 Whiles on his shoulders all my rest relide
 On whom the burthen of m'ambition lay,
 My *Atlas*, and supporter of my pride 15
 That did the world of all my glory sway,
 Who now throwne downe, disgrac'd, confounded lies
 Crusht with the weight of Shame and Infamie,
 Following th'unlucky party of mine eies,
 The traines of lust and imbecilitie, 20

Whereby my dissolution is become
 The grave of Egypt, and the wracke of all;
 My unforeseeing weakenesse must intoome
 My Countries fame and glory with my fall.

[[Fiiii^v]] 'Now who would thinke that I were she who late 25
 With all the ornaments on earth inrich'd,
 Environ'd with delights, compast with state,
 Glittering in pomp that harts and eies bewitch'd;
 Should thus distrest, cast downe from off that heighth
 Levll'd with low disgrac'd calamitie, 30
 Under the weight of such affliction sigh,
 Reduc'd unto th'extreamest miserie?
 Am I the woman whose inventive pride,
 Adorn'd like *Isis*, scornd mortalitie?
 Is't I would have my frailetie so belide, 35
 That flattery could perswade I was not I?
 Well, now I see, they but delude that praise us,
 Greatnesse is mockt, prosperitie betrayes us.
 And we are but our selves, although this cloude
 Of interposed smoakes make us seeme more: 40
 These spreading parts of pomp wherof w'are proud,
 Are not our parts, but parts of others store:
 Witnessse these gallant fortune-following traines,
 These Summer Swallowes of felicitie
 Gone with the heate, of all, see what remains, 45
 This monument, two maides, and wretched I.
 And I, t'adorne their triumphs am reserv'd
 A captive, kept to honour others spoiles,
 Whom *Cæsar* labors so to have preserv'd,
 And seekes to entertaine my life with wiles. 50
 But *Cæsar*, it is more then thou canst do,

Promise, flatter, threaten extreamitie,
 Imploy thy wits and all thy force thereto,
 I have both hands, and will, and I can die.
 Though thou, of both my country and my crowne, 55
 Of powre, of meanes and all dost quite bereave me;
 Though thou hast wholly Egypt made thine owne,
 Yet hast thou left me that which will deceive thee.

[[Fv']] 'That courage with my bloud and birth innated,
 Admir'd of all the earth as thou art now, 60
 Can never be so abjectly abated
 To be thy slave that rul'd as good as thou.
 Thinke *Cæsar*, I that liv'd and raign'd a Queene,
 Doe scorne to buy my life at such a rate,
 That I should underneath my selfe be seene, 65
 Basely induring to survive my state:
 That Rome should see my scepter-bearing hands
 Behind me bound, and glory in my teares,
 That I should passe whereas *Octavia* stands,
 To view my miserie that purchas'd hers. 70
 No, I disdaine that head which wore a crowne,
 Should stoope to take up that which others give;
 I must not be, unlesse I be mine owne.
 Tis sweete to die when we are forc'd to live,
 Nor had I staide behind my selfe this space, 75
 Nor paid such int'rest for this borrow'd breath,
 But that hereby I seeke to purchase grace
 For my distressed seede after my death.
 It's that which doth my deerest bloud controule,
 That's it alas detaines me from my tombe, 80
 Whiles Nature brings to contradict my soule
 The argument of mine unhappy wombe.

You lucklesse issue of an wofull mother,
 The wretched pledges of a wanton bed,
 You Kings design'd, must subjects live to other; 85
 Or else, I feare, scarce live, when I am dead.
 It is for you I temporize with *Cæsar*,
 And stay this while to mediate your safetie:
 For you I faine content, and soothe his pleasure,
 Calamitie herein hath made me craftie. 90
 But this is but to trie what may be done,
 For come what will, this stands, I must die free,
 [[Fv']] 'And die my selfe uncaptiv'd, and unwonne.
 Bloud, Children, Nature, all must pardon me.
 My soule yeeldes Honor up the victory, 95
 And I must be a Queene, forget a mother,
 Though mother would I be, were I not I;
 And Queene would not be now, could I be other.
 But what know I if th'heavens have decreed,
 And that the sinnes of Egypt have deserv'd 100
 The *Ptolomies* should faile and none succeed,
 And that my weakenes was thereto reserv'd,
 That I should bring confusion to my state,
 And fill the measure of iniquitie,
 Luxuriousnesse in me should raise the rate 105
 Of loose and ill-dispens'd libertie.
 If it be so, then what neede these delaies?
 Since I was made the meanes of miserie:
 Why should I strive but to make death my praise,
 That had my life but for my infamie? 110
 And let me write in letters of my bloud
 A fit memoriall for the times to come,
 To be example to such Princes good

As please themselves, and care not what become.

And *Antony*, because the world takes note 115

That my defects have onely ruin'd thee:

And my ambitious practises are thought

The motive and the cause of all to be:

Though God thou know'st, how just this staine is laide

Upon my soule, whom ill successe makes ill: 120

Yet since condemn'd misfortune hath no aide

Against proud lucke that argues what it will,

I have no meanes to undeceive their mindes,

But to bring in the witnessse of my bloud,

To testifie the faith and love that bindes 125

My equall shame, to fall with whom I stood.

[[Fvi']] 'Defects I grant I had, but this was worst,

That being the first to fall I dy'd not first.

Though I perhaps could lighten mine own side

With some excuse of my constrained case 130

Drawn down with powre: but that were to devide

My shame: to stand alone in my disgrace.

To cleere me so, would shew m'affections naught,

And make th'excuse more hainous then the fault.

Since if I should our errours disunite, 135

I should confound afflictions onely rest,

That from sterne death even steales a sad delight

To die with friends or with the like distrest;

And since we tooke of either such firme hold

In th'overwhelming seas of fortune cast, 140

What powre should be of powre to reunfold

The armes of our affections lockt so fast,

For grapling in the ocean of our pride,

We suncke each others greatnesse both together;

And both made shipwracke of our fame beside, 145
 Both wrought a like destruction unto either:
 And therefore I am bound to sacrifice
 To death and thee, the life that doth reprove me:
 Our like distresse I feele doth simpathize,
 And euen affliction makes me truly love thee. 150
 Which *Antony*, I must confesse my fault
 I never did sincerely untill now:
 Now I protest I do, now am I taught
 In death to love, in life that knew not how.
 For whilst my glory in her greatnesse stode, 155
 And that I saw my state, and knew my beautie;
 Saw how the world admir'd me, how they woo'd,
 I then thought all men must love me of duetie;
 And I love none: for my lascivious Court,
 Fertile in ever fresh and new-choise pleasure, 160
 [[Fvi]] ¹Affoorded me so bountifull disport,
 That I to stay on Love had never leisure:
 My vagabond desires no limites found,
 For lust is endlesse, pleasure hath no bound.
 Thou comming from the strictnesse of thy Citty, 165
 And never this loose pomp of monarchs learnest,
 Inur'd to warres, in womens wiles unwitty,
 Whilst others faind, thou fell'st to love in earnest;
 Not knowing how we like them best that hover,
 And make least reckning of a doting lover. 170
 And yet thou cam'st but in my beauties waine,
 When new appeering wrinckles of declining
 Wrought with the hand of yeeres, seem'd to detaine
 My graces light, as now but dimly shining
 Even in the confines of mine age, when I 175

Failing of what I was, and was but thus;
 When such as we do deeme in jealousie
 That men love for themselves, and not for us,
 Then, and but thus, thou didst love most sincerely
 O *Antony*, that best deserv'st it better, 180
 This Autumne of my beauty bought so dearely,
 For which in more then death, I stand thy debter,
 Which I will pay thee with so true a minde,
 (Casting up all these deepe accompts of mine)
 That both our soules, and all the world shall find 185
 All recknings cleer'd, betwixt my love and thine.

But to the end I may prevent prowde *Cæsar*,
 Who doth so eagerly my life importune,
 I must prevaile me of this little leasure,
 Seeming to sute my minde unto my fortune; 190
 Thereby with more convenience to provide
 For what my death and honor best shall fit:
 An yeelding base content must wary hide
 My last dissigne till I accomplish it,
 [G'] 'That hereby yet the world shall see that I, 195
 Although unwise to live, had wit to die.

Exit.

CHORUS

BEhold what furies stil
 Torment their tortur'd brest, 200
 Who by their doing ill,
 Have wrought the worlds unrest.
 Which when being most distrest,
 Yet more to vexe their sprite,

The hideous face of sinne, 205
 (In formes they must detest)
 Stands ever in their sight.
 Their conscience still within
 Th'eternall larum is
 That ever-barking dog that calls upon their misse. 210

No meanes at all to hide
 Man from himselfe can finde:
 No way to start aside
 Out from the hell of minde.
 But in himself confin'd, 215
 He still sees sinne before:
 And winged-footed paine,
 That swiftly comes behinde,
 The which is ever-more,
 The sure and certaine gaine 220
 Impietie doth get,
 And wanton loose respect, that doth it selfe forget.

[[Gi*]]

¹And *Cleopatra* now,
 Well sees the dangerous way
 She tooke, and car'd not how, 225
 Which led her to decay.

And likewise makes us pay

For her disordred lust,
 The int'rest of our blood:
 Or live a servile pray, 230
 Under a hand unjust,
 As others shall thinke good.
 This hath her riot wonne:
 And thus she hath her state, herselfe and us undonnde.

Now every mouth can tell, 235
 What close was muttered:
 How that she did not well,
 To take the course she did.

For now is nothing hid,
 Of what feare did restraine. 240
 No secret closely done,
 But now is uttered.
 The text is made most plaine
 That flattry glos'd upon,
 The bed of sinne reveal'd, 245
 And all the luxurie that shame would have conceal'd.

The scene is broken downe,
 And all uncov'red lyes,
 The purple actors knowne
 Scarce men, whom men despise. 250

The complots of the wise,
 Prove imperfections smoake:
 And all what wonder gave
 To pleasure-gazing eyes,
 [Gii'] 'Lyes scattred, dasht, all broke. 255
 Thus much beguiled have
 Poore unconsiderate wights,

But through a grate at th'entry of the place
 Standing to treat, I labour'd to advise her,
 To come to *Cæsar*, and to sue for grace.
 She said, she crav'd not life, but leave to die, 290
 Yet for her children, pray'd they might inherite,
 That *Cæsar* would vouchsafe (in clemencie)
 To pittie them, though she deserv'd no merite.
 So leaving her for then; and since of late,
 With *Gallus* sent to trie an other time, 295
 The whilst he entertaines her at the grate,
 I found the meanes up to the Tombe to clime.
 Where, in descending in the closest wise,
 And silent manner as I could contrive:
 Her woman me descri'd, and out she cries, 300
 Poore *Cleopatra*, thou art tane alive.
 With that the Queene raught from her side her knife,
 And even in act to stab her martred brest,
 I stept with speede, and held, and sav'd her life,
 And forth her trembling hand the blade did wrest. 305
 Ah *Cleopatra*, why shouldst thou, (said I)
 Both injurie thy selfe and *Cæsar* so?
 Barre him the honour of his victorie,
 Who ever deales most mildly with his foe?
 Live, and relie on him, whose mercy will 310
 To thy submission alwayes readie be.
 With that (as all amaz'd) she held her still,
 Twixt majestie confuz'd and miserie.
 Her proud griev'd eyes, held sorow and disdaine,
 State and distresse warring within her soule: 315
 Dying ambition dispossesst her raigne,
 So base affliction seemed to controule.

'Like as a burning Lampe, whose liquor spent
 With intermitted flames, when dead you deeme it,
 Sends forth a dying flash, as discontent, 320
 That so the matter failes that should redeeme it:
 So she (in spight) to see her low-brought state,
 When all her hopes were now consum'd to nought)
 Scornes yet to make an abject league with Fate,
 Or once descend into a servile thought. 325
 Th'imperious tongue unused to beseech,
 Authoritie confounds with prayers, so
 Words of command conjoyn'd with humble speech,
 Shew'd she would live, yet scorn'd to pray her foe.
 Ah, what hath *Cæsar* heere to do, said she, 330
 In confines of the dead in darknesse lying?
 Will he not grant our sepulchres be free,
 But violate the priviledge of dying?
 What, must he stretch forth his ambitious hand
 Into the right of Death, and force us heere? 335
 Hath Miserie no covert where to stand
 Free from the storme of Pride, is't safe no where?
 Cannot my land, my golde, my crowne suffise,
 And all what I held deere, to him made common,
 But that he must in this sort tyrannize, 340
 Th'afflicted body of an wofull woman?
 Tell him, my frailetie, and the gods have given
 Sufficient glorie, could he be content:
 And let him now with his desires make even,
 And leave me to this horror, to lament. 345
 Now he hath taken all away from mee,
 What must he take me from my selfe by force?
 Ah, let him yet (in mercie) leave me free
 The kingdome of this poore distressed corse.

No other crowne I seeke, no other good. 350
 Yet wish that *Cæsar* would vouchsafe this grace,
 [[Giii^v]] 'To favour the poore of-spring of my bloud.
 Confused issue, yet of Roman race.
 If bloud and name be linckes of love in Princes,
 Not spurres of hate; my poore *Cæsario* may 355
 Finde favour notwithstanding mine offences,
 And *Cæsars* bloud, may *Cæsars* raging stay.
 But if that with the torrent of my fall,
 All must be rapt with furious violence,
 And no respect, nor no regard at all, 360
 Can aught with nature or with bloud dispence:
 Then be it so, if needes it must be so.
 There staies and shrinckes in horror of her state:
 When I beganne to mittigate her woe,
 And thy great mercies unto her relate; 365
 Wishing her not despaire, but rather come
 And sue for grace, and shake off all vaine feares:
 No doubt she should obtaine as gentle doome
 As she desir'd, both for her selfe and hers.
 And so with much adoe, (well pacifide 370
 Seeming to be) she shew'd content to live,
 Saying she was resolv'd thy doome t'abide,
 And to accept what favour thou would'st give,
 And herewithall, crav'd also that shee might
 Performe her last rites to her lost belov'd. 375
 To sacrifice to him that wrought her plight:
 And that she might not be by force remov'd.
 I granting from thy part this her request,
 Left her for then, seeming in better rest.
Cæs. But dost thou thinke she will remaine so still? 380
Pro. I thinke, and do assure my selfe she will.

Cæs. Ah, private men sound not the harts of Princes,
Whose actions oft beare contrarie pretences.

Pro. Why tis her safetie to come yeelde to thee.

Cæs. But tis more honour for her to die free. 385

[Giiii] *Pro.* She may thereby procure her childrens good.

Cæs. Princes respect their honour more then blood.

Pro. Can Princes powre dispence with nature than?

Cæs. To be a prince, is more then be a man.

Pro. There's none but have in time perswaded beene. 390

Cæs. And so might she too, were she not a Queene.

Pro. Divers respects will force her be reclaim'd.

Cæs. Princes (like Lions) never will be tam'd.

A private man may yeelde and care not how,
But greater hearts will breake before they bow. 395

And sure I thinke sh'will never condescend,
To live to grace our spoiles with her disgrace:

But yet let still a wary troupe attend,
To guard her person, and to watch the place.

And looke that none with her come to confer: 400

Shortly my selfe will go to visite her.

C H O R U S

OPINION, how doost thou molest

Th'affected minde of restlesse man?

Who following thee never can,

Nor ever shall attaine to rest, 405

For getting what thou saist is best,

Yet loe, that best he finds farre wide

Of what thou promisedst before:

For in the same he lookt for more,

Which proves but small when once tis tride 410

Then something else thou find'st beside,

To draw him still from thought to thought:

When in the end all prooves but nought.

Farther from rest he finds him than,

Then at the first when he began. 415

[[Giiii^v]] 'O malecontent seducing guest,

Contriver of our greatest woes:

Which borne of winde, and fed with showes,

Doost nurse thy selfe in thine unrest.

Judging ungotten things the best, 420

Or what thou in conceit design'st,

And all things in the world dost deeme,

Not as they are, but as they seeme:

Which shews, their state thou ill defin'st:

And liv'st to come, in present pin'st. 425

For what thou hast, thou still dost lacke:

O mindes tormentor, bodies wracke,

Vaine promiser of that sweete rest,

Which never any yet possest.

If we unto ambition tend, 430

Then doost thou drawe our weakenesse on,

With vaine imagination

Of that which never hath an end.

Or if that lust we apprehend,

How doth that pleasant plague infest? 435

O what strange formes of luxurie,

Thou strait dost cast t'intice us by?
 And tell'st us that is ever best,

Which we have never yet possest.

And that more pleasure rests beside, 440
 In something that we have not tride,
 And when the same likewise is had,
 Then all is one, and all is bad.

This *Antony* can say is true,

And *Cleopatra* knowes tis so, 445
 By th'experience of their woe.
 She can say, she never knew

[[Gv']] 'But that lust found pleasures new,

And was never satisfide:
 He can say by prooffe of toile, 450
 Ambition is a Vulture vile,
 That feeds upon the hart of pride:

And findes no rest when all is tride.

For worlds cannot confine the one,
 Th'other, lists and bounds hath none. 455
 And both subvert the minde, the state,
 Procure destruction, envie, hate.

And now when all this is prov'd vaine,

Yet *Opinion* leaves not heere,
 But sticks to *Cleopatra* neere, 460
 Perswading now, how she shall gaine

Honour by death, and fame attaine.

And what a shame it were to live,
 Her kingdome lost, her Lover dead:
 And so with this perswasion led, 465
 Dispaire doth such a courage give,

That nought else can her minde relieve,
 Nor yet divert her from that thought:
 To this conclusion all is brought.
 This is that rest this vaine world lends, 470
 To end in death that all things ends.

Actus tertius.

Philostratus. *Arius.*

HOw deeply *Arius* am I bound to thee,
 That sav'dst from death this wretched life of mine:
 Obtaining *Caesars* gentle grace for mee,
 [[GV']] 'When I of all helps else dispaired but thine? 475
 Although I see in such a wofull state,
 Life is not that which should be much desir'd:
 Sith all our glories come to end their date,
 Our Countries honour and our own expir'd
 Now that the hand of wrath hath over-gone us, 480
 Living (as'twere) in th'armes of our dead mother,
 With blood under our feet, ruine upon us,
 And in a Land most wretched of all other,
 When yet we reckon life our deerest good.
 And so we live, we care not how we live: 485
 So deepe we feele impressed in our blood,
 That touch which Nature with our breath did give.
 And yet what blasts of words hath Learning found,
 To blow against the feare of death and dying?
 What comforts unsicke eloquence can sound, 490
 And yet all failes us in the point of trying.
 For whilst we reason with the breath of safety,

Without the compasse of destruction living:
 What precepts shew we then, what courage lofty
 In taxing others feares in counsell giving? 495
 When all this ayre of sweet-contrived wordes
 Proves but weake armour to defend the hart.
 For when this life, pale Feare and Terrour boords,
 Where are our precepts then, where is our arte?
 O who is he that from himselfe can turne, 500
 That beares about the body of a man?
 Who doth not toile and labour to adjorne
 The day of death, by any meanes he can?
 All this I speake to th'end my selfe t'excuse,
 For my base begging of a servile breath, 505
 Wherein I grant my selfe much to abuse,
 So shamefully to seeke t'avoide my death.
 Arius. Philostratus, that selfe same care to live,
 [[Gvi]] 'Possesseth all alike, and grieve not then
 Nature doth us no more then others give: 510
 Though we speake more then men, we are but men.
 And yet (in truth) these miseries to see,
 Wherein we stand in most extreame distresse:
 Might to our selves sufficient motives be
 To loathe this life, and weigh our death the lesse: 515
 For never any age hath better taught,
 What feeble footing pride and greatnesse hath.
 How'improvident prosperitie is caught,
 And cleane confounded in the day of wrath.
 See how dismaid Confusion keepes those streetes, 520
 That nought but mirth and musique late resounded,
 How nothing with our eie but horror meetes,

Our state, our wealth, our pride and all confounded.
 Yet what weake sight did not discern from far
 This black-arising tempest, all confounding? 525
 Who did not see we should be what we are,
 When pride and ryot grew to such abounding.
 When dissolute impietie possest
 Th'unrespective mindes of prince, and people:
 When insolent Security found rest 530
 In wanton thoughts, with lust and ease made feeble.
 Then when unwary Peace with fat-fed pleasure,
 New-fresh invented ryots still detected,
 Purchac'd with all the *Ptolomies* rich treasure,
 Our lawes, our gods, our mysteryes neglected. 535
 Who saw not how this confluence of vice,
 This inundation of disorders, must
 At length of force pay backe the bloody price
 Of sad destruction, (a reward for lust.)
 O thou and I have heard, and read, and knowne 540
 Of like proude states, as woefully incombred,
 And fram'd by them, examples for our owne:
 [[Gvi]] 'Which now among examples must be numbred.
 For this decree a law from high is given,
 An ancient Canon, of eternall date, 545
 In Consistorie of the starres of heaven,
 Entred the Booke of unavoyded Fate;
 That no state can in height of happinesse,
 In th'exaltation of their glory stand:
 But thither once arriv'd, declining lesse, 550
 Ruine themselves, or fall by others hand.
 Thus doth the ever-changing course of things

Runne a perpetuall circle, ever turning:
 And that same day that hiest glory brings,
 Brings us unto the poynt of backe-returning. 555
 For sencelesse sensualitie, doth ever
 Accompany felicitie and greatnesse.
 A fatall witch, whose charmes do leave us never,
 Till we leave all in sorrow for our sweetnesse;
 When yet our selves must be the cause we fall, 560
 Although the same be first decreed on hie:
 Our errors still must beare the blame of all,
 This must it be; earth, aske not heaven why,
 Yet mighty men with wary jealous hand,
 Strive to cut off all obstacles of feare: 565
 All whatsoever seemes but to withstand
 Their least conceit of quiet, held so deere;
 And so intrench themselves with blood, with crimes,
 With all injustice as their feares dispose:
 Yet for all this we see, how oftentimes 570
 The meanes they worke to keepe, are meanes to lose.
 And sure I cannot see, how this can stand
 With great *Augustus* safety and his honor,
 To cut off all succession from our land,
 For her offence that pulld the warres upon her. 575
 Phi. Why must her issue pay the price of that?
 [H] ^l*Ari.* The price is life that they are rated at.
 Phi. *Cæsario* too, issued of *Cæsars* blood?
 Ari. Pluralitie of *Cæsars* are not good.
 Phi. Alas, what hurt procures his feeble arme? 580
 Ari. Not for it doth, but that it may do harme.
 Phi. Then when it offers hurt, repress the same.

Ari. Tis best to quench a sparke before it flame.

Phi. Tis inhumane, an innocent to kill.

Ari. Such innocents seldome remaine so still. 585

And sure his death may best procure our peace,

Competitors the subject deerely buies:

And so that our affliction may surcease,

Let great men be the peoples sacrifice.

But see where *Cæsar* comes himself, to try 590

And worke the mind of our distressed Queene,

To apprehend some falsed hope: whereby

She might be drawn to have her fortune seene.

But yet I thinke, Rome will not see that face

(That queld her champions) blush in base disgrace 595

Scena secunda.

Cæsar, Cleopatra, Seleucus, Dolabella.

Cæsar.

WHat *Cleopatra*, doost thou doubt so much

Of *Cæsars* mercy, that thou hid'st thy face?

Or dost thou thinke, thy'offences can be such,

That they surmount the measure of our grace?

Cle. O *Cæsar*, not for that I flie thy sight 600

My soule this sad retire of sorrow chose:

But that m'oppressed thoughts abhorring light

Like best in darkenes, my disgrace t'inclose.

And heere to these close limites of despaire,

[Hi'] 'This solitarie horror where I bide: 605

Cæsar, I thought no Roman should repaire,

More after him, who here oppressed dyde.

Yet now, here at thy conquering feete I lie,

Poore captive soul, that never thought to bow:
 Whose happy foote of rule and Majestie 610
 Stood late on the same ground thou standest now.

Cæs. Rise Queene, none but thy selfe is cause of al,
 And yet, would all were but thine owne alone:
 That others ruine had not with thy fall
 Brought Rome her sorrowes, to my triumphs mone. 615
 For breaking off the league of love and blood,
 Thou mak'st my winning joy a gaine displeasing:
 Sith th'eye of grief must looke into our good,
 Thorow the horror of our own bloodshedding.
 And all, we must attribute unto thee. 620

Cle. To me? Cæsar, what should a woman doe
 Opprest with greatnes? what was it for me
 To contradict my Lord, being bent thereto?
 I was by love, by feare, by weakenesse, made
 An instrument to such disseignes as these. 625
 For when the Lord of all the Orient bade,
 Who but obey'd? who was not glad to please?
 And how could I withdraw my succouring hand
 From him that had my heart, and what was mine?
 The int'rest of my faith in streightest band, 630
 My love to his most firmly did combine.

Cæs. Love? alas no, it was th'innated hatred
 That thou and thine hast ever borne our people:
 That made thee seeke all meanes to have us scattred,
 To disunite our strength, and make us feeble. 635
 And therefore did that breast nurse our dissention,
 With hope t'exalt thy selfe, t'augment thy state:
 To pray upon the wracke of our contention,

[Hii'] ¹And (with the rest our foes,) to joy thereat.

Cleo. O *Caesar*, see how easie tis t'accuse 640

Whom Fortune hath made faulty by their fall,
 The wretched conquered may not refuse
 The titles of reproch hee's charg'd withall.

The conquering cause hath right, wherein thou art,
 The vanquisht still is judgde the worser part.

645

Which part is mine, because I lost my part.
 No lesser then the portion of a Crowne.
 Enough for me, alas what needed Art
 To gaine by others, but to keepe mine owne?
 But heere let weaker powers note what it is,
 To neighbour great Competitors too neere,
 If wee take part, we oft do perish thus,
 If neutrall bide, both parties we must feare.

650

Alas, what shall the forst partakers doe,
 When following none, yet must they perish too?

655

But Cæsar, sith thy right and cause is such,
 Be not a heavy weight upon calamitie:
 Depresse not the afflicted over-much,
 The chiefest glorie is the Victors lenitie.
 Th'inheritance of mercie from him take,
 Of whom thou hast thy fortune and thy name:
 Great Cæsar me a Queene at first did make,
 And let not Cæsar now confound the same,
 Reade here these lines which stil I keepe with me,
 The witnes of his love and favours ever:
 And God forbid this should be said of thee,
 That Cæsar wrong'd the favoured of Cæsar.
 For looke what I have beene to *Antony*,
 Thinke thou the same I might have beene to thee.
 And here I do present thee with the note
 Of all the treasure, all the jewels rare
 That Egypt hath in many ages got;

660

665

670

¹And looke what *Cleopatra* hath, is there.

Seleu. Nay there's not all set downe within that roule,
I know somethings she hath reserv'd apart. 675

Cle. What, vile ungrateful wretch, dar'st thou controule
Thy Queene and soveraigne, caitife as thou art.

Cæs. Holde, holde; a poore revenge can worke so feeble hands

Cle. Ah *Cæsar*, what a great indignitie
Is this, that here my vassal subject stands 680
T'accuse me to my Lord of trecherie?

If I reserv'd some certaine womens toyes,
Alas it was not for my selfe (God knowes,)
Poore miserable soule, that little joyes
In trifling ornaments in outward showes. 685

But what I kept, I kept to make my way
Unto thy *Livia* and *Octavias* grace,
That thereby in compassion mooved, they
Might mediate thy favour in my case.

Cæs. Well *Cleopatra*, feare not, thou shalt finde 690
What favour thou desir'st, or canst expect:
For *Cæsar* never yet was found but kinde
To such as yeeld, and can themselves subject.

And therefore give thou comfort to thy minde,
Relieve thy soule thus overcharg'd with care, 695
How well I will intreate thee thou shalt find,
So soone as some affaires dispatched are.

Til when farewell. *Cl.* Thanks thrice renowned *Cæsar*,
Poore *Cleopatra* rests thine owne for ever.

Dol. No marvel *Cæsar* though our greatest spirits, 700
Have to the powre of such a charming beautie
Been brought to yeeld the honour of their merits:
Forgetting all respect of other dutie.
Then whilst the glory of her youth remain'd

The wondring object to each wanton eye: 705
 Before her full of sweet (with sorrow wain'd,)

[Hiii'] 'Came to the period of this miserie.
 If still, even in the midst of death and horror
 Such beautie shines, thorow clouds of age & sorow,
 If even those sweet decaies seeme to pleade for her, 710
 Which from affliction moving graces borrow:
 If in calamitie she could thus move,
 What could she do adorn'd with youth and love?
 What could she do then, whenas spreading wide
 The pompe of beauty, in her glory dight? 715
 When arm'd with wonder, she could use beside,
 Th'ingines of her love, Hope and Delight?
 Beautie daughter of Mervaile, O see how
 Thou canst disgracing sorrowes sweetly grace
 What power thou shew'st in a distressed brow, 720
 That mak'st affliction faire, giv'st tears their grace.
 What can untressed locks, can torne rent haire,
 A weeping eye, a wailing face be faire?
 I see then, artless feature can content,
 And that true beautie needs no ornament. 725
 Cæs. What in a passion *Dolabella*? what take heed:
 Let others fresh examples be thy warning;
 What mischiefes these, so idle humors breed,
 Whilst error keepes us from a true discerning.
 In deed I saw she labour'd to impart 730
 Her sweetest graces in her saddest cheere:
 Presuming on the face that knew the arte
 To move with what aspect so ev'r it were.
 But all in vaine, she takes her ayme amisse,
 The ground and marke, her level much deceives; 735
 Time now hath altred all, for neither is

She as she was, nor we as she conceives.
 And therefore now, twere best she left such badnesse,
 Folly in youth is sinne, in age, tis madnes.

And for my part, I seeke but t'entertaine 740

[Hiii'] 'In her some feeding hope to draw her forth;
 The greatest Trophey that my travailes gaine,
 Is, to bring home a prizall of such worth.

And now, sith that she seemes so well content
 To be dispos'd by us, without more stay 745
 She with her children shall to Rome be sent,
 Whilst I by *Syria* thither take my way.

C H O R U S

O Fearefull frowning *Nemesis*,
 Daughter of Justice, most severe, 750
 That art the worlds great arbitresse,
 And Queene of causes raining heere:

Whose swift-sure hand is ever neere
 Eternall justice, righting wrong:
 Who never yet deferrest long 755
 The prowds decay, the weaks redresse:

But through thy power every where,
 Dost raze the great, and raise the lesse.
 The lesse made great dost ruine too,
 To shew the earth what heaven can do 760

Thou from darke-clos'd eternitie,
 From thy blacke cloudy hidden seate,
 The worlds disorders dost descry:
 Which when they swel so prowdly great,

Reversing th' order nature set, 765

Thou giv'st thy all confounding doome,

Which none can know before it come.

Th' inevitable destinie,

Which neither wit nor strength can let,

Fast chain'd unto necessitie, 770

[Hiiii'] ^lIn mortall things doth order so,

Th' alternate course of weale or wo.

O how the powres of heaven doe play

With travailed mortalitie:

And doth their weakenesse still betray, 775

In their best prosperitie?

When being lifted up so hie,

They looke beyond themselves so farre,

That to themselves they take no care;

Whilst swift confusion downe doth lay, 780

Their late prowd mounting vanitie:

Bringing their glorie to decay,

And with the ruine of their fall,

Extinguish people, state and all.

But is it Justice that all wee 785

The innocent poore multitude,

For great mens faults should punisht be,

And to destruction thus pursude?

O why should th' heavens us include,

Within the compasse of their fall, 790

Who of themselves procured all?

Or do the gods (in close) decree,

Occasion take how to extrude

Man from the earth with cruelty?

Ah no, the gods are ever just, 795

Our faults excuse their rigor must.

This is the period Fate set downe,

To Egypts fat prosperitie:

Which now unto her greatest growne,

Must perish thus, by course must die. 800

And some must be the causers why

[Hiiii^v] ^lThis revolution must be wrought:

As borne to bring their state to nought:

To change the people and the crowne,

And purge the worlds iniquitie: 805

Which vice so farre hath over growne.

As we, so they that treat us thus,

Must one day perish like to us.

Actus quartus.

Seleucus.

Rodon.

Sel. NEver friend *Rodon* in a better howre,

Could I have met thee then ev'n now I do, 810

Having affliction in the greatest powre

Upon my soule, and none to tell it to.

For tis some ease our sorrowes to reveale,

If they to whom we shall impart our woes

Seeme but to feele a part of what we feele: 815

And meete us with a sigh but at a cloze.

Rod. And never (friend *Seleucus*) found'st thou one

That better could beare such a part with thee:

Who by his own, knows others cares to mone,
 And can, in like accord of grieffe, agree. 820
 And therefore tell th'oppression of thy hart,
 Tell to an eare prepar'd and tun'd to care:
 And I will likewise unto thee impart
 As sad a tale as what thou shalt declare.
 So shall we both our mournfull plaints combine 825
 Ile waile thy state, and thou shalt pittie mine.
Sel. Well then, thou kno'st how I have liv'd in grace
 With *Cleopatra*, and esteem'd in Court
 As one of Councell, and of chiefest place,
 [[Hv^r]] ^lAnd ever held my credite in that sort. 830
 Till now in this confusion of our state,
 When thinking to have us'd a meane to climbe,
 And fled the wretched, flowne unto the great,
 (Following the fortune of the present time,)
 Am come to be cast down and ruin'd cleene; 835
 And in the course of mine own plot undonne.
 For having all the secrets of the Queene
 Reveald to *Cæsar*, to have favor wonne.
 My trechery is quited with disgrace,
 My falshood loath'd, and not without great reason. 840
 Though good for him, yet Princes in this case
 Do hate the Traitor, though they love the treason.
 For how could he imagine I would be
 Faithfull to him, being false unto mine owne?
 And false to such a bounteous Queene as she, 845
 That had me rais'd and made mine honor knowne.
 He saw twas not for zeale to him I bare,
 But for base feare, or mine own state to settle.
 Weaknesse is false, and faith in Cowards rare,
 Feare findes out shifts, timiditie is subtle. 850

And therefore scorn'd of him, scorn'd of mine own.

Hatefull to all that looke into my state:

Despis'd *Seleucus* now is onely grown

The marke of infamy, that's pointed at.

Rod. Tis much thou saist, and O too much to feele, 855

And I do grieve and do lament thy fall:

But yet all this which thou doost heere reveale,

Compar'd with mine, wil make thine seem but small.

Although my fault be in the selfe-same kind,

Yet in degree far greater, far more hatefull; 860

Mine sprong of mischiefe, thine from feeble mind,

I staind with bloud, thou onely but ungratefull.

For unto me did *Cleopatra* give

[[Hv^v]] 'The best and deerest treasure of her blood,

Lovely *Cæsario*, whom she would should live 865

Free from the dangers wherein Egypt stoode.

And unto me with him this charge she gave,

Here *Rodon*, take, convey from out this coast,

This precious Gem, the chiefest that I have,

The jewell of my soule I value most. 870

Guide him to *India*, leade him farre from hence,

Safeguard him where secure he may remaine,

Till better fortune call him backe from thence,

And Egypts peace be reconcil'd againe.

For this is he that may our hopes bring backe; 875

(The rising Sunne of our declining state:)

These be the hands that may restore our wracke,

And raise the broken ruines made of late.

He may give limits to the boundlesse pride

Of fierce *Octavius*, and abate his might: 880

Great *Julius* of-spring, he may come to guide

The Empire of the world, as his by right.

O how he seemes the modell of his Syre?

O how I gaze my Cæsar in his face?

Such was his gate, so did his lookes aspire; 885

Such was his threatning brow, such was his grace.

High shouldred, and his forehead even as hic.

And O, (if he had not beene borne so late,)

He might have rul'd the worlds great Monarchy,

And now have beene the Champion of our state. 890

Then unto him, O my deere Sonne (she saies,)

Sonne of my youth, flie hence, O flie, be gone,

Reserve thy selfe, ordain'd for better daies,

For much thou hast to ground thy hopes upon.

Leave me (thy wofull Mother) to endure 895

The fury of this tempest heere alone:

Who cares not for her selfe, so thou be sure,

[[Hvi']] 'Thou mayst revenge, when others can but mone:

Rodon will see thee safe, *Rodon* will guide

Thee and thy wayes, thou shalt not need to feare. 900

Rodon (my faithfull servant) wil provide

What shal be best for thee, take thou no care.

And O good *Rodon*, looke well to his youth,

The waies are long, and dangers ev'ry where.

I urge it not that I doe doubt thy truth, 905

Mothers will cast the worst, and alwaies feare.

The absent danger greater still appears,

Lesse feares he, who is neere the thing he feares.

And O, I knowe not what presaging thought

My sprite suggests of lucklesse bad event: 910

But yet it may be tis but Love doth doate,

Or ydle shadowes with my feares present,

But yet the memory of mine owne fate

Makes me feare his. And yet why should I feare?

His fortune may recover better state, 915
 And he may come in pompe to governe heere.
 But yet I doubt the *Genius* of our race
 By some malignant spirite comes overthrowne:
 Our bloud must be extinct, in my disgrace,
 Egypt must have no more Kings of their owne. 920
 Then let him stay, and let us fall together,
 Sith it is fore-decreed that we must fall.
 Yet who knowes what may come? let him go thither,
 What Merchaunt in one vessell venters all?
 Let us divide our starres. Go, go my sonne, 925
 Let not the fate of Egypt finde thee heere:
 Try if so be thy destinie can shunne
 The common wracke of us, by being there.
 But who is he found ever yet defence
 Against the heavens, or hid him any where? 930
 Then what neede I to send thee so farre hence
 [[Hvi^v]] 'To seeke thy death that mayst as well die heere?
 And here die with thy mother, die in rest,
 Not travelling to what will come to thee.
 Why should we leave our bloud unto the East, 935
 When Egypt may a Tombe sufficient be?
 O my divided soule, what shall I do?
 Whereon shall now my resolution rest?
 What were I best resolve to yeelde unto,
 When both are bad, how shall I know the best? 940
 Stay, I may hap so worke with *Cæsar* now,
 That he may yeelde him to restore thy right.
 Goe; *Cæsar* never will consent that thou
 So neere in bloud, shalt be so great in might.
 Then take him *Rodon*, go my sonne, farewell. 945
 But stay; there's something else that I would say:

Yet nothing now, but O God speede thee well,
 Lest saying more, that more may make thee stay.
 Yet let me speake: It may be tis the last
 That ever I shall speake to thee my sonne. 950
 Do Mothers use to part in such post haste?
 What, must I end when I have scarce begunne?
 Ah no (deere heart) tis no such slender twine
 Wherewith the knot is tide twixt thee and me,
 That bloud within thy veins came out of mine, 955
 Parting from thee, I part from part of mee:
 And therefore I must speake. Yet what? O sonne.

Here more she would, when more she could not say,
 Sorrow rebounding backe whence it begunne,
 Filld up the passage, and quite stopt the way: 960
 When sweete *Cæsario* with a princely spirite,
 (Though comfortlesse himselfe) did comfort give;
 With mildest wordes, persuading her to beare it.
 And as for him, she should not neede to grieve.
 And I (with protestations of my part,) 965

[I] 'Swore by that faith, (which sworne I did deceive)
 That I would use all care, all wit and art
 To see him safe; And so we tooke our leave.
 Scarce had we travail'd to our journeies end,
 When *Cæsar* having knowledge of our way, 970
 His Agents after us with speed doth send
 To labour me, *Cæsario* to betray.
 Who with rewards and promises so large,
 Assail'd me then, that I grew soone content;
 And back to *Rhodes* did reconvey my charge, 975
 Pretending that *Octavius* for him sent,
 To make him King of Egipt presently.

And thither come, seeing himselfe betray'd,

And in the hands of death through trechery,
 Wailing his state, thus to himselfe he said. 980

Lo here brought backe by subtile traine to death
 Betraide by Tutors faith, or traitors rather:
 My fault my bloud, and mine offence my birth,
 For being sonne of such a mighty Father.

From *India*, (whither sent by mothers care, 985
 To be reserv'd from Egipts common wracke,)
 To *Rhodes*, (so long the armes of tyrants are,)
 I am by *Cæsars* subtile reach brought backe:
 Heere to be made th'oblation for his feares,
 Who doubts the poor revenge these hands may do him: 990
 Respecting neither bloud, nor youth, nor yeeres,
 Or how small safety can my death be to him.

And is this all the good of being borne great?
 Then wretched greatnesse, prowd rich misery,
 Pompous distresse, glittering calamitie. 995
 Is it for this th'ambitious Fathers sweat,
 To purchase bloud and death for them and theirs?
 Is this the issue that their glories get,
 To leave a sure destruction to their heires?

[1^v] 'O how much better had it beene for me, 1000
 From low descent, deriv'd of humble birth,
 T'have eat the sweete-sowre bread of povertie,
 And drunke of *Nylus* streames in *Nylus* earth:
 Under the cov'ring of some quiet Cottage,
 Free from the wrath of heaven, secure in minde, 1005
 Untoucht when sad events of princes dottage
 Confounds what ever mighty it doth finde.
 And not t'have stoode in their way, whose condition
 Is to have all made cleere, and all thing plaine
 Betweene them and the marke of their ambition, 1010

That nothing let, the full sight of their raigne.
 Where nothing stands, that stands not in submission;
 Where greatnesse must all in it selfe containe.
 Kings will be alone, Competitors must downe,
 Neere death he stands, that stands too neere a Crowne. 1015

Such is my case, for *Cæsar* will have all.
 My blood must seale th'assurance of his state:
 Yet ah weake state that blood assure him shall,
 Whose wrongfull shedding, gods and men do hate.
 Injustice never scapes unpunisht stil, 1020
 Though men revenge not, yet the heavens will.

Aud thou *Augustus* that with bloudie hand,
 Cut'st off succession from anothers race,
 Maist find the heavens thy vowes so to withstand,
 That others may deprive thine in like case. 1025
 When thou maist see thy prowde contentious bed
 Yeelding thee none of thine that may inherite:
 Subvert thy blood, place others in their sted,
 To pay this thy injustice her due merite.

If it be true (as who can that deny 1030
 Which sacred Priests of *Memphis* doe fore-say)
 Some of the of-spring yet of *Antony*,
 Shall all the rule of this whole Empire sway;

[Iii] ¹And then *Augustus*, what is it thou gainest
 By poore *Antillus* blood, or this of mine? 1035
 Nothing but this thy victorie thou stainest,
 And pull'st the wrath of heaven on thee and thine.

In vaine doth man contend against the starr's,
 For that he seekes to make, his wisdomes marr's.
 Yet in the mean-time we whom Fates reserve, 1040
 The bloodie sacrifices of ambition,
 We feele the smart what ever they deserve,

And we indure the present times condition.

The justice of the heavens revenging thus,

Doth onely satisfie it selfe, not us. 1045

Yet tis a pleasing comfort that doth ease

Affliction in so great extremitie,

To thinke their like destruction shall appease

Our ghosts, who did procure our miserie.

But dead we are, uncertaine what shall bee, 1050

And living, we are sure to feele the wrong:

Our certaine ruine we our selves doe see.

They joy the while, and we know not how long.

But yet *Cæsario*, thou must die content,

For men will mone, and God revenge th'innocent. 1055

Thus he complain'd, and thus thou hear'st my shame,

Sel. But how hath *Cæsar* now rewarded thee?

Rod. As he hath thee. And I expect the same

As fell to *Theodor* to fall to mee:

For he (one of my coate) having betraid 1060

The yong *Antillus* sonne of *Anthonie*,

And at his death from off his necke convoid

A jewell: which being askt, he did denie:

Cæsar occasion tooke to hang him strait.

Such instruments with Princes live not long. 1065

Although they need such actors of deceit,

Yet still our sight seemes to upbraid their wrong;

[lii'] ^lAnd therefore we must needs this daunger runne,

And in the net of our owne guile be caught:

We must not live to brag what we have done, 1070

For what is done, must not appeare their fault.

But here comes *Cleopatra*, wofull Queene,

And our shame wil not that we should be seene.

Exeunt.

| | |
|---|---|
| <i>Cleopatra</i> | 1075 |
| <p> WHat hath my face yet powre to win a Lover? Can this torne remnant serve to grace me so, That it can <i>Cæsars</i> secret plots discover What he intends with me and mine to do? Why then poore Beautie thou hast done thy last, And best good service thou could'st do unto mee. For now the time of death reveal'd thou hast, Which in my life didst serve but to undoe me. Heere <i>Dolabella</i> far forsooth in love, Writes, how that <i>Cæsar</i> meanes forthwith, to send Both me & mine, th'ayre of Rome to prove: There his Triumphant Chariot to attend. I thanke the man, both for his love & letter; The one comes fit to warne me thus before, But for th'other, I must die his debter, For <i>Cleopatra</i> now can love no more. But having leave, I must go take my leave And last farewell of my dead <i>Anthonie</i>: Whose deerly honour'd tombe must here receive This sacrifice, the last before I die. O sacred ever-memorable stone, That hast without my teares, within my flame, Receive th'oblation of the wofull'st mone [liiii] 'That ever yet from sad affliction came. And you deare reliques of my Lord and Love, (The sweetest parcels of the faithfull'st liver,) O let no impious hand dare to remove You out from hence, but rest you here for ever. </p> | <p>1080</p> <p>1085</p> <p>1090</p> <p>1095</p> <p>1100</p> |

Let Egypt now give peace unto you dead,
 That living gave you trouble and turmoile: 1105
 Sleepe quiet in this ever-lasting bed,
 In forraine land preferr'd before your soile.
 And O, if that the sp'rits of men remaine
 After their bodies, and do never die,
 Then heare thy ghost, thy captive spouse complaine, 1110
 And be attentive to her miserie.
 But if that laboursome mortallitie
 Found this sweete error, onely to confine
 The curious search of idle vanitie,
 That would the deapth of darknes undermine: 1115
 Or rather to give rest unto the thought
 Of wretched man, with th'after-comming joy
 Of those conceived fields whereon we dote,
 To pacifie the present worldes annoy.
 If it be so, why speake I then to th'ayre? 1120
 But tis not so, my *Anthonie* doth heare:
 His ever-living ghost attends my prayer,
 And I do know his hovering sprite is neere.
 And I wil speake, and pray, and mourne to thee,
 O pure immortall love that daign'st to heare: 1125
 I feele thou answer'st my credulitie
 With touch of comfort, finding none elsewhere.
 Thou knows't these hands intomb'd thee here of late,
 Free and unforc'd, which now must servile be,
 Reserv'd for bands to grace proud *Cæsars* state, 1130
 Who seekes in me to triumph over thee.
 O if in life we could not severd be,
 [Iiii'] 'Shall death divide our bodies now asunder?
 Must thine in Egypt, mine in Italie,
 Be kept the Monuments of Fortunes wonder? 1135

If any powres be there whereas thou art,
 (Sith our country gods betray our case,)

O worke they may their gracious helpe impart,
 To save thy wofull wife from such disgrace.

Do not permit she should in triumph shew 1140
 The blush of her reproach, joyn'd with thy shame:
 But (rather) let that hatefull tyrant know,
 That thou and I had powre t'avoyde the same.

But what do I spend breath and ydle winde,
 In vaine invoking a conceived ayde? 1145
 Why do I not my selfe occasion finde
 To breake the bounds wherein my selfe am staide?
 Words are for them that can complaine and live,
 Whose melting hearts composd of baser frame,
 Can to their sorrowes, time and leasure give, 1150
 But *Cleopatra* may not do the same.

No *Antony*, thy love requireth more:
 A lingring death, with thee deserves no merite,
 I must my selfe force open wide a dore
 To let out life, and so unhouse my spirit. 1155
 These hands must breake the prison of my soule
 To come to thee, there to enjoy like state,
 As doth the long-pent solitarie Foule,
 That hath escapt her cage, and found her mate.

This sacrifice to sacrificize my life, 1160
 Is that true incense that dooth best beseeme:
 These rites may serve a life-desiring wife,
 Who doing them, t'have done enough doth deeme.

My hart bloud should the purple flowers have beene,
 Which heere upon thy Tombe to thee are offred, 1165
 No smoake but dying breath should here bin seene,

[iiiiif] ¹And this it had bin too, had I bin suffred.

But what have I save these bare hands to doe it?
 And these weake fingers are not yron-poynted:
 They cannot pierce the flesh be'ing put unto it, 1170
 And I of all meanes else am disappointed.
 But yet I must a way and meanes seeke, how
 To come unto thee, whatsoere I do.
 O Death, art thou so hard to come by now,
 That we must pray, intreate, and seeke thee too? 1175
 But I will finde thee wheresoere thou lie,
 For who can stay a minde resolv'd to die?
 And now I goe to worke th'effect indeed,
 Ile never send more words or sighes to thee:
 Ile bring my soule my selfe, and that with speede, 1180
 My selfe will bring my soule to *Antony*.
 Come go my Maides, my fortunes sole attenders,
 That minister to miserie and sorrow:
 Your Mistris you unto your freedom renders.
 And will discharge your charge yet ere to morrow. 1185
 And now by this, I thinke the man I sent,
 Is neere return'd that brings me my dispatch.
 God grant his cunning sort to good event,
 And that his skill may well beguile my watch:
 So shall I shun disgrace, leave to be sorrie, 1190
 Flie to my love, scape my foe, free my soule;
 So shall I act the last of life with glorie,
 Die like a Queene, and rest without controule. Exit.

C H O R U S

MIsterious Egypt, wonder breeder, 1195
 strict Religions strange observer,
 State-ordrer zeale, the best rule-keeper,

'Fostring still in temp'rate fervor:
 O how cam'st thou to lose so wholly
 all religion, law and order? 1200
 And thus become the most unholy
 of all Lands, that *Nylus* border?
 How could confus'd Disorder enter
 where sterne Law sate so severely?
 How durst weake lust and riot venter 1205
 th'eye of Justice looking neerely?
 Could not those meanes that made thee great
 Be still the meanes to keepe thy state?

 Ah no, the course of things requireth
 change and alteration ever: 1210
 That same continuance man desireth,
 th'unconstant world yeeldeth never.
 We in our counsels must be blinded,
 And not see what doth import us:
 And often-times the thing least minded 1215
 is the thing that most must hurt us.
 Yet they that have the sterne in guiding,
 tis their fault that should prevent it,
 For oft they seeing their Country sliding,
 take their ease, as though contented. 1220
 We imitate the greatest powres,
 The Princes manners fashion ours.

 Th'example of their light regarding,
 vulgar loosenesse much incenses:
 Vice uncontrold, growes wide inlarging, 1225
 Kings small faults, be great offences.

may so farre infect their senses,
 That Egypts pleasures so delightfull,
 may breed them the like offences.
 And Romans learne our way of weakenes,

be instructed in our vices:

1260

That our spoiles may spoile your greatnes,

[[iv']] ^lovercome with our devises,

Fill full your hands, and carry home

Enough from us to ruine Rome

1265

*Actus quintus.**Dolabella Titius*

Dol. COMe tell me *Titius* ev'ry circumstance 1265

How *Cleopatra* did receive my newes:

Tell ev'ry looke, each gesture, countenance,

That she did in my Letters reading, use.

Tit. I shall my Lord, so farre as I could note,

Or my conceit observe in any wise. 1270

It was the time whenas she having got

Leave to her Deerest dead to sacrifice;

And now was issuing out the monument

With odors, incense, garlands in her hand,

When I approacht (as one from *Cæsar* sent,) 1275

And did her close thy message t'understand.

She turnes her backe, and with her takes me in,

Reades in thy lines thy strange unlookt for tale:

And reades, and smiles, and staies, and doth begin

Againe to reade, then blusht, and then was pale. 1280

And having ended with a sigh, refoldes

Thy Letter up: and with a fixed eie,

(which stedfast her imagination holds)

She mus'd a while, standing confusedly:

At length. Ah friend, (saith she) tell thy good Lord, 1285

How deere I hold his pittying of my case:

That out of his sweete nature can affoord

A miserable woman so much grace.

Tell him how much my heavy soule doth grieve:

Mercillesse *Cæsar* should so deale with me: 1290

[[Ivi']] 'Pray him that he would all the counsell give,

That might divert him from such crueltie.

As for my love, say *Antony* hath all,

Say that my hart is gone into the grave

With him, in whom it rests and ever shall: 1295

I have it not my selfe, nor cannot have.

Yet tell him, he shall more command of me

Then any, whosoever living can.

Hee that so friendly shewes himselfe to be

A right kind Roman, and a Gentleman. 1300

Although his Nation (fatall unto me,)

Have had mine age a spoile, my youth a pray,

Yet his affection must accepted be,

That favours one distrest in such decay.

Ah, he was worthy then to have been lov'd, 1305

Of *Cleopatra* whiles her glory lasted;

Before she had declining fortune prov'd,

Or seen her honor wrackt, her flowre blasted.

Now there is nothing left her but disgrace,

Nothing but her affliction that can move: 1310

Tell *Dolabella*, one that's in her case,

(Poore soule) needs rather pity now then love,

But shortly shall thy Lord heare more of me.

And ending so her speech, no longer stai'd,

But hasted to the tombe of *Antonie*, 1315

And this was all she did, and all she said.

Dol. Ah sweet distressed Lady. What hard hart

Could chuse but pity thee, and love thee too?

Thy worthines, the state wherein thou art

Requireth both, and both I vow to doo. 1320

Although ambition lets not *Cæsar* see

The wrong he doth thy majesty and sweetnes,

Which makes him now exact so much of thee,

To adde unto his pride, to grace his greatnes,

[[Ivi]] ^lHe knowes thou canst no hurt procure us now, 1325

Sith all thy strength is seiz'd into our hands:

Nor feares he that, but rather labours how
 He might shew Rome so great a Queene in bands:
 That our great Ladies (envying thee so much
 That stain'd them all, and held them in such wonder,) 1330
 Might joy to see thee, and thy fortune such,
 Thereby extolling him that brought thee under.
 But I will seeke to stay it what I may;
 I am but one, yet one that *Cæsar* loves,
 And O if now I could doe more then pray, 1335
 Then shoud'st thou know how farre affection moves.
 But what my powre and prayer may prevaile,
 Ile joyne them both, to hinder thy disgrace:
 And even this present day I will not faile
 To doe my best with *Cæsar* in this case. 1340
 Tit. And sir, even now herselfe hath letters sent,
 I met her messenger as I came hither,
 With a dispatch as he to *Cæsar* went,
 But know not what imports her sending thither.
 Yet this he told, how *Cleopatra* late 1345
 Was come from sacrifice. How richly clad
 Was serv'd to dinner in most sumptuous state,
 With all the bravest ornaments she had.
 How having din'd, she writes, and sends away
 Him strait to *Cæsar*, and commanded than 1350
 All should depart the Tombe, and none to stay
 But her two maides, and one poore countryman.
 Dol. Why then I know she sends t'have audience now,
 And meanes t'experience what her state can do:
 To see if majesty will make him bow 1355
 To what affliction could not move him to.
 And O, if now she could but bring a view
 Of that fresh beauty she in youth possest,

- Of sad affliction, matter yet more sad? 1390
- [K^v] 'Have we not seene the worst of our calamity?
 Is there behind yet something of distresse
 Unseene, unknown? Tel if that greater misery
 There be, that we waile not that which is lesse.
 Tell us what so it be, and tell at first, 1395
 For sorrow ever longs to heare her worst.
- Nu* Well then, the strangest thing relate I will,
 That ever eye of mortall man hath seene.
- I (as you know) even from my youth, have still
 Attended on the person of the Queene: 1400
 And ever in all fortunes good or ill,
 With her as one of chiefest trust have beene.
 And now in these so great extremitities,
 That ever could to majesty befall,
 I did my best in what I could devise, 1405
 And left her not, till now she left us all.
- Cho.* What is she gone. Hath *Cæsar* forst her so?
Nun. Yea, she is gone, and hath deceiv'd him to.
Cho. What, fled to *India*, to go find her sonne?
Nun. No, not to *India*, but to finde her sonne. 1410
Cho. Why then there's hope she may her state recover
Nun. Her state? nay rather honour, and her Lover.
Cho. Her Lover? him shee can not have againe.
Nun. Wel, him she hath, with him she doth remaine.
Cho. Why then she's dead. Ist so? why speakst not thou 1415
Nun. You gesse aright, and I will tell you how.
- When she perceiv'd all hope was cleane bereft,
 That *Cæsar* meant to send her strait away,
 And saw no meanes of reconcilment left,
 Worke what she could, she could not worke to stay: 1420
 She calles me to her, and she thus began.

O thou, whose trust hath ever beene the same,
 And one in all my fortunes, faithfull man,
 Alone content t'attend disgrace and shame.
 Thou, whom the fearefull ruine of my fall, 1425
 [Kii'] 'Never deterr'd to leave calamitie:
 As did those others smoothe state-pleasers all,
 Who followed but my fortune, and not me.
 Tis thou must do a service for thy Queene,
 Wherein thy faith and skill must do their best: 1430
 Thy honest care and duty shal be seene,
 Performing this, more then in all the rest.
 For all what thou hast done, may die with thee,
 Although tis pittie that such faith should die.
 But this shall evermore remembred be, 1435
 A rare example to posterity.
 And looke how long as *Cleopatra* shall
 In after ages live in memory,
 So long shall thy cleere fame endure withall,
 And therefore thou must not my sute denie 1440
 Nor contradict my will. For what I will
 I am resolv'd: and this now must it be:
 Go find me out with all thy art and skill
 Two Aspicks, and convay them close to me.
 I have a worke to do with them in hand, 1445
 Enquire not what, for thou shalt soone see what,
 If the heavens do not my disseignes withstand,
 But do thy charge, and let me shift with that.
 Being thus conjur'd by her t'whom I'had vow'd
 My true perpetuall service, forth I went, 1450
 Devising how my close attempt to shrowde,
 So that there might no art my art prevent.
 And so disguis'd in habite as you see,

Having found out the thing for which I went,
 I soone return'd againe, and brought with me 1455
 The Aspickes, in a basket closely pent.
 Which I had filld with Figges, and leaves upon.
 And comming to the guard that kept the dore,
 What hast thou there? said they, and lookt thereon.
 Seeing the figges, they deem'd of nothing more, 1460
 [Kii^v] ^lBut said, they were the fairest they had seene.
 Taste some, said I, for they are good and pleasant.
 No, no, said they, go beare them to thy Queene,
 Thinking me some poore man that brought a present.
 Well, in I went, where brighter then the Sunne, 1465
 Glittering in all her pompous rich aray,
 Great *Cleopatra* sate, as if sh'had wonne
Cæsar, and all the world beside this day:
 Even as she was when on thy cristall streames,
 Cleere *Cydnos* she did shew what earth could shew. 1470
 When *Asia* all amz'd in wonder, deemes
Venus from heaven was come on earth below.
 Even as she went at first to meete her Love,
 So goes she now at last againe to find him.
 But that first, did her greatnes onely prove, 1475
 This last her love, that could not live behind him.
 Yet as she sate, the doubt of my good speed,
 Detracts much from the sweetnes of her looke:
 Cheere-marrer Care, did then such passions breed,
 That made her eie bewray the griefe shee tooke. 1480
 But she no sooner sees me in the place,
 But strait her sorrow-clouded brow she cleeres,
 Lightning a smile from out a stormie face,
 Which all her tempest-beaten sences cheeres.
 Looke how a strai'd perplexed traveller, 1485

When chasd by theeves, and even at poynt of taking,
 Descrying sodainely some towne not far,
 Or some unlookt for aide to him-ward making;
 Cheeres up his tyred sprites, thrusts forth his strength
 To meete that good, that comes in so good houre: 1490
 Such was her joy, perceiving now at length,
 Her honour was t'escape so proude a powre.
 Forth from hir seate she hastes to meete the present,
 And as one over-joy'd, she caught it strait.
 And with a smiling cheere in action pleasant, 1495
 [[Kiii^r]] ^lLooking among the figs, findes the deceite.
 And seeing there the ugly venemous beast,
 Nothing dismaid, she stayes and viewes it well.
 At length th'extreamest of her passion ceast,
 When she began with wordes her joy to tell. 1500
 O rarest beast (saith she) that Affrick breedes,
 How deerly welcome art thou unto me?
 The fairest creature that faire *Nylus* feedes
 Me thinks I see, in now beholding thee.
 What though the ever-erring world doth deeme 1505
 That angred Nature fram'd thee but in spight?
 Little they know what they so light esteeme,
 That never learn'd the wonder of thy might.
 Better then Death, Deaths office thou dischargest,
 That with one gentle touch canst free our breath: 1510
 And in a pleasing sleepe our soule inlargest,
 Making our selves not privie to our death.
 If Nature err'd, O then how happy error,
 Thinking to make thee worst, she made thee best:
 Sith thou best freest us from our lives worst terror, 1515
 In sweetly bringing soules to quiet rest.
 When that inexorable Monster Death

That followes Fortune, flies the poore distressed,
 Tortures our bodyes ere he takes our breath,
 And loads with paines th'already weak oppressed. 1520

How oft have I begg'd, prayd, intreated him
 To take my life, which he would never do,
 And when he comes, he comes so ugly grim,
 Attended on with hideous torments to.

Therefore come thou, of wonders wonder chiefe 1525
 That open canst with such an easie key
 The doore of life, come gentle cunning thiefe,
 That from our selves so steal'st our selves away.

Well did our Priests discern something divine
 Shadow'd in thee, and therefore first they did 1530

[[Kiii^v]] ^lOffrings and worships due to thee assigne,
 In whom they found such mysteries were hid.
 Comparing thy swift motion to the Sunne,
 That mov'st without the instruments that move:
 And never waxing old, but alwayes one, 1535

Doost sure thy strange divinitie approve.
 And therefore too, the rather unto thee
 In zeale I make the offering of my blood,
 Calamitie confirming now in me
 A sure believe that pietie makes good. 1540

Which happy men neglect, or hold ambiguous,
 And onely the afflicted are religious.

And heere I sacrifice these armes to Death,
 That Lust late dedicated to Delights:
 Offering up for my last, this last of breath, 1545
 The complement of my loves dearest rites.
 With that she beares her arme, and offer makes
 To touch her death, yet at the touch with-drawes,
 And seeming more to speake, occasion takes,

Willing to die, and willing too to pause. 1550
 Looke how a mother at her sonnes departing
 For some farre voyage bent to get him fame,
 Doth entertaine him with an ydle parling
 And stil doth speake, and stil speakes but the same;
 Now bids farewell, and now recalles him backe, 1555
 Telles what was told, and bids againe farewell,
 And yet againe recalles; for stil doth lacke
 Something that Love would faine and cannot tel.
 Pleas'd he should go, yet cannot let him go.
 So she, although she knew there was no way 1560
 But this, yet this she could not handle so
 But she must shew that life desir'd delay.
 Faine would she entertaine the time as now,
 And now would faine that Death would seize upon her,
 Whilst I might see presented in her brow, 1565
 [Kiiii] 'The doubtfull combate tride twixt Life and Honor.
 Life bringing Legions of fresh hopes with her,
 Arm'd with the prooffe of time, which yeeldes we say
 Comfort and helpe, to such as doe referre
 All unto him, and can admit delay. 1570
 But Honour scorning Life, loe forth leads hee
 Bright Immortalitie in shining armour:
 Thorow the rayes of whose cleere glorie, she
 Might see lifes basenesse, how much it might harme her.
 Besides shee saw whole armies of Reproches, 1575
 And base Disgraces, Furies feareful sad,
 Marching with Life, and Shame that still incroches
 Upon her face, in bloody colours clad.
 Which representments seeing, worse then death
 She deem'd to yeeld to Life, and therefore chose 1580
 To render al to Honour, heart and breath;

And that with speede, lest that her inward foes
False flesh and bloud, joyning with life and hope,
Should mutinie against her resolution.

And to the end she would not give them scope, 1585

Shee presently proceedes to th'execution.

And sharpely blaming of her rebel powres,
False flesh (saith she) and what dost thou conspire

With Cæsar too, as thou wert none of ours,
To worke my shame, and hinder my desire? 1590

Wilt thou retaine in closure of thy vaines,

That enemy Base life, to let my good?

No, know there is a greater powre constraines

Then can be countercheckt with fearefull blood.

For to the minde that's great, nothing seemes great: 1595

And seeing death to be the last of woes,

And life lasting disgrace, which I shall get,

What doe I lose, that have but life to lose?

This having said, strengthned in her owne hart,

And union of herselfe, sences in one 1600

[Kiiii^v] ^lCharging together, she performes that part

That hath so great a part of glorie wonne.

And so receives the deadly poys'ning tuch;

That touch that tride the gold of her love, pure,

And hath confirm'd her honour to be such, 1605

As must a wonder to all worlds endure.

Now not an yeelding shrinke or touch of feare,

Contented to bewray least sence of paine:

But still in one same sweete unaltred cheere,

Her honour did her dying thoughts retaine. 1610

Well, now this worke is done (saith she) heere ends

This act of Life, that part the Fates assign'd:

What glory or disgrace heere this world lends,

Both have I had, and both I leave behind.

And now O earth, the Theater where I 1615

Have acted this, witnes I die unforst.

Witnesse my soule partes free to *Antony*,

And now prowde Tyrant *Cæsar* do thy worst.

This said, she staies, and makes a sodaine pause,

As twere to feele whether the poyson wrought: 1620

Or rather else the working might be cause

That made her stay, and intertain'd her thought.

For in that instant I might well perceive

The drowsie humor in her falling brow:

And how each powre, each part opprest did leave 1625

Their former office, and did sencelesse grow.

Looke how a new pluckt branch against the Sunne,

Declines his fading leaves in feeble sort;

So her disjoyned joyntures as undone,

Let fall her weake dissolved limbes support. 1630

Yet loe that face the wonder of her life,

Retaines in death, a grace that graceth death,

Colour so lively, cheere so lovely rife,

That none would thinke such beauty could want breath.

And in that cheere th'impression of a smile, 1635

[[Kv^r]] ^lDid seeme to shew she scorned Death and *Cæsar*,

As glorying that she could them both beguile,

And telling Death how much her death did please her:

Wonder it was to see how soone she went,

She went with such a will, and did so haste it, 1640

That sure I thinke shee did her paine prevent,

Fore-going paine, or staying not to taste it.

And sencelesse, in her sinking downe she wries

The Diademe which on her head shee wore,

Which *Charmion* (poore weake feeble maid) espies, 1645

And hastes to right it as it was before.

For *Eras* now was dead, and *Charmion* too

Even at the poynt, for both would immitate

Their Mistresse glorie, striving like to doo.

But *Charmion* would in this exceede her mate, 1650

For she would have this honour to be last,

That should adorne that head that must be seene

To weare a Crowne in death, that life held fast,

That all the world may know she dide a Queene.

And as she stoode setting it fitly on, 1655

Loe, in rush *Cæsars* messengers in haste,

Thinking to have prevented what was done,

But yet they came too late, for all was past.

For there they found stretcht on a bed of golde,

Dead *Cleopatra*, and that prowdly dead, 1660

In all the rich attire procure she could,

And dying *Charmion* trimming of her head,

And *Eras* at her feete, dead in like case.

Charmion, is this well done? saide one of them.

Yea, well saide she, and her that from the race 1665

Of so great Kings descends, doth best become.

And with that word, yeelds to her faithfull breath,

To passe th'assurance of her love with death.

Cho. But how knew *Cæsar* of her close intent?

Nun. By Letters which before to him she sent. 1670

[[Kv^v]] ¹For when she had procur'd this meanes to die,

She writes, and earnestly intreates, she might

Be buried in one Tombe with *Antony*.

Whereby then *Cæsar* gess'd all went not right.

And forthwith sends, yet ere the message came 1675

She was dispatcht, he crost in his intent,

Her providence had ordred so the same,

That she was sure none should her plot prevent.

C H O R U S.

Then thus we have beheld 1680

Th'accomplishment of woes

The ful of ruine and

The worst of worst of ills:

And seene al hope expeld,

That ever sweete repose 1685

Shall repossesse the Land,

That Desolation fills,

And where Ambition spills

With uncontrouled hand,

All th'issue of all those 1690

That so long rule have held:

To make us no more us,

But cleane confound us thus.

And canst O Nylus thou,

Father of flouds indure, 1695

That yellow Tyber should

With sandy streames rule thee?

Wilt thou be pleas'd to bow

To him those feete so pure,

Whose unknowne head we hold 1700

[[Kvi^r]] ¹A powre divine to be?

Thou that didst ever see

Thy free bankes uncontrould,

Live under thine owne care:

Ah wilt thou beare it now? 1705

And now wilt yeelde thy streames

A prey to other Reames?

Draw backe thy waters flo
 To thy concealed head:
 Rockes strangle up thy waves, 1710
 Stop *Cataractes* thy fall.
 And turne thy courses so,
 That sandy Desarts dead,
 (The world of dust that craves
 To swallow thee up all, 1715
 May drinke so much as shall
 Revive from vastie graves
 A living greene which spred
 Far flourishing, may gro
 On that wide face of Death, 1720
 Where nothing now drawes breath.

Fatten some people there,
 Even as thou us hast done,
 With plenties wanton store,
 And feeble luxurie: 1725
 And them as us prepare
 Fit for the day of mone
 Respected not before.
 Leave levell'd Egypt drie,
 A barren prey to lie, 1730
 Wasted for ever-more.
 Of plenties yeelding none
 To recompence the care

[[Kvi^v]] ^lOf Victors greedy lust,
 And bring forth nought but dust. 1735

And so O leave to be,
 Sith thou art what thou art:

Let not our race possesse
 Th'inheritance of shame,
 The see of sin, that we 1740
 Have left them for their part:
 The yoke of whose distresse
 Must still upbraid our blame,
 Telling from whom it came.
 Our weight of wantonnesse 1745
 Lies heavie on their hart,
 Who never-more shall see
 The glory of that worth
 They left, who brought us forth.

O thou all-seeing light, 1750
 High President of heaven,
 You Magistrates the Starres
 Of that eternall Court
 Of Providence and Right,
 Are these the bounds y'have given 1755
 Th'untranspassable barres,
 That limite Pride so short?
 Is greatnesse of this sort,
 That greatnesse greatnesse marres,
 And wrackes it selfe, selfe driven 1760
 On Rockes of her owne might?
 Doth Order order so
 Disorders overthrow?

FINIS.

